

Jawaharlal Nehru
National Urban Renewal Mission
Overview

Whither Indian Cities: Urban Reforms and Counter Strategies

**National Consultation on
Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission**

15th-16th April 2006

A Report

Ministry of Urban Employment and
Poverty Alleviation

Government of India

*Held at
Bio-Medical Ethics, St. Pious Seminary,
Goregaon (East), Mumbai*

**Committee for the Right to Housing
Hazards Centre (Sanchal Foundation)**

WHITHER INDIAN CITIES:

Urban Reforms and Counter Strategies

A documented outcome of

National Consultation on

Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

15th-16th April 2006

Mumbai

Prepared by

Dunu Roy

D.Leena

Lalit Batra

&

Shweta Damle

Committee for the Right To Housing
Hazards Centre (Sanchal Foundation)

Publishers: Committee for the Right to Housing
Hazards Centre (Sanchal Foundation)

Publication 2007

Printer: Laxmi Paper Sadan & Printers,
9891094240

Transcription: Punit Srivastava

Compiled by: Lalit Batra and D.Leena

Edited: Dunu Roy

Cover page and Layout: D.Leena

Consultation organized by Committee for the Right to Housing
Hazards Centre (Sanchal Foundation)

Support: The entire staff of Hazards Centre (Sanchal Foundation)
and Committee for the Right to Housing

The views expressed in the presentation published in this book are
the sole responsibility of the presenter.

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Glossary

JNNURM: Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

CRH: Committee for the Right to Housing

UPA: United Progressive Alliance

CEPT: Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology

ADB: Asian Development Bank

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

UNDP: United Nation Development Programme

CDP: City Development Plan

IDFC: Infrastructure Development Finance Company

MRTP : Maharashtra Regional Town and Planning Act

MMRDA: A Maharashtra Regional Development Authority

MSTC: Maharashtra State Textile Corporation

HOV - High Occupancy Vehicle

IPT: Intermediate Public Transport

ULCRA: Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act

EWS: Economically Weaker Section

SPVs: Special Purpose Vehicles

NGOs: Non-governmental Organizations

BATF: Bangalore Action Task Force

FICCI: The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

CII: The Confederation of Indian Industry

IT/BT: Information Technology

PWC: Pricewaterhouse Coopers

IL&FS: Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Service

IDeCK: Infrastructure Development Corporation Karnataka Ltd.

KUIDFC: Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Financial Corporation

NIUA: National Institute of Urban Affairs

NIPFP: National Institute of Public Finance and Policy

MLAs: Members of Legislative Assembly

SLSC: State Level Sanctioning Committee

SLNA: State Level Nodal Agency
TCPO: Town and Country Planning Organization
MoUD: Ministry of Urban Development
DPRs: Detailed Project Reports
BMC: Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation
ToR: Transfer of Rights
NTC: National Textile Corporation
FSI: Floor-Space Index
AGNI: Action for good Governance and Networking in India
ALM: Advance Locality Management
LACC: Local Area Citizens Committee
SPARC: Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres
TDR: Transfer of Development Rights
GDP: Gross Domestic Produce
NDA: National Democratic Alliance
NCCUSW: National Campaign Committee for Unorganised Sector Workers
UN: United Nation
CBOs: Community-based Organizations
SHGs: Self Help Groups
NREG: National Rural Employment Guarantee
JDA: Jaipur Development Authority
VAMBAY: Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana
BPL: Below Poverty Line
NMC: Nasik Municipal Corporation
WSP: Water and Sanitation Programme
IMF: International Monetary Fund
WTO: World Trade Organization
NAMA: Non-Agricultural Market Access
RTOs: Regional Transport Organizations
SRA: Slum Rehabilitation Authority
FAQ: Frequently Asked Question

About

Committee for the Right to Housing (Mumbai) and Hazards Centre (Delhi) organized a National Consultation on Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in Mumbai on 15-16 April 2006.

The Consultation could not have been possible without the financial support from Ankur - Delhi, Kesav Gore Smarak Trust - Mumbai, and Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development (BUILD) - Mumbai. We humbly acknowledge the readiness of the staff of St. Pious Seminary for the helping the out stationed participants.

The objective of the consultation was to bring together groups, activists, academicians and urban development experts to discuss the implications of market driven urban development envisaged under the JNNURM and the framework of a collective response to the Mission. The key components of the consultation included:

- (i) Presentations by representatives from various cities on ongoing reform initiatives in their cities/States,
- (ii) Sectoral presentations on privatization/corporatization of land, water, transport, sanitation, health, education, etc.,
- (iii) Specific presentations and discussion on JNNURM,
- (iv) Presentations and discussion on the impact of 'reforms' on the urban poor,
- (v) Presentations and case studies on various alternatives to urban 'reforms',
- (vi) Discussion on the framework of our response to the Mission,
- (vii) Discussion on alternative frameworks of urban development.

The consultation was attended by representatives of groups from 16 cities besides a number of activists, academicians, researchers and urban development experts. This report is a summary of the deliberations at the consultation.



Welcome

Shweta Damle

Committee for the Right to Housing (CRH)

Welcoming the participants on behalf of the organisers, Shweta Damle stressed upon the need for an in-depth discussion on the JNNURM. She said that the market friendly initiatives such as JNNURM could only be placed in perspective by the collective assertion of the urban poor. It is important in this regard, she said, to have an open discussion on the issues so that new forms of understanding, mobilizing, organizing and resistance could be explored.

Introduction to the Consultation

Lalit Batra

Hazards Centre

Lalit Batra expressed thanks to the participants who came from different parts of the country despite being invited on a short notice. Elaborating the rationale for holding the consultation, he said that JNNURM was launched on December 3, 2005 on the pretext of fulfilling the promise of urban renewal made in the Common Minimum Programme of the ruling United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government. But the Mission, he said, is designed in such a way as to give national and international corporate elite a free hand in running the cities thus furthering the process of marginalization of poor and working people.

Underscoring the importance of understanding and responding to JNNURM, he said that it is the biggest initiative of central government in urban sector till date; aimed specifically at revamping the governance structure of cities to facilitate market driven and corporate led urban development. He said that in order to be able to respond to this challenge, we need to have a frank discussion on various dimensions of the Mission. The primary objective of the consultation is to initiate precisely such a discussion. He concluded by saying that over the next two days our aims should be to attempt a comprehensive critique of the Mission; analyse genuine requirements of various sectors; outline pro-people frameworks of urban development; and propose ways to expand the process of consultation, information and experience sharing to all the 63 cities covered under the Mission.



Keynote Presentation on JNNURM

Darshini Mahadevia¹

Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology (CEPT), Ahmedabad

Darshini Mahadevia gave the keynote presentation on JNNURM. She said that it is interesting to note that JNNURM has come as a Mission and not as a policy, a fact that has serious implications for the way our cities are governed. Based on her observations of cities, especially mega cities in the last 10 years, she made the following points:

- The demolition and eviction of slums and hawkers have increased exponentially in the past ten years. This is being done on all kinds of pretexts, from road widening to riverfront development.
- Urban Policy and Master Planning are fast losing their importance and urban development is increasingly becoming project-based. Out of 555 master plans only two have been implemented so far. Others are basically going on as project-based plans.
- Governments in cities such as Bangalore, Pune, Mysore, Hyderabad, Indore, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and others, are indulging in large-scale land grabbing to facilitate the expansion of corporate sector, especially the IT sector. These projects are using public funds but benefiting only select sections. While the poor are denied land for housing and employment, the elite sections are being provided land at highly subsidized rates.
- Sale of land is increasingly being used as one of the key instruments to raise funds for infrastructure development. This is contributing to the eviction of the poor from prime lands, which are now being commercialized.
- Real estate prices have been rising rapidly and consistently over the past few years. There is now increasing co-relation between land market and stock market, giving a boost to speculation in land.

Criticizing the JNNURM, she said that:

- There is enough evidence to show that formation of the Mission has been anchored by multilateral donor agencies like the Asian Development Bank (ADB), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), World

¹ Darshini Mahadevia is a professor in school of Planning in CEPT, Ahmedabad

Bank, United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) etc. They have been advocating the agenda of privatized urban development for quite some time and the Mission document bears an imprint of this agenda.

- The central funds allocated under the Mission are not much, especially from the point of view of mega-cities like Mumbai or Delhi. But these funds will be used to force the local governments to raise their share of funds either through capital market or sale of land, thus furthering the agenda of privatization.
- The City Development Plans (CDPs) are being prepared through a completely non-participatory and arbitrary process. How is it possible that within two months of the launch of JNNURM, several cities prepared their CDPs? Let alone the people, even the town planners are not included in deciding what the city would look like in a couple of years from now.
- The functions of planners today are taken over by corporate consultants who are experts at suggesting quick-fix solutions for all urban problems. They hardly do any serious study of the city they are supposed to plan for and even their data is extremely faulty.
- There are serious concerns regarding the impact the Mission will have on the urban poor. Current trends would reveal that it would exacerbate the process of eviction and marginalization of the poor.
- The interesting point is that IDFC (*Infrastructure Development Finance Company*) holds the view that the Mission would not even support market-based solutions. If JNNURM is neither people-friendly nor market-friendly then who is it that it's going to benefit?



Land Use Patterns and Exclusion of Urban Poor

Arvind Adarkar²

Architect, Mumbai

Arvind Adarkar began his presentation by raising serious concerns on the nature of JNNURM, which, he said relies heavily on market-based solutions to urban problems. Market based solutions, he said, have always excluded the poor.

Tracing the history of land politics in Mumbai, he said that it was in the year 1739 that development control rules were put up for the first time. In 1865 Bombay Municipality Act was passed thereby extending these rules. Mr. Modak and Mr. Meier prepared the first development plan in the year 1948. In the 60s Gadgil Committee gave a regional perspective to the development plan. The recommendations clearly stated that development cannot be in isolation but has to be seen in a holistic manner and the entire western region should be developed. Following this, the Maharashtra Regional Town and Planning (MRTP) Act of 1966 was passed. A Maharashtra Regional Development Authority (MMRDA) was formed in 1970.

He said that one of the major transformations in recent times is seen in the changes in land use of the mill land. In Mumbai, there are 32 privately owned mills, 25 mills owned by National Textile Corporation (NTC) and 1 owned by Maharashtra State Textile Corporation Ltd (MSTC), which is a government enterprise. A total of 58 mills covering land measuring 595 acres have been earmarked for commercial development. Due to these changes the availability of open space declined by 61%, from 66.19 hectares to 12.75 hectares and availability of land for affordable housing declined by 69%, from 64.11 hectares to just 10 hectares.

These changes were carried out despite the fact that 60% of Mumbai's population lives in slums and open spaces in Mumbai are only 0.3 acres per 1000 population compared to 10, 12 & 13 of New York, London and Moscow respectively. He said that the battle in the High Court was won by the citizens' groups but, in the Supreme Court, the issue was decided in favour of the Mill Owners.

² Arvind Adarkar is a renowned architect and is associated with Rachana Sansad Academy of Architecture.

Arvind Adarkar also spoke about the transport problem of Mumbai. He said that Mumbai is unique as it has one of the highest population densities and the highest percentage of public transport users (88%) in the world. Enumerating the problems, he said that average speed on roads is 25 km/hour whereas the desired speed is 40 km/hour. Similarly, the desired number of buses on the road is 6000 as opposed to the present 4000 and desired parking space is 120 parking slots per 1000 population as opposed to just 2 per 1000 currently.

Arvind Adarkar gave a briefing about a set of recommendations for Road, Water and Rail transport problems of Mumbai, which are as follows:

Road Transport

- Increase operating efficiency of roads without capital intensive solution like flyovers.
- Buses' capacity to be fully utilised by making the service more efficient bus lane to be carved out by banning parking on all arterial and sub-arterial roads.
- Construct multi-storey parking spaces.
- Parking charges to be as per actual market rental rate of that area, so that it is very expensive to park in prime locations thus decreasing the congestion.
- Revenue from parking to go towards the maintenance of roads.
- Car pooling to be encouraged by introducing HOV – High Occupancy Vehicle lane and also by charging less parking fee for a car with more than 3 passengers.
- Control the number of owned cars by adopting Singapore model; high purchase tax, on at least 2nd / 3rd car owned by a family.
- Restrict the number of licenses issued in a year.
- Restrict the number of taxis & auto licenses in a year.
- Levy annual tax on the cars as per their engine size, use this revenue for betterment of roads.
- Make taxis more comfortable and affordable.
- Introduce Electronic meters for the taxis.
- Use of school bus to be made mandatory.
- Congested commercial hubs to be made pedestrian zones at least in peak hours.
- Planning for pedestrians-design good footpaths.
- Pavement dwellers, hawkers to be regulated.

Water Transportation

- The option of water transportation needs to be explored and with the help of public private partnership it can be developed.

Rail Transportation

- Rationalize fare structure.
- Area outside station to be better-managed with respect to hawkers and Intermediate Public Transport (IPT) parking.
- Integrate bus and rail system for greater efficiency.
- Sky bus metro to be explored.

Arvind Adarkar also gave recommendations for slum problem in Mumbai:

- No free housing to be provided.
- Prioritise the rehabilitation / redevelopment of slums as per their potential danger to avoid accidents.
- Provide land tenure wherever possible to co-operative housing societies.
- Socialization of land to be achieved by optimizing the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA).
- In every 100 acre project done by private builders 20% housing stock of Economically Weaker Section (EWS) houses to be created.
- Shifting of project affected people in the vicinity of their earlier residence.
- Plan for the future in order to supply for the increasing numbers.
- Increase the supply of affordable houses.
- Introduce the concept of loans to individuals who are salaried, for slum redevelopment/rehabilitation through housing finance companies at a subsidised rate of interest say 4% instead of prevalent 8%.
- This can be done by creating a corpus fund by levying a 25 % surcharge on all other loans.

Arun Bhandari³

People's Education Department, Ankur, Delhi

Arun Bhandari spoke on the theme of slum evictions in Delhi. He said that Delhi Development Authority (DDA) was set up in 1957 to check haphazard growth of the city, following an influx of large numbers of people during Partition. In 1962, the first Master Plan of Delhi was prepared and DDA became the custodian of future development of the city. DDA set out to acquire over 40,000 hectares of land for planned location of industry, education, houses, other amenities etc. He said that had the plan been implemented in its true spirit then many of the problems plaguing the city today could have been avoided. But corruption and mismanagement ensured that the plan was never implemented properly.

During the National Emergency in 1975, lakhs of slum dwellers were uprooted from their homes and thrown to undeveloped sites on the periphery of the city, which lacked even basic minimum facilities like employment opportunities, potable water, toilets, electricity, etc. 1982 was another turning point for the city. Because of Asian Games, lakhs of labourers were brought to the city from outside to build infrastructure for Asiad Games. Not only were these workers not provided with any housing thus encouraging the growth of slums but in fact, all these constructions were in violation of the Master Plan.

The development of the city has largely been governed by builder-politician nexus. The poor have not been provided with affordable housing, while demolitions of slums continue unabated. In the last six years alone, over 5 lakh people have been displaced. The government has taken away their land for development but they are not paid any compensation. In fact, only a tiny section of those evicted have been given plots in resettlement colonies on the periphery of the city. For that also they have had to pay Rs. 7000 per plot. Besides, the size of the plot is steadily going down. From 80 sq. yds. in 60s, it has currently come down to 15 sq. yds. These so-called resettlement colonies are graveyards for a decent human life. They are devoid of all basic facilities and there are no job opportunities around these colonies. Moreover, small-scale industries, which employ lakhs of workers, are being closed down in the name of pollution. This is another way of evicting the poor. The consequence of all this is that the number of people living on pavements is increasing in the city.



³ Arun Bhandari is a consultant with various organizations in Delhi, has been closely following slum evictions in Delhi.

Emerging Forms of Urban Governance

Dr. Lalitha Kamath⁴

CASUM-M, Bangalore

Lalitha Kamath from CASUM-M began her presentation on the emerging forms of governance by stating that the ‘new urban governance’ being promoted in Indian cities is aimed at facilitating market development, making cities “globally investible” and minimizing risks to the private sector. This, she said, occurs at the expense of poorer groups. The stated benefits of the new governance paradigm are:

1. Addressing haphazard development and promoting “world class” standards through master plans and mega projects.
2. Financial ‘capacity building’ to achieve “credit-worthy” cities through FIRE and market-based financing.
3. Political reform through creating parallel decision making structures, elitist participation, electoral reform.

To achieve these objectives new types of institutions are being promoted. Prominent among these are: Task forces, Public Private Partnerships, Special Purpose Vehicles (SPVs), Project Management Units, Parastatal bodies, and nominated intermediaries (think tanks, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), corporate foundations). The main characteristics of all these institutions are that they:

- Bypass democratic structures and de-politicize decision-making.
- Centralize decision making while decentralizing debt burdens.
- Force market-based financing while reducing local fiscal powers.
- Promote elite (business, “experts”, donors, bureaucrats) to influence policy and decision making in their favour while the poor lose out.

Lalitha Kamath contextualised her arguments by elaborating the experience of Bangalore city where there has been a concerted effort, exemplified most notably in the form of Bangalore Action Task Force (BATF), for the past few years to impose new forms of governance, which give a decisive say to corporates and elite NGOs in shaping urban agenda.

⁴ Dr. Lalitha Kamath is a researcher with Collaborative for the Advancement of Studies in Urbanism through Mixed-Media (CASUM-M) Bangalore.

JNNURM, she said, is an attempt to implement at the national level the agenda that has already been tried in Bangalore. She raised several questions on the Mission:

- Is JNNURM's emphasis not on basic infrastructure/services but to enable business/finance lobbies to identify "investible" cities?
- Does the institutional and decision-making structure favour big business -The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), large Information Technology (IT/BT) companies, real estate and consulting companies {Pricewaterhouse Coopers (PWC), KPMG Pvt.Ltd.}, elite civil society groups, financial institutions {Morgan Stanley, Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Service (IL&FS)}, and donors?
- Is the project formulated at national/international levels and facilitated through State-level semi-public and parastatal agencies {Infrastructure Development Corporation Karnataka Ltd. (IDeCK), Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Financial Corporation (KUIDFC)} via "single window" clearances, land acquisition powers, tax and other incentives?
- Are projects routed via National Advisory Group and (ADB funded) Secretariat for "donor and business-friendly" bureaucrats to "rubber stamp"?
- Does creation of "Technical Advisor Civil Society" to head National Advisory Group give the façade of being "publicly accountable"? Is this anything more than a charade?
- Are major think tanks to the project {National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA), National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP)} beneficiaries of donor funds to make policy "business-friendly"?
- When local municipal government and elected representatives {councilors, municipal standing committees, Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs)} are bypassed, to what extent can local political, economic, and social realities be included? Does rubber-stamping at the State level occur via State Level Sanctioning Committee (SLSC) (90% senior bureaucrats, 10% technical, no elected representatives) and State Level Nodal Agency (SLNA) (parastatal agency) with help of empanelled consultants, Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO) and Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD)? Are city councils merely "informed" when specific CDPs/Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) are "placed on record"?
- Is the project publicly sanctioned by elite civil society through "nominative democracy"? Is this a substitute for wider public and political debate and is such "civil society participation" another way for elite groups to influence decision-making and claim resources?
- Do processes of JNNURM bypass elected representatives and reduce senior bureaucracy to a "rubber stamp"?

- Is project design and decision making shaped by concerns of “investment and return” for international and domestic financial institutions and business lobbies?
- Does it, at the level of State government; empower non-elected parastatal agencies to further dilute elected democracy?
- Does it empower elitist civil society organizations to represent “The Public” in order to manufacture broader societal consent?

She concluded her presentation by saying that the JNNURM is unconstitutional, risky and expensive for the country at large but highly beneficial to the globally connected elite, domestic and international business, and donors.

Asad Bhai⁵

Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development (BUILD)

In 1973, BUILD started as a community organization to get the basic amenities for the people of the slums. In 1975, BUILD under the banner of ‘Bombay Slum Dwellers United Front’, fought against the eviction of 70,000 people of Janta Colony during the State of Emergency. When the civil rights of the citizens were suspended under the authoritarian regime of Mrs Indira Gandhi, the Front was successful in obtaining alternate accommodation for the slum dwellers. This has been a source of inspiration for many slum activists and social action groups. Since then BUILD has been making its presence conspicuously felt in empowering the ever-deprived poor.

Today, with the shift in the scenario, the vulnerability of the poor have risen many times, exposing the gradual withdrawal of Government as the service provider. It was desired to play the role of capable facilitator and guide the urban poor to fight for their basic rights and for the realization of their democratic aspiration.

The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act brought in devolution of powers and decentralization of polity. It aspired to create necessary democratic spaces, which could be used for the amelioration of the people particularly weaker and vulnerable sections of the society through their active participation in democracy. Participatory Governance is the key to democratic decentralization enshrined in the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act. If implemented in its true spirit, it will lead to more accountable and responsible governance. To make this possible, BUILD has extensively worked in two wards (P/N and H/E) of Mumbai and organized people to demand tenancy rights and basic services as right, in this area.

⁵ Asad Bhai is associated with Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development on participatory governance.

In one of the wards, BUILD could form Jansatta Abhiyaan (People's Empowerment Campaign) with along with 76 representatives from NGOS and CBOs working in the area. Jansatta Abhiyaan campaigned for basic amenities in the ward but main effort was in submitting people's proposals on policy matters to impact the policy decision rather than restricting to monitoring role. The impact of the campaign was that out of 29 proposals, 20 proposals were implemented. This reflects that empowerment and participation of the people influence the development of their areas. People's empowerment had depressed the power politics of the local political leaders.

Jansatta Abhiyaan also took to sensitization of these local leaders by organizing meetings and holding capacity building workshops. The effort was important for the campaign as these local leaders would than be informed decision makers, who cannot be hoodwinked and their democratic aspirations could be protected.

The Ward Committees constituted under the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act has proportionately large population size, which is difficult to bring to a common platform. While the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, where decentralization at the level of gram sabha was adopted, accommodate a very small population size, which ensures a more vibrant community participation. Thus, the structural lacuna was by-passed with the formation of commensurate structures at local level. Working with responsive partners has strengthened the campaign and helped the vulnerable sections of the society.

Navtej K.B.⁶

Independent Researcher, Mumbai

Tracing the relations between industry and government in Mumbai, Navtej K.B. said that the private sector in Mumbai consists of

- (a) Land owning class,
- (b) Capital owning class i.e. manufacturing industry,
- (c) New commercial interests i.e. services, banks, media, software industry etc., and
- (d) Building contractors - large and medium.

She said that the trend of landowning class appeared in Mumbai in the form of charitable trusts in 1970s after the Urban Land Ceiling Act (ULCA) was passed. It was more to save them from the ULCA. Some of these trusts encouraged slums to come up on their land. The State government, through Back Bay Reclamation, handed over large chunks of public land to capital owners. Earlier, the government controlled big plots of land. Now 80% of such land has already been sold to the rich class. In 1980s, private

⁶ Navtej K.B. is an independent researcher based in Mumbai.

land got into the builder's hand. One can trace that there is a very close relation between the owners and the developers of land. This relationship became closer in 1990s when several political leaders such as Manohar Joshi, Raj Thakre, Baba Sidiqui, Nawab Malik, Nasim Khan etc. became developers and several developers like Bhai Thakur, Passi, Lodha etc. joined politics. Even political leaders hold a very close relation to builders.

On the other hand, she said, the phenomenal growth of slums took place. Small time contractors hired by Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) became builders. Municipal councilors played a major role in the growth of slums. In 1995, the corporation didn't have enough money for constructing roads. So they constituted "Transfer of Rights" (ToR) to raise funds for building roads. Slowly this ToR process was used for other constructions also. In the same year the government decided to tap real estate to fund social programmes - 'slum redevelopment and redevelopment of old dilapidated buildings'.

Navtej said that in today's situation private groups are ready to invest a lot of money in Mumbai and that is raising the price of land. Global tenders are playing a major role in it. Now the State has started collecting funds at the international level. One of the reasons for extremely high-end land deals in the past few years has been the pumping of funds by national and international financial institutions in local land markets. She said that in the case of NTC mill lands the global tenders have bound government to land buyers. Similarly, private sector acted as the project consultant and mobiliser of international actors and finance in the Dharavi Project.

Navtej said that the World Bank has had a serious presence in Bombay from the 1970's in housing and infrastructural projects. Today it funds the solid waste management project, the education project, the transport project, and even health projects. The involvement of the Bank is creating a role for NGOs in service delivery. They now have a direct role in policy formulation for urban development, like in the case of Floor-Space Index (FSI), Metropolitan governance etc. It has also pushed for privatization of water in K- East ward (Jogeshwari).

The new commercial sector is represented by their lobby – Bombay First in alliance with Action for good Governance and Networking in India (AGNI), Clean Sweep, Nagar etc. This has seen the formation of Citizens Action Groups directing vision and priorities for the city. These groups are under the direct influence of World Bank and Mckinsey. These new advocacy NGOs speak about 'open spaces' and 'citizenship' and they are largely anti hawkers and anti poor. Then there are certain civil society groups who work as partners and contractors of local government in issues ranging from solid waste management to housing. Area Local Management (ALMs), Local Area Citizens Committee (LACCs), Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) and Stree Mukti Sangathan are examples of such NGOs. The experience of NGOs like SPARC is instructive in this regard. They were lured into 'entrepreneurial' role by showing the mirage of 'land tenure'. Once into it they realized that land and housing

sector is driven by forces beyond their control and according to rules that larger actors make. The new forms of governance, she said, have the following results:

- As ALMs become stronger at ward level, councilors become weaker as these are exclusionary processes.
- Class conflicts arise between slum residents and middle class aspirations of clean city.
- As politicians get closer to builders, apathy towards democracy in middle classes further increases.
- Increasing land prices pushes the poor out of the island city, creating divided cities.
- As the State becomes an economic actor safeguarding its own interests it risks losing public interest.

But there are voices of resistance that are emerging. The residents of Juhu and Ville Parle protested against Transfer of Development Rights (TDR) in their area. Resident's Forums in Juhu and Bandra have raised objections and filed petitions in court against the high-rise construction in their area. In the last 5 years 55 such petitions have been filed. 33 petitions were challenged by environmentalists, residents and eminent citizens of island city. Mill Lands sale has been challenged by Girangaon Bachao Samiti and environmentalists and then one can also see a trend towards neighborhood activism.



Urban Reforms and Livelihoods

Prof. Sharit Bhowmik⁷

Professor, University of Bombay

Sharit Bhowmick said that livelihoods have come under severe stress due to the policies of Liberalization, Privatization, and Globalization. Historically, large-scale employment growth in cities was affected by industrialization. Though the provision of housing could never keep pace with the number of jobs created, industrialization ensured at least some amount of job security and other benefits for the working people. But in the past two decades cities are witnessing massive de-industrialization due to closure of manufacturing units. There was a time when Mumbai had 55 textile mills but now only 4 or 5 are operational. The irony is that still there is no shortage of cloth in Mumbai. The availability of cloth has only increased. This is due to the outsourcing of textile production. According to a survey done by Hindustan Lever, about 5000 labourers used to work in handlooms. Now only 1200 of them have jobs because production has shifted to smaller units in cities like Nagpur. Outsourcing as a phenomenon is not limited to textiles; it permeates all sectors and levels of production.

Outsourcing of work from large-scale units to smaller units creates informalization of work. It also results in depression of wages, insecurity of work and other social problems. Now a huge majority of people in cities is working in the informal sector. A study of hawkers done in Mumbai and Ahmedabad found that 85 percent of them earlier used to work in factories. Sharit Bhowmick raised the question that when over two-thirds of the workers today are in the unorganised sector, shouldn't we urgently have a system which ensures social security, job security and adequate wages to them. He said that though there is surely a need to bring about a comprehensive legislation for this purpose; we should remember that unless workers are organized no legislation is going to help improve their condition. He reminded the participants that most of the victories of the working class were achieved without any backing from legislation. In fact legislations were the result of working class struggles.

⁷ Prof. Sharit Bhowmik is teaching Sociology in Bombay University.

Thaneshwar Adigaur⁸

Nirman Mazdoor Panchayat Sangam

Discussing the recent trajectory of efforts to introduce social security for unorganized sector workers, Thaneshwar Adigaur said that despite a wide spread consensus on this issue, the governments have been unwilling to take a decisive step in the direction of enacting a legislation for this purpose. Every government just pays lip service to the issue and then passes the buck to the next government. This is despite the fact that over 93 percent of the workforce is in the unorganized sector, which produces over 65 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Produce (GDP). In 2002 the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government introduced a social security scheme for unorganized sector workers. But this scheme was fundamentally flawed as it demanded too much from the workers and gave too little in return. As a result the scheme failed.

He said that currently, 5-6 bills related to social security are doing the rounds and nobody knows which bill is going to be adopted, if at all, and when, by the government. The National Campaign Committee for Unorganised Sector Workers (NCCUSW) has prepared a comprehensive bill for unorganized sector workers which has a provision for tripartite boards, consisting of representatives of workers, employers and government, at all levels. NCCUSW has demanded that workers be considered not just as beneficiaries of the social security legislation but active agents in the decision making related to conceptualization, drafting and implementation of the said legislation. He also said that special attention should be paid to the needs of women, elderly and migrant workers.

Thaneshwar Adigaur concluded by pointing out that Members of Parliament represent their constituency for 5 years and they get security for their entire life, then why does a worker who keeps on working forever never even get considered for such security.

Jamal Kidwai⁹

Aman Charitable Trust, Delhi

Introducing the study being conducted by Aman Trust on Informal Labour, Jamal Kidwai said that the present study seeks to provide a snapshot of the informal economy at Okhla Constituency of South Delhi. The total informal labour population of the region is approximately 50,000. The main occupations chosen for the study were rickshaw pullers, casual laborers, and rag pickers. Of the subjects of the study, rag pickers constitute 1000, rickshaw pullers 3000, casual labourers 2000, and private bus drivers

⁸ Thaneshwar Adigaur is Masters in Social Worker, has been associated with the issues of construction labourers since more than 15 years.

⁹ Jamal Kidwai is Director of Aman Charitable Trust.

and conductors 500. These estimates are based on the fieldwork and interactions with workers and government officials. However, no official figures were available.

He said that in their study, they are trying to examine the concept of 'informal labour', demonstrate the contradictions therein and their deliberate perpetuation. The study also tries to investigate the interplay of caste, class and political vulnerability and its effect in determining the nature of work and occupation. The points of intersection of the informal and formal economy are also mapped and their characteristics studied.

The main themes that emerged from the study are as follows:

- **Governance:** Three significant themes emerged. Contractual mode of employment, corruption being sustained through informal work relations, and the engagement of workers with the State. All these patterns are interconnected. The contractual system of employment was found in all the four occupations studied. This recruitment and mediation process facilitates growth of corruption and sustains it. Of the occupations studied, the State was found to be the biggest employer, where the contractual system of hiring and its in-built corruption help in control and thus exploitation.
- The issues of governance are closely implicated with the questions of citizenship. The nature of all the informal labour occupations that were studied, places the workers at a high risk of harassment. The nature of their work coupled with their political and economic status, serves to make them an extremely vulnerable community.
- It is important to note that most respondents, in all the occupations studied, were migrants. The pattern of migrations and the demographic composition of the different occupations, are however, quite distinct. The linkages between governance, citizenship and migration were explored. It was found that migrants' origin was crucial for their place in the hierarchy of informal labour. Their status in this spectrum, in turn, influences the severity of control and harassment they face. In Jamia Nagar, the bus drivers and conductors are placed at the top of the hierarchy, the casual labourers after them, the rickshaw pullers in the middle and waste pickers at the bottom. The hierarchy of employment has been constructed based of the nature and the stringency of harassment they face.
- Questions of gender were raised sharply during the course of the study. Some occupations seem to discourage active participation of women. Informal labourers are placed in a very vulnerable position in society. Thus, informality coupled with the issues of gender, serves to make women even more susceptible to violence, abuse and harassment.

Jamal Kidwai said that research on the lives and experiences of informal workers is daunting, because of two reasons:

- Firstly, this sector exists because the formal economy functioning in a capitalistic framework leaves space for growth of such activities which are based on eroded employment relations, low productivity, poor technology and operates beyond the realm of legal and official sanction. Because of this characteristic, it forms the space for all those not assimilated into the “formal” sector. Therefore main methodological problems faced were the difficulties in being able to draw out neat categorical distinctions between the formal and the informal spheres, obtaining exclusive individual interviews, and in verification.
- Secondly, ascertaining the veracity of information was particularly difficult due to a persistent ambivalence in their testimonies. This ambiguity about their origin, time of stay in the city, earnings per day or month, mode of earning and other aspects surrounding their daily life, is deliberately constructed and maintained. It is so done to colour the worker’s existence with an impression of fluidity, which may keep them hidden from the mainstream. It is a human tragedy and a scandal of governance that people earning a humble livelihood and performing an essential service to the community have to eke out their existences in an aura of criminality.

Jamal Kidwai said that given the size and significance of the informal economy in India and its links to poverty and growth, deepening our understanding of it is not merely important but essential.



Transport Sector Reforms

Prof. Dinesh Mohan¹⁰
TRIPP, IIT, Delhi

Dinesh Mohan said that it is very important to look at transport as it has a crucial role in deciding the form and contour of the city space. A large part of city life consists of commuting from one place to another. A lot of it is between residence and work place. He said that if not planned properly and according to the needs of people, transport system has the capacity to act upon and force the urban growth in a direction, which could be detrimental to the needs of the common residents of the city.

Today transport priorities are set in a manner that have no relationship to the real needs of the people. Thus while data shows that in all cities a huge majority of people either walk, cycle or use public transport to commute, transport planning is geared towards promoting the use of motorized private vehicles. This not only harms the environment in terms of increased pollution load but also creates the problems of road congestion and accidents. Despite the fact that pedestrians and cyclists suffer most of the casualties in road accidents, there is no provision of separate lanes for these commuters. Due to non-availability of separate lane for non-motorised modes of transport, they are forced to use the left lane, which is meant for buses, thus creating a risky situation of pedestrians and people using non-motorised vehicles. Bus based public transport system is being actively discouraged. Most of the investment is going into creating flyovers and underpasses which only shift the burden of traffic jams from one point to another.

He said that currently, metro rail is being promoted as the panacea for urban transport problems. But studies show that metro is far less effective and much more expensive than a bus based transport system. He said that because of the astronomical capital and operational costs involved, the fare structure of metro is bound to be out of reach of the poor and lower middle class. Besides, commuting by metro saves time only in the case of journeys above 20 kms. For shorter trips, bus is a better option.

As a solution, Dinesh Mohan proposed high capacity bus rapid transport system, which, he said, is less expensive and more effective than metro. Such a system would also have separate lanes for pedestrians and non-motorised vehicles as well as space for hawkers and vendors as transport corridors are natural markets.



¹⁰ Prof. Dinesh Mohan is Henry Ford Professor of Biomechanics and Transport Safety with IIT-Delhi.

Perspectives on Water Sector Reforms

Dr. V Suresh¹¹
PUCL, Chennai

Dr. V Suresh stressed upon the need to bring about pro-people and pro-community reforms in public sector in order to enlist the support of wider community in worker's struggle against water privatization. He said that while it is important to resist privatization of PSUs, we also need to make sure that these PSUs become accountable towards and sensitive to the needs of the community at large. He shared the experience of Change Management Group, a group he is associated with, towards democratization of water management in Tamil Nadu.

Dr. Suresh said that the water sector is today facing two major challenges. One is growing water crisis, which includes unsustainable systems and investments, over exploitation of ground water, lack of conservation and recurring droughts. The second major challenge of the sector is the identity crisis that it is facing today. This challenge is brought about by narrow interpretation of mandate (TWAD), old supply driven approach being challenged as unsustainable and questions raised by civil society. He said that the prevalent perspective on reform focuses on higher technology, increased investment, organizational restructuring, community participation, privatization and decentralization. But it fails to address the issues of unreached communities, iniquitous distribution and sustainable practices.

He said that a paradigm shift in water sector reforms would have to focus on the social dimension of exclusion, sustainable service delivery and institutional culture and practices. The triggers of change, he stressed, would be, social movement, political pressure and internal thrust. The components of genuine reforms should be reaching the unreached, equity, social justice, organizational efficiency including performance and priority, institutional efficiency including quality of relationship and valued behaviour and resource, financial and human sustainability.

Dr. Suresh emphasized that workers and officers in the public sector and activists defending the interests of the public sector need to go through a self critical and open process of exploring attitudinal transformation, perspective change and institutional reorientation along with shifts in roles, relationships and values amongst people, practices, culture and systems.

¹¹ V.Suresh is an active member of Peoples Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) in Tamil Nadu.

Dr. Suresh said that Change Management Group's intervention in water sector consists of introducing the idea of 'Koodam', which is a traditional cultural and social space within which all persons are treated equal. The themes of the workshop organized were: (i) Breaking Barriers- Building Bridges (ii) Confronting Challenges- Creating Convergences and, (iii) Synergizing Strengths- Strategizing Success. He said that the churning process of workshop threw up a fresh perspective which came to be adopted as 'The Maraimalainagar Declaration'. The declaration read as follows:

We the TWAD engineers after extensive deliberations unanimously declare that :

- Before taking up any new schemes
- We will evaluate the existing schemes and ensure that the schemes are put into optimal use first
- Revival & Rehabilitation of traditional sources will be undertaken wherever possible.
- We will also aim at 10 % higher coverage within the same budget.

He said that the Change Management group is currently trying:

- To evolve consensus across the organization on the Maraimalai Nagar Declaration
- To be an in-house group to dialogue and deliberate with the rest of the system

To nurture change :

1. **People oriented** – Institution building, involving school children & women SHG, community WS & S village plans, Total Community Water Management
2. **Task Oriented** – Settlement of Audit objections, improved MIS, e-group formation
3. **Process Oriented** – Koodam internalization & broad basing, Vision

Dr Marie - Hélène Zérah¹²

Institute of Research for Development

Marie - Hélène Zérah began her short presentation on the topic by stating that the experience of water sector reforms in India so far has been mixed. She said that initial attempts at private sector participation failed because of a lack of political commitment, lack of debate, resistance of local stakeholders, lack of information and weakness of consultants. She said that instead of giving-long term contracts to the private sector the trend now is more towards promoting private management.

¹² Dr.Marie Hélène Zérah is an associate with Institute of Research and Development

She said that the water sector cannot be reformed by management techniques and sophisticated information systems per se. For this a complete restructuring of public providers, in terms of objectives and organizational structure, is required. This requires evolving a demand approach, higher accountability, institutional innovation and change in management and accounting rules.



Perspectives on Exclusion and Inclusion in Cities

Amita Baviskar¹³

Sociologist

Speaking about globalization, Amita Baviskar said that it is resulting into interweaving of issues and countries. Spearheaded by technology the spread of globalization has led to revolutionary changes in the way we move around and communicate.

She said that globalization is the third biggest revolution in the world. The first was “industrial revolution” that took place in England. The discovery of the steam engine led to the manufacturing of many industrial equipments. The second revolution was of chemicals that mainly took place in Germany and enhanced production. The third is globalization in which the world has become small and fast changing. Now you can communicate with anyone in the world within seconds, your money can reach anywhere in the world within a short time. Thus globalization is the third industrial revolution in the world.

She said that that globalization leads to expansion of capitalism and capital accumulation. The capitalist can earn fast money and move to new places in search of better opportunities for investment and accumulate further capital. This also increases many other things such as consumption, etc. This process also affects the labour market. It opens new ways of exploitation of workers. Now people work on sub-contracts and don't have permanent jobs. The distance factor has to a large extent ceased to matter in the world. Earlier people used to work in a factory, now they work in a sub-continent; they work in a timeless mode. For example; if you consider the Call Center, there is no difference between day and night; you wouldn't even come to know where the person to whom you are talking is located.

It has led to the concentration of investments at one place where all facilities exist for economic growth. Most of the locations are henceforth, cities only. Cities, therefore, have become dense spaces where there is concentration of both investors and workers. The cities also provide enough scope for consumption. Now everything can be bought on loans. Amita Baviskar said that all this is part of a global financial system, which promotes investment. It is also part of globalization. Now the way we are investing has

¹³ Dr.Amita Baviskar is a Sociologist and associated with Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi

changed, the way we think about money has also changed. The global financial system has become an integral part of our lives. Even our personal relations have been altered due to this process.

Amita Baviskar said that we should not forget the fact that globalization not only connects but also disconnects. Those who are not able to adhere to the requirements of new technologies are forced to be jobless. Thus whether it is Zambia or India or any other country globalization has resulted in the creation of large-scale disparities in society. The new developments have an urban bias. Traditional skills are suffering. The governments are behaving like English rulers. The people benefiting from it are mainly the corporates and their shareholders. But, she concluded by cautioning, all the ills plaguing our society should not be squarely blamed on globalization.

Diya Mehra¹⁴

PhD Student, University of Texas, Austin

Diya Mehra began her presentation by explaining that since she is not a Latin-Americanist, her presentation is based on a particular reading of scholarly sources available to her from the point of view of highlighting those experiences, which could be relevant to the contemporary Indian situation. She said that the basic contrast that she would like to draw is that in the contemporary moment, slums in Indian cities face a great deal of tenure insecurity and the constant fear of eviction, especially as pro middle-class processes of aestheticization, environmentalism and capitalized urban development sweep our cities, marginalizing the urban poor as unworthy citizens. By contrast, she said, in Latin America since the 1970s and 1980s, many governments have made efforts to “regularize” their vast illegal slum/squatter settlements, though disputes and evictions continue, especially in high-value areas. Some regularization programs such as in Peru, Ecuador, and pre-1985 Mexico convert informal *de facto* to formal *de jure* property ownership. Physical regularization, and the extension of infrastructure into irregular settlements, are characteristic of Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, and most others (Ward 2003). Behind this, she said, most authors agree is the fact that *barrios*, *favelas* (Brazil), *piratas*, *barridos* (Lima), *colonias populares* (Mexico) have come to be accepted as necessary do-it-yourself housing in Latin America, with the aim of post-1980 governmental programs being “generally to work collaboratively with self-help settlements to provide basic services and land title, and to leave much of the dwelling construction in the hands of the households themselves”.

Tracing the reasons for the existing situation in Latin America, she said that Latin America has today become one of the most highly urbanized areas of the world - over 70% of its population lives in cities, and of those 40-50% lives in slum/squatter

¹⁴ Diya Mehra is a PhD student with University of Texas, has been in India to do her field study to understand the role of middle class in urban development.

settlements. Most of this development is reflected in the cities' vast and illegal peripheries, where illegality of tenure takes two forms 1) illegal subdivisions – akin to perhaps our unauthorized colonies, and 2) land invasions – by groups of squatters, both organized and unorganized. She said that as in the case of India, such illegal housing has been crucial for poor urban residents to access the city. In contrast to the Indian situation however, Latin American slum/squatter settlers have a very long, diverse, and profound history of organization. In the 1970s, slum dwellers were actively organized by, and into, a variety of political players including strong left based movements. However, left based movements were not the only political actors approaching the settlers. For instance, neighborhood councils in Santiago, Chile, in the 1970s had become a political battlefield, with even the military regime providing legal title, ideological support for settlement associations, and economic programs. Diya Mehra said that the events of 1970s are important for four different reasons:

1. They show the sophistication with which slum settlers, building on community and political organization, are able to make demands for urban integration and negotiate these demands with State actors, both electorally and within the bureaucracy.
2. Squatter mobilization also inaugurated the neighborhood or site of residence as an important institutional site for political mobilization and political solidification.
3. Movements also solidified policy ideas on self-help. Indeed, the global shift in policy against eviction and the argument for in-situ upgradation, sites and services development, which would be taken up not only by Latin American governments but also by the World Bank and the United Nations (UN), would emerge from these Latin American experiences in the 1970s.
4. Finally, within the region squatter mobilization heralded a reworked idea of the State and of movement, with civil society groups seeking both autonomy and greater space for political participation, and re-imagining the State as not a monolith but with potentially multiple arenas of engagement.

Coming to the contemporary situation, Diya Mehra said that despite all these successes, struggles in the areas of land tenure and service delivery have not been able to prevent social exclusion in Latin American cities. But, she concluded by saying, a renewal of the region's community based organizing, that is importantly able to link at national and regional levels and to other sectors of the country and economy facing social, economic, and political exclusion, is once again a source of potential hope and optimism.

Discussions:

Sadre Alam – Hazards Centre – Delhi: In 1977, Delhi witnessed large-scale evictions, which was supported by the educated middle-class. But today the middle classes have disassociated themselves from the poor working class. The reason could be the influence of World Bank or those who had cycles have got cars with air-conditioners, that has

changed the mind set of the middle class. All over the world only those countries could stand up against the World Bank that have been backed by their middle class. The question is whether our middle class will also be in a position to resist these forces.

Gautam Sen - Uchhed Virodhi Samiti - Kolkata: In Kolkata, the refugees from East Pakistan occupied huge chunks of lands outside the city. Though the original occupants of the city continued to live in slums within the city. The paradox is that with help of local politicians, the refugees got land entitlements but the original occupants who are living in slums have been denied any land till today.

Dunu Roy - Hazards Centre - Delhi: Question to Amita Baviskar is that in the context of globalization, there are visible loopholes and since we have been unable to identify these loopholes, we think that we may not be able to fight against these forces and have no alternatives left. But is this the real case? The question to Diya Mehra is that the role of Church has been as a reformer for social justice, whether this role has been the agenda in recent Latin American history? If we extrapolate this, than do we see it in the slums or do we see it in the youth or any other place?

Devi Das Manohar - Adarsh Shishkan Prasarak Mandal - Nanded: Globalization has brought in global fundings for the NGOs and poor have been removed from all corners. The NGOs who have taken money from the corporate funding agencies, even the money for the JNNURM is coming from Coporations. It is the State's duty to provide housing for poor, but it has never performed its duty. The Indian Constitution has given us the fundamental right to shelter, so we demand the State take the responsibility.

Rajiv Kumar - Hazards Centre - Delhi: In the era of globalization, everything is connected, whether it is the borders or anything else. This means that there is also a section of the population, which is getting disconnected with their State as there are many avenues available world-wide. There has been a debate that now the world is like financial scapes or technological scapes and nothing else. For whom these things matter the most.

Indu Prakash Singh - Action Aid - Delhi: Question to Amita Baviskar is that in terms of globalization, there are many challenges. The civil society has been co-opted, the world bank is also using our language. So where is the way? As the elite have become more rich and the poor more poor. We should try to mobilise and organize people around these issues. Question to Diya Mehra is that in Brazil there are four major movements on the urban issue. For the first time they have come together in one forum in World Social Forum and draw out strategies to fight against the urban poverty.

Rajiv Kumar - Hazards Centre - Delhi: In Latin America, many Self Help Groups were formed, which were essentially formed by NGOs and Community-based Organizations (CBOs), but soon radical political groups took over these Self Help Groups (SHGs). Has

this transition from NGOs to radical left groups helped in gaining revolutionary movements in Latin America?

Arun Bhandari - Ankur - Delhi: Everyone knows about the pre-independence revolutionary movements in India, but after independence, in 1990s when the multi-national companies began infesting the Indian market, one need to understand why the movements which happened then could not have taken place now. At this juncture it is important to analyse the role of Civil Society organizations in taking forward campaigns against the global factors. We need to also find out the alternatives to fight against these pressures.

Umesh Verma - Gamana - Hyderabad: When we talk about globalization, one says that the world is getting smaller but one can also see that the world is also splitting. One State is fighting with the other State, cities are fight with other cities, whether it is employment, or water sharing, or anything. The conflicts are not getting smaller in this era of globalization.

Amita Baviskar's reply

In the process of globalization, only few people have been co-opted in it, while there is a massive scale of disassociation. Smaller world is only an appearance. During the Emergency when slum dwellers were displaced in Delhi, the middle class sympathy was clearly due to their own interests under the pretext of national interest, so there is not much difference between the middle class then and now. All displacement which happened in independent India, whether it was Singrauli, Narmada, Hirakund has happened due to the middle class activism to make a developed nation and not for the poor.

One needs to see what is the difference now, the citizenship debates have been taken away from our discussions. The inequality is the truth. Earlier, development was meant for all. But now you have to have some resources with you in order to make use of development. What if you are not left with any resources than what will you do?

In the case of malls or multiplexes, the middle class wants these buildings but they seem to be concerned about environment too. So they want to make a world where they are comfortable, a special kind of environment. One needs to understand the contradiction within these issues.

In the context of Globalization, there is an alternative as there are many weaknesses too. Financial inequality has always been disputed by people from all classes, they have used all sorts of weapons to survive. Kautilya's Arthashashtra talks about *saam*, *daam*, *dand*, and *bhedh*, while the most dangerous is the *dand*. You are respectfully invited to discuss government policies by Government and the co-opted by the government policies and plans. Those who got into the state mechanism have given us a few benefits such as National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREG). If NREG is to be implemented in a

proper way, then it will be unusual in the world. Globalization was due to the market, but always there is support of the State. The State has been very repressive when people want to organize themselves, they can't protest, can't strike, can't form trade unions.

Diya Mehra's reply:

I have said that I am not a Latin Americanist, I can't answer all the questions. The people have managed to bring many debates to a larger political question. It's not that evictions have not happened in Latin America but the slums have been removed from the center of the city to the outskirts.

In case of the role of church and the workers movement, the radical groups had come together during the slum evictions. Workers Party has won in Brazil, which is due to the squatters, as they had organised squatters. The squatter settlements have supported the Workers Party, which was the vote base of the party. It is the Latin American experiences, unlike the African situation, where the churches have formed large networks. The term SHG is the term I am using and it is not the term used there. It is basically the World Bank or UN term for micro-credit from John Turner's work.

There is a shift where you have different kinds of political groups seeking to organize the people but there is also a shift from the radical groups to NGOs. In India, the State has been pushing neo-liberal reforms, so networks of organizations are working at all these levels.



City Level Presentations

Nashik

Kailash More, Lok Vikas Samajik Sansthan

Nashik is a major industrial hub with a population of more than 40 lakhs.

Kailash More said that Lok Vikas Samajik Sansthan is working with communities on property and land issues. The organization has been able to establish links with politicians and bureaucracy. They have been opposing evictions and displacement of slum dwellers since the beginning of their work. Just opposing evictions did not serve their purpose, so they launched awareness programs and empowered communities to raise their voices against such discrimination. He said that due to their interventions they formed a union of ragpickers who are the residents of slums.

According to Lok Vikas Samajik Sansthan, he said, organizations should not work in isolation and work to build alliances at regional and national level with like-minded organizations.

Anjali Borahde, Disha Foundation.

Anjali Borahde said that Disha Foundation has been working with migrants since four years. In Nashik, migrants come from UP, Bihar, Rajasthan, Gujarat as well as Karnataka. Many of them are seasonal migrants, who come to the city during non-agricultural season; all they need during their stay in the city is a shed with basic amenities and temporary ration cards. While many others have no ration cards, no schools for the children, inaccessible Public Distribution System and no shelter.

She described how they, after a long and sustained engagement with the government for a transit camp, could identify the land, which was less than half an acre for the transit camp. They had rounds of meetings with the traffic police and administration and were finally given land for the transit camp.

Disha Foundation has designed a transit camp for both single migrants and migrants with families. Explaining the plan, she said that the structure has been discussed several times with migrants. The basement of the building will have dormitory for only male migrants. The entrance to the transit accommodation will be on the ground floor, which will have the registration office, a kindergarden, community kitchen and a bank where migrants can deposit their money. Staircase leading to the first floor will be at the corner and the other corner will be for the toilets. The first floor will have bigger dormitory for migrants with family with partitions. The second floor will have arrangement for both families and single migrants. Toilets blocks will be on each floor.

Jaipur

Hemlata Kansotia, Labour Education and Development Society

Hemlata said that her organization is working for the welfare and development of informal sector workers in Jaipur and other districts of Rajasthan.

Sharing her experiences, she said that Jaipur has for long been projected as a tourist destination. This has ensured steady migration of workers from other parts of the country to Jaipur. But the government has never had any plan for these migrant workers. She said that in 1971 the population of Jaipur was only about 6 lakhs. But by 2011, the population is projected to be 47 lakhs. This is, to a large extent, due to the migration of workers into Jaipur.

The city development process in Jaipur is now increasingly modeled on the lines of Delhi. Malls and multi-storied apartments are coming up in a big way in the city. But despite repeated efforts on the part of Jaipur Development Authority (JDA), there aren't enough buyers for these shops and flats. On the other hand, the master plan of Jaipur is proposing to urbanise villages such as Somu, Shikarpura, Gabrol, Vasti etc. on the outskirts of the city.

The JDA has acquired huge portions of land in these villages fuelling speculation and price rise. In fact, in many places the construction activities have already begun and, as a result, many construction workers are working in these areas. Once again, the government has no plans for these workers and their families. These sporadic developments have forced the nomadic tribe to become workers in the construction industry.

There are about 40,000 nomads in Jaipur. JDA has denied them their land right as they belong to the Banajara community who are nomads. The nomadic community used to stay in selected area such as Malviya Nagar etc, in vacant plots. But every time they are evicted from such plots and forced to relocate. Even the Master Plan of Jaipur has nothing earmarked for them.

Based on Jaipur model, Rajasthan government has plans to develop other cities such as Alwar etc. But the government is not disclosing any plan to rehabilitate those who get displaced from such developments. Neither has it any plan for workers who make the 'development' possible. The Master Plans too have never been made public.

Indore

Anand Lakhan, Deenbandhu Samajik Sansthan

Deenbandhu has worked with people in Indore urban poor settlements since long. It started small campaigns with people living in the slums to build confidence with the community. Deenbandhu activists also studied the town plan, Master Plans, etc and changed them into a simplified text and educated the people. This disseminated the knowledge of laws and regulations and thereafter the capacity to resist. In this process, the women were most affected, so to get the women to come out of their homes, Deenbandhu launched campaigns like school-bharo campaign, anti-liquor campaign, getting ration cards made. These campaigns helped in organizing the communities and working collectively.

Madhya Pradesh Patta Act 1984 and the provision of 15% land for housing the poor in the Master Plan of Indore was used extensively to educate the communities to fight for their rights. Before 1998, the government never used these provisions, which resulted in arbitrary evictions and no rehabilitation. But after 1998, the evictions slowed down as, at the time of demolition, people used to ask where they will be given the alternative plots. When the campaign to demand the Right to Housing under these provisions had gained momentum, local politicians were pressurized to work with the administration and get houses for the evicted slum dwellers.

In the context of JNNURM, all the schemes which have been affecting the rights of the people have been taken under the Mission. The VAMBAY scheme has now been clubbed with JNNURM. The implementation and planning will happen at the local level. The making of the CDP in Indore involved the municipalities and the local politicians. So atleast in Indore, unlike the other cities, local politicians could be pressurized not to bring wrong schemes. But the Central government would not accept the kind of CDP, which was the output of their interventions.

Nanded

Devidas Manohar, Adarsh Shishkan Prasarak Mandal

Devidas Manohar said that in 2008 triennial celebration would be held in Nanded. 25-30 lakh people are expected to come from all over the world for the celebrations. In one of the news articles, it was stated that JNNURM has proposed Rs. 950 crore for this

celebration, including for water supply Rs. 220 crore, for drainage Rs. 131 crore, for flood control Rs. 45 crore, for road development Rs. 332 crore, for river development 80 crore, for gudwara 45 crores, for beautification 5 crores, and for other developments 130 crore.

There are 58 slums in Nanded out of which 25 are declared and 33 are undeclared. But all the developmental activities are concentrated in planned colonies. Even in declared slums, sanitation is available to just 50% and water to 30% of the population.

He said that this arbitrary development cannot be comprehensive development. The slum dwellers should also be included in the city development plans. Despite all the plans, the poor are still in the same deplorable condition. The government launches schemes one after another but the conditions of the poor remain as bad as earlier.

Questions:

- 1 What is the Madhya Pradesh Patta Act in Indore, we need to know more about it?
- 2 What was the level of participation in the making of CDP in Indore?
- 3 What was the kind of Tenure Security rights achieved in Nanded?
- 4 In Nanded, where and how were the houses given under the Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY)?
- 5 What were the grounds of protest against VAMBAY in Indore?
- 6 It is clear from yesterday's discussion that
 - a Land is marketed under JNNURM
 - b Laws and policy will be changed
 - c Informal sector changesSo where do we go from here?

Anand Lakhan's reply:

In 1984, when Arjun Singh was the Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh Patta Act 1984 was introduced. There was a cut off date on 31st May 1984. According to the Act, all those slum dwellers living on public land will be given land titles (patta). There were two types of land titles permanent and temporary. In case the land was for public purpose, then people were given temporary titles, otherwise only permanent titles were given. Each slum had to form Mohalla Samiti and Mohalla Sabhas, which had to give due representation to women and dalits. If the government wants to vacate a piece of land, both for temporary or permanent title, Mohalla Samiti is to first monitor the place of relocation and the facilities and infrastructure in the area. After that, the slum is to be relocated. We have used this provision in many notified slums.

Under the VAMBAY Scheme in Indore, slums were relocated in constructed two storied houses outside the city, where ground floor belonged to one family and the first floor belonged to another. The flats are very small in size and people are living in pathetic conditions. The scheme was implemented in a very bad manner wherein 65% of the

population were given 5 % of the land and that too, far from the city, even though these colonies were named after Baba Bhim Rao Ambedkar. The grounds on which we protested the VAMBAY scheme was that people should be given plots as land is available in Indore and the guidelines of VAMBAY scheme should be followed properly. Moreover, when the people were given permanent shelter under the scheme, they were removed from Below Poverty Line (BPL) category.

The provision of earmarking 15% of land for housing for economically weaker section in Indore has been scrapped and the colonizers are winning the cases in the court. People would be happy if they get land instead of built up tenements, so that they can construct their houses themselves, they have a unique style of making the houses. They buy old windows, doors, furniture and other fittings and build good quality houses, which VAMBAY can never provide.

Kailash More's reply

In the context of participation, Lok Vikas Sansthan is working in 22 bastis in Nasik. We have good relations with 39 corporators, and in the work which Lok Vikas Sansthan has been doing with the urban poor, the corporators have been part of it. We have been involved in the planning and development meetings organized by them. In one such meeting they asked us to present our demands at the city level. We presented our work on water and sanitation in collaboration with Nasik Municipal Corporation (NMC). We also demanded that NMC should not demolish any bastis, which have come before 1995 and NMC should make guidelines which should be followed at the time of demolition. In this way, we have conducted many processions against NMC and given our demands.

We believe that VAMBAY is a good scheme as the poor will be able to get permanent shelter, and with this intention, we have worked towards getting the houses at the same site where they have been living. We have never allowed NMC to relocate people outside the city. The communities themselves take the contract for construction of houses. As far as the land sale and purchase is concerned we have a campaign called Ghar Adhikar Sangharsh Samiti through which we resisted the sale of land for commercial purpose. When the authorities wanted to demolish a basti, we asked the authority why they are declaring the area as a commercial zone, which has no mention in the CDP. We resisted and the authorities could not change the land use.

When it comes to changes in the governance under NURM, we have been conducting public hearings and we take out rallies four times a year on different issues. We are planning to participate in the municipal elections and have trained five community people for this; we have no idea whether we will win the elections. But with these tools we might pressurize the government.

For the informal sector workers, we have taken the issues with the organized sector trade unions and tried to discuss about the rights of the unorganized sector workers.

In a situation where people have been removed from the BPL list, we started a camp and got many ration cards made. We told the authorities that since the government has given people new houses, they cannot deny them BPL cards and with the campaign the BPL cards were restored to them.

In case of one basti, NMC said that it is on the private land so we can't implement the scheme over the private land, we got the photo pass of the occupants made. We went to the town-planning department and got the houses cleared for VAMBAY project. The ownership was given to both husband and wife so that husband cannot sell the houses.

Conclusion

It is quite clear that the situation of Nasik is different from Mumbai or Indore, so different cities have different dynamics. Mass organization has a definite role. One needs to see how the implementation of JNNURM will take place. We need to look into all aspects and then strategize.

UP Cities

Lucknow

Ranjit Ambastha, Oxfam

Ranjit Ambastha elaborated about the series of consultations by Oxfam on JNNURM in seven cities across Uttar Pradesh in February 2005. These cities were Allahabad, Lucknow, Kanpur, Varanasi, Agra, Meerut and Mathura. He said that community level consultations were possible in Lucknow, Kanpur and Allahabad where a team went to the people and spoke to them about the JNNURM. On behalf of the team he presented the demands that came out of these interactions:

- Provision of housing should be based on the size of the family, which is never done when people are rehabilitated.
- Instead of providing constructed houses to the poor the government should only give land to them. People will manage their own resources and invest in their choice of house. The poor should also have ownership of land.
- In all these three cities there are around 15-20,000 rickshaw pullers. The municipal corporation has granted license to only about 4000 of them. Rest are all unauthorized and thus very badly exploited by the authorities including the police. Therefore, it was demanded that all rickshaw pullers must be given the license to ply their trade.

- Rehabilitation should be at the same place or within a radius of a maximum of 3 kms.
- Use fee should be charged according to the paying capacity of the people.

Apart from consultations with communities, Ranjit said, Oxfam also organized consultations with civil society organizations in the seven cities of UP. He said that most of the people are not aware about the master plan and the CDP. In government data the number of slums is not accurate. Generally it was claimed that 4-500 identified slums are there. But at the ground level it comes out to be much more. Local people are not very convinced about the government system. The State representatives overlook existing laws. The laws framed by government of India have not been implemented properly.

He said that rickshaw pullers should be provided with a license so that they can earn their livelihood. So far as the preparation of CDPs is concerned, people hold the view that they should get a chance to participate in it through regular meetings. For rehabilitation they should get land, not built up houses, and that too with tenurial security, so that they can build the house according to their need and family size. They should be supplied good quality of drinking water, and other facilities.

Allahabad

Mahendra Kumar Shukla

The speaker said that none of the stakeholders, or the contractors or the government officials were aware of the JNNURM. He said that we had to work more on this issue to make them aware of it. One of the major problems, he said, is the lack of accurate and reliable database, especially with regard to slums. For instance, there are more than 300 villages in Allahabad but in the Master Plan there is consideration of only 61 villages. So bringing forth correct data is important.

He said that his group is conducting surveys and on that basis trying to discuss this issue with the government. Despite lack of adequate database, the process of formulating CDPs is going very fast. Furthermore, CDPs are being prepared in a completely non-participatory and non-transparent manner.

He said that a lot of investment has been made in the cities to provide rehabilitation to slum dwellers. Rs 50-70 crore have been invested in every city. But even after so many years, the effect is not visible. He said that we need to devise some way to stop this waste of resources.

Kashmir

Md. Ishaq Lone

Ishaq Lone said that due to central government's initiatives of widening roads and highways, many people have lost their homes and livelihoods. The way the construction is carried out it becomes tortuous for ordinary people. He concluded by appealing to the participants and organizers to organize a similar workshop in Srinagar.

Discussion

Dinesh Mohan - TRIPP - IIT Delhi: In the morning, there was no specific discussion on the transport sector. Along with JNNURM, the government has also announced Urban Transport Policy. In this policy they have mentioned about Rickshaws, Cycles and in JNNURM document there is a statement which says that the old city should be removed of congestion and the roads should be widened. For instance, in Nanded, it has already started, evictions around Gurdwara for road widening. This would result in removal of rickshaws, vendors and hawkers. It is very important to have a discussion on this aspect, as it will affect the livelihood of many.

Umesh Verma - Gamana - Hyderabad: Why do we need license for Rickshaws? What purpose will it serve, whether it is for security, or to stop police harassment?

Ranjit Ambastha replies:

Though License Fees were introduced by government to increase their revenue, but the license for the rickshaw is important for the security of the rickshaw puller who can go around the city without any harassment. Surely it is not used as identity alone.

For lack of discussion on the transport sector, we have no idea how the road widening is going to take place in the old city, as there are no spaces in the old city for road widening. In the case of Kanpur, about 20% of the old city cannot see the sun. No one can think about environment and sanitation in that area. What will happen when the government will bring big machines to widen the road in those narrow lanes? But still there will be a lot of resistance from the people if the government will bring in such projects.

In the context of rickshaw pullers and auto rickshaws it seems that JNNURM will bring in a situation where the poor will be asked to give their limbs to the city during the day and then leave the city in the evening and live somewhere else. They will not be allowed

to have any relation with the city; the poor should give their services and then go back. We believe that this kind of consultation will help us to find answers to such problems.

Keeping in mind the needs of the regional areas, it seems that JNNURM is an elite Mission. In Mumbai the slum demolition has a targeted approach of slum eviction which has many undercurrents. We need to devise an approach looking into the regional needs. In many places, discussions have been to outright reject the Mission or have a participatory approach. But in many places it is really difficult to ensure participation.

The issue whether we should reject JNNURM outright was discussed in all the seven cities since the civil society has no faith in government. In case we completely oppose it then we might not reach anywhere and will not be able to see the people's participation. For instance, Lucknow's CDP will be made through WSP, which is a World Bank's Water and Sanitation Programme. So taking things from here, we need to see in which States we should completely reject the Mission and where we can pressurize the States to work for the poor, but this can be done only through people's participation.

Dunu Roy - Hazards Centre - Delhi: On the first day the discussion was based on how JNNURM is trying to change the process of making of policies. Earlier, policies or plans used to be based on certain data collected in the city, such as how many people live in bastis, how many people travel by bus, etc. But now the CDP is being made without any concrete data. Though Municipalities have to implement the CDP, but consultants, who have never done any survey or collected any data, make the Plan. One needs to know how they reached the conclusion that such a plan or project is needed in a particular city. The Consultants have been paid 10% of the total project cost. If we need to participate in this Mission, we need to know the basis of making these plans, the data used should be made public. For instance, you have said that there are 283 slums but the consultants have identified 61 slums. If the plan has to be based on this data, one needs to see how authentic it is.



Resistance and Counter Strategies

**Dr. Uday Mehta,
Committee for the Right to Housing**

Presentations on urban renewal and economic reforms in the consultation clearly expose the anti-poor, anti-labor, anti-trade, anti-hawker, and anti-slum dweller policies of the State. It has been known from past experiences that the so-called reforms serve the interest on only 7 percent of the urban population. One of the major outcomes of the neo liberal economic reforms introduced in last decade and a half is the growing economic disparity in the urban population. The trend is of a minuscule section of the population acquiring enormous resources and the vast majority being exposed to increasing deprivation and security.

Apart from the anti-poor policy thrust of the State, the poor have very little hope of getting justice from any quarter, as since the 90s the judiciary also, under the impact of neo-liberal thrust of the policy of the government, is exhibiting anti-poor bias in its judgments. In this depressing scenario one finds a ray of hope in growing popular mobilization against institutions like the World Bank, IMF, WTO and American Imperialism.

In Mumbai, one finds nexus of politicians, builders and capitalist lobby operating against the poor. The major ruling classes and their allies have forged a common front against the workers and slum dwellers. Unfortunately, the oppressed and deprived are divided. We are making humble but persistent endeavor to bring together urban slum dwellers, unorganized workers, hawkers, tenants, who are facing this onslaught. Awas Adhikar Sanyukta Kruti Samiti, which has been functioning for the last 3 years, is a coalition of political parties, trade unions, NGOs and CBOs jointly working on these issues.

There is no ready-made formula either for the country as a whole or for any particular city to fight against these neo liberal anti poor policies of the State. One has to evolve a strategy taking into account the peculiarities of the situation in terms of the past experiences of mobilization, including the response of the concerned experts, history of political parties in terms of sharing platforms with the oppressed and the nature of problems faced by the poor in the cities. One thing of course is very evident: any isolated approach or to mobilize one particular section of the population would not serve the purpose of resisting such an offensive. We must acknowledge the fact that there is close

connection between the social and economic existence of the toiling people in the urban situation. For instance, the closure of the mills and the growing unemployment and the shifting of working class population from the prime industrial areas to distant suburbs and the uprooting of slum dwellers are all part of the same process. All these problems have to be addressed together. This unity between the work place and the slums in which the workers live, can go a long way not only in securing their rights but also the forming of an effective resistance against demolition policy.

On the basis of this two-day workshop we strongly feel the need for evolving an effective strategy on the following aspects:

- Ideological exposure of neo liberal policies in simple language in the form of leaflets and booklets.
- Grass root mobilization of the entire cross section of urban poor.
- Need for similar workshops in different regions.
- Setting up of a documentation center to look at trends of urban development and bring forward various debates.
- Regular interaction among the activists and academicians at various levels – city, State and national.

**Dunu Roy,
Hazards Centre**

There are five questions that seem to have emerged from the last two days' discussions, which we need to think about.

NURM has many complementary schemes such as the Urban Environment and Infrastructure Improvement Project, the Small and Middle Towns Development Programme, and the Master Plans within macro-policies such as the National Economic Policy and the National Transport Policy. Even WTO has Non Agricultural Market Access (NAMA) providing for the entry of trans-national companies into the utilities sector.

NURM has two sub-missions - for Infrastructure Development and Basic Services to the Urban Poor. The first is related to NAMA and will consume 90% of the investment. 10% will be for the poor. It is the corporations, contractors, landowners and industrialists who will benefit from NURM on the pretext that the public sector is not "efficient".

Earlier, planning agencies collected field data and prepared draft plans that were offered for public hearing. But in NURM, the consultant has no accountability. In the agreement it is mentioned that the consultant should consult with the public. But will the consultant come to the slums to consult or will he go to the Chambers of Commerce?

All this is related to free markets and to debt. Loans are given by institutions that have money and control decisions; loans are returned by increasing taxes and selling land. Market forces will determine the kind of infrastructure that will be developed, with the elected local bodies acting as sub-contractors.

This raises the **First** question, *for whom* is the city being developed? Earlier, urban manufacturing created employment. With industry closing down, rural migrants are only able to find employment in the informal sector. The present slum population will, therefore, keep on increasing with even greater densities. So will NURM be able to provide basic amenities for all of them?

That leads to the **Second** question of *Rights*. The Right to Self Help implies that we are dependent on whatever aid is provided. The Right to Self Assertion means we question the power of the aid-giver. We need to come to an agreement on, which Right are we talking about?

That is related to the **Third** question of *organization*. The informal sector comprises of many different kinds of workers. Is an alliance between these workers possible? The 'free' market has impacted on resource control differentially. This has led to violence between sections of the people and workers all over India have been facing this dilemma for the last 40 years. Can any alliance deal with this dilemma?

The **Fourth** related question is the one about *technology*. A Powerpoint presentation cannot work without electricity but mobiles can. We are not aware of which technology to use for the maximum benefit of the people. On the other hand, JNNURM is moving towards services and e-governance because of the growth of "modern" technologies. Do we have an answer to this?

And the final and **Fifth** question is about *sustainability*. Given the nature of debt, and the erosion of manufacturing, will the city be able to provide enough livelihoods? Is there any way to escape the debt trap? And will organizations and alliances be able to sustain themselves for long enough to build an alternative social and political agenda?

Whether in a small or big cities, these five questions emerge everywhere, willingly or unwillingly. As work shrinks, as the cost of land and basic services goes up, the urban poor will be left struggling even more for survival. So we need to find answers to all these questions. And we need to find them urgently.



Discussion on Future Strategies

V. Suresh

Peoples Union for Civil Liberties – Tamil Nadu

I would like to say its helpful to see this structure which explains many things. If we had structured the whole thing in the beginning than we could have argued and discussed since yesterday. I agree with Dunu on many things, but the 5-point structure presented by him at the end, makes one feel that this should have been the focus when we initiated this discussion. We have been talking about this since yesterday in fragments, something like this in the beginning of the consultation would have helped in focusing on issues.

Why we are thinking of segregation or technology? Are we meaning to say that we don't want segregation or technology? Are we meaning to say we are opposing technology? These are the things, which we need to become very clear on. We need to then think about the whole modality of the consultation. Much of this has history and political economy. We need to retrieve much of this, its important to link with Hong Kong Round, WTO, and various other Rounds.

Now the focus is clear, that JNNURM is a given whether we like it or not, how will we deal with this is to be discussed. Focus should be on three different levels of operation:

- 1 Based on solid research, pooling in expertise at various levels and making a consolidated effort at national, regional and local levels.
- 2 Supporting networks, mass organization, how do we work with the networks.
- 3 Can we have a resource centre, so that somebody who is fighting a legal case in Indore will get help from a set of lawyers dealing with these issues in Hyderabad or Chennai?

At least we will have something in hand when we go back.

Baburao Samant

Mumbai

As a strategy, we should try and approach our elected representatives - we have a total of around 5000 of them – we should involve them in our meetings and raise their

awareness on issues. We have been working with our representatives in Maharashtra on retaining the urban land ceiling act and it has worked so far.

We also need to build networks. Groups can join hands and file writ petitions at the State level which could then be clubbed together at the level of the Supreme Court, which raise questions on the undermining of provisions in the 74th Amendment and asking for its strengthening and strict implementation.

Gautam Sen

Kolkatta

The fact is that today slum dwellers are merely seen as vote banks by politicians and projects by NGOs. To break out of this, we need to get together and mobilize on our own outside of the control of political parties or NGOs. I believe that peaceful protest is the best way to show our strength. As evictions are happening everywhere on a regular basis, the need is to form a movement against this, which is neither party controlled nor NGO led.

Thaneshwar Adigaur

Delhi

NURM is not at all *naram* but actually very *garam*. We need to use people's participation in resisting and challenging NURM. We could spread awareness and information through smaller workshops. Would it be possible to devise a strategy to oppose and challenge these consultants who prepare the CDPs? Can we also bring all the diverse sectors that make up the urban poor to a common platform?

Sukla Sen

Mumbai

What we need is a resource centre that will provide information, counseling and assistance. While some of us want to reject NURM, others are already involved in it. But we can try and work together.

Prof J. Adsule

Mumbai

We must all agree to work from a rights based perspective and talk about housing as a right. We must all also commit that till rehabilitation is provided, we will not allow slums to be demolished. To strengthen the struggle, we need a resource centre, regional workshops, advocacy, training and legal support.

Shivakant Gorakhpuri

Delhi

There is no hearing given to your responses unless the resistance is on a large scale. The fact is that political parties will not do anything for us; their policies are anti-people and the politicians are only interested in making money. We should call for an end to this contractor (thekedar) system. There is a need to work across sectors if this has to be achieved.

Indu Prakash Singh

Delhi

The question before us today is – whether it is enough for each one to bring one or does each person need to bring five? We need to change the magnitude of resistance. There is a need for a national level forum. Non-violence must be our strategy of resistance. There is also a need to spread awareness about NURM – through leaflets, banners, literature etc. We also need to devise a long-term strategy. Given the present scenario it is not enough to have one demonstration in one place but a series of simultaneous demonstrations. We should also raise the issue of the erosion of power with our elected representatives especially vis-à-vis the 74th amendment and involve our councilors in our agitation. The idea is that we reach the last person when it comes to spreading awareness and mobilization.

Kailash More

Nasik

We need to hold consultations like this one in every city. We could also hold a large Yatra to draw attention to the issue. We can have the first such regional consultation in Nasik and Lok Vikas Samajik Sanstha would be happy to host it.

Dinesh Mohan

Delhi

There is a need to gather all CDPs and critically analyse them sector by sector. These critiques should be circulated among the politicians and the people alike. If some one can make available all the CDPs I will be happy to look at the transport sector.

Conclusion:

Summarizing the discussion following the two presentations in this session, Dunu Roy said that there are three issues: one is of research, second is publication and dissemination, and the third issue is holding meetings, yatras etc. Everyone will have to speak about the responsibilities at the regional and national level that they want to take.



Metro Presentations

Hyderabad

Md. Ashfaq from Chatri

I have come from Hyderabad where we have been working in 80 slums and formed committees in all the 80 slums. We have been successful due to these committees although we are only two people working full time. The members of these committees struggle on their own and when they are unable to progress further, then they come to us for help. In all these slums, the collectors or Regional Transport Organizations (RTOs) cannot enter, there is unity in the slums.

Beautification of the City of Hyderabad has been the major project of the government in Hyderabad. Decongestion of the walled city has demolished the lives and livelihoods of many people. And they are also planning four lane roads for the outer Ring Road project. Earlier the government had brought the project called “Nandanvanam project” which was Musi River Development Plan. Due to strong resistance from us under Musi Bachao Andolan, the government could not come up with that project. But later when the Congress government came to power they re-started it with the same name in English “Save Musi Campaign”. 42 slums will be demolished till Nangole, where they will construct two roads on either side of the river.

They have also planned to treat water of the river and then release it in the drain, what they are going to treat is a question, as the city does not have drinking water. Before coming to this meeting, we came to know that the government is taking back this plan, as we have held many protests and resisted it. We have 39 NGOs supporting the cause and at the time of crisis all these NGOs come together to protest.

The main strength in Hyderabad is that we are all together and when we join our hands then the government has to back out. I appeal to all if we come together in one platform then the government has to bow its head.

Umesh Verma from Gamna

There is an expressway, airport expansion program and the high-tech city which will cost roughly around 600 crores. To build all this, the contractor will not be given money but

will be given land. Our CDP is been approved and not been published anywhere and there has been no public debate.

Chennai

One participant from National Slum Dweller Federation

We work in the informal sector; Tamil Nadu is the most urbanised State in the country; about 43.86% of the population lives in urban areas. 28% of Chennai's population is in informal settlements according to the 2001 Census. The types of settlements in Chennai are informal settlements, private informal settlement, tenement buildings, sea-side informal settlements in river margins, resettlement sites, and settlements at the coastal area. According to the Coastal area development guidelines there should not be any residential and commercial buildings within 1000 meters from the coast. Why has the State government violated these provisions as they have constructed East Coast Road linking Chennai to Kanyakumari?

Present Chief Minister has, along with the Malaysian funding, granted about Rs 1000 crores for the construction of buildings for the people working in the Multi-National Companies, but this project could not be implemented due to the protest from the fishworkers union. The State government is trying to promote eco-tourism and evicting the people living traditionally on the sea-shore in the name of future tsunami threats, even when they are living about 500 meters from the sea shore. The resettlement colonies have been built in the outskirts of Chennai around 25 km away. There is a lack of facilities and physical infrastructure in these areas.

Delhi

Rati Singh from Abhyudaya

Delhi has been properly represented, but I would like to tell you about Bhatti Mines. When the Mines were working, some people who had come from Pakistan were settled in 1974 and asked to work in the Mines. After 35 years, they have been asked to vacate the place with respect to an order of the Supreme Court. The settlement in the Bhatti mines area is about 17 km away from the city inside the Ridge area, which was declared reserved area in 1984. Supreme court has ordered removal of this settlement in the name of ecological perseverance, where they will be given alternative plots is also unknown. We have an alliance called Sajha Manch, we have tried all methods and tried to stop the demolition from happening. We don't know whether the settlement will be there when we go back.



Concluding Plenary on Tasks & Responsibilities

Mehjabin Rizvi: Committee for the Right to Housing

Most important issue is that of housing. Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) schemes have been implemented in almost all bastis in Mumbai. With CRH, we have been able to sensitize people on what are the provisions under SRA, so that people should know what they have to do at the time of slum evictions.

Sadre Alam: Hazards Centre

There is an urgent need for bringing together various sectors on a single platform. We have tried this through Sajha Manch and have been able to make our presence felt in Delhi. In these 8 years, we have tried to form common opinions on other issues like health, water and sanitation also. We definitely need a similar alliance at the National level – an alliance or a coalition or simply a space where such issues can be brought.

Malavika: Housing and Land Rights Network

We should print a pamphlet, which would contain small and simple Frequently Asked Question (FAQ) type document on NURM for wider circulation. I would like to be part of this process.

Hemlata Kansotia: Labour Education and Development Society

We are having a meeting on the 28th April 2006 in Jaipur where we will discuss NURM. The construction activities will be more in most of the cities under JNNURM, so there will be an increase in the construction workers. We must also raise the issue of social security and employment while working on this issue and Nirman Mazdoor will try and do it.

Jamal Kidwai: Aman Charitable Trust

Aman Trust believes that research is necessary for a sustained campaign given the various actors and complex issues involved. We will continue to research some of the issues and share with others. If there is a similar meeting in Delhi – Aman Trust will certainly help in hosting it.

Mahendra Kumar Shukla from Allahabad

We will study the CDP of our city and share the information with this group. On one side is 7% of the population where they want to spend 90% of the fund and on the other 60% of the population have been allocated 10% of the fund. I also feel that we must involve the MPs from these 63 cities in our work – we could have a consultation with them, raise awareness and try and get at least some MPs to oppose NURM. Through them we can at least demand that the resources should be proportionately distributed.

Conclusion

Dunu Roy: Hazards Centre

We can conclude the consultation with identifying the following three tasks and who will take the responsibilities:

- 1 **Resource Centre:** CRH will try to develop the resource centre; the first activity is to make a booklet on the basis of the discussions of this consultation. We can help in getting it done from Hazards Centre.
- 2 **Meetings:** Oxfam will organize meetings in UP cities, Labour Education and Development in Jaipur, Hazards Centre in Delhi, Lok Vikas Sansthan in Nasik and Nanded, PUCL - TN in Chennai, Gautam Sen in Kolkata. Commitment from Jameshedpur was already given by the local organization, Chatri in Hyderabad, Casum in Bangalore, and Md. Ishaq will try to organize a meeting in Srinagar.
- 3 **Research:** Hemalata will conduct research in Jaipur, Oxfam in UP, Dinesh Mohan in CDP Transportation sector, and Gautam Sen in Kolkata.

V. Suresh added a few points to the conclusion:

- 1 To develop campaign literature by deconstructing JNNURM and background documents in three levels: first, the government reports; second, standards of urban development, with respect to National and UN standards; and third, is case laws, Public Interest Litigations and other orders received of various courts.
- 2 To draw up a list of all available expertise for training, research, writings, etc.
- 3 To have a database on various issues which the State units can take up, this would require expertise as to where you can look for data and documents.
- 4 **Coordination:** Coordination at three levels that is on ideology, campaign, information dissemination. JNNURM is under two departments of the Ministry of Urban development and Poverty Alleviation, both these departments have many conflicts within them, we need to intervene in this. We have to retrieve democracy from these institutions, retrieve values and value based politics.



Conclusion and Thanks

The consultation was concluded by Shweta Damle, D. Leena and Lalit Batra thanking all the participants on behalf of Committee for the Right to Housing and Hazards Centre. The two important decisions taken in the consultation were:

- (1) Committee for the Right to Housing will set up an urban resource centre in Mumbai and all other groups will help CRH in this endeavour.
- (2) Regional consultations will be organised in Allahabad, Jaipur, Chennai, Nasik, Banglore, Hyderabad, Jamshedpur and Srinagar.



Annexure I - List of Participants

S.No.	Name	Organization	Contact
1	Anand Lakhan	DBSS, Indore	57 –C Surya Dev Nagar, Behind Peeli Kothi, CAT Road, INDORE, Phone – 9893642880 Email – aldbss@rediffmail.com
2	Rajesh Yadav	DBSS, Indore	Block TC/13, old MES Colony, Mhow, Madhya Pradesh, Phone – 9893024227 Email – rajeshyadav777@rediffmail.com
3	Shivkant Gorakhpuri	Lok Panchayat,	V 385 Prem Nagar II, Kirari, Delhi – 110041 Phone: 9868505324, 011 25482242
4	M. Ishaque Lone	INSOCO	Lelipura Malapora, Wanpoh Khanabal Anantnag, Kashmir (J & K) 192102 Phone: 9419568509 E mail: ishquinsoco@yahoo.co.in
5	Thaneshwar Adigaur	NMPS, Delhi	Nirmal Mazoor Panchaya Sangam B 19 Subhavana Niketan, Pitampura, Delhi –110034. Phone: 09213731844 E mail: nmpsdelhi@sify.com
6	Prasad Majerakar	Mumbai 4 Change Action Aid	6 th Floor CVOD Jain School, Dongri, 4 Nal Masjid, Mumbai, Phone – 9892934349 Email: Prasadmanj04@yahoo.co.in
7	Prof Dinesh Mohan	IIT, Delhi	MS 808, Main Building, IIT – Delhi, Haus Khas, New Delhi –110016 Phone: 011 26591147 E mail: dmohan@cbme.iitd.ernet.in
8	Shashi Kant	Hazard Centre	92-H,III Floor, Pratap Market, Munirka, New Delhi – 110067, Ph: 011-26187806, haz_cen@vsnl.net
9	Prof Darshani Mahadevia	CEPT,	School of Planning, CEPT, Ahemadabad, Fax no: 079- 26302075
10	Rati	Abhyudaya	F 329/2 Lado Sarai, New Delhi- 110030 Phone: 011 55146954, 9868092023 Email: ratidelhi@gmail.com
11	Hemlata Kansotia	Labour Education and Development Society	74/1 D -6, Sector 6, Rohini, Delhi – 85 Phone : 9911045068 Leds.jaipur@gmail.com
12	Dunu Roy	Hazard Centre	92-H,III Floor, Pratap Market, Munirka, New Delhi – 110067, Ph: 011-26187806, haz_cen@vsnl.net
13	Rajiv Kumar	Hazard Centre	92-H,III Floor, Pratap Market, Munirka, New Delhi – 110067, Ph: 011-26187806, haz_cen@vsnl.net
14	P. B Savant	Keshav Gore Trust, Mumbai	Keshav Gore Trust, Goregaon West, Mumbai
15	C P Kelkar	Keshav Gore Trust, Mumbai	Keshav Gore Trust, Goregaon West Mumbai
16	Dr. Uday Mehta	CRH, Mumbai	Ground Floor Prabhat Colony Municipal School, Santacruz East, Mumbai – 55, Phone: 22916941 Email: crhmumbai@rediffmail.com

17	Ramesh Sone	CRH, Mumbai	Ground Floor Prabhat Colony Municipal School, Santacruz East, Mumbai – 55, Phone: 22916941 Email: crhmumbai@rediffmail.com
18	Mahendra Kr Shukla		mail:mahendrarshukla@rediffmail.com Phone: 09450215540
19	Pritpal Singh Randhawa	Hazard Centre	Email:pritolpalrandhawa@gmail.com
20	Umesh Varma	Gamana	Plot no.1, G 3 Arunodaya Colony, Madhapur, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh - 500081,India Ph: - 098494-93009(M), 040-23100219(O) Email:umesh_varma@yahoo.com
21	Md. Asfaq	CHATRI, Hyderabad	Phone: 040-24748018, 21551920 chatri_hydr@yahoo.com
22	Thaira Bi	CHATRI, Hyderabad	Phone: 040-24748018, 21551920 chatri_hydr@yahoo.com
23	Basab Paul	Hazard Centre	92-H,III Floor, Pratap Market, Munirka, New Delhi – 110067, Ph: 011-26187806, haz_cen@vsnl.net
24	Supriya	Hazard Centre	92-H,III Floor, Pratap Market, Munirka, New Delhi – 110067, Ph: 011-26187806, haz_cen@vsnl.net
25	Diya Mehra	Delhi	Email:diyamehra@gmail.com
26	Indu Prakah Singh	Action Aid, India Delhi	Email:indu@actionaidindia.org
27	Jaiprakash Trivedi		Email: mssffpol @reddiffmail.com
28	Alphonsa S	Path, Mumbai	PATH Health Centre, C/H2/ R no 5 Cheetha Camp Trombay, Mumbai – 55, Phone no: 25555164 Email : ktc_path @vsnl.net
29	Rohini S.	Path, Mumbai	PATH Health Centre, C/H2/ R no 5 Cheetha Camp Trombay, Mumbai – 55, Phone no: 25555164 Email : roshin27 @ rediffmail .com
30	K.T Chako	Path, Mumbai	PATH Health Centre, C/H2/ R no 5 Cheetha Camp Trombay, Mumbai – 55, Phone no: 25555164 Email : ktc_path @vsnl.net
31	Asher Gherthe	Hazard Centre	Email: gherthe@gmail.com
32	Nithya Raman		Emial: nithyavraman@yahoo.com
33	Philip Baker		Email: phibaker@hotmail.com
34	Nisha Mistry		Email: nishamistry @gmail.com
35	G G Parikh	Yusuf Meherally Centre, Mumbai	Yusuf Meherally Center, Grant Road, Mumbai -7 Mobile: 9820026373
36	Gautam Sen	Uchhed Virodhi Samiti	Email : sengautam@hotmail.com Phone: 9433882799
37	Phoebe Simon	YUVA, Mumbai	2 nd Floor Nare Park Municipal School, Lower Parel, Mumbai. Phone: 022 24116393/94 Email: phoebes@yuraindia.org
38	Sitaram Shelar	YUVA, Mumbai	2 nd Floor Nare Park Municipal School, Lower Parel, Mumbai. Phone: 022 24116393/94
39	Navtej K.B	Researcher	Email: navtejkb@rediffmail.com
40	Jamal Kidwai	Aman Trust	C 651, Ist Foor, New Friends Colony, Delhi –65 Email: jkidwai@rediffmail.com

41	Arun Bhandari	Ankur	Email: arunbhandari1@email.com
42	Rajvi Mehta		
43	Naini All		
44	Rekha Mehta		
45	Binti Kantha	Researcher, IIT Mumbai	Email: bintikantha@iitb.ac.in
46	Sadre Alam	Hazards Center	Email: mosadral@yahoo.com
47	Mehjabin Masoom Rizvi	CRH	
48	Malairka Vailak	HRLN, Delhi	HRLN B 28 Nizanuddin East New Delhi- 100 013, Phone:09313900378 Email: malavikav@gmail.com
49	Manjula Shrivastava	Manjul Mahila Kalyan Samiti,	Kendranchal Dhooman Ganj., Allahabad Phone: 053 23206697
50	Mohd Khalik Bilal Ahmed		
51	Amita Baviskar	Urban Sociologist, Delhi University	194 DDA Flats, Mukherjee Nagar Delhi-9, E mail: baviskar1@vsnl.com
52	Ved Kumar M	Forum for Better Hyderabad, Hyderabad	Forum for Better Hyderabad Chandram 490 Street No 11, Himayat Nagar, Hyderabad – 29, Andhra Pradesh, Phone: -040 27635669 E mail:cheilimi@yahoo.com
53	Gajanan R Chavhan	ARPHEM, Navi Mumbai	ARPHEM C/5/24 ¾, Sector 5, CBD Belapur Phone: 27574315
54	D. Leena	Hazards Centre	Email:leena2112@yahoo.com
55	Minal Parab		
56	Abhishek Bharadwaj	Action Aid Mum	Email: bharadwajabhi@rediffmail.com
57	Zubeida Sayyed	CRH	Prabhat colony Municipal School Santacruz East, Mumbai – 55. Phone: 022 - 2291694
58	Qudsiya Contractor	Cehat, Mumbai	Email:qndsiyac@rediffmail.com
59	Saira M. Shaikh	CRH, Mumbai	
60	Asad Bin Saif	BUILD, Mumbai	11 Sujata Niwas, Opposite Siddhart Hotel S V Road, Bandra West, Mumbai Phone: 022 26555789, Email:in_face2001@yahoo.com
61	Sukla Sen	EKTA, Aawas Adhikar Sanyukt Kriti Samiti	Email:suklasen@yahoo.com
62	Sanjana S. Korgronkar	Student Nirmala Niketan	
63	Pradeep Shinde	NIRMAN, Mumbai	38 New Marine Lines, Mumbai- 400 020 Emial:nirman_org@yahoo.com.in
64	Chhaya P Jawanjale	BUILD, Mumbai	11 Sujata Niwas, Opposite Siddhart Hotel S V Road, Bandar West, Mumbai. Phone: 022 -26555789
65	Jon Anjaria	Researcher, University of	76 Vasant Kunj, Andheri West Mumbai. Email:jonan@uoa.edu

		University of California	Email:janaria@ucsc.edv
66	Rukmimi Barma	Aman Trust,	C 651, Ist Foor, New Friends Colony Delhi –65, Email:rukmini@amanpanchayat.org
67	Aheli Chowdhury	Aman Trust,	C 651, Ist Foor, New Friends Colony, Delhi -65 Email:aheli@amanpanchayat.org
68	Amruta Paradkar	NIRMAN, Navi Mumbai	Email:nirman-org@yahoo.com.in
69	Jamjashree Danere	Student Nirmala Niketan	
70	Jatin Desai	People’s Media Initiative, Mumbai	Email:desaijatin@yahoo.com.uk
71	Lalit Batra	Hazards Centre	
72	Shweta Damle	CRH	
73	Dr. Arivnd Adankar		Rachna Sansad College of Architecture, Mumbai
74	Gautam Kamble	Aakar Mumbai, Mumbai	Aakar Mumbai Jogeshwari East, Mumbai
75	I. Jayaprakash Soans	Action Aid,Mumbai	6 th Floor CVOD Jain School, Pala Galli, 4 NALL Masjid Bunder, Mumbai Email: jsoans@gmail.com
76	Dr. V. Suresh	PUCL, Chennai	Husain House, 7 Kondi, Chennai - 600001 Email:rightstn@yahoo.com
77	Pravin Ghag	Girangao Rojgar Hakk Samiti, Mumbai	Phone: 022 23231856 09224186040
78	Salim H. Saboowalla		Plot No 6, Flat No 303, Bohra Colony, Marol Village, Andheri East, Mumbai – 59, Phone: 022 28213873 Email:ssaboowakka@reduffmail.com
79	Nitin More	LEARN, Mumbai	LEARN 3 rd Floor Parel Bhoiwada Municipal School St Xavier Street, Parel Bhoiwada, Mumbai-12 Email:learnmumbai@vsnl.net
80	Ayesha Rattod	LEARN, Nagpur	LEARN, Nagpur Milk Scheme Co-operative Housing Society, Near GPO Square, Nagpur. Email:learnnaypur@gmail.com
81	Leena L Bhingurli	Allahabad	
82	Madhukant Pathariya	SALAH, Nirman Mazoor Sanghatana,	Email:salah-action@yahoo.co.in
83	Milind Babar	Lok Vikas Samajik Sanstha, Nashik	56 No Old Municipal School Phule Nagar, Peth Road, Panchavati, Nashik - 422003 Ph: 0253 2518419 lokvikasamajiksantha@yahoo.com
84	Anjali Borhade	Disha Foundation, Nashik	Disha Foundation 2 Wild Orchi Apartments, B/ H Ved Mandir Road Tideke Colony, Nashik – 2, Phone: 0253 2583968 Email:banjali@gmail.com
85	Rekha Gaikwad	Lok Vikas Samajik Sanstha	56 No Old Municipal School

		Samajik Sanstha, Nashik	Phule Nagar, Peth Road, Panchavati, Nashik - 422003 Ph: 0253 2518419 lokvikasamajiksantha@yahoo.com
86	Kailas More	Lok Vikas Samajik Sanstha, Nashik	56 No Old Municipal School Phule Nagar, Peth Road, Panchavati, Nashik - 422003 Ph: 0253 2518419, lokvikasamajiksantha@yahoo.com
87	Kiran Kale	Lok Vikas Samajik Sanstha, Nashik	56 No Old Municipal School Phule Nagar, Peth Road, Panchavati, Nashik - 422003 Ph: 0253 2518419, lokvikasamajiksantha@yahoo.com
88	Deelip Mharke	Foundation for Human Horizon, IIT Mumbai	Email:advdeelip@iitb.ac.in
89	Lalita Q	Manjul Mahila Kalyan Samiti Foundation	
90	Kim Falzdri		Email:Falzdir@yahoo.com
91	Lalitha Kamath	CASUMM, Bangalore	
92	Sharit Bhowmik		Email:sharitb@vsnl.com
93	Ranjit Ambastha	Oxfam, India Trust	
94	Sunil Patade	Prapkalpgrast Punarvasan Sangarsh Kriti Samiti, Mumbai	Mobile: 09869413522
95	Devi Das Manohar	Adarsh Shishakan Prasarak Mandal,	Near Iqra Urdu School, Degloor Naka Nanded- 431604

Annexure II - Press Release

At press conference, Mumbai Martha Patrakar Sangh

Whither Indian Cities: Urban Reforms and Counter Strategies

National Consultation on National Urban Renewal Mission

15th & 16th April 2006

St. Pious Seminary, Goregaon, Mumbai

A two-day national consultation on Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) took place at Goregaon on April 5-6, 2006. The consultation was jointly organized by *Committee for the Right to Housing*, Mumbai and *Hazards Centre*, civil society organizations working on issues of shelter, livelihoods and urban services. The objectives of the consultation included developing a comprehensive critique of the JNNURM and arrive at a consensus on strategies to resist neo-liberal urban reforms embodied by the Mission. The consultation was attended by about 100 participants from 16 cities.

JNNURM : A Brief Introduction

Launched on Dec 3, 2005 by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the Mission is the single largest initiative of the central government in the urban sector and is stated to be a comprehensive programme of urban renewal. The Mission covers 63 Indian cities.

The Mission comprises two sub missions, namely, Sub-Mission for Urban Infrastructure and Governance and Sub-Mission on Basic Services to the Urban Poor, which would be administered by the Ministry of with focus on water supply, sanitation, sewerage, solid waste management, urban transport and road network management, slum improvement and rehabilitation, housing for urban poor and so on. Funds to the tune of 126000 crores have been earmarked, to be spent on a center-State-ULB sharing basis over a period of seven years starting 2005-06.

The Mission would be administered by the Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation. The cities would draw up projects in the shape of a city development plan, based on which funds would be given in the form of soft loans, grants or grant-cum-loans, and would act as seed money to leverage additional funds from financial institutions/capital markets. Funds would only be released however only if the State governments and Urban Local Bodies undertake a set of urban sector reforms. Categorized as mandatory and optional, these reforms would be done with an aim to eliminate legal, institutional and financial constraints that have impeded investment in urban infrastructure. Some of these include encouraging private-public partnerships, repeal of the urban land ceiling and regulation act (ULCRA), reduction in stamp duty, reform of rent control laws, easing of building approvals etc.

The consultation looked at detailed analysis and critique of the Mission in terms of what it holds for the majority population of Indian cities. It criticized the JNNURM for being designed to exclusively benefit local and international investors and attempting to set in motion a completely market driven urban development process through excessive commercialization and privatization of land and basic services. This would be done through systematic undermining of existing governance structures.

The JNNURM would facilitate acquisition and commercialization of land by corporate real estate firms. The repeal of Urban Land Ceiling Act (ULCA) gives a free hand to the builder lobby to acquire vast tracts of land in the cities thus driving the poor out of the land market. The Maharashtra Act, for example, limits individual land holdings to 500 square metres. The legislation allows the State government to take surplus land from private holders and use it to build housing for the poor. This is combined with Optional reforms include: the revision of by-laws to streamline building and development approvals; simplification of legal and procedural frameworks to convert land from agricultural to non-agricultural uses

Needless to reiterate, the 'reform' agenda of JNNURM is in line with the policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization initiated in the early 90s. The politics of globalization depends, among other things, on refashioning and 're-forming' cities in order to make them investment-friendly. Major cities of the Third World are thus sought to be de-linked from real domestic priorities and positioned as nodes in the global circulation of finance and services.

Privatizing services

The commercialization of land would be accompanied by privatization and corporatization of civic amenities. The 'new urban governance' being promoted in our cities aims at transforming 'inefficient' public sector dominated governance into 'efficient' private sector driven governance models. The *overall pattern is one of facilitating market-led development* and attract greater "private sector investments through PPPs". These Public Private Partnerships are aimed at maximising profit for private investors, not providing affordable, high-quality services for the poor. The purpose of the plan is to create an "investor friendly environment." Privatized services would increase costs borne by consumers. The requirement is that within seven years, local bodies would levy user charges to recover full cost of basic services. Users unable to pay will be refused basic services such as water. However the onus of minimizing risks for the private investor would be on State governments/ULBs.

Exclusion of the Poor

The JNNURM states that Urban Local Bodies should provide "basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply and sanitation". But unlike what is claimed, the JNNURM would in fact increase displacement of the poor from their habitats and livelihoods in the city. The program will pave the way for vast clearance programs to open up what is often prime land for

commercial uses. Similarly the repeal of rent control laws would mean driving out of low-income families out of affordable housing. Reservation of 20-15 % for EWS is optional, not mandatory. This housing would not be given free of cost. The conditionality is that funds accessed cannot be used to create wage employment.

Similarly, property title certification and computerization of land and property strike at the very root in which the poor stake their claim on the city i.e. de-facto occupation of land for residential and occupational purposes through a variety of informal networks created through the workings of electoral democracy in India. Already the government has permitted 100 per cent FDI in real estate and introduced freehold property rights. Though the Mission does make some politically correct noises about giving property rights and services to the urban poor they have to be seen in the context of dwindling livelihood opportunities in the cities about which the Mission says nothing and the grossly iniquitous distribution of land in urban areas which the Mission is going to sharpen. In this context, the pious intentions expressed in the Mission seem more like an attempt to ghettoise the poor and working people, along with all the hazardous occupations and substances of the cities, in the meager patches of land in the fringes or back lanes of the formal city- and that too, by charging user fee! And in the name of involving private sector in solving the housing problem of slum dwellers, it sets the stage for selling lucrative public lands to corporate real estate interests, land mafia and contractors.

Undermining existing governance structures

A uniform, market-friendly structure of urban governance would supplant or supersede the existing, legislatively enacted, governance system. JNNURM bypasses elected representatives and government functionaries. By introducing such far-reaching changes in the way our cities are going to be governed, without any debate in the parliament or State legislatures, the government has completely subverted the notions of the primacy of electoral democracy and accountability.

And even while these reforms have been offered on the benign platter of decentralization and community participation, it is clear from the way the Mission has been designed that the so called community participation is going to be restricted to the involvement of middle class 'citizens' bodies, which are already functioning as the 'demand side' of economic reforms in the decision making process. Further the reform linked assistance programme of the Mission undermines the principle of federalism in India. The 74th Constitutional Amendment did not envisage uniformity at the level of policy formulation and implementation as the Mission is asking for. What kind of a decentralization is this when the States and ULBs have no choice but to carry out economic reforms? The objective of these reforms, obviously, is to give control in the hands of large corporations.

Misguided planning

The JNNURM has been planned through a completely undemocratic and unconstitutional process. While residents of cities have not been consulted, the

multilateral funding agencies and corporate consultancy firms have been given a free run in shaping the Mission according to their priorities. Moreover, the Mission expects every city to formulate a city development plan indicating policies, programmes and strategies and financial plans. These plans are being made in a short period without any data base and consultation with the residents, especially the poor majority of cities.

Future Strategy

The consultation resolved to resist the implementation of the JNNURM at all levels. A comprehensive programme of mass awareness on the potential disastrous impacts of the Mission was chalked out. It was decided that popular literature on various facets of urban reforms in general and JNNURM in particular would be published and distributed in all cities covered under the Mission.

The consultation also decided to hold regional consultations in Jamshedpur, Jaipur, Hyderabad, Nashik, Delhi and Chennai, Srinagar, Kolkata and Uttar Pradesh over the next six months. The consultation also decided to set up a 'resource centre' where all the literature available on urban reforms would be available to all the groups.

Annexure III - Schedule

Schedule Day 1

10 am to 11.00 am - Introduction		
	<u>Welcome</u>	<u>Shweta Damle, CRH</u>
	<u>Introduction</u>	<u>Lalit Batra, Hazards Centre</u>
	<u>Key note presentation on JNNURM</u>	<u>by Darshani Mahadevia, CEPT, Ahmedabad.</u>
11.10 am to 11.15 am - Tea Break		
11.15 am to 12.15 pm - Session I		
<u>Land Use Patterns and Exclusion of Urban Poor</u>		
Chair: Shri Babu Rao Samant		
11.15 am - 11.45 am	<u>Presentations</u>	
	<u>Key note Presentation</u>	<u>Arvind Adarkar, Architect</u>
	<u>Slum Eviction in Delhi</u>	<u>Arun Bhandari, Peoples Education, Ankur</u>
11.45 am - 12.15 pm	<u>Open Discussion</u>	
12.15 pm to 1.30 pm - Session II		
<u>Emerging Forms of Urban Governance</u>		
Chair: Dr. Uday Mehta		
12.15 pm - 12.45 pm	<u>Presentations:</u>	
	<u>Key Note Presentation</u>	<u>Dr. Lalitha Kamath, CASUM-</u>
	<u>Participatory Governance</u>	<u>Asad Bhai, BUILD</u>
	<u>Relations between Industry and Government</u>	<u>Navtej, Urban Activist</u>
12.45 pm - 1.30 pm	<u>Open Discussion</u>	
1.30 pm to 2.15 pm - Lunch		
2.15 pm to 3.00 pm - Session III		
<u>Urban Reforms and Livelihoods</u>		
Chair: Shri Indu Prakash Singh		
2.15 pm - 2.45 pm	<u>Presentations</u>	
	<u>Keynote Presentation</u>	<u>Dr. Sharit Bhowmik</u>
	<u>Presentation on Unorganised Sector Bill</u>	<u>Thaneshwar Adigaur, NMPS</u>
	<u>Informal Sector in Okhla</u>	<u>Jamal Kidwai, Aman Trust</u>
2.45 pm - 3.00 pm	<u>Open Discussion</u>	
3.00 pm to 3.45 pm - Session IV		
<u>Transport Sector Reforms</u>		
Chair: Shri Dunu Roy		
3.00 pm - 3.15 pm	<u>Presentations</u>	
	<u>Keynote Presentation</u>	<u>Prof. Dinesh Mohan, IIT Delhi</u>
3.15 pm - 3.45 pm	<u>Open Discussion</u>	

3.45 pm to 4.00 pm - Tea Break	
4.00 pm to 5.00 pm - Session V	
<u>Water Sector Reforms</u> Chair: V. Suresh	
4.00 pm - 4.30 pm	Presentations
	<u>Presentation</u>
	<u>Dr Marie - Hélène Zérah, Institute of Research for Development</u>
	<u>Field Experiences</u>
	<u>V.Suresh, TN -PUCL</u>
4.30 pm - 5.00 pm	Open Discussion
5.00 pm to 5.45 pm - Session VI	
<u>Theoretical Perspectives on Urban Process and Economic Reforms</u> Chair: Lalit Batra	
5.00 pm - 5.20 pm	Presentations
	<u>Presentation</u>
	<u>Amita Baviskar</u>
	<u>Presentation</u>
	<u>Diya Mehra</u>
5.20 pm - 5.45 pm	Open Discussion

Schedule Day 2

9.30 am to 10.00 am - Summary of Day 1 Discussion - Lalit Batra	
10.00 am to 11.30 am - Session VII	
<u>City Level Presentations</u> Chair: Indu Prakash Singh	
	<u>Metro Cities</u>
	<u>Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Kolkata, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad</u>
11.30 am to 11.45 am - Tea Break	
11.45 am to 1.30 pm - Session VIII	
<u>City Level Presentations</u> Chair: Gautam Sen	
	<u>Non-Metro Cities</u>
	<u>Pune, Nasik, Jaipur, Srinagar, Lucknow,, Nanded, Indore,</u>
1.30 pm to 2.15 pm - Lunch	
2.15 pm to 3.00 pm - Session VIII (Continues)	
<u>City Level Presentations</u> Chair: Shri Adsule	
	<u>Non-Metro Cities</u>
	<u>Allahabad, Nanded,</u>
3.00 pm to 4.00 pm - Session IX	
<u>Resistance and Counter Strategies</u>	
	<u>Discussion</u>
	<u>Dr. Uday Mehta</u>
	<u>Discussion</u>
	<u>Dunu Roy</u>
4.00 pm to 4.15 pm - Tea	
4.15 pm to 5.30 pm - Conclusion	
<u>Future Programmes</u> Open Discussion Moderated by: Shweta Damle (Committee for Right to Housing)	