

**Recent Trends in Urbanization and its Implications for
Access to Public Health Services: A Study of Delhi**

*Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SONU PANDEY



CENTRE OF SOCIAL MEDICINE AND COMMUNITY HEALTH

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI – 110067

2018



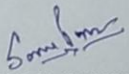
CENTRE OF SOCIAL MEDICINE & COMMUNITY HEALTH
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067

DECLARATION

Date: 20/07/2018

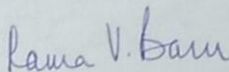
This is to certify that the dissertation titled "RECENT TRENDS IN URBANIZATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS TO PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES: A STUDY OF DELHI" submitted by me under the guidance of Prof. Rama V. Baru in partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY is my original work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

Place: New Delhi
Date: 20 /07/2018

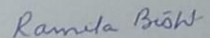

SONU PANDEY

CERTIFICATE

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



Prof. Rama V. Baru
(Supervisor)
Prof. Rama V. Baru
Professor
Centre of Social Medicine & Community Health
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067



Prof. Ramila Bisht
Chairperson
CHAIRPERSON
Centre of Social Medicine & Community Health
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I owe this work to my parents. Whatever I am today and whatever I have been able to achieve so far has been built upon their countless sacrifices and continuous support. It goes without saying that I wouldn't have been able to complete this work without their invaluable contributions.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Rama V. Baru for her continuous support, patience, and motivation. She has been instrumental in shaping this work with her guidance, critical insight, and constant encouragement in times of crisis. I sincerely believe no amount of words can do justice in expressing what she has been for me and how much indebted I am to her. It has been both a pleasure and a privilege to have had been under her supervision.

I would further like to thank the chairperson of the centre Prof. Ramila Bisht and all the faculty members of CSMCH for their valuable advice over my period of study and especially for helping me develop an understanding of public health. A special word of thanks to the non-teaching staff of CSMCH department for without their kind indulgence over my impossible demands, this work would not have seen the light of day.

I am also grateful to Mr. Aravind Unni for allowing me to participate in the two-day National Consultation titled "Re-Imagining Indian Cities: A National Consultation on Inclusive Urban Spaces" which was insightful, educating and informative.

I want to extend my appreciation to my classmates and colleagues for their support and cooperation in pursuing this work. And finally, I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to all those who don't find a mention here by name, but no doubt have enriched me with their thoughts and encouragement.

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	ii
ACRONYMS	vi
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1-Conceptualizing the Concept of Urbanization: A Review	4
1.1 Introduction and Background	4
1.2 Urbanization: Some Perspectives	6
1.3 Transforming Delhi: An “Inclusive City” to a “World Class Exclusive City”	11
1.4 Conceptualization of Urbanization	15
1.4.1 “Growth” and “Development”	16
1.4.2 An Overview of the Approaches to Understanding Urbanization	18
1.4.3 Alternative Perspectives on Urbanization	21
1.5 Scope of the Study	26
1.6 Research Questions	27
1.7 Aims and Objectives of the Study	28
1.8 Methodology.....	28
1.8.1 Research Design	28
1.8.2 Literature Search.....	29
1.8.3 Search Terms.....	30
1.8.4 Selection Criteria of Studies.....	30
1.8.5 Critical Assessment	31
1.8.6 Search Strategy	32
Chapter 2-Major Disciplines and Theories that Shape the Understanding of Urbanization ...	33
2.1 Introduction and Background	33
2.2 Theories of Urbanization	34
2.2.1 Economic Theory of Urbanization.....	34
2.2.2 Demographic Theory of Urbanization.....	36
2.2.3 Historical Theory of Urbanization	38
2.2.4 Disease Constraint Theory	40
2.2.5 Surplus Constraint Theory.....	41
2.2.6 Modernization/Ecological Theory.....	42
2.2.7 Dependency/ World Systems Theory	43
2.2.8 Distributive Coalition and Urban Bias Theory.....	45
2.3 Major Urban Discourses.....	46

2.3.1 Cities as Sites for Primitive Accumulation and Reproducing Capitalism	46
2.3.2 The Authoritarian City.....	50
2.3.3The Cosmic City.....	51
2.3.4 The Collective City.....	52
2.3.5 ‘Engendering’ the City: Feminist Perspective	52
2.4 Trade and Urbanization	53
2.5 Neoliberalism	55
Chapter 3-The Politics of Land, Labour and Capital: A Dynamics of Class Struggle and Dispossession.....	58
3.1 Introduction and Background	58
3.2 Conceptual Background: Relationship between State, Regime and Party	59
3.3 The Political Economy of Development in India	62
3.4 Frontiers of Land Control and Segregation of Urban Space	65
3.5 Discrimination through Segregation: Emergence of New Middle Class	70
3.5.1 Legal Discourse of Slum Demolitions.....	74
3.6 Expanding Informal Sector: Measuring Inequality, Risk and Vulnerability.....	76
3.6.1 Informal Sector: National Scenario.....	77
3.6.2 Informal Sector in Delhi	80
3.7 Final Thoughts.....	85
Chapter 4- Public Health Provisioning in Delhi: Housing, Water Supply, Sanitation and Health Care Services.....	88
4.1 Introduction and Background	88
4.2 Introduction to Urban Health: An Epidemiological Perspective.....	90
4.2.1 How important is the Health of Urban Poor globally and in India	92
4.2.2 Prevalence and Incidence of Communicable and Non-Communicable Diseases... 94	
4.2.3 Slum Upgrading Strategies and its Impact on Health	95
4.3 Administrative and Governance Structure of Delhi.....	99
4.4 Housing Situation in Delhi.....	101
4.4.1 Types of Habitations in Delhi	102
4.5 Water Supply and Sanitation in Delhi	106
4.5.1 Constitutional Framework	107
4.5.2 Sources of Water and Issues of Shortage	108
4.5.3 Access to water and Sanitation Services.....	110
4.5.4 Sanitation and Drainage.....	112
4.6 Strategies to Improve Living Conditions of Urban Poor	114

4.7 Institutions and Their Systemic Failures: Policy Response, Governance Issues and Budgetary Allocation.....	117
4.8 Final Thoughts.....	120
Chapter 5- Consequences of the Recent Trends of Urbanization for Equity.....	124
5.1 Introduction and Background	124
5.2 Theorizing Urbanization and Social Inequalities.....	126
5.2.1 Approaches to Understand Development	126
5.2.2 Aim of the Thesis.....	128
5.3 Antinomies of Economic Growth and Economic Development.....	131
5.3.1 Health and Development	131
5.3.2 Three Core Values of Development	132
5.4 Measuring Development in Delhi: Reflection on some of the Social, Economic and Health Indicators.....	133
5.4.1 Economy of Delhi and Average per Capita Income	134
5.4.2 Social Indicators	135
5.4.3 Issues of Social Exclusion	137
5.4.4 Taking stock of Inequities in Health	139
5.4.5 Women Health	140
5.5 Health inequalities and Inequities	140
5.6 Conclusion: The Urbanization of Marginalization and Poverty	143
References	147
Annexure.....	157

ACRONYMS

CURE	Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence
DCB	Delhi Cantonment Board
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DJB	Delhi Jal Board
DLF	Land and Finance Corporation
DMC	Delhi Metropolitan Council
DSUIB	Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board
FY	Financial Year
GNCTD	Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi
JJ	Jhuggi Jhopri
JSC	Jan Suvidha Complex
LMIC	Low and Middle Income Countries
MCD	Municipal Corporation of Delhi
NCRPB	National Capital Region Planning Board
NDMC	New Delhi Municipal Council
NIUA	National Institute of Urban Affairs
UN	United Nations
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Trends in Urbanization in India.....	24
Table 1.2 Rural-Urban Population Growth Differential.....	24
Table 3.1 Top ten occupation groups by income quintile and their share in Employment.....	81
Table 3.2 Social security Benefits and its awareness among workers.....	82
Table 4.1 Institutional Share of Responsibilities in Delhi.....	101
Table 4.2 Types of Settlements in Delhi and Corresponding Population.....	105
Table 4.3 Water Supply allocation in Delhi Master plans.....	109
Table 4.4 Status of water supply in Delhi.....	111
Table 4.5 Distribution of the slums by type of latrine facility.....	113

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	Percentage Share of Construction and Real Estate in GDP at Factor Cost.....	25
Figure 2.1	Sources of Urban Population Growth.....	38
Figure 2.2	World Population and Level of Urbanization	39
Figure 2.3	Historical Theory of Urbanization.....	40
Figure 3.1	Demolished sites and relocated families per year from 1990-2007.....	69
Figure 3.2	Distribution of casual workers in unorganized sector in non-agricultural category.....	78
Figure 3.3	Percentage of workers below minimum wages across industries.....	78
Figure 3.4	Percentage of Workers below Minimum Wages in Noida, Delhi and Gurgaon.....	81
Figure 3.5	Percentage of workers registered with welfare board	83
Figure 3.6	Non-compliance in the payment of minimum wages in the construction sector in India 2009-10.....	84
Figure 4.1	Holistic view of the strategies to upgrade slums	96
Figure 4.2	Housing Projection under Master Plan of Delhi 2021	105
Figure 4.3	Water zones in Delhi with quantity of water being supplied.....	108
Figure 4.4	Access to piped water supply and reliance on hand pumps in Delhi.....	111
Figure 4.5	5 Budgetary allocation for water and sanitation in the 11 th five year plan for Delhi.....	118
Figure 5.1	Per Capita Income of Delhi and India at current price during the year 2011-2017.....	135
Figure 5.2	Proportion of slum households and poor households in Delhi and selected cities of India.....	136
Figure 5.3	Percentage of poor households in slum and non-slum areas in Delhi and selected cities of India	136

Figure 5.4	Percentage of women and men who are migrants in Delhi and selected cities of India	136
Figure 5.5	SC/ST Household heads in slums, non-slums and poorest quartile in Delhi and selected cities in India	136
Figure 5.6	Percentage of children between 5-14 years who are working among poor and total population in Delhi and Selected cities of India	137
Figure 5.7	Percentage of households with ≥ 5 person per room in poorest quartile, slums and non slum areas in Delhi and Selected cities in India.....	137
Figure 5.8	Percentage of households possessing BPL cards among the poor and total population in Delhi and selected cities in India.....	138
Figure 5.9	Percentage of children between 0-71 months received any service from Anganwadi centres in Delhi and selected cities in India.....	138
Figure 5.10	Percentage of children who received all basic vaccination in Delhi and selected cities in India.....	138
Figure 5.11	Percentage of households using public health facilities in Delhi and selected cities in India.....	138
Figure 5.12	Under-five mortality rates for Delhi and India urban population.....	139
Figure 5.13	Percentage of children between 6-59 months has anaemia in Delhi and selected cities in India.....	157
Figure 5.14	Percentage of Under-five children who are underweight in Delhi and selected cities in India.....	157
Figure 5.15	Under-five children who are stunted in Delhi and in India.....	158
Figure 5.16	Percentage of women between 15-49 years of age with anaemia in Delhi and selected cities in India.....	158
Figure 5.17	Percentage of mothers with at least three antenatal care visits in Delhi and India.....	159
Figure 5.18	Percentage of births conducted in the presence of health personnel in Delhi and Urban India.....	159

Introduction

Urbanization has been studied from varied perspective and also the associated growth and development. Distinctive scholars have posited urbanization from different points of view and have put forward their ideas and understanding of the process. Urbanization, industrialization and economic development are considered as a concomitant process. Besides, urbanization is also considered as a by-product of economic development. Most often urbanization has been associated with growth and development while the issues of inequalities get overlooked. Also, the concept of economic growth and economic development are inherently distinct from each other. The distinction becomes evident when we critically analyze the process of urbanization vis-à-vis the social inequalities.

The present thesis attempts to make a clear and comprehensive distinction between these two key concepts and analyzes the process and nature of urbanization and economic development in the context of Delhi. In particular, it seeks to highlight the issues of inequalities in health and access to health care services which has been a consistent feature of urbanization. Social Inequalities are mirrored in health outcomes and access to health services in urban contexts. Stark disparities in health outcomes exist. These inequalities are closely intertwined with the nature and the process of growth and development which has a reciprocal relationship with health outcomes and access to health services.

The overarching aim of the thesis is to analyze the relationship between process of urbanization, development and health in Delhi. It attempts to highlight some recent trends and analyze its implications for health inequity. The inequalities in health are more worrisome and one of the most detrimental forms of inequalities that further reinforces the inequalities in other aspects of life. Given the present nature of urbanization, many of the development concerns and equity has not been adequately addressed. Consequently, the socioeconomic inequalities get reflected in unequal access to livelihood, wages, housing, food security, water supply, sanitation, education, and health services. All of these are key determinants of health.

The proposed thesis is divided into five chapters, and each of the chapters discusses a different aspect of urbanization. The first chapter presents an overview of definitions of urbanization and different approaches to understanding the process. In addition, it deliberates upon the distinction between the concept of economic growth and economic development and brings in the perspectives of researchers pertaining to the trends in Delhi. Building on these definitions and alternate approaches the chapter integrates the conceptualization of the study. The subsequent sections of the chapter talk about the scope of the study, Research questions, Research Objectives and Methodology being used to conduct the study.

The Second chapter gives an overview of the theories of urbanization not in the chronological order but their relationship with the process and with each other. It discusses the differences in the theoretical positions and fundamentals of different theories and approaches from traditional classical economic approach to the political economy approach and neoliberalism. It also explains some of the major discourses to understand the concept of city and its processes. This understanding is contextualized to understand the economic and social processes in Delhi.

The third chapter talks about the changing dynamics of land control in Delhi and the nature and magnitude of demolitions and evictions being carried out post liberalization. It briefly gives an overview of the political economy of growth in India and analyzes the changing nature of policies in the pre and post-reforms period. It further deliberates upon the question of the role of land control and economic restructuring of the city which is deeply embedded in the aspiration of a modern and global Delhi. Further, the expanding informal sector, increasing casualization and informalization of work, declining wages and rising vulnerability are some of the issues being discussed in the chapter.

The fourth chapter discusses the issues of rising informal settlements in Delhi in the form of slums, *jhuggi-jhopris* and unauthorized colonies and its implications for access to basic amenities like water supply, sanitation, sewerage, and drainage. It analyzes the governance and administrative structure of Delhi to understand the complexity of the provisioning and distributional aspect of the services. Subsequently, it also discusses the politics of exclusion in the provisioning of services in the form of budgetary allocation and resource distribution.

Last and the fifth chapter include discussion and conclusion of the thesis. The sections of the chapter attempts to theorize urbanization drawing from the work of scholars who have viewed the process from the angle of social inequalities. Drawing from this conceptualization of the process it also delves upon the understanding of development based on three core values that distinguishes it from the concept of economic growth.

It also highlights the inequalities by taking up some of the social, economic and health indicators and discusses its consequences for equity. The chapter concludes by characterizing the process of urbanization primarily as a class phenomenon that has led to heightened poverty, marginalization and vulnerabilities in Delhi.

Chapter 1-Conceptualizing the Concept of Urbanization: A Review

1.1 Introduction and Background

The present chapter of the thesis highlights varying perspectives on urbanization and attempt to contextualize it within the discourse on growth and development. Different theorists have posited urbanization from different perspectives and have put forward their ideas and understanding of the process. The chapter is divided into four main sections each of the sections deals with different aspects as discussed below.

The first section of the chapter tries to give an overview of some of these definitions and the common underlying themes to initiate a discussion and present the conceptualization of the study. The purpose is to presents an overview of the definitions and conceptualization of the process by various scholars to delineate the common underlying themes and to contextualize it with the present discourse of growth and development.

The subsequent section of the chapter talks about the restructuring of the cities in terms of the social and economic fabric as well as the morphology of the city. Confluence of two factors primarily drives these activities. Firstly, economic factors are seen to be induced by the discourse of cities as engines of economic growth. It targets to improve the economic productivity of the cities to connect with the global economy. Secondly, the collective imagination of the cities is shaped by a strong desire for modernity. The morphology is altered to fulfil the desire of emulating the western cities which represent clean and green spaces. For the middle and upper middle classes this represents modernity and creativity. The section highlights how in this perspective a particular section of people referred to as urban poor get invisible and wholly overlooked in the imagination of the city. They are struggling to eke out a living in the city and unable to contest space for their survival. The section tries to capture the dynamics of marginalization and contestation of space.

The process of urbanization in developing countries has been studied from different theoretical understandings and also from different disciplines. The third section of the chapter outlines how different approach and disciplines have studied urbanization and their primary focus. It includes some of the major approaches and disciplines viz.

political economy approach as one of the predominant approaches. Different disciplines like economics, sociology, anthropology, demography and geography and urban studies have tried to produce an understanding of urbanization. The initial part of the section engages in a discussion which gives a clear distinction between the idea of growth and development. It is because growth and development are used synonymously in the urbanization discourse. A clear distinction would serve to build the argument and put forward the conceptualization of the study. The core difference between growth and development is values. The values which are central to the concept of development only refer to 'economic growth with social justice' which is also one of the fundamental principles of public health. 'Social justice' and 'redistributive justice' are cornerstones of the development process which ensures that the benefits of growth percolate to all sections of the society (Deodhar and Mutatkar, 1993).

While urbanization is seen as an indicator of economic growth and associated with economic development, however when viewed from an angle of a socially transformative process it has given rise to new forms of inequality. In case of India urbanization is happening in the absence of proper industrialization. Indian industrialization is a capital-intensive rather than labour-intensive process (Kundu, 2017). As a result, significant expansion of the informal sector is taking place in the absence of adequate employment in the formal sector. It has made a significant proportion of the workers in the cities vulnerable. Social and economic exclusion pervades the city which is marked by stark inequalities and persistent mass poverty.

The present trajectory of urbanization has contradicted what was hypothesized in the theories of urbanization and growth. This has impelled us to relook and ponder upon the distinction between the concept of growth and development. It further revives the debate whether growth in itself is a sufficient condition for well being of the citizens. The emerging trends would serve as the premise for applying this distinction and contextualize the meaning of development in the present situation.

In the light of the discussion around growth and development, the fourth section highlights some alternate perspective cutting across disciplines have studied and presented. This is to highlight some of the major trends and contextualize the study by taking the case of Delhi. It also allows us to articulate a problem by raising some

pertinent questions which the study intends to address followed by the objectives to be achieved through the study. The thesis tries to locate urban dwellers not in isolation but as an integral part of the process of urbanization. It further explores their development status and their changing relationship with the State and civil society. This is to shift the emphasis from growth and understand the meaning of economic and social development taking place in Delhi. And also what is the place of the urban poor exist in the existing process of development?

1.2 Urbanization: Some Perspectives

Urbanization is a worldwide phenomenon, and it has received attention from scholars from diverse disciplines. This section of the chapter highlights varying perspectives of urbanization and attempts to contextualize it with the present discourse of growth and development. Different theorists have posited urbanization from different perspectives and have put forward their ideas and understanding of the process. This section tries to give an overview of some of these definitions and the common underlying themes to initiate a discussion and present the conceptualization of the study.

Urbanization is a highly variable phenomenon unfolding differently in different parts of the world. No single universal definition can incorporate all its components as it takes different trajectory in different countries. However, there are certain core mechanisms and concepts being proposed which underlie the process. According to Kantsebovskaya:

“Urbanization is a complex socio-economic process intimately connected with the scientific-technological revolution and that it exercises a growing influence on all aspects of society’s life affecting the nature of economic development as well as the demographic, ethnic and many other social processes”.

(Sandhu, 2003, p.23)

Kingsley Davis explains urbanization as a “switch from spread out patterns of human settlements to one of concentration in urban centres” (Davis, 1962, cited in Jaysawal, 2014). Besides, he also delineates three major stages in the process of urbanization. Phase one is characterized by rural traditional society predominantly agricultural in nature. The Second stage is marked by the restructuring of economy with investment of capital in transportation and communication over headed by investment in social

welfare. Third, stage which is also known as the terminal stage where urban population exceeds 70 per cent or more of the total population.

This definition implies that structural economic transformation forms the core of the process resulting in reduced dependence of the population on agriculture and induced migration from low productivity areas like primary good producer to high productive areas or non-primary goods like industries and services sector. As a result, urbanization occurs when a country shifts from agrarian to an industrial economy resulting in a massive shift of labour and capital from rural to urban areas.

Victor D'Souza considers urbanization as a subject of "social and historical analysis in the developing societies since it is one of the major forces changing and restructuring social reality and creating social problems with its own peculiarities" (D'Souza, 1984). Besides, Ramachandran (1991) argues that since 2500 BC urban places have played a vital role in shaping the political, economic, cultural and social life in India. Therefore it cannot be understood as 'simple' and 'uni-dimensional' processes. Rather there are innumerable processes operating at a particular point of time which are interdependent and inter-related (Ramachandran, 1991).

He views urbanization in the pre-historic period primarily as a socio-cultural process associated with the origin of different civilizations viz. Aryanization, Persianization, and westernization (Ramachandran, 1991, p.77). During historical times urbanization was associated with the rise and fall of empires and kingdoms. Therefore it was viewed as a political process (Dasgupta, 2003, p.9). However, in the recent time urbanization is seen as a process of growth and economic development associated with industrialization and technological advancement. Hence it is primarily an economic process.

The traditional viewpoint regarding urbanization says that the urban revolution was predicated upon the agricultural revolution (Short, 2002, p.19). Jane Jacobs (1969) proposed a counter-narrative to the traditional viewpoint by arguing that it was urban trade that created agriculture. She further says that urban-agricultural revolution was premised on trade which played the crucial role in the process of urbanization (ibid). Hence it was trade which led to urbanization and agricultural revolution.

From the above discussion trade, economic growth and demographic transition are some of the common underlying themes of the definition of urbanization.

Demographers define towns by population characteristics while geographers define cities as multifunctional sites where majority of the inhabitants are not involved in primary activities i.e., agriculture and predominantly engaged in secondary and tertiary activities (Gupta, 2003). However, with the passage of time the dominant function of the cities changes. It is trade that has provided the rationale for the emergence of cities. Even in the contemporary context global trade and market have been one of the prime factors of urbanization.

While trade is an essential element of urbanization, “Social structures” play an equally important role that has been overlooked by economic and demographic theorists. The economic and demographic factors would determine the height of growth and social structures would determine the depth of growth. Social structures denote social order of the society and organization and networks of various social groups. The interaction and social intercourse among various social groups determine the pattern of the society, and it further determines the distribution of wealth and resources.

It determines who would derive benefits from the growth and which section of the population would be excluded from the benefits. This is done through the process of formulation of policies, budgetary allocation and taking care of the needs of people belonging to different social and economic strata. The distribution and redistribution of resources is key for the persistence of inequality in a society.

Therefore the approach that explains urbanization purely as an economic or demographic phenomenon tends to equate growth with development. There is enough evidence to suggest that growth does not translate into better human development. This is because development is a normative concern with values of rights and justice at its core. Social structures determine the economic transformation taking place in any society and are also the driving force for the social and spatial mobility arising out of it. Therefore many of the societal problems such as lack of employment, expanding informal sector, deteriorating health indicators, housing issues, rising number of slums, lack of adequate basic amenities to the urban poor, persistent urban mass poverty etc. could be understood from the perspective of urbanization when viewed primarily as a social and historical process. The existing social structures also determine the economic transformations that provide social and spatial mobility.

Urbanization entails numerous changes at the societal level in addition to economic restructuring which are broadly classified as 'population redistribution' and 'population differentiation'. These two concepts are intrinsic to the process and have also generated various types of social problems. While transformation of the cities a particular population is displaced and resettled from one place to other, there are people who are accorded illegal status and are not recognized by the state as citizens. They never become part of the planning process. This influences their ability to get access to services and facilities available to others. People are differentiated according to the nature of work and the settlement type they live. Therefore a continuous process of redistribution and differentiation goes on in the cities. While analyzing the present pattern of the redistribution and redistribution of population will provide us with some understanding of the issues. Equally important to factor are the social and historical causes (D'Souza, 1984, p.53).

The proponents of the growth model consider urbanization as an inevitable process irrespective of the stage of different societies. They do not make a distinction between growth and development. Since the emergence of 'Development Economics' as a separate discipline there has been an understanding that growth by itself is a sufficient condition for development and well being of people. Subsequently, there are propositions from economists across the world that the newly independent economies or the so-called Third World countries must 'grow' and 'develop' to enhance the well being of their citizens (Kim, et al., 2000). However, equating economic growth with the well being of people has been challenged and debated widely. It is particularly evident in the Indian case, where the inequality is on the rise between and within rural and urban settlements. Indian cities are marked by greater inequality than the country side and also urban inequalities have accelerated in the past two decades based on the parameter of income and consumption (Nijman, 2012, p.13). When compared to Brazil which is comparatively more unequal than India, however, trend shows that inequality is declining compared to India where it has further widened (ibid).

The high economic growth witnessed in the past few decades especially post the 1990s was marked by regional inequality and poor human development outcomes. There is evidence of a strong association between poverty, high morbidity and mortality due to communicable diseases. Despite achieving a fair economic growth, the human development indicators are incommensurable with the growth. India

continues to share the status of low-income countries. The poor human development indicators include high infant, child and maternal mortality and widely prevalent malnourishment with regional and social inequalities (Baru, 2012, p.71). For example, if we look at the morbidity and nutritional status the incidence of stunting and anaemia prevalent in the country is even worse than the sub-Saharan Africa. In India 33 per cent of the births are of low weight as compared to 15 per cent in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNICEF, 2000). Among the respiratory diseases, tuberculosis continues to be the top infectious killer of adults in India. With 2.79 Lakh Tuberculosis cases, and 4.23 Lakh deaths in 2016, India tops the list of nations with a large number of cases and deaths (WHO, 2016).

Further, communicable diseases continue to be the primary cause of the deaths in the form of epidemics. These epidemics should not be seen merely an outbreak of infectious diseases; however they also reflect the persistent socioeconomic inequalities and differential access to health care services (Baru, 2012, p.71). The benefits of economic growth has not being translated into the human development indicator which could be ascribed to lack of policies to address the issues of urban poverty, rising inequalities and poor social sector inputs (ibid).

Therefore it is appropriate to quote Nijman who describes urbanization as not just merely about numbers or quantitative changes in a society; however, it reflects much deeper level of social transformation (Nijman, 2012, p.2). It entails restructuring economies, changing livelihood patterns, class system and emergence of new political system.

In the contemporary discourse of growth and development urbanization has also been used an index to measure modernization which has been linked to well being and improved health of people. In the process of urbanization, the growth of slums is neglected where large populations of people are forced to live in sub-standard housing. People living in these areas are being devoid of the basic amenities and facilities which are indispensable for sustaining a healthy life. Besides, these are the people who are most vulnerable and live in an environment which is an ideal ground for breeding and spread of infectious diseases.

Urban poverty which is one of the outcomes of globalization and urbanization that should be seen as a social, political, and cultural process having profound impact on

public health (Mercado, et al. 2007, p.i8). The issue of urban poverty is alarming with trends of rise in slum population.

Though lack of infrastructure and services determine the quality of living, however, these are just the apparent and proximal causes. The real causes are political in nature. Therefore urban poverty is not because a large section of people are living in settlements which lack services or are far from the areas where these services are provided. It occurs as a result of the exclusion from urban life which remains the monopoly of mainly middle and upper middle class. It occurs as a result of urban planning and policies which deliberate attempt to make them invisible.

The urbanization pattern and the ongoing transformation processes in Delhi can be summarized broadly into two categories. First is transforming Delhi into an aesthetic and world-class city. Second is making Delhi the economic capital of the country. The subsequent section of the chapter highlights the actions directed to achieve these objectives. These actions are intertwined and complement each other. For instance, while cleansing the city of the poor by pushing them from core areas to periphery takes care of the aesthetic needs it also makes available a large portion of land that can be used for commercial activities.

1.3 Transforming Delhi: An “Inclusive City” to a “World Class Exclusive City”

The issue of Delhi becoming increasingly an “informal city” has been deliberated upon in this section. Also it highlights two important things viz. the process of capital accumulation has intensified with more and more expansion of the informal sector and a significant proportion of people living in slums and informal settlements. The socialistic pattern of development got replaced with market-driven model where large space has been provided to the private sector through deregulation and liberalization of the land markets. The urban dwellers are the hardest hit by liberalizing land market as they have been occupying the public land. This has resulted in some of them being relocated and resettled, and majority be evicted leading to loss of shelter as well as livelihood.

The underlying reasons are to intensify the capital accumulation process and connect Delhi with the global economy through establishing industries and promoting commercial activities. The dream of Delhi as modern and exclusive city is part of the global narrative surrounding cities rooted in western urban theory. The present pattern

of urbanization influenced by the western model of growth and ‘primitive accumulation’ only shows our desire to be global and modern by emulating outdated models of growth borrowed from the countries that have grown rich through questionable means (Khosla, 2017, p.92). Where a section or class of people benefit and grow at the expense of depriving a large proportion of population from the benefits of growth.

The “Indian transformation narrative” is a part of the global one (Srivastava, 2016, p. xxxv). While the motive of the state for urban development during the colonial rule was to bring change in the population. Contrary to this post-colonial state actions are rooted in the feeling of “national pride”, asserting a sense of ownership over the public spaces, catering to the middle class aspirations of “aesthetic” and “world class” city and cleansing the city by pushing the poor from the core to the periphery. The global trends in Delhi are reflected in gated communities, clean, decorated streets, shopping malls and the consumerist’s practices and leisure activities of the middle class. Therefore, as Sanjay Srivastava says the “post colonial cities discourse of urban transformation manifests through the actions upon space” (ibid, p. xxxvi), this has been rooted in the split discourse of ‘modernity’ and ‘development’ originating from the western urban theory. He further describes the post-colonial urban experience as a twinned discourse of modernity and development itself.

In the modern imaginary the city represents a space for “freedom and opportunity” it marks a space with greater social interaction and breaking down of the traditional identities with economic dynamism (Heller et al., 2015, p.1). Amartya Sen puts forward the concept of development as “enhancing the capability” of individuals in this view he argues that city could be a privileged site of capability-enhancement (ibid). However, city defies this broader notion of offering social mobility through economic opportunity and capability enhancement. It offers different level and quality of services to different section of people which are determined by area and settlement type you live in which is further affected by the varying degrees of legality and tenure and formality (ibid).

Delhi is often being termed as “informal city” because of a large part of the population resides in slums and other unauthorized settlements. The population of people living in slums in India is approximately 40 per cent (Kundu, 2005, cited in

Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.v Foreward). In Delhi, nearly half of the population lives in slums and unauthorized settlements (Mahapatra, 2012). The urbanization pattern of the country has been largely market-driven despite “socialistic pattern of development” model being adopted by the post colonial state (Kundu, 2005, cited in Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.v forward). Though the urban poor could get access to the urban areas due to the democratic socio-political nature of the post-independence state, however, they were accorded the status of “illegal settlers”. As the economy of the city Delhi started expanding, including the services sector, construction sector, and trade manufacturing it required labour to run the economy and maintain the services. It allowed the poor an entry to the city but only as “temporary settlers or slum dwellers”, living under perpetual threat of eviction (ibid). Besides, their needs for civic amenities and basic facilities have never been legitimately acknowledged.

Instead address the issue of the increasing slums and informal settlements by providing them with improved shelter, the state actions are mainly directed towards pushing the poor out of the city or to the periphery through various means viz. resettlement, evictions, and demolitions. However, these “residual residents” do not simply depart the city rather devise various means to be part of the “transnational process” and thrive to meet their aspirations. Past three decades especially post liberalization have proved to be most harsh for the working poor as the city gears to be “systematically transformed” into a world-class city. It has led to attacks on the urban poor increase manifold (Hazards centre, 2007).

Despite of their large contribution in building the ‘modern’ city Delhi and contributing immensely to the economy, the State has been carrying out the sanitization process through various instruments viz. environmental pollution, beautification of the city, master plan 2021, slum clearance and rehabilitation projects. These two parallel ongoing processes have been referred to as “parallel histories” where:

“The social life of the settlements referred to as slums is an intrinsic part of the making of Indian urban and national life. They are not the product of aberant urbanism or city planning gone wrong, rather they constitute parallel histories- sitting alongside of the national monuments and middle class housing- of relationship between state, the markets and different forms of entitlements that are otherwise homogenized under ‘citizenship’” (Srivastava, 2014, p.xxxviii)

Large scale commercial activities and rapid growth of industries has attracted labour from various parts of the country. A strong economic base of the city makes it a favourable destination for labour in the rural areas in desperation to get work. As a result despite of the “hostile market scenario” and “passive state policy” a large portion of the poor manage to work and live in the city (Kundu, 2005, cited in Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.v Foreward). A large section of them are engaged in the informal sector where they are prone to severe economic deprivations and exploitation. Regarding the shelter, they are forced to live in makeshift arrangements made on encroached public land where severe physical congestion and shortage of civic amenities have been reported.

Here the concept of ‘citizenship’ and “differentiated citizenship” is important to bring into the debate. While the former is related to the package of services which is granted by the state once you and your needs are being legitimately recognized and acknowledged. The latter refers to the differentiation made by the State in terms of provisioning of services to the urban poor as compared to the middle and upper middle classes. Thus one would agree with Heller’s definition of “Differentiated citizenship” which he states is a system through which the state “systematically assigns different level of services to different categories of citizens based on their tenurial status (Heller et al., 2015, p.6). The distribution of services is then determined by the area you live in and status of the residential colony.

Hence the concept of ‘citizenship’ becomes a relative and dynamic variable. The benefits derived from the ongoing process of growth depend on the kind of citizenship as the people living in the “excluded settlements” lies at the margins of citizenship. They further live under the perpetual threat of ‘epidemics’ and group violence.

Meanwhile, the policy makers and planners most often cite the issue of resource crunch and availability of the resources. Paradoxically the availability of the resources has never been the issue instead the distribution of it and who gets how much access. Land being the most important asset for livelihood as well as capital accumulation by the state has increasingly gained importance in the recent times. The politics behind the land policies and evictions and demolitions is discussed in the third chapter of the thesis. The already existing Delhi Development Authority and emergence of the private players in the real estate industry which are being favoured by both the state

and the market have intensified the land accumulation from the poor for developing globalized capitalist economy. Besides, basic services which were the responsibility of the state and fall under the purview of the states social welfare services have been privatized and resources being outsourced to the private agencies for its efficient distribution. The urban bodies are relying on measures like public-private partnership and policies of privatization to reduce the pressure on public budgetary resources (Kundu, 2011, p.50). State actions have been directed towards transforming the city to a world class global city. This essentially fulfils the aspiration of a large middle class and elite of the city.

When we try to understand the meaning of growth and development from the trends emerging from the above discussion it is pertinent to draw a clear distinction between the concept of growth and development. Further deliberate upon the magnitude of growth, whose growth and who benefits from this growth? What are the consequences of this growth pattern and this provides us an understanding of development when analyzed from these emerging trends.

The subsequent section of the chapter attempts to draw a distinction between “Economic Growth” and “Economic Development” which has often been used interchangeably in the on urbanization discourse to highlight its positive effects and benefits. It is on this distinction and conceptualization that the present study draws and builds its argument and further contextualizes it from the case study of Delhi in the following chapters. It highlights some of the implications of the trends for public health which defies the process and is counterintuitive to what is being said and debated regarding urbanization. It mainly questions the narrative that everyone benefits from this kind of growth pattern and it has led to overall improvement of the standard of living of the population.

1.4 Conceptualization of Urbanization

Urbanization, industrialization and economic development are considered as concomitant process. Majority of the literature that attempts to explain the process of urbanization, predominantly incorporates demographic analysis and economic dynamism and considers urbanization as an indicator of development and vice versa. Further, urbanization, economic growth and development are intricately linked with each other. Yet, there is a huge difference between economic growth and

development. Generally urbanization has been associated with economic development and a process of growth. In this course, economic growth and economic development have been used interchangeably to highlight the positive aspects of urbanization; however, growth and development are inherently distinct and it becomes imperative to make this distinction clear at the outset before going into some of the problematic aspects of urbanization in India. It would give us a better understanding of the process as well as the problems that it entails.

1.4.1 “Growth” and “Development”

Both the Economic growth and economic development are important concepts and reflects the health of an economy rather in different ways. Growth is basically a convenient empirical and analytical category which is measured in terms of GDP, GNP, national income and labour productivity. It does not reflect the normative concerns of development (Acharya, et al., p. 204). When we are trying to understand human development then economic growth becomes a narrow approach that masks the imbalances and inequality that might exist in a society. Economic growth is contrasted with development vis-à-vis quality of life, health, literacy and other aspects of well being that are of greater relevance. Economic growth does not take into account many dimensions of quality of life.

Development on the other hand is a multidimensional and normative concept which is “almost synonymous with improvement” and with “improving the quality of life”. Values are central to development which would determine the ways in which goals would be prioritized. Subsequently, it is also important to make a distinction between ‘Human development’ and ‘Human welfare’ which sees people as ‘beneficiaries rather than as participants’ the former considers human being as means to increase income and wealth rather than end per se.

Economists are of the view that economic growth is crucial in the early stages of nation building and reconstruction, which also helps in achieving greater national autonomy and power status. Moreover, it has also been recognized that it is important to address social issues of poverty, unemployment and widespread imbalances. Notwithstanding this it should not be overlooked that the desire of rapid economic growth in the hope of trickledown effect gives rise to new inequalities and perpetuates the old ones (ibid). As we analyze the growth story of India in the third chapter it

becomes more evident how the already existing inequalities were reinforced and liberalization gave rise to new forms of inequality. The proponents of structural reforms and liberalization consider it as the prime factors behind opening up of large window for global investment, rise in indigenous investment and creation of job opportunities (Kundu, 2011). Besides, connecting the Delhi economy to global economy has further provided impetus for the accelerated economic growth of over 8 per cent witness in the past decade. The 11th five year plan of India (2007-12) explicitly endorsed this concept by stating urbanization as an key indicator of economic and social development and that the cities would serve as engines of economic growth for achieving the growth rate of 9 to 10 per cent in the coming years (Kundu, 2011, p.1). The idea has faced huge resistance from the scholars who have highlighted that high growth rate has not translated into better job opportunities and decline in poverty rather accentuated the regional and interpersonal inequality (ibid).

“Poverty, inequality and patterns of economic change directly or indirectly shape health policy and health outcomes” (Kim, et al., 2000, p.11). Economic development conflated with economic growth has been identified as a necessary and sufficient condition to address the issue of poverty (ibid). Hence the long held assumption of economic growth in itself is sufficient condition to address social issues like poverty and rising inequality has come under scrutiny, with the present growth pattern leading to rising inequality that exacerbates the existing situation. This raises questions over the validity of the notion that free market capitalism is the only way for growth and development.

Proponents of economic growth further accentuates the existing notion that the inequalities arising due to this type of growth pattern would eventually diminish, as more and more countries become competitive in the market driven global economy. Therefore those committed towards fighting poverty and reducing inequality must prioritize modernization, economic globalization and growth as their prime objective (ibid, p.13).

World Health Organization time and again has noted the role of ‘poverty’ and socioeconomic factors in determining the health of people. More recently in commission on social determinants of health it reiterates the need to address the issues of inequality and social injustice, alter the power dynamics within communities and

classes that influences the access to resources to improve the health of people. WHO underscores that “poverty signifies brutal suffering and premature death for those in its grasp” it is the “main reason why babies are not vaccinated, clean water and sanitation is not provided and curative drugs and other treatment unavailable” poverty is the chief cause of “reduced life expectancy, disability and starvation” (ibid, p.14).

It also highlights that poverty and inequality has been on the rise in many parts of the world that have witnessed high economic growth and makes us skeptical about the proposition that economic growth is the panacea for all the social ills. In addition, it also directs us to understand the political causes for high differential in socioeconomic and health indicators. Because it is the political character of these decisions that certain interests are privileged and distributed resources at the expense of the others (ibid). Therefore the relationship between economy and health is inseparable from the question of power-who wields it, how and to what ends.

The ongoing economic processes cannot be understood in vacuum and can't be seen as independent of the political structures and choices. Subsequently, it becomes pertinent to look at and dig upon the history to have a sense of the contemporary politics of growth. This would lead us to address serious looming concerns such as ‘how is the current trajectory and pathway of economic growth will affect the current state of persistent mass poverty and inequality.

1.4.2 An Overview of the Approaches to Understanding Urbanization

This section provides an overview of the different set of studies which have attempted to understand urbanization in the light of the preceding section where we have discussed different definitions and perspectives. The studies focusing on demographic analysis and spatial processes account for a large number of studies. These studies focus on the population dynamics of the cities and housing and infrastructure mainly for the poor. Besides, how migration of people towards cities impacts the existing dynamics. The other set of researchers talk about the cities where slum, informal settlements and gated residential complex coexists. The areas dominated by slums and other informal settlements have been recognized as “shadow cities” and some have claimed that we are already a “planet of slums” (Cohen, 2007, p.1). However, there has been a failure on the part of researchers to illuminate the role of policy makers

and hostile nature of urban policies, severe economic deprivation that people living in slums face on day today basis in addition to the technical and institutional problem.

The other set of studies focus on “global cities” and view cities as engines of economic growth. In the era of globalization cities are being economically and socially restructured to connect with the global economy and generate global capital. They identify “urban linkages” and “networks” within the global economy that gets embedded in local economic and spatial structures such as infrastructure (ibid, p.2). In addition, the rates of interests as an investment have declined in the developed countries and have reached saturation. Therefore the global institutions are targeting more low and middle income countries as an investment destination (Kundu, 2017). These set of studies focus on generation of global capital and its role in generating employment especially in the high end sectors viz. financial sector and technology. These studies are limited in their approach in a way do not explain the overall capital formation processes, city wide pattern of employment creation, the role of declining wages and labour rights, declining state welfare and social security measures in process of capital formation.

The other set of studies includes geographical studies which see urbanization primarily as the movement of people from one place to other mainly from rural to urban. It focuses on the morphology of the cities, how the size and shape of the city has changed with respect to its functions. It explains the changes in a city over a period of time taking into consideration the historical perspective. However, it fails to take into account the economic mechanisms and fails to address some of the pertinent questions like processes of building cities, how the city is built, how urban capital is created (Cohen, 2007, p.2).

As a result of the limitation of the studies being discussed many “oversimplified” if not reductionist solution has been proposed (ibid). For example the magic bullet of land tenure regularization, private property rights and privatization of the urban services such as water, sewerage and waste management to address the ills of urbanization. However, these proposition have failed because the originating grounds of these propositions are itself flawed as Cohen (2007) explains that private property rights without infrastructure does not leads to improved housing and the privatization of the services embedded in the efficiency argument that it would improve the

efficiency of the services to the clients has not worked and been proven problematic in various global cities where it's the constitutional duty and responsibility of the state to provide the services.

However, this conventional wisdom is not a product of merely the research which has been conducted in the realm of 'urban studies'. Rather is a combination of conferences and seminars being organized by the transnational agencies such as World Bank and United Nations through United Nations' Centre for Housing, Building, and Planning, UN Habitat commission meeting and international conference, urban debates going on the academic as well as development domains and various local and international institutions working in the area of urban development. However one of the important shortcomings that have come to the fore is that they have failed to gauge the regional, national and local differences and have ignored emerging local conditions (Cohen, 2007, p.3).

There emphasis has been on the domains like demographic growth, infrastructure, housing, slums, urban poverty, and issues of governance, informal sector, poverty, security and safety. Despite of this their approach is limited by time and space and relatively static (ibid). Cohen argues that these perspectives have been articulated irrespective and independent of the global financial crisis and national political change. Further, the global economic forces and characteristics of the local economies forms an important part of the urban discourse and should be analyzed with due importance. Eventually placing his argument to the fore viz. an attempt is being made by most of the researchers to understand the city through the house and bathroom rather than through the workplace or market which creates a fundamental gap in the international conventional wisdom about the economy of the city. Hence he directs researchers to inquire into the domain of the crisis of urban capital, land and labour and critically understand the dynamics operating between them. The above discussion raises many pertinent questions that need to be explored to understand the process of urbanization the way it is unfolding in Delhi. These questions are being discussed in the subsequent sections on scope of the study and research questions and objectives of the study. Besides, majority of the ideas, concepts and issues raised in the present section also resonates in the discussion of the next section where policy makers and researchers share their empirical experiences and research findings.

1.4.3 Alternative Perspectives on Urbanization

This section of the chapter compiles the perspectives presented by some of the policy makers and researchers present during a two day national consultation forum “Re-Imagining Indian Cities: A National Consultation on Inclusive Urban Spaces” organized by Indo-Global Social Service Society (IGSSS) on 13th to 14th November 2017. Ms. Atishi Marlana was invited to deliver the inaugural address on the theme “New Initiatives on Decentralization and Urban Governance in Delhi” and Dr. Amitabh Kundu delivered the key note address on “Urbanization and Urban Poverty”. In addition, the section documents and borrows from the diverse range of views and data presented during the thematic discussion on “Changing Nature of Indian Cities and its relationship with the Urban Poor” by various researchers, development professionals and social activists.

Atishi Marlana ¹ while highlighting the policies and approach of the government towards addressing the urban issues she candidly presented her views on the issues of rising inequality, issues of slums and the power relations among the different communities. She said “Earlier 75-80 per cent of the Delhi government budget was being spent on 20-25 per cent of the population” (Marlana, 2017). This highlights one of the most important aspects of the urban planning and resource distribution. Most often planners cite the scarcity of the resource for non availability of the services for certain population neglecting the distributional aspect. Therefore she argues that “inequality is inherently built into our planning and policies” that has led to division of the city into two clear forms. When we look at the morphological of the city Delhi we have two types of localities, on one side gated colonies and residential complexes and on the other slums and informal settlements.

The second issue that she highlighted is the power dynamics operating between these communities. While citing various anecdotes, she talked about one of the initiatives of the AAP government to ensure access to water supply to the residents of both authorized and unauthorized colonies. While doing so she also recalled her experiences with residents of the colonies where people use to get water supplied twice a day. This was later reduced to once a day as water was also being supplied to

¹ Notes taken during a presentation on “New initiatives on Decentralization and Urban Governance in Delhi” a National Consultation on Inclusive Urban Spaces. Organized by Indo-Global Social Service Society.

the adjacent slums in the same locality. There was a huge resistance from the residents as they said that we are in favour of water being supplied to slums as well as the other unauthorized colonies however, not by reducing the quantity of water supplied to us. This shows the negotiating power and the demand for resources irrespective of the needs of poor. This also shows how different communities coerce the state to divert resources at the cost of others mainly lacking a political voice despite of being more in numbers. Therefore she accentuates that “changing the balance of power” is the way forward and also one of the fundamental thing that has to be done to make our programs and policies more inclusive of the urban poor (ibid).

A part from this she also touched upon the issue of decentralization. Emphasizing that “decentralization needs to be institutionalized” for our programs and policies to be more poor oriented in order to ensure the benefits of these programs percolate to the poor. Furthermore, policies should be driven from the subjective felt needs of these people rather than objectifying their needs from our point of view.

While taking forward the discussion Prof. Amitabh Kundu² also shared some of the anecdotes which accentuates that the power dynamics is tilted towards favouring the “middle class” which has started asserting their demands in a more authoritative and powerful ways and coercing the state to work on their behalf. Therefore when we analyze these trends from the growth and development approach the benefits of growth has not been distributed proportionally to the population. Though growth has happened however, the distribution of benefits is highly skewed towards one community. This is determined by the power to demand for allocation of resources.

Highlighting the faulty nature of policies and programs he opined that they will continue to be so, as long as only 25 per cent of the existing slums are tenable and the rest as being non tenable. This automatically makes them out of the purview of government (Kundu, 2017). Further he argues that making the city slum free is not to get rid of them by evictions and demolition but to provide them with a better living with improved means of livelihood, housing and basic services. The urban poor should not be looked as parasites as they are the one who build cities and are major

² Notes taken during a presentation on “Urbanization and Urban Poverty” during a National Consultation on Inclusive Urban Spaces. Organized by Indo-Global Social Service Society.

contributors to the economy. Hence they cannot be excluded from the development discourse in the name of formal economy.

Another researcher shed light on the nature of the ongoing evictions and demolitions drive by linking it with 'Urban Modernity' and the notion of "Informal settlements blocking the development process so they must be mercilessly evicted³". This should be examined from the prism of politics of land control and capital accumulation and notions of global cities. Slums have been defined as 'dangerous' for the neighbouring localities and are also seen as eye sores for the cities. This attitude of the state exemplifies the changing relationship between the state and urban poor. Earlier the state resorted to an informal approach to address the issues of informal settlements, however, now we have this public- private partnership, corporate companies, and different agencies involved as stakeholders for addressal of the issues.

The prevalent notion that world is increasingly becoming urban and has already become 50 per cent urban. This is going to increase in the years to come; Prof. Amitabh Kundu was sceptical of the proposition that in the coming time it is expected to become more urban. Contrary to this he highlighted the trends which shows that growth rate of the urban population has declined due to the exclusionary process of urbanization and changing nature of the cities.

Premature deindustrialization in Asia and more so in India is an issue of concern. This has led to shrinkage of the employment and absorption of labour. Trends show that the share of industries in the total income has declined from one third to only 23 per cent. Kundu argues that in developing countries if this starts' happening then it is an issue of concern. Furthermore, as per the World Bank estimates in Asia by 2030, 54 per cent of the population will be in urban areas (World Bank). Therefore he proposes that manufacturing sector has to be expanded in a bid for labour intensive industrialization rather than human less industrialization. The urban discourse and urbanization cannot be separated from labour which is an integral part of the process.

The trend of declining rural urban growth differential is also of concern. In India during 1970s to 1980s the urban growth rate had started declining and it further

³ Marina Joseph- panel discussion on "Changing Nature of Indian Cities and its relationship with the Urban Poor". National Consultation on Inclusive Urban Spaces. Organized by Indo-Global Social Service Society.

declined in 1991-2001 (Table 1.1 & 1.2). This shows that there are issues of exclusion and to some extent there have been restrictions imposed in the cities as the migration of poor is not taking place at the rate as predicted. Here the question of inclusivity of the cities becomes imperative with this kind of trends.

Table 1.1

Trends in Urbanisation in India (1961-2011)			
Census Year	Urban Population (in million)	Percentage Urban	Annual Exponential Urban Growth Rate (%)
1961	78.94	17.97	-
1971	109.11	19.91	3.23
1981	159.46	23.34	3.79
1991	217.18	25.72	3.09
2001	286.12	27.86	2.75
2011	377.10	31.16	2.76

Table 1.2

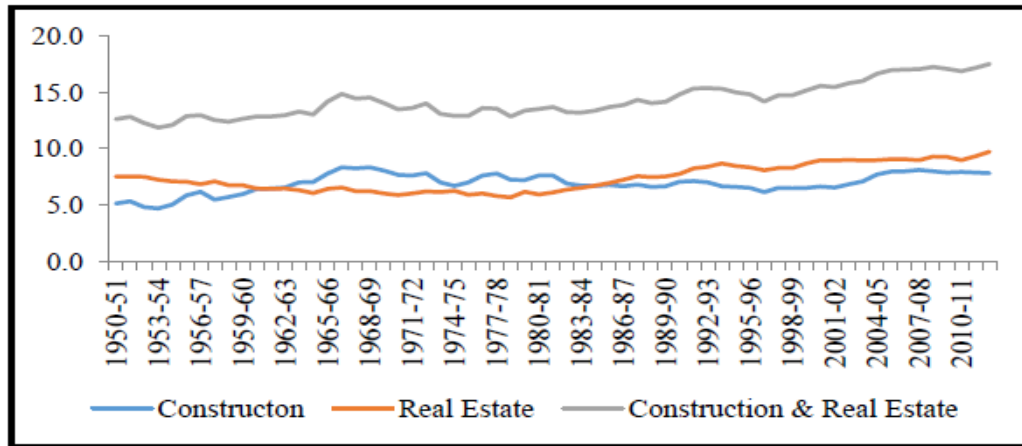
Urban-Rural Population Growth Differentials (1971-2011)			
Decade	Rural	Urban	Urban-Rural Growth Differentials (Annual Exponential Growth Rate, in %)
1971-81	1.76	3.79	2.03
1981-91	1.80	3.09	1.29
1991-2001	1.69	2.75	1.06
2001-2011	1.15	2.76	1.61

Source: Census of India cited in BHAGAT, 2011, p.11. Source: *ibid*.

Enhancing economic productivity of cities by connecting with the global economy and becoming an investment destination were also deliberated upon. Due to the declining rates of interests as an investment in the developed countries, the global financial institutions are targeting more low and middle income countries for higher returns. The construction sector and real estate has served as source of capital investment as well as capital accumulation. There has been unprecedented expansion of the construction companies and real estate agencies in the past two and half few decades. The construction sector and real estate has been one of the largest contributors towards GDP. The construction sector grew at the rate of 10.6 per cent during 2000-01 to 2011-12 (Srivastava, 2016, p.2). Besides, real estate contributed to 9 per cent of the GDP in the year 2011-12 (*ibid*). Therefore these industries become destination for investments for global financial institutions. Figure 1.1 shows the growth of the industries in post independence period.

Figure 1.1

Percentage Share of Construction and Real Estate in GDP at Factor Cost



Source: Central Statistics Office cited in Srivastava, 2016, p.2.

One important trend which has been highlighted by both Sanjay Srivastava in ‘Entangled Urbanism’ and Amitabh Kundu is that there is “elite capture” of the resources along with that the “middle class” has becoming powerful. Therefore the whole growth and development discourse revolves around them. To satisfy the needs and aspirations of this dominant section government formulates policies. The urban poor have been made invisible in this process.

The preceding discussion by scholars and policy makers highlight the need to understand cities and its dynamics from the growth and development framework. It further directs us to locate the urban poor in the contemporary milieu where neoliberal policies combined with changing paradigm of the urban discourse is making the cities exclusive.

Proponents of the economic growth advocate that urban poverty has declined in recent times. Economists measure it as a proxy of the household income which doesn’t takes into account multidimensional deprivation that poor face in cities. The euphoria of millennium development goals being achieved has overlooked the issues of heightened vulnerability and inequality in cities. The gap between income poverty and multidimensional poverty is widening. Further the gap between the proportion of poor living in slum and non-slum areas is largest in Delhi (Gupta, et al., 2009, p.19).

The alternate approach of looking at the process of urbanization is through increasing inequality and multidimensional poverty in cities. The cost of growth and its benefits are not even and neither are they random in terms of allocation (United Nations

Centre for Human Settlements, 2001). There is an unprecedented polarization of wealth and concentration of resources which is an alarming concern. The nature of Indian cities has transformed tremendously especially post liberalization. The nature and extent of urbanization has taken a completely different form compared to the post colonial era where extreme social and economic contradictions are evident where well planned serviced areas co-exist with slums (Tiwari, et al., 2015).

An ever increasing number of people are living in fragile social and economic conditions. The present growth pattern would further deepen the existing social and economic division prevailing in cities. Therefore it is important to bring in the rights based approach into the present discourse.

1.5 Scope of the Study

Drawing from the work of scholars like Sanjay Srivastava idea of “exclusive cities” and Amitabh Kundu conceptualization of cities as sites of economic growth and subsequent economic restructuring of cities, the current study attempts to understand urban inequalities and its implications for public health. A paradigm shift is evident in the last two decades vis-à-vis development discourse and policies. There is a new discourse which is being posited where cities are viewed as new engines of growth therefore the role of capital formation, land and land policies are central to understanding these processes. On the other hand cities are also envisioned as ‘modern’ ‘dynamic’ and ‘creative’ places (Srivastava, 2014). This leads to the idea of exclusivity of the cities.

Building on these observations the present study focuses on the ongoing process of transformation of Delhi and its changing relationship with the urban poor. It attempts to highlight the recent trends and understand the process of urbanization from the framework of growth and development. The study attempts to cover and deliberates upon the following aspects of urbanization in Delhi:

- a. The major theoretical disciplines and theories, their contribution to the understanding of urbanization along with the shortcomings.
- b. Relationship between capital and labour in relation to urban growth.
- c. The question of labour, labour welfare and its working and living conditions.
- d. The issue of land, land control policies and how urban land is related to the present problems?

- e. Nature of policies and the issues of disconnect between urban policy and programs for provisioning of housing, water and sanitation.
- f. High level of capital formation by state and expanding informal sector leading to social problems such as unfair wages and high inequality.
- g. To understand the class phenomena associated with urbanization through the “middle class” exclusive strategies that leads to capitalism and consumerism manifested in increasing number of gated communities and segregated residential areas.
- h. Why Delhi has such a high proportion of population residing in slums and unauthorized colonies with inadequate infrastructure and deprived civic amenities.
- i. How do we create engines of economic growth supported by the rhetoric that everybody benefits from it? In this context what kind of economic growth and development are we talking about?

1.6 Research Questions

To examine the relationship between state and urban poor and how the urban poor is coping with the evolving nature of the city Delhi, the study attempts to explore the following specific questions.

- a. To understand the relationship between urban land, capital and labour in relation to urban growth to further unpack their role in the present urban discourse.
- b. What are the “New Middle Class” mentality that leads to capitalism and consumerism vis-à-vis increasing number of gated communities and segregated residential areas?
- c. Why Delhi has such a high proportion of population residing in slums and its role in modernizing economy in the form of expanding size of informal sector.
- d. To examine and critically analyze the nature of policies and programs directed towards addressing the issue of slums, unauthorized and resettlement colonies vis-à-vis housing, water and sanitation and health care services.
- e. How the changing paradigms of urbanization have impacted the access to public health services and as a consequence the health outcomes of the urban poor.

1.7 Aims and Objectives of the Study

Given this conceptualization, the overall aim of the study is to critically analyze the ongoing pattern of urbanization and growth model of Delhi. In particular, to untangle the relationship between development, urbanization and ‘urban modernity; the study also attempts to achieve some of the specific objectives listed below:

- A. To critically analyze the changing nature of the city Delhi and its relationship with urban poor to understand the process of urbanization and highlight emerging trends.
- B. To understand the intersections of urbanization, urban poverty, vulnerability and health.
- C. To highlight the issues of disconnect between urban policy and social problems of rising inequalities.
- D. To examine the changing landscape of provisioning of services and factors affecting the health of people.

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 Research Design

The study is primarily a ‘secondary research’ which uses a narrative review approach to understand the phenomena of urbanization and associated social inequalities in Delhi. This is done by searching literature in the form of journal articles, books, reports and thesis, in published and unpublished form. The mechanism and strategy for searching literature have been discussed in the search category. The study also uses an ‘Integrative Review’ approach and ‘Theoretical Review’ approach to present the conceptual framework and contextual evolution of theories of urbanization and urban discourse, respectively.

Besides, to get insights on the issues and trends in urbanization literature has also been collected by attending and participating in national consultation forum, seminars and workshops and summer schools. These were either directly related to the topic of the research or any of the themes, sub-themes or chapters’ of the thesis. Besides, discussion with various area experts in the form of panel discussion and a special session on a particular theme have been documented to get a better understanding of the subject and to be updated with the recent and emerging issues.

Integrative Review Approach

The chapter one which is conceptual framework uses an integrative review approach to present the conceptualization. It builds and presents the conceptualization part of the research by integrating the accumulated knowledge in the form of existing literature and the perspectives collected and documented through discussions in different forums. The study uses the 'Growth and Development' framework to understand and analyze these trends and further explore some of the specific research questions. Besides, the study builds upon the work of scholars like Sanjay Srivastava ideas of exclusive cities and the Amitabh Kundu work on urbanization and economic restructuring of the cities.

Theoretical Review Approach

The present study also incorporates 'Theoretical Review' approach subsumed in the broader narrative review approach. Under this theme, the attempt is to critically analyze the emergence and evolution of the various theories defining urbanization and their applicability in different social and economic context. The theoretical review documents various theories and discourses in the order of their relationship with the subject of urbanization and with each other and not in the chronological order.

It primarily focuses on fundamental assumptions of the theories and disciplines that shape our understanding of the process of urbanization on a global level and then in specific context, its evolution and their shortcomings in their applicability and ability to explain the process in different context. It draws from these theories and dominant discourses to contextualize and understand the process in the context of Delhi. This is done in order to highlight the recent trends in urbanization and understand its implications for health inequalities.

1.8.2 Literature Search

The study uses both primary and secondary data and literature collected in different forms. It uses the knowledge of urbanization and urban studies from the theoretical as well as contextual view points and accordingly employed a search strategy that fulfils the objectives of the study. A critical analysis of the literature published in the form of books as well as journal articles based on the search strategy was carried out by using certain key words. In addition, it also searched for reports of various governmental (NSSO, NFHS, Census) and non-governmental (NGOs and civil society organization)

and United Nations (WHO, UN Habitat etc) reports as per the requirement of the data pertaining of the urban infrastructure and development.

1.8.3 Search Terms

Following key words were used in different combination for searching literature:

Urbanization, urban development, urban policies, economic growth, growth and development, theories of urbanization, city and dominant discourses defining cities, urbanization and public health, urbanization in Delhi, slums in Delhi, health of people in Delhi, access to public health services in Delhi, trends in urbanization, consequences and implications of urbanization, slums and informal sector in Delhi etc. a combination of these key words were used to search for literature relevant for the study.

1.8.4 Selection Criteria of Studies

Exclusion criteria

The current study is not focused to study the phenomena of migration per se which has been associated with the process of urbanization and various theories and disciplines consider it as one of the prime factors for urbanizations. Therefore it does not go into the details of reasons for migration and dynamics of migration and the migratory population. The Push and Pull factors which are key for both the economic and demographic theories are not the prime focus of the present study. Notwithstanding this the study incorporates some of the aspects of migration which it discusses with regard to various theories and disciplines to understand urbanization.

The second issue which is also been widely discussed and is the primary focus of numerous studies is the growth differential between rural and urban areas. The disparity between rural and urban growth understood from the point of economic productivity and resource distribution is not the focus of the study. It does not attempt to elaborate in details of the politics of resource allocation and depriving the countryside of the resources and growth of cities at the expense of rural resources. Again in the theoretical review section it discusses some of the theories which primarily study this issue of differential growth pattern of rural and urban and the political reasons for this kind of growth pattern.

Though the informal sector is one of the key themes of the present study where it looks into the issues of wages, living and working conditions and social security measures it doesn't look into details the process of migration, dynamics of migration, reasons of migration, impact of migration on wages of labour living and working conditions of migratory population in Delhi.

Inclusion Criteria

The search for literature followed an inclusion criterion of the studies which are directly or indirectly related with the defined scope of the study, and subsequently leads to the research questions and objectives.

- Studies which look at the nature and process of urbanization drawing from different theories and disciplinary knowledge.
- Understanding urbanization vis-à-vis land control policies, capital generation and issues of labour in the urban areas.
- Implications of urbanization such as expanding informal sector and proliferation of slums and informal settlements.
- Impact of urbanization on access to public health services viz. housing, water and sanitation and health care services.
- The politics of resource allocation within the urban areas understood through the changing dynamics of class system.
- Changing nature of development and policies during pre and post liberalization period understood through emergence of new middle class.
- The governance strategies and urban policies in terms of provisioning of services in Delhi.
- Complexities and challenges of the governance structure in Delhi, and five year plans in the form of budgetary allocation for different services and communities.

1.8.5 Critical Assessment

An assessment of the journal articles and books and other resources were conducted before being included in the study. It involves a preliminary assessment of the abstract followed by a more detailed view of the source. The preliminary assessment was to ensure whether the study is related directly or indirectly to the theme of the present review and the detailed view involves whether the study adds to any of the

dimensions of the urbanization and contributes to any of the objectives and the research questions of the study. Also, if the findings of the study could be used for analysis and discussion and framing conclusion.

1.8.6 Search Strategy

The electronic search database includes mainly three search engines viz. Google Scholar, PubMed and Jstor. In addition to these data base some specific government, Non-governmental and multilateral organizations websites were accessed for retrieving the reports published. The terms mentioned in the search category were used in different combinations for searching the appropriate articles. The inclusion and exclusion criteria laid down were applied for retrieving the articles useful for the study in the first round which was followed by the manual search of the cited references in the articles.

Chapter 2-Major Disciplines and Theories that Shape the Understanding of Urbanization

2.1 Introduction and Background

This chapter examines the contribution of major disciplines to the theory of urbanization. It analytically deals with the differences in theoretical positions to understanding urbanization as a concept.

The first section of the chapter deals with macro level studies that focus on the relationship between economic development and urbanization. These studies focus on the economic productivity of the cities and attempt to understand urbanization from the perspectives of trade. It further goes on to explore the relationship between trade and urbanization. The economists and demographers focus on the dynamics of labour market and rise in urban population respectively to understand urbanization. While both the disciplines attempts to analyze the migration trends, the former sees it through its effect on labour market and wages the latter sees it as a source of urban population increase due to rising pressure on the countryside resources. The historical theory of urbanization presents a varying perspective through the disease constrains and surplus constrains arguments which is core of the urbanization post 19th century.

Besides, a large body of literature documents the micro level effects of urbanization on society and urban networks. These studies highlight the changing social and economic fabric of the cities due to urbanization and resulting inequality and poor living conditions. The issues of rising informal settlements and lack of basic amenities for a large proportion of the population living in cities are the core concern of the studies.

There are studies which focus on studying the paradox of “urbanization without growth” and over-urbanization in the context of third world countries. It highlights the large scale urbanization occurring without any growth and development and subsequently the issues of development of certain regions of the world at the expense of the other.

The second section of the chapter discusses some dominant discourses regarding the cities which attempt to understand cities from different theoretical positions. While

some view cities as sites for restructuring of spaces and reproducing capitalism other provides different understanding of cities as Authoritarian city, cosmic city, collective city and cities from Marxists and feminist's perspective. The neo-liberal perspective which underpins majority of the contemporary urban discourse and processes pertaining to the cities it gives a detailed and alternate view to understand the ongoing process of economic and social restructuring of the cities.

2.2 Theories of Urbanization

2.2.1 Economic Theory of Urbanization

Urbanization has always been understood as an obvious by-product of economic development. Studies have also established a positive correlation between urbanization and development. Since the emergence of development economics in the mid of the 20th century the economic theory of urbanization has dominated the academic as well as policy measures. The fundamentals of the economic theory of urbanization is premised on the relationship between 'spatial dynamics of the labour market' and 'structural economic change' and (Fox, S., 2012, p.287). Moreover as the modern sector expands which mainly includes manufacturing and services it attracts surplus labour from less productive areas as agricultural sector to cities and towns. Furthermore, the wage gap between the rural and urban areas provides an impetus for rural to urban migration which is also known as 'push factor'. Therefore the basic premise of economic model is rural-urban migration during the early phases of industrialization attributable to the higher wages in the urban areas.

Globalization and industrialization made migration of labour across the world a common phenomenon. The process of industrialization gave rise to urbanization. The genesis of industrialization could be traced back to mid of the eighteenth century in Britain where less than 20 per cent of the population lived in cities. However by the 1900 the proportion of people living in cities has gone up to 74 per cent (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p.219).

There is huge inter-state migration in search of livelihoods. The movement of labour, especially from the EAG (Empowered Action Group) states to metropolitan cities increased. The movement of the labour from rural to urban areas due to infrastructural developments in the urban settings has been one of the prime reasons for migration. In addition, there are various factors attributable for migration and push and pull

factors are two such major factors. The former includes low level of urbanization and poor infrastructure, low educational attainment, low level of skills, unemployment, landlessness and social problems like social identity based atrocities for out migration. The pull factors on the other hand include the employment opportunities created by urbanization and industrialization along with social security measures, better health and education facilities.

Over Urbanization

Over urbanization is the term used to describe the process of urbanization in the third world countries. The urbanization has not been labour intensive and not dependent on manufacturing or industrialization contrary to the western countries. The term refers to process of urbanization in the absence of growth of wages and creation of employment opportunities in the urban areas (Fox, 2012, p.287). It has further deprived a large section of the urban and rural population of the benefits of economic development. This model of growth and urbanization was described as “over urbanization” (Davis and Golden 1954 cited in Fox, 2012, p.287). The main reason behind the genesis of the term “over-urbanization” was the contradiction and deviation from the postulates of the classic dual-economic model of urbanization (Fox, S., 2012, p.287). It ascribes this deviation as a result of market failure to efficiently allocate labour between urban and rural areas.

Harris Todaro proposed a different model in 1970 to understand the phenomenon of “over urbanization” (ibid). It shifted the emphasis from the rural urban wage differential to understanding the factors influencing the individual migration decisions. He further explains that a large proportion of migration is a consequence of the of government intervention directed at distorting the wages in the labour market that leads to rise in wages of few and thus raising the expectation of the masses in the rural areas that further leads to the attraction of labour. The postulates of this model is premised on the state interventions in the form of formulating policies of legal minimum wages, wage equalization and other measures that leads to improved welfare of the workers.

Although evidence suggests an strong association between level of urbanization and economic development with improvement in some of the indicators such as per capita income and improved economic productivity, however, both the classic economic

model of urbanization and Todaro model have produced ambiguous results with respect to the wage-differential argument which accounts only for a marginal proportion of the variation across countries in terms of rates of urbanization (Mazumdar 1987; weeks 1995; Becker and Morrison 1995; Fay and opal 2000; Lall, Selod, and Shalizi 2006 cited in Fox, S., 2012, p.288). Moreover these models also failed to understand the role of the large informal sector also known as “third sector” which has absorbed a large proportion of the migrant workers in the urban informal sector (Bhattacharya 1993 cited in Fox, S., 2012, p.288).

During the initial days of growth these were described as transitory in nature which would gradually disappear as the economy grows and become much mature. However that has not happened rather the sector has further expanded mainly in the developing countries. Economic restructuring since 1990 has had a huge impact on the labour market both positively as well as in negative terms. Since then, labour market has witnessed drastic changes along with some of the looming concerns viz. increasing informalization of the workforce, casualization of labour, decline in social security and welfare measures and decline in work participation of females. Besides, there has been a consistent shift of labour from agriculture to non-agriculture sector in the absence of any substantial wage increment and improvement in living conditions.

Many qualitative and quantitative studies provide evidence of non economic motives for migration which includes gender discrimination, social prestige, women to join their husbands and work together in cities etc. Hence the wage-differential mechanism does not account for the primacy of rural urban migration. This is further being described from alternative narrative viz. urbanization without development which is case of urbanization in most of the developing countries.

2.2.2 Demographic Theory of Urbanization

Urbanization is primarily considered as a demographic phenomenon which involves movement of people from one place to other mainly from rural to urban landscape. However, all spatial movement does not necessarily account for urbanization. As people also migrate within the rural areas from one village to other however; this rural to rural migration does not contribute to the influx of people in urban area and are not considered as a factor for urbanization. The rural to rural migration accounts for almost two third of the total migration at any point of time (Ramachandran, 1992, p.

91). It is further explained by the temporary and permanent movement of the agricultural labourers to the areas with increased agricultural activities. Ramachandran delineates three types of spatial movement which are important for urbanization, these are as follows:

- a. Migration of people from villages to cities and towns. This pattern of movement leads to urbanization which is also characterized as macro urbanization.
- b. Migration of people from smaller towns and cities to large cities and capitals which leads to Metropolization.
- c. Overflow of metropolitan population to the urban fringe villages which leads to suburbanization.

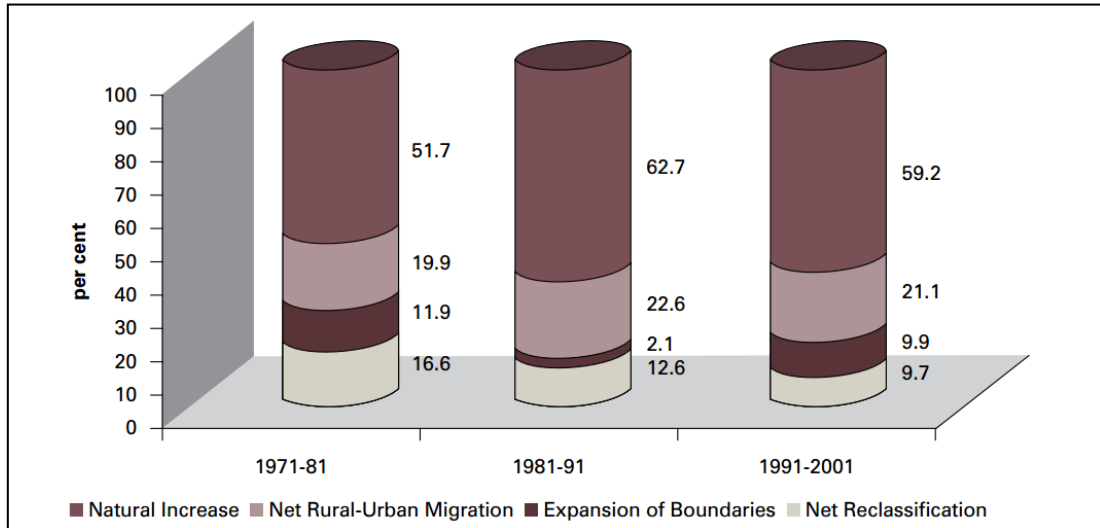
The basic tenets of the demographic theory of urbanization is the 'population dynamics' and to understand the relationship between the rates of urbanization and urban population growth. People migrate to the cities for various reasons viz. employment, better wages, social security, education and health. The prime focus is to understand the dynamics of urban population growth.

There are essentially two sources of urban population growth as discussed (Cohen 2003 cited in Fox, 2012, p.288). In addition, one more source has been added that also accounts for a marginal proportion of urban population growth.

- a. **Natural increase**- decline in secular mortality rate ahead of fertility decline in urban areas leads to rise in urban population irrespective of net rural urban migration.
- b. **Rural urban migration**- is also known as most proximate cause of urbanization. The proponents of rural urban migration influenced by Malthusian argument propose that rise of population in rural areas stimulated by overall decline in mortality has put a greater stress on limited agricultural resources in the rural areas. The already practiced subsistence farming has further led to decline in living standards. The combination of these factors acts as 'push factors' that attract people to the cities.
- c. **Net rural-urban classification**- cities expands vertically as well as horizontally. Third factor contributing to urban growth is expansion and

redefining of city boundaries and emergence of new cities and towns as a result of market forces.

Fig 2.1- Sources of Urban Population Growth



Source: Census of India cited in Ahluwalia et al., 2011, p.11.

Urbanization in India is driven by combination of these factors. If we look at the population dynamics for the last two decades as shown in the figure 2.1; natural increase accounts for highest increase led by net rural urban migration followed by reclassification of boundaries. Natural increase has become the prime source of increase in population only due to decline in the secular mortality rate in cities. Otherwise the high mortality rate in the cities required migration from rural areas for loss of workers and net increase was nil in terms of absolute increase in population. Migration only replaced the decline in population due to mortality. Therefore it is difficult to deduce that onset of demographic transition is necessary or in itself a sufficient condition for urbanization. Notwithstanding this historical demographers consider demographic transition as prerequisite and sufficient condition for urbanization (ibid).

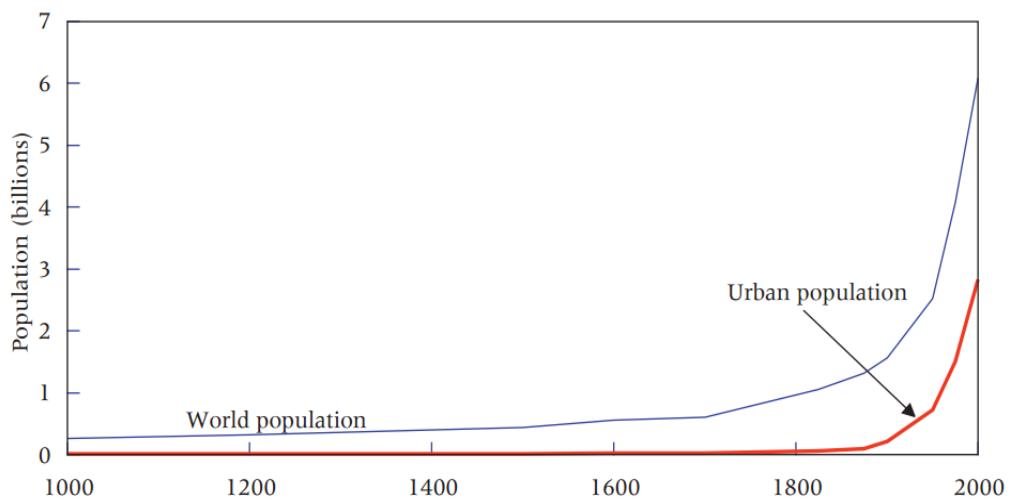
2.2.3 Historical Theory of Urbanization

The historical theory of world urbanization argues that the process of urbanization should not be viewed solely as economic or demographic process however, rather it a “global historical process driven by population dynamics associated with technological and institutional changes” (Fox, S., 2012, p.285).

Historical theory like the demographic theory accentuates on understanding the population dynamics however, it associates this change in dynamics as a result of technological and institutional changes which are contextual and country specific however influenced by global processes.

One key observation in terms of urban population is that it has never gone beyond 5 per cent of the world population until the advent of 19th century. In case of India the urban population fluctuated between 5 to 12 per cent between 6th to 19th centuries (Ramachandran, R., 1992). Post 19th century there has been rise in population of cities and an upward trend is evident (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2- World Population and Level of Urbanization



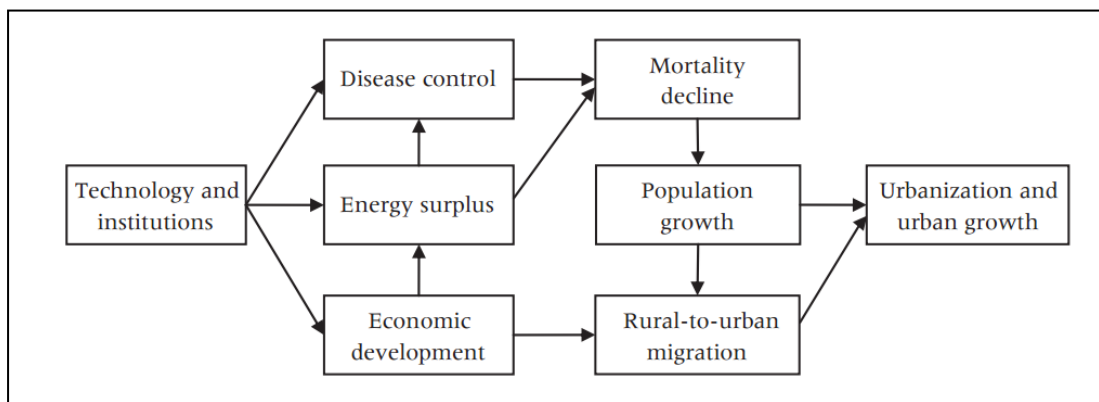
Source: Sean Fox 2012, p.290.

The factors attributed by the historical demographer's vis-à-vis the rise of population in the cities are that earlier cities were not conducive to live due to lack of proper sanitation and portable drinking water and environmental pollution. Besides, the environmental conditions provided an ideal ground for breeding and spread of infectious and parasitic diseases. These all conditions combined to make cities dangerous and unfavourable place to live. The eighteenth century cities were characterized by high mortality rate which outnumbered the birth rates in the urban population. It also served as a key deterrent to natural rise in population in cities. Due to this the cities had to depend on the migration of people from rural areas to replace the workforce lost due to mortality. Therefore the historical demographers argues that migration of people from rural to urban has been a consistent feature since the cities

has come to existence and a certain level of movement always existed irrespective of morbidity and mortality keeping all other factors constant.

The key tenets of the historical theory are “technological and institutional innovations” that occurred in the 18th and 19th century led to overall improvement in the living conditions making cities a safe and secured place to live. Figure 2.3 depicts the pictorial representation of the historical theory of urbanization where technological and institutional changes lead to economic development and fulfils the demand for labour when the non agricultural sector expands.

Figure 2.3- Historical Theory of Urbanization



Source: Sean Fox 2012, p.294

While these innovations emerged in Europe first however, the benefits of these innovations gradually started percolating to the other nations of the world. With this being the driving force for rise in population there are numerous other factors that have led to this change in population dynamics. These are colonialism, international trade and the emergence of international organizations in the realm of trade and health during the post colonial period collectively led to the decline in mortality and fostered economic development. This is one of the reasons for spurious inferences drawn by many researchers that economic development is the motive force behind urbanization.

2.2.4 Disease Constraint Theory

The disease constraint argument put forward by the historical demographers attempts to understand the demographic transition vis-à-vis decline in mortality as a result of disease control. Reduced burden of disease contributes to rise in urban population mainly in three ways (Fox, 2012, p.290). Firstly, allows the natural increase to surpass the level zero, secondly, increased demographic pressure in the countryside spurring

migration and thirdly, rural migrants becoming a source of urban population growth instead of acting as a source for compensating the lost urban population.

Further, augmenting the argument Dayson (2010) says that “no population that has experienced a reduction in its death rate from a high level to a low level has failed to urbanize” (ibid, p.290). Hence secular decline in the mortality rate has been associated with rise in population and further precondition for urban population growth and urbanization.

2.2.5 Surplus Constraint Theory

Taking forward the discussion in the preceding section along with decline in mortality and improvement of living conditions, surplus of energy is a requirement for the cities to exist. This surplus of energy in the form of food and fuel is required to support a large non agricultural population in the cities. Furthermore, the size of urban population is a function of quantity of surplus energy which is further determined by agricultural productivity and transportation cost (Bairoch 1988 cited Fox, 2012, p.291).

Low agricultural productivity along with high transportation cost posed a limitation to the process of urbanization. Therefore the traditional cities started emerging mainly in the areas naturally conducive for agriculture like fertile river valleys. Hence the basic premise of the “surplus constraint” is expansion of food surplus as a prerequisite for urbanization, which mainly happened post advent of agricultural revolution and improved transportation.

Both the disease constraint and surplus constraint arguments identified “Confluence of social and technological changes in the northern Europe” as key factors that gave major thrust to the limited urbanization prior to the 19th century (Fox, 2012, p.293). Industrial revolution accompanied by agricultural revolution increased crop productivity. Agricultural revolution entailed numerous innovations viz. crop rotation, enclosure, conservation of fertility, seed production, mixed farming, nitrogen fertilizer and mechanization that also marks a major shift in productivity pattern (Bairoch 1988; Cameron 1997; Maddison 2007 cited in Fox, 2012, p.293). This shift from exploitive to productive agriculture took place between 1650 to 1750, when British agriculture underwent a technical revolution (McKeown, Brown and Record, 1972). This along with improvement in the means of transportation and dramatic decline in

transportation cost led to the improvements in the distribution of food across the country. As the source of production were unevenly distributed across the country transportation cost acted as a deterrent for its distribution.

On the other hand great strides were achieved in the realm of public health along with some major political institutional changes. While the former entails environmental changes such as improvement in hygiene, water and sanitation, urban planning practices, and availability of health care practices, the political changes includes private property rights and emergence of welfare state in the west. The state interventions were targeted at the provisioning of public and merit goods viz. education, health care and infrastructure which further fostered the production capacity. These all changes collectively led to a shift from the “Malthusian economy characterized by stagnant per capita income growth and high mortality to a modern growth regime characterized by secular rises in factor productivity and life expectancy” (Galor and Weil 1999 cited in Fox, 2012, p.293).

2.2.6 Modernization/Ecological Theory

In the year 1960 WW Rostow in “The stages of economic growth” proposed five stages of economic growth where it was possible for all societies to identify themselves being at one of the five categories according to their economic dimensions. These five stages are the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption. Notwithstanding the present stage all societies pass through these linear stages of growth.

There are certain fundamental assumptions that form the basic premise of these theories. First, different societies inherit different set of institutional and infrastructural patterns that further depends on their technological and economic capacities. As result the level of urbanization and development of a society cannot be separated from the stages of the onset of modernization (Kasarda, and Crenshaw, 1991, p.481).

Second, “technology is fundamentally more important than a society’s social organization” (ibid). It gives a primacy to application of technology and technological innovation and considers it key for social change while acknowledging the role of social organization in innovation and technology. These scholars view

industrialization asserting greater influence in the developing countries rather than capitalism.

Thirdly, cultural diffusion would eventually lead to a convergence of growth model of developed and developing countries irrespective of its inevitable social disequilibria (ibid, p.482). Technology is viewed as possessing logic and rationality which would outweigh and replace the older social organizations. The development of the cities in the third world country is described by “cultural lag” which refers to the inability to overcome their differential in fertility and mortality and further the rural-urban migration due to push and pull factors.

A traditional society is one, “whose structure is developed within limited production functions; with a ceiling on level of attainable output per head”. These societies are marked by limited productivity due to inaccessibility to ‘modern sciences’. As a result they are resource intensive and beyond that comprised a hierarchical social structure with limited vertical mobility. Technology is viewed as possessing power to overcome the cultural lag and improve the economic productivity. Although the benefits of mortality reducing technology have percolated to the third world nations however, the industrial and institutional modernity is yet to reach.

2.2.7 Dependency/ World Systems Theory

As modernization theorist propose that every society is being capable of development irrespective of their present stage of development, proponents of dependency theory argue that it is through “intentional coercion’ or through inherent logic of capitalism that certain populations have been underdeveloped” (Frank 1967, Galtung 1971, Wallerstein 1974, 1980, Timberlake 1985b cited in Kasarda and Crenshaw, 1991, p.482).

Samir Amin one of the theorist of world system analysis and dependency theory through his work in Africa shows how exploitation of the African natural resources and cheap labour led to the development of the first world countries. Amin argues that it is not necessary for every society to follow this pattern of growth with the case study of the African societies. The slave trade by the west to employ workers in plantation work in America, creation of a large number of industrial proletariat and transformation of Money into Capital (Marx’s M-C-M’) through primitive accumulation are the processes that describe the underdevelopment of African

societies. The use of natural resources and cheap labour by the west for their economic growth after the seventeenth century made the African societies completely underdeveloped and dependent on the west for their development (Amin, 1972). Amin uses different historical references from Africa to posit a cause and effect relationship for the current underdevelopment and dependence that pervades Africa.

There are three fundamental assumptions that underpin the dependency and world system theory. First “capitalism is a unique form of social organization” (Kasarda and Crenshaw 1991, p.483) and capitalist mode of development pattern exists. Second, capitalism require a certain form of social structure which entails individual social inequality, uneven development, unequal exchange, hierarchies and dominance structures (ibid). Finally, dependency theorists consider population dynamics, technology and social organization as endogenous facts in development and urbanization. These ecological variables are only proximate causes of urbanization which further depend on rate, depth and type of interaction with the capitalist system (ibid, pp 483).

Therefore in the developing countries the processes and structures of capitalism determines social change. Over-urbanization and the resulting expansion of the informal sector is the direct function of political repression, struggling economies however, the capitalist system needs it to subsidize formal sector workers and extract surplus.

Amin argues that while the industrial revolution marks end of the slavery system, however, it gave rise to a new process of ‘unequal exchange’. It begins with outsourcing of its people and goods to Europe with a very low and stagnating return on labour and creation of a large no of proletariat to work in mines, farms and manufacturing industries which is to a large extent similar to a large section of the people working as casual labour in the informal sector.

Hence Amin contradicts the modernization theorists by saying that “there is no traditional society in modern Africa, only dependent and peripheral ones shaped according to the needs of dominant capitalist societies” (Amin, 1972, p.524).

2.2.8 Distributive Coalition and Urban Bias Theory

An overview of the majority of the theories that attempt to define urbanization highlights the positive aspects of urbanization. It defines the urban- rural relationship as a symbiotic one where both benefits from each other. The urban centre utilizes the surplus produced by its countryside, while the latter consumes the services and finished products supplied by the former (D'souza, 1984, p. 92). The economic elites capture primacy in this whole process.

Contrary to this Olson's (1982) political theory viz. distributive coalition theory and Lipton's (1977) urban bias theory has shifted the focus from the economic elites to the political elites to understand the process of urbanization (Kasarda and Crenshaw, 1991, p.483). The urban bias theory has been long been shaping our understanding of rural realities irrespective of the recent debated in the domain of political economy which directs us to reconsider and redefine some of the tenets of the theory.

The main propositions of the urban bias theory are: one, that the "development process in the third world countries is systematically biased against the countryside" (Varshney, 2014, p.4). Second these "biases are deeply embedded in the political structures of the countries" (ibid). Therefore rural areas are poor because they lack political voice and powerless compared to the urban.

Both the theories have some fundamental assumptions in common.

- a. "political institutions by virtue of their monopoly on coercion are inherently more powerful than other institutions in shaping development" (Kasarda and Crenshaw, 1991, p.484). While the social and political elites do possess power however, their ability to greater control the country's future depends on access to political state machinery.
- b. Coalition reflects the 'shared self interest' to dominate or exert pressure on state to divert social surplus to special interest by enacting various laws and formulating policies.
- c. The motive of coalition building is not limited to economic regime but also represents distributive coalitions which manifest in the form of spatial and social bias in government public policies.

Therefore the bias against the countryside is achieved through macro and microeconomic policies that favour urban growth and leaves the rural areas deprived

of the resources. It sees most of the social ills as a result of the economic exploitation of the agriculture and exploitation made possible through government interventions (ibid).

Though urban bias is witnessed both in market and non market economies it is a distinctive feature of capitalist economies. One of the important contributions of these theories is their emphasis on the role of state as an independent actor in understanding the process of urbanization (ibid). This has been overlooked by majority of socioeconomic theories except a few such as dependency theory which considers state as an extension of the global capitalist system (Skocpol, 1977 cited in Kasarda and Crenshaw, 1991, p.484).

2.3 Major Urban Discourses

2.3.1 Cities as Sites for Primitive Accumulation and Reproducing Capitalism

The continuous restructuring and transformation of the city in terms of its economy and space could be understood from the view of reproducing the capitalist processes and ongoing process of primitive accumulation. Primitive accumulation which is an integral part of the capitalism is what has been practiced by the developed countries. Further these countries which had already witnessed high economic growth had propounded a model for economic growth and development of the newly decolonized countries which were underdeveloped, were technologically, economically and culturally backward and had persistent poverty (Aphun and Sharma, 2017). The core issue in this due course was the lack of capital. Subsequently the revised concept of development was conceptualized and proposed for the decolonized economies where means for capital generation and accumulation had to be devised.

This proposition deviated from the early classical political economists understanding of growth and development as “a process that society experiences and goes through, requiring a minimalistic state intervention for removing the factors that might act as impediments” (Aphun and Sharma, 2017, p.64). The discourse around development changed from inevitable and spontaneous process to a deliberate, rational and conscious effort at the macro level that has to be initiated. Therefore development was no longer a process that had to be “observed, described and analyzed rather a process to be introduced, initiated, sustained and monitored” (Sanyal 2007: 107 cited in Aphun and Sharma, 2017, p.64).

As a result the model being proposed by the west had to be replicated in the third world countries so that they could achieve some level of growth and then could improve some of the economic and social indicators. Economic transition by restructuring the pre-capitalist economic structures for accumulation of capital was one of the most important prerequisites.

The present pattern of growth and development process in the third world countries is marked by high rate of capital generation as well as accumulation. The process of capital accumulation that was an integral part of the five year planning in India took an intense form post economic reforms. Though capital accumulation and circulation forms the core of the process of economic development, the model of growth pattern has deviated from what was prescribed in the linear stages of development by the developed nation. Therefore different forms of capitalist as well as non-capitalist processes coexist in the present modes of production.

The process of capitalist mode of production and growth has once again gained importance with the advent of neoliberalism and globalization of the trade. The role of cities mainly their economic functions and their capacity to foster trade and generate capital have increasingly become important. In this due course cities have been continuously restructured for generating capital and this is what is termed as primitive accumulation. From the western model of growth and development primitive accumulation has become important for the state to deal with economic issues.

Therefore the ongoing process of transformation of cities is creation of sites for reproduction of the capitalist processes. As Neo-Marxists studies has described primitive accumulation as continuous process (Aphun and Sharma, 2017, p.65) the space continuously restructured for creating new structures as the traditional structures wither away.

Capitalism thrives on inexorable restructuring vis-à-vis “capital-wage-labour’ relations and combination of management and technology which results in revolutionizing the production process” (Chandhoke, 1988, p.1755). Further, “production and transformation of the territorial spaces” (ibid) has been inherent to the capitalist restructuring processes. Space that is “historically constructed and socially produced” becomes an important part of the process as it is concurrently the site for reproducing capitalism as well as expression of social struggle (ibid).

Therefore transformation of space is inevitable course in the process of capitalism giving rise to the social struggle. Primitive accumulation progresses through developing some spaces at the expense of others that results in some developed spaces and some underdeveloped. Space is also important in relation to capitalism because it provides “medium through which structures of a class society are produced and reproduced (ibid, p.1755). Segregation of the class has been one of the most important features of the Indian society vividly manifested in the post liberalization Indian cities.

Capitalism attempts to create structures that facilitate maximizing the profit and extraction of surplus. These structures are occupied by people who in their struggle to survive and sustain modify these structures. “As workers sought to shape their lives as individuals and as members of collectivities, they too shape the life of the city” (ibid, p.1755). Therefore, encroaching the prime land of the city through raising informal settlements acts as impediment in the process of generation and circulation of capital. Thereafter the struggle for basic amenities, public goods, access to healthcare and education, decent housing and ultimately control over space changes the spatial dynamics. Therefore the process of defining and redefining the space is shaped by the contemporary social order. The role of technology is of immense importance in the present society which has completely altered the labour process. As a result a confluence of capitalism and technological innovation has turned into a potent force with a vast ability to create and devastate structures (ibid). The present urban fabric is the manifestation of this power that has altered the labour relations and social class practices.

Therefore cities as described by Chandhoke, are the “focal points of power-social, cultural, economic, political and of social struggles (Chandhoke, 1988, p.1755).

There are mainly two impediments in the course for reproduction of capitalism in the current cities. These are resistance exerted by the working class and technological lag has deterred the extraction of the surplus value and maximization of the profits. Welfare measures and social security benefits extended by the state in the form of minimum wages and other benefits combined with obsolete management practices reduce the margins of the profits.

Since the 18th century the urban poor has always found missing from the constructed and envisioned urban space. Despite of this they devise various means to enter into the spatial arena and work in informal sector and live in squatter settlements. Seldom are they legitimately recognized as part of city and neither do their needs of daily living. Despite of their illegality the informal sector has been increasingly expanding and becoming an indispensable part of the formal economy. This is due to the contribution of the informal sector to subsidize and complement for smooth functioning of the formal sector. Sub-contracting system is one of the various means through which the sector supports the formal economy. The sub contracting system is used to mobilize and recruit unskilled labour from various parts of the country through labour contractors. This serves as a source for inducting cheap labour into the informal industries. A section of the labour force could be upgraded to the skilled labour with minimum investment of the resources and nominal wage rise. A large section of the labour also works as casual labour with less than legal minimum wages and no social security benefits. Most importantly the social networks that this sector creates facilitate its re-production.

A part from this a large section of the people working in this sector are deprived of the “collective consumption goods” available to their non-poor counterparts living in the same urban space. Consequently, the reduction in the cost of operation of the informal sector further makes it possible to extract absolute surplus (Chandhoke, 1988, p.1759). Though the state is obligated to make available these amenities to its citizens without any differentiation it gets away by according illegal status to large number of squatter settlements. Given this pattern of growth and restructuring of the urban space the question which arises is how sustainable are the cities which we have created. Can prosperity and concentration of huge wealth coexist with mass poverty, squalor and social struggle?

The “collective imagination” of the city is shaped by multiple perspectives viz. social, cultural economic and political constructs. It has never been possible to look at cities from a single construct as all the four perspectives shape each other and are further influenced by each other. Cities a result of their multiple local and global connectednesses produce different forms and spaces which are manifested in the contemporary urban fabric. Therefore as Bridge and Watson describes cities are not

just spaces meant for living however “spaces of representation and spaces of imagination” (Bridge, and Watson, 2002, p.7).

The popular imaginations of the cities or ideas are formed not just at the conscious level but are also product of unconscious desires and imaginaries (ibid). And, these ideas are shaped both by lived experiences and media representation and portrayal of the cities. While these ideas could be both positive and negative there are multiple factors that shape these ideas. To unpack the collective imagination of city it is important to deliberate upon two themes viz. “how the city affects the imagination and how the city is imagined” (Bridge, and Watson, 2002, p.1).

The three fundamental urban discourses by John Rennie Short attempt to capture the process of imagination of city. These ideas describe the urban social relations and the political forces which also resonate in major urban contemporary discourses of the city.

2.3.2 The Authoritarian City

The authoritarian view characterizes the cities as sites of social aggregation and inherently authoritarian in nature. Further cities are sites of social control and social order and at the same time individual and collective emancipation. The social order is maintained through different measures that changes from time to time. While the social control and order is maintained through discipline, order and compulsion, individual and collective emancipation is achieved through self-realization and freedom (Short, J, 2002, p.18).

While the view of emancipation is also reflected in the idea of Marx and Engels and Friedman and Nozick contrary to this, cities are also the sites for maintaining conformity. It coerces individuals and communities to conform and adhere to a series of master narratives (ibid). However, the coercion is not always successful as the cities also reflect social struggles, class struggles and are also sites for contestation and resistance. David Harvey describes cities itself as a product of “conflict and struggle” within the social groups rather than just a site for social relations (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p.215). The structures in the cities determine the resistance, contestation and further imposition to a particular narrative. Therefore the cities reflect and embody power (Short, 2002, p.19).

Power is exercised through the authority embedded in the agencies and actors which manifest in the form of police, street layouts, traffic lights etc. as a result there is an imposed structuring to our lives which is expressed in the form of power. This exertion of power is to structure our lives and behaviour and further maintain an order and discipline through surveillance and preventing transgression. Stephen Graham (2011), terms the trend of growing surveillance in the cities as “new military urbanism” (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p.215). He further notes that the technology that was devised for the war zones have transgresses into the civilian zones of the urban areas.

However the exercise of power and surveillance is not even and equal to all individuals and communities in the urban arena. Further it is exercised in multiple ways and means vary from direct coercion to conforming and maintaining community norms and standards. As exercise of power is a process which is wielded by some people over others. Therefore it is unevenly distributed and unequally imposed.

While social and class struggle is equally part of the discourse and narratives of cities however, in the contemporary cities both the struggles and resistance have either been displaced or have been diluted. Though the protests from the working class in the cities could be witnesses for demand for civic amenities and better living and working conditions however it lacks the large scale struggles for questioning and altering the social order (Short, 2002, p.21).

2.3.3The Cosmic City

It views cities as religious artefacts (Short, 2002, p.22). Though a cities has long been viewed as modern, irreligious and secular places according to the cosmic view cities have always been a reflection and embodiment of cosmologies. By unravelling the historical evolution of many ancient cities it shows that variables of the cities like its size, location, orientation and naming of the cities were linked to the connection between sacred and profane (ibid).

2.3.4 The Collective City

Collective city discourse views cities as sites of collective consumption, collective provision and functioning of the civil society (Short, 2002, p.23). The cities are shared spaces which represent joint projects, parallel and intertwined lives and externalities where illegal squatter settlement coexists along with the wealthy formal settlements.

The two important concepts that underpins the discourse of collective city are the “collective goods and services” and notion of ‘civil society’ (ibid). The anatomy of the city is evident from the provisioning of collective goods and services if it could be further fragmented into public and private provisioning and similarly the consumption as public and private. The reason this differentiation becomes important to understand the cities in contemporary times is because; a discernible shift from public to private provisioning and consumption is evident at the global level. The penetration of market in the realm of the provisioning of the civic engagements refers to the trend of decline of the Keynesian city.

Therefore the emphasis is on individualism rather than community or society. The change in provisioning and consumption is more than just the alternate ways of providing services rather poses a question to the state responsibility of the public provisioning of the civic amenities. The fiscal realities don’t justify the shift in provisioning as it is the outcome of the social and political power. A huge subsidy to the corporate interests outweighs the marginal subsidies extended to the low income households or economically weaker sections as the former is legitimized in the eyes of the state and later is delegitimized. The cities are full of paradoxes like civic obligations with individual needs, affluence with squalor and public duties with private actions (Short, 2002, p.25).

The role of the civil society is important when there is a shift from state to the market which has given rise to spatial and social inequalities. However the civil society not being a homogeneous group rather a group of entities with different interest cannot be thought of a panacea for growing social ills.

2.3.5 ‘Engendering’ the City: Feminist Perspective

Feminists see city as reflection of unequal gender relations. The architecture of the traditional cities was not inclusive or favourable to women. It was mainly according to the social norms and ascribed social role of the male and female. The transport,

streets and other public infrastructure was accordingly shaped. The women were expected to remain at home and look after the household chores and men were supposed to go out and work to earn wages. The rise of cities in the 19th century was completely based on gender separation. Women were not seen often in the streets or public spaces and men could travel across the city as they wanted.

Jo Beall (1998) argues that if social relation between men and women is defined by the power dynamics between them, then the cities demonstrate interdependence between space and power (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p.222). Therefore as a result of the male dominance in the public spaces the structure and design of the cities was such. However, with the rise of the modern cities has opened windows for women in the public spaces. Therefore the contemporary cities have opened opportunities for women who were earlier confined to home. Accordingly as many women have started participating in the public affairs the structures of the cities have changed and become accommodative. Notwithstanding the transformation of the structures cities remain hostile towards women and continue to be unsafe.

Elizabeth Wilson (2002) argues that cities offer women with opportunities contrary to the feminist's perspective which has portrayed women as passive victims in the cities (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p.222). The emergence of service industries more and more women have started taking up the white collar job in multinational companies and public sector and have entered the workforce in the cities. Therefore the cities have allowed women to escape from the unpaid labour at home (ibid).

2.4 Trade and Urbanization

The debate around trade and urbanization is a long one since the genesis of agricultural revolution. While the traditional view point says that it was the agricultural revolution which gave rise to urbanization however, contrary to this Jane Jacob (1969) proposed that it was the trade which gave rise to agriculture (Short, 2002, p.19). Further in this urban-agricultural revolution trade played an important role. Therefore the emphasis has been on the trade which was core for urbanization and agricultural revolution to take off.

The present discourse also emphasizes on the economic productivity which facilitates trade in the form of exports that has been linked to urbanization. The restructuring of the economic activities according the global market and demands, to increase exports

is an important factor for urbanization of the country. This accentuates the capacity of the cities to accommodate and manage industries to further improve exports and reduce the cost of domestic trade which is key to improve the economic productivity.

Further emphasis on the production of the modern goods that have a higher demand in the global markets is important to push urbanization. The developing countries will have to produce both the primary goods as well as the modern and tertiary goods that are more important for the global markets. Therefore the technological and cultural lag will have to be overcome to be in par with the first world economies so that they can also improve their share of exports in the global markets. The whole process linking the local industries with the global markets have become important and as a result the markets play an important role.

The more the capacity of the city to improve economic productivity by accommodating industries will lead to larger exports and lead to urbanization. The issues of urbanization without industrialization have been raised in the context of the developing countries. It is argued that has resulted in unfolding of the process of urbanization in a haphazard way which is also blamed for results in the expansion of slums and informal sector.

A study which used country panel data during the period of 1980 to 2010 to understand the relationship between trade and urbanization reveals that urbanization is an important determinant for international trade (Thia, 2016, p.867). Further with the help of empirical evidence the study could establish a relation between trade and urbanization which reinforce each other (ibid). Urbanization also improves intra-industry trade in the modern sector goods. Therefore the study concludes that trade has an impact on urbanization.

Therefore the proponents of urbanization emphasizes on improving the trade that will further improve the local domestic economic productivity. Economic restructuring and role of markets has been much emphasized in the due process. Subsequently the issues of deregulation, liberalization of the land markets to provide increased space to private entities. Similarly the neoliberal narrative particularly accentuates on deregulation and flexible planning controls. If land markets are freed from the planning control then more resources would be available to the private sector at their disposal. However the arising concern out of the neoliberal narrative is what would

happen to the re-distributional aspect of the regulation and planning and the issues of rising urban inequality.

The recent theories of urbanization refer to the process resulting out of major political and economic change rather than just being autonomous and endogenous process (Giddens, and Sutton, 2013, p.212). Therefore Harvey explains modern urbanism as continually restructuring spaces (ibid). He further goes on to highlights that the process depends on a number of factors. It includes first and the foremost where the firms would establish their factories and the government controls over land and production activities. The relative advantage is important in this process to assess the profits to be made which would determine the location of the industries. Therefore the restructuring and movement of the industries is determined by the prevailing financial market (ibid).

Harvey equates the global inequalities with the uneven spatial development between developed and developing countries. Therefore the model of growth which puts forward the idea that the developing countries need to catch up with the west is not just about the 'catching up' however "restoration of power to class elites" (Giddens, and Sutton, 2013, p.213). The whole neoliberalism debate is revolves around this issues that whether it is for the economic development of the developing economies or the implicit motive of restoring power.

2.5 Neoliberalism

The debate around neoliberalism has been dominating the academic as well as political debates during the past two decades. Many researchers and scholars have advocated that we live in an "age of neoliberalism" and "it is the dominant ideology shaping our world today" (Thorsen and Lie, 2006, p.1). Neoliberalism as apparent from its meaning is a revival of the concept liberalism. The idea of liberalism has witnessed a decline in the recent times after going through the initial stages of development. Therefore it has been pushed through a different way.

Though neoliberalism appears to be distinct ideology and having a different roots of origin compared to liberalism however, both the approaches share some of the historical roots and basic vocabulary (Thorsen and Lie, 2006, p.2). Therefore the critical literature in the domain of neoliberalism describes it as revival of one particular aspect of liberalism which is 'economic liberalism'. While economic

liberalism advocates for minimum state intervention in the economic affairs and believes in free and self regulating markets, neoliberalism on the other hand puts emphasis on individual rights and freedom combined with free market capitalism.

Individual freedom and democracy are the two primary premise of liberalism which is hardly opposed by anyone in the contemporary world. Liberal has always been associated with democratic form of governance system. It mainly gained political meaning in Spain and Sweden with the emergence of liberal parliamentary system similar to what was already established in United States and Britain (ibid, p.3). However, as the concept of liberalism started to fade and wither away and become nebulous the concept of neoliberalism was pushed to revive it in a new form.

Neoliberalism is defines as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade” (Harvey, 2007, p.2). The responsibility of the state would be to create institutional framework viz. legal structures, police, military and defence that provide conducive environment for operation and function of such approaches. Restructuring and redefining the role of the state and areas of intervention in the form of deregulation and privatization has been the main emphasis.

Since 1970s neoliberalism has become a hegemonic discourse which entailed ‘creative destruction’ not only in the form of challenging traditional institutional frameworks and state sovereignty but also altering the welfare provisions, land distribution and allocation, social relations and division of labour (ibid, p.3). This was propounded due to the looming crisis of capital accumulation during the period that further gave rise to rising inflation and unemployment. A widespread discontent was evident and the social movements in the capitalist world posed a greater threat to the capitalist system. Subsequently, the socialist parties started gaining grounds in Europe and America which was a clear threat to the ruling classes and economic elites. Labour started gaining more power and demanded a greater share of the profits. This further threatened the process of capital accumulation and dominance of economic elites.

In order to counter this threat with an alternative political and economic ideology or concept neoliberalism was propounded. Neoliberalism has replaced the Keynesian

economic approach which was dominant throughout the period 1940s to 1970s (Thorsen and Lie, 2006, p.8). Neoliberalism shifted the emphasis from poverty alleviation and full employment which was the core tenets of the Keynesian approach to less state regulations and operation of free markets.

The premise of the neoliberalism as an ideology begins with “individual freedom” and “human dignity” as fundamental and “central values of civilization” (ibid). The fundamental values underlying both the concepts liberalism and neoliberalism converge with each other.

Rising social inequality and redistributive effects are the two most detrimental impact of the neoliberalism which has mainly served as a tool to restore power for upper class elites.

Chapter 3-The Politics of Land, Labour and Capital: A Dynamics of Class Struggle and Dispossession

3.1 Introduction and Background

The political economy of development in a democratic system is about the intricacies of state, its institutions, regime and party. It also builds the premise to understand the role of state and its agencies in fostering development vis-à-vis its policies and the development model being adopted. The first section of the chapter deliberates upon the role and the nature of the state and critically analyzes the journey of India and its post-independence Nehruvian development model through the *political economy of development* perspective.

Subsequently, by taking the case study of Delhi this chapter attempts to bring in questions of land control, which have always been crucial for understanding the dynamics of power relations between different communities and classes. Besides, it focuses on “what difference does land control makes”; as the land is concurrently the site for livelihoods, revenue production and exercise of power. It re-examines some of the historical processes of land control, policies being formulated and politics behind it.

The next section discusses on how the liberalization reforms carried out in 1990s laid the grounds to develop Delhi as a global city. It also marks the beginning of many new processes (economic and social) which has since had a profound significance on India. The question of land and capital accumulation by the state comes to the fore and captures the centre stage in the light of the intensifying process of demolitions and evictions of the slums and informal settlements which is concomitant with the emergence of the “new middle class”.

This is followed by the analysis of the ‘new middle class’ which is important to highlight the strategies and mechanisms of capital conversion, and the exclusionary social practices which marks the distinguishing feature of the class. The question of the constantly expanding informal sector, the proliferation of slum and informal settlements, the issue of “elite capture” as well as the burgeoning power of the “middle class” is deliberated upon in this chapter. Through this the chapter attempts to understand the changing relationship between state, civil society and the urban poor

by highlighting changing strategies to deal with poor, rising inequality and vulnerability and asserting claims over space and mechanisms of capital accumulation.

3.2 Conceptual Background: Relationship between State, Regime and Party

To understand the political economy of development in a democratic system it is imperative to unravel the relationship between state institutions and political parties. It is to further extend this understanding to contextualize the implication of the policies and development model being adopted. A variation exists in the ability of the states to carry out social change, as Atul Kohli's description of the state autonomy states, "it is largely a function of type of regime wielding the state power" (Gupta, 1989, p.790).

The role of the state in economic development is a much talked about topics at least since the middle of the 20th century. The literature in development economics that emerges from the experiences of the developing countries gives us some fresh perspective. The issues that have come to the fore in the recent years are the failures of interventionists and regulatory states. The traditional literature talks about the market failure and imperfect information that encourages State intervention and its shortcomings and limitation have also been discussed vis-à-vis income distribution and social development.

However Pranab Bardhan argues that the situation varies from one political and historical context to another. It is further determined by the "organizational structures" and "institutions" (Bardhan, 1990, p.4). Most of the neoclassical literature emphasizes on the extent of the state intervention however, in the view that all of the developing countries whether successful or otherwise are interventionist, Bardhan emphasizes on the quality of the intervention rather than the extent. He further emphasizes on to understand why quality is different in different states despite of possessing same instruments of intervention and why they differ so drastically in terms of their ability to pursue collective goals. The rent seeking literature explains one aspect of the failure of the state led industrialization and other two aspects relate to the quality of the intervention which includes working closely with the market and selectivity of the intervention (strategic sectors, processes and products at the different stages of industrialization) (ibid, p.6).

Besides, Pranab Bardhan has argued that the dynamics within the coalition of three dominant groups viz. proprietary class industrial capitalists, rich peasants and managerial class or professionals mainly bureaucrats demonstrate the political economy of development in India. And the conflict within this “dominant coalition” determines the “autonomy possessed by the state”. This was accentuated further by Francine Frankel, Pranab Bardhan and Jagdish Bhagwati when they explain that the India’s development state was encapsulated by three interconnected groups viz. Rich farmers, industrial Bourgeoisie and the leading Bureaucrats (Corbridge, 2009, p.9).

In the Post independence before the mid seventies these were the groups that constituted ‘dominant coalition’ and inherited powers to bargain with the state. They were united by some common interest and a shared ideology to restructure the economy. However the only source of conflict within the group was to demand for the budgetary allocation and subsidies from the state. Rudolph and Rudolph argue that the dominant class in India which has got better mobilized over time has been coercing the state to direct resources from investment in public welfare to their current consumption. Consequently the state has been reduced to regulatory role rather than taking up the development agenda forward. As a result the state has become a “vast machine of patronage and subsidies, inefficient, corrupt, and, by extension, less and less able to command the loyalty and respect of the citizenry” (Gupta, 1989, p.788). Though the social composition of the dominant class is not much variable however, it undergoes changes with the change in the political environment. The constituents of the “dominant coalition” have changed over a period of time. First such instance is the emergence of land owning middle class in the late seventies as a result of the benefits derived from green revolution. It became dominant and assertive, and started demanding better education and health form the state and started investing in the soft skills such as higher education.

Rudolph characterizes the Indian state as simultaneously strong and weak. Strong because of its central planning and ability to create industries, and weak due to inability to control the “civil wars” between castes and classes and religious fundamentalism. Notwithstanding this Rudolph considers the state as most important player in the domestic economy. This comes from the belief that state completely marginalizes and dominates the traditionally important players. Though Rudolph and Bardhan find an agreement that politically active groups regulate the state autonomy

however, they differ in the ways and process in which the group gets mobilized. While Rudolph sees it happening in an “unpredictable and historically contingent manner”, Bardhan, defines it as “essential feature of Indian political economy, a systematic consequence of structural conflict” (Gupta, 1989, p.789).

The democratic-capitalists third world nations are confronted by two major challenges in order to achieve the development goals. First, their internal tensions and second the private control of the productive resources. The adoption of mixed economy by these newly independent countries and success of state planning in improving the socio-economic status of the citizens in the socialist countries accentuated the role of state intervention in Africa and Asia. In this regard the degree of autonomy possessed by the state becomes important as it determines the state ability to alter the social structures and to “insulate itself from the demands of the dominant class”. Hence Atul Kohli describes state autonomy “is largely a function of type of regime wielding the state power” (ibid, p.790).

Atul Kohli further emphasizes on segregating the concept of state from regime which is important to draw a distinction between the ‘deep structure’ and how public authority is structured vis-à-vis Society. It further highlights how political rule is organized (legislative-executive relations), the relationship between the rulers and the ruled (Gupta, 1989, p.790). Similarly he extends this contrast to the party and regime and locates all the three “states, party and regime on the sliding scale of institutional depth” (ibid).

Further to understand whether regimes make a difference in combating poverty he tries to illustrate with the help of undertaking a comparison of three states ruled by different regimes and faced with similar kind of constraints while being part of capitalist-democratic nation state. He highlights that organizational structures, ideology of the ruling party and the nature of leadership collectively and further their ability to create the necessary difference between the ‘political’ and ‘social’ power determines the ability to control and allocate resources and carry out necessary reforms.

Given this conceptualization of the state and its interventions, the nature of state and intricacies between its institutions, regime and party the subsequent section of the paper focuses on the Nehruvian development model. Further how it emphasized on

turning India into a modernized state with investment in higher education and industrialization which was eventually overtook by the corporate sector by the year 1980s. Private sector participation witnessed a sharp increase in its contribution to economic development and the state planning and investment took a back seat. The section retrospectively traces the political economy of development of India from the time of the country got independence to the landmark moment of the economic reforms that the country underwent.

3.3 The Political Economy of Development in India

When the country got independent the architect of modern India Nehru had a tough task ahead of him. To advance his vision of modernization of the economy and social development of the country he had set his priorities as investment in higher education and basic industries. However, his vision was riddled by precarious economic condition of the country where two in three Indians lived in absolute poverty. That too according to the brutal measure used by Government of India to measure absolute poverty even more basic than “one dollar a day” definition used by multilateral institutions (Corbridge, 2009, p.2).

The economic development of the country was envisioned through the concerted planning emanating from centre; subsequently the modernization was conceived as a diffusion process where social and economic change would percolate from cities to small towns and further to the countryside (Corbridge, 2009). It is apropos to mention an apprehension rightly being raised by Ambedkar where he had warned the then government that failure to implement land reforms would lead the country to a situation where in “politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality” (Corbridge, 2009, p.5). This is vividly reflected in the present situation of the country where Social and spatial inequalities have further sharpened since especially post 1990.

Corbridge talks about two types of inequality viz. “good inequality” and “bad inequality while the formers refers to “higher rewards based on talent and entrepreneurship” the later occurs when people don’t have access to elementary education, they are out of markets, lack infrastructure such as roads and other means that lead to acquisition of transferable skills and human capital on the basis of gender,

caste or ethnicity (Corbridge, 2009, p.2). The recent trends of development in India show high rampant prevalence of bad inequality.

Despite agreeing with Ambedkar view of distributing land, Nehru prioritized the economically empowering effect of political “equality” and continued to pursue the vision of modernization of the country with the help of economists who were instrumental in planning and implementing the five years plans. The Nehru-Mahalanobis model envisioned a development state which would be autonomous of the privileged classes. Further, the state would define social welfare function for the future. However, the welfare activities were directed towards the redressal of inequalities that generated not from market but due to ownership and use of land (Jayal, N.G., 1994, pp 41).

Development and modernization were the two clear priorities of the Indian state during the Post independence period. In this due course economic growth got privileged over its social and political aspects (ibid). The welfarist approach of the state never took a rights based approach. It was more of populism which was confined within the needs based approach. There were no major steps taken for restructuring the economy and investment in the social security measures were also meagre.

The country witnessed the deepening of the democracy when state-society relations moved from “command politics” to “demand politics” and gave rise to a new political landscape as Lloyd and Rudolph describe it. This also marks the beginning of the period when the prospectively developmental state imploded and succumbed to the demands of the dominant coalition. The India’s development state was captured as explained by Francine Frankel Pranab Bardhan and Jagdish Bhagwati three interlocking groups’ viz. Rich farmers, industrial Bourgeoisie and the leading Bureaucrats (Corbridge, 2009, p.9).

The “economic reforms” were undertaken on the pretext that the economic growth during the 1980s was unsustainable due to the ongoing poverty reduction programs. Huge subsidies were pushed into the agriculture system this gave rise to the apprehension that it would lead the country into fiscal deficit and balance of payment crisis. Consequently, as Atul Kohli describes Indra Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi during 1980 to 89 began to tilt the economic policy in the favour of big businesses (ibid, p.11). And the major motive of these policy changes was to shift the balance of

capital formation. On the global front by 1990, Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Regan in U.S. were altering the international economic landscape. Deepak Lal in 1983 had already accused the development economists of committing severe damage to the economy in the “third world” by stalling the economic progress especially in India for more than 20 years.

Large scale privatization, de-regulation and decentralization since reforms has been complementing the ongoing process of economic reforms and redefining the role of the state. Though hailed by many economists and planners by putting forward the arguments of increase in average per capita income growth in India and improving the technical competency of the some of the leading institutions of the government the consequences of the reforms has led to widening the gap between top and the bottom quintiles making the “bad inequality” a more entrenched phenomena in India.

According to the Chancel–Piketty paper, over the past three decades India has recorded the highest increase in the share of the top one per cent in national income. Further, the growth process in the country during this period has been marked by striking and appallingly high income inequality (EPW editorial, 2017, p.7). The figures highlight the disproportionate growth which has left people at the lower echelons of the socioeconomic ladder. Though this highlights only the income inequality it has also translated into the other aspects of the citizen’s life. Eventually, India produced a society that the country had not aspired for, a society fractured by religion, caste, class, rural-urban divide and stark economic disparities managed together as a nation state (Tiwari and Nair, et al., 2015).

If the Nehruvian period of State-developmentalism was represented by large dams, steel plants and public welfare programs, then shopping malls, restaurants and leisure parks marks the post liberalization developments. These facilities caters specifically to the people in services sector either governmental or information technology sector. The contemporary cities where there has been a tremendous rise in the tertiary sector viz. information technology and finance along with creation of special economic zones has led to creation of urban spaces where there is not much room for workers to work and live in cities.

Lefebvre reminds us the means through which capitalism advances viz. “by occupying space, by producing space, or by sweeping away those legal, cultural or political

forces that conspire to slow down the circulation time of capital” (Corbridge, 2009, p.19). The political disenfranchisement of the India’s poor is one of the outcomes of the liberalization. Moreover, the model of the urbanization and growth pattern we are following would further reinforce rather than narrowing the existing gap between rich and poor.

3.4 Frontiers of Land Control and Segregation of Urban Space

This section of the chapter talks about the reshaping of the urban spaces through new frontiers of land control. Furthermore it attempts to unpack the dynamics between state, its agencies and the private interests that collectively defines the notion of urban modernity. The section deliberates upon the issues of land control and how it is linked with livelihoods, revenue production and exercise of power. Subsequently the rise of the new middle class is being discussed and expansion of the informal sector that highlights intersection of the poverty, risk and vulnerability.

The issues of land control have always been the key for understanding dynamics of power relations between different communities and classes. The questions of land and more so of its control have rejuvenated the contemporary studies and economic history since Marx wrote about the issue (Peluso and Lund, 2011). If we re-examine the historical trajectories of the processes of control it becomes more evident that only the mechanism employed changes with the passage of time. Words such as “dispossession, alienation exclusion expropriation and violence” describe the processes of land histories and its control (Peluso and Lund, 2011, p.667). Further, the forms of property rights, territories created and extracted in the form of segregated residential areas and gated communities are the manifestation of these dispossession.

New frontiers of land control have been devised in addition to the traditionally employed means for efficient land use. Besides to relocate a particular class of people occupying the prime land of the cities whose economic importance has been realized by the state in the past three decades if not more than that. These new frontiers are the instruments through which the “traditional powers, authorities, sovereignties, rights and hegemonies of the recent past” have been challenged by the new formulated methods of the land use. This has given rise to new production processes which constitutes “new actors, subjects and networks accompanying those new legal and violent or subtle means of challenging previous land control” (ibid, p.667).

The issue of land control is directly linked to the patterns of land use, working and living conditions of labour and notion of urban modernity in the backdrop of penetration of global markets and privatization. Therefore the underlying spatial strategies and social processes become important to delineate the relationship between the development and urban modernity.

The life world of urban poor vis-à-vis their 'informal' contribution in making of the 'formal city' and the inexorable threat of eviction and displacement that they endure is reflection of the changing frontiers of land control and use pattern. The intricacies of land control allow us to understand the role of different actors in land acquisition and its political, social and institutional ramifications in the form of claims, access and exclusion.

The actors involved in the process include both the state as well as private players. The former includes Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT), The Notified area committee, Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), New Delhi Municipal Committee (NDMC), Imperial Delhi Municipal Committee, and the Department of Education, Health and Lands, the later includes Delhi Land and Finance Corporation (DLF) being one of the biggest.

The Delhi improvement Trust came into being in the year 1937 as a result of a report by Mr. Arthur Parke Hume, to address the issues of congestion in the city Delhi. The trust was formed with a twin objective of "urban development and policy and formulating strategies for slum clearance based on scientific thinking" (Srivastava, 2014, p.xxiv). In the subsequent year of its formation it announced its first urban improvement scheme, the Delhi Ajmer gate slum clearance scheme. Though the stated objective of the trust was to address the issue of congestion in Delhi, there were many implicit and unstated objectives to be achieved such as control of space, undertake security measures to put a check on 'suspicious' or 'undesirable' population which is not welcome in the cities and have always met with a strong resistance from the people of the civil society.

Since the inception of the trust it was entrusted with the powers of land acquisition (the land acquisition act 1894) and effective implementation of improvement schemes (ibid). Notwithstanding this the trust did not attempt for spatial egalitarianism rather

spatial segregation with respect to the economic and social class (very poor, poor and middle classes) (ibid).

The DIT was succeeded by Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in the year 1957 in the backdrop of the Birla Inquiry of 1951. Birla report advocated for an inclusive society and had a considerate approach towards the urban poor. Though it subscribed to the DIT propositions on the congestion and housing shortage however, it had a strong disagreement on two significant issues pertaining to the introduction of planning and controlling authority. The committee was of the view that slum clearance cannot take place in the absence of an alternate accommodation and 'private enterprise' should be assigned with the responsibility of providing an alternate accommodation at a reasonable distance from the original habitation (Srivastava, 2014, p.xxx).

Partha Chaterjee (2004) says that the middle class sympathies for the slum dwellers manifested in the 'widespread aversions' for slum demolitions during the emergency period in the mid 70s reflects the inclusive nature of the city (Bhan, 2009). Further the Birla Committee in the post colonial era accentuated on 'humane urbanism'. During 1970s and 80s compensation and resettlement of the evictees was a common practice irrespective of the area being notified under the slum area act or not (Bhan, 2009, p.132). However, the idea that the poor have a right to habitation and livelihood in the city and could not be evicted without being provided with appropriate rehabilitation is a matter of past and a historical subject.

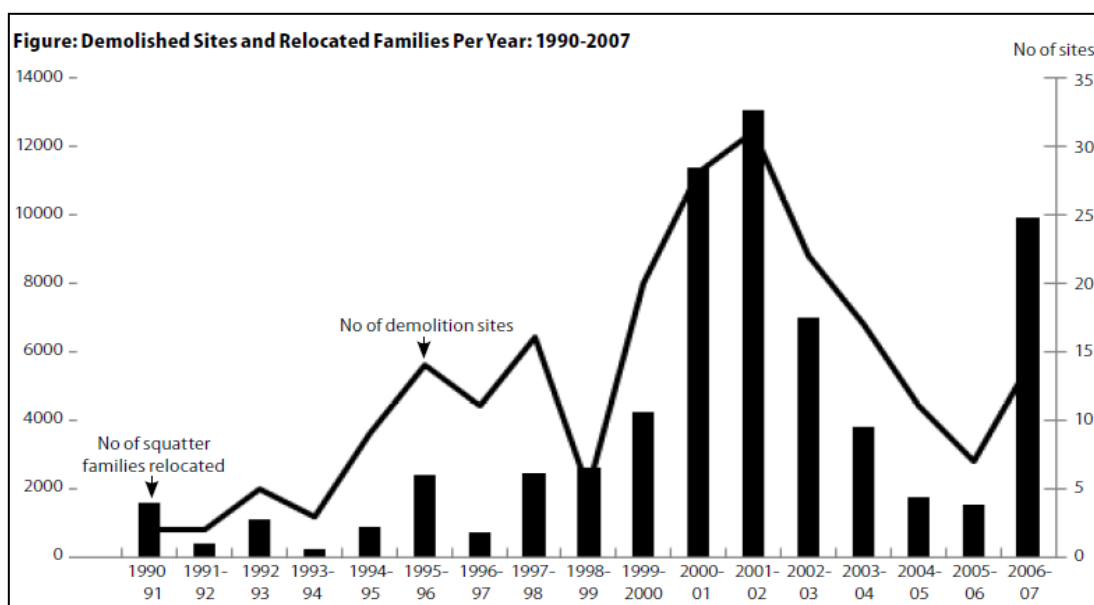
Informal settlements have always existed in Delhi and so the evictions however, the nature of eviction and their political economy tells us a different story compared to the traditional phase. The Yamuna riverfront eviction in the year 2004 and subsequently in the year 2006 marks one of the most vicious evictions where bulldozers were used to demolish the hutments that too during the day time when most of the families were away and gone for work leaving their children and infants at home (Baviskar, 2006, p.N.A). Majority of the inhabitants were daily wage earners which includes construction workers, domestic workers, rickshaw pullers and rag pickers etc. These demolitions and evictions have been conducted under the garb of "larger public interest" rooted in "Green Agenda" which is reflected in the government slogan of "Clean Delhi-Green Delhi" (Dupont, 2008).

The DDA was the sole legally authorized agency to develop and dispose of land, leaving no space for a private agency to develop. Subsequent to its formation, the government introduced the Delhi control of buildings operations ordinance in 1955. Till December 1977 DDA had acquired 39,455 acres for planned development of Delhi (Srivastava, 2014, p.xxx). While DDA was introduced to address the shortcomings of its predecessor body and the 'housing problems' however it exacerbated the situation through its policies of land acquisition and disposal that favoured the 'well of' (ibid, p.59).

While in the post independence era which is also referred as the "traditional phase" the emphasis was on 'humane urbanism' initiatives such as demolitions of slums as part of the urban planning has become a dominant measure in the post nineties. The question of land comes again and captures the centre stage in the light of the demolitions that have been carried out since the adoption of the 'new' Delhi slum policy by the Delhi Government. The new slum policy adopted "three pronged strategy" to address the issues of slum clearance in Delhi. Demolition is one of the three options to address the issues of Jhuggi-jhopris and slums. While the other two includes 'in-situ up gradation' and 'Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums' (EIUS) (Srivastava, 2015). Keeping aside the last part of the policy, in-situ up-gradation has been done in very few cases which is determined by again numerous parameters; demolitions have become most prevalent strategy to deal with the issue of housing of urban poor. The same three pronged strategy continues to be the crucial part of the master plan for Delhi 2021 (Dupont, 2008).

There are no concrete figures to show the demolitions and evictions being carried out during this period. Different researchers and data sources have quoted varying numbers however, studies suggests that between 1999 and 2007 1, 00,000 shanties have been demolished (Batra and Mehra, 2008 cited in Srivastava, 2015, p.59). In Delhi 51,461 houses were demolished between 1990 and 2003, under "slum clearance" schemes. Further during 2004 and 2007 approximately 45,000 homes were demolished. Besides, three other large settlements were given notice in 2007. Less than 25 per cent of the households evicted during 2004-07 received any resettlement benefits (Bhan, 2009, p.128). Figure 3.1 gives yearly basis account of the number of demolitions being carried out since 1990 and families relocated.

Figure 3.1- Demolished Sites and Relocated Families per Year from 1990-2007



Source- Slum and JJ Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi cited in Dupont, 2008.

The evictions between 2001 and 2004 alone have transferred an estimated 4000 Crores from slum dwellers to DDA (Srivastava, 2015, p.60). The DDA and DLF have been working in tandem to reshape the city. While the former carries out the evictions and makes available the land for new residential complexes to be built the latter has been outsourced the task of building the world class complexes. The inception history of DLF, one of the most dominant private real estate development agency revolves around the culmination of a specific set of social, economic and cultural strategies that define the contemporary urban development as well as the rise of the special category Defined as ‘New Middle Class’ (Srivastava, 2015). Further, the advertisement by DLF of the housing societies and residential complexes is the manifestation of the popular imagination of a modern city and also some sort of claim over the city.

The state institutions and the actors that were constituted to address the housing problems and integrate the poor into the urban fabric of the city failed miserably to meet the demands of the poorest sections of the society. Proliferation of the slums and informal settlements are the manifestation of the failure of the housing policies and programs and subsequently the failure of the various bodies public or private to address the issue of housing. The evictions mark the shift of the urban policies and redefine relationship between state and urban poor. It further highlights the historical trajectory of state capitalism, the manner in which land has been used by the state to

generate more and more revenue and extend the benefits to a particular class of people.

3.5 Discrimination through Segregation: Emergence of New Middle Class

The liberalization reforms carried out in 1990s laid the grounds to develop Delhi as a global city. It also marks the beginning of many new processes (economic and social) which has since had a profound significance on India (Duopont, 2011, p.533). The main objectives were to integrate the city with the global economy and convert the capital into global capital. It was to be done by attracting firms and investors and emerge as agglomeration of export processing zones. These objectives further resonate in the master plan of Delhi 2021 and reflect the dream of global city Delhi.

Liberalization has had led to profound social and economic restructuring of the society. It also marks the beginning of many new processes and the changing of the class dynamics with the emergence of the “New Middle Class”.

The liberalization not only led to restructuring of the economy but also the social transformation. As Nijman (2012) notes that urbanization should not be viewed purely in economic terms or as merely the quantitative changes in a society however, “it reflects much deeper level of social transformation it entails restructuring economies, changing livelihood patterns, class system and emergence of new political system” (Nijman, 2012, p.2).

While the liberalization accompanied by the economic reforms created the structures and institutions to foster growth and gave rise to new forms of inequality, the master plan of Delhi 2021 is a step forward in that direction to capitalize on the momentum of growth and reinforce the existing inequality.

It has two main stated objectives as to improve the infrastructure base of the city and sustain the momentum of the present growth rate (Kundu, 2003). The objectives have been defined keeping in view of the clean, modern and global city. Subsequently, some major steps have to be taken so as to create conducive environment which would foster growth and lead to development of infrastructure.

Some of the measures include inviting investment in indigenous industries from local as well as global sources. Increase private sector participation in provisioning of services and infrastructure development. Involving private sector would overcome the

limitation of the resources of the government. The private sector participation would expand the horizon of the resources by utilizing the local available resources as well as inviting the foreign investment.

However, private sector active participation and foreign capital investments is only possible by liberalizing the land market and relaxing the regulatory control mechanism. As a result this would make more land available for modern and industrial ventures both within the city and also in the periphery (Kundu, 2003, p.3530). A part from this master plan also intends to “regularize the industries” and efficiently use the land predominantly occupied by the poor.

These policies and measures have larger social implications mainly for a particular section. Large scale demolitions, evictions and relocation witnessed in the recent past are manifestation of some of these implications. Moreover, the economic importance of the prime land being occupied by the poor has become important for larger public interest and an integral part of the master plan.

Though the things being proposed in the master plan has met with resistance from various fronts and scholars. However, they have some common ground and agreement on some of the core issues. Both the proponents and antagonists of the master plan want high growth rate, good quality of life and clean and green city with more than just adequate services at their disposal. The only disagreement is that “degrees and selectivity in terms of nature of activities being promoted and areas to be protected” (Kundu, 2003, p.3530). Resistance is not because a large number of poor are being dislocated and made homeless but it is the “destruction of history, heritage and environment” (ibid). Resistance doesn’t originate from the fact that a large section of people have been denied right to live and work in the city. Rather distortion of morphology of the city with respect to history and threat to environment in the form of pollution.

All the attempts are directed to make the city an exclusive city meant for a certain section and class of people. The city is growing through excluding the poor. This is a common trend across the country where the migration is on decline and urban population growth rate has also been declining.

The land policies adopted since the liberalization of the land market has only benefitted the middle and upper middle classes of the city. Large amount of the

subsidies have been granted and those who benefitted most from this have been characterized as “new middle class”. It’s a new social group who possessed encroached land and earned profit through transfer of property. They are the people who derived maximum benefits from the policies and strategies of the state.

The state has been too generous to them through subsidies and land policies which are highly skewed in their favour. Unfortunately the state policies and measures have not benefitted the slum dwellers and squatters as it did in the case of middle class. The present state actions continue to do so consequently, the “concomitant polarization and underlying social exclusion” is what Fernandes refers to as “politics of forgetting marginalized social groups” (Fernandes, 2011, p.534). The rise of a social group “New Middle Class” has further led to fragmentation and given rise to new socio-spatial inequalities.

Therefore the analysis of the new middle class is important in order to highlight these “strategies and mechanisms of capital conversion”, and the “exclusionary social practices” which mark the distinguishing feature of the class (Fernandes and Heller, 2011, p.499). Fernandes characterizes them as “amorphous mass characterized by their own world view, attitude, lifestyle and consumption pattern made available in the liberalizing India” (ibid, p.496).

Middle class is a category which mainly emerged in the mid seventies and by then has always existed in the country but in different forms. It has always defied a proper definition because it never existed in the binary category of bourgeoisie or working class. However, the economic reforms gave rise to a new middle class who are strongly shaped by socioeconomic inequalities and exclusionary practices. The ‘new’ is not in relation to its social composition or structural sense however, in the ‘cultural characteristics. The benefits it derived from liberalization and virtues possessed by it in terms of changing consumption practices and lifestyle.

The understanding that class boundaries are constructed and contested is evident from the evolution trajectory of Delhi especially post liberalization. There are two frameworks available to substantiate democracy; one is the ‘classical liberal trajectory’ which focuses on strong and hegemonic bourgeoisie and the other one ‘social democratic trajectory’ which takes into account the organization and formation of a working class (Fernandes and Heller, 2011, p.496). However, Fernandes argues

that while the bourgeoisie has never been able to achieve hegemonic status, working class has remained weak and fragmented. Hence analysis of the middle class is also important in the sense to understand 'distributive politics' in India. It is the class that has played a crucial role in determining the autonomy of the state in terms of subsidies and budgetary allocation.

Two dominant aspects of the politics of middle class are; the dominant faction of the class plays an important role in the "politics of hegemony" (ibid). Second, "contours of New Middle Class is manifested in every day politics and practices through which it reproduces its privileged position" and "socio-cultural inequalities are integral part of the formation of middle class" (ibid, p.495). Therefore, it is a "class in practice" which derives its power from cultural and educational capital as a result its fate is dependent on what Bourdieu describes 'classification struggle' (Fernandes, 2011, p.500).

The emergence or production of the new middle class also marks a discursive shift from the 'state socialism' to a political culture centred around a class based on consumption (Fernandes, 2004). It is also linked to the process of 'spatial purification' where the middle class has a strong assertion of the claims over the public places and cleanse the space of poor and working classes. Rajini Kothari (1993) termed it as "growing amnesia" towards poverty and poor in liberalizing India (ibid, p.2416). Further augmenting the argument Fernandes terms this as politics of forgetting which refers to "a political discursive process in which specific marginalized social groups are rendered invisible and forgotten within the dominant national political culture" (ibid). This production of new citizenship based on culture illuminates the changing relationship between the state and its citizens.

The process of liberalization has been understood as "retreat of state" however, it should be viewed as "restructuring of the role of state" by market and demarcating the areas where it can intervene and the rest being simply left to the market. Most importantly the state still has an important role of providing the institutional framework for markets to operate. As Srivastava (2015) says the decline of the socialist Nehruvian state and consolidation of 'newer cultural' and 'political economies' in the liberalizing India builds the ground for negotiating middle class identities (Srivastava, 2015, p.87).

3.5.1 Legal Discourse of Slum Demolitions

The middle class Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) have played a significant role along with judiciary in slum demolition drives and cleansing the urban spaces. Spatial segregation is being produced through the policies which further treat the poor as second class citizens (Baviskar, 2006). The judiciary which includes the supreme court of India has played a very active role along with the new middle class in this ‘selective disenfranchisement’ of the urban poor which is evident from an analysis of the nature of evictions. This has given rise to a ‘civil society’ with transformed relationship and renewed bargaining power with the state.

In the light of the court latest judgments in response to the PILs filed the premise of the demolition drive undertaken by the judiciary is important to unravel. The core of the legal discourse for slum demolitions is “nuisance” and “slums are illegal” which underpins majority of the court orders. When we are trying to understand and analyze the discourse that “slums are illegal” Foucault accentuates on “trying to discover its guiding principles” and “reconstruct the function of the text, according to its objectives, the strategies that govern it and the program of political action that it proposes” (Ghertner, 2008, p.58).

In this due course discourses are understood as “verbal or textual enunciations that are assumed to be truthful within a given time without undergoing the typical procedures of verification” (Ghertner, 2008, p.57-58). Further they become commonsensical and are widely circulated though they are product of historical contestation.

The discourse surrounding nuisance has gained a high importance especially in the past two decades where most of the court judgments regarding the removal of the informal settlements are premised on this law. In the recent interpretation of the nuisance law by the judiciary which has led to criminalization of the informal settlements has also marked the informal settlements as “illegal and polluting” (ibid). The noteworthy point is that these discourses are having not originated in isolation rather concomitant to the social and economic restructuring witnesses post reforms. These discourses are also shaped by the changing relationship between state and the civil society.

Therefore judiciary has only added legitimacy to the various state measures directed towards removal of poor from cities. It has further given impetus to the ongoing

process of demolition and eviction of these settlements. As a result of these judgments judiciary has been tagged as “anti poor”. However, the sudden discourse of judiciary being anti poor has its roots in the interpretation of the “nuisance” combined with larger notions of the “modernity” and “development” (ibid).

Nuisance is legally defined as “any act, omission, injury, damage, annoyance, or offence to the sense of sight, smell, hearing or which is dangerous to life or injurious to health or property” (Jain, 2005 cited in Ghertner, 2008, p.59). Further it is of two types public and private. While public nuisance is defined as “an unreasonable interference with a right common to general public”, private nuisance refers to “substantial and unreasonable interference with the use or enjoyment of land” (ibid).

The earlier court judgments in the era of 1980s put the blame on municipal authorities as responsible for the nuisance due to slums mainly due to lack of services in these areas, the present discourse has radically shifted the discursive terrain to slums being themselves the source of nuisance and are characterized as “spaces of filth lacking basic concern for health and environment” (Ghertner, 2008, p.60). The latest petitions by RWAs and its response shows that these settlements are threat to the environment and for the existing population.

The present discourse on nuisance defies the earlier understanding and states that nuisance arises from overpopulation in slums and not as a fault of the local authorities and government failures to formulate policies and provide services. This has been proposed irrespective of the fact that the poor population occupies less than 2 per cent of the total residential land (ibid, p.61). Rather than highlighting the failures of government and civic bodies slums have been tagged as polluters and nuisance.

A paradigm shift is evident where Delhi political economy has been completely reshaped by the ongoing discursive portrayal of slums as nuisances. Further, the core premise of this ongoing discourse is “private property rights” which will further determine the citizenship of individuals. This could have serious implications for future of growth pattern and urbanization model being followed in Delhi some of which is quite apparent from the contemporary situation of the city.

3.6 Expanding Informal Sector: Measuring Inequality, Risk and Vulnerability

Informal sector or unorganized sector is one of the pivotal parts of the Indian economy. Notwithstanding the contradictory nature of different estimates and data sources it employs more than ninety four (92.5 non agricultural) per cent of the workforce and accounts for fifty per cent of the national product (NSS, 2009-10). Though a large section of planners and policy makers are of the opinion that the informal sector is 'transitory' in nature and would gradually disappear with the development of the economy (Kundu and Sharma, 2001). Similar proposition was also put forth for the existence of the slums and were termed as transitory. The reason for the long neglect of the informal sector and growing number of slums is quite evident from the policy debate. However, the proposition seems to have been proved wrong with the constantly expanding informal sector and that too in its share of employment. Further it is also associated with the rise in number of informal settlements. Both of them complement each other and required for its sustenance. The process of globalization in confluence with liberalization and structural adjustment programs has led to increased in-formalization of workforce, casualisation of labour and growth of the informal sector in the Indian economy. A significant proportion of socially and economically disadvantaged population works in the informal sector. As a result a high level of economic growth has been achieved at the expense of rendering a vast majority of people vulnerable and live in deplorable conditions.

With regards to the socially and economically disadvantaged group in the urban India, the Hashim Committee Report (2012) states that the 'vulnerability is a critical aspect of poverty'. Acknowledging the fact that 'vulnerability' is multi-dimensional in nature, which situated the poor in a susceptible situation, exposed to risk and defenceless, the Report identifies 3 areas of vulnerabilities that the urban poor are subjected to:

1. **Residential Vulnerability**: refers to that section of poor people who dwells in an excessive poor condition, under the open sky, overcoming the excessive winter cold of Northern India, unbeatable summer heat and inexorable heavy monsoon seasons.
2. **Occupational Vulnerability**: refers to large informal labour force in the city. It includes those people [men, women and children] who are trapped in the

low-income jobs, especially in the informal sector. This is completely a heterogeneous group comprising mainly of the daily wage workers in construction sector, petty traders, street children, hawkers, sex workers, rickshaw pullers, domestic workers, and so on.

3. **Social vulnerability**: typifies those groups, who routinely face severe ‘social barriers’ to fulfil their needs of daily living and secure livelihood.

Public Health Resource Network added another classification of vulnerability to the existing criteria as:

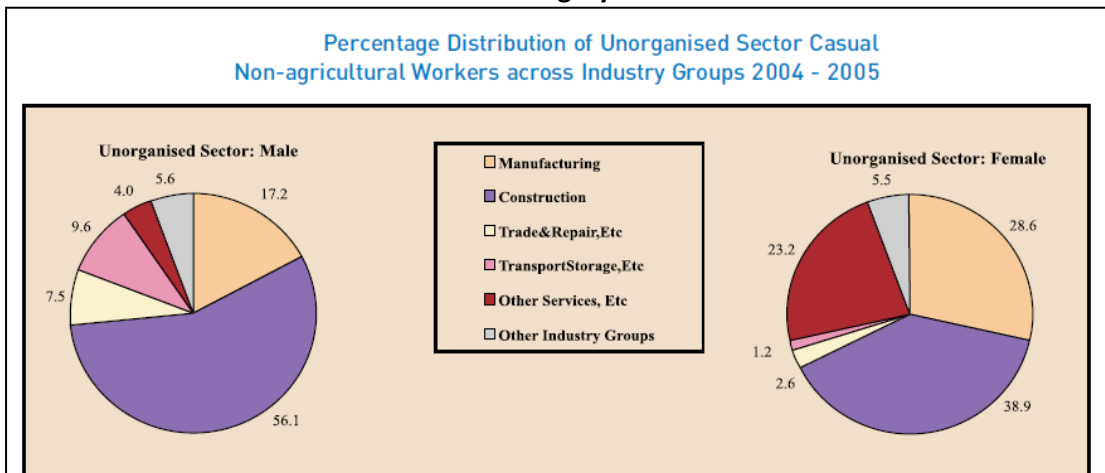
4. **Personal Vulnerability**: it includes those people who are prone to violence, threat and intimidation. This group comprises especially of children, women the elderly people, disabled and destitute; those of who are belonging to lower caste, class and minority groups, and lack the facility to access their respective health care needs and justice.

All the different categories of vulnerability listed above either in combination or individually render large section of people employed in the informal sector to multidimensional deprivations. Further the growing inter-linkages and the subsequent dynamics between the informal and the formal sector has to be understood in the context of employment generation, declining wages, capital accumulation by the state and private players.

3.6.1 Informal Sector: National Scenario

The issue of increasingly casualization and informalization of the work has made the labour more vulnerable and prone to exploitation. Casual workers have been reported to have lowest level of earnings and are least protected. They also constitute one fifth of the total workers engaged in the unorganized sectors in non-agricultural category (NCEUS, 2007, p.29). Of these construction sector accounts for majority of the casual workers (Figure 3.2), among the male workers working in unorganized sector construction sector accounts for 56.1 per cent of the casual workers followed by manufacturing sector that engaged 17.2 per cent of the workers in the year 2004-05 (ibid).

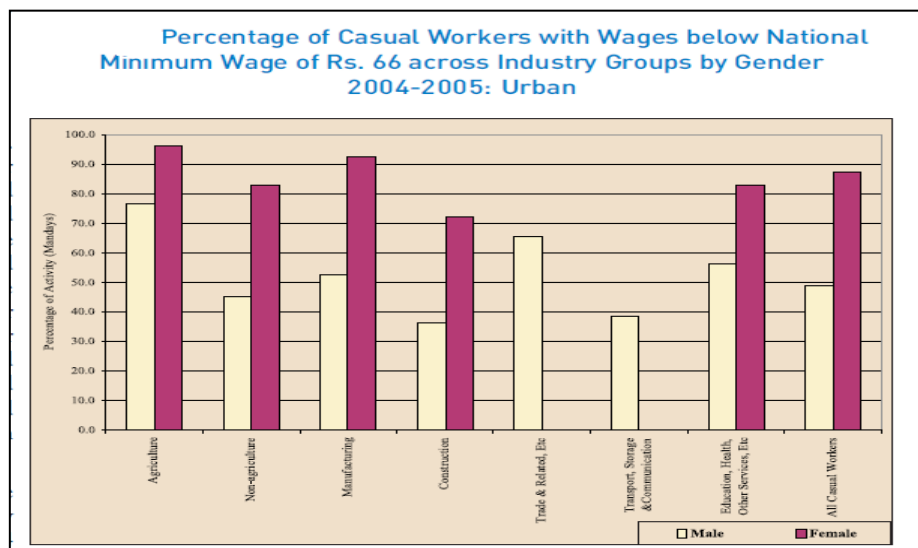
Figure 3.2-Distribution of Casual Workers in Unorganized Sector in Non-Agricultural Category



Source: NSS 61st Round Employment-Unemployment Survey (2004-05) cited in NCEUS, 2007, p.29.

The people working in the unorganized sector as wage workers have no written contracts and nor do they get the minimum wages. Besides, only one fifth of them are entitled to paid leave (NCEUS, 2007). Further among all the casual workers in the urban areas across industries 57 per cent of them get wages less than minimum wage norm (NCEUS, 2007, p.48). Further figure 3.3 shows percentage of workers getting below minimum wages across industries.

Figure 3.3- Percentage of Workers below Minimum Wages across Industry Groups



Source: NSS 61st Round Employment-Unemployment Survey (2004-05) cited in NCEUS, 2007, p.46.

As per the NSS (2009-10, 66th round) the main providers of work under the informal sector enterprises were the construction, manufacturing, wholesale and trade activities (NSS, 2009-10, p. Highlights-ii). These sectors engaged almost seventy two per cent of all non-agricultural workers in the urban areas and seventy six per cent in the rural areas (ibid). When we compare the wages in the organized and unorganized sector, while the real wages in the organized sector have been steady or maintained over a period of time, contrary to this wages in the unorganized sector has witnessed a sharp decline (Kundu and Sharma, 2001). The wages of the regular/salaried workers engaged in the informal sector enterprises was half compared to the workers employed in the category considering “All” types of enterprises. The corresponding wages for “All” types of enterprises was Rs 321 and Rs 177 for informal sector enterprises (NSS, 2009-10, p. Highlights-iii). The situation becomes even worse when we look at wages of the casual labours in informal sector enterprises and “All” types of enterprises which were Rs 115 and Rs 112 respectively (ibid).

Paradoxically the social security provisions in India have been confined to the workers in the organized sector. Those in the informal sector have not protection against any kind of risk vis-à-vis income, employment and health (Kundu and Sharma, 2001, p.26). Considering the workers under “All” category together (regular wage/salaried and casual labour) 81 per cent in rural areas and 74 per cent in urban areas has no written job contract. Further, among the non agricultural sector 80 per cent in the rural areas and 60 per cent in urban areas were not entitled for paid leave. Besides, in the same category 82 per cent in the rural areas and 64 per cent in the urban areas were not eligible for any social security benefits.

In addition, there has been a decline in work participation of females during the year 2005-12. The work participation of women was twenty nine per cent in 20004-05 considering all the age groups which declined to twenty two per cent in the year 2011-12 (India Labour Employment Report., 2014). Women in general are disadvantaged and only those women who are living in the tenacious economic conditions come to work in the labour market. The declining participation highlights the reluctance to engage women workers on the contractor’s part and lack of conducive workplace leading to less women taking up work. Reluctance to employ women is due to various reasons viz. provision of safety, security and many other basic facilities which are required for women.

3.6.2 Informal Sector in Delhi

In Delhi the first decline in the real wages for the poorest quintile was highlighted in the 61st round of NSS (Bhan, 2009, p.136). The reasons attributed were privatization and subsequently non-subsidized services. The rising cost of living in the cities due to increased reliance on non-state actors, exclusion from the social security benefits and public distribution system has made the poor live in precarious condition. Besides, the move from regular wage work to insecure and casual labour marks the most detrimental shift that has expanded the vulnerability. This deprivation and marginalization continues in education, health care, water supply and sanitation.

Construction sector is one of the main providers of the work in the informal sector in Delhi. It is the second employment generating sector in India after agriculture. It engages approximately 3.2 Crores workers nationwide (Soundararajan, 2013). Also as per the estimates of Central Statistical Organization (CSO), construction sector accounted for 8 per cent of the GDP in the year 2011-12 (Srivastava and Jha, 2014, p.2).

However if we delve into the condition of labour and capital formation in the industry they are not in sync with each other. A stark contrast could be witnessed. Construction workers constitute one of the most vulnerable groups of people in the country. The very nature of their work makes the people working in this sector vulnerable. The unprecedented expansion of the construction companies in Delhi has absorbed majority of unskilled labour from the rural areas due to their poor income in agriculture and inability to achieve subsistence level. However, this has not resulted in better income and improved living conditions. Most often they live close to the construction sites in makeshift arrangements, or in the squatters and slums. They do not have access to any public utilities and struggle to survive.

Table 3.1 shows that eighty five per cent of the construction workers fall in the bottom three quintiles and they are the second largest contributor in the share of employment. The top two categories listed in the table report high level of vulnerability in terms of income.

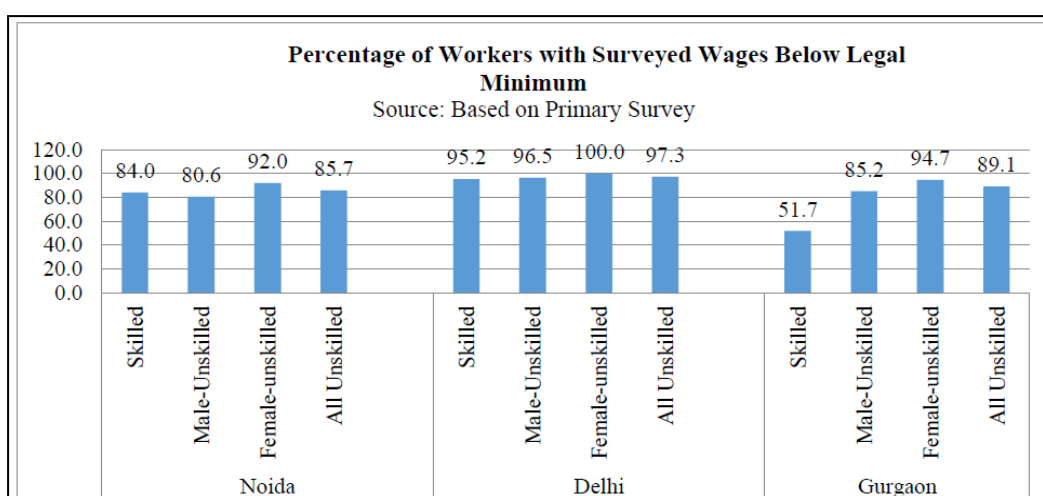
Table 3.1- Top Ten Occupation Groups by Income Quintile and their Share in Employment

Occupation	Bottom three quintile	Fourth quintile	Highest quintile	Share in employment
Shop workers, assistants, peons, delivery boy, waiters	71.6	20.5	7.9	18.4
Construction workers, masons, plumbers, painters, welders	85.1	13.6	1.3	16.7
Managers, operators, officers, engineers	17.0	19.8	63.2	13.4
Small shop keepers, traders	35.2	26.1	38.7	12.7
Transport workers, drivers, conductors, rickshaw pullers	66.8	25.6	7.5	9.1
Street vendors, cobblers, other service providers on the streets	68.8	26.3	5.0	5.6
Domestic workers, cleaners, washermen, caretakers, gardeners	89.6	8.4	2.1	5.6
Clerks, defense workers, police personnel, constables	13.2	17.9	68.9	3.5
Electricians, mechanics, fitters, repairers	61.8	19.4	18.8	3.4
Home based workers, artisans, tailors, blacksmiths	64.4	23.8	11.9	3.4

Source: Delhi Human Development Report 2013, p.68.

A study of construction workers conducted in National capital territory included construction sites across Delhi, Noida and Gurgaon where different nature of construction activities were being carried out. Figure 3.4 shows that among the workers interviewed across the construction sites, 95.2 per cent of them in Delhi did not get the minimum wages under the skilled category. For Noida and Gurgaon it was 84 and 51.7 per cent respectively. When it comes to the unskilled category workers the numbers goes up to 97.3 per cent in case of Delhi who did not get legal minimum wages. A large section of the workers are denied legally stipulated minimum wages in the construction industry.

Figure 3.4- Percentage of Workers below Minimum Wages, in Noida, Delhi and Gurgaon



Source: Srivastava and Jha, 2014, p.52

Regarding social security benefits being available to the workers it was found to be almost completely absent. Table 3.2 shows none of the workers (skilled and unskilled) were entitled for any type of social security benefits or any other benefits by the employer (Srivastava, and Jha, 2014).

Table 3.2- Social Security Benefits and its Awareness among Workers

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Injury Compensation	0.8	92.4	6.8
EPFO	0.8	86.8	12.4
Retirement Benefit	-	90.8	2.2
ESIC	-	88.0	12
Health Benefit	-	93.7	6.8
Any Other Social Security	-	91.6	8.4

Source: Srivastava, and Jha, 2014, p.78.

A number of laws exist for the protection of workers in the unorganized sector, among these the minimum wages act, 1948 is considered to be one of the most precious labour legislation in India. Subsequently the central government enacted the Building and other construction workers Act and Cess Fund Act 1996 for the protection of safety, health, social security and welfare of construction workers. To avail the benefits provided under these legislations a worker has to be registered under the BOCW Act.

However, despite of numerous benefits available very low registration has been witnessed across the construction sites in Delhi. Contractors play a crucial role in registering a worker in BOCW Act by making them aware of the benefits and provisions being available. However, it has been found that there has been reluctance on their part and majority of the workers are not aware of the registration process. Figure 3.5 shows that 68 per cent of the workers were not registered and remaining 32 per cent were not aware of the registration.

Figure 3.5- Percentage of Workers Registered with Welfare Board



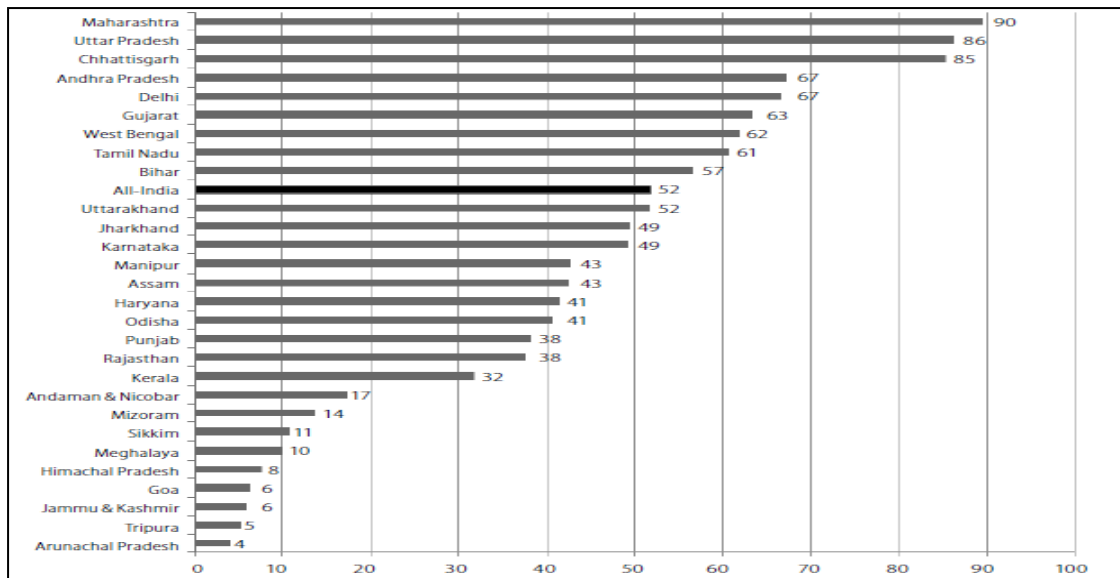
Source: Srivastava, and Jha, 2014, p.78.

The Building and Other Construction Workers' Welfare CESS Act mandates all the state governments to collect a construction CESS of a minimum of 1 and maximum of 2 per cent on every project. As per the data received from the Labour Department⁴, total CESS collected across the country was Rs. 32,480.96 Crores but the amount spent was only Rs. 7,286. 52 Crores. Looking at the CESS collected and spent in Delhi, the amount of cess spent is dismal as only 9 per cent of the collected CESS was spent. This is mainly due to very low registration of the workers under the BOCW Act in Delhi.

The Delhi government enacted 37 per cent hike in the minimum wages in 2017 across all scheduled industries to ensure a decent standard of living for people in the informal sector. However, its implementation is far from achieved as empirical evidence shows that workers in the construction industry do not even get sub-minimum wages. Figure 3.6 shows the states and subsequent percentage of workers not being paid minimum wages. Sixty seven per cent of the workers in the construction sector are denied minimum wages in case of Delhi.

⁴ Government of National Capital Territory Delhi, Department of Labour-Data collected in person from the department.

Figure 3.6-Non-Compliance in the Payment of Minimum Wages in the Construction Sector in India 2009-10



Source: NSS 2009-10, cited in Soundararajan, 2013, p.22.

The size of the dwellings and number of people sharing single room reveals rather extreme inequality in Delhi. More than half of the households in the lowest income category live in one room dwelling compared to the forty per cent of the households in the top income category live in houses with three and more rooms (Delhi Human Development Report, 2013, p.69).

Three decades of fast paced economic growth has not transformed the labour market. The employment condition in the country has further deteriorated with high inequality and disparities between the formal and informal employment. The level of employment generation in the formal sector is very low. Most of the employment generated is in the unorganized sector where the quality of employment is poor with no mechanism for risk protection and social security benefits. As a result a large section of ‘working poor’ are engaged in the low productivity activities in the unorganized sectors. If we consider the parameter of US\$ 1.25 per day taking into account the “purchasing power parity” then approximately one fourth corresponding to 118 million of the workers are poor. These are either casual workers or self employed. Raising the bar to US\$ 2 per day the numbers reach as high as 276 million accounting for fifty six per cent of the workers fall in the category of poor (India Labour Employment Report., 2014, p.5).

3.7 Final Thoughts

Over the years land has emerged as one of most important assets for fostering economic activity especially post reforms. The rationale of demolitions and relocations of the informal settlements has been purely economic. And this has been carried out on the pretext of increased economic importance of the prime land of the city supported by judicial and middle class activism aspiring for a clean and modern city (Sathe, 2011). The noteworthy point is that the legal framework remains same however; only the mechanism and the actors involved have changed during post liberalization period leading to complete change of dynamics.

The objective of slum free Delhi is intricately linked with the expansion of the economic capacity of the city to catch up with the global economy. David Harvey explains the demolitions as developments are means to capture the city by capital (Rao, 2010, p.403). Further, Fredrick Engel's refers to this as 'Creative Destruction' and explains how in the 19th century Europe urban poor and the working class were targeted through the renewed urban policies (ibid). Furthermore the vertical and horizontal expansion of the cities has always pushed the poor to the peripheries (ibid). Indra Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi during emergency had executed large scale cleansing mission when they pushed slum dwellers out of the capital city. The historical roots of these actions could be traced back to the British period when the cities were designed to keep the 'white society' away from the "contaminated presence of unhygienic poor" (Appadurai 2000; Dupont 2008; Baviskar 2009 cited in Rao, 2010, p.405).

Therefore as a result of the segregation policies and intensified capital accumulation the poor have been pushed to the fringes. This has also been termed as "post justice" city where utopian vision of the city as a place for collective advancement no longer exists (ibid).

The power dynamics and negotiating power is tilted towards a "new middle class" who has started asserting their demands in a more authoritative and powerful ways. This is also influencing the present policies and programs and strategies to deal with the poor. Altering the balance of power is one of the fundamental things that have to be done to make our programs and policies more inclusive of the urban poor. Making the city slum free is not to get rid of them by evictions and demolition but to provide

them with a better living with improved means of livelihood, housing, basic services and amenities.

The rights discourse has suffered a setback in the era of neo-liberalism which under the garb of 'freedom' and 'individual choice' has allowed the market to permeate into every aspect of the city. Further the relationship between state led capitalism, and growing anti poor sentiments is evident from the declining wages of labour and deteriorating working and living conditions of poor and the trends of demolitions and evictions.

The declining wages is also associated with the living condition and household socioeconomic conditions. Various propositions have been put forth regarding the decline in wages and factors responsible for the decline; however some also argue that the wages have actually increased.

The traditional view point attributes the decline in the wages in the unorganized sector to trade liberalization, however, Ramaswamy argues that it is a contextual phenomenon which is country specific and the impact of globalization on wages in the unorganized sector is ambiguous (Ramaswamy, 2013). By analyzing the NSS data of 2004-05 and 2009-10 he shows that there has been a clear wage gain in the informal sector across different industries however, it puts a question mark on the improvement of the living and working conditions of labour in the unorganized sector. This rise in wages has been attributed to the economic globalization and there have been propositions that that income poverty has declined. However, this overlooks the issue of multidimensional poverty which arises due to various types of deprivations being discussed in the section on vulnerability. It arises due to lack of subsidized services, health, education and access to social security benefits. Besides, the vulnerability that arises due to living and working in harsh environment in the absence of any support or protection is unaccounted.

Economic liberalization has radically restructured the role of state in the era of globalization from what was envisioned and demonstrated in the Keynesian paradigm for newly independent economies. The state led development model has taken a back seat in the Neoliberal liberal paradigm which directs the states to provide the institutional framework conducive for the operation of free market. Moreover, the market will take care of the efficiency and labour issues except those issues arising as

a result of the asymmetry of information. However, the state cannot do away with its responsibility of creating “provision of certain minimum conditions of work including minimum wages and social security” (NCEUS, 2007, p.12). Even advanced capitalists economies which are ruled by neoliberal principles have created such mechanisms and provisions to protect the rights of labour. Therefore those countries who claim to be socialists and also consider themselves as a welfare or interventionist state cannot afford to brush aside these responsibilities.

Chapter 4- Public Health Provisioning in Delhi: Housing, Water Supply, Sanitation and Health Care Services

4.1 Introduction and Background

The previous chapter discussed how the issues of land and land control policies have changed completely in the post liberalization era. The evictions and demolitions of the slums and informal settlements have been intensified by the state instruments. This has compelled a large section of people to live in slums and other informal settlements and make shift arrangements. Moreover, a large proportion of them work in informal sector in extremely poor working and living conditions. It also highlights the issue of insecurity of work and vulnerability due to lack of any social security benefits.

In spite of the fact that the informal sector furnishes a significant proportion of people with employment opportunities, however, they are largely employed as casual labour and remain in an unprotected and vulnerable environment. Their condition becomes more precarious when combined with inadequate services provisioning. They grow in squatters and under-serviced settlements constantly living under the threat of disease and other environmental hazards. The issue of increasingly informalization of the work and casualization of labour has made the urban poor more vulnerable to social and economic deprivations.

The present economic condition is further compounded by the lack of proper housing for poor, due to the nature of land and housing policies. Absence of civic amenities such as water, sanitation and drainage facility makes them vulnerable to many health problems. State policies and planning have changed completely, be it the land control policies, provisioning of housing, water, sanitation, waste management or other social welfare facilities such as health care, education and Public distribution system.

The first section of the chapter focuses on the issue of urban health and why it has become an urgent issue especially in the present context globally as well as in India. It presents an overview of research studies which shows how the health of people gets affected in the absence of basic services. Subsequently, looks in the strategies and approaches to deal with the issues of slums and people living in sub-standard housing from the existing literature.

Drawing from this overview of the existing literature and empirical studies, we present the case study of Delhi. Where we critically analyze the changing landscape of provisioning of services, and the policies, programs and strategies devised to improve the living conditions. An attempt is also being made to look into the distributional aspect of the resources. This is to examine the distribution of resources in terms of land and housing allocation and civic amenities to different economic classes. How the planning is being done and strategies and policies being devised to distribute the resources? Where the urban poor exist in the planning process and whether state response in the form of budgetary allocation is sensitive and responsive to the needs.

The chapter also highlights the complexity of the governance structure of Delhi. It analyzes the existing organizational structures functioning under central, state and local governments to provide basic amenities. This is in order to understand the roles and responsibilities of the multiple institutions for delivering services. It further goes on to highlight their horizontal and vertical interdependencies and systemic failure to cater to the actual needs of the urban poor in Delhi.

This chapter attempts to respond to some of the laid down objectives and questions of the study, as to why such a large proportion of people live in slums and unauthorized colonies. The condition of living with regard to availability of water and government provided latrines and drainage facility and how all these deprivation reflects in the differential health outcomes compared to their non-poor counterparts. It also throws light on the issue of urban poverty in Delhi which is reflected in poor living conditions, poor or no access to services and high vulnerability. The vulnerability is determined by the area you live or settlement type and only affects a particular section of people.

4.2 Introduction to Urban Health: An Epidemiological Perspective

Fredrick Engel's work highlights the lives of poor and working class in the eighteenth century England. Further, historical analysis of the early 19th and the 20th century shows us poor health indicators of working class in cities were not considered conducive for human life. Charles Dickens's in his novels has also highlighted poverty and squalor of city (Galea and Vlahov, 2005). As the economic importance of the cities was realized in the European countries as a result of industrial revolution there was a huge migration of people towards cities in search of livelihood. This led to sudden increase in population density among the economically and socially deprived population living in cities. This gave rise to extreme poverty in some parts of the cities. Prevailing squalor, pollution, and high rates of crime were marked feature of some specific parts of the urban landscape inhabited by working poor. As a result multiple researchers and social scientists and scholars have written about the problems endemic to cities. However, the common theme which marks the work of these scholars is the link between 'urban context and poor health' (ibid).

The beginning of the 20th century marks many developments in the field of public health. Chadwick Sanitary reforms were implemented and the morbidity and mortality due to infectious diseases declined substantially. Besides, the standard of living improved, leading to dramatic improvement in the health of population in the cities mainly in the west. This was achieved through providing safe drinking water, proper sanitation and drainage facility and waste collection and disposal. These reforms were non-medical interventions that improved health status of working classes. Presently, the cities in the developing countries face the same challenges. This was followed by control of infectious diseases and its epidemics by breaking the chain of infection. Public health was mainly focused on removing etiologic agents from the environment. Infectious diseases were brought under control. This was done mainly through vaccination and immunization of the potential host.

Further, it was the cities where the Modern System of Medicine developed first and came into practice. In addition, the social security measures extended to the population especially post world war- II led to a substantial decline in the mortality due to famine and hunger. This was due to the emergence of the concept of welfare

state in the west. Subsequently, improvement in infrastructure, improved education and health facilities started proliferating in the cities.

The popular imagination envisage cities as places with highest quality of health and education services along with better civic amenities and as a result better quality of life compared to rural areas. This has also been termed as “urban advantage”. It refers to a certain kind of benefits derived by people living in the cities which are not available to their rural counterparts. These are better quality of health and education facilities, availability of water sanitation, electricity and proper waste collection and drainage facility. The critical issue here is the unequal distribution of these benefits and services. The distributions of these services are highly skewed according to economic class that determines the type of locality you live in, place of work and finally the social group you belong to. All these factors when combine together determine an individual’s access to services. This has also been discussed and understood as “differentiated citizenship” in the first chapter. Urban advantage as a concept has been proposed irrespective of the fact that a large section of poor in the urban areas continue to live in even worse condition than the rural one.

Today in many countries the indicators that are used to measure the health of the population viz. life expectancy, infant mortality, less than five mortality and maternal mortality has actually improved according to the aggregate figures available to us. The question that looms larger is what is the need to concern ourselves regarding the issue of urban health? However, these averages don’t reveal the segregated figures. It doesn’t give us the morbidity and mortality data according to the income quintiles and different social groups living in different areas and types of settlements. A slum area that accounts for 20 per cent of the city population accounts for the 50 per cent of the total disease burden of the city (Clinard, 1970).

Therefore the “Urban Advantage” in the field of health and other measures like per capita income is not equally beneficial for the people living in the urban areas. Cities have both the wealthy areas as well as areas of extreme poverty. Informal settlements that include slums, Jhuggi Jhopris and unauthorized colonies have inadequate access to water and sanitation, excluded from the social security benefits and lack access to adequate health care facilities. These factors collectively lead to higher disease burden. As a result the “urban context” becomes predominant subject of inquiry

considering the living conditions of people in the cities. The context itself becomes the determinant of the health of the population. This context is determined by poor physical environment, high risk factors and vulnerability. Hence urban health should be understood as the relation between “urban context” and distribution of disease among the population (Galea and Vlahov, 2005). Urban context refers to the differences in urban-rural disease risks as heterogeneous and context specific (Leon, 2008, p.4). Urban health is about exploring the determinants of disease and health with respect to the urban context.

The present pattern of urbanization and model of growth has given rise to the field of urban health as a “framing paradigm” that point towards multidimensional factors which affects and determines the health of the urban dwellers.

4.2.1 How important is the Health of Urban Poor globally and in India

The 20th century has been known for many landmark changes in the field of development as well as health. These are emergence of welfare state, epidemiological transition leading decline in secular mortality rate as well as rise in life expectancy and standard of living at the global level. All these factors led to rise in population across the globe and mainly in the cities.

The confluence of two factors viz. improvement of health indicators and standard of living condition brought one of the greatest changes of the century that is “number of people on the globe” and “where they lived” (Kinyanjui, 2010). From 1950 to 2010 the world population rose from 2.5 billion to 6.9 billion (Kinyanjui, 2010, p.3). Urban areas specifically in the developing world account for 63 per cent of this total rise where population has increased seven times in the mentioned period (ibid).

With this rise in urban population, cities are confronted with a crisis of unprecedented magnitude to provide shelter, employment and urban services. Consequently, there has been rise of the informal sector. This has resulted in growth of the informal settlements which has been providing shelter to more than half of the population working in this sector. These settlements are illegal and unauthorized in the eyes of state and hence their basic needs are not acknowledged as legitimate. Majority of them are not even included in the purview of government policies and programs. This is due to lack of authentic data regarding slums and other unauthorized colonies.

As per the WHO estimates, the world's population living in slums is more than 880 million (WHO, 2016, p.17). It is further expected to reach 2 billion by the year 2050 (ibid). As per the UN Habitat (2010) estimates, in the developing countries one third of the population living in the urban areas lack decent housing and safe water and sanitation services (ibid). They are deprived of the public supply of clean water. Therefore they resort to the private providers by paying money to fulfil their daily needs of water. Their drains are open and the sewage remains untreated which affects their health and mainly their children.

Low and middle income countries are facing the issue of proportionate distribution of resources. It is one of the crucial reasons for large proportion of people residing in slums and informal settlements. These settlements emblem the deteriorating living condition of the urban poor and are characterized by poor housing and living conditions lacking access to basic amenities, chronic overcrowding and insecurity of tenure. Apart from this the most worrying aspect of these settlements is that they become “invisible” in the process of economic development compared to wealthy of the cities (ibid). Majority of them are pushed to poverty due to non subsidized services and exclusion from the social security benefits.

The question that arises is why a large chunk of population continues to be precluded from the benefits of “urban advantage” the benefits of “technological advantage” in the present times. Rapid urbanization when viewed from the perspective other than growth has given rise to new social and economic problems. In addition, many new public health issues have emerged that poses serious health system challenges. A wide range of vulnerabilities push the urban poor on the verge of falling into the vicious cycle of poverty. Despite of cities possessing vast abundance of resources and wealth the irony is that distribution is highly skewed in the favour of small proportion of population. Therefore “Urban advantage” systematically excludes millions of urban poor through master plans, five year planning and policies. The budgetary allocation for various schemes doesn't commensurate with their needs and neither with their share of total population. The resulting inequalities are systematic, social, remedial and unjust and are considered to be inequities and are sheer manifestation of the social injustice (WHO, 2016, pp.21-22).

4.2.2 Prevalence and Incidence of Communicable and Non-Communicable Diseases

Non communicable diseases have emerged as a major cause of mortality and have been identified as endemic to the city life. These diseases result as an interaction of the environment we live in, biological factors and certain risk factors that are determined by how we live our life and where we live. These factors are contextual and endemic to the city life.

As per the WHO estimates NCDs accounted for 68 per cent of the global deaths in the year 2012 (WHO, 2016, p. 18). Regarding health inequities in cities, WHO and UN Habitat (2010) has noted that urban averages often masks the disease burden of the hidden pockets and overlooked population (Gupta and Mondal, 2015). With regard to MDGs it further states that urban poor are at the highest risk and therefore MDGs targets are difficult to be achieved in urban population (ibid).

A study on “Global Burden of Disease, injury and risk factors” (2010), has listed out three key factors which explains the large burden of disease in India. It includes the Dietary risk factors, tobacco smoking and household pollution (Lim, et al., 2012 cited in Gupta and Mondal, 2015, p.197). A link between poverty, overcrowding, violence and injuries has further being accentuated by WHO (Turley, et. al., 2012, p.9). Notwithstanding the rise in the menace of non-communicable diseases, communicable diseases continue to be crucial component of India’s disease profile. Diseases like Diarrhoea along with childhood cluster diseases, tuberculosis, lower respiratory tract infections, and HIV/AIDS still account for majority of morbidity and mortality (WHO, 2009 cited in Gupta and Mondal, 2015, p.197). Furthermore, India’s National Health Profile (2010), indicated that acute diarrheal diseases and acute respiratory infections reported highest cases in 2010 (Gupta and Mondal, 2015, p.197). In addition, malaria, enteric fever, pulmonary TB, Pneumonia and gonococci infection were reported to have more than a Lakh cases (ibid). Slums account for a high proportion of these reported cases.

A part from this vector borne diseases poses a greater threat mainly in Indian cities. Since 1967, Delhi has witnessed dengue epidemics every 3-4 years. It reoccurred in 1970 and followed in the years 1982, 1988, 1996, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2013 and 2015 (Daudé, Mazumdar, and Solanki, 2017, p.2/12). Dengue outbreak in the year 2013 resulted in 5,574 hospitalization cases and 8 deaths (ibid). Jhuggi-jhopris clusters

which are also areas of high urban poverty account for a large proportion of these cases. Therefore these epidemics or outbreak of infectious diseases should not merely be understood as outbreak of infection rather it should be viewed as a reflection of the socioeconomic and health services inequalities (Baru, 2012, p.71). These inequalities have persisted for a long time and have further widened in the past couple of decades.

A rising prevalence of Non communicable diseases, combined with the existing threat of infectious disease epidemics and risk of injuries and violence has been termed as “triple threat of disease” and listed out as key threat to the public health in urban areas (WHO, 2016, p.19). This is more evident when we highlights and discuss the differential disease burden of Delhi as per the residence and income quintiles.

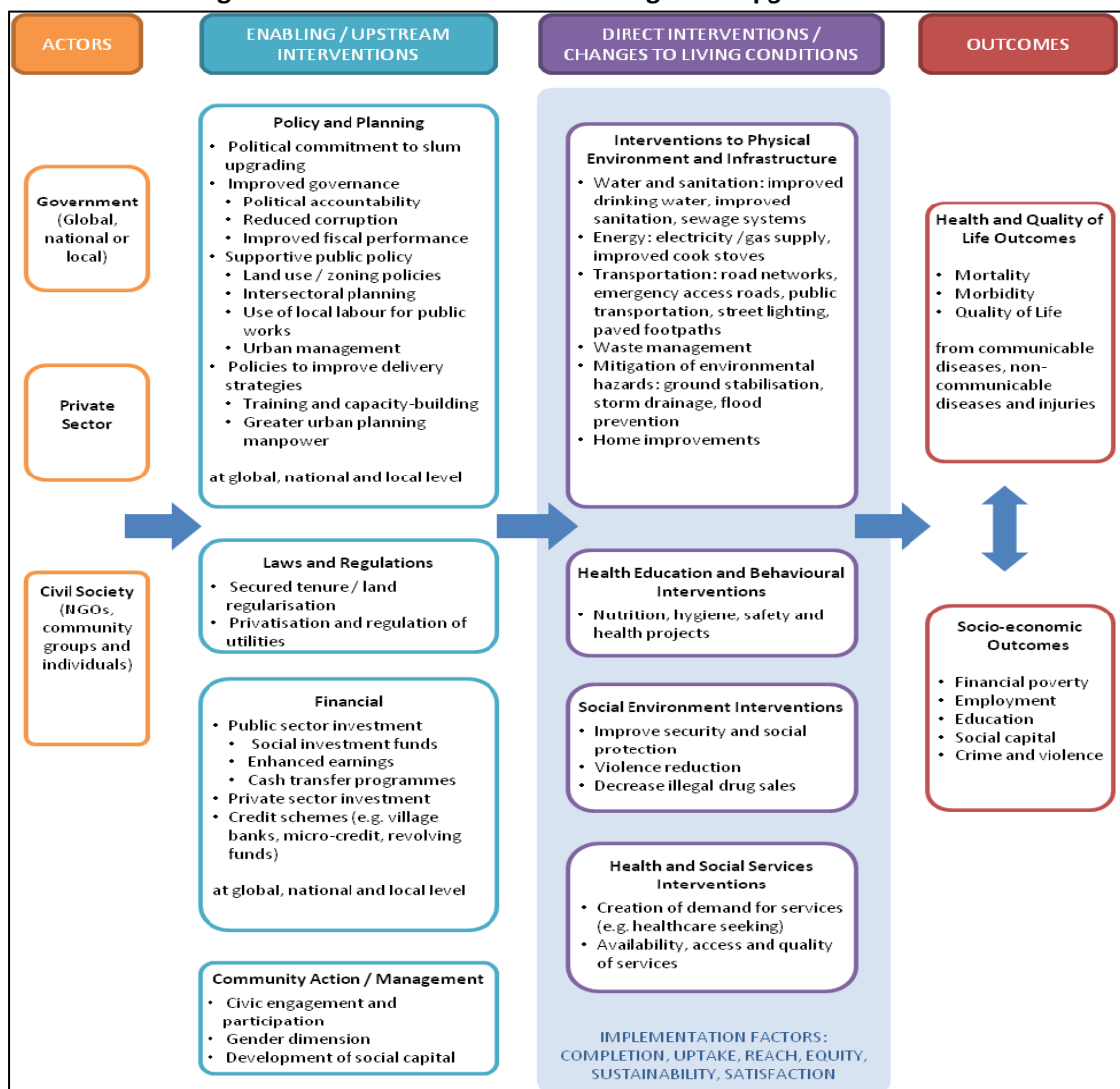
4.2.3 Slum Upgrading Strategies and its Impact on Health

Many studies have been done to evaluate the effectiveness of slum upgrading strategies on the health and well being of people living in slums. These strategies include a wide range of interventions, infrastructure, home improvement strategies, regularization and securing the land tenure. The most basic form of strategy for upgrading slums advocated by John Turner involves improvement of the physical infrastructure (Turley, et. al., 2012, p.6). It involves improving access to portable water, safe sanitation, improved hygiene, proper drainage system, installing solid waste collection system and other public goods such as roads and street lights etc. (ibid). The factors that affect health in cities broadly fall under three categories viz. physical environment, infrastructure and healthcare services (Galea, and Vlahov, 2005, p.341).

Furthermore, the intervention undertaken to upgrade the slums could be divided into two broad categories viz. proximal interventions and distal strategies (Turley, et. al., 2012, p.6). As apparent from the name itself the former includes physical environment, access to social and health services, social environment and behavioural interventions while the later refers to creating the structures and system in the form of laws and regulations, policies, fund allocation and community intervention for implementation of the proximal strategies (ibid). These strategies may be implemented either by the government or the private sector and civil society or a combination of these actors.

With the emergence of a more holistic understanding of health the slum upgrading strategies has also advocated for integration and convergence of social, economic, environmental and organizational interventions (ibid). The model presented in figure 4.1 represents a holistic and comprehensive understanding of the issues pertaining to slums. It provides us interventions and approaches at various levels, role and responsibility of different actors and outcome measures with regard to the issues of slums.

Figure 4.1- Holistic View of the Strategies to Upgrade Slums



Source: Turley, et. al., 2012, p.8.

Drawing from this conceptualization of the issues and interventions the subsequent sections of the chapter gives a detailed analysis of situation in Delhi.

A Cochrane review to assess the effect of slum upgrading strategies on health and socioeconomic outcomes of people living in slums and squatter settlements in the low and middle income countries (LMICs) was undertaken. Slums were defined using the indicators listed out by the UN-Habitat as lack of two or more of the following indicators as listed (United Nations, 2010, cited in Turley, et. al., 2012):

- Provision of safe water
- Sanitation
- Adequate living space
- Proper housing and
- Security of tenure

The interventions were assessed vis-à-vis improvements in certain outcomes which were considered as primary and fall under the broad category of “health and quality of life” (ibid). These were measured as morbidity and mortality due to communicable and non-communicable diseases and improvements in quality of life. The secondary outcomes were measured as improvement in the socioeconomic well being.

It acknowledges that there is dearth of unbiased studies to document the effect of slum upgrading strategies. With the available evidence it is also difficult to draw any firm conclusions on the effect of strategies on health and socioeconomic well being. The evidence only shows impact on communicable diseases and reducing financial poverty (Turley, et. al., 2012, p.2). Furthermore it also states that limited studies exists measuring the impact of these strategies on diarrheal diseases and water related expenditures but evidence is consistent across the studies (ibid).

A part from the Cochrane reviews the various studies that were considered in the review present different findings. Improvement in water and sanitation has potential to impact the health and socioeconomic status of people living in squatter settlements (Turley, et. al., 2012, p.9). Evidence also suggests that availability of water and sanitation facilities also leads to decline in the episodes of diarrheal diseases and also improves the health and socioeconomic well being of the slum dwellers (Clasen 2006; Waddington 2009 cited in Turley, et. al., 2012). Cost benefit analysis by WHO reveals that it further reduces the number of work days lost in both the cases of formal and informal employment and also improves the school attendance of the children collectively leading to the enhanced productivity of the household (Hutton, 2004

cited in Turley, et. al., 2012). A positive change in the health of the people by installing a private latrine has been and absence of covered sewerage system further leads to poor health (ibid). A World Health Organization review has also established the link between slum lives, health and health inequity and further demonstrates that overcrowding is linked to stress and violence (WHO, 2005 cited in Turley, et. al., 2012). Apart from providing an ideal ground for the spread of communicable diseases reduced overcrowding leads to decline in mental health problems and also injuries.

These interventions have a direct or indirect effect on the physical and mental health of the inhabitants by reducing the risk of disease transmission, and fostering an environment that leads to economic development further improvement in the standard of living. However, the impact of these interventions could be different at the individual, household and community levels.

Three studies included in the main review examined slum dwellers views and experiences. However, the review noted the methods and validity of the study as poor and not reliable. Besides, two more supporting studies documented the perception of the slum dwellers. There is a strong preference for water, sanitation and drainage facility over the health, employment and education services (Joshi 2002; Parikh in press cited in Turley, et. al., 2012, p.31). These services were accorded highest priorities (Joshi 2002; Milone 1993; Parikh in press cited in Turley, et. al., 2012, p.31). Further, these were considered to have a positive impact on health and quality of life (ibid).

There is perception that better water supply leads to reduced financial burden due to less cost of medical illness and accessing water (Aiga 2002; Parikh in press cited in Turley, et. al., 2012, p.31). Availability of water supply and sanitation were described as “freeing time” (Aiga 2002; Joshi 2002; Parikh in press cited in Turley, et. al., 2012, p.42). Footpaths were ascribed to increasing safety and roads lead to “efficient and quicker transport to market, school and work” (De Leon 1986; Milone 1993 cited in Turley, et. al., 2012, p.43). Once these needs were fulfilled their priorities changed and they believe that these amenities are important for health and well being. Moreover, the availability of these services leads to reduced illness episodes and reduction in all problems associated with fetching water from a distant source (Turley, et. al., 2012, p.42). Private services were preferred over the common source of water

sanitation and bathing facilities and distance from the residence were cited as non use of the services (Milone 1993, cited Turley, et. al., 2012, p.42).

4.3 Administrative and Governance Structure of Delhi

The administrative structure of Delhi is characterized by multiple institutions with overlapping jurisdictions, geographical boundaries and authority. There is lack of horizontal as well as vertical convergence among these agencies with regard to functioning and service delivery. The condition is further been compounded by the nature of policies and planning being done for distribution of resources within the city.

The administrative structure of the city has been inherited from the colonial rule. It was the then British government that moved the imperial capital to Delhi in the year 1911 and controlled the city administration through a commissioner (Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.31). More than 100 years later the city administration continues to function under direct supervision of the central government and its parastatal institutions. City planning, the control of land and its regulation and service provisioning comes directly under the Ministry of Urban Development and Home Affairs.

The governance structure of Delhi includes a three tier level of governance system viz. central, state/provincial and local. There are total number of 118 departments for managing and governing the city (Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.Xiii). It includes three planning boards viz. National Capital Region Planning Board (NCRPB), Delhi Development Authority (DDA) and Delhi Metropolitan Council (DMC) which are entrusted with the responsibility of city and regional planning. In addition, there are service providers namely Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC), and Delhi Cantonment Board (DCB).

The presence of a number of parallel bodies such as MCD, DDA, GNCTD and NCRPB with state and centrally conferred statutory powers makes it difficult to establish horizontal links and makes the vertical linkages convoluted (Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.32). Municipal Corporation and Delhi Legislative Assembly represent two powerful bodies in the governance structure of Delhi. It has elected members controlling and managing same areas but functions independent of each other. With

DDA being the prime land controlling agency in Delhi and MCD which is responsible for slum development is left with no resources at its disposal.

Further, DDA is one of the most powerful institutions for decision making regarding the preparing and implementing the master plans. Furthermore, majority of the slums and informal settlements are located on the land owned agencies like CPWD, Railways and DDA which function under central government. The slum development wing of MCD does not get funds from the central agencies for resettlement, rehabilitation and development of slums (Aggarwal et al., 2007, p.27). Besides, despite of receiving huge chunk of state fund from Delhi government the commissioners of the MCD functions under the superintendence of the central government.

As a result there is an overlapping and ambiguity regarding departmental responsibilities as the geographical boundaries of MCD and state government are co-terminus (ibid). This divergence between the administrative and functional responsibilities has led to uncoordinated and futile decision making and actions. The 74th constitutional amendments Act 1993, gives constitutional status to municipalities. The states are obligated to adopt municipalities as per the constitution, however, the governance structure of Delhi makes it non functional.

In 1977, the Delhi Arts Commission, one more centrally administered body functioning under the ministry of urban development was created for urban planning in the domain of city aesthetics (Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.33). Basically, it was with the idea of urban modernity and beautification of the cities that led to creation of the commission. Though the roots of these ideas were derived from pre colonial British period but it could only take an active form in 70s.

Town planning department of MCD is one of the most powerful bodies in the field of urban planning and exercise more control over land use policies in terms of implementation of the master plans compared to the government of Delhi (ibid, p.34). Table 4.1 gives a detailed description of the responsibility of various institutions, their jurisdictions and resulting failures to implement plans and deliver services.

Table 4.1- Institutional Share of Responsibilities in Delhi

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

Source: Virendra Prakash Committee Report on MCD, 2001 cited in Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.31.

“Multiple power centres” and “fragmentation of the authorities” are two biggest impediments to address the issues of urban poor mainly the land tenure security and basic services. Besides it leaves the councillors and the elected representatives with limited role and power to intervene in the matter (ibid). Formulation and Implementation of the master plan is one of the core components of the city planning along with land regulations which is done mainly by the planning department of MCD. Therefore it plays a greater role in development of Delhi than the Delhi government itself.

Inefficiency, multiplicity of agencies with overlapping authority and functional boundaries and complexity is what characterizes the governance structure of Delhi.

4.4 Housing Situation in Delhi

Shelter constitutes one of the most important needs for human sustenance and it influences all other aspects of human life.

“Shelter is important because it protects and provides us with a basic sense of security and provides a space for the family members to interact; it is also directly linked to “normal life” and is a source of privacy, independence, dignity and safety. Shelter is fundamental to enjoyment to many human rights”

(Shelter and Human Rights: UNHCR, Canada, 2010 cited in Delhi Human Development Report, 2013, p.123).

The meaning of housing or shelter should not be reduced to a “roof above ones head or a space enclosed by four walls” (Delhi Human Development Report, 2013, p.123). However, the way urbanization has unfolded world over including India it has pushed people to live in sub standard accommodation and also made large number of people homeless. As per NSS 2012, there are about 6343 slums with approximately 10.20 lakh households (GNCTD, 2015, P.14). Half of the Delhi population lives in slums. It includes various types of settlements which are characterized by their land tenure security, legality status and provisioning of services. Settlements in Delhi have been categorized into total nine broad categories discussed below.

4.4.1 Types of Habitations in Delhi

There are different types of habitations across the city where urban poor lives. Type of settlement determines the quality of services they get and further the reach of the various programs and policies.

1. **Planned and Approved Colonies-** are the ones which are part of the master plan of Delhi and are approved by the Zonal agencies. Only 24 per cent (figure 4.3) of the Delhi population lives in planned or approved colonies.
2. **Slums Designated Areas-** these areas come under the section 3 of the slum areas (improvement and clearance) act 1956. There are certain conditions that need to be fulfilled for an area to be identified as a ‘slum cluster’. These areas are deprived of even the very basic amenities and services and suffer from many disadvantages. There are notified and non-notified slums being listed out by the municipal corporation of Delhi (Aggarwal et al., 2007).
3. **Jhuggi Jhopri (JJ) Clusters-** are also known as squatter settlements. According to Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB) these settlements are built by illegal encroachment of public land mainly by the cities working class. As a result these clusters are non-notified and are not listed by the government. The category of residents include rickshaw pullers, labourers, artisans and small traders who usually live close to their work place to avoid loss of any opportunity cost and expenses in transportation. Though the residents are not entitled to any civic amenities, however, some of the

residents through political mobilization have managed to get some of the facilities. However, the quality of the services remains the main concern which far below the acceptable level (Hazards centre, 2007).

4. **Resettlement Colonies-** are the reflection of the evictions and demolitions carried out by the state and relocation of the informal settlements from the core areas of the city to the periphery. These colonies are mainly located at the outskirts of the city. The state has been carrying out these evictions since 1960s. The evictions are being done with twin objectives of “decongesting the city” and “providing better civic amenities” to the urban poor living in the core areas. Both the quality and availability of the services have been questioned by various scholars, however, it has not led to decline in evictions in the past two decades. Between the year 2000 to 2005 at least 150 JJ Basties have been demolished (Hazards centre, 2007, p.12) displacing 5 Lakhs people. Currently in Delhi there are 52 resettlement colonies with 20 Lakhs of inhabitants (ibid).

Evicting people from the core and resettling them to periphery is known as ‘site and services’ model. These relocated sites are mainly wastelands deprived of any trees and prone to flooding. Further there are no schools, health centres, transportation services, and water and toilets facility. Most importantly the loss of livelihood by pushing people to distant places from where they use to work is most ironical part of the resettlement process. It is paradoxical that for better services they are shifted to a resettlement colony and yet they live in even poorly serviced and slum like situation in these colonies. The resettlement measure is a “systematic process of marginalization” which violates the rights of the urban poor to decent shelter.

5. **Unauthorized Colonies-** are developed by the private developers on agricultural land purchased from its legal owners. They are accorded “unauthorized” status because these areas are not meant for residential use and it violates the land use pattern laid out in the city master plan (Hazards center, 2007). These colonies are highly heterogeneous with different class of people living there. Therefore access to basic amenities also varies across the settlements. There are 1071 unauthorized colonies with 3.5 million residents (WaterAid India, 2005 pp. 28).

6. **Regularized Unauthorized Colonies-** these colonies once being unauthorized however, now has been regularized by the government agencies (Agarwal et al., 2007). Once the status of regularized is accorded to them they become entitled to the civic amenities and *pucca* housing.
7. **Urban villages-** cities has been expanding vertically as well as horizontally. As a result of horizontal expansion of Delhi a large part of the agricultural land has been brought under the purview of the city administration. Once the agricultural land of a village is acquired by DDA it is declared as urban village. Though the building by laws and planning norms applicable in the rest of the city is not applicable in these villages. However, once an urban village gets notified by Delhi Government Urban development department all the by-laws become applicable in the areas and officially they become entitled to civic amenities.
8. **Rural Villages-** there are the villages which are located on the periphery of the city and are yet to be notified as urban villages.
9. **Harijan Bastis-** are also unauthorized colonies but predominantly inhabited by people belonging to lower caste groups.

Table 4.2 gives a detailed summary of the types of settlements in Delhi with its present population and projected growth by 2021. Approximately 40 per cent of the population lives informal settlements which include slums, *Jhuggi Jhopri* clusters and unauthorized colonies. This is by excluding the JJ resettlement colonies which account for 12.7 per cent of the population.

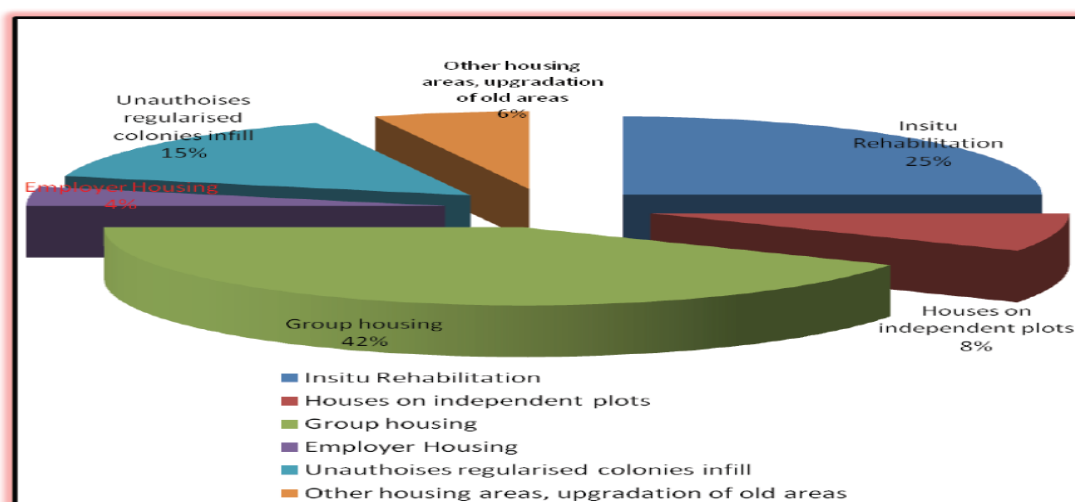
Table 4.2- Types of Settlements in Delhi and Corresponding Population

Type of Settlement	Population (in lakh) 2000	% of total population	Projected population 2021
JJ Clusters	20.72	14.8	34.13
Slum Designated Areas	26.64	19.1	43.88
Unauthorized Colonies	7.4	5.3	12.19
JJ Resettlement Colonies	17.76	12.7	29.25
Rural Villages	7.4	5.3	12.19
Regularized-Unauthorized Colonies	17.76	12.7	29.25
Urban Villages	8.88	6.4	14.63
Planned Colonies	33.08	23.7	54.45
Total		139.64	100

Source: GNCTD, 2007-08 cited in Agarwal and Srivastava, 2007, p.14.

According to the master plan (Figure 4.2) prepared by DUSIB for the year 2021, 54 per cent requires Economically Weaker Section (EWS) and Low Income Group (LIG) houses (Economic Survey, 2017-18, p.194). Further 42 per cent of the housing units that amounts to 10 lakh houses need to be redeveloped through densification including in-situ up-gradation and regularization of the tenure (ibid).

Figure 4.2- Housing Projection under Master Plan of Delhi 2021



Source: GNCTD, 2017-18, p.200.

As DDA is the sole agency when it comes to the decisions making regarding land use and public housing. It functions under the purview of Ministry of Urban

Development, Government of India. In addition there are other bodies which take part in decision making and implementation of the master plans. Delhi government is one among these institutions for improving the housing sector. Notwithstanding this the Delhi Government launched Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) to provide housing to the economically weaker sections. However, the scheme has its own limitation due to two reasons. One is that when majority of the land comes under DDA jurisdiction then it can't function independently. Secondly, the financial support for JNNURM has to be borne 50 per cent each by the state and Delhi government. It highlights some of the administrative and governance challenges in addressing the housing issues.

4.5 Water Supply and Sanitation in Delhi

Water and sanitation services are primary determinants of the health of the people. It constitutes critical components of infrastructure of city. "A vicious relationship exists between poor quality and quantity of water, sanitation services, people's health, household and city economic development" (CURE, 2009, p.6). These all collectively determine the overall development of the city and further the quality of life members of the city enjoy.

Access to safe drinking-water constitutes basic human rights and is indispensable for living a healthy life. World health organization states that, "all people, whatever their stage of development and their social and economic conditions, have the right to have access to an adequate supply of safe drinking water" (WHO, 2011, Preface). Water is one of the most important determinants of the health in developing country like India lack of it could result in increased health burden.

The importance of clean drinking water and sanitation in promoting health and development has been emphasized in a number of international conferences including Alma-Ata and other water specific conferences. The UN General Assembly has also declared safe and clean drinking-water and provision of sanitation as a human right essential to the full enjoyment of life and all other human rights (ibid).

Evidence ⁵ suggests that interventions directed towards improving the access to drinking water favours particularly poor both in rural and urban areas. Furthermore, it can be an effective part of poverty alleviation programs. Investment in providing

⁵ WHO guidelines for clean drinking water-2011.

drinking water also saves huge social cost to the society and failure to implement these policies has detrimental impact on the overall development of the society.

In Delhi where majority of the people which constitutes migrants mainly engaged in the informal sector have had faced severe water distribution crisis. The urban poor are the ones hardest hit by such governance issues (Haider, 2017). Water management and its judicial distribution have also emerged as one of the challenges confronting Delhi with a significant proportion of the population underserved (Singh and Singh 2005: 100 cited in Haider, 2017, p.28). A stark inequality in water distribution is the marked feature of Delhi water distribution system. The issue of water administration and its dissemination should not merely be seen as a matter of commodity distribution rather it has financial, social, political and environmental dimensions (Haider, 2017, p.3).

4.5.1 Constitutional Framework

Water as a matter of right is enshrined in the constitution of India. It states that “water, that is to say, water supplies” comes under the legislative jurisdiction of state governments. It gives constitutional right to all state governments to plan, implement and maintain water supply along with this there are several provisions that provide individual’s right to water supply (Sahu, 2012, p.83).

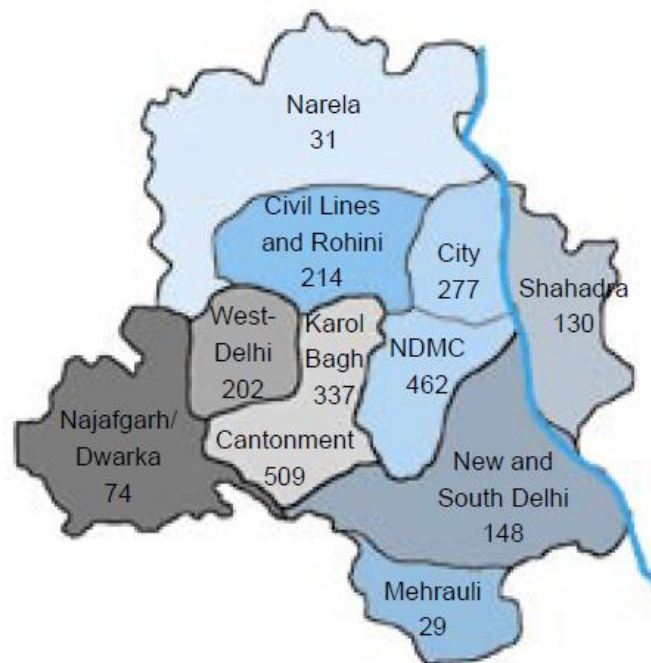
Article 15(2) of the constitution states that no citizen shall “on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them” be subjected to restriction or condition with regard to “use of wells, tanks, bathing *ghats*” this is one of the most important constitutional provision which makes access to water as a fundamental right (Ibid, p.83).

Further Article 21 of the constitution states “the protection of life and personal liberty”. This provision of the constitution has been interpreted by supreme court of India and has included all the facets of life including right to water (ibid, p.84). While there are wide range of provisions in the constitution of India for citizens access to water these have been defied by state and central governments by bringing in private parties of and on in the name of effective management and distribution.

4.5.2 Sources of Water and Issues of Shortage

Ground water and Yamuna River are the two major sources of water in Delhi. Both the sources are in critical condition due to excessive ground water extraction and water pollution respectively (Haider, 2017). Almost 86 per cent of water demand is met by Yamuna River and the rest from Yamuna River Ranny wells and tube wells across Delhi (Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.35). Though ground water constitutes only 1 per cent of the water resources in Delhi, unofficial pumping by industries, domestic consumers and some private suppliers has led to over exploitation of the ground water resource. This has also brought the water table as low as 350 feet in some of the areas compared to 30-35 feet in 1950s.

Figure 4.3- Water Zones in Delhi with Quantity of Water being Supplied



Source: "Delhi-1999, Fact-Sheet" published by NCR Planning Board cited in Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.36.

Figure 4.3 gives a detailed account of the quantity of water supplied in different zones of Delhi. It is evident from the picture that highest level of water supply i.e. 509 lpcd is being given to the cantonment area which is 18 times higher than the lowest supplied area i.e. Mehrauli which gets a supply of 29 lpcd. Demand for water varies across communities and localities.

Keeping in view the needs, standard norms have been developed. As per the norms a planned colony is entitled to 225 lpcd of water and resettlement colonies and urban

villages will get 155 lpcd. While for JJ Cluster it is extremely low as 50 lpcd, however, that is also far from being supplied (Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.37). A study done by the Sanjha Manch in 1999 reveals that people living in slums and resettlement colonies receives less than 30 lpcd of water on daily basis (Hazards centre, 2006). Also according to a study by World Bank, Delhi and Chennai are the worst ranked cities in terms of water availability among 27 megacities in Asia (ibid). Not only in terms of availability of water but uneven distribution.

Table 4.3- Water Supply Allocation in Delhi Master Plans

Delhi Master Plans for years	Required water supply as per norms of 70lpcd (mgd)	Percentage of fulfillment of the requirement
1962	230	39%
1981	496	51%
2001	1096	59%
2021 (projected)	1840	NA

Source: Hazards Centre, 2006, p.7.

Table 4.3 shows the water requirement level and proportion of the requirement met. The standard norm for per capita water supply has not changed for new plans. Therefore the argument of shortage of water due to rising population doesn't hold valid looking at the differential level of water supply to the different colonies and zones. It is not the paucity of water or the issue of overpopulation however, the extreme inequality in terms of its distribution.

Despite the establishment of many new water treatment facilities, inadequate water supply in majority of the areas of Delhi mainly the slums, JJ Clusters, unauthorized and resettlement colonies continue to be a critical issue. The average water availability in Delhi is 225 lpcd. Shortage of water has been most highlighted issue in the past decade however the issues of differential distribution and inequitable policies have not taken the centre stage for the discussion.

4.5.3 Access to water and Sanitation Services

Delhi has 11 districts, 152 wards and 70 constituent assembly seats. It has three local bodies, MCD, NDMC, and DCB. The slum department of MCD provides basic services in slums and resettlement colonies. The conservancy and sanitation department is responsible for collecting and disposing solid waste (water aid India, 2009).

Delhi Jal Board has been entrusted with the responsibility of production and distribution of water in Delhi. It supplies water to the areas that come under the jurisdiction of MCD. It further supplies water to NDMC and DCB for distribution in their respective areas.

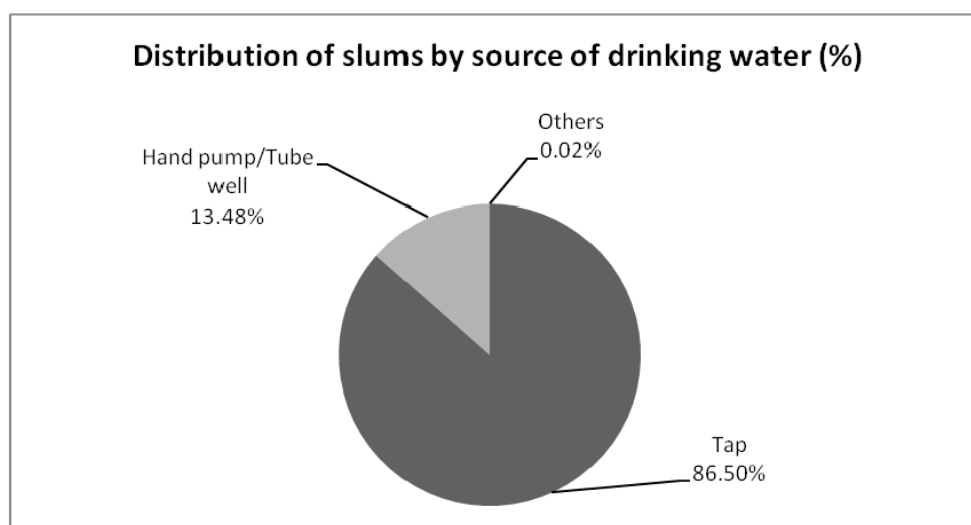
Water supply basically entails two main components viz. source of water and quality and quantity of water supply. On the other hand sanitation comprises a cluster of services viz. sewerage, drainage, solid waste management, waste water drainage, storm water drainage and street sweeping (CURE, 2009, p.26). There are a range of agencies and institutions for delivery of these services.

Delhi Jal Board is the sole agency for water supply in Delhi. Water supply and sewerage services are interlinked therefore DJB is also responsible for disposal of sewerage and waste water. However when it comes to delivery of services mainly in slums it shares responsibility with MCD. The slum department of MCD is responsible for providing basic services in slums and resettlement colonies (ibid).

DJB provides the water lines till the main roads and the MCD is responsible for establishing the internal network and extending it to the community through community water points. Similarly for sanitation and solid waste management, MCD constructs community toilets in slums and resettlement sites and it is linked to the sewer by DJB. The sanitation and conservancy department of MCD is also involved in collection, transportation and disposal of solid waste (ibid).

Figure 4.4 piped water supplies in the form of tap water is the major source of drinking water for almost 86.5 per cent of the households in slums. About 13.48 per cent were dependent on hand pump and tube wells. Contrary to this table 4.4 shows demand for water with respect to different settlements and subsequent short fall in supply. There has been 100 per cent shortfall in supply for 13.96 Lakhs of population living in JJ Clusters, slums and unauthorized colonies. These residents resort to other means like hand pump a tube wells.

Figure 4.4- Access to Piped Water Supply and Reliance on Hand Pumps in Delhi



Source: NSS 69th round, 2012 cited in GNCTD, 2015, p.20.

Table 4.4- ⁶Status of Water Supply in Delhi

Type of Settlement	Population In lakhs	Demand in million litres per day (MLD)	Supply in MLD	Shortfall/ Excess
JJ Cluster, Designated Slum Area and unauthorized colony (I)	13.96	59.33	No piped supply	(-) 100%
JJ Cluster, Designated Slum Area and unauthorized colony (II)	40.80	173.40	20.43	(-) 88%
Planned Area (H.C) (MCD)	75.50	1698.75	990	(-) 42%

Source: Status Report for Delhi 21: Delhi Urban Environment and Infrastructure Improvement Project (DUEIIP) cited in CURE, 2009, P.35.

Hand pumps installed by DJB are the key source of water for Slum dwellers. It has been found that 40 per cent of the hand pumps are not suitable for drinking purpose (CURE, 2009, p.36). Further there are no water pipelines in the resettlement colonies

⁶ Significant variation in data has been witnessed regarding the informal settlements its access to services. The variation in data could be ascribed to the difference in the definitions of the slums and informal settlements adopted by NSS and other agencies conducting research in the domain of accessibility and availability of the services.

and they are served through the DJB water tankers. Out of total 975 tankers supplying to these areas, 400 are managed by the private operators (ibid).

Long queues in front of water tanker and community water post are a common sight in these settlements. The situation is exacerbated by the inconvenient timing of the water supply that results in complete loss of a day's work and subsequently loss of wage. Many families have assigned one member of the family with the task of collecting water which results in high opportunity cost. To avoid high inconvenience in collecting water from tankers and water posts many residents resort to private suppliers and end up paying high price for it. Further, some of them resort to sources which are not suitable for drinking and other household usage and leads to high morbidity mainly among children.

4.5.4 Sanitation and Drainage

Sanitation refers to the “provision of services for the safe disposal of the human waste” (CURE, 2009, p.39). The slum and JJ department of MCD is responsible for providing sanitation facilities in slums and low income settlements. As per the norms for community toilets, one seat should be provided for 50 users along with open and shallow street side drains for waste water disposal.

According to NSS 2012 (Table 4.5), 30 per cent of the slums have latrine facility in the form of septic tank/flush including all the three categories owned, shared and community basis (GNCTD, 2015, p.20). Out of total 30 per cent, 28 per cent falls in the category of public/community. Majority of the toilets owned by the households falls under the pit category which is 16 per cent (ibid). Further, 31 per cent comes under serviced category (ibid). Besides, 22 per cent of the slums have no latrine facility (ibid).

Table 4.5- Distribution of the Slums by Type of Latrine Facility.

Latrine facility used by most of the residents of the slum	No. of Slums	%
Owned		
Septic tank/flush	117	1.84
Pit	1002	15.80
Service	24	0.38
Shared		
Septic tank/flush	0	0.00
Pit	0	0.00
Service	835	13.16
Public/Community		
Septic tank/flush	1815	28.61
Pit	23	0.36
Service	1156	18.22
No Latrine	1371	21.61
Total	6343	100.00

Source: NSS 69th Round, 2012 cited in GNCTD, 2015, p.20.

Estimates suggest that almost 60 per cent of the poor defecate in open and only one third of the households have access to toilets (CURE, 2009, p.41). A study done by DJB in the year 2006 reported that while slum dwellers relied on community toilets a majority of them resorted to open defecation (ibid, p.42). Delhi Urban Environment and Infrastructure Improvement Project found that between 31 to 52 per cent of the slum households have access to community toilets (ibid). Further, National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA) study on Jan Suvidha Complexes (JSCs) highlighted that 376 JSCs were provided for 1080 low income settlements in the city. Meaning only one third of the households were provided with toilets irrespective of the nature of the toilet whether permanent or prefabricated or mobile units (ibid). Another study done by NIUA in Delhi slums reveals that 63 per cent of the children in slums defecate in open just outside their house. This particularly heightens their vulnerability with respect to access to community toilets and further high incidence of diseases. Among adults 22.2 per cent of the women and 25 per cent of the men defecated in open (ibid). Presence of a community toilet in a settlement has been a predominant parameter used to measure the sanitation facilities. Therefore the resulting estimates are irrespective of its actual utilization hence the estimated coverage is unusually high. Contrarily, despite of presence of a community toilet in a locality its use is quite low due to issues

⁷ Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, 2015. Urban slums in Delhi. Based on NSS 69th Round Survey (July 2012- December 2012) state sample.

like lack of water and poor maintenance. Besides, overcrowding and safety issues acts as deterrent for children and women to use these services.

The drainage system is either inadequate or absent in slums. As per NSS 2012, underground sewerage system was present only in 16.3 per cent of the slums and 83.7 per cent of the slums were not having underground sewerage system (GNCTD, 2015, p.21). Approximately 91 per cent of the slums were having open drainage system including the *Pucca* and *Katcha* categories and only 7.6 per cent were having covered *Pucca* drainage system.

4.6 Strategies to Improve Living Conditions of Urban Poor

Among the policies or strategies available to state to deal with the slums and informal settlements demolition and eviction has been noted as the most preferred means. The two other options are In-situ up gradation and environmental improvement of urban slums (EIUS). This section of the chapter deliberates upon these strategies and its reach among the targeted population.

The failure of Delhi Development Authority to provide housing to low income groups and poor in city has also led to failure to achieve its declared social objective. Consequently, the urban poor started to occupy public land and started living in makeshift settlements. In this response the government has adopted a “three pronged strategy” to deal with the slum and unauthorized settlements. This strategy has been actively implemented since 1990 subsequently got the approval of the DDA in 1992 (Dupont, 2008).

Strategy I- In-Situ up Gradation- relates to “tenure regularization” and “improvement of the housing related infrastructure” by constructing informal settlements on “encroached land pockets that are not required by the concerned landowning agencies for another 15 to 20 years for any project implementation” (Dupont, 2008, p.80).

The up gradation is carried out through distribution of land and extending basic services among the residents of the locality. The up gradation norms allow the pucca informal settlements to be built in the area with a dimension of 10 to 12.5 sq. mtrs. (Agarwal, et al., 2007). A total of 180 JJ clusters have been listed for In-situ up gradation. Remaining are yet to be granted the status as the “land owning agency” has not issues a no objection certificate in remaining cases (ibid). As per the officials of

MCD this approach seems to be viable as it doesn't involve the dislocation of the residents and also doesn't affect the livelihood of the people living in the area.

Strategy II- Relocation of the Jhuggi-jhopris Clusters- this approach involves relocating the residents of the clusters as the land occupied by them has to be used for implementing projects in the "larger public interest" (Agarwal, et al., 2007; Dupont, 2008). The land owning agencies submit an application for clearance of the site to the slum and JJ department and also propose to share the cost involved in relocation. Possessing a ration card (31st Jan 1990) and being an Indian citizen are two prerequisites to be eligible for relocation and get benefits. Further those holding a ration card by Dec 1998 were eligible for a plot of 12.5 sq. metres.

Strategy III- Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) - refers to provision of basic amenities in the clusters irrespective of the status of the encroached land. These services have to be provided to all JJ clusters and no limitations are imposed based on the status of land. Some of the laid down norms for the provisioning of the services are a tap for 150 persons, one latrine seat and a bathroom each for 20 -25 persons (Agarwal, et al., 2007). In addition to this cognizant of the conditions of slums, Delhi government has introduced "Basti vikas kendras" and "Sishu vaticas" where a separate space is earmarked for facilities like primary schools, basti vikas kendras, shishu vaticas, open spaces and community facility complexes etc. (Agarwal, et al., 2007, p.17).

Regularization of Unauthorized Colonies

In addition to these three strategies an attempt has also been made by the Delhi government to regularize the unauthorized colonies and make provisioning for the basic services. In this regards guidelines have been formulated by the government and certain amount would be charged from the residents so that the development work in the area could be carried out and provisions for basic services be made available.

Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)

The scheme was started in 2005-06 with twin objectives to improve "urban infrastructure" and "basic services to the urban poor". While infrastructure and governance is being implemented by ministry of urban development, basic services for urban poor is being taken up by the ministry of housing and urban poverty alleviation (Agarwal, et al., 2007, p.18).

The mission aims at improving the housing, water supply, sanitation, sewerage and drainage services in the areas deprived of these services. Other targets are providing

security of tenure and other government benefits pertaining to health, education and social security benefits. The financial cost required in implementation of the scheme would be borne by both the state and central government. In the case of Delhi the centre would share 50 per cent of the amount and remaining would be shared by Delhi government, local bodies and parastatal bodies.

Night Shelters and Mobile Shelters

In Delhi a large population of poor is homeless and are living on streets and pavements. There are at least one Lakh homeless people in Delhi (Agarwal, et al., 2007, p.17).

Presently there are total 261 night shelters operating under DUSIB. These shelters are run through collaboration between DSUIB and some NGOs working in this domain and have a capacity to accommodate approximately 20,934 people (Hindustan times, 2018). Of these 261 night shelters, 83 are of concrete structures, 115 are Pota cabins and remaining are tents (ibid).

A part from the apparent fact that these night shelters are inadequate to accommodate all or at least majority of the homeless people in Delhi, there are numerous factors that impels people to stay away from using these night shelters.

The conditions of these shelters are very poor and are grappling with the issue of overcrowding along with absence of functioning toilets and bathing facility. The question of women safety is a critical concern in these shelters. A 45 years old woman was quoted as saying “It is hard for women to be out on the streets. Men, including police, trouble us. So of course, I am afraid when I see the gates opening at midnight” (The Indian Express, 2017). There has also been reports that people have been charged Rs 10 per individual for stay in these shelters.

Furthermore, during winters National Green Tribunal formulates various laws regarding prohibiting open fire to check air pollution. This has been done while ignoring the fact that it is the only means for homeless people to save themselves from the shivering cold during winters. On the other hand the poor condition of the night shelters doesn't attract them to stay there. Two important factors that accentuate the limited success of the night shelters are first; these are grossly inadequate and not proportionate with the homeless people in the city. Secondly the poor condition of these shelters has forced many homeless people to face the harsh environmental condition despite of presence of night shelters.

4.7 Institutions and Their Systemic Failures: Policy Response, Governance Issues and Budgetary Allocation

There is a dominant notion that the rapidly increasing slums and informal settlements and their expanding population are exerting tremendous pressure on the existing infrastructure. This has also impacted the availability and provisioning of services. Contrary to this the discussion in the preceding sections of the chapter highlights inadequate provisioning for housing and inequitable distribution of services has created the present situation.

While the preceding sections looked at the provisioning, accessibility and distribution of resources the current section analyzes whether the budget allocated for provisioning of water and sanitation facilities commensurate with the needs of the people. Moreover, highlight the role of the institutions entrusted with delivering the services and their systemic failure. This will serve two objectives; one is to look at the priorities of the government when formulating policies. Besides, highlight the loopholes and bottlenecks for failure of the institutions to deliver services on their part.

An analysis of the eleventh five year plan from FY 2007-08 to FY 2011-12 shows that the budgetary outlay for slums for water and sanitation services is exceptionally inadequate (Panda and Agarwal, 2013, p.24). Not only the allocation is low but even the allocated funds remain unspent and unutilized. An allocation of 73 Crores was proposed during the eleventh five year plan for sanitation and water supply in slums which were to be implemented through two schemes viz. “Grant-In-Aid for Augmentation of water supply in Jhuggi Jhopri (JJ) clusters” and “ Water supply in resettlement colonies” (ibid). Nearly 20 Crores remained unutilized after the completion of the 11th five year plan.

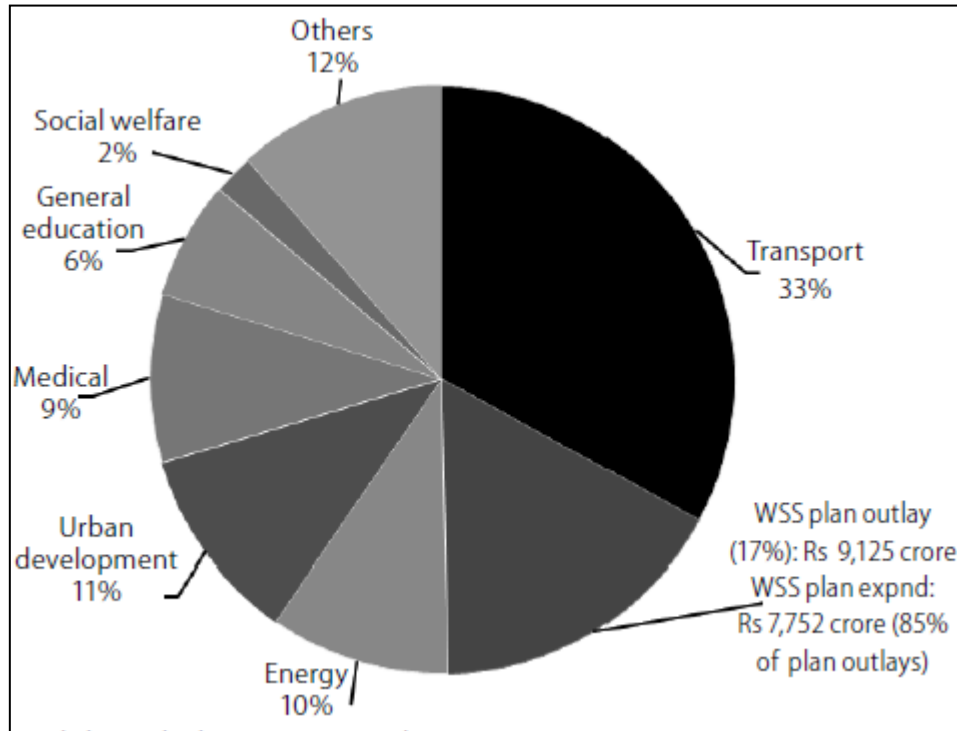
Subsequently, in the FY 2011-12 Rs 4.8 Crores were allocated by Delhi Jal Borad which was increased to 5 Crores in the subsequent year in the 12th five year plan. Notwithstanding the marginal increase in the allocation the question is whether 5 Crores a sufficient amount for provisioning of water supply and sanitation in 6343 slums with 10.2 Lakhs households (NSS, 2012 cited in GNCTD, 2015).

The Delhi government in the FY 2011-12 allocated 35 Crores for water and sanitation which further declined to 27 Crores in the subsequent year 2012-13 (Panda and Agarwal, 2013, p.25). The figures shows that the financial support for provisioning of

basic services in the slum and JJ clusters have not increased rather have declined and in many cases the existing amount remained unused.

Figure 4.5 gives an outlay of the 11th five year plan of Delhi and share of water and sanitation services.

Figure 4.5- Budgetary Allocation for Water and Sanitation in the 11th Five Year Plan for Delhi



Source: Eleventh Five Year Plan Document for Delhi, Annual Financial Statement of Government of Delhi cited in Panda and Agarwal, 2013, p.26.

It is evident that water supply and sanitation is the second most priority subject with a 17 per cent of the total budget allocation only after the transport which gets 33 per cent of the total budget. Though the total allocation for water and sanitation in the 11th plan was 9,125 Crores, however, it must be noted that an amount of 1, 373 Crores remained unutilized. This was being carried forward to the subsequent 12th five year plan (Panda and Agarwal, 2013, p.26).

A detailed analysis of the budget during the 11th plan shows that the water supply constitutes 11 per cent of the total allocation for slums followed by sanitation which is 28 per cent. A large part of the budget that is 66 per cent was given for environmental improvements and other provisioning in these settlements. The segregated picture of the total allocation to the slums shows that the water and sanitation services have been paid least importance compared to creation of other infrastructure related

improvements. The allocation seems even more disproportionate and irrational when compared to the total allocation for water and sanitation for Delhi as a whole.

While water and sanitation services come under the purview of the Delhi government, budget allocation, planning and implementation is managed by various agencies like MCD, NDMC, DUSIB, and DJB (Panda and Agarwal, 2013, p.26). A geographical demarcation is done for budget allocation to specific institutions for providing services in assigned areas like MCD is responsible for sanitation services, DJB for drinking water and DUSIB for In-situ up gradation of the slums.

Interviews with the officials of the implementing agencies working under various capacities revealed that the process of planning and budgetary allocation is highly centralized (Panda and Agarwal, 2013, p.26). Community participation to gauge the felt needs has been completely neglected. Besides, lack of transparency in budget allocation, implementation of the schemes and lack accountability in service delivery and has been reported. MCD and DUSIB formulate the financial plans generally in the last quarter of the financial year and it gets reviewed and approved by the urban development (UD).

The procedure followed for disbursement of allocated fund is that 50 per cent is disbursed in the first instalment and 25 per cent each in the subsequent instalments. However, some officials reported that on some occasions funds have been disbursed on the last working day of the financial year and along these lines conveyed forward to the following financial year (ibid).

It was also learnt that the schemes pertaining to the *Juggi-Jhopri* and relocation colonies doesn't constitute the core of the planning process it is just an ad hoc part of the planning. One of the officials reported that "Budgeting and planning for any public services in JJ clusters are primarily cosmetic exercises, a top down handiwork of officials sitting at MCD headquarters" (Panda and Agarwal, 2013, p.26).

The issue of "institutional convergence" and "ownership among implementing agencies" due to overlapping of the geographical boundaries and responsibility has been reported as a major roadblock for service delivery.

"Multiplicity of the agencies" handling different components of water and sanitation services have been reported as the prime cause of lack of accountability on the behalf of implementing agencies. For example all the four listed agencies MCD, DJB, NDMC and DUSIB are involved in one or other way for providing services in slums.

Some organizations are responsible for providing the services some in planning and land allocations come under DDA. Therefore no construction activity can be undertaken without engaging it. The governance structure has to be improved and decentralized planning should be made core of the planning process. Further, community participation is integral to ensure the felt needs get incorporated while formulating policies and programs and in implementation process.

4.8 Final Thoughts

The right to decent housing and basic amenities indispensable for sustenance of human beings is one of the fundamental rights of the urban poor. Notwithstanding this, the magnitude of evictions and resettlement process highlights a different discourse and narrative altogether vis-à-vis development. The instruments and institutions which are being used to carry out these displacements are itself questionable. Absence of adequate provision of housing and basic services has deprived a large section of urban poor of their fundamental rights. Despite of accounting for a majority of the population approximately 77 per cent and contributing immensely towards economic growth of the city by providing cheap labour they continue to miss from the scheme of things for the planners and policy makers (Hazards Centre, 2007). This impels them to resort to other means to access the services which is illegal in the eyes of the state.

According to data by Hazards centre, Delhi Development Authority had set a target of building 16.2 Lakh residential units as part of between 1982 and 2001 second master plan of Delhi. However, they could only provide 5.2 Lakh units which accounts for only 34 per cent of the housing targets in the past two decades (Hazards Centre, 2007, p.42). Besides, whatever marginal units they could build it has been provided to the middle class families. During past few decades Delhi Land and Finance (DLF) Corporation and numerous private enterprises have cropped up however these enterprises haven't built a single housing unit for the poor. They are only building luxury apartments and posh residential complexes which attract the services sector and the business class in Delhi.

A part from this the court judgments in response to the Public Interest Litigation (PIL) filed regarding the informal settlements and unauthorized colonies show us a different trend. These PILs have been filed by Residents Welfare Associations through active

intervention by the judiciary and has disenfranchised the urban poor of their right to live and work in city. Not only this principle of natural justice has also been violated as in all of the court hearings the affected party was never given a representation and sufficient time before eviction to safeguard their assets and belongings (ibid).

Therefore the issue of proliferation of slums and informal settlements should not be understood merely as a matter of population explosion or demographic changes. Rather, lack of political will and failure of the administrative structures and institutions to formulate and implement housing policies. The slum improvement strategies such as resettlements are twice expensive as in-situ up-gradation which is further five times expensive than the environmental improvement of the slums (Hazards, centre, 2007, p.43). Despite of this the displacement and relocation has become the most preferred approach by the agencies. Further the dominant discourse that resettlement of the poor to a different location provides them with a better living conditions is empirically false as the living condition is even worse than slums. Further they end up losing their earlier occupation because of the distance from their residence.

Furthermore, lack of water, sanitation and sewage facilities in the slum areas are a sign of inefficiency, biased and corrupt delivery system. The issue of water crisis should not be looked upon as just the issue of shortage of water rather; it is due to inequitable distribution and highly skewed allocation of resources. It is the role of institutions responsible for providing these services which comes under question. It is also manifestation of negotiating power which is sharply tilted towards the affluent class.

A survey conducted among 250 families across 15 slums reported that they need 90 lpcd of water on everyday basis compared to the middle class families need of 110 lpcd. Evidence suggests that with the available water in Delhi each household could be provided 200 lpcd of water which is double of their felt needs if the distribution system is made effective (CURE, 2009, p.36). The shortage in water availability only leads to cut in water supply in slums and informal settlements and doesn't affect the quantity of water supplied to other localities.

Though the issue of availability is pertinent even more pertinent is differential allocation to different social groups based on the area of residence. Some of these colonies are not even been connected with the water pipeline network. These issues

have been discussed in past on various platforms. Despite of this the measures undertaken to address the issue of inadequate water supply has focused mainly on building infrastructure. The crucial part that is institutional capacity building has been completely overlooked. Further, establishing mechanisms through formulating policies in sync with the actual needs are key to promote and ensure accountability and equitable and adequate water supply to all.

Privatization of water is one of the pertinent issues concerning provisioning. It started taking an active form in the year 2002 when India adopted a new water policy based on privatization influenced by World Bank policy of water sector (Singh and Shukla, 2005, p.38). Subsequently, a private water treatment plant was inaugurated in Sonia Vihar at an operating cost of 1.8 billion rupees by a multinational company called Degremont (ibid). Besides, a water regulatory commission was set up to devise mechanisms so that more private companies could be engaged in operating water supply in Delhi.

On the apprehensions being raised by people regarding the privatization of water, the then chief Minister issued a statement that “We do not intend to privatize the water sector. Water is a basic necessity of every person and it cannot be handed over to the private sector. They (private company) will build, operate and transfer the operation to DJB” (ibid, p.38). However, some fundamental questions which remain unanswered are at whose expense these multinational companies would operate and transfer the assets.

The Delhi Jal Board has also proposed a PPP model for round the clock water supply system along with a world bank- UNDP water sanitation program. Presently the water treatment plant and the sewage treatment plant under the Delhi Jal Board is a Public private partnership model. When such means are employed for production and distribution of water it gives legitimacy for introduction of user charges. This is being done on the premise that government has invested huge amount of money therefore it has to extract the investment. This also expands the scope of government to bring in more and more investors in these areas to make profits where these commodities should be provided as a matter of right and ought to be free of cost. If we induce user charges in the domain of water then those who could afford to pay would get enough water at the cost of people living in slums and other lower socio-economic groups.

Furthermore, in PPP all the resources are being provided by the government and the profit generated would go to the private agencies. This is completely exploitation of the state resources for generating private profit. Again it raises the question of who will own, who will operate and who will pay and to what extent it will satisfy the people needs and private greed's (ibid). Therefore the very premise of the partnership which appears to be a symbiotic relationship is rather a parasitic relation where private agencies proliferate at the cost of government resources. Therefore state should take the responsibility to provide these services without any user charges.

The indicators like type of settlement, land tenure and authorized or unauthorized status shape the norms and policies for budgetary allocation and service delivery in these areas. All these intricacies only direct us that the inequality of supply should not be confused with the shortage or different norms for different areas. This is manifested in the budgetary allocation and policy formulation for water and sanitation services. The meagre allocation highlights two important points. First there is a lack of need assessment and proper planning for the poor which is reflected in poor operation and maintenance mechanism by implementing agencies. Second, the insensitive attitude of the state and further government officials accountable for making the services reach the unreached and underserved.

Chapter 5- Consequences of the Recent Trends of Urbanization for Equity

"Urbanization by itself is no cause for alarm. What is alarming are the gross inefficiencies and Inequities that characterize urbanization in the developing world."

(George Frier)

5.1 Introduction and Background

Drawing upon the conceptualization of urbanization and the theories presented in the review of literature, the present chapter seeks to highlight the process of urbanization and inequalities. The review suggests that urban inequalities are closely intertwined with the nature and process of growth and development. Further, the nature and process of development has a reciprocal relationship with health outcomes and access to health services.

As discussed in the Alma Ata declaration growth alone does not ensure development. As our review suggests growth is essential for development but the latter ensures the fair distribution of resources. So, in both rural and urban areas redistributive justice is critical for positive health outcomes. Thus, we would argue that the nature and process of urbanization is intricately linked to the health and development and access to healthcare services.

Given the present nature of urbanization many of the development concerns and equity has not been adequately addressed. As a result the socio-economic inequalities get reflected in the unequal access to livelihoods, wages, housing, food security, water supply, sanitation, education and health services. All of the above are the key determinants of health.

The present chapter examines the issue of inequality in health and access to health services, which has been a consistent feature of the process of urbanization. The development process has not resulted in reducing inequalities in health. The health indicators are invariably poor for people living in slums who occupy the lower income quintiles. The disparities in health further reinforce the inequalities in other aspects of life, which is seen in the social and economic indicators.

The chapter continues the discussion initiated in the previous chapters regarding growth and development and attempts to present a clear and comprehensive understanding of development and its implications for equity. In particular it analyzes some of the social, economic and health indicators to highlight the inequities in health. This is to put forth the issue that high and sustained growth rate has not translated into a better standard of living for all. It also discusses the implications of steady high growth not leading to development and then its implications for equity.

The overarching goal of the chapter is to theorize the nature of the process of urbanization and social inequalities and inequities in health. It attempts to understand the meaning of development and its implications for equity and presents an alternate view of looking at economic development. It also highlights the limitations and the dangers of the increasing role of the market and emphasizes on the central character of the State for social development.

As noted in chapter one and two the different approaches to understand urbanization, growth and development. Current chapter presents an overview of these approaches from the traditional classical economic approach to the political economy approach and then how the development is conceptualized in the present time of development economics. It is essential to understand the fundamental principles of these traditional theories to understand the prevailing inequalities in the present situation which is predominantly a result of these growth models. Subsequently, it deliberates upon the work of some of the scholars who have studied urbanization and inequalities and draws from this conceptualization of urbanization and development to analyze the process of urbanization in Delhi.

The chapter concludes by describing the ongoing process of urbanization in Delhi as urbanization of marginalization and poverty. While the Western notion of modernization completely drives the process, it has also produced an increasing number of poor with heightened vulnerability living in cities struggling to meet their primary needs.

5.2 Theorizing Urbanization and Social Inequalities

5.2.1 Approaches to Understand Development

The theories on economic development that mainly emerged in the middle of the 20th century can broadly be summarized into four broad strands (Todaro and Smith, 2011, p.15).

First, the linear stages of growth model proposed by Rostow as Modernization theory clubbed with various propositions by economists. They proposed a five stage growth model that every society passes through irrespective of their present stage of development. They proposed that institutional and infrastructural patterns of a country determine the technological and economic productivity which is crucial for modernization of economy.

Second, Structural Change Theories - explaining the patterns of structural changes a country carries out to transform and modernize the economy. Arthur Lewis proposed the theory of development which was premised on structural changes in the economy to foster growth. These theories proposed the internal structural changes which a country should carry out in order to facilitate rapid and sustainable economic growth. These include spatial dynamics of labour relations and structural changes in the economy. They focussed on push and pull factors that influence the wages in the urban areas and ensure efficiency in labour allocation both in the rural and urban areas. The theory was critiqued from various quarters.

Third, International dependence revolution theories- post 1970s the linear growth and structural changes model was rejected by the theorists and intellectuals. These theorists emphasized on institutional and political changes taking place within the country and between the countries at the global level to understand development. They advocate that the development or underdevelopment is determined by the internal power relations within the counties and further between countries. It emphasized on state policies to eradicate poverty by highlighting the inequalities that persists. The basic tenet of these theories was redistribution of growth, and concomitant development while pursuing economic growth.

Neoclassical model –Economic liberalism became a dominant model during 1980s to 1990s. It was premised on two key tenets of individual rights and freedom. It advocates for minimum state intervention in the economic affairs and believes in free

and self regulating markets and free market capitalism. It contested the proposition of the dependency theorists that internal and external institutional and political changes determine development. Instead it proposed, too much state intervention in economic affairs impede development.

An overview of these approaches shows that traditional economic measures emphasized purely on sustained high growth rates in terms of per capita income and gross national income. Their primary concern was efficient and cost effective allocation of the resources that are scarce. And therefore it emphasized on its optimal utilization for producing wide range of goods and services. On the other hand, traditional neoclassical economics relies on ‘perfect market’ and gives primacy to ‘consumer sovereignty’ in terms of individual choice and freedom. It relies on information symmetry, equilibrium outcomes and economic ‘rationality’ which are purely individualistic for economic decision making (Smith, 2003, p.7).

Per capita income and high growth rates are some of the common concern of these approaches. It was to enhance per capita gross national income anticipating a “trickle down” effect which would result in distribution of the economic and social benefits of the growth. Social Inequalities in terms of income distribution, wide spread poverty, unemployment and issues of social exclusion and discrimination were of the secondary concern.

The model of economic growth failed as a whole on the global level with rise in absolute poverty, high unemployment rates, and concentration of large part of the national wealth in the hands of few economic and political elites. Many developing countries that have achieved high rates of economic growth, failed miserably to distribute the benefits of growth. This is more apparent from the growth pattern of India and more closely studied detailed case study of Delhi. It reiterates that something is wrong the way development was understood and conceptualized and it continues to dominate the way we plan and understand development.

Consequently social inequality became an issue of concern for the policy maker’s post 1970s that led to redefinition of the concept of economic development and gave rise to the slogan “Redistribution of growth” and growth with redistributive justice (Todaro and Smith, 2011, p.15). Subsequently, the Political economy approach became the dominant paradigm to study development. It focused on the “social and

institutional processes through which certain group of economic and political elites influence the allocation of scarce productive resources exclusively for their own benefits” (ibid). Political economy therefore studies the relationship between economics and politics and the power dynamics in economic decision making.

Development economics on the other hand while focusing on technical efficiency in distribution of scarce resources and high growth rates it also studied social, political, economic and institutional mechanism to improve the standard of living of people. Values become the point of distinction between the earlier approaches and the present approach towards development. Values are even more important in economics as it’s a discipline that engages with study of social systems. Therefore both the concept of modernization and economic development should be value laden rather than purely economic driven.

The concepts of social and economic equality are subjective value judgments that determine the goals we as a society aspire to achieve. Therefore the objective of economic development can’t be pursued by following the postulates of traditional economics. Instead it should be pursued in broader perspective and analyzed in the context of ‘social system’ of the country (Todaro and Smith, 2011, p.13). Social system here refers to a range of noneconomic and economic factors and their interdependencies. Further the non economic factors include “attitude towards work and authority, public and private bureaucratic, legal and administrative structures, cultural tradition, land tenure, flexibility or rigidity of social and economic classes, participation in decision making activities and integrity of government agencies (ibid). Both the economic and non economic factors vary widely across different social and cultural settings.

5.2.2 Aim of the Thesis

While the four clusters of theories discussed above proposed different models of economic development but failed to explain the resulting social inequalities except a few. They proposed various structural and institutional changes in economy, however couldn’t take into account the inequalities in terms of declining wages, deteriorating living conditions of poor in cities, severity in shortage of elementary services, issues of social exclusion and rising social and economic vulnerability. There are set of macro level studies that deal with the relationship between economic development

and urbanization. Besides, there are studies which document the micro level effects of urbanization on society and urban networks; however literature is scarce in terms of social science disciplines that looks into the nature of urbanization and resulting inequalities and inequities in health.

Some of the scholars and few theories have attempted to analyze the nature of urbanization and equate the issues of inequalities with it. Scholars like Sanjay Srivastava, Amita Bhaviskar, Leela Fernandes, Veronique Dupont, Neera Chandhoke and Amitabh Kundu have studied urbanization and attempted to present an understanding of urbanization which presents a different view of the process. While all of these researchers have some common concerns however, they all have studied different dimensions of the process and raised some of the critical issues pertaining to development.

Sanjay Srivastava studied the fast paced process of urbanization in Delhi by unravelling the relationship between state, market and civil society and how urban identities are formed. He argues that notion of 'modernity', citizenship and aspirations of middle class drive the process of urbanization. Further provides a view of understanding the process from a class perspective with the emergence of middle class and how the process has inherently favoured that particular class. He further highlights the intertwined discourse of modernity and development with the rise in gated communities and shopping malls and marginalization of a particular class of people.

Leela Fernandes talks about the emergence of new middle class that emerged as a result of the state policies mainly post liberalization. She talks about the politics of forgetting the poor and its complete marginalization in the last two decades. She also highlights the complete shift in discourse on development post liberalization that has largely led to the transformation of Delhi.

Adding one of the most important dimensions to understanding the process of urbanization and urban transformation Amita Bhaviskar talks about the demolition and evictions being carried out in the garb of environmental degradation and its implications for the poor. Besides, Veronique Dupont highlights the strategies of the state to deal with the slums and informal settlements. The researchers like Fernandes and Bhaviskar and Dupont attribute these changes as a result of the desire for a clean

and global city and push the poor to the peripheries to utilize the economic importance of the prime land of the city. All of them have studied the dominance of a particular class and highlight the inequalities due to the strategies of the state that has become hostile towards poor.

Neera chandhoke presents a view of cities which is largely about “Spatial strategies” and structures that strengthen the process of capitalism. Further she highlights the emergence of the informal sector and the conditions it creates for its continuous reproduction.

Amitabh Kundu has studied the economic aspect of the city. He has highlighted the economic restructuring of the cities that has resulted in marginalization of the poor. He further talks about the master plan of Delhi and issues of allocation and distribution of land for different activities. He highlights the strategies of state to utilize the economic importance of the prime land of the city, rising land and property prices determined by market and real estate and how these strategies are mainly to enhance the economic efficiency of the cities and to connect it with the global economy. He also raised the issues of expanding informal sector and casualization and informalization of the labour with rising vulnerability of the urban poor in Delhi.

Apart from these scholars some of the theories help us to understand urbanization and the issues of inequalities. These include the Political economy approach that focuses on the power dynamics and ability to influence the economic decision making. Further the dependency-revolution model that focuses on the political and institutional changes that determine the development and underdevelopment of the society. The Authoritarian and collective city view are two contrasting views that shape our understanding of the cities and its process. When we try to understand the process of urbanization from the above discussed perspectives and theories and relate with the inequities in the context of Delhi it connects and explains the process and nature of present pattern of urbanization.

Drawing from the work of these scholars and the theories discussed the proposed thesis attempts to analyze the process of urbanization and social inequalities and its implication for health inequity. It attempts to analyze the relationship between urbanization, development and health as its broad objectives. In particular, it attempts to highlight the intersection of poverty, vulnerability and health.

Each chapter of the thesis highlight some of the specific trends of urbanization. Chapter three and four highlights the intricacies of the politics of land control and the process of capital generation by the state which has been intensified during the post liberalization period. It looks into the issue of labour, declining wages and poor living condition through the lens of changing provisioning and failure of the state to formulate policies and address the issue of housing, water, and sanitation and health care services. Through this it attempts to highlight the issue of the disenfranchisement of the urban poor post liberalization who had managed to live in the cities and but without provision of basic facilities. The thesis attempts to accentuate the rising inequality within the city between the poor and well of and exclusion of the poor from the priorities of the state and scheme of things when drafting policies and programs. Questioning the sustainability of the exclusionary growth model in the present context of development and ‘urban modernity’ is one of the objectives of the thesis.

5.3 Antinomies of Economic Growth and Economic Development

5.3.1 Health and Development

Development and growth are not same however; growth was one of the preconditions for the developing countries to address the issues of poverty and hunger. It has to be accompanied through inclusive public policies embedded in the concept of “redistributive justice”. Health of population is one of the most crucial components of development and is key for the individuals to realize their full potential. It is a precondition to allow individuals enjoy the other fundamental rights granted by the society. Henry Shue argues that there are certain “basic rights” including “right to subsistence” which is fundamental for enjoying the other fundamental rights granted by the state (Payne, 2008, p.n.a).

Moreover United Nations have put health as one of the markers to measure development along with per capita income. The problematic aspect of per capita income as a tool to measure development has been discussed and it would become clearer when we discuss some of the indicators in the next section. The present section of the chapter tries to establish a link between health and development and understand some of the core values of development before looking into some of the indicators of development from Delhi.

5.3.2 Three Core Values of Development

The concept of development or “chronic underdevelopment” is not merely about the economics or quantitative measures of employment or income. Rather a real fact of life for half of the population of Delhi that lives on the edge of poverty and insecurity. A large proportion of people struggle to fulfil their basic needs. Almost half of them are denied decent housing, access to basic services and are made to bear the burden of majority of disease.

Therefore development in its true sense should represent “the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system, tuned to the diverse basic needs and evolving aspirations of individuals and social groups within that system, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory toward a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better” (Todaro and Smith, 2011, p.16). Dudley Seers posited three basic questions to measure development of a country, he says:

“The questions to ask about a country’s development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result “development” even if per capita income doubled”

(Todaro and Smith, 2011, p.15)

Poverty and inequality are two important issues to measure development highlighted by Dudley Seers. So how do we conceptualize development when we talk about the up-liftment of the entire society towards a better or “more humane” living? The meaning and objectives of development lies mainly on three core values as discussed below.

- a. **Sustenance:** it refers to the ability to meet basic needs. All human beings have certain basic needs which are indispensable for sustaining life. These needs include shelter, food, health and social security. Absence of any of these needs or short in supply leads to a condition of “absolute underdevelopment”. Therefore the basic function or objective of a society is to provide every individual with these basic needs so as to averse the condition of severe deprivations.
- b. **Self Esteem:** self respect and sense of work are an integral part of good life. Every individual, group or community strives for self respect in some basic

form like identity, respect, dignity, honour and recognition (Todaro and Smith, 2011, p.21). The sense of worth in the recent times has been associated with the economy and prosperity of a nation. Therefore when the developing countries are compared with the developed ones with higher income and wealth the desire to acquire more wealth and prosperity becomes intense in the developing countries which is considered crucial to gain worth as a nation. Therefore in this due course worthiness and esteem are conferred to countries who have “economic wealth” and “technological power” or one who are “developed” (ibid). In this attempt to acquire wealth the social development should not take a back seat. In other words accumulation of wealth should not happen at the cost of economic deprivations. The motive of wealth generation should be to enhance the capability of the members of the society. Denis Goulet put it “Development is legitimized as a goal because it is an important, perhaps even an indispensable, way of gaining esteem” (ibid).

- c. **Freedom from Servitude**: the third key component of development is human freedom. Freedom should be understood as emancipation from material conditions and social servitude. Freedom from miseries and “oppressive institutions” and the vicious cycle of poverty. Sen also talks about the substantive freedom which is about the ability to fulfil the elementary needs and escape morbidity and premature mortality.

5.4 Measuring Development in Delhi: Reflection on some of the Social, Economic and Health Indicators

Building upon the discussion on different approaches to development and core values of development a concrete distinction could be drawn by analyzing some of the social, economic and health indicators from Delhi. The trends from Delhi show that though it has experienced high growth rates however the development indicators have not improved much. If we analyze the growth model of India and Delhi from the framework of growth and development then both India and Delhi has been experiencing fast paced growth. In terms of Delhi the per capita income is three times higher than the national average. Further the gap between per capita income of Delhi and the national average is higher for the past six years and it is further widening.

Many economists and scholars are of the view that the income poverty has declined in the past few decades. The issue with income and consumption expenditure as poor

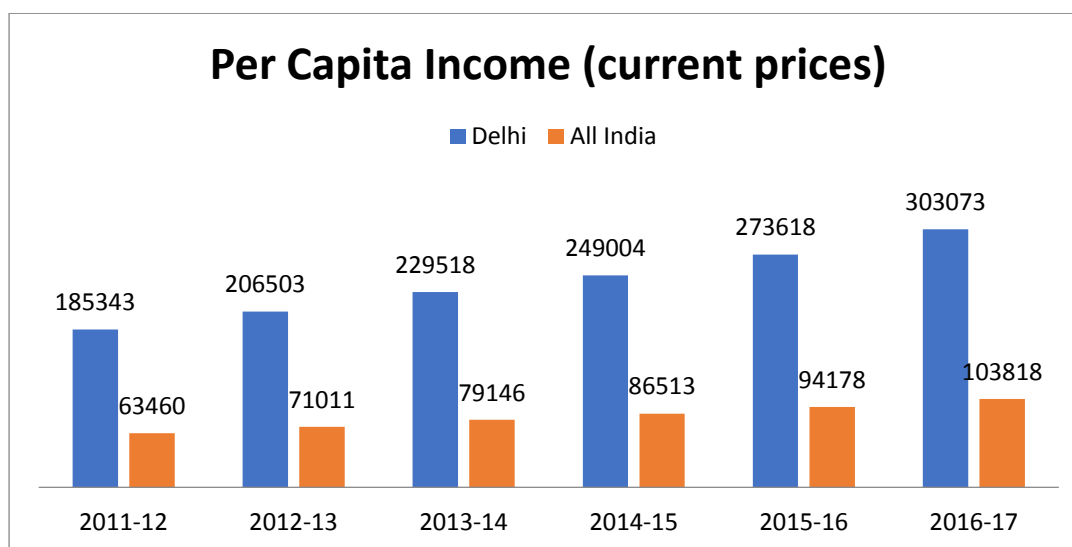
indicators of social development has also been highlighted and discussed mainly because of two reasons. First income cannot be separated from the other aspects of life and the context itself and second, whether absolute increase in income reflects other inequalities resulting due to exclusion and discrimination from the services.

This brings in the issue of multidimensional poverty arising due to combination of a range of factors viz. declining wages (Non implementation of minimum wages), low state spending on welfare measures, selective public services, declining social security measures and exclusion from the public distribution system. Therefore as per the postulates of the growth model Delhi is developing however, when we analyze and look at the situation presented in previous chapters the situation has not improved rather has got exacerbated. Therefore while putting all the emphasis on growth, development should not be understood as inevitable and obvious stage which follows growth. Rather it is a conscious and deliberate attempt through planning and policies to redistribute its benefits.

5.4.1 Economy of Delhi and Average per Capita Income

The estimated GDP of Delhi is 12.76 per cent for the year 2016-17. Per capita income of Delhi was almost three times of the national average (Economic survey of Delhi, 2016-17). A huge gap could be witnessed between per capita income of Delhi compared to the national average and the gap has been consistent for the last six years (figure 5.1). Besides, Delhi has also maintained its consistent revenue surplus for the year 2015-16. The debt problem is also well under control of the government.

Figure 5.1- Per Capita Income of Delhi and India at Current Price during the year 2011-2017



Source: GNCTD, 2016-17.

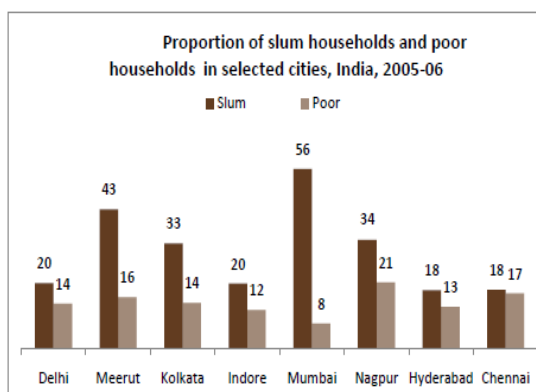
The economy of Delhi has a predominant service sector which accounts for almost eighty two per cent of the Gross State Value Added (GSVA), followed by secondary and miniscule primary sector (GNCTD, 2016-17, p.43.). Construction workers, masons, shop workers, welders, plumbers etc constitute largest share in employment in the secondary sector.

5.4.2 Social Indicators

The analysis of the indicators discussed in this section has been done according to three categories of people living in cities viz. people living in slums, non-slums and urban poor as per the wealth index. The urban poor refer to people falling in the category of lowest quartile of wealth index. Further the definition of slums and non slums areas has been according to the classification made by NFHS.

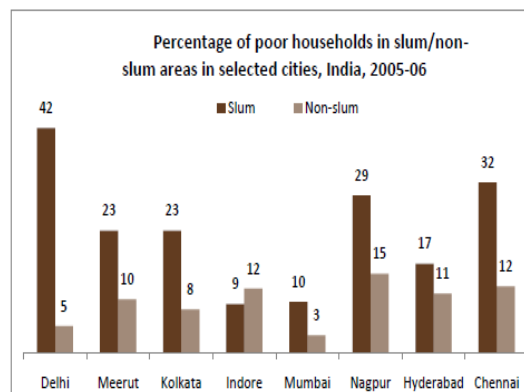
The increasing proportion of the people living in slums in Delhi are one of the indicators of deteriorating living conditions and rising urban poverty. Figure 5.2 and 5.3 highlights the extent of poor living in slums and extent to which people living in slums are poor. It also shows that poverty is widely prevalent in slums compared to non slum areas in Delhi.

Figure 5.2



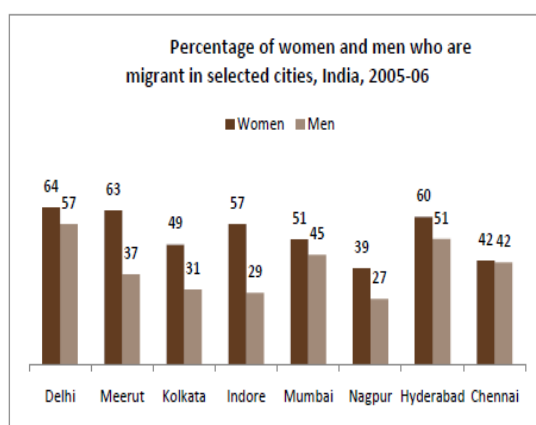
Source: Gupta et. al., 2009, p.23⁸.

Figure 5.3



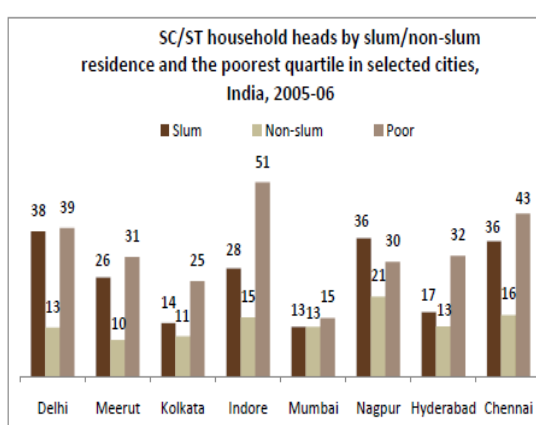
Source: *ibid*, p.23.

Figure 5.4



Source: *ibid*, p.34.

Figure 5.5



Source: *ibid*, p.27.

Figure 5.4 shows the composition of the population in terms of migrants, 64 per cent of women and 57 per cent men are migrants in Delhi. Further 38 per cent head of the households in slums and 39 per cent in poorest quartile belong to Schedule Tribe/Schedule Caste category (Figure 5.5). This shows a large proportion of the SC/ST population lives in the slums which also constitutes a significant proportion of poor in the city.

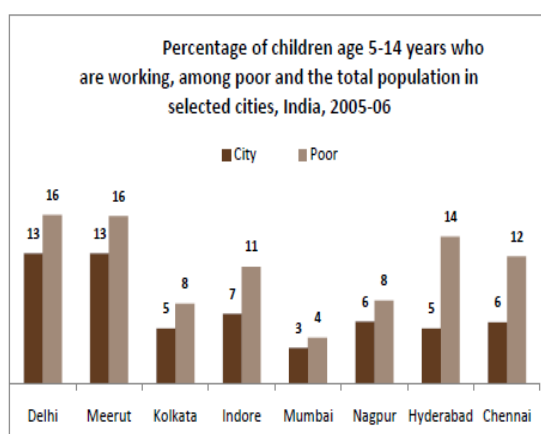
A comparison of the slum households and poor households reveals that the disparity between the proportion of poor living in slums and non-slums is largest in Delhi. The figures could further increase because of the different type of settlements in Delhi and not all informal or unauthorized settlement is recognized under the slums act.

⁸ Health and Living Conditions in Eight Indian Cities. National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) India 2005-2006. 2009. *Mumbai*.

Therefore a large proportion of people are living in informal and unauthorized settlements that are not identified as slums. These include JJ Clusters, resettlement colonies, and unauthorized colonies.

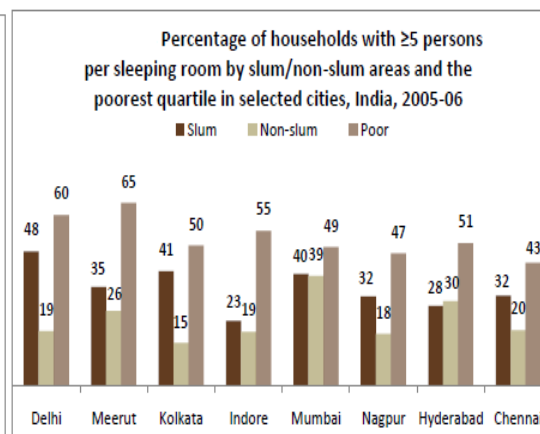
In Delhi 13 per cent of the children in slums and 16 per cent in the poorest quartile are working (Figure 5.6). Delhi has almost highest proportion of working children compared to other cities. When it comes to the living space per person it shows extreme inequality, figure 5.7 shows that 48 per cent of the people living in slums fall under the category of five or more persons sharing a room and the figure for the poorest quartile are further higher at 60 per cent. The living space highlights the extreme living conditions in the slums and among people in the poorest quartile.

Figure 5.6



Source: *ibid*, p.31.

Figure 5.7

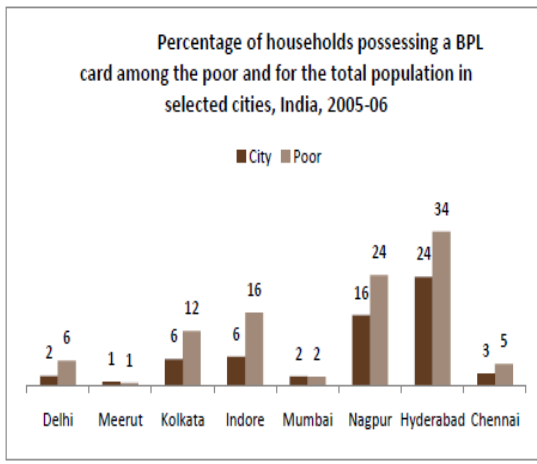


Source: *ibid*, p.36.

5.4.3 Issues of Social Exclusion

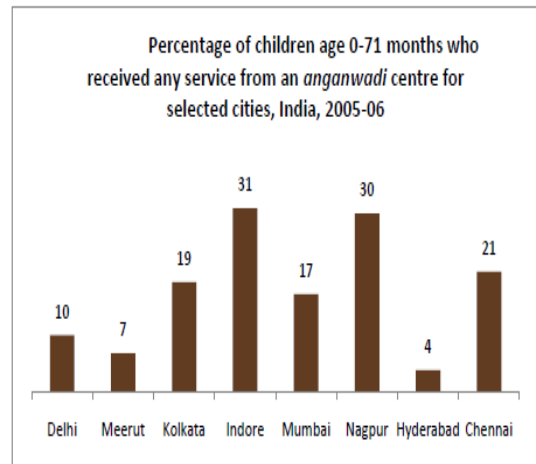
While figure 5.2 and 5.3 shows the high proportion of poor both in slums and non-slums areas. Figure 5.8 show that only 2 per cent in the slums and 6 per cent in the poorest quartile has a BPL card. The contradiction in the proportion of people as poor and proportion given a BPL card illuminates the issues of existing social exclusion from the state welfare schemes.

Figure 5.8



Source: *ibid*, p.41.

Figure 5.9

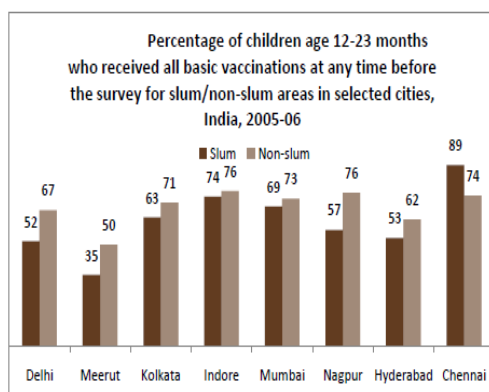


Source: *ibid*, p.51

The issues of accessibility and exclusion is also evident from the figure 5.9 and 5.10 and which shows that only 10 per cent of the children received any service from the Anganwadi centre in Delhi, and approximately half of the children in slums did not receive all basic vaccination respectively.

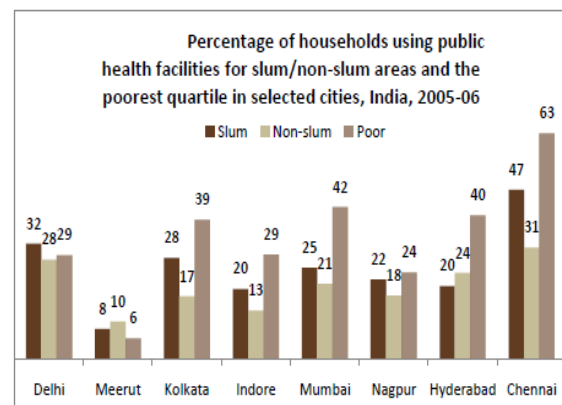
The use of public facilities has been substantially low in the slums and poorest quartile. Only 32 per cent in slums and 29 per cent (figure 5.11) in the poorest quartile accessed the public services. Private medical sector is the primary source of health care services for majority of people living in slums and poorest quartile. Poor quality of the services and lack of nearby facility was cited as the reasons for non usage of the public facilities. Some also said long waiting time as the reason for non use of services.

Figure 5.10



Source: *ibid*, p.49

Figure 5.11

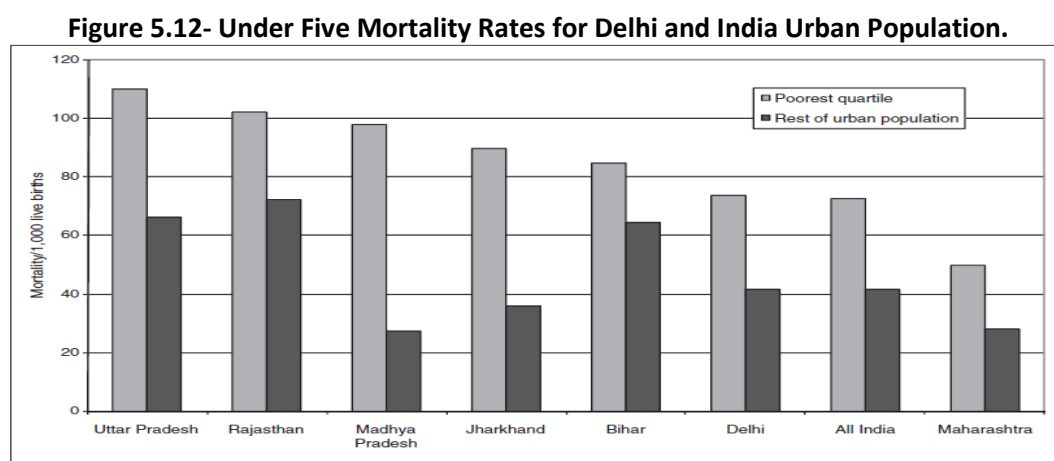


Source: *ibid*, p.60

5.4.4 Taking stock of Inequities in Health

This section of the chapter highlights the inequities in health outcomes in terms of under-five mortality, nutritional status and immunization rates and the prevalence of anaemia. It clearly indicates that in Delhi disparities exist across all these indicators when compared with the state average as a whole and the poorest quartile.

Figure 5.12 shows under-five mortality for the poorest quartile and rest of the population for Delhi and India and six more states. For Delhi the under five mortality is 40 while for poorest quartile it is 78 approximately double of the rest of the urban population.



Source: Agarwal, 2011, p.16.

The nutritional status of the children in slums and poorest quartile has also been measured through the proportion of children anaemic and the prevalence of stunting among children in different economic classes. Seventy one per cent of the children (6-59 months) in slums and 67 per cent in poorest quartile are anaemic in Delhi (figure 5.13 in annexure). Further the percentage of underweight children in slums and poorest quartile were 35 and 46 per cent respectively in Delhi (figure 5.14 annexure). If we look at the stunting among children 58 per cent of the children are stunted among the poorest quartile against 38 per cent in rest of the Delhi (Figure 5.15 in annexure).

5.4.5 Women Health

Regarding the prevalence of anaemia among the women in slums and poorest quartile, almost half of the women in both the slums and poorest quartile are anemic (figure 5.16 in annexure).

The utilization of the immunization services and antenatal care shows a high gap between the poorest quartile and the rest of the urban population. In Delhi only 42 per cent of the women in the poorest quartile got three antenatal care visits, against 82 per cent in rest of the population which is almost half (Figure 5.17 in annexure). Further only 25 per cent of the deliveries were conducted in the presence of a health personnel among the women in the poorest quartile while for rest of the city its 75 per cent (Figure 5.18 in annexure).

5.5 Health inequalities and Inequities

Looking at the contrast of the Delhi state Gross Domestic product and average per capita income and the proportion of the poor, growth doesn't seem to have percolated to the poor. It also defies major theoretical assumptions that propositions that growth by itself is a sufficient condition for development and well being of the people. Analysis of the Delhi growth story shows how inequality is on the rise vis-à-vis some of the vital health, social and economic indicators. The high growth rate experienced by the state has not led to improvement of the health especially for the people living at the bottom of the socioeconomic pyramid.

Health equity is one of the core components of the health sector. Inequities in health are catastrophic and detrimental compared to inequities in other spheres of life. Yet disparities exist concerning higher morbidity and mortality between the poor and rest of the population. Child mortality, Nutritional status and Malnutrition (Stunting, wasting and underweight), immunization and maternal health are some of the standard measures to evaluate the population health. All of these indicators have been discussed, and the resulting inequalities have been highlighted in the preceding section. The inequities in accessibility, availability, and quality of the public health services are sharp which is more evident when we segregate the data according to the different income quartiles, people living in slums and according to different wealth index. The sharp inequalities in health are due to a range of factors which are reflected in the health outcomes and their implications are detrimental for achieving health

equity. A distinction is required to further go into a discussion of health inequalities and inequities.

Health inequalities- refer to differences in health outcomes of people due to non-modifiable factors or biological factors like age or sex or modifiable factors like socioeconomic status (WHO, 2010, p.34).

Health inequities- on the other hand refer to inequalities in health which are systemic, socially produced and unjust (ibid). These inequalities are not just random; however they show a consistent pattern across socioeconomic status or geographical locations. It depends on the locality of the city people lives in and is mainly produced through the living conditions and circumstances in which people grow. The health inequities are determined by living conditions, socioeconomic status and other social and environmental factors which are inherently unfair.

From an epidemiological framework which analyzes the disease or health outcomes of a population in terms of who are affected, where and when (person, place and time) and tries to understand the distribution and determinants of the health outcomes. However, to explore the question of why a particular group of people living in a particular place are affected requires a social sciences understanding of the distal determinants which are important to address the issue of health inequities.

Health equity “implies that everyone has a fair opportunity to attain their full health potential, and no one is disadvantaged from achieving this potential because of their social position or other socially determined circumstances” (ibid, p.34). It refers explicitly to systemic disadvantages resulting in differential health outcomes, availability, and accessibility to the healthcare services.

The health inequalities are due to lower incomes, poor living conditions, lack of access to health care services, exclusion from the public services. All of these lead to a higher share of income being spent on health. Living conditions which includes access to essential services is one of the holistic ways of understanding differential health outcomes. It was also emphasized by the WHO commission on social determinants of health which directs states to improve the living conditions of people. It constitutes one of the three overarching principles of the report to address the existing inequalities. Deteriorating living conditions indicates poor health and enhanced health vulnerabilities which are not “natural” or predefined but occur due to

different living conditions and social context. The proliferation of slums indicates deteriorating living conditions and social exclusion which is also one most significant impediment to achieve development and good health. Therefore these inequalities which are primarily a result of social context and social exclusion are not just inequalities but inequities which are systemic, social, unjust and completely unacceptable.

The healthcare needs of the poor are higher compared to the better off, however; utilization is very low among them. Inequities in access can be explained mainly from two broad factors viz. weakening of the public health system regarding its quality, accessibility and availability and second is increasing commercialization of the services (Baru and Bisht, 2010, p.7). Systemic weakness in the public health delivery system is one of the most critical factors which affect the health of a significant proportion of people dependent on public services. While weakening of the system has been a critical issue however combined with the commercialization of the services has made the situation worse. Commercialization of services connected with weak public health provisioning has resulted in low immunization rates, antenatal care visits and low nutritional status of both children and women in the poorest quartile (ibid, p.10). Commercialization of the services has allowed the market to penetrate and operate both within and outside the purview of the public system (ibid). And the consequences of the market provisioning of the merit goods like health are evident from the existing disparities in terms of health indicators.

Regarding Health inequalities James Tobin (1970) and Amartya Sen argue that “inequalities in health are especially worrisome-more worrisome than inequalities in other spheres, health and health care are integral to people capability and function and their ability to flourish as human beings” (O’donnell et. al., 2008, p.1). Sen further says that “health is one of the most important conditions of human life and a critically significant constituent of human capabilities which we have reason to value” (ibid). Children are most adversely affected by the inequities in health. Poor children are more prone to chronic diseases and are more likely to die before they attain the age of five years. Further malnutrition is a widespread problem mainly among the vulnerable population. Outbreak of infectious diseases and widespread violence are some of the forms in which these inequities manifest. Addressing the existing health inequities constitutes the fundamental goal of development.

5.6 Conclusion: The Urbanization of Marginalization and Poverty

Delhi's urbanization pattern highlights some of the alarming trends regarding disparities in the health and social indicators. The sustained high growth rates Delhi has experienced and the rising per capita income which is thrice the national average raises some of the pertinent questions regarding the growth and distribution of the benefits. It further questions the notion of equity and sustainable development.

The first concern is, why is it that approximately 30 to 50 per cent of the population lives in slums and "unauthorized settlements". One in every five resident of Delhi lives in slums. Only 25 per cent of the total population lives in colonies recognized as authorized by the planners. These colonies are "gated enclaves" and demarcated segregated residential areas devoid of poor. Ironically "unauthorized space" is more affordable in Delhi to both the poor and policy makers compared to authorized and planned development (LALL, 2013, p.62). Or in other words, it could also be understood as the failure of various agencies and institutions, planners and policymakers to provide affordable and decent housing for a significant proportion of population which comprises almost half of the total population of Delhi.

Cities are growing and transforming rapidly including Delhi. Therefore as cities transform and develop it should improve for the better and for all. Contrary to this, what we see is widening disparities in wealth and spatial stratification of the society, with one community or class feeding upon the other and weaving a vicious cycle of poverty driven by market economy of land (LALL, 2013, p.62). Corporate-driven policies have taken over the state policies and are mainly catering to the needs of the city. The dominance of the non-state actors is evident in policy making and governance structure. Therefore when we analyze the postulates of "Authoritarian City" and the "Collective City" the emerging trends highlight that we have failed as a collective city where the access to services and resources is highly skewed for a particular class and determined by the power dynamics within the communities and the state. Private agencies taking over the provision of public and merit goods also weakens the notion of the collective public provisioning.

The view of cities serving as sites for reproducing capitalism and intensifying capital accumulation is reflected in the growing and modernizing pattern of the city both concerning its morphology and the economy. The growing informal sector and

increasing in-formalization and casualization of work are some of the features of high economic growth. The process of state led capital accumulation characterizes the economy where deregulation of the land and the state resources has opened a large window for the market and private sector. The State is complicit in the whole process to expand its revenue base.

With the passage of each phase of development, the objective or hope of development seems to fade away. There has been acrimonious contestation of space within different classes and communities, and also between communities and state. Each group is trying to assert a greater claim over the space and trying to extend their control over the surroundings. In this ongoing contestation of space some groups are attempting to seek sustenance and carve a niche in the city while others want greater control of the resources. The wilderness of Delhi manifests through the dynamics of contestation of space which is multidimensional, where a large community grapples for fulfilling their elementary needs while others demand more resources at their dispense.

Second concern is urbanization has not respected the elementary needs of the urban dwellers. It raises the question of the citizenship of a significant proportion of people who are entitled to basic services however; they not considered a part of the ordered society of the city. Large sections of the people working in the informal sector and living in informal settlements are not included in the conception of the city and thus are not part of the legitimate and formal city. Therefore their “status as citizens is, at best, ambiguous-tolerated, but not acknowledged; accepted, but relegated to the interstices or the periphery of the formally acknowledged city” (LALL, 2013, p.59).

More and more people are forced to face and sustain the wilderness of the city with the passage of every phase of development as this wilderness perpetuates in the form of an inevitable vicious cycle (LALL, 2013, p.58). The wilderness is in different forms and degrees which vary from one social and economic group to the other. It includes search for decent livelihood, living and working conditions, health care and education services. The severity of the wilderness becomes much more intense as you descend the ladder of socioeconomic hierarchy. The life becomes much more unsustainable when there is severity of shortage of the supply of the elementary services.

The contemporary urban transformation of Delhi can be summarized broadly into three dominant strands. First, the political economy of the city determined by commercial or market value of land associated with economic productivity and capital accumulation. Second is the aspiration of a modern and exclusive city devoid of poor. And third the ideological moorings of the policy makers and planners that have pushed poor out of the cities and also sent an implicit message that city is not a favourable place for migrants searching for a better life or livelihood.

Intensified demolitions and evictions of informal settlements emblem the political economy of land and capital in Delhi, mainly reflected in the master plan of Delhi 2021. Land allocation constitutes one of the most crucial parts of the master plan as well as the planning process. The concept of the master plan has different connotations for the different group of people including the planners and the citizens. As citizens we view it as a process that takes into account the needs of the various social and economic groups proportionately and accommodates each community accordingly, however, for planners it is “upholding, maintaining and enforcing the normative standards that define their modern city” (ibid). As part of the planning process land is being allocated for different ongoing activities of the city viz. industrial and commercial activities, housing purpose, recreation, and leisure all of these are the constituents of the processes of the city. The land is allocated keeping in view the defined standards and relative measure of the demand for each activity.

The value of a space is determined mainly by the price of the land which accounts for 70-80 per cent of its price be it a shop or house or any other space (ibid, p.60). Therefore the state policy of urban development by using the land according to its economic importance or price determined by the market leads to an upsurge in its market value of land. It is used by the real estate agencies to maximize their profit and extract the surplus. The “permissible floor space index” further leads to the rise in the artificial value of land. By relaxing the regulatory mechanism and liberalization of the land market state becomes complicit in the process and accumulates revenue in the form of taxes. It further benefits from the rising land prices by giving it for commercial purposes and gets more revenue in return. Therefore the economic importance of land which is primarily used for trade has been one of the most important aspects of the urban development. The large-scale evictions and resettlements are some of the outcomes of the land and economic policies. Urban

dwellers who used to live on the public land or owned by private agencies have been pushed to peripheries. Commercialization of the land according to its market value through the private real estate agencies has been one of the most detrimental aspects of the urban planning.

The contemporary urban planning is transforming Delhi primarily for the middle and upper-middle classes. Cultural capital associated with cultural citizenship through “symbolic exclusion” has been a defining feature of the new middle class. This strategy is used to differentiate between citizens like those who are part of the “formal city” and those who are not. The concept of “differentiated citizenship” has been used to determine the services one receives as member of the city. The cultural capital of the middle class is defined by a particular lifestyle, attitude and consumerist approach which is an exclusionary practice and the second most detrimental aspect of the urban transformation. The coming up of shopping malls, leisure places like gardens, parks, and gymkhana are some of the manifestations of these aspirations and desires. The combined effect of these dominant strategies of the urban planning has marginalized a significant proportion of people and pushed them on the verge of poverty and vulnerability.

The emergence of various non-state actors in urban planning and governance has changed the power dynamics in policy making and of the resource allocation where state has been reduced to the role of a facilitator and regulator. The state has been complicit in this process rather than actively intervening to redistribute the benefit of the growth.

The political disenfranchisement of the urban poor in Delhi is one of the outcomes of the urbanization. Exclusivity of the city and its economic productivity mainly characterizes the changing pattern of urbanization. It is mainly a class phenomenon as “classifying spaces and specifying classes” constitutes one of the intrinsic features of the process. As cities as largely viewed, are not only the engines of economic growth but also sites for equitable and sustainable development and to achieve this objective the State cannot afford to retreat from its social responsibility.

References

- *A Fact Finding Report on the Eviction and Resettlement Process in Delhi.* Hazards Centre, a unit of Sanchal Foundation, 2007.
- Abstract, I. (2007). An Authors Guide to Writing Articles and Reviews for Educational Research Reviews. Available at: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/68b5/64eb9ea64363163d3c13259eecf4d48caa25.pdf?_ga=2.144422709.1811357583.1530604769-992037219.1530604769
- Acharya, A., Baru, R.V. and Nambissan, G.B., 2001. The State and Human Development. *Crossing a Bridge of Dreams: Fifty Years of India and China, New Delhi: Tulika*, pp.203-267.
- Agarwal, S., 2011. The state of urban health in India; comparing the poorest quartile to the rest of the urban population in selected states and cities. *Environment and Urbanization*, 23(1), pp.13-28.
- Agarwal, S., Srivastava, A., Choudhary, B. and Kaushik, S., 2007. State of urban health in Delhi.
- Ahluwalia, I.J., Munjee, N., Mor, N., Vijayanunni, M., Mankad, S. and Lall, R., 2011. Report on Indian urban infrastructure and services. *Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, New Delhi. Report retrieved from <http://icrier.org/pdf/FinalReport-hpec.pdf> on August, 1, p.2015.*
- Amin, S., 1972. Underdevelopment and dependence in Black Africa—origins and contemporary forms. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10(4), pp.503-524.
- Aphun, K. and Sharma, J.P., 2017. Primitive Accumulations at the Margins. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 52(28), p.65.
- Bardhan, P., 1990. Symposium on the state and economic development. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 4(3), pp.3-7.
- Barondess, J.A., 2008. Health through the urban lens. *Journal of Urban Health*, 85(5), pp.787-801.
- Baru, R. and Bisht, R., 2010. Health service inequities as challenge to health security. *Oxfam, India, New Delhi, India, 1.*

- Baru, R., 2002. Health Sector Reform: The Indian Experience. *Health Care Reform Around the World*.
- Baru, R.V., 2012. Epidemics as Markers of Socio-economic Inequalities. *History and Sociology of South Asia*, 6(1), pp.71-82.
- Baru, S., 1983. Karl Marx and Analysis of Indian Society. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.2102-2108.
- Baviskar, A., 2006. Demolishing Delhi: World class city in the making. *Mute*, 2(3), pp.88-95.
- Bhagat, R.B., 2011. Emerging pattern of urbanisation in India. *Economic and political weekly*, pp.10-12.
- Bhan, G., 2009. "This is no longer the city I once knew". Evictions, the urban poor and the right to the city in millennial Delhi. *Environment and urbanization*, 21(1), pp.127-142.
- Bridge, G. and Watson, S. eds., 2002. *A Companion to the City*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Centre for civil society. Delhi Citizen's handbook 2017.
- Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence (CURE), 2009. Status of Service Delivery Related to water supply and sanitation across low income settlements in Delhi: A City Survey Report. New Delhi. Available at: http://cureindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Merged-Baseline-Survey_SDSO_2009.pdf
- Chakrabarti, P., 2007. Inclusion or exclusion? Emerging effects of middle-class citizen participation on Delhi's urban poor. *IDS Bulletin*, 38(6), pp.96-104.
- Chandhoke, N., 1988. Cities and the Restructuring of Capitalism. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.1755-1761.
- Clinard, M.B., 1970. *Slums and community development: Experiments in self-help*. Free Press.
- Cohen, M., 2007, October. Thinking outside the Bubble: The Urban Crises of Land, Labour, and Capital. In *prepared for Lincoln Institute for Land Policy Symposium, Rio de Janeiro, 1st-2nd October* (pp. 2007-05).
- Corbridge, S., 2009. The political economy of development in India since independence.

- Dasgupta, R., 2003. Cholera in Delhi: A Study of time trends and its determinants. PhD. Jawaharlal Nehru University.
- D'souza, V.S., 1984. Urbanization as a Perspective for Social and Historical Analysis in Developing Societies. *Sociological bulletin*, 33(1-2), pp.91-98.
- Daudé, É., Mazumdar, S. and Solanki, V., 2017. Widespread fear of dengue transmission but poor practices of dengue prevention: A study in the slums of Delhi, India. *PloS one*, 12(2), p.e0171543.
- Deodhar N.S. and P.K. Mutatkar. Urban Health Care in India. In: Umashankar, P.K. and Misra, G.K., 1993. *Urban Health System*. Reliance Publishing House. Ch 3.
- Department of Political Science, Jawaharlal Nehru College, 2018. National Seminar on Indian Democracy at 70: Challenges Ahead. Chakardharpur, Jharkhand, India on 6th & 7th April 2018.
- Dey, I., 2012. Emerging spaces and labour relations in neo-liberal India: A review essay. *Policies and Practices*, 49.
- Dupont, V., 2008. Slum demolitions in Delhi since the 1990s: An appraisal. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.79-87.
- Dupont, V.D., 2011. The dream of Delhi as a global city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(3), pp.533-554.
- Dyson, T., 2009. *India's Population: Past, Present and Future* (No. id: 2067).
- Economic and Political Weekly (EPW), 2017. Monstrous Indian income inequality. Vol. 52 (40).
- Edition, F., 2011. Guidelines for drinking-water quality. *WHO chronicle*, 38(4), pp.104-8.
- Elsey, H., Thomson, D.R., Lin, R.Y., Maharjan, U., Agarwal, S. and Newell, J., 2016. Addressing inequities in urban health: Do decision-makers have the data they need? Report from the Urban Health Data Special Session at International Conference on Urban Health Dhaka 2015. *Journal of Urban Health*, 93(3), pp.526-537.
- Fernandes, L. and Heller, P., 2006. Hegemonic aspirations: New middle class politics and India's democracy in comparative perspective. *Critical Asian Studies*, 38(4), pp.495-522.

- Fernandes, L., 2004. The politics of forgetting: Class politics, state power and the restructuring of urban space in India. *Urban studies*, 41(12), pp.2415-2430.
- Ferrari, R., 2015. Writing narrative style literature reviews. *Medical Writing*, 24(4), pp.230-235.
- Fox, S., 2012. Urbanization as a global historical process: Theory and evidence from sub-Saharan Africa. *Population and Development Review*, 38(2), pp.285-310.
- Galea, S. and Vlahov, D., 2005. Urban health: evidence, challenges, and directions. *Annu. Rev. Public Health*, 26, pp.341-365.
- Ghertner, D.A., 2008. Analysis of new legal discourse behind Delhi's slum demolitions. *Economic and political weekly*, pp.57-66.
- Ghoshal, A., 2017. Night Shelters: Hidden city of the homeless. Indian Express (Online) (Last updated 6:48 a.m. on 25th Dec 2017). Available at: <http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/delhi/delhi-night-shelters-homeless-aap-government-delhi-winters-4997503/>
- Giddens, A. and Sutton, P., W.(2013). *Sociology. 7th edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.*
- Government of National Capital Territory Delhi (GNCTD), 2017. Economic Survey of Delhi 2016-17.
- Government of National Capital Territory Delhi (GNCTD), 2017. Delhi Human Development Report 2013.
- Government of National Capital Territory Delhi (GNCTD), 2015. Urban Slums in Delhi. Based on NSS 69th Round Survey July 2012-Dec 2012 State Sample.
- Gupta, A., 1989. The political economy of post-independence India—a review article. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 48(4), pp.787-797.
- Gupta, I. and Mondal, S., 2015. Urban health in India: who is responsible? *The International journal of health planning and management*, 30(3), pp.192-203.
- Gupta, K., Arnold, F. and Lhungdim, H., 2009. Health and living conditions in eight Indian cities. National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) India 2005-06.
- Gupta, N., 2003. The Indian City. *The Oxford India companion to sociology and social anthropology*, pp.458-476.

- Haider, A., 2017. *Role of Informal Institutions in Explaining Water Governance Performance: A Case of Inequality and Corruption in Megacity Delhi, India* (Doctoral dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin).
- Harvey, D., 2007. *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Hazards Centre (Sanchal Foundation), 2005-06. Status of drinking water quality of sub-standard settlements in Delhi.
- Heller, P., Mukhopadhyay, P., Banda, S. and Sheikh, S., 2015. Exclusion, informality, and predation in the cities of Delhi. *A report of the Cities of Delhi Project, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, India*.
- Hindustan Times, 2017. Delhi Night Shelters for the Homeless are Hopelessly Inadequate. Hindustan Times (Online) (Updated 14:36 on 21st Nov 2017). Available at: <https://www.hindustantimes.com/editorials/delhi-s-night-shelters-for-the-homeless-are-hopelessly-inadequate/story-RPNrD8WwtW2TQtqHzBeo2L.html>
- Hindustan Times, 2018. 1100 homeless people prefer streets over Night Shelters: Delhi Shelter Board. Hindustan Times (Online) (Updated 15:10 on 14th Jan 2018). Available at: <https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi-news/1100-homeless-people-prefer-streets-over-night-shelters-delhi-shelter-board/story-yNcDI5CipAZWB6jYbOk9iP.html>
- IGSSS (Indo-Global Social Service Society), 2017. *Re-Imagining Indian cities: A National Consultation on Inclusive Urban Spaces*. New Delhi, India, 13th & 14th November 2017.
- Institute for Human Development, 2013. Delhi Human Development Report 2013.
- Jayal, N.G., 1994. The gentle leviathan: Welfare and the Indian state. *Social Scientist*, pp.18-26.
- Jaysawal, N., 2014. Urbanization in India: An impact assessment.
- Kasarda, J.D. and Crenshaw, E.M., 1991. Third world urbanization: Dimensions, theories, and determinants. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17(1), pp.467-501.
- Kaul, R., 2017. India saw most number of tuberculosis deaths, patients in 2016: WHO report. Hindustan Times (online) (last updated at 10:46 IST on

31st Oct 2017). Available at: <https://www.hindustantimes.com/health/india-saw-most-number-of-tuberculosis-deaths-patients-in-2016-who-report/story-2itBx7TvudSkjhTkFSCSXXK.html>

- Khosla, R., 2017. India's Urban Landscape. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 52(1), p.93.
- Kim, J.Y., Millen, J.V., Irwin, A. and Gershman, J., 2000. Dying for Growth: Global inequalities and the health of the poor.
- Kinyanjui, M., 2010. Development context and millennium agenda. In: Magrinyà Torner, F., 2005. The Challenge of Slums. Global Report on Human Settlements 2003. *Cuadernos Internacionales de Tecnología para el Desarrollo Humano*, 2005, núm. 3.
- Kohli, A., 2006. Politics of economic growth in India, 1980-2005: Part II: The 1990s and beyond. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.1361-1370.
- Kundu, A. and Sharma, A.N. eds., 2001. *Informal sector in India: Perspectives and policies*. Virago Press.
- Kundu, A., 1993. *In the name of the urban poor: access to basic amenities*. Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Kundu, A., 2003. Politics and economics of land policies: Delhi's new master plan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.3530-3532.
- Kundu, A., 2011. Trends and processes of urbanisation in India.
- Kundu, A., 2013. Making Indian cities slum-free: Vision and operationalisation. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48(17), pp.15-18.
- Kundu, A., 2017. Urbanization and Urban Poverty. *Re-Imagining Indian cities: A National Consultation on Inclusive Urban Spaces*. New Delhi, India, 13th & 14th November 2017.
- Labour, I., Employment Report., 2014. *Workers in the Era of Globalisation*
- LALL, A.B., 2013. BREAKING THE VICIOUS CYCLE: Recovering a Citizen's Delhi from its Present Wilderness. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 40(1), pp.57-76.
- Leon, D.A., 2008. Cities, urbanization and health.
- Mahapatra, D., 2012. 'Half of Delhi Population Lives in Slums'. The Times of India (online). Updated 8:11 IST on 4th Oct 2012. Available at:

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/Half-of-Delhis-population-lives-in-slums/articleshow/16664224.cms>

- Marlana, A., 2017. New Initiatives on Decentralization and Urban Governance in Delhi. *Re-Imagining Indian cities: A National Consultation on Inclusive Urban Spaces*. New Delhi, India, 13th & 14th November 2017.
- McKeown, T., Brown, R.G. and Record, R.G., 1972. An interpretation of the modern rise of population in Europe. *Population studies*, 26(3), pp.345-382.
- Mears, R.R., 1988. Some demographic and economic aspects of Third World and First World urbanization and the economic implications thereof for South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 5(1), pp.46-58.
- Menon, R., 2011. Re-imagining Development in India. *Social Scientist*, 39(9/10), pp.35-53.
- Morrow, M., Armstrong, G., Dayal, P. and Kermode, M., 2016. Documenting a long-term development model in the slums of Delhi. *BMC international health and human rights*, 16(1), p.14.
- National Commission for Enterprises in Unorganized Sector (NCEUS), 2007. *Report on conditions of work and promotion of livelihoods in the unorganized sector*. Dolphin Printo graphics.
- Nceus, N., 2012. *Contribution of the Unorganized Sector to GDP Report of the Sub Committee of a NCEUS Task Force*(No. id: 5126).
- Nelly, V., de Snyder, S., Friel, S., Fotso, J.C., Khadr, Z., Meresman, S., Monge, P. and Patil-deshmukh, A., 2011. Social Conditions and Urban Health Inequities: Realities, Challenges and Opportunities to Transform the Urban Landscape through Research and Action. *Journal of Urban Health*, 88(6), p.1183.
- Nijman, J., 2012. India in the urban revolution. *Indian Anthropologist*, pp.1-17.
- National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), 2012. *Informal Sector and Conditions of Employment in India*. Ministry of statistics and Program implementation, government of India.
- O'donnell, O., Van Doorslaer, E., Wagstaff, W. and Lindelow, M., 2008. *Analyzing health equity using household survey data*.

- Panda, G.R. and Agarwala, T., 2013. Public Provisioning in Water and Sanitation. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 48(5), p.25.
- Payne, M., 2008. Henry Shue on Basic Rights. *Essays in Philosophy*, 9(2), p.5.
- Peluso, N.L. and Lund, C., 2011. New frontiers of land control: Introduction. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(4), pp.667-681.
- Planning department, Government of NCT of Delhi, 2017. Economic survey of delhi, 2016-17.
- Priya, R., 1993. Town planning, public health and urban poor: Some explorations from Delhi. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.824-834.
- Ramachandran, R., 1992. Urbanization and urban systems in India. *OUP Catalogue*.
- Ramaswamy, K.V., 2013. Wages of unorganized sector workers in India: What NSS survey data can tell us?. *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, pp.438-449.
- Randolph, J.J., 2009. A guide to writing the dissertation literature review. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 14(13), pp.1-13.
- Rao, U., 2010. Making the global city: Urban citizenship at the margins of Delhi. *Ethnos*, 75(4), pp.402-424.
- Ravindran, T.S. and Gaitonde, R., 2018. *Health Inequities in India*. Springer.
- Rostow, W.W., 1990. *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto*. Cambridge university press.
- Sahu, S., 2012. Politics of access to drinking water in urban areas in India: state and market interventions a case study of Hyderabad. Chapter 3 Indian state and provisioning for drinking water. University of Hyderabad. Available at: <http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in:8080/jspui/handle/10603/4070>
- Sandhu, R.S., 2003. *Urbanization in India: Sociological Contributions* (Vol. 2). Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Sathe, D., 2011. Political economy of land and development in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.151-155.
- Sautter, J.M., CUR. *Quarterly*, p.24.
- Sen, A.K., 2001. *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- Sengupta, A., Kannan, K.P., Srivastava, R.S., Malhotra, V.K. and Papola, T.S., 2007. Report on conditions of work and promotion of livelihoods in the

unorganised sector. *National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector, Government of India, New Delhi.*

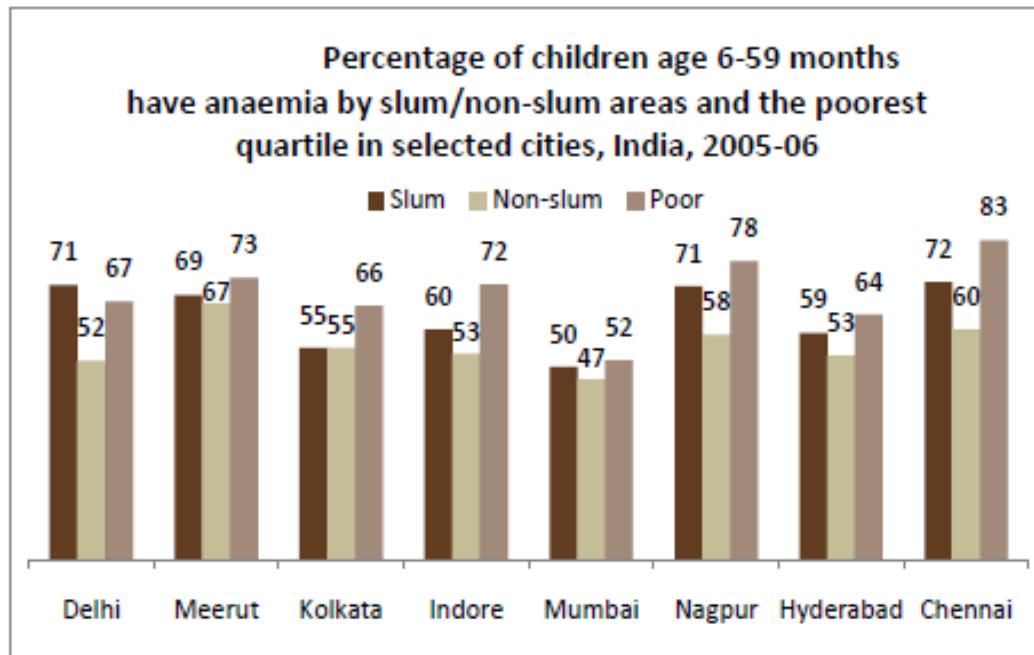
- Short, J.R., 2000. Three urban discourses. *A Companion to the City*, pp.18-25.
- Singh, K.K. and Shukla, S., 2005. *Profiling "informal City" of Delhi: Policies, Norms, Institutions & Scope of Intervention.* WaterAid India & Delhi Slum Dwellers Federation.
- Smith, S.C., 2003. Case Studies in Economic Development, 2003. George Washington University, Department of Economics. A supplement to Michael P. Todaro and Stephen C. Smith, *Economic Development*, 8th Edition, Boston, MA: Addison-Wesley, 2003.
- Soundararajan, V., 2013. Construction Workers: Amending the Law for More Safety. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48(23), pp.21-25.
- Srivastava, R. and Jha, A.K., 2014. Capital and Labour Standards in the Organised Construction Industry in India: A Study Based on Fieldwork in the National Capital Region of Delhi. *Report prepared for the ESRC Project on Labour Conditions and the Working Poor in India and China.*
- Srivastava, R., 2012. Changing employment conditions of the Indian workforce and implications for decent work. *Global labour journal*, 3(1).
- Srivastava, R., 2016. *Structural change and non-standard forms of employment in India.* ILO.
- Srivastava, S., 2014. Entangled urbanism: Slum, gated community and shopping mall in Delhi and Gurgaon. *OUP Catalogue.*
- Thia, J.P., 2016. Trade and Urbanisation. *The World Economy*, 39(6), pp.853-872.
- Thorsen, D. and Lie, A., 2006. What is Neoliberalism?. Oslo. *University of Oslo, Department of Political Science, Manuscript.*
- Tiwari, P., Nair, R., Ankinapalli, P., Rao, J., Hingorani, P. and Gulati, M., 2015. India's Reluctant Urbanization: Setting the Stage. In *India's Reluctant Urbanization* (pp. 1-26). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Todaro, M.P. and Smith, S.C., 2011. *Economic Development*, 2011.
- Turley, R., Saith, R., Bhan, N., Rehfuss, E. and Carter, B., 2012. Slum upgrading strategies involving physical environment and infrastructure

interventions and their effects on health and socio-economic outcomes. *Cochrane Database Syst Rev*, 1.

- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UN Habitat), 2001. *Cities in a globalizing world: global report on human settlements 2001*. Earthscan.
- Varshney, A., 2014. *Beyond urban bias*. Routledge.
- Water Aid India, 2009. Status of Service Delivery related to Water Supply and Sanitation across Low income Settlements of Delhi. A city Survey Report.
- World Health Organization (WHO), 2010. *Unmasking and overcoming health inequities in urban settings*. World Health Organization.
- World Health Organization, 2016. *Global report on urban health: equitable healthier cities for sustainable development*. World Health Organization.

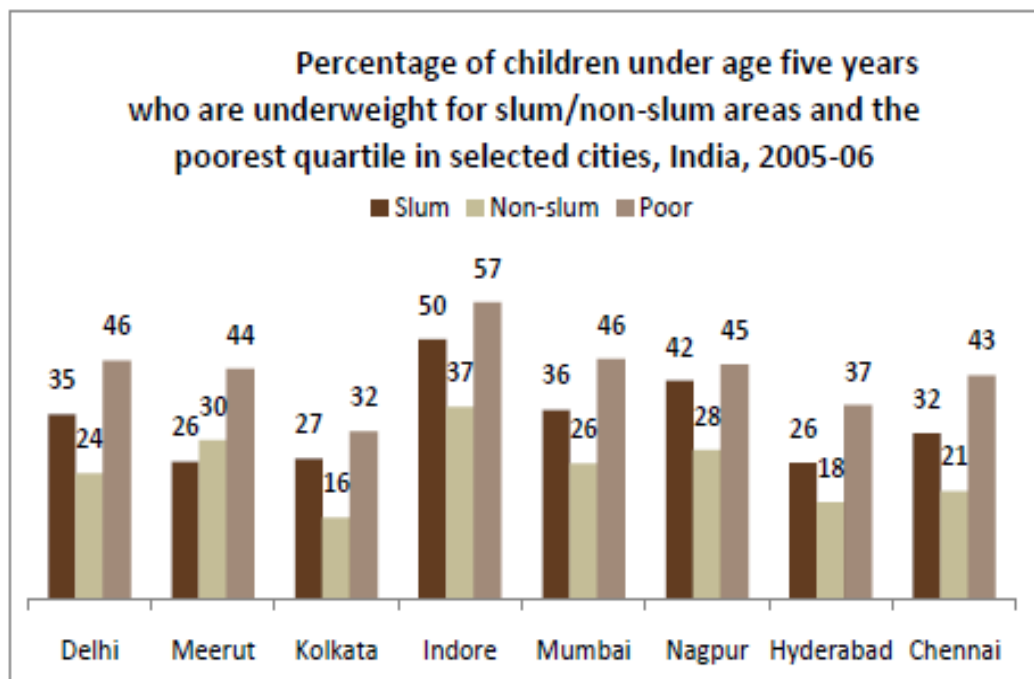
Annexure

Figure 5.13



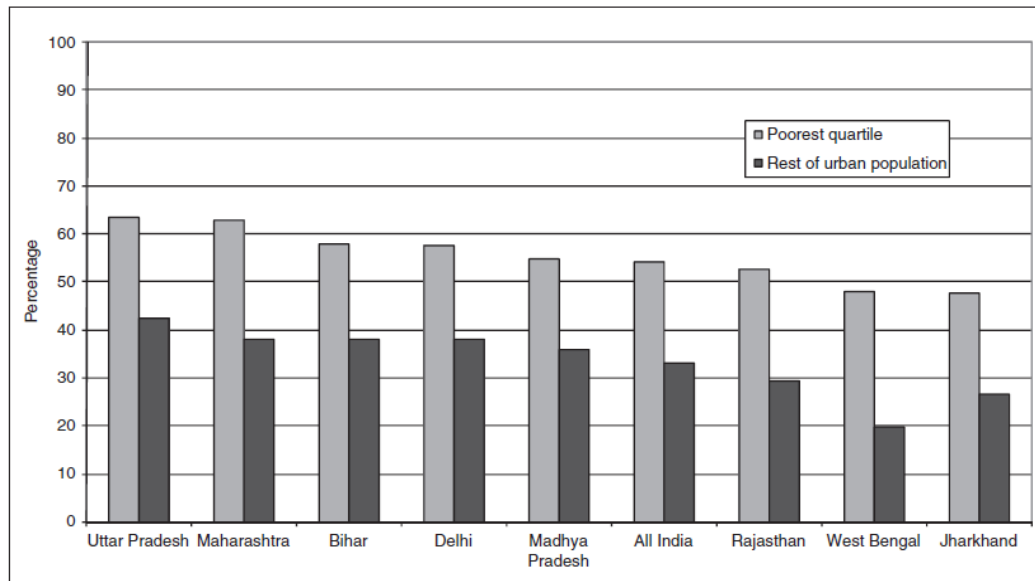
Source: Gupta et. al., 2009, p.55.

Figure 5.14



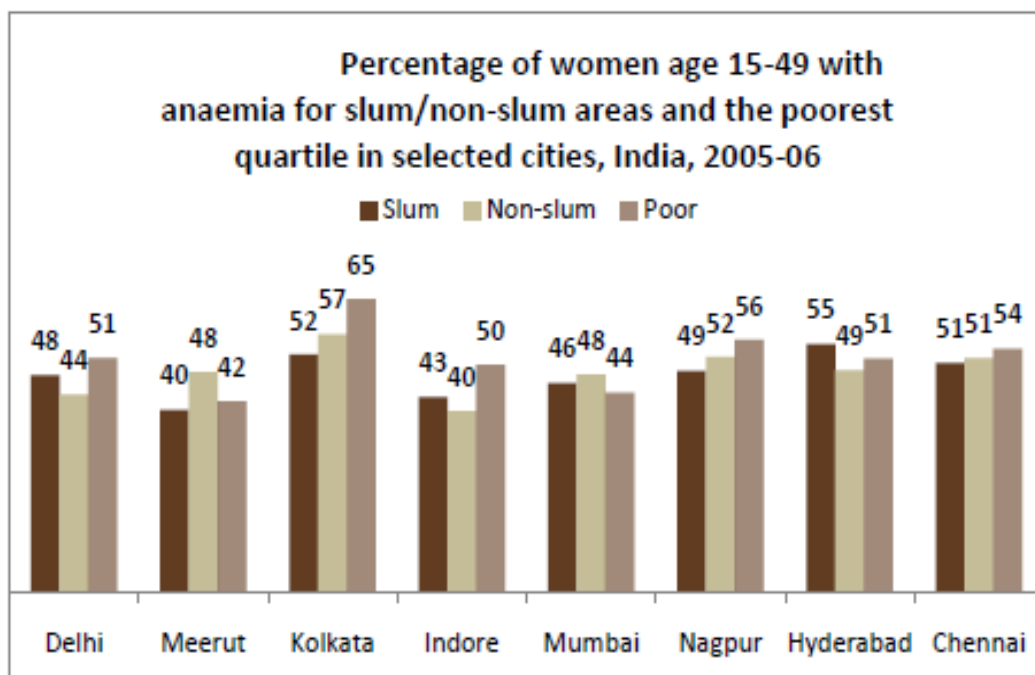
Source: ibid, p.54.

Figure 5.15-Under Five Children who are stunted in Delhi and in India.



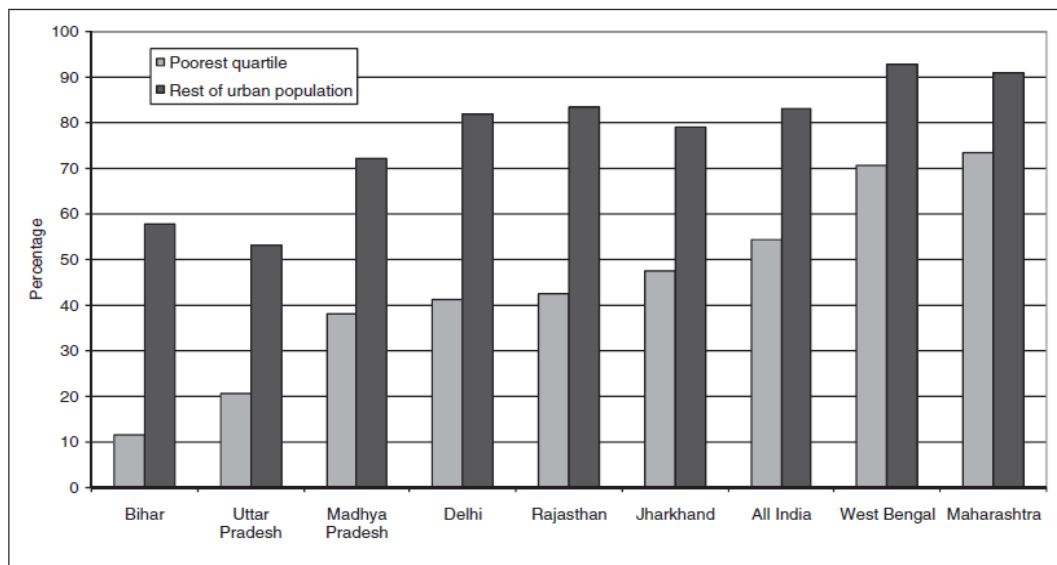
Source: Agarwal, 2011, p.17.

Figure 5.16



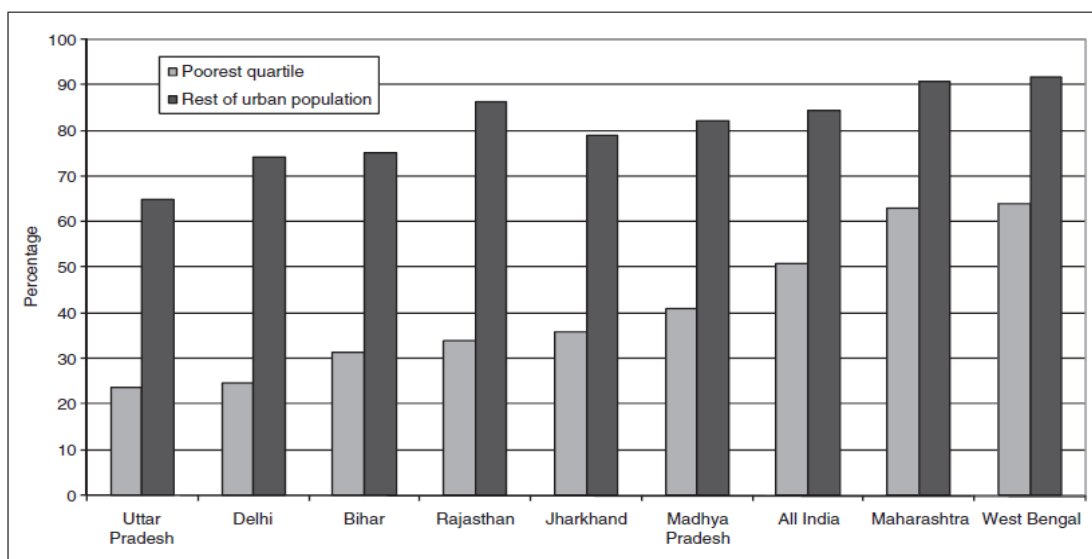
Source: Gupta et. al., 2009, p.57.

Figure 5.17-Percentage of Mothers with at Least Three Antenatal Care Visits in Delhi and India.



Source: Agarwal, 2011, p.18.

Figure 5.18-Percentage of Births Conducted in the Presence of Health Personnel in Delhi and Urban India.



Source: ibid, p.19.