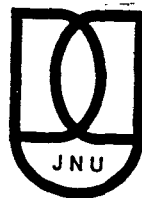


**URBAN PLANNING AND PUBLIC HEALTH
CONSEQUENCES FOR POOR MIGRANTS: A STUDY
OF DELHI**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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Certificate

This dissertation entitled "Urban Planning and Public Health Consequences for Poor Migrants: A Study of Delhi", is submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree of this University or any other University and is my original work.

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Introduction

Delhi, the capital city of India, is witnessing a transition in the ordering of its landscape. Delhi is gearing to create spaces to accommodate a “global image” of the city. The ushering in of the “post-industrial” epoch marks a shift from manufacturing to service based economy. As a corollary, the city needs to be “ beautified”. This produces an imaginary of an emergent city, underlined by a bourgeois environmentalism. Spaces are created and recreated for producer services i.e. law, management consulting and advertising and to cater to the “nouveau rich” sensibilities around aesthetics, leisure, safety etc. In return what we get are high-rise buildings, fly-overs, multiplexes, shopping malls, easy access to airport etc.

This reordering of the city has a eugenicist agenda. The forces wrought upon by the “global image” of the post-industrial city are exclusionary. Consequently, the sites of working poor settlements are targeted. The land inhabited by the poor has to be reclaimed. The cleaning of the city therefore, erases the poor out of sight, not only that, the industries, which are means of employment for the poor are displaced out of the city limits, rendering a multitude of working class redundant. Thus, Delhi is witnessing a spate of eviction and “resettlement” of the economically weaker inhabitants. The magnitude of these resettlements is compared to the relocations carried out during the draconian emergency era. The difference is that today dislocation is within the democratic framework through state policies for urban poor.

Resettlement has grave consequences for the poor. It is contended that resettlements have perpetuated slum-like conditions, rather in the present time, worsened the conditions. It has impoverished a multitude of people. Resettlements have drawn attentions apropos some of the gross human rights violations. The poor are treated with contempt and dumped in low-lying far-flung areas. They are seen as land-grabbers, encroachers or what has come to be popular in the official vocabulary, “squatters”. It is the working class, which is the backbone of any society. Through their labor power, the

working class builds the city and makes it what it is. Without the services of these workingmen and women, the city would standstill. In return, this working class is criminalized and driven away at will. In the year 1969 the Gajendragadkar commission report (report of the national commission on labor) addressed the problem of housing and services for the poor (Qadeer and Roy; 1989). However, after this initial effort that reflected the optimism of a welfare state beginning to establish itself, this issue became less central. In the capital city, it is apparent that the welfare state never did address the housing problem of poor adequately. Now, it is busy creating a city landscape, in which the poor have no place.

The above context stimulated me to enrich my understanding of the process of resettlement. It was deemed imperative to document what resettlement means for the poor. It was required to understand various perspectives, voices and subjectivities of the planners as well as poor with respect to resettlement. This understanding is crucial because it provides the context within which public health has to be understood. Though our research questions do not directly address the problem of disease and poor public health, by exploring the processes that shape the lives of people and their living conditions, we hope to show that public health is much more than provisioning of technological interventions.

I Methodology

Conceptualization

The present work attempts to probe into urban planning and its implications for the public health outcomes for the poor migrants. The research interest was to establish linkages between the processes of resettlement with public health. This leaves us with a task of conceptualizing the questions of public health in relation to urban planning. At the outset, the question one had to answer was, is it at all necessary to look at urban planning/city, in order to assess public health consequences for the poor migrants?

Within a biomedical perspective, health is primarily seen as an “absence of disease”. Disease is seen as the malfunctioning of some part of the human machine and treatment consisted of correcting the malfunctioning by intervening in some way either physically or chemically (Sathyamala et. al; 1986, pp. 120-121). In this paradigm, a linear causation is posited, which primarily sees the microorganism/external agent causing the disease. This reductivistic way of reasoning, assigns the problem within the biological and physical domains. But, health is not an autonomous entity. It is rooted in the social, political and economic condition of a society. Hence, an analytical framework is required, which has a holistic understanding of health. What is needed is to ‘denaturalize’ health and to look at it as over-determined by a multiplicity of factors.

Health is not biologically determined and is interlinked with socio-economic and political realms of society (Qadeer; 1985). For instance, it is demonstrated that poverty is the root cause of ill health, which is an outcome of the prevailing economic, social and political order (Djurfeldt and Lindberg; 1975, Doyal and Pennel; 1979, Zubrigg; 1984 Banerji; 1985). Therefore, ill health is not a problem in itself, but rather a symptom of deeper socio-economic injustice (Zubrigg; 1984). Zubrigg holds that ill health can be interpreted as a form of “institutionalized violence” in society. The assumptions and laws of the prevailing socio-economic order, which lead to the mal-distribution of all resources, are in effect the structures by which this tragic violence is institutionalized and

carried out (Zubrigg; 1984). It is noted that ill health has a class bias. Commenting on the health life cycle of the poor, Banerji holds:

“The struggle begins in the womb when the child suffers the consequences of malnutrition in the mother. Birth exposes it to the additional hazards of inadequately attended delivery, the diarrheas and bronchopneumonia of infancy and soon after infancy, weaning diarrheas. Then come the life-long hazards of communicable diseases, diarrheas and dysenteries, enteric fevers, TB, malaria, leprosy, trachoma, filariasis, tetanus, diphtheria, whooping cough, measles, worm infections and so on” (Banerjee; 1982).

Furthermore, the very social, economic and political forces determine a physical environment for the poor, with major ecological hazards. The major diseases in the third world countries fall into two basic categories: infectious diseases, and those directly associated with malnutrition (Doyal and Pennel; 1979). As a corollary, the poor predominantly get diseased because the above two sets of diseases depend on availability of basic amenities and food.

Thus, health problems cannot be solved by means of medical technology (Djurfeldt and Lindberg; 1975). What is required is a profound transformation of the economic and political structure (Djurfeldt and Lindberg; 1975; Sathyamala et. al; 1986). So, the task is to look for “social genesis” of diseases (Djurfeldt and Lindberg; 1975). In other words, social inequality is the primary determinant of health status. A person’s place in the social hierarchy determines his/her access to work opportunities and basic amenities for life like housing, drinking water, medical facilities, etc. which determines the health status (Qadeer and Roy; 1989).

The above perspective necessitates an understanding of health beyond disease causing organism and the individual. The holistic perspective would look at linkages with class structure, resource allocation, gender, political decisions etc. For our purpose, it would also necessitate an understanding of the city i.e. the external and internal dynamics of the city. In other words, it is required to understand the nature and dialectic of city, process of migration, and the restructuring of the city. Migration is not a natural process.

It is located within the larger social, economic and political context of a society. Hence, the health of poor migrants depends on the reasons of migration, at the first instance. Restructuring of the city through urban planning is linked up with urban poverty. It is the poor migrants who are at the receiving end. The city gets reordered and caters to certain needs. Then, what is required is an understanding of the basis of these needs. Why is the city restructured in a particular way? Who benefits? And, what are the outcomes of such planning? All these issues are linked up with each other and with health. Thus, health is a complex entity and as discussed before, it is a dependent entity. For our purpose, therefore, it is required to inquire into the conditions of poor after their resettlement. Has resettlement ameliorated the conditions of the poor? Or has it perpetuated poverty? These are certain questions, which come to the fore.

Decisions regarding the housing of the poor (in the garb of resettlement after evictions) determine work opportunities, water availability, sanitation, garbage disposal etc. and, in turn ultimately determine the health of a population. The experiences of developed and developing societies demonstrate that along with developments in medical science and the public health system, the availability of nutritious food and basic infrastructure – potable water, sewage, ventilated houses, heating system – and healthy – work conditions contribute significantly towards improving the health status of people (Shah; 1997). High rates of malnutrition and communicable diseases go hand in hand with low incomes and poor food intake (Qadeer and Roy; 1989). It is evident then, that the process of urbanization, which is today a major issue in transforming third world countries, has a significant role to play in determining the health of a city's poor population. State and local governments respond to this challenge by formulating policies and programmes for work, housing and services for all. We have chosen to study the city of Delhi, to study the evolution of these policies and their impact on those who migrate searching for livelihood, safety and survival.

Research Objectives

Given the above background, we attempt to undertake the following research objectives:

- (1) To assess the shifts over time in the states' response to the increasing numbers of the urban poor in Delhi.
- (2) To assess the implications of state's resettlement policies with respect to public health consequences for the poor migrants.
- (3) To locate the above within the external and internal dynamic of the city of Delhi i.e. the nature and dialectic of city, migration into city, urban poverty and restructuring of the city's spaces within the larger process of globalization.

Research Design

The research design has three components to it.

- a) Developing a theoretical perspective for analyzing urban planning.
- b) A review of urban planning in Delhi and its changing approaches since independence.
- c) A small exploratory field study to capture people's lives and perceptions in the resettlement colonies.

The first two primarily involved study of secondary sources, reports and documented materials while the third was based on a primary study of over three months in Dakhsinpuri and Hastal resettlement colonies, along with reviews of literature on jhuggi-jhonpuri settlements and resettlement colonies.

The perspective

It has been increasingly attested that the mode of production of knowledge should be sensitive to world historical processes (Das; 1996). This requires a shift from the obsession with "here" and "now" to a perspective, which locates a problem within the world historical political economy. Therefore, the "research problem" has not to be only seen within the context of the regional and national level, but within a global framework. Hence, it is not just sufficient to produce descriptive accounts of the process of

resettlements. What is required is an analytical framework locating the process within an overarching regional, national or global system. In other words, we have to look for forces unleashed at regional level or at global level, which determine the process of resettlement. The first effort in designing the research was therefore to evolve a perspective towards cities, their evolution and planning. Therefore, in the second chapter, we look at the theoretical explanations behind the dialectics of the city, nature of the city, migration, urban poverty and restructuring of urban spaces. All the above processes are interlinked, overlapping and reflect regional, national, and global forces at play. However, we need a sustained focus on each of the above processes. And in doing so, here, we have reviewed the literature on the above issues.

Urban planning

An understanding of the consequences of urban planning on poor migrants would first require an understanding of the planning process. In the third chapter, we reviewed literature to look at the planning process in general for Delhi. We attempt to look at urban planning with respect to poor since independence. Here, we have drawn upon planning documents (master plans), Government data and secondary sources to look at the planning process in Delhi since independence.

People's lives and perceptions

It is necessary to understand the trajectory of lived realities of people. Here, the questions on my mind are: how did the poor cope with institutional structures prior to their resettlement? What implications did the process of resettlement bear on the poor? What transitions can one discern, after looking at the nature of these resettlements, at various points of time etc. To grasp the answers to these, I have drawn upon both primary and secondary sources.

It should be pointed out that the character of urban planning has been changing since independence. Majority of the resettlements were done (before the inception of present relocations scheme) around emergency period. The resettlement colonies established around the emergency period, are now referred to as old resettlement

colonies. Resettlements were stalled for a brief period after 1986. But since 1990, there is again a spurt of resettlement. Hence, I attempt to compare the old resettlement colonies with a recently established resettlement colony. Further, I attempt to compare resettlement colonies, with Jhuggi-Jhopri clusters (which get demolished in the wake of resettlement drives), to assess the transition.

In doing so, I draw upon my field experience in two resettlement colonies i.e. Dakhsinpuri, established in 1978 and Hastal, established in 2000. The selection of these colonies was based on access, feasibility, resource constraints and contacts. Hence, no representation of types is accomplished. I have also reviewed studies on Jhuggi-jhonpris, old resettlement colonies and new resettlement colonies. In total, I have reviewed six studies focusing on old resettlement colonies (Ali; 1990, Ali; 1995, Ali; 1998, Ali and Singh; 1998, Gupta; 1990 and Priya; 1989)¹, four studies focusing entirely on Jhuggi-jhonpris (Basu; 1999, Bhandari; 1992, Mallick; 1996 and Sagar; 1999), one study which has focused on both old resettlement colony and Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters (Sunder et al; 2002) and one study on the recently established resettlement colonies (HIC; 2001).

Selection of households for case reports

In total, 30 case reports, 15 in each resettlement colony were collected. In Dakhsinpuri, the case studies were selected in 'B' block. The grass-root level workers working in Dakhsinpuri introduced 15 key respondents. 'B' Block was selected, because it was informed that this block houses a majority of original allottees. Attention was given to the spread of social groups in each area. Reviews of secondary sources suggest that resettlement colonies house a disproportionate SC, OBC and Muslim population (Discussed in 4th Chapter of this dissertation). In this light, out of 15 respondents, 8 belong to SC administrative category, 3 belong to OBC administrative category, 2 belong to Muslim community and 2 belong to general administrative category.

In Hastal, 3 respondents were selected from each block (A, B, C, D, E) to capture wide-ranging experiences. The allottees in each block are from different Jhuggi-jhonpri

¹ Note: Ali uses the term "slum" synonymously with resettlement colonies. However, we strictly draw upon his findings in resettlement colonies.

clusters that were located all over Delhi. In Hastal, the staff members of an NGO (Kislay) introduced me to my respondents. Out of my 15 respondents, 2 belong to OBC administrative category, 8 belong to SC administrative category, 3 belong to Muslim community and 2 belong to general administrative category.

I basically relied upon qualitative research method tools. This does not imply that I treat quantitative data as unimportant. Quantitative data can help us quantifying facilities provided and a comparison can also be posited. Keeping this in mind, we reviewed studies (as discussed before), which largely depended on quantitative research methods. However, qualitative research tools were preferred, due to the following two reasons:

- (1) The work had to be finished within three months. Hence, there was always a problem of time constraint to carry out surveys of an appropriate sample size.
- (2) The second reason concerns with the inherent limitation of quantitative research methods. There is a problem of quantifying experiences, voices, and human subjectivities. These are indispensable guidelines to understand a given reality. Hence an attempt was made to document these and incorporate in the field findings. The primary aim of this research was not to discover a unified truth. Rather, we were interested in enriching our understanding of the process of resettlement, through the “subjects” accounts. In other words, we were interested through this “bottom up” perspective, to critically examine the discrepancy between the accounts of the “state” and the “subjects”.

Repeated visits to the households and observations were the two major strategies employed for case reports. Intensive interviews with the members of each household and collective interviews with the family helped build case reports. Other than the case reports, research techniques such as intensive interviews of key respondents, observations, group discussions, and participation in street theatres were employed as strategies of data collection. Throughout, observations were non participatory. The NGOs (Kislay in Hastal and Action India in Dakhsinpuri) organized their weekly group discussions and street theatres. I had participated in the above and collected valuable

information. Household visits were done in the afternoon after the respondents returned back to their homes from work. In a few cases visits were also done in the morning hours after taking appointments. Respondents were informed about the study and rapport building was done before interviewing. To cross check the information evinced, same questions were asked to different respondents. Before every interview a conducive environment was ensured where the respondent was relaxed, had time and was willing to talk. We have no claims of generalizations from our research findings, as the numbers of reports as well as blocks covered were small. Yet, our data give insights that help generate an understanding of the link between public health and living conditions, in turn determined by the urban planning processes.

Data Required

In collecting the data, the emphasis was to ask certain common questions to consolidate any understanding of certain issues. These were: a) reasons of migration b) occupation, income and household economics c) process of eviction d) location and its habitability e) information and finance provision before resettlement f) access to public goods and services i.e. electricity, schooling g) housing and tenure security h) water I) environmental milieu, garbage disposal, drainage j) sanitation and hygiene k) transportation l) health care facilities and health indicators etc.

Background of the areas

Dakhsinpuri: Dakhsinpuri resettlement colony was established in 1978, near Madangir, in Delhi. The colony comprises of 20 blocks. The first 16 blocks house the allottees of relocation. Most of the residents were brought to this site after demolitions of Jhuggi-jhonpris near Chanakyapuri and Bapudham. The total population of the allottees stands approximately at 60-65,000. However, residents testify that majority of original allottees abandoned their plots and went back in search of work to the city, during the time of resettlement. 12 blocks (A-L) fall in the central zone and the rest fall within the jurisdiction of south zone. The research was carried out in 'B' block, which falls in the central zone.

Hastsal: Hastsal resettlement colony was established in 2000, near Vikaspuri. The colony comprises of 5 blocks (A, B, C, D, E). The population of each block ranges in between 800-1200 and the total population stands at approximately 5,000 today. However, the colony is expanding, due to recent relocations. The residents are brought from various parts of Delhi. For instance, the primary survey carried out by an NGO (Kislay) reveals that residents were brought from all over Delhi i.e. Harinagar, Karolbagh, Paharganj, Rohini, Pratapnagar, Katwariasarai, Shalimarbagh, Janakpuri, Virendranagar, etc. The resettlement colony falls in the west zone of Delhi zonal set up.

II The city and its poor: some theoretical considerations

In any attempt to discern the question of urban poor, one needs to focus on the “dynamic of city”. In other words, this entails a focus on the processes both external and internal that propel the growth of the city and gives it its special flavor. At the outset, if the city’s poor are the “subject of our study”, the following questions come to the fore.

- a) What is the nature of the city and how do we “situate” it within the larger process of development?
- b) What factors determine the process of urbanization?
- c) What are the approaches to the question of urban poverty and resettlement?

The first two questions would clarify the terms of what we call the “external dynamic of the city”. On the other hand, the third question would focus on the “internal dynamic of the city”-the reordering of the space within the city and inequality with respect to control over spaces.

This chapter tries to look at the theoretical underpinnings behind the explanations, for the above three mutually interrelated questions. In doing so, I would focus on theoretical understanding of “the city”, “migration” and “urban poverty”. These aspects of the city and its poor are inextricably intertwined and are not mutually exclusive. However, there is a need to focus on each of them for elaborate delineation. This is done under three separate sections viz. The city: its dialectics and nature, Push or pull: some theoretical postulates on migration and perspectives on urban poverty.

The city: its dialectics and nature

To understand cities in the 3rd world countries, we need to link up the process of urbanization with under-development. Preston views that the magnitude of net migration

from rural to urban areas is linked up with developmental disparities¹. Similarly other scholars (Qadeer; 1983 and Castells; 1978) link up the process of urbanization with development/ under-development. There are broadly two approaches that look at under-development i.e. modernization theories and Marxist theories. Here, I attempt to discuss these approaches under the following headings: “Modernization paradigm: city as the ‘engine’ of growth” and “In search of an alternative paradigm: towards a holistic understanding”.

Modernisation paradigm: city as the ‘engine’ of growth

Lerner holds:” Modernization as the process of social change, whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies”. According to this approach, modernization is initiated by a process of transference of ideas, technology, values of the west in order to “develop” the so-called “backward” countries (Lerner; 1968).

Development, within this paradigm is largely informed by economic criteria. It is argued that a non-modern/ backward/ underdeveloped sector awaits modernization. This teleological unidirectional approach meant aping the west, in order to enhance the country’s GNP, which of course, would require changes at various levels i.e. social, psychological and political level. For a long time, development meant only the capacity of a static and retarded economy to generate and sustain an annual increase in GNP at the rate of 5-7% (Dube; 1988). Thus, the main task involved building infrastructure and promoting industrialization. Modernization theories were highly influenced by classical/ neo-classical liberal themes². The model of Keynes³ and Rostow⁴ dominated

¹ According to Preston the net migration is the product of unjustifiable regional and sectoral distortions in patterns of development. See Preston; 1988 (pp-11-31).

² The growth mania dominated economic thinking, which meant growth of output per head of population and not with distribution. See Dube; 1988 (pp-36-47).

³ Keynes model was analyzing causes of economic depression and unemployment. According to his model, unemployment was caused by insufficient aggregate demand and it could be eliminated by government expenditure to raise the aggregate demand, activate idle or under-utilized resources and create jobs. See Dube; 1988 (pp-36-47)

developmental thinking. Therefore, in this genre of theories, the thrust became “catching up” with the west. However, the theories failed to assess the over-arching international structure of socio-economic order (i.e. capitalism), which becomes very crucial in any analysis of under-development. Even the most influential work on under-development of a country within the framework of liberal theories fail to do that. Myrdal’s work on the continuing circular and cumulative causation of under-development proves to be limited in its analysis. Myrdal held that a process of circular and cumulative causation works and perpetuates a “vicious circle of poverty”, causing under-development. Myrdal argues that in the normal case, a change (he was referring to the economic and social overhead capital i.e. transport, communication facilities, banking and marketing systems etc.) does not call forth countervailing changes but, instead, supporting changes that further move the system in the same direction as the first change. Because of such circular causation a social process tends to become cumulative and often gathers speed at an accelerating rate (Myrdal; 1973). However, Myrdal’s theory is silent on the nature of capitalist development, impact of colonialism.

By extending the ideas of modernization paradigm, the cities become the “modern” sector, in a very dualistic conception. In a dualistic framework, the economy is seen to be consisting of two sectors i.e. formal (modern) and informal (traditional). The economic dualism coincided with the distinction between village and town, which coincided with the distinction between agriculture and industry (Breman; 1996). This dualistic conception looks at the social segments as isolated from each other (Sarin; 1982). Modernization theorists see cities as potential engines of economic growth (Flanagan; 1993). The cities become the “prime movers” of the society. Therefore, the cities become destinations for the multitude of people in search of a better life. The modernization paradigm emphasized on cultural diffusion, in an international system to handle the dysfunction and backwardness in the indigenous countries. Cities epitomized the instruments of this change. According to Qadeer, modernization paradigm portrays the city as a self-sustained entity, which leads to economic and social transformation of a

⁴ Rostow postulates five stages i.e. traditional society, pre-condition, take off, drive for maturity and high mass consumption. He interprets the visible characteristics of economic inferiority as a reflection of “lag” or of not having “caught on” to the singular path of modernization. See Sarin; 1982, pp-1-12.

society (Qadeer; 1983). Thus, in this paradigm, the city is viewed as the growth center and driving force of modernity.

These ideas fail to assess the city's parasitic effects and its role in surplus appropriation and perpetuation of underdevelopment. Consequently, enormous literature has been produced on the above aspects since 1970s. For instance, Lipton argued that "urban bias" provided the context to understand "why poor people stay poor" (Lipton; 1977). His approach to economic development and social conflict thus specifically relates to the rural-urban divide and the rural-urban migration engendered by rural-urban inequality and hence the rapid pace of urban growth. Lipton further holds that larger farmer, or more broadly, rural elites, are favored by urban-biased policies and align with urban interests (Gugler; 1988). According to Lipton:

"The disparity between urban and rural welfare is much greater in poorer countries now than it was in rich countries during their early development. This huge welfare gap is demonstrably inefficient, as well as inequitable. It persists mainly because less than 20% of investment for development has gone to the agriculture sector, although over 65% of the people of less developed countries (LDCs), and over 80% of the really poor who live on \$ 1 week each or less, depend for a living on agriculture" (Lipton; 1977).

Similarly, Nyerere evaluating the biases in favor of urban sector holds that the largest proportion of the loans is spent on the urban areas but the largest proportion of the repayment is made through the efforts of farmers (Nyerere; 1988). However, Castells developed the most coherent analysis regarding urban sector as mostly a parasitic sector-appropriating surplus. Castells was highly influenced by dependency theorists and extended the arguments of dependency theorists in analyzing the urban question.

In search of an alternative paradigm: towards a holistic understanding

Modernization paradigm dominated developmental thinking in the 50s and early 60s. Marxist theories provided a criticism of the modernization paradigm in late 60s and 70s. They responded to the conditions of advanced capitalism and provided the critique

of it and as a part of this critique evolved their understanding of cities. In particular Marxist theories looked at 3rd world cities /economy within an overarching socio-economic configuration and the dependent role-played by them. These theories prove to be analytical in understanding the nature of advanced capitalist cities. However, we need to focus on the evolution of cities and their changing nature. In order to do so, there is a need to understand cities in pre-colonial era, colonial era and postcolonial era. Therefore, in this section, we attempt to assess the Marxist reaction to the modernization paradigm. Following this, there will be an attempt to understand the changing nature of the cities since pre-colonial times to the present time.

The Marxist tradition in urban sociology inaugurated by Castells drew upon Frank's analysis of under-development. Frank had posited a causal relationship between under-development and the integration of the developing economies with the international economic system. He emphasized on the surplus expropriation from the periphery (dependent/ satellite/ under-developed countries) and its subsequent appropriation by the metropolis⁵. According to Frank:

“The monopoly capitalist structure and the surplus expropriation/ appropriation contradiction is an exploitation relation, which in chain-like fashion extends the capitalist link between the capitalist world and national metropolises to the regional centers (part of whose surplus they appropriate), from these to local centers, and so on to large landowners or merchants who expropriate surplus from small peasants or tenants, and sometimes even from these latter to the landless laborers exploited by them in turn. At each step along the way, the relatively few capitalists above exercise monopoly power over the many below, expropriating some or all of their economic surplus and, to the extent that they are not-expropriated in turn by the still fewer above them, appropriating it for their own

⁵ For Frank, underdevelopment is a product of capitalist development and of internal contradictions of capitalism itself. These contradictions are the expropriation of economic surplus from the many and its appropriation by the few, the polarization of the capitalist system into metropolis center and peripheral satellites, and the continuity of the fundamental structure of capitalist system throughout the history of its expansion and transformation due to the persistence or recreation of these contradictions everywhere and at all times (see Frank; 1967).

use. Thus, at each point, the international, national, and local capitalist system generates economic development for the few and under-development for the many”(Frank; 1967).

Thus, within this schema the international economic system with its powerful agents (MNCs), as the owners of capital, influence the state policies on investment priorities. The MNCs and transnational banks expropriate the surplus, in terms of their profits. These capital-intensive MNCs exclude a multitude of workers from the labor market in the urban arena, who have emigrated from the rural areas. The workers inevitably resort to a hyper-inflated tertiary sector. On the other hand, the urban centers become the sites of surplus appropriation of the immediate hinterlands.

Castells arguing on similar lines holds that urbanization in the 3rd world is dependent. A society is dependent when the articulation of its social structure, at the economic, political and ideological level, expresses asymmetrical relations with another social formation that occupies, in relation to the first, a situation of power (Castells; 1978). By a situation of power, Castells means the fact that the organization of class relations in the dependent societies expresses the form of social supremacy adopted by the class in power in the dominant society. Castells emphasizes on the penetration of capitalist mode of production emerging historically in the western countries, in the remainder of the existing social formations at different technological, economic and social levels (Castells; 1978). In this light, Castells orchestrates three types of dominations in his schema of exploitative economic penetration i.e. colonial domination, capitalist-commercial domination and imperialist industrial and financial domination⁶. Castells further holds that these three forms of domination may co-exist, but they always involve a preponderance of one over the others.

⁶ According to Castells, colonial domination means direct administration and intensive exploitation of resources. Capitalist commercial domination is done through terms of exchange, procuring raw materials below their value and opening up new markets for manufactured products at prices higher than their value. And, imperialist-industrial and financial domination is carried out through speculative investments and the creation of local industries which tend to control the movements of substitution of imports, following a strategy of profit adopted by the international trusts throughout the world market, see Castells; 1978, (pp-39-63).

Castells argues that with the penetration of one social formation by another, a migratory movement is triggered off. The rush towards the towns is, in general, regarded much more as the result of a rural push than an urban pull, that is to say, much more as a decomposition of rural society than as an expression of the dynamism of urban society. Having said this, Castells discounts the arguments concerning an “economic balance sheet” at the individual level⁷ and takes up the task of explaining this phenomenon of decomposition of rural social structure. This for him becomes the most characteristic feature of urban question in the 3rd world. He holds:

“For it is impossible, after a certain phase has been reached in the process of social penetration, for two different commercial systems to function along side each other or for the economy of direct exchange to develop at the same time as the market economy. The whole of the productive system is reorganized according to the interests of the dominant society. It is logical that, under these conditions, the internal economic system should be “unarticulated” or deformed. But, this “incoherence” is only the result of a perfectly coherent economic network, if one examines the social structure as a whole” (Castells; 1978).

Thus, on the above grounds, he holds that emigration is caused because of the penetration of social formation by another social formation. Now this system forms part of the class relations of the dominated society and these are determined by its relations of dependence within the structure as a whole (Castells; 1978). Hence, the national economic system or for that matter the – regional economic system is not isolated from the overarching socio-economic order. And, at each stage, there are “metropolises” expediting surplus appropriation. Roberts observes:

“It is the chain of exploitative relationships that links the metropolitan country to the major city and dominant classes of the dependent country, and extends from these classes to traders and producers located in provincial towns, right down to

⁷ Castells argues that the higher per capita income despite its low level is not important as consumption declines rapidly in towns, in that the direct consumption of agricultural produce becomes rare and a whole series of new items added to the budget (transport in part).

the peasant producer or the landless rural worker. At each stage of appropriation or expropriation, there must be a class of people who derive advantage for their situation, and are prepared to act as agents in channeling the local resources to the metropolises. The surplus that remains in the dependent country does little to stimulate development, the lifestyles and values of the dominant classes of land owners and merchants entail, it is claimed, that this surplus is consumed in luxurious expenditures, rather than productive investments” (cited in Qadeer; 1983).

Thus in a nutshell these sets of Marxist theories argue that the city acts as a conduit of surplus expropriation and in its turn appropriates from the hinterland. This is against the grain of a conception, which stresses on the modernizing and regenerative features of the city. These theories prove to be analytical in understanding the nature of advanced capitalist societies. On the other hand, there are theories, which focus on the evolution and changing nature of cities. Hence, now, we turn to theories, which have focused on the changing nature of the cities since pre-colonial times.

In pre-colonial Mughal period, the centralized authority created the machinery for revenue extraction, making available to the state fabulous resources, which, lavishly expended, created a vast market for luxury manufactures and stimulated urbanization (Raychaudhuri and Habib; 1982, pp. ix-xvi). A major factor contributing to urbanization in the Mughal period was the growth of traditional industries such as textiles (Cotton, Silk and Woolen) and metal work of various arts and crafts (Ramachandran; 1989). The rich patronized the crafts and industry. The craftsmen were from the poorer section of the society and their conditions remained deplorable. However, they were much in demand due to state patronage and external trade. Indian made goods were much sought after in West Asian, South East Asian and European market (Ramachandran; 1989). Further, with political unification and administrative centralization, capital cities grew. The capital cities necessitated expansion and investments in infrastructure. Capital city is invariably the largest and the most impressive city of the time, and the three Mughal capital cities i.e. Delhi, Agra and Fatehpursikri were no exception (Ramachandran; 1989). Cities, apart from being centers of production and politico-administration, were socio-cultural centers.

And the ruling class, supported by the educated upper class, the militia and a host of servants controlled and regulated the socio-cultural life of the people.

In a nutshell, the creation of cities were marked by certain developments i.e. creation of a military power sustained by the regular extraction of resources from an extensive territory, the emergence of a new ruling class with direct claims over shares of the produce; a proliferation of urban centers as an expression of the life-style preferred by the immigrant rulers; and the growth of a small range of new manufacturers, such as paper and lime mortar (Raychaudhuri and Habib; 1982).

The course of urbanization after 1800 in all parts of India was determined by British colonial economic policies and social attitudes (Ramachandran; 1989). The consolidation of British rule brought about a stagnation and decline in urban growth. As the Indian ruling classes were deposed and the revenues which they appropriated were transferred to the company, the cities and towns which depended on the supply of articles of consumption and services to the older ruling classes and their households, courtiers and retainers rapidly declined (Habib; 1995).

The assault of free trade after 1813 devastated centers of handicrafts, notably textiles, and a fresh process of urban decay began (Ibid.). The dual economic assault i.e. extractions of land revenue leading to an unrelenting pressure on the zamidars all over and progressive subjugation of the Indian market for English industry marked the colonial economic policies (Ibid.). The English exports of manufacturers, textiles in the first place, not only practically wiped out the Indian – exports of cotton goods, but also entered India to challenge Indian manufacturers, in their home market. Habib notes:

“Alongside cotton goods, English exports to India of iron (bar and bolt as well as cast and wrought), together with hardware and cutlery, guns, glass and “machinery”, had increased enormously by 1828. They continued to grow during the following years and naturally caused a slump in the corresponding crafts in India” (Habib; 1995).

Thus, the urban decline, initiated by the diversion of the surplus from the Indian ruling classes to the company, was compounded by “deindustrialization”. And, railway construction, which progressed at an unprecedented scale, completed the process of colonialization of Indian economy by pulling all its erstwhile isolated segments inside the net of British free trade (Habib; 1995). Extension of railway network ensured that India as a subordinate trading partner, as a market to be exploited and as a dependent colony to produce and supply the raw materials and foodstuffs Britain needed (Chandra; 1972).

Industrial revolutions in England altered the very complexion of urbanization in India. A major feature of the early 19th century was the decline of the pre-British cities. Prominent among the cities that lost their former importance were Agra, Delhi, Lucknow, Ahmedabad, Srinagar, Cambey, Patna, Gaya, Baroda, Indore and Tanjore (Ramachandran; 1989). Delhi was seized after the 1857 revolt and all the native population was targeted and driven out. Later some people were allowed along with the merchants, sahkars and artisans for public works department. For some months after the capture of Delhi, there was a debate as to whether the city should be retained or destroyed. In May 1858, the Secretary of State decided that the political objects to be gained by destroying the palace would be gained by occupying it (Gupta; 1991). Later, Delhi was transformed into a vast cantonment and an undeveloped civil line, with the indigenous inhabitants huddled into two-thirds of the walled city and into the ragged western suburbs. The civil lines and cantonments marked the social distance deliberately maintained by the British from the Indian urban dwellers (Gupta; 1991, Oldenburg; 1984, Gooptu; 2001). By the mid 1860s, there was a large European population in Delhi, both civilian and administrative and military personnel.

There was a considerable increase in population of Indian inhabitants after 1858. The rate of natural increase in Delhi was negligible; it was kept down by a very high death rate till the end of the 19th century. The famine years 1861, 1867, and 1898 led to large scale “distress migration” to the city from places as distant as Rajasthan (Gupta; 1991). In the beginning of 20th century, Delhi made steady progress. In 1910, the city’s population was steadily expanding because of factories and railways and the increase in commercial business. In 1921, even after the transfer of the capital, the proportion of

those engaged in professional occupation, to those engaged in commerce and industry was 1:6:8 (Gupta; 1991). Thus, after the 1857 depopulation, Delhi continued to be an important urban center. This is primarily because it was the center of commercial transactions and later center of the imperial power. On the other hand, many cities during the colonial period lost their importance and decayed.

However, British cities i.e. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras grew remarkably. Railways helped in the introduction of modern industry into these cities. These three cities were primarily metropolitan port cities, which grew rapidly. For instance, at the beginning of 20th century, Calcutta had a population over 9 lakhs, compared to that of Delhi's population, which stood at around 2 lakhs (Ramachandran; 1989). Raza and Habeeb commenting on the British cities hold that Calcutta acted like a Satellite Primate. These satellite primate cities were described as the foci of the exploitative mechanism. Raza and Habeeb commenting on the satellite primacy nature of Calcutta hold:

“Calcutta did not emerge from the indigenous system of settlement but was imposed from outside. It outstripped the growth of all other urban centers of the country and its hinterland. It developed not as the node of and along with the system but at the cost of it. It was not an instrument of urbanization but of urban atrophy. The economic base of Calcutta, as a primate city⁸, emerged from the function it performed in the exploitative mechanism of imperialist rule. With a weak secondary sector mainly concerned with productive processes of an ancillary and processing time, with a bloated tertiary sector and with a substantial proportion of “hangers on”, the satellitic primate was neither able to sustain itself as a metropolis nor induce impulses of growth to its hinterland. It grew, but did not develop. Its growth reflected not the healthy processes of urbanization but the diseased process of urban accretion” (Raza and Habeeb; 1991).

In contrast with the British period, which witnessed a period of urban stagnation, the post-independence period is notable for rapid urbanization (Ramachandran; 1989). A

⁸ The concept of primate city primarily referred to the relationship in size between the largest city and other cities in a country. It was stated that there were many reasons why a city exceeds its neighbours in size but once it did, 'this mere fact gives an impetus to grow ... and it draws away from all (other cities) in character as well as in size. ... It becomes the primate city (see; Raza and Habeeb, pp-67)

remarkable feature has been the rapid growth of the one million and one lakh cities (Ramchandran; 1989). A concomitant phenomenon of such metropolization is the decline or stagnation of the smaller towns. This has a consequent result of large number of poor migrants in cities. And, there are widespread inadequacies of housing and basic amenities. Industrialization in cities has contributed to its rapid growth. For instance, Delhi grew not just as an administrative city but also as an industrial city after independence. The number of poor migrants increased rapidly in all major cities. However, there were efforts to integrate the poor with the cities. Sanjay Gandhi's zeal in cleaning up the city was seen as antithetical to the democratic culture of the post-colonial city (Chatterjee; 2003). The attitude was also reflected in the general willingness of the judiciary in the 1980s to come to the aid of the urban poor, virtually recognizing that they had a right to habitation and a livelihood in the city and that government authority could not evict or penalize them at will without providing some sort of resettlement and rehabilitation (Ibid.).

Chatterjee holds that this process did not represent an extension of citizenship to the poor. He makes a distinction between citizens and populations. Populations are empirical categories of people with specific social or economic attributes that are relevant for the administration of developmental or welfare policies. Thus, there may be specific schemes for slum-dwelling children or working mothers below the poverty line, or, say, for settlement prone to flooding in the rainy season. Unlike citizenship, which carries the moral connotation of sharing in the sovereignty of the state and hence of claiming rights, in relation to the state, populations don't bear any moral claim. When they are looked after by governmental agencies, they merely get the favour of a policy whose rationale is one of costs and benefits in terms of economic, political or social outcomes. When these calculation changes, the policies change too and so does the composition of the target groups (Chatterjee; 2003). Chatterjee holds that the relations of government agencies with population groups of the urban poor were determined not on the terrain of civil society but as that of political society. This was the terrain of the heterogeneous social, where multiple and flexible policies were put into operation, producing multiple and strategic responses from population groups seeking to adapt to, cope with or make use of these policies. Whereas, the terrain of civil society is a terrain inhabited by "proper



citizens” whose relations with the state were framed within a structure of constitutionally protected rights (Chatterjee; 2003).

It should be pointed out that since 1990s, the above cautious policy of the state has been substituted in favour of a policy, which is aiming at cleaning up the city of its poor. The land inhabited by the poor has to be reclaimed, at any cost for the use of “proper citizens”. Citizen groups invoke a bourgeois environmentalism, which is staunchly supported by the judiciary. Today, the cities mark a shift from a manufacturing based to an information based economy with corresponding declines in industrial and increases in service employment (Fainstein and Campbell; 1996). These have been accompanied by the rapid growth of financial and producer services (the term “producer services” refers to business like law, accounting, management consulting, and advertising that sell their products to other business) (Ibid.). This contemporary restructuring has evoked strategies of deregulation and the promotion of private sector property development (Ibid.). The urban restructuring since 1990s, highlight increased profitability for the investors, particularly financial and real-estate speculations. This has necessitated reclamation of “prime” land and has caused an impoverishment of a growing proportion of the population.

Since 1990s, a new idea of the post-industrial city has become globally available for emulation. This post-industrial city sees the demise of traditional manufacturing and is driven by finance and a host of producer services (Chatterjee; 2003). A Central Business District with advanced transport and telecommunication facilities and office space characterizes the city. This is the node of an inter-metropolitan and global network carrying out information processing and control functions. Apart from management and financial operations certain kinds of services such as advertising accounting, legal services, banking etc. tend to be centralized in the business district (Ibid.). Even in information-based economy of the third world city, exploitation of these cities is inbuilt. Urban restructuring has been produced by greed of corporate capitalists rather than as a necessary response to the heavy hand of the state. Its outcome has been increased wealth for investors particularly financial and real estate speculations, and impoverishment of a growing proportion of the population (Fainstein and Campbell; 1996). The stimulus for

the process was an initial crisis of profitability caused by the international competitive pressure resulting from unmanaged international trade and overproduction. Capital responded by heightening the rate of exploitation of labor. A combination of tactics was used to achieve this end, including union busting, automation, relocation of production sites, and reduction of social welfare programs that competed with the private wage (ibid). Thus, as our understanding of capitalism evolves so does our grasp of nature and dialectics of cities.

Today, the city is characterized by an urban space that is increasingly differentiated in social terms. Thus, there are new segregated and exclusive spaces for the managerial and technocratic elite (Chatterjee; 2003). The new high technology industry tends to be located in the newest and most environmentally attractive places of the metropolis. At the same time, while the new metropolis is globally connected, it is frequently locally disconnected from large sections of its population who are functionally unnecessary and are often seems to be socially and politically disruptive (Chatterjee; 2003). Chatterjee holds that the idea of what a city should be like has now been deeply influenced by this post-industrial global image city, among the urban middle classes in India. And commenting on the consequences, Chatterjee holds:

“The result has been, on the one hand, greater assertion by organizations of middle class citizens of their right to unhindered access to public spaces and thoroughfares and to a clean and healthy environment. On the other hand, government policy has rapidly turned away from the idea of helping the poor to subsist within the city and is instead paying the greatest attention to improving infrastructure in order to create conditions for the import of high technology and the new industries. Thus, manufacturing industries are being moved out beyond the city limits, “squatters” and “encroachers” are being evicted, land ceiling and tenancy laws are being rewritten to enable market forces to rapidly convert the congested and dilapidated sections of the city into high value commercial and residential districts” (Chatterjee; 2003).

Thus, it can be argued that in post-colonial cities and especially since 1990s, the poor are increasingly losing their right to the city. And a managerial and technocratic elite with a sub-culture built around segregated residential areas, easy access to airport, shopping malls and cinemas dominate the city spaces.

Given this background, it becomes essential to focus on migration, for further elaboration.

Push or pull: some theoretical postulates on migration

The ever-increasing urban population and its concomitant poverty necessitate an analysis of rural-urban migration. Most of the city's poor are the rural labor migrants, who have confronted various difficulties at their villages and struggle in the urban areas. In this section, I try to discuss the theoretical formulations of rural-urban migrations. There are two paradigms, which seek to provide theoretical explanations for the phenomenon of population migration in general and labor migration in particular i.e. neo-classical explanation and the holistic historical-structural explanation (Shah et. al.; 1993).

Neo-classical explanation

Within the framework of neo-classical explanation, the individual is a “decision-maker” on a rational calculation of costs and returns (Shah et. al.; 1993). This presupposes the impersonal working of the market and the individual's own discretion to maximize his/her profit and utility. Thus, in this formulation, the migrant is pulled into the urban sector and the “economic balance sheet’ works in favor of the migrant. Hence, this formulation argues for static, passive, backward migrant, on his/her way to modernize him/her and better his/her life-chances. Thus, the notion of an economic dualism is invoked, which supposes the urban environment to be the natural location for the country's industries and a gradual conversion from an agrarian to an industrial society, involving a massive displacement of people (Breman; 1985). The neo-classical explanation thereby is simplistically optimistic and does not take into account various social, economic and political forces, which govern migration.

Holistic Explanation

A holistic explanation seeks to take into account social, economic and political forces directly or indirectly affecting the demand for labor (Shah et al; 1993). Castells has argued that the decomposition of the rural social structure is a direct result of capitalist penetration, which triggers off migration. Shah et. al. view migration as a class phenomenon, where the unit of analysis is the stream. This view emphasizes on the social relation and relations of power operating in rural areas, which push out the rural out-migrants. Shah et. al. hold:

“In the context of an economy experiencing penetration of capitalist relations in production, certain strata of rural labor households become more vulnerable than the others. In the face of a surplus extracting strategy of rural capital, these households will have to work out “survival” or “subsistence” strategies depending on their economic strength and social positions. Migration thus becomes part of an overall strategy of sustenance” (Shah et. al.; 1993).

Breman holds that remolding the rural production structure has resulted in labor migration on a hitherto unknown scale (Breman; 1985). He holds that the increasing restructuring of agriculture on capitalistic lines in south Gujarat, has resulted in surplus accumulation, which has affected the small, marginal farmers and landless laborers. The government development programmes have largely benefited the owners of capital and have subordinated the property less by giving maximal priority to progressive surplus formation. Drawing on Byre’s analysis, he suggests that new technology has produced conditions by which poor peasantry has lost an increasing share of land to rich peasants (Breman; 1985). Breman holds:

“Where small landowners or even agricultural laborers previously made their appearance as share croppers on land belonging to bigger farmers, now the phenomenon is reversed. Increasingly more small owners surrender the working of their properties to larger farmers – without giving up their own rights in them. There is a limit to the labor-intensive strategy, a limit determined by the small farmer’s lack of capital strength i.e. small amounts of land, lack of irrigation,

work implements etc. Because of this they achieve a lower yield per unit of land, they dispose off a smaller part of this production in the market and as a consequence of all these factors, they are unable to accumulate any savings” (Breman; 1985).

M. B. Desai has provided the empirical basis of the above arguments. According to him, the average surface area worked by small farmers dropped from 3.2 acres to 2.99 acres between 1967 and 1972 as a result of leasing out of land, particularly to farmers in possession of 15-25 acres (Breman, 1985). These arguments provide sufficient empirical and theoretical ground to suggest that the capitalist modernization has resulted in impoverishing the rural small, marginal farmer and pushed out the rural poor from rural economy.

Chakravarty demonstrates the existence of labor catchment areas (LCAs) characterized by high agrarian density, lower subsistence wages and a less hospitable agriculture. Historically the states having labor catchment areas i.e. U.P, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu have contributed the most to migration (Shah et.al.; 1993). It is further argued that uneven development initiated and conditioned during colonial period has continued in various forms, which has accentuated migration (Chand and Puri; 1983 and Shah et al 1993). Chand and Puri have empirically documented regional disparities in terms of per capita income, differences in industrial growth, agricultural growth, levels of literacy, road strength, infant mortality rate etc. Shah et. al. hold that uneven development within the country has led to inter-regional disparity in economic growth and the differences between socio-economic classes. According to them, some of the strategies for agriculture development have contributed to this process of uneven growth i.e. policies in prices support, input subsidies and availability of credit. The relatively prosperous regions have had the benefit of massive amounts of public resources, which could have been utilized for strengthening the foundations of agricultural development i.e. investment in irrigation, water management, flood etc. and land development works (Shah et. al.; 1993). Consequently, this could have generated employment for landless, thereby restricting labor movement.

Thus, one can argue that pushed out from the rural economy, the migrant population aggregates in the urban areas, in search of employment. Various scholars have argued that this scenario suggests the presence of an excluded labor force of unorganized and unprotected workers, who do not get integrated into the productive sector (Breman; 1994 and Castells; 1978). Breman has criticized any romanticisation of this unorganized/informal sector in urban areas. Breman further contests any argument, which takes for granted the transition of a wage-labor to an independent businessman/ employee in the formal sector, with skill attainments over a period of time (Breman; 1996 and Breman; 1994). In fact, arguing on lines of dependency theorists, he holds that the backwardness and impotence of the informal sector is a pre-condition for the development and progress of the formal sector, while the relationship between the two sectors is expressed in the dependence and sub-ordination of the former on the latter (Breman; 1994).

Consequently, one can argue that the urban poor largely acquire an extremely low standard of living and lack of productive income and lack of any social security pushes them to the inhospitable corners of the city.

Perspectives on urban poverty

There will be little disagreement to argue that poverty is multidimensional. One cannot conceptualize poverty, in a single coherent way. What is required is to focus on different aspects and dimensions of poverty. Keeping this in mind, I attempt to explore the relationship of poverty with work, social groups and the dynamic of urban spaces. This section is intended to clarify the terms of what constitutes the “internal dynamics of the city”.

Work and Poverty

Over the years poverty is seen as caused by structural factors than individual weakness⁹ in the form idleness or imprudence. Poverty is seen as an outcome of

⁹ Oscar Lewis has elaborated on a cultural milieu characterized by fatalism, resignation, and idleness, which is antithetical to achievement, hard work, and self-reliance, and tends to be passed on between

feudalism or capitalism. In today's context, the capitalist's interests for cheap labor and low wage labor to maximize profit are seen as the major causes of poverty. Thus, there is a correlation between work and poverty. Hence, one needs a sustained focus on work/occupation to throw some light on urban poverty. In doing so, I am trying to emphasize the multidimensional nature of urban poverty. Work is performed in both informal and formal sectors. Correspondingly, there are theories, which emphasize a dualistic framework and an interdependent relationship with respect to informal and formal sectors.

Safa, providing a critique of a dualistic framework holds: "the framework considers the existence of employment structure in a dualistic fashion: a modern expansive capitalist section, geared towards large-scale production for an export market, and a "traditional" subsistence section, geared towards small-scale peasant and artisan production for the domestic market" (Safa; 1982). In other words, the urban economy can be divided into a formal and informal sector, within this framework. It was frequently stated that the latter would act as an absorptive reservoir and a clearinghouse for the raw labor, undisciplined and untrained, coming from the countryside (Breman; 1996). And, it was argued that after a period of adjustment, these migrant masses would qualify for employment in the gradually expanding formal sector of the economy. It is argued that the rural poor migrate to cities in the expectation that jobs are more easily accessible and employment is characterized by fewer fluctuations and better pay. Breman holds that in line of the above wisdom, the World Bank claims that, on leaving the countryside, self-employed peasants first tend to become wage laborers in the urban informal sector, earn some money and learn skills during their halt at the bottom of the urban economy, save and ultimately set up an independent business. Breman contests such a trajectory and emphasizes on the unity and totality of the productive systems (Breman; 1994,1996). Mitra argues for a line of argument, which falls in between that of dualism and interdependent nature of economy.

He argues that the persistence of low productive activities in the informal sector, which results in inadequate income, rules out the access to the high priced land. And, this

generations. He applied a concept called "culture of poverty" to explain poverty in certain social groups, in this light. (For details see, Lewis; 1967, pp-xi-1)

is tied up with the proliferation of “slum” settlements. Mitra holds: “Sluggish employment prospects in the high productivity sector leads to a residual absorption of labor in the low productivity activities and generates a low level of income for workers. Inadequate income in the face of rising land prices virtually rules out their access to land, thereby creating slums in the urban set up” (Mitra; 1990).

Mitra further argues that the basic idea underlying the analysis that economic duality in terms of formal versus informal sector, leads to social duality, i.e. slum non-slum division, stands broadly verified. On the question of interdependence of these two sections, Mitra holds that it is duality with interdependence rather than only interdependence and no duality.

Breman has contested the above two ideas of dualism and dualism with interdependence. Breman holds that the thesis of an urban dualism is untenable (Breman; 1994). He holds: “By conceptualizing the formal and informal sectors in a dualistic framework and in focusing on the mutually exclusive characteristics, we lose sight of the unity and totality of the productive systems”. The above argument breaks a tautological framework, which underlines the argument of dualism i.e. the informal sector is inevitably linked with urban poverty and its social determinants e.g. low income, illiteracy, irregular work, which in turn constitute the informal sector. What is important is to assess the origin of such a kind of scenario. Bose holds: “Smallness of scale or inefficient management is not the principal cause of the poverty of those who are employed in the workshops in Calcutta. But, rather the appropriation of surplus from above” (cited in Breman; 1994, pp-42).

Similarly, Banerjee, commenting on the existing economic order, states that the squeeze of the entire possible surplus, by way of wage cuts and lower remunerations are ways of exploitation (Banerjee; 1982). Thus, contrary to earlier notions regarding the separate and discrete nature of the formal and informal economies, they are now generally recognized as strongly interdependent, with the formal sector dependent on the informal for goods, services and cheap labor, and the informal sector dependent on the formal for a good portion of its clientele, income, and source of new income-generating activities (Safa; 1982). There is no clear boundary between organized and unorganized

sector firms. Big factories, multinationals, middle-sized factories and smaller units are linked up in a chain like fashion (Holmstrom; 1985). Even the big factories, the multinationals and other good payers, are often engaged in assembling, finishing and marketing products of smaller units further down the chain. Quoting Breman, Holmstrom holds that it is a mistake to think of the “informal sector” as a thing in itself, a separate economic compartment or labor situation. The organized sector depends on the unorganized in many ways: for parts, components, processing, and sometimes maintenance which it would be uneconomical for a large firm to do for itself; or because the large firm needs temporary access to specialized skills or machines, or because unions and labor laws prevent large firms from expanding or reducing their work force quickly, to cope with fluctuations in demand; and especially because large firms take advantage of low wages and bad conditions, rather than cheap machinery, in the unorganized sector (Holmstrom;1985). Thus, the use of casual and contract labor by employers, to get work done at low wages for longer hours without any responsibility towards these workers and to avoid labor trouble by changing contracts frequently, is widespread (Qadeer and Roy; 1989). In the unorganized sector, wages are low; access to the law poor, and services of any kind conspicuous by their absence. This is a sector crucial in the maximization of profits, for workers work for low wages and for longer hours. The size, the spread and the obscurity of such units itself indicates the high probability of neglect of workers (Qadeer and Roy; 1989)

Thus, it could be argued that the relationship of occupation or work with poverty is very complex. The economic order does not exist in a dualistic way; rather the economic order is well coordinated and there are interdependencies between sectors that bind people to conditions of poverty.

Social groups and urban poverty

One of the ways of grappling with urban poverty is to look at the intertwining of urban poverty and social groups. This would initiate an exploration into the question of “who are poor?” Are certain groups predominantly present among the category “urban poor”? One valuable starting point would be to look at the recent work of Deshpande.

Deshpande holds that it is in urban India – the seat of genuine privilege – that the inter-caste differences are at their starkest (Deshpande; 2003). He summarizes:

“Only 5% of the Hindu upper castes are BPL (Below Poverty line), while the figures for the lower castes are much higher: 43% for both STs and SCs, and 36% for the OBCs. Conversely the Hindu upper castes have a much larger proportion of their population among the “non poor” category (or those with MPCE levels of Rs. 1,500 or more) – 17% - compared to the single digit figures at 6, 2 and 4 for the STs, SCs and OBCs respectively. The Hindu upper caste constitutes almost 60% of the “non poor” urban class. Infact, urban OBCs account for more than one third of the urban BPL populations. And, in the year 2000, STs, SCs, OBCs and Muslims together account for 91% urban BPL population”.

Table 2.1: Social groups stratified by monthly per capita consumption expenditure classes, urban India, 1999-2000

MPCE Class (monthly per capita consumption expenditure)	ST	SC	OBC	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Other Religions	Hindu Upper Castes	All Groups
Below Poverty Line	42.6	43.1	36.0	46.5	16.3	15.0	24.7	4.9	28.5
Rs. 458 – Rs. 775	32.6	39.2	39.7	35.9	31.8	36.4	30.9	34.8	37.4
Rs. 775 – Rs. 1,500.	19.1	15.9	20.7	15.1	36.0	34.3	31.3	43.2	26.3
Rs. 1,500 or more	5.7	2.0	3.7	2.5	15.9	14.4	13.0	17.1	7.8
All Classes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Columns may not add up to 100 due to rounding errors.

Source: Reports Nos. 468 and 469, NSSO, September 2001(cited in Deshpande; 2003).

Table 2.2: Social composition of monthly per capita consumption expenditure classes, urban India, 1999-2000

MPCE Class (monthly per capita consumption expenditure)	ST	SC	OBC	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Other Religions	Hindu Upper Castes	Total
Below Poverty Line	6.0	22.7	33.9	28.0	1.7	0.9	2.1	4.7	100.00
Rs. 458 – Rs. 775	3.5	15.7	32.7	16.5	2.5	1.7	2.0	25.4	100.00
Rs. 775 – Rs. 1,500	2.9	9.1	24.2	9.8	4.0	2.3	2.9	44.8	100.00
Rs. 1,500 or more	2.9	3.8	14.6	5.5	6.0	3.3	4.0	59.8	100.00
% of 1991 Popn.	2.3	12.0	31.4*	16.7	2.9	1.8	2.3	26.6**	100.00

Note: Rows may not add up to 100 due to rounding errors.

Source: Reports Nos. 468 and 469, NSSO, September 2001 (cited in Deshpande; 2003).

*= OBC figure from NSSO 55th round, not Census;

**= HUC? Figure obtained as residual.

Having got a measure of this data, it will not be difficult to draw a parallel with the slums population. It is axiomatic that the family income of the slums population is below city's average, educational and occupational status of the population is at the bottom of the scale and public services do not equal what is available elsewhere. But, the crucial question germane to our exploration is "who inhabit these slums"?

Various studies point out that SCs constitute the majority among Hindus in slum areas i.e. 55.7% in Bhumiheen camp, 61% in Gautamnagar etc. (for details see, the 4th chapter of this dissertation). The OBCs also form a majority in various slums. Again there is a disproportionate Muslim population in slums (for details, see the 4th Chapter of this dissertation). What do these pointers indicate? And, how do we explain this intertwining aspect of urban poverty? One is immediately left with the following questions. Is urban poverty a spillover of rural poverty? In other words, is urban poverty just a continuation of poverty elsewhere? If so, why does it continue? Deshpande argues that almost two generations after independence, it is no longer possible to evade these realities as being the by-product of historical inequalities. We have to face up to the uncomfortable truth that (caste) inequality has been and is being reproduced in

independent India (Deshpande; 2003). The “why” and “how” questions are clearly beyond the scope of our present work, although the first part of this section tries to look at certain issues partially. Nevertheless, one way of perspectivizing urban poverty is to grapple with this ontological claim, i.e. the intertwining of social groups and urban poverty.

Spaces of urban poverty

Urban “spaces’ after globalization have acquired new meaning. Restructuring of the city spaces has impoverished the poor increasingly. Hence, contestations over city’s spaces have come to the fore. The poor are increasingly losing their right to the city. On the other hand the interests of ‘capital’ and the ‘nouveau rich’ are determining the city’s landscape. In this light, the following section takes up the task of looking at urban spaces and urban poverty.

In reflecting on the relationship between urban space and urban poverty one starting point could be to engage with Castells. Castells has engaged with appropriation of space within the urban context and has linked it up with the contradictory differentiation of social groups.

Castells holds that any social form (for example, space) may be understood in terms of the historical articulation of several modes of production. He further states: “The economic, namely, the way in which the worker, with the help of certain means of production, transforms nature (object of labor) in order to produce the commodities necessary for social existence, determines, in the final resort, a particular form of the matrix, that is to say, the laws of the mode of production” (Castells; 1978).

Thus, the urban social formation/ system was said to be constituted by three levels – the economic, the political and the ideological. The political level corresponds to urban administration (local government and other locally based agencies of the state), which performs the dominant function within the urban system of regulating the relations between the different levels in order to maintain the cohesion of the system (Saunders; 1981). The ideological level corresponds to the “urban symbolic” (which corresponds to

the meanings emitted by socially produced spatial forms. For instance, the architectural forms i.e. sky-scrapers would emit meanings of technological modernity, social change, a high level of consumption; which are in turn ideological in content and rationalize certain interests). Finally, the economic level is broken down into its three elements of production, consumption and exchange, each of which corresponds to different elements in the urban system (i.e. factories and offices, housing and recreation facilities, and means of transportation respectively) (Ibid.).

Castells argues that the urban system cannot refer to the production elements since capitalist production is organized on a regional scale (for example, different stages in the production process may be located at different centers, factories in one town are administered from offices in another, and so on). It follows from this that it cannot be a specific system of exchange either. The functions of the urban system must therefore lie in the process of consumption (Saunders; 1981). This argument of Castells is empirically wanting and cannot be applied to every context. For instance, there are city centers that are exclusively production based.

Saunders, extending Marx's analysis on consumption holds that the principal function of consumption is that it is the means whereby the human labor power expended in the production of commodities comes to be replaced. In other words, it is only by consuming socially necessary use values (housing, food, leisure facilities, etc.) that the work force is able to reproduce its capacity for labor, which it sells afresh each day. According to Castells, the means of consumption have not only become concentrated within specific spatial units, but have also become more and more collectivized. And it is this growing significance of the collective provision of the means of consumption that enables Castells to equate the urban system with the process of consumption since it gives rise to increased concentration and centralization.

Thus, the critical theme of this "urban sociology" was built on the notion of collective consumption. According to Castells: "The city was considered as a system organized around the provisions of services necessary for everyday life, under the direct or indirect guidance/ control of the state. Housing, transportation, school, health care,

social service, cultural facilities and urban amenities were part of the elements necessary to the economic and to daily life that could not be produced or delivered without some kind of state intervention. Collective consumption (that is, state mediated consumption processes) became at the same time the basis of urban infrastructure, and the key relationship between people and the state. Cities were defined as the points of contradiction and conflict between capital accumulation and social redistribution, between state control and people's autonomy" (Castells; 2002 in Susser (ed.) "The Castells Reader on cities and social theory").

Castells argues that the potential for a crisis in the provision of commodities necessary for the reproduction of labor power is inherent in the nature of capitalist commodity production. The reason for this is simply that production is concerned with exchange value while consumption is concerned with use values¹⁰. There is, in other words, no necessary reason why what it is most profitable to produce should coincide with what is most socially necessary to consume, since the investment of capital is dictated by rates of returns rather than need (Saunders; 1998). Thus, Castells sees a disjunction between exchange value and use value, profit and need, production and consumption, which underlines major contradictions that become manifest in housing shortages, inadequate medical care, lack of social facilities etc. It should be pointed out that Castells only discussed consumption in terms of socially necessary use values and did not elaborate on socially unnecessary consumption.

Another way of dealing with marginality/ poverty and its link with urban space is to engage with Lefebvre. Lefebvre is a contemporary of Castells, who also did extend a Marxist analysis to understand urban space while differing from Castells in the themes he took up, i.e. the production of space and the right to the city (Castells; 2002 in Susser

¹⁰ Since the commodity is a product which is exchanged, it appears as the union of two different aspects: its usefulness to some agent, which is what permits the commodity to enter into exchange at all; and its power to command certain quantities of other commodities in exchange. The first aspect, the classical political economists called use value, the second exchange value. See, Bottomore; 2000, pp-561.

Marx saw commodification, as the production of commodities for exchange (via the market) as opposed to direct use by the producer. It signals the conversion of use-values into exchange values and heralds a change in production relations. In conventional terms it can be described as the process whereby goods and services, which were formerly used for subsistence purposes are brought and sold in the market. See, Marshall; 1994, pp-93.

(ed.) “The Castells Reader on cities and social theory”). Here, I will attempt to discuss very briefly his contribution to the undertaking of the dynamics of the urban spaces. Then I will go on to engage with Harvey’s works, which in fact have elaborated on Lefebvre with certain modifications.

The starting point to look at Lefebvre’s work is to consider “space” as a process of production (e.g. Capitalist Production) whose outcome would ultimately frame people’s lives in spatially constrained patterns (Castells; 2002 in Susser (ed.) “The Castells Reader on cities and social theory”). As a corollary, when capital did not consider it profitable or useful to keep people in the city, but could not send them back to the countryside because they were needed as urban workers, a new, intermediate space was built: the suburb – high rise and working class in the European version, single family dwelling and middle class in the American version, but equally anti-urban. Thus, after being expelled from their rural communities, people were now expelled, or induced to move out, from the city they had made into a livable place. Now, they were losing their right to the city (ibid.)

Thus Lefebvre primarily holds that space is a product of capitalism and that it is therefore infused with the logic of capitalism (production for profit and exploitation of labor). What is required, according to Lefebvre, is not therefore a science of space per se, but a theory of how space is produced in capitalist societies and of the contradictions that this process of production generates (Saunders; 1981). Because space bears the imprint of capitalism, it imposes the form of capitalist relations (individualism, commodification, etc.) on the whole of everyday life. The architecture of our cities symbolizes capitalist relations (verticality symbolizes power), our leisure space reflects capitalist relations (since it commercializes our non-work lives in line with our working lives), the dispersal of our homes in far-flung suburbs is a – product of capitalist relations (central areas are taken over by commercial functions while residential use of space is relegated to the periphery), and so on. The logic of capitalism is the logic of the social use of space in the logic of everyday life. The class that controls production controls the production of space and hence the reproduction of social relations (Saunders; 1981). Lefebvre sees that the urban crisis is the central and fundamental crisis of advanced capitalism, for the struggle

over the use of space and the control of everyday life goes to the heart of the conflict between the requirement of capital and social need (Ibid.).

David Harvey is deeply influenced by Marx's theory of historical materialism. He holds: "Historical materialism appeared to license the study of historical transformation while ignoring how capitalism produced its own geography" (Harvey; 1989, pp. 5).

Thereby, he sets the term to upgrade historical materialism to historical-geographical materialism (Ibid.). Harvey and Lefebvre have similar concerns in that they both see spaces as important in perpetuation of capitalism. Lefebvre argues, as discussed before, that space has become a key commodity – by means of which capitalist production has been extended into new areas, and the production of space thus reflects and sustains the process of surplus value-creation (Saunders; 1981). On the other hand, Harvey suggests that the creation of space is still largely dependent upon the investment decisions of industrial capital (decisions regarding the location of factories, so on) (Ibid.). According to Harvey, the built environment is the rational product of the process of capital accumulation (Flanagan; 1993). This theme is supported by a number of corollary observations. First, the supply of capital invested in urban property, construction, and financing is created by over accumulation in the primary circuit of capital (Ibid.). In other words, the idle capital seeks investment opportunities, and finds them in the (less lucrative) secondary circuit, the built environment. This includes fixed capital investments in both productive (offices, factories) and consumption (e.g. housing) sectors (Ibid.).

The main difference between Harvey and Lefebvre, therefore, is that the latter sees the secondary circuit as increasingly dominant form of investment and as the means whereby capital may overcome the problems of creating surplus value, whereas the former sees it as subsidiary to industrial investment and as a temporary expedient which soon reveals the same problems of over-accumulation that necessitated its expansion in the first place. Thus, Harvey shows how, at the onset of industrial crises, investment funds have tended to flow into the built environment (as in the case of the property boom

in the early 70s in USA), only to find that the productive possibilities here very soon became saturated (Saunders; 1981).

Thus, it can be argued that the above theoretical perspectives challenge the naturalness of the built environment and look at social and economic factors influencing the emergence of built environment. In particular, the logic of capitalism remains at the heart of their analysis. Though it could prove dangerous to extend all the above ideas to every context, one can not ignore the usefulness of these ideas to look at city landscape, land use pattern, housing for the poor, urban inequality etc, given the present nature of “post-industrial cities”.

Keeping in mind these theoretical considerations on the “city”, “migration” and “urban poverty/ inequality”, I take up the task of looking at a specific case i.e. Delhi. In the following chapter, I intend to explore the demographic dynamic, land use patterns and the state’s policies with respect to the housing need of the poor.

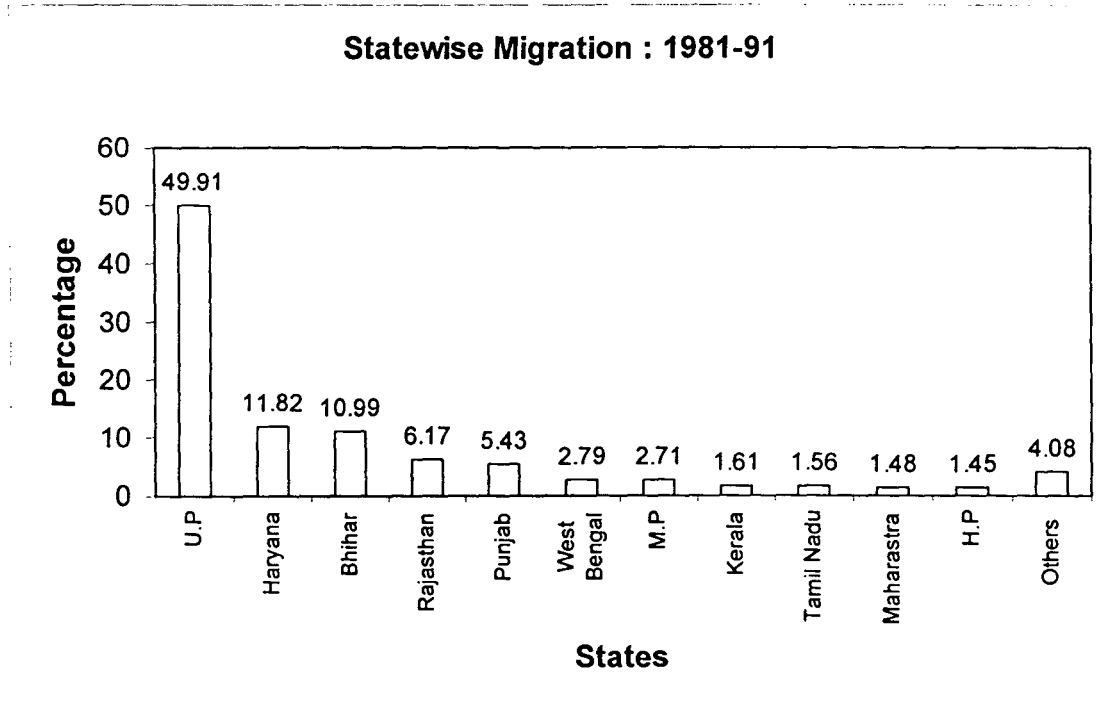
III State's response to the urban poor of Delhi

Migrants create an image of a “deluge of poor”. But it certainly is not the whole truth. Middle class professionals, students and businessmen are all searching for space in the capital city and finding ways and means to settle here and make it their home. In fact, the original Delhites are few. Most of the city's population consists of migrants and yet the state has a differential attitude towards the poor migrants. Most of the poor migrants are from adjoining states (graph 3.1). Lack of productive resources and employment opportunities have forced the migrants to come to cities. Rural poverty and the accompanied curtailment in public expenditures in rural employment generation programmes, has forced more poor people to move into the cities in the hope of a decent standard of living. The entire region outside the Delhi metropolitan area is registering a slow growth rate and is acting like a satellite to the core (NCRPB; 1999). Following which, there is a mass influx of populations, in the hope of sharing the “fruits of development”.

What follows is an attempt to assess the response of the state with respect to the poor in Delhi. This chapter specifically would look at the social demography of Delhi, land use pattern and the policies of the state with respect to housing needs of the poor. And these are discussed under the following headings:

- 1) Social demography of Delhi and its dynamics;
- 2) Master plan, land use pattern and the urban poor; and
- 3) The policies for the poor

Graph 3.1: State-wise migration: 1981-91



Source: NCRPB; 1999

Demographic dynamic of the city

Delhi's population increase has been phenomenally high (Table 3.1). It is argued that migration has contributed to more than half of Delhi's population growth (Nath, V; 1995). The population of Delhi has increased from 17.4 lakhs in 1951 to 137.8 lakhs in 2001 with the percentage decadal growth rates being 52.9 (1951-61), 53.0 (1961-71), 52.8 (1971-81), 51.4 (1981-91) and 46.3 in the decade 1991-2001 (NCPRB; 1999).

Table 3.1: Population increase and density of population in Delhi since 1951

Year	Population (in lakhs)	Density of Population (persons/ sq. km.)
1951	17.4	1165
1961	26.6	1792
1971	40.7	2738
1981	62.2	4194
1991	94.2	6352
2001	137.8	9294

Source: Bose, Ashish (2001); Population of India, 2001 Census Results and Methodology; B. R. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi and Delhi 1999 (A Fact Sheet) – National Capital Region Planning Board, New Delhi

Not surprisingly, the growth of population has a concomitant increase of the population of the “squatters”¹ in Delhi (Table 3.2). The number of jhuggis in 1951 stood at 12,749. Without any support for the housing of the working class, the numbers of jhuggis (dwelling units of the poor) have increased at a rapid pace. In 1973, the number

¹ The term “squatter” is heavily biased and has a derogatory connotation. Rather than providing housing facilities the state, it seems has taken to labeling sectors of population. Mansions called farmhouses have occupied a large chunk of agricultural land illegally but the owners of these “farmhouses” are rich and powerful and therefore not included in “squatters”. The state has not only abdicated its responsibility but is busy criminalizing the poor and labeling them in a derogatory fashion. We prefer the term “poor migrants” instead of “squatters”. However, the use of the term “squatter” would continue to bring to the notice, the vocabulary of the official parlance.

In Delhi, there is a clear distinction between a slum and a “squatter” settlement. According to the slum improvement and clearance act, 1956, a slum may be defined: “As a structure or group of structures or an area which becomes unfit for human habitation due to (i) deficiencies in the nature of living accommodation and (ii) deficiencies in the environment. Such an area by notification in the official gazette is declared as a slum area. It contains mostly pucca structures”. Whereas, a “squatter” settlement “is constructed of Jhuggis (huts) that are constructed out of mud, bricks, straw, bamboos, wood and such other sundry materials” (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). It should be pointed out that in resettlement colonies people are shifted only from “squatter” settlements.

of jhuggis stood at 98,483. Suddenly it plummeted to 20,000, following the cleansing project of the emergency. Since then, the number of jhuggis has been increasing and it stands at approximately 6,00,000 today. The increase of jhuggis between 1951-1971 was approximately 2492.2 per year. On the other hand, it was 17848.3 per year in between 1981-1990.

Table 3.2: Growth of jhuggis in Delhi

Year	Number of Jhuggis
1951	12,749
1956	22,415
1961	42,815
1966	42,668
1971	62,594
1973	98,483
1977	20,000
1981	98,709
1983	1,13,386
1985	1,50,000
1986	2,00,000
1987	2,25,000
1990	2,59,344
1994	4,80,929
2003	6,00,000 (estimated)

Source: Slum and JJ Wing (2003), MCD

This clearly underlines the fact that the relative increase of jhuggis/poor migrants was much more in between 1981-1990. In other words, this indicates that there were work opportunities available in Delhi. From table no 3.3, we can infer that in between 1971-1981, the increase of workers in household industries, manufacturing other than household, trade and commerce and transport, storage, communication stood at 557.3, 27175.2, 17572.8 and 6384.4 per year. Where as between 1981-1991 the corresponding figures stood at 828.5, 15375.6, 28928.9 and 6767. On the other hand the increase of workers in construction industry was remarkably high. Between 1971-1981, it stood at 5856.6, where as between 1981-1991, the corresponding figure was 10786.7 per year. Hence it can be argued that there was enormous work availability in Delhi. The work availability in construction industry had almost doubled every decade between 1971-1991. This could be primarily due to the expanding construction industry, which was engaged in building roads, official buildings, educational institutions etc. One must not also forget the contribution of ASIAD for the increase in construction workers in Delhi.

Similarly, the corresponding industrial progress and growth in employment increased over the years. From table 3.4, we can infer that that the number of industrial units increased to 68,000 in 1986-87 from 37,000 in 1976-77 and to 1,26,000 units in 1996 from 68,000 in 1986-87. On the other hand, the total employed workers increased to 6,22,000 in 1986-87 from 300,000 in 1976-77 and to 11,36,000 in 1996 from 6,22,000 in 1986-87. It is an axiomatic proposition that work availability would increase the workers population in any area. However, it should be pointed out that work availability did not go hand in hand with housing availability for workers in Delhi (discussed a little bit later).

Table 3.3: Workers by industrial classification

Group	Grand Total (1971)			Grand Total (1981)			Grand Total (1991)		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
(A) Workers									
Cultivators	32196	31447	749	34841	32222	2619	33296	30898	2398
Agricultural Labourers	15269	13512	1757	16131	13870	2261	25195	21964	3231
Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantation, Orchards etc.	13391	12758	633	24759	22397	2362	26066	23502	2564
Household Industries	27930	26225	1705	33503	30454	3049	41788	37179	4609
Manufacturing (other than household)	263655	254458	9197	535407	510292	25115	689163	656947	32216
Construction	65138	59416	5722	123704	109719	13985	231571	212844	18727
Trade and Commerce	244597	238514	6083	420325	400393	19932	709614	671074	38540
Transport, Storage, Communications	114976	112402	2574	178820	173044	5776	246490	236857	9633
Other Services	451245	393702	57543	618909	512709	106200	965194	769702	195492
Total (A)	1228397	1142434	85963	1986399	1805100	181299	2968377	2660967	307410
(B) Marginal Workers	-	-	-	15793	6865	8928	-	-	-
(C) Non-Workers	2837301	1115081	1722220	4218214	1628116	2590098	-	-	-
Grand Total (A+B+C)	4065698	2257515	1808183	6220406	3440081	2780325	-	-	-

Sources: (A) Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, (1980).

(B) Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, (1990).

(C) Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, (1999).

Note: The figures in the sixth row for 1991 exclude data on Hunting, Plantation, and Orchards.

Table 3.4: Industrial progress in Delhi

Items	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
No. of Industrial Units (in '000)	37	40	41	42	45	50	51	57	62	65	68	73	77	81	85	89	93	97	101	126
Investment (Rs. in crores)	550	600	650	700	867	965	1035	1105	1200	1260	1320	1420	1500	1580	1659	1750	1823	1901	1980	3444
Production (Rs. in crores)	1025	1200	1425	1700	2196	2350	2352	2483	3300	3450	3600	3850	4050	4250	4462	5000	5005	5335	5555	5748
Employment ('000)	300	325	350	375	450	480	507	528	558	595	622	657	693	729	765	802	837	873	909	1136

Sources: *Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, 1980 (1976-77 – 1978-79).*
Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, 1984 (1979-80 – 1982-83).
Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, 1988 (1983-84 – 1986-87).
Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, 1990 (1987-88 – 1988-89).
Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, 1995 (1990 – 1993).
Delhi Statistical Handbook, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Delhi Administration, Delhi, 1997 (1994 – 1996).

It can be estimated that some 30-32 lakhs of Delhi's population live in Jhuggi-Jhonpri settlements. Another 35 lakhs people live in an estimated 1,500 "unauthorized colonies" (Roy; 2000), which together with the "squatter" population makes 50% of Delhi's population (Dupont; 2000). Dupont holds that the catchment's area of Delhi is mainly regional. That is, more than 2/3rd of the migrants (whatever their duration of residence) living in Delhi in 1991 come from the neighboring states of north India: Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh (Dupont, 2000). 54% of the total migrants residing in Delhi in 1991 were male and this proportion has remained almost unchanged since 1961 (56%). The age-structure of the migrant population in Delhi reveals an over-representation of the age-group 15-29 years among both males and females. For instance, in 1991, 51% of the migrants residing in Delhi for less than 5 years belonged to this age group (Dupont; 2000).

Pushed out for economic hardships, Delhi provides a better alternative for the people. Hazards Center, an NGO, after studying the comparison of the state government plan and non-plan expenditure between Delhi and the neighboring states shows that Delhi invests about 3 times more per capita – and this does not include what the union government spends in Delhi under central projects. Soni holds that the central plan outlay for Delhi is more than that for the entire state of Assam (Soni; 2000). Similarly, Cadene shows the relative advantages of Delhi's place in India's urban structure (Cadene; 2000). The increased importance of Delhi as a capital city and the high level of public expenditure, in turn, provide better opportunities than is available for the poor migrants elsewhere. Further, one report holds that the industrial and fiscal policies underlay Delhi's attraction as a major node for expansion (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, July). The lower sales tax rates, the financial incentives, low industrial power tariffs, the opening of new government offices, the easy availability of markets and infrastructure, the profits in land speculation, and the major expansion of construction through events such as the Asian Games in 1982 – are the reasons behind Delhi's population growth (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, July)

Given these statistical figures concerning the urban poor's need for housing, it is imperative to look at how the state has responded to its task. Sadly, the state has adopted "exclusionary" politics of erasing the poor out of sight. Working class shelters have been seen as "sore spots", "blighted areas", "unlovely sights" waiting to be bulldozed out of sight. Further, bourgeois environmentalism is being invoked to please upper class sensibilities around aesthetics, leisure, safety and health (Baviskar; 2002). This reminds us of the way colonial policies reordered the city's landscapes. Gooptu pointed out the aversion of the "better class" or "decent" people towards a floating, footloose, rootless population living in penury who were seen to disturb the social and cultural stability of the city (Gooptu; 2001). Oldenburg discusses the reordering of the city of Lucknow after the mutiny in great detail (Oldenburg; 1984). The reordering was primarily to suit Britisher's logic of safety, cleanliness etc. and certain strategic needs. For instance, in Lucknow large amounts of money were spent to keep the native and European quarters of the city as far as possible. Similarly, it is argued that segregation was economical in the city's maintenance and development during colonial times (Ballhatchet and Harrison; 1980). Dipesh Chakrabarty and Sudipta Kaviraj note that the interlocking colonial and Indian middleclass projects of the imposition of "modernity" and of social reform and "improvement" entailed an attack, simultaneously, on dirt, disease and disorder. As the supposed source of these evils, the poor naturally became the major targets of civil governance and local administration (Gooptu; 2001). The above observation is very much in tune with a bourgeois notion of hygiene, cleanliness today, in Indian cities. And, this has necessitated an active interventionist role by the state, in housing patterns and livelihood activities of the poor. Thus, it can be argued that the post-colonial independent capital of India has a class of its populace, which wants to better equip itself with all modern basic amenities and exclude the working poor from it.

Today, the urban policies work within a eugenics' framework, which concentrates on excluding the poor from the city. The focus, today, is on "drastic surgery" of the city. This is opposed to a Gedessian framework of "conservative surgery", which had focused on an evolutionary strategy of gradual eradication of slums (Gooptu; 2001). What underlies beneath the above schema is creating an urban social geography based on class differentiation. In other words, the city in the above schema has to be cleansed of its

overcrowded slum like habitations. Following, which the poor could only manage to inhabit, or “ghettoize” in the most unsuitable land available in the city. Further, urban policies have retreated from provisioning of welfare services and infrastructure. Earlier these policies were geared towards compensating for the inequalities caused by capitalist urbanization. However, today the policies are facilitating the operation of the market. There is a range of measures to attract business to the city, from tax holidays and rent concessions on urban land (Bridge and Watson; 2000). David Harvey characterizes this transition as a shift from “urban managerialism” to “urban entrepreneurialism” (Ibid). Making cities safe for capital results in commercialization and commodification of urban spaces, which results in creating suitable consumption landscapes for the middle classes and tourist markets (Bridge and Watson; 2000). Thus, cities today do not continue to be the centers of industrial production. The industries along with the “unsightly” working class shelters, in the above schema, have to be erased. And, the “space” retrieved has been used for shopping malls, amusement parks, middle class residential buildings etc. For instance, in Delhi some 50,000 industrial units are to be relocated, in a drive to clean the city (Roy; 2000). Hence, it can be argued that urban policies aiming at restructuring the city landscape are basically anti-poor, anti-working class and anti-women. Feminist analysts have pointed out that cities have been structured around the patriarchal family and have been imbued with gendered assumptions. The separation of home from work implicit in many urban plans (evidence can be provided from the relocation of Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters, in our case) has been based on the presumed unpaid labor of women maintaining domestic life and childcare and has further served to marginalize women (Bridge and Watson; 2000).

There have been a multitude of policies and plans aimed at catering to the need of housing, employment, basic amenities of the urban poor. Here, I attempt to reflect on the emerging land use patterns and some of the policy plans.

Master Plans, land use patterns and the urban poor

After independence, Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT) functioned till mid 50s. A. P. Hume in his “Report on the relief of congestion in Delhi 1936” had pointed out the

deteriorating environmental condition in Delhi and had suggested the setting up of Delhi Improvement Trust. DIT was a special body equipped with statutory authority for planning and executing a programme for the decongestion of the city along with administration of public lands (Priya; 1993). Partition of India had resulted in massive influx of population and the population of Delhi had increased by 50%. The Ministry of Rehabilitation had successfully undertaken the gigantic task of providing housing for the predominantly urban middle class Punjabi refugees (Priya; 1993). And a large number of colonies were set up to accommodate this population i.e. Lajpatnagar, Kailash Colony, Kalkaji, Malaviyanagar in the south, Motinagar, Kirtinagar etc. in the west, around Kingsway Camp in the north and Gandhinagar in the Shahdara area. Reviewing the work done to rehabilitate the massive number of Punjabi refugees, Priya holds that the task was a creditable achievement and could be contrasted with the inability to provide housing to the predominantly poor. G. D. Birla Committee reviewing DIT had pointed out its failure and had recommended the creation of a central authority for making plans, and schemes. On 30th December 1957, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) was constituted by an act of parliament, called the Delhi Development Act, 1957, to promote and secure the development of Delhi according to plan. The act required the authority to carry out a civic survey and formulate a master plan for Delhi along with Town Planning Organization (TPO) with a perspective year of 1981 (DDA; 1960).

Master Plan for Delhi, 1960 (MPD-1) was basically a land management plan. The overall approach was linked to the restructuring of urban environment in a manner that the living conditions and community facilities would progressively get equalized between different areas of the city, and between different socio-economic groups including those living in the “squatter” settlements or busties (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). The plan had proposed to provide for housing to the low-income group:

“To meet the problems of settlement of low income group people, about 70,000 in number, who migrate to Delhi from rural areas every year, the authority has proposed to earmark suitable sites in several zones where these very low income group people may be able to put up cheap houses” (DDA; 1960).

As an integral component of the master plan, the existing land use of urban Delhi (based on land use inventory TPO, 1958), was published which recorded an urbanized area of 42,700 acres (17,287.45 hectare) in 1958-59, constituting 11.7 % of the total area of Delhi union territory, holding 20 lakhs urban population (NCRPB; 1999). The master plan for Delhi proposed the development of 44,777 hectare of urbanisable area by 1981 in order to accommodate the assigned urban population of 46 lakhs. However, during this very period 3 more areas namely Patparganj, Saritavihar and Vasantkunj covering 4,000 hectare were added to the MPD proposed 44,777 hectares area making Delhi urban area – 81 (DUA 81) 48,777 hectares (Ibid). The MPD-1 earmarked about 47,400 acres of residential land in Delhi to house the 1981 population of about 46 lakhs at an average residential density of 97 persons per acre (DDA; 1960). Urban Delhi in 1981 accommodated about 11.5 lakh households in different housing developments – resettlements, “squatter”, plotted, multi-family, unauthorized villages, traditional and other (DDA; 1990). The first master plan (MPD-1) allocated only 5% of the land for housing the economically weaker sections (EWS). Even this allocation was never made available to the working poor, resulting in further proliferation of slums. The MPD-1 had envisaged construction of 7.4 lakh dwelling units (DUs) from 1961 to 1981, but only 5.43 lakh DUs were available at the end of this period (Hazards Center; 2003).

There was a shortage of 3 lakh housing units at the beginning of the MPD-2. And, it was proposed that about 16.2 lakh new housing units would be required during the period 1981-2001, divided in 5 yearly intervals as given below:

Table 3.5: New housing required per year in '000 (1981-2001)

Year	New Housing required '000s	Average per year
1981-86	323	65
1986-91	379	76
1991-96	434	87
1996-2001	483	97
Total	1619	325

Source: DDA; 1990.

70% of the total housing to be built was earmarked to cater to the EWS and LIG. However, only 58% have actually been achieved. The housing need for the middle class is somewhat realized. But, for the rich, the target has been overachieved by more than three times. (A People's Housing Policy; 2003)

Table 3.6: Proposed and actual percentage distribution of DUs envisaged by master plan for Delhi-2

Type	Proposed %	Actual %
EWS – Economically Weaker Sections	40	30.32
LIG – Lower Income Groups	30	27.99
MIG – Middle Income Groups	25	22.94
Others	5	18.76

Source: Hazards Center; 2003

Thus, it can be argued that the housing provisions are strongly in favor of the rich, what's more, the poor and lower income group people are unable to acquire what has been provided for them. For instance, different surveys have also pointed out that only 40% of the Janta flats were occupied by the poor earning less than Rs. 5,000 per year, while 81% of the LIG flats were owned by middle and rich groups, earning more than Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 per month, indicating further that it is only the relatively better families who can afford DDA-built housing (Hazards Center; 2003). Further, it should be noted that Janta flats are even smaller than LIG flats and have only one room. The minimum cost of such a flat for resettlement would be Rs. 2 lakhs and two bedroom flats were being priced in the range of between Rs. 9 to 16 lakhs. In other words, there is no possibility of poor families being able to afford DDA flats at all (Ibid).

The above arguments underline the fact that the working class has not been provided with shelter by the planners and hence has had to settle on whatever land is available (A People's Housing Policy; 2003). However, the settlements of the poor are seen as violations of the master plan and its land use provisions. And the state has shown its insensitivity to the housing issue of the poor. One of the orders of the SC shows the blatant denial of any right of the poor. It further makes the matter worse by criminalizing the poor. The order reads like this:

“The promise of free land at the tax payers cost, in place of a jhuggi, is a proposal which attracts many land grabbers. Rewarding an encroacher on public land with a free allotment alternate site is like giving a reward to a pickpocket” (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 2001).

Though MPD-1 did not visualize large-scale clearance as a viable option, it proposed to relocate “squatters” and had proposed to integrate the “squatters” into the neighborhood community. It had strictly proposed to avoid stratification on income or occupation basis, during physical planning. MPD-1 had also focused on the inseparable link of residential areas with places of work. The plan had proposed to avoid relocating the busti population to the Periphery of the city and had asked for provisioning of basic amenities. In this regard, the plan had stressed for the ownership of land in the name of the government, to facilitate clearance, redevelopment and subsidized housing and provisioning of community facilities (DDA; 1960). It was recommended that while the structures and facilities at relocation sites may be below standard in order to keep down the costs and rents, the space standards for schools, parks, streets was kept on par for any other area given in the sub-division regulations.

However, the MPD-1 did not elaborate on the sites to be utilized for relocation purpose in future and it was left to the local authorities to implement the plans. Further, MPD-1 did not anticipate the phenomenal increase of “squatter” populations; it had focused on the future populations, which would consist of upper and middle-income groups and upwardly mobile lower middle class income groups (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). In 1972-73, the Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO, new version of

TPO) after reviewing the housing scenario had indicated at a housing deficit, which amounted to be 3,80,000 (Priya; 1993). Further, it had pointed out at the lack of basic community amenities and failure of the “neighborhood” concept. The MPD-1 had emphasized on the integration of the “squatters” into the neighborhood community and had indicated at avoiding physical plans based on income and occupation. It had also pointed out the preoccupation with higher income residential areas and the beautification of Delhi. However, it could be argued that MPD-1 till date is the most comprehensive plan for low-income class housing and the MPD-2, which came up in 1990, was conspicuous in its indifference towards the working class housing question.

The thrust of the MPD-2 revolved around regional planning, ecological balance, urban heritage, decentralization of the city center, mass transport, etc. (Bhargava; 2001). The housing question for the poor was relegated to the margin. It could be argued out that the provisioning of housing for the poor was beyond the purview of the second master plan. One of the major thrusts of MPD-2 was “restrictive policy of employment”. This initiated closure of industries. According to a report of Delhi Science Forum, closure of industries is killing two birds with a stone, and that too, a legally sanctioned stone: making it impossible for lakhs of workers and their families to stay in Delhi, and releasing much needed land (Delhi Science Forum; 2001). The above report holds that the moving spirit that imbues this plan is a perceived need to control the growth of population in Delhi in order to prevent the “collapse” of the city structure due to “unmanageable land”. MPD-2 identified population growth due to migration as the genesis of various ills plaguing the city and calls for “flexible labor markets” and a “definitive restrictive policy on employment generation (Ibid). The obsession of developing the surrounding regions of Delhi for creating counter-magnets to the migrant workers in order to “release” the pressure on the city should be seen in this context. MPD-2’s approach towards the working people and poorer sections of the society is evident from the fact that it provides for only 3% of land for “slum housing” as opposed to 68% for general housing i.e. mostly middle and upper class sections (Delhi Science Forum; 2001). The MPD-2 also maliciously lowered the population projection for 2001. The MPD-2 talked about accommodating 122 lakhs people only. The actual population of Delhi in 2001 is 137.8 lakhs. Thus, it washes its hands of some 15 lakhs people, in terms

of providing housing. According to the report "The cleansing of Delhi", the fervent hope that satellite towns like Ghaziabad, Noida, Faridabad, etc. would serve as counter magnets "deflecting" the population from Delhi have been belied. In fact, these towns have grown at decadal rates ranging from 300% to 700% and yet not deflected the population (Delhi Science Forum; 2001).

At the fag end of MPD-2, the working class had to confront with another related problem. On July 8, 1996 in the matter of PIL number 4697/85, a supreme court order directed the relocation/ closure of 168 factories/ industries in consonance with the provisions of the Delhi master plan, according to which, industries categorized as "H" (i.e. "noxious and hazardous") were to be relocated (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, July). It is argued that the issue of beautifying the city and of pollution is tied up with the livelihood issues of the poor, which stand in direct contradiction with each other. The supreme court of India has selectively used the master plans and at times has made orders beyond the purview of MPD. For instance, in its December 31, 1997 order, it permitted relocations anywhere in the country. This is in sharp contrast to the MPD's planning authority, which does not extend beyond national capital region. A team that recently visited Tonk district in Rajasthan (relocation site for Swatantra Bharat Mills) and Baddi (relocation site for Birla Textile Mills) found no sign of relocation work in progress (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, July). Again, the MPD-2 says that, existing industries should not be discouraged or expelled, attempts should be made for their better and more efficient operations. However, it did not prosecute owners of these factories for contravention of Sec 87 (dangerous operation) and Sec 87A (power to prohibit employment on account of serious hazard) of the factories act 1948.

Relocation of industries is in fact made a lucrative proposition by allowing the land vacated by industries to be sold at market prices (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, February/March). Again, the court ordered that industries which shift shall be given incentives in terms of the master plan i.e. land at subsidized rates, easy bank loans etc. And, the court reminded the industries that in view of the huge increase of prices of land in Delhi, the reuse of the vacant land is bound to bring a lot of money, which can meet the cost of relocation (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, February/March).

What makes it worse is that because of the closure of large units in Delhi, a number of smaller units, which are more or less like ancillary units too will close down, rendering another large group of workers jobless (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, February/March). It should be noted that a vast multitude of workers might not even get any kind of compensation, given their precarious position in the process of production. The owners of capital have flouted all possible laws to make money.

The poor have to pay disproportionately to keep the city clean. The Supreme Court always invokes the idea of a clean and healthy city, which excludes the poor, who make the city what it is. It is argued that the contribution of industries to the air pollution of the city is only 12%. It is stated with emphasis that air pollution is largely due to vehicles, the number of which had increased 51 times in between 1961-1991. Again, it is argued that 64% waste water flows from affluent households and 21% from the poor households. Moreover, the water availability for the poor is very little, never reaching them (Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, February/March). All these figures confirm that the poor do not pollute the city, as much as the rich do. On the other hand, the axe has fallen on their livelihood.

MPD-1 was a general policy frame for planning for development and relocation of “squatters”. On the other hand Jhuggi-Jhonpri removal scheme and the Environmental Improvement Programmes were the actual implementation of policies regarding the housing of working class (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). These two actually implemented policies stood in direct contradiction with MPD-1, which had earmarked land for the housing of the poor. The Jhuggi-Jhonpri Removal Scheme (JJRS) was changed several times, in the wake of various unanticipated/ impractical circumstances. Moreover, as Ali notes, a tug of war has been going on between the municipal corporation of Delhi as one group and DDA as another, in relation to slums, Jhuggi-Jhonpri and resettlement colonies. The governance and responsibility of the Jhuggi-Jhonpri and resettlement colonies keeps on oscillating from the DDA to the MCD and in this sea-saw battle, the sufferer has been the poor slum dwellers. Ali notes:

“Since independence, the governments have been issuing orders transferring these habitats, as if it was some inanimate stock of steel bars. In the process hundreds of thousands of slum dwellers and resettled have suffered. No one had time to design and plan projects to mitigate their problems” (Ali; 1990).

The JJRS scheme had relocated some 57,368 households till 1973 (Table 3.7). Emergency epitomized cleaning up the city with its bulldozing excesses (Tables 3.8 and 3.9). Hence, emergency was a marker in rebuilding Delhi’s urban space. Keeping this in mind, an attempt is made to grapple with “resettlement drives” in three periods i.e. pre-emergency, emergency, and post-emergency under the heading “policies for the poor”.

Table 3.7: Growth of jhuggis and provision of resettlement colonies till 1976

Year	No. of Jhuggis	No. of resettlement colonies	No. of households in resettlement colonies
1962-66	73,693	10	34,925
1967-71	1,15,961	18	57,368
1972-73	1,41,755	18	57,368
1974-76	-	34	1,99,188

Source: Mishra and Gupta; 1981

Note: the data for number of jhuggis in the above table reveals the discrepancy with the official data we had shown before. Mishra and Gupta’s well-researched work seems more appropriate than the conservative estimate of the JJ and Slum wing of MCD.

Table 3.8: Resettlement colonies developed along with number of plots as on 31st march 1986

Phase I up to 1974

Sl.No.	Name of the Resettlement colony	Area in Hectares	Number of Plots		Tenements
			21 m ²	67 m ²	
1.	Tigri	10.4	1,923	-	-
2.	Pandu Nagar	18.0	1,200	-	-
3.	Madipur	75.6	4,358	-	-
4.	Hastal	12.0	3,510	-	-
5.	Nagloi	38.4	6,738	-	-
6.	Wazirpur	102.8	4,576	-	-
7.	Seelampur, Phase III and IV	83.6	3,586	1,277	992
8.	Seemapuri	19.2	3,626	-	-
9.	Sunlight	14.0	679	166	-
10.	Kalkaji	62.4	-	-	1,408
11.	Srinivaspuri	6.0	-	423	-
12.	Garhi Village	4.0	-	-	384
13.	Madangir	40.0	6,354	-	-
14.	Moti Bagh	9.8	-	299	-
15.	Naraina	26.0	3,740	-	-
16.	Najafgarh road	41.6	6,722	1,591	1,000
17.	Seelampuri Phase I and II	34.2	580	1,580	-
18.	Ranjit Nagar	4.0	-	-	496
	TOTAL	598.40	47528	5,336	4280

Note: The total of areas in hectares and number of plots (21m²) stand at 598.40 and 47528 instead of the calculated 602.0 and 47592, indicating an error.

Phase II (1975-80)

Sr. No.	Name of colony	Areas in hectare	No of Plots/ Tenements
1.	Daksinpuri and extension	65.37	12,300
2.	Khanpur	7.15	1,378
3.	Chaukhandi	6.55	1,534
4.	Khyala complex	20.00	3,362
5.	Gokalpuri	14.86	2,402
6.	Shakurpur Complex	54.03	8,464
7.	Nand Nagri	50.58	10,000
8.	SultanPuri	150.72	16,000
9.	Mangolpuri	177.73	27,800
10.	Hyderpuri	57.87	6,442
11.	Jahangirpuri	132.17	22,000
12.	Patparganj Complex (Khichripur, Kalyanpuri, and Trilokpuri)	168.00	25,000
13.	New Seemapuri	17.74	3,166
14.	Nagloi	22.00	4,472
15.	N. G. Road	13.50	2,300
16.	Seelampur Complex	9.80	1,642
	TOTAL	968.07	1,48,262

Phase III (1981-86)

Sl. No.	Name of the Colony	No of Plots
1.	Dakshinpuri	1,481
2.	Nand Nagri	1,700
3.	Sultanpuri	1,535(26 m ²)
4.	Mangolpuri	232
5.	Manglapuri	1,000
6.	Tigri Extension	2,041
7.	Jwalapuri	1,176
8.	Kandli Phase I	2,150 (26 m ²)
9.	Kandli Phase II	3,600 (26 m ²)
TOTAL		14,915

Source: Batra K. G.; 1992: Evaluation of "squatter" Resettlement Programme in Delhi with Specific Reference to Physical Infrastructural Provision, Unpublished Thesis, Department of Housing, School of Planning and Architecture.

Table 3.9: Details of resettlement colonies till 1986

Phase	No. of resettlement colonies developed	Area in Hectares	No of Plot Size (21 m ²)	No. of Plot Size (26 m ²)	No. of Plot Size (67 m ²)	Total Number of Plots	Total Number of Tenements
I (up to 1974)	18	598.40	47,528	-	5,336	52,864	4,280
II (1975-80)	16	968.07	1,48,262	-	-	1,48,262	-
III (1981-86)	9	34.96	7,630	7,285	-	14,915	-
TOTAL	43	1601.43	2,03,420	7,285	5,336	2,16,041	4,280

Source: Batra K. G.; 1992: Evaluation of "squatter" Resettlement Programme in Delhi with Specific Reference to Physical Infrastructural Provision, Unpublished Thesis, Department of Housing, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi.

Policies for the Poor

Resettlements during pre-emergency era

In the pre-emergency era resettlements were carried out under the Jhuggi-Jhonpri Removal Scheme. Jhuggi-Jhonpri Removal Scheme (JJRS) was initiated at the recommendation of the advisory committee and the scheme was approved in 1960. The task of relocating the population was entrusted to Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) in 1960, which it carried out till 1974. The task was transferred to DDA in February 1974, to expedite the process of resettlement. The planning concept adopted for developing these resettlement colonies was a cluster of 2,500 population as a basic planning unit of the lowest level and in the layout of these colonies approximately 40% land was under plots and the rest 60% area earmarked for circulation and facilities (Khan; 1995). Mishra and Gupta have summarized the policies adopted in this scheme:

- (a) Under JJRS, each “squatter” family was allotted on a 99 years lease an 80 sq. yd. (67 m²) developed plot containing a latrine, a water tap and plinth on which the family could build a hut or house according to its need.
- (b) The cost of the land was subsidized by 50% for families with an income less than Rs. 250 per month. Such families had the option to make payment in monthly installments in ten years and families with incomes higher than Rs. 250 got the plots on “no profit no loss” basis by making full payment in one lump sum.
- (c) The basic facilities i.e. schools, dispensaries and community centers were also provided.

JJRS had planned to resettle the population coming to the city before 1960, which it considered “eligible” and the rest were regarded as “ineligible”. The scheme ran into trouble. Most of the resettled population could not pay the monthly installments (of Rs. 12.79) and many sold their plots and returned to the place of work. Hence, the scheme was revised in 1962 and it was envisaged to provide developed plots or modest tenements on rent. It was planned to shift the “eligible” within one year to developed camping sites where plots and tenements were to be provided later (Mishra and Gupta; 1981).

It was envisaged that the ineligible population should be dispersed, in order to discourage fresh squatting. However, it was difficult to distinguish between eligible and ineligible “squatters”. And the ineligible “squatters” did not disappear as per the wishes of the authorities. In August 1967, the Home Ministry set up a study group and it was estimated that there were 66,000 post-July 1960 ineligible “squatters”. The study group recommended further construction of tenements and of development of plots of 80 sq. yd. to be suspended and development of 25 sq. yd. plots, in its place (Birdi; 1995). Both eligible and ineligible “squatters” were entitled to plots. However, the land earmarked for “ineligibles” were located on the periphery of the city with minimum basic amenities (Birdi; 1995), which amounted to be a reduction by 50% as compared to the “eligible”.

Thus JJRS was marred with frequent changes and discriminated against the “ineligibles”. The removal was done in a very abrupt way, not paying any heed to the

social network of inhabitants. The relocation was done without developing basic infrastructural facilities and residents were resettled at very distant places, away from their places of work. According to the Town and Country Planning Organization, the JJRS was purely based on physical-cum-engineering approach of “bulldozing” the existing “squatter” settlements and transplanting them on relocated sites (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). And, further the area of individual plots decreased from 89 sq. yd. proposed by the DIT to 80 sq. yd. in the DDA master plan, to 25 sq. yd. in actual practice (Priya; 1993). This negated a basic sense of sanitation in terms of having individual latrine and privacy. Before emergency 57,368 “squatter” families were relocated within a span of 15 years in some 18 resettlement colonies (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). And during emergency, the target was to displace some 1.5 lakh population.

In addition to JJRS, the state had a programme of Environmental Improvement Scheme (EIS). Due to financial constraints and unavailability of land, it was regarded necessary to provide basic amenities and ameliorate the deplorable conditions in the “squatter” settlements, in this programme. However, the investment under EIS proved to be wasteful as the settlements were demolished (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). These two schemes i.e. JJRS and EIS were in contradiction with each other. While the former scheme saw erasing of the poor as a viable option, the latter was a palliative attempt at providing some basic services at the Jhuggi-Jhonpri sites. It should be noted that till 1974 (pre-emergency period), 52,864 plots and tenements were developed, and 598.40 hectares of land were earmarked for developing these plots and tenements.

Resettlements during emergency

Emergency provided the context for drastically reordering the city’s landscape. The government, which was trying to reorder the city since 4 decades, finally could accomplish its plans. During the period of emergency as many as 16 new resettlement colonies were developed by DDA, covering an area of 968.07 hectares and having a total number of 1,48,262 plots (Table 3.9). Of these five colonies namely Gokalpuri, Khichripur, Kalyanpuri, Sultanpuri, and Trilokpuri with an area of 335.58 hectares, were developed outside the urban limits of 1981 for which the land was designated as “green”

and “marshy” (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). After the declaration of emergency, demolition operation carried out by the DDA, MCD and New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) received a spurt. The general policy of caution and concern for the people affected by demolitions gave place to a measure of reckless speed in clearing and cleaning up the areas earmarked without a corresponding concern for the people where houses were demolished. Alternative arrangements to resettle them were not simultaneously made with the same speed (Shah commission inquiry; 1987). Sanjay Gandhi had become the defacto ruler of the municipal Corporation and executed the cleansing drive in the city. Appalled by the ghastly act of demolition of the houses of the poor, Smt. Shubhadra Joshi (the then, Chairperson of the minorities department of the AICC) wrote two letters to the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, which read like the following:

Dear Indiraji

It is unbelievable that you might be aware of things and yet you would not take action: -

- I. (1) All public hydrants have been disconnected. The labor Rickshaw-pullers and all kind of people are dying of thirst. Can these people knock at somebody’s door to ask for water?

Even horses, cows and bullocks of people are suffering for lack of water.

- (2) People living in small tenements, cannot afford to have water connection in them. About ten people are living in a single room.

- (3) There is no space even for the water carriers to clean the drains in the lanes. There is even nobody to listen to all these things.

- II. (1) Rickshaws have been prohibited from plying in the big bazaar of Chandni Chowk. Rickshaws coming from nearby areas have to take a detour of miles just to cross over to other side of the road.

(2) There is no conveyance available for the people living in those areas. Ailing, old and others have become resource less in this respect. Rickshaw-pullers have been rendered jobless and the people have no means of conveyance. There cannot be anything better than a flush system all over the city, but it is beyond the means of the tenants.

(3) There is not enough pressure for the water to reach the overhead water tanks.

(4) Sewers are not wide enough. They were already choked. Cannot there be better methods of doing these things? People are becoming ecstatic praising your policies. You have suppressed the reactionary forces, and rightly so. Poor people are with us and they should continue to be so. It appears someone is sabotaging the whole thing. That is why, once more, I am appealing to you. There is lack of human touch in every action. Opponents of the Government were projecting the Government and the Emergency as a Martial Law regime.

(5) I think, come what may, it is my duty to bring to your notice all the developments.

(6) It should be investigated as to who committed these inhuman acts and why?

Sd/-
Subhadra

The second letter reads as follows:

Dear Indiraji,

Since long I have been seeking some time to apprise you and ask you something regarding the matters relating to our organization and conference.

Since then much has happened. You have no time. Probably you do not want to know what has happened. It is surprising.

It is difficult to describe what happened in Jama Masjid and Turkman Gate. No imagination can relate it to any instance in the past or future and how unnecessarily was all this?

You have entrusted Delhi and the Musalmans of Delhi, whose house we guarded and who had been assured by you – to few officers and few others whose intentions and sanity you yourself would start doubting if you knew the whole thing.

One Hindu Police Officer has stated that when his men came to know that it was a Muslim locality they acted with such brutality, that I had personally to run around and save men, women and children from them.

Even the DDA employees, the hospital employees, the Policemen, Magistrates etc, are stunned, sad and angry about all these actions; you may well imagine about the public.

People have fled to U.P., Bihar and Rajasthan. What all they must be relating and saying there? Their version would be more ghastly than what would be appearing in the newspapers, which are censored. What will the foreign press tell the Muslim countries in particular?

Tomorrow, it is heard, is the turn of Sarai Khalil. Panditji and you have been especially kind to that area.

Jamil Layu – famous Congress worker and poet has been thrown in jail. Here and in every house, there is a cottage industry. The scheme should aim at building the houses here itself. It is not known what the new authorities of Delhi are going to do. Here the area can be built half at a time without indulging in any demolition, provided your officers are not to derive any 'sadist pleasure' in demolitions.

You personally know the people of this area.

The hope that you will do something has started fading, yet it is my duty to give a call and it is a call from the heart and to remain hopeful is a natural human instinct. That

is why I have written so much in this letter. People in high places tend to be hard of hearing.

Sd/-

Subhadra

Source: Shah commission inquiry; 1978

The enclaves of Muslim communities were the main targets. During the emergency Shri Jagmohan's pet phrase was that no second Pakistan could be permitted to exist (Shah commissions inquiry; 1978). Shah commission inquiry holds that during emergency no notices were issued before demolition, land was acquired without any proceeding and arbitrarily, land use plan was changed without consulting the union government, stay orders were not respected and persons who approached the law courts were arrested, a squad of police always patrolled demolition operations (Shah Commission Inquiry; 1978). Emergency epitomized hasty evictions without providing suitable plots. Bose and Dayal make the following observations:

“Meanwhile the bulldozers at Turkman gate inched their ugly snouts further and deeper, these were three of them now, and working at full speed. The DDA officials had started giving allotment slips for plots in the Trilokpuri and Nandnagri resettlement colonies to people whose houses still stood. A clear indication that more and more houses would be demolished. There was also a noticeable change in the attitude of the DDA officials. No more sweet words. Now they gave orders. They were brusque with the people who went up to them and asked them on what basis were their houses being demolished so arbitrarily. We have our orders, said the DDA officials. But we have been staying here for generations; we have been paying the house tax even, pleaded the residents. Still if you think that we have to be removed give us some suitable alternate accommodation. Send us to transit camps or Mata Sundari Road or Minto Road, not to open fields in Nandnagri and Trilokpuri. How will our women keep purdah? Where will our children study? Tell us how we will earn our bread miles

away from our locality. “We are not dogs that you can drive us away from our own houses” (Delhi Under Emergency, John Dayal and Ajay Bose; 1977 cited in Delhi Janwadi Adhikar Manch; 1997, February/March).

What is more, people all over Delhi were coaxed to get sterilized in order to get plots. Tarlo discusses three routes through which DDA accommodated sterilization cases. According to her:

The first route was by demolishing all unofficial constructions and refusing to offer alternative sites to the displaced until they produced evidence of self or motivated sterilization. The second was by scanning the colonies for “irregularities”. For instance, both tenants and purchasers (tenancy and selling of plots were not allowed) had found themselves confronted with a situation, in which sterilization was a way to allot oneself a plot. The third technique employed by DDA was to make sterilization a medium of negotiation. Thus, people who wanted to get transferred from one colony to other or who motivated others to get sterilized got a chance to procure plots (Tarlo; 2000). In this process as Tarlo observes they engaged in desperate co-victimization. The vulnerable had two alternatives to houselessness: either they could get sterilized submitting their own certificates or else they could produce someone else’s certificate which acted as proof that they had “motivated” the latter. And, it was this possibility of motivating the other that was to invite the process of co-victimization as many chose to transfer the pressure for sterilization onto those more vulnerable than them (Tarlo; 1995).

Thus, providing plots were tied with peoples’ fertility during the time of emergency. People after emergency, had started investing in their houses and built concrete structures because they perceived that trading with their flesh and blood would secure them permanent plots. However, as Tarlo observes, these hopes were swept away soon after Municipal Corporation of Delhi took over administration of the slum wing from the DDA, in 1978, and cancelled all allocations that had been made on the basis of sterilization.

Resettlements during post-emergency

There was widespread public resentment against the coercive methods employed during emergency. This stalled the resettlement drive and the speed of resettlements went down considerably. However, some extensions to resettlement colonies came up in early 80s. And, till the time the resettlements were stalled (in the year 1986), some 14,915 families were relocated in between 1981-86. However, the land availability for relocation got reduced drastically in between 1981-86. For instance, after calculating from table 3.9, we can conclude that approximately 153 plots were developed per one hectare of land in between 1975-80. On the other hand some 427 plots were developed on one hectare in between 1981-86 (it should be noted that in between 1981-86, there were development of 26 meter square plots and there were no plots of the corresponding size in between 1975-80 but, this difference is negligible for our argument). Previously up to 1974, 52,864 plots and 4,280 tenements were developed and in between 1975-80, 1,48,262 plots were developed. Thus, the total number of plots and tenements developed till 1986 stood at 2,16,041 and 4,280 and there were in total 43 resettlement colonies (Tables 3.8 and 3.9). But, the policy had changed and Urban Basic Service Scheme (UBS) was the main thrust to deal with the problem of housing in 80s. Hence, the policy thrust moved away from “clearance” to improvement. The UBS (initiated by the UNICEF worldwide) was a “different” approach to provide basic amenities i.e. provision of electricity, building of public latrines, water supply, paving of lanes and medical care (Ritu; 1993). Thus, the main aim was to ameliorate the conditions of the bustis. The policy during 1986-1990, aimed at provisioning of basic services and non-viability of resettlement as a strategy. However, since 1990s, there was again a spurt of resettlement.

Since 1990s, the state has adopted a three-pronged strategy (Roy; 2000), with the following components:

- (a) Environmental Improvement in “squatter” settlements;
- (b) In-situ up gradation; and
- (c) Relocation of Jhuggi-Jhonpri (JJ) clusters.

Environmental Improvement in “squatter” Settlements aims at ameliorating the environment of busti dwellers by providing some basic amenities i.e. water, toilets, drainage, pavements etc. The norm is to provide Rs. 800 per capita. Roy holds that Delhi government provides necessary funds to the tune of 20 crores, (adequate for 50,000 Jhuggis) yet some equally important infrastructural facilities are not being provided i.e. primary schools, dispensary, street lights and peripheral infrastructural services like roads, transport, parks, workplaces, and hospitals. Further, the slum department has pursued a policy of “privatization” wherein public amenities are given over to NGOs and private parties for maintenance, which levy “user charges”(Roy; 2000).

In-situ upgrading is done through provisioning of modified layout (i.e. realignment of plots and widening of pavements etc.) and basic amenities. Under this scheme, each family could obtain a loan of Rs. 7,500 from Delhi Cooperative Finance Corporation (DCHFC), recoverable in equal installments over a period of 15 years (Kundu; 2002). However, this scheme is operational only when the landowning agency (i.e. DDA, MCD, NDMC etc.) gives a “No Objection Certificate” (NOC) saying that the land is not required by it for a period of 10-15 years. There is considerable reluctance on the part of landowning agencies to extend NOC. For instance, insitu up gradation work initiated for 4,600 “squatter” families at Shahbad Daultpur could not proceed because DDA did not give NOC (Hazards Center; 2003). On the other hand, In-situ up gradation is predicted to have great potential for private builders who will be allowed to commercialize part of the land to “recover costs”(Roy; 2002).

Relocation of the JJ clusters has been the major thrust in the policy formation of the state. Through the JJ and slum wing, MCD claims to have resettled some 47,366 “squatter” families since 1990 (Table 3.10). Table 3.11 and Appendix 1.1 show the location and number of families relocated since 1st April 1990. However, the scheme has been quashed by a high court order on 29th November 2000 and there has been no further relocation since then. The order of 29 November 2002 revealed the insensitive and reckless attitude of the state towards the urban poor. The order, without highlighting housing as a right, went on to criminalize the poor and labeled them as “encroachers”, who create problems for the “citizens”. A part of the order reads as follows:

“The policy of 1990 was devised to rehabilitate the encroachers on public land but the principal object of putting stop to further encroachment has been given a go-by. Thus, the very sub-stratum of the policy was collapsed. In fact, the policy has encouraged further encroachments and there has been an alarming growth of 85% from 1990 to 1994 and 25% in between 1994 to 1998. This is totally unsustainable that encroachers on public land to be removed are given ownership rights on other land, which has been taken away from the landowners through acquisition proceedings. Such a policy without any social criteria, is illegal and arbitrary and we hereby proceed to squash the same which requires alternative sites to be provided to slum dwellers” (Okhla Factory Owners Association...; 2002).

Table 3.10: Status of relocated/ resettled jhuggie families year-wise since inception of the scheme i.e. 1.4.1990

Sr. No.	Year	No. of “Squatters” Families Relocated
1.	1990-91	1,570
2.	1991-92	356
3.	1992-93	1,078
4.	1993-94	216
5.	1994-95	839
6.	1995-96	2,353
7.	1996-97	705
8.	1997-98	2,412
9.	1998-99	2,590
10.	1999-2000	4,218
11.	2000-2001	11,345
12.	2001-2002	13,028
13.	2002-2003	6,656
	TOTAL	47,366

Source: JJ and Slum Wing, MCD

**Table 3.11: Location of “squatter” families relocated since 1.4.1990 till 2002
november**

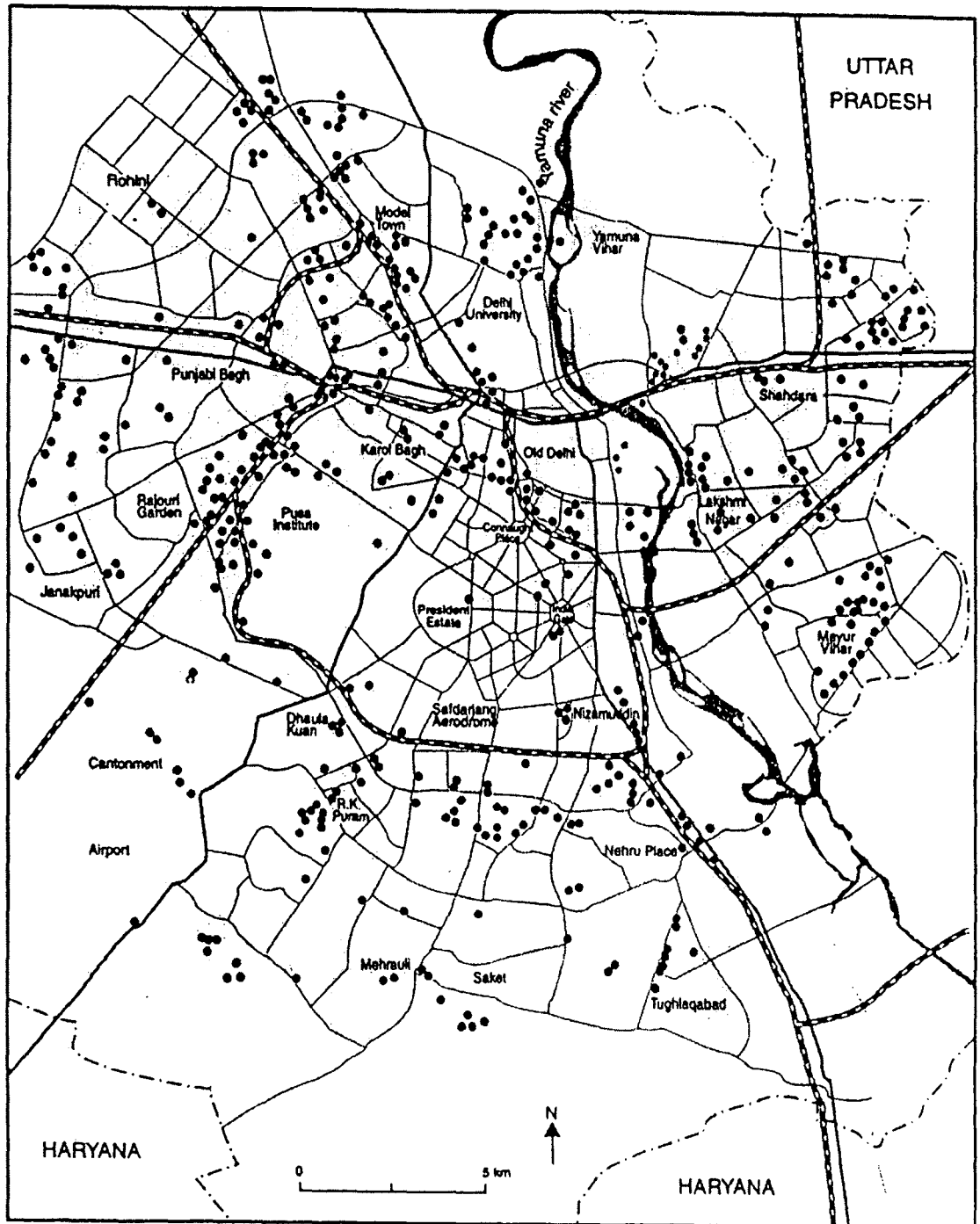
Location of resettlement	No. of families
Dwarka	6,844
Rohini	1,903
Badli	323
Tikri Khurd	717
Narela	11,984
Molarbond	4347
Bhalswa	4266
Bakarwala	4340
Holambi Kalan/ Khurd	10,295
Madanpur Khadar	2341
TOTAL	47,360

Source: JJ and Slum Wing, MCD

Note: that we don't have DDA resettlement data from 1990

The resettlement drive since 1990s has been an inhuman drive. People are hastily evicted and “dumped” in low-lying areas unsuitable for habitation. On the other hand, the order goes further denying any right for a plot of land; forget about the location, basic amenities, etc. Further one can notice from Map-1, the areas where the colonies are developed. If we compare the Maps of location of “squatter” settlements in Delhi urban agglomeration (Map 3.1) and location of resettlement colonies developed by MCD in Delhi (Map 3.2), we can find out that the poor are expelled out of the city. This has serious implications especially for work availability and transport facilities.

Map 3.1: Location of "squatter" settlements in Delhi urban agglomeration



Source: Dupont et al; 2000

Map 3.2: Location of Resettlements Colonies Developed by MCD in Delhi



Note: Hastal Resettlement Colony was developed by DDA.

The relocation of the Jhuggi-Jhonpri cluster scheme had envisaged providing for a plot of 25 m² on a leasehold basis (18 m² as a built up area including toilet and 7 m² as an undivided open space in open courtyards), to migrants who have a ration card dated prior to 31.1.1990. And, the migrants arriving after the due date till 1998 were entitled to a plot of 12-½ m² with a common group courtyard. Land titles were given mostly in the name of couple (with the names of all the family members), which made the selling of property relatively difficult (Kundu; 2002). In this scheme, the landowning agency contributes Rs. 29,000, the Delhi government Rs. 10,000 and the Jhuggi dweller Rs. 7,000, towards the cost of relocation for the 18-m² plots. Whereas for the 12 ½ m² plot, the landowning agency contributes Rs. 20,000, the Delhi government Rs. 10,000 and the Jhuggi dwellers Rs. 5,000, towards the cost of relocation. The plots have been allocated in far off places such as Dwarka, Narela, Holambi Kalan, Molarband, Bhalswa and Bakarwala. Given its aggression, this resurgence of resettlement drive is comparable with the emergency period (Table 3.11). The pace of relocation has also increased over the years. From Table 3.10, we can infer that the pace of relocation speeded up after 1999. And the major land owning agencies involved in these operations are DDA, PWD, L and DO, MCD, NDMC. These land owning agencies were involved in relocating 2350, 1931, 1656, 953 and 813 families since inception till 31st December 1997. The DDA is the key agency here. However, its policies of reduced land tenancy and plot size leaves the resettlement families unsecured.

Table 3.12: Number of relocations by various land owning agencies

Land owning agency	Number of eligible "squatters" relocated
DDA	2250
PWD	1931
L and Do	1656
MCD	953
NDMC	813
Others	2173

Source: Singh Rinkey (1999): Evaluation of Public Intervention in Resettlement of "squatter" Settlements in Delhi, unpublished thesis, Department of Housing, School of Planning and Architecture.

The Jhuggi-dwellers have stayed with a perpetual sense of insecurity, without any concrete tenure. This has restricted their investments to improve their shelter structures and microenvironment. The migrants coming to Delhi, before 1960, were given 80 sq. yd. (67m²) of plot with a *99 years lease*. Unfortunately, there was a large-scale resale of property (Kundu; 2002). In reality, many people who were resettled had to go back to the city, as there was no work available at the periphery of the city. Residents at resettlement colonies simply left their plots or gave away with throwaway money. They either went back to their villages or came back to the city in search of jobs. The resettlements from 1962-77 aimed at giving plots of 25 sq.yd on a rental basis. The state had approached to give leasehold rights with a payment of some amount of money. However, the idea was met with a lukewarm response and there was a high court order in 1992 to stop leasehold titles to restrict transfer of property (Kundu; 2002). Before 1998 state assembly elections, it was proposed to offer leasehold titles on payment of a one-off fee of Rs. 5,000 by the residents and Rs. 13,500 by the purchasers. However, this idea did not evoke much enthusiasm and only a small segment of resettled population have leasehold rights (Kundu; 2002). The plots allotted in 1990s are for a *5-year lease*. Though, the rental system was not introduced, it left the residents with no definite right over their plots.

In-situ land reforms strategy: a feasible option

There is concrete evidence that the JJs (Jhuggi-Jhonpris) are located within the urbanisable limits and mostly in the areas earmarked for residential purpose. What is unfortunate is the elitist approach in reordering the city. For instance, way back in 1981, Mishra and Gupta had estimated that 29% of the land occupied by the “squatter” settlements was meant in any case for residential uses, as per the records of the master plan (Mishra and Gupta; 1981). Similarly in 2000, Roy had stressed that 98% of JJs were clearly within the urban area and of these roughly 42% were on land earmarked for residential purposes and 47% were located on institutional and industrial areas. He argues the fact that the area on which slum and unauthorized colony settlements are presently established is around 6,000 hectares (460 hectares + 5,320 hectares), as compared to the 20,000 hectares and 11,000 hectares set aside by DDA in the urban area and urban extension area for residential purpose. He further points out to the land use pattern

violation of DDA (roughly 5,000 hectares from green areas in between 1990-1998) (Roy; 2000). The National Institute of Urban Affairs holds that there were 27 known cases of land use violations by the DDA itself. Despite the projections for retaining the ridge as a lung space, over 19 major institutional encroachments have been allowed and over 34% of the ridge lost in the process (Delhi Science Forum; 2001).

According to the report “The cleansing of Delhi”, there is a provision for changing the land use specified in the master plan, which has been invoked in 38 cases so far (Delhi Science Forum; 2001). These cases include building places of worship, providing accommodation for government officers or employees including CRPF, building warehouses for international goods and even handing over land meant for a sewage treatment plant to a private, five-star hospital (Apollo) at throw away prices. In other words, when the need arises, adjustment of the MPD-2 is made for the privileged sections but never for the poor and needy. Soni demonstrates that one of the most serious violations of the master plan is by the rich. A spurt in the proliferation of new farmhouses, boldly advancing into the (un) protected forest on the ridge and even into the outer zone of the wildlife sanctuary created in 1986, out of the commons of Asola, Sahur Pur, Maidan Garhi and Deoli Villages (Soni; 2000). Keeping all this in mind, Roy proposes a viable option, what he calls as the “in-situ land reform strategy” i.e. providing additional land to the existing settlements wherever or nearby these settlements and upgrading the facilities. He gives us the details of land and capital requirements for this alternative, while comparing with different strategies (Table 3.13). This alternative strategy is feasible in terms of resources required. This strategy would help realize the right of the poor to the city. This is a better alternative than high-rise buildings for various reasons. High-rise apartments (for poor) have been found inadequate all over the globe as their maintenance is not feasible and inconveniences related to water supply, drainage, and sewerage facilities are inevitable. Secondly, high-rise buildings for poor near commercial places might lead to their social exploitation and misuse commercial exploitation often forces them to sell out and leave.

Table 3.13: Comparison of different strategies

Strategy	Requirement	
	Land (ha)	Cost (Rs. Crore)
Environmental improvement ¹	-	240
In Situ Upgradation ²	-	1200
Total Relocation ³	2160	2760
In Situ Land Reform ⁴	5540	1200

Source: Hazards Center; 2003.

¹ at Rs. 4,000 per jhuggi

² at Rs. 20,000 per jhuggi

³ at 18 sq. m. plot size with 50% built-up area and Rs. 46,000 per jhuggi (Rs. 7,000 from jhuggi dweller)

⁴ at 50 sq. m. plot size with 50% built-up area and Rs. 20,000 per jhuggi

Note: This Table does not include the land cost

Ever since 1960s, a vast multitude of working population has been uprooted and resettled in far-flung areas at the periphery of the city. This process of resettlement has immediate and long-term implications. The following chapter looks at the implications of these issues for the affected people. In particular, it would look at the public health problems accruing from these.

IV Implications of resettlement for the poor in Delhi

To ascertain the public health consequences of urban planning on a population, we need to assess the implications of strategies of resettlement on people. The 'state' in Delhi has been formulating plans and executing the plans, in a frenzied way. This has a special bearing on the marginalized population, especially their living conditions. What follows, is an attempt to look at the conditions of poor migrants in jhuggi-jhonpri clusters, old resettlement colonies and new resettlement colonies in Delhi. In doing so, we can reckon what the planning process has yielded for the urban poor.

The urban poor, who have been designated as "squatters", are basically dwelling in what has come to be known as "Jhuggi-Jhonpri" clusters. They are entitled to certain basic amenities. But, it has become a commonplace knowledge that the living condition of Jhuggi-Jhonpri dwellers is deplorable. The studies I have reviewed also give this picture of a dismal reality. However, what is more important is to assess the living conditions of "resettlement colonies". Resettlement colonies are the brainchild of the town planners, political bodies and bureaucrats, who claim to have a vision for the poor. It is assumed that the process of resettling people is a welfare measure, if not a radical move to order an egalitarian city landscape. It is this assumption that we question on the basis of our qualitative study and our understanding of existing reality.

To assess what urban planning has yielded for people we grapple with the following questions:

- a) Do resettlement colonies provide the residents acceptable environmental, social and economic milieu;

- b) Does resettlement produce “impoverishment risks”¹ and their associated consequences, or more importantly are resettlement colonies epitomizing continuation of slum-like conditions. In other words, are they “planned slums”².

What follows is an attempt to assess the a) socio-economic profile of the poor and b) living conditions of the poor that would border on a comparative axis. For instance, I would like to compare the living condition of old and new resettlement colonies in Delhi. I would also attempt to compare these with available studies on jhuggi-jhonpri clusters. The latter, despite being non-representative of the total jhuggi-jhonpri population provide some interesting insights. Apart from drawing upon my fieldwork, I would substantiate the arguments with studies on resettlement colonies in Delhi. Studies on Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters would be used for comparison with resettlement colonies.

Socio-economic profile of the urban poor

Migration

The urban poor of Delhi have basically migrated from the states abutting Delhi, in search of employment. The state-wise migration status in between 1981-1991, reveals that approximately 50% of the population have migrated from U.P. (NCRPB; 1999).

Prem Chand (residing in Dakhsinpuri) had migrated from Rajasthan’s Tonk district in 1968. He had a difficult time surviving on irregular wage-labour. Hence, he had migrated with his wife and 5 children. Govindi Devi had migrated from Rajasthan thirty years ago. Her family had a very little land (2 acres) and she had four brother-in-laws. Life was not easy after coming to Delhi. Initially they had a lot of difficulties in

¹ Cernea gives a theoretical model for involuntary resettlement that highlights the intrinsic risks that cause impoverishment through displacement. Cernea holds that the modeling of displacement risks result from deconstructing the process of displacement into its identifiable principals and most widespread components i.e. landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation. See, Cernea; 2000.

² Priya holds that if environmental sanitation and access to basic amenities are important criteria, resettlement colonies are themselves slum, “planned slums”. According to her, the multiple index used in the formulation of the DDA master plan for categorizing the then existing areas if – applied to these colonies planned and laid out, would certainly place them in the category of areas “for clearance”. See, Priya; 1993

getting jobs. They could manage to work as porters after bribing the contractor at a construction firm.

Similarly, Mohan Singh residing in Hastal resettlement colony had accompanied his father to the city. He hails from Khagaria district of Bihar. He recalls that annual flooding of his area had rendered his father's agricultural labour unremunerative and they had no options other than migrating to a city. Benibai residing at Hastal recalls that they had 2 acres of land at her village in Madhya Pradesh. And, her growing joint family was very big to survive on that. Asha Devi residing at Hastal had lost her left hand while operating the thresher. After losing her hand, it was difficult for her to get any employment. Hence, she had migrated to Delhi from Uttar Pradesh. Ram Chander had paltry income working as a wage labor in his village. He did not have any land holding. Hence, he had migrated from Uttar Pradesh's Fatehpur district. Similarly, Pancham who has migrated from Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh was a landless laborer.

Apart from being agricultural labourers and small farmers many had worked as rickshaw pullers, construction workers or engaged in traditional crafts i.e. weaving, tailoring etc in their villages. Joria residing in Hastal resettlement colony was engaged in his traditional occupation. He used to make toys, clean earwaxes, and sell honey. However, it was not very self-sustaining for him to engage in these traditional occupations and he migrated to Delhi from Haryana. These studies provide us with some insights in to possible trends only, as they are small and limited in their coverage.

Most of the residents in Jhuggi-Jhonpri have migrated from adjoining states i.e. U.P., Rajasthan, and Haryana. Some have migrated from eastern, central belt and southern part of India i.e. Bihar, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu etc. Bhatnagar et. al. hold that of the 75% households, who migrated into slums, 77.2% were from the neighboring states of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan³. According to one study, 73% of the dwellers in Gautamnagar slum were from Uttar Pradesh (Sagar; 1999). Similarly,

³ The data in Bhatnagar's study are presented in a combined way. For instance, Bhatnagar subsumes data on notified slum areas, developed resettlement colonies, jhuggi-jhonpri clusters and construction site temporary settlements in a single category, which he labels "Delhi Slums". It is not possible to disaggregate these data. Hence, we have avoided use of this data for our purpose. However, we use their data for indicating migration status, caste, religion of the population, which are considered constant.

another study holds that in Wazirpur and Govindpuri slums, majority (around 70%) were from Uttar Pradesh (Basu; 1999). The scale of migration from Rajasthan is also proportionately high. In one study, the author holds that apart from Uttar Pradesh (60.5%), Rajasthan contributed 30% of the slum dwellers in Tigri (Bhandari; 1992). Sagar's study affirms that about 87% of these migrants were landless or with marginal landholding. The reasons for migration are basically landlessness, unemployment/underemployment, (Bhatnagar et.al.'s study showed that 66.9% households had immigrated for employment purposes, Bhatnagar; 1986) or economic hardships due to flood or drought

As expected, one gets a similar picture from the resettlement colonies while delving into the state of origin or the reasons of migration. For instance, most of the migrants had small land holdings and were perpetually confronted with basic livelihood insecurity. One of the studies made the following observations:

“Of the sample, 40.2% of the respondents (or their families) were engaged in direct land based activity. Of these 42.4% did not own land; 42.4% were marginal or subsistence farmers (owning less than 5 acres of unirrigated land), 15.2% owned land for which wage labour had to be employed. Of these who did not own land a large majority 85.7% were agricultural wage labourers whereas only 14.3% share cropped on others land” (Gupta; 1990).

Thus, it can be argued that the reasons of migration, the state of origin of migration do not show differences, when compared across jhuggi-jhonpri clusters, old and new resettlement colonies. This is obvious because the jhuggi-jhonpri dwellers of yesterday have become the dwellers of old and new resettlement colonies today.

Caste and Religion

Most of the Jhuggi-Jhonpri settlements and resettlement colonies have predominantly Hindu population. However, certain areas do have a predominantly Muslim Population. For instance, Trilokpuri and Hasthsal resettlement colonies have Muslim Population of 74% and 49% respectively. Nangloi has also a prominent Muslim

population at 37% (Ali; 1998). Christians, Sikhs and other religious people are a numerical minority. Hindus constitute the majority in most of the localities. Hindus formed 88.45% in Bhumiheen (landless) Camp, a Jhuggi-Jhonpri colony (Mallick; 1996), 87% in Gautamnagar slum (Sagar; 1999), 70% in Govind Puri slum (Basu; 1999). It is also important to note that some of the above studies revealed a sizeable proportion of Muslim population disproportionate to the Delhi average i.e. in Govindpuri (25%), Nangloi (37%) etc. Further, what is interesting to note is a process that could be called as “dalitisation of slums”. Dalits constitute the majority among Hindus in slum areas i.e. 55.70% in Bhumiheen Camp, 61% in Gautamnagar, etc. The OBCs also formed a majority in various Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters and resettlement colonies. We had seen before that most of the poor migrants were landless or marginal farmers. And, dalits constitute the majority of the Hindu population in slums and resettlement colonies. Hence, it is not surprising to note that dalit migrants were landless or marginal farmers. For instance, Sagar holds that amongst the male Hindu migrants, 56% of dalits were landless and 36% were marginal farmers.

Occupation, income and household economics

It is not a matter of surprise to find similarities among the population of Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters and resettlement colonies, in terms of their migration status, caste and religious compositions. Because, as stated before the “squatter” population of yesterday, constitute the resettled population of today. However, it would be interesting to look at the occupational and income status of both kinds of settlements. Resettlement colonies house the households, which are relatively older in terms of their migration status. On the other hand, the residents of Jhuggi-Jhonpri’s who have survived the bulldozing act of the state till now, largely house the migrants who came after emergency. Emergency, as discussed before, was a landmark, in terms of cleansing the city of its poor and resettling them at the periphery.

The population of Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters and resettlement colonies comprises of the economically poor sections of Delhi. They constitute the working class population of the city, which is basically the backbone of any society. Without the service of these

workingmen and women, the city would standstill. They are engaged in varied occupations and work as construction workers, rickshaw pullers, masons, carpenters, electricians, plumbers, chowkidars, drivers, cooks, room attendants, sweepers, potters etc., to name a few. In resettlement colonies, people have managed to cling on to some class IV government jobs and clerical jobs etc. All the studies I have cited in this chapter confirm such a kind of occupational base. The incomes of these working men and women vary broadly between Rs. 1000-5000 on an average.

Prem Chand residing in Dakhsinpuri was allotted a plot in 1976. He used to reside near his work place at Chanakyapuri. After getting resettled, he had no job and had to travel to Chanakyapuri everyday. That used to cost him Rs. 1 by bus everyday. Further, he used to give 50 paise per day as commission to the contractor. He recalls that he used to be left with Rs. 2 per day. Moolchand residing in Dakhsinpuri recalls that he was displaced from Delhi Gate in 1977 and resettled at Dakhsinpuri. The place of his work was very far off. He used to return back at around 11 o'clock night and sometimes children had to sleep without food. The situation has not improved dramatically. Mobility transition has by and large remained unsatisfactory. Resettled population still remains under perpetual state of income insecurity. Closing of hotels and factories have rendered many workers unemployed. Residents reported that after privatization of hotels, they were unceremoniously laid off. Kiran Devi's husband used to work as a room attendant in Ashoka hotel. He was laid off recently and is not paid any pension. It should be noted that employers do not adhere to any laws and pay meager sums of money. On the other hand, workers bear the burden of hazardous work and injure themselves frequently. For instance, it is not uncommon to see men and women carrying heavy loads on their heads beyond their carrying capacity. Dhani Devi's husband had passed away in an accident while working in a construction firm. But no compensations were paid to her family. All these arguments are not to deny the upward mobility achieved by the residents. It is not uncommon to see differences in terms of house structure, domestic gadgets, vehicles that reflect income differences and entry of lower middle-class households into this locality. The resettled population has spent around 30 years here now. The colony is well integrated with the city. And all these have accrued certain benefits to the residents. It is not uncommon to see residents earning more than 3,000 rupees. Dharmender, Govindi

Devi, Shakuntala report an income in between 3,000 and 4,000. B. L. Johar reports an earning of around 8-9,000.

On the other hand, Benibai residing at Hastal resettlement colony talked about acute joblessness. According to her there are no employment opportunities at Hastal. Earlier her children used to stay with her. Now, they are all scattered in search of employment. Two of her sons have built their Jhuggis at Punjabibagh three months back. Ghulam Zakharia residing at Hastal resettlement colony shifted to Hastal two years back. He stayed at Paharganj for 20 years, before he was moved out. He used to earn Rs. 200-300, working as a Kabariwallah per day. Work of a kabariwallah involves separating various kinds of junks and selling those. Frequently kabariwallahs injure themselves as they handle metals and glass pieces. Now, his earning hovers around 60-70 rupees per day. Moreover, he has to spend around Rs. 40 on transportation everyday. He holds: "Factories have gone out of the city and the junk is not in demand". Lal Bahadur worked in an export house near Paschimvihar. His skills in embroidery had come in handy. He has been moving all around to get jobs after he left his village in Uttar Pradesh. He had worked for 7 years at the export house and his earning amounted to be around 3000 rupees. He was an upwardly mobile man and had managed to purchase a machine and set up his own business. His income had arisen to 5000-6000 rupees. He had to sell off his machine to cover his resettlement costs, following which he was unemployed for 6 months. Then he had got a job of a chowkidar at Papankala and earned a paltry 1800 rupees per month. Now, he has got an employer to hire him and he works on a contractual basis. His income hovers around 150 rupees per day. However, he does not get employment everyday.

All these data show that work forms a critical element in the lives of the poor. One can recognize a series of transition with respect to the trajectory the poor traverse for work. On the other hand, it is not difficult to see that the trend is towards frequent downward mobility after resettlement. Asha Devi residing at Hastal resettlement colony holds that it was 10 times better in terms of employment facilities near Paschimvihar jhuggi. Similarly, Joria notes that his present place of residence places him at a disadvantage for securing his livelihood. Earlier, he had stayed at various places i.e.

Mukherjeenagar, Subashnagar, Paschimvihar etc. Mohammad Rahim moved all around Delhi (Pitampura, Chankyapuri, Lodhi Road etc.) in search of work. He shifted from place to place and had built his jhuggi at pilikothi. However, one police official demolished his jhuggi and he shifted to Samtadham, where he built his jhuggi. Thus work is inextricably linked with one's place of residence. And the process of resettlement proved to deny this basic fact. In addition to this, one must not forget the urban restructuring Delhi is going through. The urban restructuring, which has accompanied the economic restructuring in Delhi has rendered thousands of workers redundant. Factories have been displaced out of the city. Consequently, workingmen and women have lost jobs. Ram Chander used to work as a weaver in a factory. But, the factory has moved out of the city. And he holds that he has to spend 50 rupees on transport to go to the city. Further the employer cuts his wage if he reaches the factory late. Consequently he has shifted to a job of selling vegetables. This had an immediate effect on his earning. He earns 700-800 rupees per month, which is half to his earlier income. It is a commonplace knowledge that the poor work in inhospitable conditions and earn very less. Noor Mohammad holds: "the low wage is really unjust and is the root cause of all problems". Upon resettlement the income has further gone down. Ram Kumar Gupta used to earn 1500-2000 per month selling vegetables at Harinagar prior to his arrival at Hastal. Now his earning seldom reaches 1000. His petty business has undergone a slump. He states: "People are dying of starvation, who would come to purchase vegetables"? It is obvious that he cannot go to his earlier place to sell vegetables, as he would incur a lot of expenses on transportation.

Thus the income of the residents of Hastal resettlement colony has gone down drastically. The above cases show that it has become extremely difficult to earn around 1000 rupees. Moreover, one has to incur expenses on transport, as the colony is established at the periphery of the city. Hence, we can conclude that the work situation of this new resettlement colony is worse than that of the Dakhsinpuri resettlement colony (old). And, it should be noted that work becomes a critical element in determining income, food availability, medical expenses etc.

Now, we turn our attention to the studies on jhuggi-jhonpri clusters and old resettlement colonies based on our secondary sources. Sagar's study holds that 50% of men have an income up to Rs. 1500 per month, about 45% have incomes between Rs. 1500-2500 per month and only about 2% earn more. Moreover, there are incidences of chronic unemployment and insecurity of stable jobs. For women (who mostly work as domestic help), the situation is even more distressful. According to Sagar:

“About 58.4% women are housewives, but 41% earn only up to Rs. 1000 per month and only about 1% earn more than that. Of these, 41% women earning up to Rs. 1000 per month, in fact 1% of women earn up to Rs. 250 per month, 20% earn between Rs. 250-500 per month and 20% from Rs. 500-1000 per month. Women earn less than men though they may work equal hours” (Sagar; 1999).

Basu demonstrates that while around half of the patient households in Wazirpur earn less than Rs. 1500, in Govindpuri 53.7% earn between 1500-2500 (Basu; 1999). Bhandari's work categorized households based on their estimated monthly income into four groups. Those with incomes less than 500 (13.3%), 501-1000 (46.7%), 1001-1500 (33.39%) and > 1500 (6.7%). According to her, half the households were actually receiving less than the stipulated minimum wages by the Government of India for an unskilled worker (Bhandari; 1992).

Studies on resettlement colony also confirm a very low-income level, but somewhat higher than the income level of households at Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters. Sundar et.al. hold that the average monthly income of a slum household in Delhi was roughly Rs. 2,840 and Rs. 4,020 for a resettlement colony (Sunder et.al.; 2002). Other studies point out to very low level of income for a sizeable population, indicating possible emergence of disparity in resettlement colonies. For instance, Ali demonstrates that almost 15% of the sample respondent's family income was below Rs. 1000 per month in the resettlement colonies. He further holds that the distress was acute in some colonies – Pandav Nagar (36%), Dakhsinpuri (33%), Nangloi (32%), Pankha Road (25%) and Sundernagari (14%) (Ali; 1998). In another study, Ali demonstrates that 9% of the families had income less than Rs. 500, 29.4% had family income between Rs. 1000 and Rs. 1500 and 11.4% had

income between Rs. 1500-2000 (Ali; 1995). Thus, around 50% of the households are earning less than Rs. 2000.

Given these figures one can argue that the per capita income in slums and resettlement colonies would stand at an abysmal low. Sundar et.al. hold that the average size of a slum household is 5.3 and average size of a resettlement colony household is 5.5 (Sundar et.al.; 2002). Basu holds that around half of the patient's households were having more than six family members. While in Wazirpur about 48.8% studied families had more than six members, in Govindpuri the percentage was little higher being 64 % (Basu; 1999). Bhandari holds that the mean family size works out to be 5.3 at the Tigri slum. She points out that in the survey the usual pattern for the selected households was to have 4.7 (81.5%) members and only 5.5% had more than seven members. It is very important to consider the monthly income of any family in conjunction with the family size. Ali holds that the large size of the family of the resettlers – marginalizes their meager income, leaving scant scope for investment in improving their quality of life. He puts the average size of the family of sample respondents in the selected – resettlement colony at 6.2 (Ali; 1998). Ali also demonstrates that on an average 1.35 members are employed per family and considering the family size; the earning member of the family is usually too overburdened to be able to pay adequate attention to improve the living conditions (Ali; 1998).

It is clearly seen that the proportion of very low income households due to poor work opportunities are less for the old resettlement colony residents than the residents of jhuggi-jhonpri residents. However, it is evident that the situation in the new resettlement colony is worse than that of jhuggi-jhonpri clusters as the incomes have declined in the majority of the households. Though, the income level of residents is low in the Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters, it is better than Hastal resettlement colony, if adjusted to the present time. Further, there are work opportunities available for the poor in Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters near their place of residence. This cuts their expenses, as they do not have to spend on traveling.

Our data show that the laboring class of Delhi earns much less than what they need to fulfill basic needs. Further, it can be argued that the average trend showing slightly higher incomes in resettlement colonies misses out the following two important facts:

- a) The predicament of new resettlers at the periphery of the city with a concomitant consequence of joblessness, leading often to a state of abject poverty. Residents spend years till they get stable income opportunities and transportation facilities to their work place. Residents also talk about a drastic reduction in their net income. The Habitat International Coalition (HIC) report observes: “An estimate of the subsequent loss of income to local residents varies from 25-40%, mostly due to the forfeiture of female labour and income upon relocation. Some men have taken up itinerant work. All in all, residents report that, through loss of jobs, forfeiture of women’s supplemental income to the family and the extra costs incurred in order to keep existing jobs; they are experiencing a 30%-40% drop in income. Resettlements put enormous burden on women (HIC; 2001). Men become unemployed, as there are no work opportunities at the place of their residence. Ram Kishan, residing at Hastal, holds that the contractors used to know him personally and used to come in search for him at Paschimvihar. Contrary to that, at Hastal, there is no work and nobody knows him. Consequently women, with their meager income try to maintain their employment ties as domestic help. For instance, Mohan Singh at Hastal is unemployed today. His wife has to wake up at 4 O’clock morning and walk down to Uttamnagar to get any bus to her employer’s place. And for all this she earns around Rs. 1200-1500 per month. Whereas, in some other cases women have to abandon their jobs as domestic help, because the transportation charges surpasses their income. For instance, Rahim’s wife used to earn Rs. 400-500 per month, working as a domestic help. But, now she has abandoned the job because her transportation charge of 20 rupees per day would surpass her net income.
- b) The second important fact is about the obscuring of income differentials among the old resettled population. Ali demonstrates a sizeable proportion of population

almost below poverty line. But this gets obscured when you look at the average of incomes of the total resettled population. This could be due to the entry of lower middle class households in these localities. It should be emphasized that most of the people at previous resettlement colonies had sold or surrendered the plots and had gone back to their places of work. The report of the Habitat International Coalition fact finding mission on the resettlement process of Delhi notes this kind of scenario:

“In sharp contrast to the resettlement policy in the late 1940s and 1950s, however, the Delhi state provided absolutely no structural supports or economic incentives to those evicted from the city in the resettlement operations of the 1970s (and after). As a result, within less than 10 years, many of those who had been resettled had migrated back into the city in search of employment. One of the prime reasons for the move back into the city was because this “service class” did not have the skills to match the requirements of these industries. Also the industries, themselves in a nascent stage did not/couldn’t invest in the requisite human resource development to build this population’s capacity to meet their particular needs. Fresh migrants from outside the Delhi region came in to take up these skilled industrial jobs; thus belying the whole premise for the resettlement of economically weaker classes citizens from central Delhi. The relocation, therefore, was no way remedial and in fact, ultimately provided the impetus for the growth of subsequent slum colonies within the confines of the city” (HIC; 2001).

The meager income has to be substantiated with some additional money for fulfilling certain basic survival needs. Therefore, it is not uncommon to see indebtedness among the poor. Majority of the poor therefore take recourse to loans especially borrowing from moneylenders for which they pay exorbitant interest.

Lakshmi Devi staying at Hastsal resettlement colony had to borrow Rs. 7000 for her 18m² plot from a moneylender. Now, she has to pay 350 rupees per month, as interest. Twelve of my respondents in Hastsal were indebted. Thus, the income level is

very precarious and people are constantly faced with a threat of indebtedness. This has a direct reflection on the expenditure patterns of the population. Expenditures other than on food depend on the availability of money after spending on food. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the expenditures on miscellaneous expenses i.e. clothes, festivals, ceremonies, foot wear, children's education, visits to the toilets, repairing, soaps, etc. The paltry income also restricts their medical expenses and most of the residents default in their treatment. For instance, Mohammad Rahim's wife, a resident of Hastal suffered from tuberculosis and got treatment for six months at a government hospital. She discontinued after she shifted to Hastal. Now, the disease has relapsed again. She coughs persistently and feels very weak. She also gets blood in her sputum. But, she ignores it because she is unable to pay the transportation charges. Mohammad Rahim's son has skin disease. But he is unable to manage any medication. One must not forget that some have to send money on a monthly basis for their children, old parents, and widowed/unmarried sister back home in the village.

Respondents at Hastal reported that their ration cards were confiscated and they have to purchase ration from the market. For instance, Benibai residing at Hastal holds that she has to purchase kerosene at the rate of 17 rupees per liter from the market. Moreover, as Ghulam Zakharia staying at Hastal holds, the ration shop opens once in a month. The ration is also of poor quality and inadequate. The net incomes have gone down drastically and most of the residents hold that people are literally starving. Rahim, a resident at Hastal resettlement colony works as a rickshaw puller and earns around 60-70 rupees per day. However, he has a very precarious source of income. He does not get enough customers everyday and at times his family has to starve. Benibai residing at Hastal holds that there is frequent intra household bickering due to loss of income. She further adds that people are starving and women have to convince children to sleep without food. Similarly, the residents of Maddanpurkhaddar and Kakrola resettlement site admitted that conditions in their original central-Delhi slums were also unclean and squalid, but now they are "starving for food and employment" (HIC ; 2001).

On the other hand, only 5 respondents talked about their indebtedness at Dakhsinpuri. Residents did not complain about their ration cards at Dakhsinpur, though they complained of the poor quality of materials they get in ration. A somewhat steady income and availability of basic amenities might have helped for this kind of a situation. Gupta's study made the following observations:

“69.5% of all families interviewed were under some debt or had taken a loan which they still had to pay off. Money borrowed from professional moneylenders has a high interest rate, which can go up to 360% per annum. And at times security in the form of jewellery, consumer items or even the house is asked to be pledged to obtain loans” (Gupta; 1990).

Gupta holds that 24.4% of all families, if spend all the money on buying food, would still fall below the recommended dietary intake. We do not have data on the extent of indebtedness in Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters. However it can be assumed that the situation is no better than the old resettlement colonies, as the income level is even lower than the old resettlement colonies. As a matter of concern, it appears that the situation is worse in new resettlement colonies than old resettlement colonies and JJ clusters, as residents have testified starvation and indebtedness due to loss of job, shelter and other basic utilities due to eviction. Moreover, the residents had to deposit 5,000 and 7,000 rupees for their 12 ½ and 18 m² plots.

Living conditions of the urban poor:

Resettlement, Location and Environmental milieu of urban poor

Hastsal resettlement colony is established on a low-lying area besides an effluent drain. The area is described as a dumping and uninhabitable low ground, subject to drainage problems by the population. Most of the families had to fill the land to level it, before constructing the houses. In some cases they had to bring 5-8 truckloads of soil at a cost of 600-800 rupees per load. Ram Kumar Gupta residing at Hastsal resettlement colony recalls that he had to arrange for 5 trucks of soil to fill the land. Mohan Singh holds that water stands for 3 feet once it rains. The area was also used as a dumping

ground. Govindabai holds that there is a permanent stench in the air and insects swarm all over the area. Moreover, proper plotting was not done, when people were brought to the site.

There was insufficient participation, negotiation and consultation with the evictees. Residents at Shalimarbagh (prior to their allotment at Hastal) were informed two hours prior to demolition and, within one hour, the entire area was razed. Pancham holds that some 500 jhuggis were demolished within two hours in Paschimvihar. The residents could not even gather their belongings. Pancham adds that children were scared and women had to run to save what ever they could. The residents report that they were treated like criminals and with utter disrespect. Moreover, Hastal residents have got precarious legal security tenure of 5 years. In several cases, they do not have allotment proof, which would testify for their tenure. Residents report that their ration-cards were confiscated and have not been restored yet. The evictees were not even compensated for the loss of property due to government action. Laxmibai holds that she lost all her utensils. She further complains of her inability to bring back the bricks, door, iron rods etc. The HIC report holds that the resettled family's original home and fixtures, however modest, often represent a significant investment that is irretrievably lost at the point of demolition/ or resettlement (HIC; 2001).

On the other hand, the site at Dakhsinpuri was established on a farmland that was deemed unsuitable for habitation. Most of the original residents were construction workers who were residing at Chanakayapuri. The residents report that the heavy rains during resettlement had flooded the entire area and people had only makeshift dwellings. The entire area was muddy with long grasses. Residents and their belongings got wet. Shakuntala Devi holds that many had suffered from fever and a few perished under those circumstances. There was also a threat from the host population that used to harass the residents. Unlike Hastal, people at Dakhsinpuri did not have to deposit any money for their plots. Government had also arranged for their transportation. Govindi Devi holds that they were brought in trucks, with their belongings. They could also avail of some loans then to build their houses. However, the colony was very far off from the places of work. On an average, people used to spend 1/3 of their income on transportation. Hence,

most of the residents (almost an estimated 75%) of the original allotted had left their plots and had moved back either to the places of work or their villages. However, now the colony is well integrated with the city with time. The area is well connected by bus service. The area has developed over these years. Its no more a low-lying area or barren land.

Thus, the location and environmental milieu of Hastal is worse than the Dakhsinpuri resettlement colony. It is important also to note how the nature of resettlement is changing over the years. Earlier the state arranged for transportation of the belongings, but now no such facilities are provided. The state had also arranged for some loans and residents did not have to pay any money for getting their plots allotted. Moreover the tenure has changed today. Dakhsinpuri residents were given a tenure right of 99 years. On the other hand residents of Hastal are given tenure right for merely 5 years. This has long-term implications of security and investments in one's house structures.

On the other hand most of the Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters have sprung up near work places for the poor migrants and on the land left unused. This unused land need not be hospitable. As of 1994, nearly 2,400 acres of land in Delhi was under slums. Of this nearly 75% was DDA land, 4.5% was land owned by railways, 1% was NDMC land, 0.6% was private land and 0.6% was MCD land (Sunder et.al.; 2002). Sunder et.al. make the following observations with respect to the location of the Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters and resettlement colonies:

“Location is important since heightened proximity to industrial and human waste, and vehicular pollution can increase the likelihood of disease. Bulk of the slums and resettlement colonies are located along side roads, near a nallah (water carriage sewerage system in which household waste is flushed off), or adjacent to railway tracks. In Delhi, nearly 66% of the sample slums and all of the sample settlement colonies are so located”.

The studies reviewed for this chapter reinforce the above observation. Bhumiheen Camp was located near Okhla Industrial Area (Mallick; 1996). Sagar makes the following observation about the location and physical environment of Gautamnagar slum:

“The environment was extremely unhealthy in 90s. The packed mud paths were bisected by drains filled with foul smelling sludge, which occasionally overflowed in the open clearings, creating a paradise for the pigs that wallowed there. The open area was a garbage dump, and a defecation ground, and released a constant stench in the air. Furthermore, the bridge over nallah, which was also an open defecation place. There were two large bodies of stagnant water, so covered with scum and plastic that they looked like solid ground” (Sagar; 1999). Bhandari writing on the urban slum of Tigri makes similar observations: “There were no “pukka” roads inside the slum but narrow paths with dwellings on both the sides. There were three large ponds in the area full of dirty water and waste matter; these were actually accumulations of wastewater from the households. Some areas had narrow drains running along the paths into which wastewater from the dwellings would drain. Also, the inclination of drains in some areas was such that instead of draining into the ponds, the water from the ponds would flow back into the drains in the reverse direction. The water from the ponds would frequently overflow into the adjoining areas and there would be slush everywhere” (Bhandari; 1992).

Thus, the poorer sections of Delhi could only avail themselves of the filthiest possible areas to settle down. It was imperative for the “welfare state” to “resettle” them and provide them with hospitable environment and areas, which would have integrated the poor with the economic, social and cultural life of the city. However, contrary to the above assumption, the state went further pushing the poor into the most inhospitable and far-flung areas, which severed their connections from the economic, social and cultural life of the city. It took years for the resettlement colonies of emergency period (which were located at the periphery land of the city then) to get integrated with the city. The environmental condition of these resettlement colonies remains deplorable and resemble more or less like the Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters. The studies I reviewed and my field

explorations at Dakhsinpuri bear testimony to this fact. For instance, Seemapuri resettlement colony was developed on a barren land, which used to be a cremation ground. Surrounded by knee high grass and water logged ground, families had struggled to put up some kind of makeshift shelters to keep out the rains (Gupta; 1990).

However, it should be pointed out that the locations of Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters are at far better sites than the new resettlement colonies. Most importantly, the residents remain integrated with the city in Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters. The economic ties also are maintained at these locations. And the environmental scenario is no better in new resettlement colonies.

Transportation

Transportation is a major issue for all the resettlement colonies. The resettlement colonies get established in far-flung areas of the city and people face with conveyance problem. At Hastal, people report that they have to spend in between 10-40 rupees on transportation. This drastically reduces their net income. Moreover, the bus service from Hastal is very inadequate. Only four buses leave from the colony (2 in the morning and 2 in the evening). Otherwise people have to walk for 4 kms to get a bus. Under these circumstances, women forfeit their role as breadwinners. These women, who had previously worked and had supplemented the family income, are now rendered unemployed. HIC report makes the following observation:

For the Bakarwala residents, the residents had to pay Rs. 24 per day for bus transportations from a station 3-4 kms away by foot, to the original work places (Report of HIC; 2001). Most of the Bakharwala residents used to work at or near the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), which was adjacent to the Hauz Khas Labour Camp, and, therefore, did not need transport. Others worked elsewhere within a 20-km radius of Hauz Khas. Similarly, the Nehru Place residents and the Gautampuri residents would normally find jobs within one km of their home.

In contrast to this, there is no transportation problem at Dakhsinpuri, as discussed before. It is discussed that mostly the Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters are located near the work

places. Hence, there is no grave concern for the residents in terms of their transportation. On the other hand, the residents of new resettlement colonies have to bear the brunt of transportation problem.

Housing

Adequate and proper housing is one of the basic needs of a human being. The standard of housing has its consequent effect on the health of a populace. Here, I attempt to assess the housing conditions of the poor.

The residents in Dakhsinpuri resettlement colony have got a tenure security of 99 years. Hence, they have been able to afford to invest in their housing structures. All the allotted residents have built concrete houses. However, over the years the family size has increased of residents. And the residents are forced to build additional house structures to accommodate the family members. Consequently, the entire area is overcrowded, with its precarious multistoried buildings without good support. For instance, Prem Chand's family has grown over all these years. His four sons have married and he has grandchildren now. Consequently, in order to accommodate all the family members the family has innovated to erect a building precariously on a 22-½ square meter. Though, residents at Dakhsinpuri had got a tenure security of 99 years (note the tenure security for Hastal residents is only for 5 years, as discussed before), they had to face some losses upon resettlement. House building for the poor is gradual and is not with one time investment. And as discussed before, the place of residence is linked with work. Initially, the poor migrants struggle to get any roof upon their heads. For instance, Moolchand living in Dakhsinpuri resettlement colony had to live in unfinished buildings initially. After saving some money the poor try to purchase jhuggi or bribe the police officials to secure a place to build their jhuggi. Then starts a process of gradual investments in terms of building the roof, making the walls concrete; fixing doors etc. Ram Bharote at Dakhsinpuri had purchased a jhuggi at Bapudham paying 1100 rupees in 1970. Similarly Noor Mohammad at Hastal had purchase a jhuggi at Kotwariasarai paying 5500 rupees in early 1990. Both of them then slowly had invested in their jhuggis by borrowing money or from their savings. But, one hasty demolition dashes all their hopes and they

lose all their investments. It should be pointed out that the employers have never bothered to arrange for the housing of their workers. Some contractors arrange for jhuggis after taking a commission from the day's wage at the site of construction work. However, as soon as the construction work is over, the workers are again rendered homeless.

On the other hand, the plot sizes of 12 ½ and 18 m² in new resettlement colonies prove to be very inadequate. It is ridiculous on the part of a state, which tries to project itself as a welfare state to resettle a family on this size of a plot. Given this reality, it is almost impossible to meet with a standard living condition of building a latrine, in one's residence. Now, the residents have to deposit 5000 and 7000 rupees respectively for availing themselves of these plots of 12-½ m² and 18 m² (Basis of entitlements of these plots discussed before, in the third chapter). Most of the residents had to borrow money from moneylenders to pay these amounts. Some of the residents had to sell their utensils and jewellery. Old residents at Hastal colony without any old-age security had to surrender their lifelong savings for the plots. Hence, many have become indebted and are unable to build houses and continue to live in make shift Jhuggis. For instance Benibai still has not managed to build her house at Hastal. She continues to live in her makeshift jhuggi. In rainy season matters become worse as there are frequent roof leakages and sometime even water comes into the house. In most cases, the unlikely saviors of this segment of society are certain land developers who extend credit, but also create dependency and take profitable advantage of the relocated populations' vulnerability (HIC; 2001).

Thus, it can be argued that the housing problem of the new resettlement residents is more acute. The small plot sizes prove to be extremely inadequate for a growing family. Moreover, the tenure insecurity has not motivated the residents to build any permanent structures. Indebtedness, losses of jobs have rendered the residents at Hastal penniless. Under these circumstances, many have (Lakshmi Devi, Benibai, Mohammad Rahim) not able to build houses and continue to stay in makeshift jhuggis.

The housing in Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters is generally very inadequate, and inhospitable. Sagar shows that about 64% Jhuggis in Gautamnagar, have only one room, almost 30% have two rooms and the remaining 6% or so have three or more rooms. In addition, there are almost 30% of Jhuggies without any verandahs, about 10% with common verandahs and 20% with a small covered open verandah outside. Almost 40% have small-enclosed verandahs, which are either covered or open (Sagar; 1999). Similarly, Basu demonstrates the unacceptable standard of housing in Govindpuri and Wazirpur colonies:

“In both the areas, majority were found to live in dwelling units made up of bricks, plastered with cement and roofs of stone or concrete or were forced to live in huts with walls of mud, mortar, broken bricks and with thatched roofs (or roofs made of tarpaulin, used tin sheets and other sundry materials). The percentage of slum dwellers living in pucca houses were observed to be slightly higher in Govindpuri slum as compared to Wazirpur Jhuggi-Jhonpri colony (around 80% in case of Govind Puri and 60% in case of Wazirpur). In the Govind Puri and Wazirpur slum areas, it was observed that in the Kutchha houses, there was no separate ventilation other than the door. Even in the semi-pucca and some of the pucca houses, there was no provision for chimney or windows. This sometimes turns out to be the cause of health problems for the inmates of the house. Most of the houses have only one tiny room where the whole family has to eat, sleep and live together”.

Most often Jhuggis are built with inflammable materials i.e. plastic sheets, straw, thatch, bamboos, grass, etc., which always poses a threat of fire hazards. Unlike the Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters, residents of resettlement colonies predominantly live in pucca buildings. For instance, Sundar et.al's study shows that ¼ of Delhi's slum households in slums reported themselves to be living in pucca buildings. On the other hand, more than 90% of the population in resettlement colonies lives in pucca building. However, this is not an enough indicator for acceptable housing standard in resettlement colonies. Gupta makes the following observations on housing in new Seemapuri resettlement colony; the 25 square yard is barely adequate for the construction of one room not exceeding 10 feet

to 10 feet. A little space left over was to be used as kitchen space and women used a corner of it to be able to bathe in privacy. Since houses are built contiguous to each other, the room at the back has no place for a window to let in air or light. Consequently, these rooms always wear a dark and gloomy look (Gupta; 1990).

Moreover, instead of progressively aiming at realizing the housing rights of the people, the state has a regressive tendency of squeezing the plot size over these years. The 22 m² plots (allotted during emergency) have now given a way to 12 ½ m² and 18 m² plots in the new resettlement colonies. Hence, the growing family has no options other than resorting to erect a precarious vertical building structure. Over the years, Ali holds that the number of storeys and the number of rooms in the houses of the sample respondents gives an indication of the pressure of population on existing infrastructure of the resettlement colonies. The 21-m² plots, which are intended to house only one family, are now housing more than one family. More than half the sample respondents (from 48% in Mangol Puri to 73% in Sunlight colony) had double storeyed houses and a significant number had triple storey houses as well (Ali; 1998).

Thus, it can be argued that the housing of old resettlement residents, though inadequate is better than the Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters. On the other hand, the housing in new resettlement colony shows no marked improvement due to lack of financial resources, tenure security. Further it should be noted that the transition has been adverse for the residents of the new resettlement colonies. As discussed before house building is a gradual process for the poor. One-time demolitions render the poor houseless and destroy whatever structures the poor build over the years.

Water

Water and other basic amenities do constitute a luxury for the poor segment of Delhi's population. The population of Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters sometimes does have some advantages. The population of these settlements sometimes avails of some public services intended for the well-off population. However, this possibility is absent for the population of resettlement colonies, which come up outside the city. The studies reviewed here,

confirms a wide gulf between the standard of living and level of living, suggesting an unacceptable existing living condition (see Razak and Ali; 2003)⁴.

It is believed that households of resettlement colonies have managed water connections at their residence (old resettlement colonies). Residents at Dakhsinpuri note that initially they had to walk down to Puspvihar or Madangir to get drinking water. But, now all the households do have water connections. However, the quantity of water available is inadequate. Moolchand, residing at Dakhsinpuri, holds that water comes only at 4 o'clock in the morning and sometimes in the evening. Unless people store water they have to manage without water.

On the other hand, the residents of Hastal testify a dismal kind of scenario. Most of the residents testify an inadequate water supply, which is of poor quality. The water supply is for 20 minutes each thrice a day at 6:30 a.m., 1:00 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. for the entire colony (one water tap for each 10 housing units). Consequently, one can witness long queues, frequent bickering over water at these places. Moreover low pressure in water supply inhibits water to reach certain areas. The toilet complexes do have facilities for bathing and washing. But the staff charge prohibitive fees of 2 rupees for bathing and 3 rupees for washing. Under these circumstances, residents lack personal hygiene and sanitation. And this has a direct bearing on their health. Somnam Rajinder, a resident commenting on the irregular and inadequate water supply holds that people have resorted to installed hand pumps. He holds that every ten households have installed one hand pump in his area. This would prove risky, as the colony is besides an effluent drain and there is every chance that the water is contaminated due to seepage. Mohan Singh recalling with agony comments on the death of 30-40 people, who consumed poisoned water from a well. At Papankala, consumption of water from hand pumps recently has resulted in the death of as many as eight people. Quite apart from drinking, the water is

⁴ Razak and Ali hold that standard of living refers to what is considered to be the basic minimum requirements for individual and family to lead a life satisfactory in a given area. The term Level of Living refers to the actual living conditions of the people in a given area. In short, the Standard of Living is what one is supposed to have in life and Level of Living is what one has. Standard of Living is based upon socio-cultural, economic, psychological and environmental needs, which are transformed into standards and norms in terms of planning and design of settlements and government policies and programmes. But, Level of Living depends upon actual socio-economic conditions of the people (Razak and Ali; in Ali 2003).

also unsafe for cooking or bathing as well, since its use is suspected to have caused several people to experience skin problems (HIC; 2001).

Thus, it is clearly testified that the residents at Hastal face much more difficulty for water than the residents of Dakhsinpuri resettlement colony. The residents of Dakhsinpuri have managed to have water connections at their houses. On the other hand, the residents of Hastal have to queue up every morning for their share of water. Moreover they have to rely on water from hand pumps, which is of a questionable quality.

Sagar notes that 47.5% of the people draw water for drinking, only from the 8 taps in the Gautamnagar slum. 38.3% of people used to go to nearby areas like South Extension, Lila Ram Market, Yusufsarai, and Gautamnagar for obtaining drinking water – in fact wherever there are public taps. Some pay dhaba owners in the colony for the use of water, while some others bring water from the houses they work in. 14.2% households used to use water from the hand pumps (used to be brackish), for drinking as well. Since drinking water was more easily available at nighttime, many people waited till past 10 p.m. or woke up at 5 a.m. to collect water (Sagar; 1999).

Basu holds that slum dwellers were mainly supplied water through tube wells and hand pumps. She holds that the water line to Govindpuri and Wazirpur slums had only few taps and often people availed water directly making a cubicle hole on the water line, increasing the possibility of water contamination (Basu; 1999). Water scarcity is acute in summer season, when hand pumps go dry and it is a common sight to watch long queues to collect a pail of water in Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters. Further, according to the National Institute of Communicable Diseases (NICD), about 50% of the water supplied in 929 Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters was not potable or fit for drinking purpose (Ali and Singh; 1998).

Sundar et.al. study holds that while the sample resettlement colonies all reported access to tap water supplies from the municipality, nearly 88% also reported using water from hand pumps, thereby confirming inadequate supply; which lasts for a few hours (Sundar et.al; 2002). If summer is known for water scarcity, rainy season does not bring any respite. Ali has the following insightful observations to make:

“Shortage of water is the feature common to all resettlement colonies as a result of which number of hand pumps installed has increased. Summer makes the situation difficult as the water level goes down and the supplies get reduced to a trickle. During rains, especially when these are heavy, the underground water level rises and the unsuspecting people feel happy at the abundance of water that flows through their shallow pumps. They drink this water to their heart’s content not realizing that the water is contaminated through their own fecal matter, sewerage, sullage and garbage” (Ali; 1990)⁵.

Gupta observes that water supply at new Seemapuri is extremely erratic and the pressure is low. Hence, it is not surprising that most people despite being aware of the hazards of consuming hand pump water still prefer installation of hand pumps to taps, as at least the supply in the former is assured (Gupta; 1990).

Thus it can be argued that the water availability for the poor is extremely inadequate. The residents of old resettlement colonies have managed to have water connections at their residences, but the residents of jhuggi-jhonpri clusters do not have this luxury. On the other hand, as discussed before, the population of Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters sometimes does have some advantages. The population of these settlements sometimes avails of some public services intended for the well-off population. However, this possibility is absent for the population of new resettlement colonies that come up outside the city.

Garbage Disposal and Drainage

Garbage heaps and overflowing drains have become a common feature of the Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters and resettlement colonies. The garbage and drainage system in the 30 years old Dakhsinpuri colony is disheartening. Heaps of garbage are scattered all around, drains are uncovered and over flowing. Prem Chand, a resident, notes that

⁵ Ali bases his findings on six resettlement colonies namely Garhi village, Wazirpur, Tigri, New Seemapuri, Nand Nagri Extension and Patparganj complex. *

* In another study, Ali holds that 45% of the population in Patparganj complex had to depend on community hand pumps, which was removed on account of the unhygienic conditions of the ground water, during the epidemic of 1988. See, Ali; 1995.

residents have arranged for private garbage disposal, but there is no support for bettering the insalubrious surrounding environment. Pucca roads have deteriorated and no repairing has been done for a long time.

At Hastal there is no proper drainage and garbage disposal facility. Drainage of the area is also difficult, as the area is situated in a low-lying area. One can find sewage, garbage, wastewater, and rainwater accumulating everywhere once it rains. Ram Chander, a resident, holds that jhuggis were far better in terms of cleanliness. Roads are all kutchha and get washed away once it rains. Open drains do overflow and leave waste matter once the water recedes. Similarly, the Maddanpur khaddar area is at the confluence of the Agra canal and the Yamuna river and prone to flooding. Fly ash from the Baddarpur power plant earlier had been dumped into this flood plain. Thus, the topsoil of the area is contaminated, as also the air that residents breathe in daily. Drainage is a ubiquitous problem, as the area is too low-lying to allow water to escape (HIC; 2001). Sewer lines in the recently established resettlement colonies are conspicuously absent.

A visit to the Hastal resettlement colony can convince anyone of the utter neglect of the colony. Compared to that of Dakhsinpuri resettlement colony, there are no concrete roads. Sewage, garbage, wastewater, and rainwater accumulate everywhere, once it rains and a permanent stench pervades the area. This always poses a potential threat of many communicable epidemics.

Sagar notes that in Gautamnagar, there is only one official garbage dump and there are innumerable unofficial garbage dumps, wherever empty space is found. Further, she holds that garbage has been trampled into the ground forming a thick layer over the earth underneath (Sagar; 1999). Observing on the drainage system, she comments:

“Only 47% of Jhuggis have a drainage system. 37% of the families have dug pits that are covered by a slab, and are of varying sizes – some of these are so deep that the water drains away into the ground, while others need to be emptied manually daily. It is the women’s task to empty out this water into a larger container, and thus dispose it of in a nearby drain. 16% of residents have neither

pits nor drains. In such households, the women bathe and wash clothes at the hand pump itself. A few women innovate – they bathe in a neighbor’s house, wash clothes at the hand pump and wash dirty vessels in larger water containers” (Sagar; 1999).

Basu commenting on the drainage and garbage disposal in Govindpuri and Wazirpur slums holds that there is no proper drainage and garbage disposal system existing in the slums. There are only kutchra drains made by the residents and garbage, including children’s excreta would collect in the uncovered drains, attracting flies and becoming a natural source of infection and disease (Basu; 1999).

Resettlement colonies do not fall behind in this kind of neglect and lack of facilities. Contrary to what Sunder et.al. found out, most of the studies observe a pitiable state of affairs⁶. Priya, commenting on the garbage disposal system of Sundernagari, which was hit by the cholera epidemic in 1988, observes the following:

“There is almost no outlet for garbage or excreta except the open nallis running in front of each row of houses. These are constructed such that they often flow backwards and overflow into the streets and the houses. The public latrines are attached to septic tanks, which, when cleaned, only release the decomposing mess inside into the open drain! Most often, of course, they are not cleaned and their contents just overflow. The personnel who clean the streets and nallis are ill equipped and anyway, they merely collect all the dirt from the street and transfer it to open spaces close by. There is no functioning system to remove this garbage regularly and dispose it of in a safe manner” (Priya; 1989).

Ali holds, that though pucca open drains have been provided in resettlement colonies they seldom get cleaned. He holds that the stinking heaps of sewage all around pose a major environmental hazard. He observes the following:

⁶ According to Sunder et.al., waste disposal facilities in resettlement colonies appear to be much better, with only 3 out of the 16 sample colonies in the two cities (Study was done in Madras and Delhi), reporting an absence of proper waste disposal options (Sunder et.al.; 2002)

“Such situations get particularly aggravated during rainy season, because of the inefficient and inadequate storm water drainage system and low plinth of the resettlers houses, forces rain water full of the piled up sewage into the living quarters. The sharp increase in various waterborne diseases as registered during the rainy season, by many dispensaries and health centers in the resettlement colonies, points to an axiomatic relationship between the dismal drainage situation and the danger of disease by contamination” (Ali; 1998).

In another study, Ali notes that out of the city’s 46 resettlement colonies, sewer lines have been provided only in 19 colonies (Ali and Singh; 1998). However, many cannot afford to have their individual toilets connected to the sewerage system and rely on pay and use toilets (Ali; 1998).

Hence it is evident that the garbage disposal and drainage facilities in old resettlement colonies are slightly better than Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters. At least, they are provided with concrete drains and sewer lines. On the other hand, sewer lines are conspicuously absent in new resettlement colonies. And the situation is more or less similar to that of Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters. However, the new resettlement colonies face added problems due to their location in low-lying areas.

Sanitation and Hygiene

It is astonishing that a majority of the poor segment of the population, in the capital of India is unable to manage for defecation and daily ablutions at their residences. Most of the residents at Dakhsinpuri have got private latrines at their residences. On the other hand, this “luxury” is unthinkable for the Hastal resettled people, the plot size being 12¹/₂ and 18 m². What is more, it will be an act of courage to invest in this “luxury” by arranging money, given the tenure insecurity. There are 20 toilet complexes in the area, but only 4 are in use. Consequently the complexes are over crowded in the peak hours. Maintenance of the toilets is in a pitiable state. The toilet complexes are very dirty and stink. Moreover, as Ramchander, a resident observes, the toilet complexes get closed after 9 P.M. Moreover, the toilet staff charges a prohibitive 50 paisa for women and 1 rupee for men, for every visit. Residents hold that at their previous place of

residence they had managed toilet facility for free. For instance Ghulam Zakharia who lived at cycle market (Paharganj) had availed of the toilet facility for free. Commenting on the user fee, one respondent ridiculed; “People do not have money to eat, who would spend on toilet”. Thereby, people defecate in the open. Consequently, the whole surrounding area is strewn with human excreta. Women and young girls go to long distances in the night to urinate and defecate. This poses a major security problem. Women cannot even afford to take bath in the toilet complexes, thereby take bath in open. As discussed before, for bathing and washing, the user fees are 2 and 3 rupees respectively. Thus it requires no mention about the relative situation of Hastal compared to that of Dakhsinपुरi resettlement colony with respect to sanitation and hygiene.

Sundar et. al. hold that more than 90% of the sample households in the slums, and 50% of the sample households in resettlement colonies are not having an independent toilet. What is more surprising is the “inadequate public provisioning” whenever provided for this. Sagar noted that there were about 20 public toilets for the 3,000 odd population of Gautamnagar (Sagar; 1999). For bathing purpose, residents had to rely on hand-pumps or community facilities. The contractors charge user fees for using toilet facilities and the general condition of these latrines is very unhygienic releasing a perpetual stench in the air. Hence, people don’t have any option, other than defecating in open. This aggravates the environment further.

Resettlement colonies do not strike a different story. Priya holds that there were 108 persons to a toilet seat at Sundernagari (Priya; 1989). Gupta echoes a similar note. According, to her there is an enormous load on each toilet seat – 40 people per seat if only the authorized residents use them and 105 people per seat, if even half the unauthorized residents (who have any way not been provided with any alternative) use them as well, in the new Seemapuri resettlement colony (Gupta; 1990). Ali holds that the old community toilets, along with the pay and use toilets were the two most prominent low cost sanitation schemes operational in the selected resettlement colonies. He makes the following observations:

“The building blocks of the old community toilets (OCTs), in almost all the surveyed complexes stand directly on the septic tanks, were found dilapidated with walls broken, plaster peeled off and cracks in the roof. Defecating in many of these cubicles could prove hazardous. The non-availability of support amenities like water and electricity was a common problem and despite their pathetic state the OCTs were still being used by a majority of resettlers, both sexes – throughout the day. The capacity of OCTs was found inadequate, as evident from the long queues outside the toilet complexes at peak hours. (It was reported that 18 families were using one seat in Patparganj complex). Moreover, the surroundings at the OCTs were found most unsanitary and unhygienic in the resettlement colonies” (Ali; 1998)⁷.

The situation in Jhuggi-jhonpris with regard to sanitation and hygiene remains deplorable. However, the situation of resettlement colonies could be regarded as better. The studies indicate that at least a larger percentage at old resettlement colonies have managed personal latrines. The situation remains worse at new resettlement colonies as it is difficult to build a latrine, given the small plot size and tenure insecurity. Moreover, the user fee introduced to use toilets adds to the problem. It should be noted that the residents at Hastal before getting relocated had managed toilet facilities free of cost at some places i.e. Virendranagar, Paharganj, Karolbagh etc.

Health care facilities and health indicators

A substantial section of the poor rely on private sector, this is because the poor want quick treatment so that the loss of wage earned on a daily basis is minimal. Loss of daily wage, bad treatment by the medical staff and long waiting hours are major disincentives for the poor to seek treatment at government hospitals and dispensaries.

It should be noted that the predicament of the poor resettlers with respect to health facilities is glaring. Residents note that there was no dispensary at Dakhsinpuri initially

⁷ Patparganj complex has total number of 3657 seats, catering to approximately 65,826 families - a ratio of one seat for every 18 families. The consequence is predictable overcrowding of toilets resulting in long waiting time in peak hours, scarcity of water and inadequate maintenance of sanitary facility (Ali; 1998).

and people had to walk down to Khanpur or Motinagar for medical treatment. Today, the area does not have a hospital nearby and people rely on Safdarjung hospital for any serious disease (of course, there are many private hospitals nearby, but they charge prohibitive user fees). However there are dispensaries nearby. On the other hand, residents at Hastal note that there is no dispensary nearby. People go to their previous place of residence for any treatment or nearby places. For instance, residents report that they go as far as to Shalimarbagh, Harinagar, Paharganj. Most of the residents note that they had developed some acquaintances and rapport with doctors, at their previous place of residence. For instance, Asha Devi, a resident comments that she was treated free of cost at Java nursing home, when she was suffering from T.B. After getting resettled, she suffered from Dengue and had to go back to Java nursing home at Paschimvihar for treatment. Others go to Deendayal hospital, if there is any serious illness. Residents hold that they have to depend on spurious drugs and quacks for any treatment. Respondents are unwilling to go to government hospitals. Reasons cited are long queues, indifferent attitude of doctors and loss of the day's income. Residents complained of widespread fever, cough, knee pain, joint pain etc. Govinda Bai holds that every one suffers from stomach problem. She adds that the quality of water could be the main reason for this.

Residents at Hastal with net loss of income are unable to seek medical care, so they delay their visits. Some borrow money and get indebted. Commenting on the health status of the population one respondent holds: "Garibi hai to bimari to rahegi" (if there is poverty, diseases would automatically follow). The paltry income restricts their medical expenses and most of the residents default in their treatment. For instance, (as pointed out before) Mohammad Rahim's wife, a resident of Hastal had to default following her resettlement. She suffered from tuberculosis and got treatment for six months at a government hospital. She discontinued after she shifted to Hastal. Now, the disease has relapsed again. She coughs persistently and feels very weak. She also gets blood in her sputum, but she ignores it because she is unable to pay the transportation charges. There is no provision for taking care of emergencies i.e. deliveries. Mohan Singh's daughter, a resident of Hastal had passed away after delivering a baby boy, without any attendant. Residents of other recent resettlement colonies testify similar stories. For instance, Maddanpur Khaddar and Molarbund have no medical facility. A mobile dispensary visits

Molarbund once a week, and the doctors distribute medicines without physically examining the patients or attempting to be accountable by giving prescriptions (HIC; 2001).

Thus, it can be argued that the health facilities available at Hastal fall far behind Dakhsinpuri. Moreover, the residents have lost valuable social ties with the doctors at their previous place of residence and feel alienated at their present place of residence.

Gupta has shown that the dispensary at new Seemapuri resettlement colony caters to 30,000 people and is very poorly stocked. Almost 50% of the medicines prescribed have to be brought from a private chemist and is not refunded (Gupta; 1990). Mallick holds that of the total population of Bhumiheen, 34% go to private and 34% go to government doctors and the rest 32% go to both private and public doctors. This is not to say that the reliance of the poor on an ineffective public health care system is any less. Mallick holds that primary reasons of relying on government doctors are cheap treatment and some free medicine available in the government dispensary (Mallick; 1996). It should be pointed out that majority of the private doctors are registered medical practitioners and they charge between 20 to 40 rupees per consultation. Private medical care is also sought because they are available in the proximity. For instance all slums reported private medical practitioners within a distance of 2 kilometers. By contrast, 84% of Delhi's slums reported municipal dispensaries over the same distance (Sundar et. al.; 2002).

Most of the residents, who rely on private health care, do so due to a threat of loss of wage due to long distance traveling and long waiting time. Moreover, residents seek the help of private practitioners, who give treatment on credit and are culturally more integrated into their lives. Basically the "dais" are called to help during delivery and paid in cash or kind (Gupta; 1990). Thereby, the residents try to get cheap medical care from questionable private medical practitioners. Economic status is the most important determinant for health-seeking behavior. Surveys undertaken by NCAER and the NSS clearly indicate that the proportion of untreated illnesses decline significantly with increases in the economic status of the households/individuals (Sundar et. al.; 2002).

Most of the poor procrastinate their dispensary/hospital visit, till the disease threatens their economic activities. Thus, of all the reasons that emerged, the most important for not seeking treatment was that the illness was not considered “serious” (by 49.4%) of the populations (Sundar et. al.; 2002).

Moreover, there is a strong gender and age differential, which impinges on the health-seeking behavior. Financial constraints were considered much more important in non-treatment of sick female members of households, whereas in the case of men it is the opportunity cost of waiting time at health facilities that is important. Second, for older people (aged 60 years and above) financial constraints appear to be an important reason for not seeking treatment (Sundar et. al.; 2002). Similarly, Gupta notes that in a family the health status of the adult male earning member is considered to be most important followed by the male children, the female children and finally the adult females irrespective of whether they are earning members or not.

Commenting on the health facilities available in resettlement colonies, where, there is high susceptibility of the people to a variety of diseases, often on account of poor hygiene and inability of the people to afford proper medication, Ali holds that the services are very inadequate. He points out that the health facilities are particularly inadequate in Khichripur, Himmatpuri, Nangloi, Jwalapuri, Pankharoad, Pandavnagar, Dakhsinpuri and Sunlight colony. He further holds that in the absence of dependable medical services, spurious private clinics and faith healing centers have cropped up in the colonies, compounding the health hazards of the resettlers (Ali; 1998).

Given the measure of the above data, we can assume that the health facilities for the residents of Jhuggi-jhonpuri and old resettlement colonies remain more or less the same. However, there is a likelihood of better health seeking behavior by the old resettlement residents owing to their slightly better economic position. On the other hand the residents of new resettlement colonies are divested of this ‘luxury’. Economic losses due to resettlement, increased distance of health care institutions and loss of social ties with doctors render them more vulnerable.

Mortality and Morbidity

Though we did not attempt at assessing mortality and morbidity in the field, we present here a review of studies that do so. It confirms our assessment that lack of all basic facilities are the root cause of poor health of the marginalized, as communicable diseases, malnutrition, and environmental exposures constitute the bulk of the problem. Now we briefly summarize the review of our studies.

Bhatnagar et. al. found out that the most important cause of sickness was fever contributing 37.1% of total sickness in the combined slums⁸. If malaria fever is also added to it, the contribution of fever itself will be as high as 57.4%. According to them, the other contributors were digestive disorder (16.5%) followed with a wide margin by respiratory disorders (6.3%) and rheumatic disease (6.0%) (Bhatnagar et. al.; 1986). Bhatnagar et. al. reported an infant mortality of 86.4 per 1,000 live births. An overwhelming majority of the diseases afflicting children 15 years or younger belong to the infectious disease category – 81% in Delhi (Sundar et. al.; 2002). Another noteworthy observation is that a high proportion of the diseases afflicting the residents of Delhi belong to the infectious disease category. Bhatnagar et. al. hold that 22.9% of deaths were attributed to respiratory infections, 16.7% each to fever and diarrhoea, 6.3% to tetanus and 4.1% each to chronic cough, injuries due to violence, child birth, complications at pregnancy and premature birth/birth injury. A summary of Bhatnagar et. al.'s finding on maternal and child health, would give the following impression:

“Of the total pregnant women, 16.4% receive iron and folic acid tablets. Protection against tetanus was received by 12.0% of the pregnant women. Nearly 13% of the pregnant women in the study area reported to be receiving supplementary nutrition. And, 70% of all deliveries in the study area took place at home”.

Similarly, a summary of Bhatnagar et. al.'s finding on the immunization status of children reveals the following:

⁸ As discussed before, Bhatnagar presents data in a combined form. However, we use the data to show general trends of disease pattern in Delhi among the poor, given the non-availability of data on old and new resettlement colonies and Jhuggi-jhonpri (in our reviews). Hence, we have not engaged ourselves with comparison in the subsection “mortality and morbidity”.

“An overall 67% children were given some immunization for DPT. In all 57.1%, 61.7% & 6.1% children had received some immunization for polio, BCG and measles immunization” (Bhatnagar et al; 1986).

According to Sundar et. al., infectious diseases account for 51.7% of the total number of reported illness episodes in Delhi (Sundar et. al.).

Disease profile of the hospitalization cases reveal that T.B. leads the list of diseases and accounts for nearly 14% of the hospitalization cases. Whereas as Delhi's children are mostly admitted in hospital for respiratory infections, which include bronchitis, pneumonia and breathlessness and this category accounted for more than 20% of the hospitalization cases among children (Sundar et. al.). The other two reasons for hospitalization in the case of Delhi's children are stomach infection (include gastroenteritis) (15%), epilepsy and convulsion (11%).

Other facilities

Apart from the above basic facilities, there are many other facilities, which are minimally provided to the slums and resettlement colonies.

Dakhsinpuri resettlement colony is provided with electricity. However the residents testify that the bills have soared up like a rocket, after the privatization of electricity. Prem Chand holds that despite frequent power failures and low voltage, one has to pay whopping 600 rupees as electricity bill. Although streetlights have been provided, the maintenance is in a very pitiable state, shrouding the entire area in darkness. For many new resettlement colonies, the availability of electricity has become a distant dream. None of the resettled colonies of Hastal, Kakrola and Bhakharwala is provided with electricity connections (HIC; 2001). Therefore, the residents have to resort to candle light and kerosene, which require additional expenditure. For Joria, lack of electricity connection has proved to be a major problem. Joria, a resident of Hastal used to make toys during the night and sell them during the day, at his previous place of residence. Now, he has to make toys during the daytime also. This cuts into his time as

well as income. Govinda Bai holds that after coming to Hastal, she is incurring an extra expense of 57 rupees per month on kerosene.

Aamna Khatoon holds that at the time of resettlement there were no schools near Dakhsinpuri, and the children had walk down to Madangir or Sarojininagar to attend school. In the process many became school dropouts. Now the area has many schools. On the other hand, until recently, there was no school at Hastal. Children had to go to far off places, sometimes to their previous schools. With time, many became dropouts. Now, a primary school has come up without any building. Children have to attend school under tents surrounded by tin sheds in a filthy area, which is besides the effluent drain. A constant stench permeates the air. Moreover, as Noor Mohammad notes, there are only three teachers for some eight hundred odd children. Private schools nearby are inaccessible due to their prohibitive tuition fees of 100 to 200 rupees. Thereby, children have to travel as far as to Vikaspuri or Paschimvihar for education. Residents were resettled during the time of examination, thereby, rendering children helpless, who had difficulty taking the examinations. At Papankala, there is no support for repairing toilets and gate keeping at the school. In the meantime, school children take turns serving as gatekeepers and sweepers at their school (HIC: 2001)

Some of the jhuggi-jhonpuri cluster dwellers manage to get electricity connection, often illegally. But, this does not come for free and they pay for it. Sagar demonstrates that some (76.5%) pay for repairs regularly, while many others (23%) pay a person (often the pradhan), who is the supplier, about Rs. 10 per family per month, in Gautamnagar slum (Sagar; 1999). Moreover, as the connections are illegal, the wires are embedded in the ground to conceal them and this frequently leads to electrocution (Bhandari; 1992).

The situation in resettlement colonies is no better. Low voltage and frequent disruptions in supply are a common complaint, and is consistent with the generally dismal situations of electricity supply in Delhi (Ali; 1998). The resettlers are provided with inadequate educational facilities as well. Ali opined that the situation is particularly grave in Pankharoad, Dakhsinpuri, and Mangolpuri phase-I. It is believed that the roads and streets in the selected resettlement colonies are paved and/or metalled. However, as Ali notes, one visit to these areas would suffice to convince one, of the real condition of

these so called paved/metalled road and streets, which are full of potholes and are source of dust pollution (Ali; 1998). However, the roads at Hastsal are not concrete and have potholes. Regular cleaning and sweeping is not done and in rainy season, the roads get washed away and become muddy. The stagnating water in the potholes becomes suitable grounds for mosquito breeding.

There is no security for old age. Govinda Bai comments: "All my life I have worked, do not I deserve an old age pension"? Residents at Hastsal hold that the expenses have gone up after the resettlement. They hold that they should be provided with loans for building houses and concessions on transportation. It should be pointed out that there is a considerable loss of social network and people have to confront with uncertainty and indifference after coming to the resettlement colonies. Residents build support systems and gain access to public services. Hasty evictions impoverish them with a very precarious state of survival. They even lose facilities that they had managed previously i.e. water, electricity, medical care. The residents are provided with minimal facilities. Moreover, as Ali observes, there is the phenomenon of "slums within slums"⁹.

Given the measure of these accounts, it can be argued that old resettlement colonies fare better than the Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters and new resettlement colonies fall behind both. This is due to the location of the rsettlement colonies and the neglect on part of the state. The Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters manage some basic services due to their proximity with the middle class neighbourhoods. And old resettlement colonies have some services minimally. On the other hand, the new resettlement colonies have found no claims to these.

⁹ Ali observes that Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters came up in the open spaces of resettlement colonies, which adds extra pressure on the available basic amenities. The residents of these Jhuggi-jhonpri clusters, who are absolute poor, manage to avail some basic amenities and settle themselves at the most environmentally distressing areas (see Ali; 1990).

V Discussion

Existence of the linkages between public health outcomes with various socio-economic and political forces constitutes the basic assumption of this dissertation. The present work in hand, attempted to show “social genesis” of urban planning and its public health consequences. We argue that public health outcomes have more to do with institutional/ structural violence than anything else. Public health is rooted in various socio-economic and political forces, which in turn shape social structures. Thus, dealing with health of a population would require an engagement with systemic inequalities, perpetuation of poverty and processes of impoverishment. This would clearly reveal a relationship between structural constraints and public health realities.

To understand public health outcomes, we require a holistic approach, which in contrast to the bio-medical paradigm, takes multiple factors determining public health. Thus, the maxim, “the microbe is nothing; the terrain everything” (Pasteur, Louis cited in farmer; 1999) applies to our understanding of public health. Our approach to public health issues of the poor in the metropolis requires an understanding of the city, migration and urban poverty. It was argued in chapter two that city acts as a conduit of surplus expropriation to global capitalism and in turn appropriates from the hinterland. The surplus expropriation by the dominant classes is possible when the dependent social classes are well integrated in an over-arching socio-economic order, namely capitalism. Within this social formation, a migratory movement is triggered off from the hinterland towards the cities. This marks the beginning of shifts of resources from rural to urban. In the process the rural poor are further marginalized. In other words, the penetration of capitalist mode of production, with its relentless surplus extraction, necessitates ‘deployment of survival’ strategies by the poor. And migration is one of the strategies for sustenance. Further, as discussed in chapter two, new technology in rural areas has produced conditions by which poor peasantry has lost an increasing share of land to rich peasants. Besides this, regional imbalances within the country continue to perpetuate poverty in some of the states and within states in rural areas triggering a push. From our

research findings we can indicate that landlessness and unremunerative wage labor were the major reasons for migration.

The arrival of the poor in the city does not solve his/her problems. Hence, any romanticisation is untenable. The poor migrant belongs to the marginalized sections of the rural society. Hence, it is not surprising that urban poverty is a continuation of rural poverty. But the important question here is why does it continue in the urban set up? One way of addressing this question is to look back at our dissertation in chapter two which points out that urban economic dualism is untenable. Also, the workers in unorganized/unprotected sectors are actually well integrated in the total economic system. The backwardness and impotence of the informal sector is the precondition for the development and progress of the formal sector. The maximum possible squeeze of the surplus produced, by way of wage cuts, lower remuneration, longer working hours and absence of social security in the informal sector are instruments of exploitation of the workers and of profit for the employers. All this inevitably leads to a perpetually exploited status of the poor migrants in cities. The second dimension of the answer to the question of why urban poverty is a continuation of the rural poverty lies in the relationship of work with poverty. The second chapter shows that skills, education and hence job-definitions of the workers depend on the socio-economic background they come from. The more depressed their origins, the more likely they are to take unskilled jobs (Qadeer and Roy; 1989). Other than Breman and Holmstrom our data also indicates the low levels of skills and education of migrants that traps them into jobs such as construction workers, rickshaw pullers, masons, carpenters, electricians, plumbers, chowkidars, drivers, cooks, room attendants, sweepers, potters (discussed in chapter four).

Now, we turn to discuss the state's response to the poor migrants. Till 1980s, the attitude was reflected in the general willingness to come to the aid of the urban poor, virtually recognizing that they had a right to habitation and a livelihood in the city. This attitude, however, did not actually extend citizenship to the poor. Nor did it imply that the poor were welcome in the city during these times. Despite the poor being indispensable to the growth and development of city, they were seen with contempt. This is reflected in

policies for housing, work, services and has great relevance for public health with respect to the poor.

The planners never addressed their housing question and their shelters were targeted for relocation. However, there was a policy of caution, in doing so. For instance, Sanjay Gandhi's zeal in cleaning up the city was seen as draconian and gave rise to widespread public resentment. On the other hand, since 1990s, the cautious policy of the state has been substituted in favor of a policy, which is aiming at cleaning up the city of its poor. Hence, contestations over city's spaces have come to the fore. The poor are increasingly losing their right to spaces in the city. On the other hand, the interests of "capital" and the "nouveau rich" are determining the city landscape. In other words, the capitalists' interests shape the physical urban spaces. Today the cities mark a shift from a manufacturing-based economy to an information-based economy with corresponding declines in its industrial base and increase in service employment (Fainstein and Campbell; 1996). The new high technology industry tends to be located in the prime land and environmentally attractive spaces. This has necessitated reclamation of "prime" land. Thus, manufacturing industries are being moved out and "squatters" are evicted beyond the city limits. The poor thus over time have constantly lost in terms of right to tenancy (from 99 years to 5 years now), size of plots (from 89 sq. yd. to 18 and 12 ½ m²) and support for building houses (loans, transportation during resettlement) as shown in chapter three and four.

Our study of state policies for Delhi shows that the state has adopted "exclusionary" politics of erasing the poor out of sight. Working class shelters are seen as "sore spots", "blighted areas", and "unlovely sights" waiting to be bulldozed out of sight. There is an aversion towards working class population, which gets embodied in a kind of "bourgeois environmentalism" by the nouveau rich. The nouveau rich has been supplied by a "global image" of what the city should be like, following which the middle-class sensibilities revolve around aesthetics through removal of filth and garbage of the poor, beautification, leisure, safety, and health etc. These shifts provide the context for relocating 50,000 industrial units out of the city, in a drive to clean the city. On the other hand, Municipal Corporation of Delhi claims to have relocated 47,366 "squatter"

families since 1990. This does not exhaust the entire scale of relocations. The relocation drive of DDA is difficult to assess, due to unavailability of data. Thus, the state with active backing from an indifferent and callous middle-class and a prejudiced judiciary (which has criminalized the poor and does not recognize housing as a right) has managed to ensure that the poor are thrown out of the city. This has resulted in large resettlements with subhuman conditions of life where the poor are being severed off from not only service facilities but also work itself. The option then is to return, sell or move on to another less hostile city!

Our study of resettlement colonies shows that work is the most critical element for the poor in the city. It is for work that the poor come to the city and through their labor make the city, what it is. Resettlements have grave consequences for the work opportunities of people. The urban restructuring, which has accompanied the economic restructuring, has rendered thousands of workers redundant and homeless. Factories have been displaced out of the city. Consequently, workingmen and women have lost jobs.

Further, the resettlement colonies are established at the periphery of the city, where work availability is inadequate. Moreover, one has to incur expenses on transport. This impoverishes the poor and the physical transition from Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters to these resettlement colonies, is marked by a downward economic transition. Like our study, Razak holds that the cost in terms of the time and money incurred in getting access to work (which he terms spatial access cost) has an impact on the household budget (Razak; 2002). Spatial access cost borne by the poor is manifested in terms of wastage of time and money, which otherwise could have been used in a productive manner, and further facilitated more human interaction and a better living (Ibid.). Our study corroborates these arguments. The residents in new resettlement colonies in our study are unable to earn 1000 rupees per month and the loss of income varies from 25-40 per cent. This is due to joblessness, expenditures on transport and forfeiture of female labor.

Gender becomes a very important component of resettlement. The present study is limited in its analysis of gender implications of resettlement, which requires a more focused attention. Yet on the basis of our observations, marginalisation of women through loss of work (as maid servants), drop outs from schools and increase in relative

deprivations from basic necessities are confirmed. As Das comments, it would not be inappropriate to suggest the inter-connectedness of factors leading to disruption of everyday life, the threats to the security of economic activities and the mutation of these into domestic and other forms of intimate violence (Das; 1996).

Moreover, as pointed out by Kabeer and Murthy, there are three forms of gender disadvantages in relation to access and benefits from government programmes i.e. gender-intensive disadvantage, gender specific disadvantage and imposed gender disadvantage.¹ Therefore, women after resettlement are more likely to be asset less, illiterate, and socially isolated than men (gender intensive disadvantage). After resettlement, there is more likelihood of women's domestication and curtailment of public mobility (gender specific disadvantage). This reflects a gender-blind policy of the state, which has blatantly denied the rights of women (imposed-gender disadvantage). Thus, resettlement is perhaps imbued with the notion of the patriarchal family, where the man has to travel to the city for work, given the restrictions on women's mobility in Indian society. On the other hand, our study shows that resettlements have intensified the work burden on women. Men and women have lost jobs and there are no work opportunities around. This could imply more work pressure on women as domestic workers, or fulfilling domestic chores i.e. collecting water, fuel etc.

Intensified poverty as a result of joblessness and indebtedness among the residents of new resettlement colonies has serious repercussions for public health. It generates conditions that are conducive to ill health. For example, poverty is integrally tied up with ill health and renders the population malnourished. Djurfeldt and Lindberg have shown that poverty (poor diet) is linked with miscarriages, stillbirths and disease of the new born (Djurfeldt, Lindberg; 1975). It has been demonstrated that communicable diseases have a class-bias (Banerji; 1982 and Farmer; 1999). It is demonstrated that

¹ Gender-intensified disadvantages refers to disadvantages of women, in intensified form as a result of direct gender discrimination, in allocation of resources, responsibilities because of the way in which norms/practices define access to these resources (within any context). Gender-specific disadvantage reflects specific ways in which gender defines women as a sub-ordinate category within a particular cultural context. While imposed gender disadvantage would imply the way in which some groups having more power assume that their own norms/ realities are universal and impose their ideas in delivery of specific programmes (see Kabeer and Murthy; 1990)

deaths for all ages are examples of a typical “poverty panorama” where various types of infections account for a majority of all deaths (Djurfeldt, Lindberg; 1975). In other words, ill health is a window on the socio-economic and political structures and forces operating in society (Zubrigg; 1984).

With meager incomes, after resettlement, the dietary intake goes down drastically even if most of the income is spent on food. Income/ work opportunities determine adequate shelter, nutrition and health care availability etc., which impinge on public health outcomes. Malnutrition along with strenuous labor produces ill health and debility. Malnutrition is known to have a depressing effect on the immune system. Similarly malnutrition is linked up with diarrhea, measles (Tomkins and Watson; 1989). Malnutrition in third world countries is often exacerbated by parasitic diseases, which may cause so much damage to the intestinal walls that sufferers are unable to absorb the little food they actually manage to consume (Doyal and Pennel; 1979). The conditions in Hastal where income has fallen drastically seem ripe for public health disasters and epidemics.

The old resettlement colonies and Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters are physically integrated with the city. Hence the inhabitants don't face as much difficulty as the residents of new resettlement colonies. The expenses on travel have been curbed due to this fact. However, the new resettlement colonies are established at the periphery of the city, thereby reducing the work opportunities and impoverishing the population.

Adequate and proper housing is one of the most fundamental needs of people. Further, the tenure security determines productive investments in house structures. The new resettlement colonies have a precarious tenure security. The earlier dwelling units have been destroyed and people have lost valuable housing fixtures. With impoverishment, indebtedness and joblessness, people are unable to build houses and continue to live in makeshift dwellings. Further, the plot sizes do not permit to meet with a standard living condition of building a latrine and moreover, the precarious tenure security does not encourage having this “luxury”. Housing situation in new resettlement colonies does not show any marked improvement over JJ clusters due to lack of financial

resources and tenure security. Adequate housing has strong correlation with public health outcomes. Adequate housing provides protection against exposure to agents and vectors of communicable diseases (WHO; 1989). Adequate and ventilated housing is one of the major determinants of health. It should be noted that women and children are more likely than adult males to be exposed to health hazards in the domestic environment, mainly because they spend more time in the home and their activities involve greater exposure to whatever safety deficiencies and health hazards are present (WHO; 1989). Adequate dwellings provide facilities for safe preparation of food and storage of food, so that households can employ sanitary food-handling practices. Moreover, people sleeping in close proximity in poorly ventilated rooms are more exposed to the spread of air borne infections, including meningococcal meningitis, rheumatic fever, influenza, the common cold, measles, rubella and pertussis (WHO; 1989). If we accept these then it is evident that given the housing situation of resettlement colonies- specially the new ones- they are in themselves a threat to people's health.

The environmental scenario of new resettlement colonies is deplorable. The recent resettlement colonies have come up on low-lying areas and dumping grounds subject to drainage problems. Environmental conditions determine the public health outcomes to a great extent. The Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters, old resettlement colonies and the new resettlement colonies are marked by inadequate garbage disposal, drainage problems and deteriorated roads. The new resettlement colonies are even worse. This always poses a potential threat of many communicable epidemics. Flooding of the resettlement colonies is a common occurrence, once it rains. Floodwater leaves behind garbage, sewage as well as microorganisms, dead animals etc. while receding. This is a major environmental hazard and there are proofs of epidemics breaking out due to this. Shah had demonstrated this with respect to the outbreak of plague in Surat (Shah; 1997).

Inadequate disposal of solid wastes increases rodent and insect vectors. This increases a number of health hazards i.e. spread of gastro-intestinal and parasitic diseases. The muddy and marshy areas resulting due to inadequate disposal of surface water provides suitable grounds for breeding of mosquitoes, flies and other insect vectors of diseases. Personal sanitation and hygiene of the population in new resettlement colonies

(Hastsal) remains pathetic. This is due to the introduction of “user fees” for using the toilet complexes. Residents had managed to avail toilet facilities for free prior to their resettlement. But now, residents are forced to defecate in the open and the whole area is strewn with human excreta. The improper management of human wastes adversely affects public health. Communicable diseases that can be transmitted through contact with human faeces include typhoid, cholera, bacillary and amoebic dysentery, hepatitis, polio, schistosomiasis, various helminthes infestations, and common gastroenteritis (Lilli bridge; 1997).

Water supply is inadequate and of poor quality in resettlement colonies. The population of Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters sometimes does have some advantages. The population of these settlements sometimes avail some public services intended for the well-off population. However, this possibility is absent in resettlement colonies, which come up outside the city. As discussed before, the new resettlement colonies face up with more water scarcity than even Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters. Residents have also resorted to water from hand pumps, which are often contaminated following seepage. A decrease in the quality of water available may contribute to deterioration in personal hygiene and lead to increased transmission of certain diarrheal diseases, including bacillary dysentery (Toole; 1997). Contaminated water is known to cause gastro-intestinal diseases and helminthes infestations.

The poor do not seek health care services unless the disease is very serious and interferes with working abilities. This is to avoid loss of wages, transportation cost. Residents at a new resettlement colony lose vital acquaintances with doctors, after getting resettled. The situation is worse for the residents of new resettlement colonies, when compared to Jhuggi-Jhonpri colonies, as there are no health facilities available in the vicinity. Consequently, the residents depend on quacks and spurious drugs. Long queues, apathy of the staff at government hospitals are added disincentives for the poor. Moreover, economic impoverishment has relegated health care to the periphery and people are struggling for other basic minimum necessities like nutrition and work. Resettlements have also shown accrual of problems related to electricity, schooling etc. Children become a vulnerable group as well. They become school dropouts. Their

vulnerability to communicable diseases increases due to the insalubrious environment and malnutrition.

Thus, recent resettlements have worsened the situation of the poor earlier residing in Jhuggi-Jhonpuri clusters. They have impoverished them, broken their social, economic ties from the city and support systems. Resettlements have not provided an alternative salubrious environment for the poor or alternative sources of employment. Their problems intensify the public health situations of the poor. The planning process that should have made the city a livable place has in fact increased the vulnerability of the poor and the possibility of grave public health consequences. Our analytical frame that saw urbanization as a product of national developmental process (capitalist) within the global context of global economy, helps us knit together the two processes where planning and urban policies in the name of welfare and resettlements control and restricts the options for the poor while the middle class is permitted to expand the business, markets, recreation and trade, so that it promotes globalization of economy. Is it that the poor are incapable of improving their lives or do they not wish to do so? Often their illiteracy (Banerji; 1985) and poverty are blamed, lately they are encouraged to participate in improving their welfare (Government of India; 2002) and the scientists identify social capital as yet another resource that the poor have (Organization for economic cooperation and development; 2001), which they ought to use.

None of these either throw light on what stops the poor or on their capabilities. Our study in fact questions the validity of these solutions themselves as it highlights the major block to public action, i.e. the state itself. This opens up a host of questions, regarding the nature and constraints of the state, the possibilities of interventions and the scope and foundation of public health-questions that require further research to take public health forward.

Appendix

Appendix 1.1: Status of relocated/ resettled jhuggi dwellers, cluster-wise since inception of the scheme (i.e. from 1.4.1990 to 31.12.1997)

S. No.	Name of cluster	Land owning agency	No. of eligible "squatters" relocated	Area where relocated	Date of shifting
1.	Sanjay Gandhi Camp (Nigerian Embassy Site)	L & DO	900	Sahyog Vihar	June, 1990
2.	Tilak Vihar (Riot Victims)	DC (Relief)	670	Rohini Sec. XVI	Aug, 1990
3.	Mansarovar Garden	MCD	300	Sahyog Vihar, Sec. I, Pappan Kalan	May 1991
4.	Sanjay Gandhi Camp (Iraq Embassy Site)	L & DO	588	Bindapur Pkt-I	1992-93
5.	G. B. Pant Hospital	PWD	56	-do-	February 1992
6.	Andaman and Nicobar Guest House	L & DO	12	-do-	August 1992
7.	Civic Centre, Minto Road	MCD	179	-do-	October 1992
8.	Nehru Camp, Chanakya Puri	L & DO	115	-do-	July 1992
9.	Wazirpur Industrial Area (RUB)	MCD	184	-do-	1992-93
10.	Pandit Pant Marg	NDMC	51	Sec. I Pappan Kalan	March 1994
11.	Feroj Shah Road	NDMC	51	-do-	March 1994

12.	Harish Chander Mathur Lane	MTNL	114	-do-	March 1994
13.	Dhobi Ghat No. 4, Talkatora Road	NDMC	141	-do-	April 1994
14.	Dhobi Ghat No. 5, Talkatora Road	NDMC	303	-do-	April 1994
15.	R.U.B. Okhla	PWD	49	-do-	May 1994
16.	Tikona Park Nizamuddin	DDA	62	-do-	1994
17.	N. P. Boys Sr. Sec. School, Mandir Marg	NDMC	21	-do-	September 1994
18.	Mata Ka Mandir Jhandewalan	MCD	29	-do-	1995
19.	A-1/170 To 172 Janakpuri	DDA	68	-do-	August 1994
20.	Rani Jhansi Road, Jhandewalan	MCD	27	-do-	1995
21.	Rani Jhansi Road, Jhandewalan	MCD	14	-do-	1995
22.	Shri Ram Basti Wazirabad	DDA	125	Sec. VII, Pappan Kalan	November 1994
23.	Matcalf House	PWD	18	-do-	April 1995
24.	Mahadev Road, Dhobi Ghat No. 6	NDMC	47	-do-	December 1995
25.	Mayur Vihar, Phase I	DDA	29	-do-	June 1995
26.	Mayapuri Industrial Area E-174	DDA	34	-do-	May 1995
27.	Pankha Road	Irrigation and Flood Control	16	-do-	May 1995
28.	Nand Lal Camp Near Gopal Pur Village	-do-	124	-do-	June 1995

29.	Bara Pula Nizamuddin	MCD	165	-do-	May 1996
30.	Kautilya Lane Samrat Hotel	NDMC	91	-do-	1995-96
31.	Plot No. A-187, Okhla India, Area	DDA	47	Samalpur Badli	February 1996
32.	ITO Bridge And Slip Road	PWD	1106	Sec. III, Ph-III, Pappan Kalan	August 1995
33.	Uri Enclave, Delhi Cantt.	DI. Contonment Board	115	Sec. 1, III And VII, Pappan Kalan	February 1996
34.	Sangil Mess Mandi House	NDMC	108	Sec. VIII, Pappan Kalan	June 1996
35.	Amar Jyoti Camp, Okhla Industrial Area	DDA	255	Samalpur Badil	November 1995
36.	J. J. Cluster Ridge Area - Indira Colony , Amar Colony, Shiv Basti, Mandir Marg, Near Ganga Ram Hospital, N. P. Sr. Sec. School Mandir Marg	CPWD	301	Tikri Khurd	March 1996
37.	Katwaria Sarai Institutional Area	DDA	3	Tikri Khurd	1996
38.	Niti Bagh	DDA	11	Bindapur Pkt. IV	January 1997
39.	Devil Pahari	Conservator of Forests Nehru ridge	124	Sec. VII, Pappan Kala	November 1996
40.	Mandir Marg	L & DO	41	-Do-	December 1995, February 1997
41.	Gyaspur Near Bridge Nizamuddin	PWD	49	Tikri Khurd	April 1996

42.	Copernicus Marg	Central Administration Tribunal (CAT)	10	Tikri Khurd	1997
43.	Old Police Line, Near Tees Hazari Court	Police Deptt.	15	Tikri Khurd	March 1997
44.	Inder Puri/ Naraina	Slum & Jhuggi-Jhonpri	6	Rohini Sec – 25	April 1997
45.	Plot No. A-185, A-188, A-189 And A-197, Okhla Industrial Area Phase I	DDA	178	-do-	March 1997
46.	Shah Alam Bagh	MCD	27	Tikri Khurd	March 1997
47.	Arunchal Bhawan, Chankaya Puri	Resident Commt. Govt. of Arunchal	192	Rohini Sec 25	April 1997
48.	Kabir Nagar	Irrigation And Flood Control	10	Samalpur Badli	March 1997
49.	Teen Murti Police Compound	PWD	17	Rohini Sector 25	April 1997
50.	Katwaria Sarai	Bhartiya Gyan Peeth	43	Bindapur	April 1997
51.	Atul Grove Road	Deptt. Of Tel. Communication	49	Tikri Khurd	-do-
52.	Plot No. T-14, Ph. II B-44, B-146, B-48, B-36, Okhla Ph. I Industrial Area	DDA	63	Rohini Sec 25	-do-
53.	Cooll Camp, Nelson Mandela Marg	PWD	32	Tikri Khurd	June 1997
54.	Sanjay Camp, Kandambari Apartments Rohini Sec-IX	PWD	32	Rohini Sec. 25	December 1997
55.	Road No. 62, Shahdara	PWD	79	-do-	August 1997

56.	S.G.T.B Khalsa College	Delhi University	45	-do-	October 1997
57.	F Block Jangpura Ext.	MCD	28	-do-	September 1997
58.	C-II-B, Janakpuri	DDA	1375	Pappan Kalan (Partly Cleared)	May-September 1997
59.	Indra Camp, Kishan Kunj, Laxmi Nagar	PWD	177	Rohini Sec. 25	September 1997
60.	JJ Cluster Adjoining Chungi Lalita Park	PWD	20	-do-	September 1997
61.	Thokar No. 16 Sham Shan Ghat, Geeta Colony	PWD	219	-do-	November 1997
62.	Thokar No. 15, Geeta Colony	PWD	66	-do-	November 1997
63.	Geeta Colony, Shamshan Ghat	PWD	11	-do-	November 1997

Source: Singh Rinkey (1999): Evaluation of Public Intervention in Resettlement of "squatter" Settlements in Delhi, unpublished thesis, Department of Housing, School of Planning and Architecture.

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