

URBAN RENEWAL
or
CITIES of EXCLUSION ?

A Report of the National Seminar
On

Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal
Mission

15th & 16th February 2007

HAZARDS CENTRE
June 2008

Urban Renewal or Cities of Exclusion?

A Report of the

National Seminar on
Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

15th and 16th February 2007
Delhi

Organised by

Hazards Centre
A Unit of Sanchal Foundation

Compiled by: D.Leena and Dana Van Breukelen
September 2007

Publishers: Hazards Centre
(a unit of Sanchal Foundation)

Publication 2008

Printer: Printcraft

Compiled by: D. Leena
Dana Van Breukelen

Edited by: Dunu Roy, Hazards Centre

Cover page and Layout: Vinod Koshti, Vartika

Sketch: Pranav Prakash

Support: Action Aid India,
Aman Trust,
Ford Foundation,
National Foundation of India
TRIPP-IIT-Delhi

Glossary

- BPL:** Below Poverty Line
BSUP: Basic Services for Urban Poor
CDP: City Development Plan
DPR: Detailed Project Report
DTC: Delhi Transport Corporation
EGS: Employment Guarantee Scheme
EWS: Economically Weaker sections
IDA: Indore Development Authority
IMF: International Monetary Fund
IT: Information Technology
JDA: Jaipur Development Authority
JNNURM: Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
LAEG: Local Area Environment Group
LIG: Low Income Group
MCD: Municipal Corporation of Delhi
MP: Member of Parliament
NAMA: Non-Agricultural Market Access
NDMC: New Delhi Municipal Committee
NGO: Non Government Organisation
NIUA: National Institute of Urban Affairs
PIL: Public Interest Litigation
PPP: Public Private Partnership
PWD: Public Works Department
RTI: Right to Information
SCMC: Supreme Court Monitoring Committee
SEWA: Self-Employed Women's Association
UIDSSMT: Urban Improvement and Development Strategy for Small and Middle Towns
UP: Uttar Pradesh
UPA: United Progressive Alliance
VAMBAY: Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna
VIP: Very Important Person
WTO: World Trade Organisation

Introduction

For much of 2005 and 2006, Hazards Centre has been studying the impact of urban policies on the livelihood and shelter of the urban working poor in two cities (Jaipur and Indore) based on earlier work done in Delhi. The research began in June 2005 under the title of **Urban Labour and Resistance** and was partially sponsored by Action Aid India and the Ford Foundation. Before selecting Jaipur and Indore to do in-depth research, efforts were made to explore the urban dynamic and to successfully build contacts with other groups in Lucknow, Allahabad, Chennai, Dehradun, Jaipur, Indore, Mumbai, Varanasi, Patna, and Udaipur. The study could not have been possible without the consistent cooperation of **Labour Education and Development Society** in Jaipur and **Deenbandhu Samajik Sansthan** in Indore.

The aim of the study was to document the intent of State policies, programmes, laws, and the multilateral development projects such as the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), and their impact on various sources of urban livelihood which are the basis of survival for the working poor. In both the cities, four different sectors were identified in consultation with the local groups and this was followed by a series of meetings with the people working in the concerned sectors to explore with them the purpose and relevance of the research program. Subsequently, in Jaipur, studies were designed to document the conditions of construction labour, traditional artisans, domestic workers, and street vendors; while in Indore, the studies were with the vegetable and fruit vendors, hawkers, waste-pickers, and tempo drivers.

A simple methodology was followed to prepare a draft survey schedule for each sector and conduct a pilot survey, on the basis of which the questionnaire was modified. This was then administered in collaboration with the local organisations or labour associations, and the primary data was then coded and analysed by the Hazards Centre staff. Efforts were also made in each city to meet other research organisations to collect whatever secondary material was available, occasionally filing applications under the Right to Information (RTI) Act to inspect files for acquiring official information about the city.

During the entire project period, meetings were held with the labour organisations, activists, community groups, and experts in Jaipur, Indore, Mumbai, Delhi, and other towns and cities, to compile and discuss the information accessible on the systematic

attack on the work and residence of the working poor through State policies and plans and judicial interventions.

In 2006, the following studies were conducted by Hazards Centre in Delhi, Indore, and Jaipur:

- 1. DTC Drivers, Delhi** – The growing trend within the Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) in providing basic employment security to the DTC drivers, both contractual and permanent, has been evident for many years. A study was designed to research the conditions of these drivers and draw comparisons between permanent and contractual drivers. Over 130 contract drivers and 28 permanent drivers of DTC were interviewed with the help of the DTC Employees Union to ascertain their status in terms of wages, working conditions, social security benefits, health etc. Several Right to Information applications were filed with the Transport Department, Planning Commission, and DTC to get the secondary information on the financial state of DTC, changing trends in employment, and recommendations of various expert committees. The analysis indicates a shift from regular to casual employment, increase in the burden of work, lower average hourly wages, absence of social security measures, harassment by contractors, and increase in the incidence of occupational health problems. The report was released to the Press in December 2006 in the presence of the DTC Chairman.
- 2. Industrial Workers, Delhi** – When the Supreme Court Monitoring Committee (SCMC) was established to monitor the polluting units in the Industrial Areas of Delhi, Hazards Centre used the opportunity to highlight the conditions of the metal workers in Wazipur, which was submitted to the Local Area Environment Group (LAEG) constituted by the SCMC. The study was an in-depth survey of 77 workers in two industrial areas of Delhi, Wazirpur and Okhla, to document the occupational health problems of the workers working in steel pressing and rolling units, tricycle pullers, and metal polishing workers. The analysis of the data shows exceptionally high morbidity and mortality level among the workers due to continuous exposure to toxic chemicals, absence of protective equipment resulting in frequent accidents, and the absence of health and social security measures.
- 3. Construction Workers, Jaipur** – A survey of 261 construction workers was conducted to find out their socio-economic profile, problems related to employment, the impact of urban changes on construction work, and the response of workers to these changes. The study shows that while the real wages of construction workers have come down over the years, they have been denied regular access to jobs and social security. The Construction Workers' Act has still not been passed in Rajasthan. Access to labour markets (*chowks*) that these workers have been using for decades is being denied in the name of beautification and decongestion of the city.

- 4. Traditional Workers, Jaipur** – Jaipur is the centre of India’s traditional artisanal crafts for centuries. The conditions of the traditional artisans in the present scenario of urbanism have become worse. To document these transitions, Hazards Centre designed a study of traditional workers in carpet making, gem polishing, *bandhej*, *zardozi*, *sanganeri* printing, papermaking and idol making occupations. About 245 interviews were taken and analysed: the findings of the study suggest that the situation of these workers is deteriorating. The handmade traditional artwork is transforming into machine production that yields cheaper products than the hand-made ones. The survey also showed that whereas the artisans were abandoning their traditional occupations, the new work force occupying the vacant production space has no experience of traditional work and is paid very poorly.
- 5. Hawkers and Vendors, Jaipur** – In the beautification drive of the Pink city of India, the authorities had removed the majority of hawkers and vendors from the walled city in 2003-2004. Only a few are operating now in the small spaces still accessible to them. About 190 hawkers and vendors were surveyed. The common problem of all the hawkers was the harassment faced by them from the municipality and police. They have to hawk their wares at inconvenient workspaces, which are as small as 4 feet by 4 feet. Moreover, there is a concerted move to snatch away even these tiny spaces from them because they are perceived to contribute to congestion and unhygienic conditions.
- 6. Domestic Workers, Jaipur** – Domestic work is a new phenomenon in Jaipur. Earlier, there was hardly anyone who employed a domestic worker but now there is a rise in the number of these workers, both on a part-time and full-time basis. A survey of 200 domestic workers was conducted to understand the overall dynamics of working conditions, wage structure, benefits, and socio-economic background of workers in this sector. The findings reveal that the women engaged in domestic work have been driven to do the work due to the non-availability of work for men in the city. This has led them to accept low wages with no benefits even after working for many years. The women in Jaipur traditionally remained within their homes but, now that they have been forced to go out for work, they prefer areas near their homes so that they do not have to depend on public transport.
- 7. Fruit and Vegetable Vendors, Indore** – A study of 250 fruit and vegetable vendors was conducted in Indore. The study shows that 93% of the hawkers do not have any license, which makes them vulnerable to extortion and exploitation by the police and the municipal authorities. Around 50% of the hawkers are selling from the footpath or roadside. As part of the renewal of Indore, the presence of these vendors is untenable in the eyes of the administrators. The plans are to shift them from their present places. The study clearly shows that the livelihood of these vendors depends

upon the proximity to markets and other public spaces. If they are shifted to faraway places their livelihood would get destroyed.

- 8. Waste Recyclers, Indore** – A study of 165 waste recyclers was conducted to understand the nature of work, earnings, problems, and trends in this sector. Most of the recyclers were complaining of the police and municipality asking them for bribes and, on non-payment, charging them for violation of the law. Though most of the recyclers have identification proofs like ration cards, voter I-cards, etc but they have not been given any license to carry on their work. Since they have to travel from one locality to another to collect the waste and don't have any space to segregate and store the waste before selling it, the issue of legal identity is critical. Most of the waste recyclers observed that the intervention of large corporations like Big Bazar in this trade has adversely affected their.
- 9. Tempo Drivers, Indore** – With the launch of the modern City Star buses in Indore for public transport, the tempo drivers have lost their business. Recently the city's Transport Department announced its decision to ban the tempos, although it is a convenient and affordable mode of commuting for the poor and lower middle class people. About 52 tempo drivers were interviewed to document their abysmal conditions of work and residence and the bleak prospects of future work that are staring them in the face.
- 10. Hawkers, Indore** – The road widening drives in Indore have been instrumental in uprooting many hawkers from their road-side spaces where they carried out their trade. Around 100 hawkers and vendors across the city were surveyed to document their problems. The findings show that, as a result of government policies and by design, most of the hawkers have either been rendered jobless or their earnings have decreased significantly. The biggest problem they face is the regular harassment by the police and municipal officials, who nag them continuously to pay the weekly bribe. The second major problem is the non-availability of legal space to operate from.

In April 2006, Hazards Centre, in association with the Committee to Right to Housing, organised a two-day National Consultation in Mumbai, titled "*Whither Indian Cities: Urban Reforms and Counter Strategies*". Concerned organisations, activists, academicians, and urban development experts from several towns and cities came together to discuss the projects envisaged under the JNNURM in their cities, and to agree on a possible collective response. There was unanimous agreement at the consultation that JNNURM was designed to exclusively benefit national and international investors, and an intense market-driven urban development process was being set in motion through excessive commercialisation and privatisation.

The consultation concluded with a consensus on the need to: (a) contextualise the Mission within the macro-economic process of structural adjustment; (b) track Mission prompted City Development Plans (CDPs) and Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) and offer resistance to these at the city level; (c) hold regional workshops in various cities covered under the Mission; and (d) set up an urban resource centre in Mumbai to collate and disseminate information on urban reform activities to groups and individuals all over the country.

In the same month, Hazards Centre held a seminar in Jaipur titled '*Vaishwikaran ki Chunauti aur Shehari Garibon ki Ranniti*' (The Challenge of Globalisation and Strategy of the Urban Poor), in close collaboration with the Jaipur-based Labour Education and Development Society. More than 200 people participated including community groups, informal sector workers, slum dwellers, political activists, civil society organisations, researchers, and academicians. The seminar decided to constitute a regular forum for debate amongst groups, activists, and researchers working on the issues of the informal sector workers.

During this period, Hazards Centre researchers also analysed the occurring and planned changes in sixteen towns and cities (Agra, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Chennai, Dehradun, Hyderabad, Indore, Jaipur, Kanpur, Kolkata, Lucknow, Mathura, Mumbai, Nagpur, Pune, and Vadodara) and were able to identify a few trends in consonance with what the micro-studies had illustrated:

- 1. City economies are moving from manufacturing to services**
- 2. The workforce is being evicted from both work and shelter**
- 3. Their space is being taken over by the large private corporation**
- 4. The slogan "Clean and Green" is anti-working people**
- 5. The working poor have to build alliances to resist**

The research activities described above underlined the need to make a serious public and collective attempt to identify common issues across urban India and to develop a concerted approach to deal with the general trend of urban renewal, as planned and implemented by bureaucracies and consultants without reference to the needs of the people.

Hence, a two-day seminar was held on "***Urban Renewal or Cities of Exclusion?***" in Delhi on the 15th and 16th of February 2007, at the Indian Social Institute, 10 Lodhi Institutional Area, New Delhi, to discuss these concerns. Several groups, individuals, and experts from all over the country participated in this two-day event. This is a report of the deliberations at the seminar

Inaugural Session

The Once and Future City

Dunu Roy

Hazards Centre, Delhi

Urban planners in India are imagining future cities in the image of Shanghai or Paris. This imagination conceals the intent to commercialise and privatise all civic services such as land, housing, power, water, health, and education. Such is the concept behind the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) that will be implemented in 63 big and small cities in India. The Mission has two components: the first for infrastructure development – including water, electricity, and transport; and the second for basic services for the urban poor (BSUP). While both are included in the same Mission, they are for different categories of citizens and are under different Ministries. The entire budget for 7 years is Rs 126,000 crores.

The JNNURM is not an isolated project but is part of a larger strategy that includes the Valmiki-Ambedkar Awas Yojana for housing, the draft National Slum Policy for basic services, and the Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana for employment. The Small and Medium Towns Development Project, the Urban Environment and Infrastructure Improvement Project, the National Economic Policy, the National Transport Policy, and the Non-Agricultural Market Access provisions under the World Trade Organisation agreement, are all neo-liberal projects for cumulatively privatising services, while the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund supply the ideology that legitimises Public-Private Partnerships in the name of “efficiency”.

It is within this overall context that one can distinguish three trends in a city like Delhi. **Firstly**, the figures in the 2021 Master Plan indicate that employment is to shift from secure manufacturing to insecure and informal services. **Secondly**, slum-dwellers are to be relocated from their present clusters and housed in sold or rented flats in multi-storied tenements to be built by private builders. **Thirdly**, the plans place great emphasis on grand development projects and promoting the commercial sale of land to make up the losses with a steep escalation of property. A preliminary analysis of 24 cities out of the 63 listed under JNNURM, shows trends similar to those in Delhi.

Bangalore has been converting from garment manufacturing to electronics and services. Hyderabad is moving from handicrafts to information technology and tourism. Chennai has been commercialising water as it transforms from automobile components and leather to retails, malls, multiplexes, and health care. Ahmedabad has similarly changed

from textiles to services, while Kanpur has closed its cloth mills and the land has been sold for renewal. Jaipur is also abandoning textiles and handicrafts for tourism and health care. Every city is trying to attract private developers, privatising public services of health, water, education, transport, and electricity, and evicting the poor.

Five key issues arise:

- 1 Who should plan the city – experts, architects or planners, or the common citizens?
- 2 People’s participation has become nothing more than a pre-election slogan for votes.
- 3 Technology use has become widespread in governance but the common citizen is still denied.
- 4 Can organisations of the working poor come together to resist the pace of urban change?
- 5 If the city caters to the most marginalised, who consume the least, will it not be a better city?

Informal Sector Workers in Jaipur

Hemalata Kansotia

Labour Education and Development Society, Jaipur

While the last fifteen years of liberalisation have demonstrated the visible impact of rampant urbanisation in the big cities, it has also had a tremendous effect on the smaller towns. There has been a sharp decline in agro-based manufacturing and an increase in urban-centric services. Public sector undertakings have followed the private sector's lead in adopting contractual employment. Labour laws, which came into being after years of workers' struggles, are now being openly flouted and even the law on minimum wages has not been adhered to. The formal sector is yielding before an increase in the informal sector from 89% in 1978 to 93% in 2007. The new economic reforms have led to the closure of the cloth mills factories in Jaipur, causing massive unemployment.

Jaipur was planned during the time of Sawai Man Singh, who was known for promoting the traditional artisanal skills of Rajasthan. Yellow colour was used to paint the royal buildings while pink was used for the others. In 1734, Jaipur developed as a central market place and that remains true even today, along with the growth in the tourism sector. But the latest Master Plan has ambitiously listed dozens of 'modernisation' projects such as Knowledge Corridor, Film City, Information Technology City, Plazas, and so on. In the process, demolition of slums has appeared prominently on the agenda of the city. Four *busties* have been issued notice and the administration is trying to relocate the evicted population to high-rise flatted housing

LEDS, in collaboration with Hazards Centre, conducted a survey of several groups of labourers in the informal sector of Jaipur, such as hawkers and vendors, traditional artisans, construction workers, and domestic workers. From the study of construction workers, it is clear that while traditionally Jaipur was known as a place with a highly developed construction industry, there is now a significant decrease for labour at the market. The workers don't get work for more than 10-15 days a month and are paid only Rs 60-100 per day. The 1996 Construction Workers Act has not been notified to date. At the labour *chowk* there are no services provided like shelter, toilets, or water for women and children.

Jaipur is known as a central market for people from all walks of life, including tourists, to buy their requirements from hawkers. But the recent Master Plan has provided no

place for them to ply their trade. Consequently, with a meagre earning of Rs 2000-4000, they remain at the margins of illegality and have to bribe the police regularly in order to make a living. The survey revealed that most of the hawkers live in rented houses as they do not have the capital to own their accommodation. The emergence of shopping malls and plazas is also responsible for the hawkers and vendors to be persecuted by the police.

It has become difficult for traditional artisans to get work, with the influx of machines into the sector. The study points out that these artisans are getting Rs 40 per day, and that too for irregular work. The decrease in the availability of work is forcing more and more women to enter the labour market, mostly as domestic workers. This occupation in the informal sector means that the women do not have any social security and often work long hours. Since they work under varying conditions and in distributed localities, it is also difficult to unite them.

During the course of the study, it became clear that the deteriorating condition of the workers was directly related to the changes being brought about in the city. In the process the forms of insecurity were increasing. Almost all the respondents focused on the lack of regular employment, basic services, shelter, and legal tenure. In spite of the harsher conditions for unionisation, many of them expressed the desire for a strong organisation at the city level.

Discussion

The ensuing discussion was triggered by **Shanta Toofani** who observed that the process of exclusion seems to remove the poor and poverty at the same time. **Indu Prakash Singh** agreed and described on a meeting at the Planning Commission, where it became clear that the people had not been consulted for the preparation of City Development Plans which had been given to private consultants to make. The Planning Commission itself argued that the corporate sector was involved in order to “minimise corruption”. In addition, there has been a change in the mindset of the judiciary towards the poor.

Shivakant Gorakhpuri argued that an analysis of the loans that the government has taken to implement such large missions should be done to expose the real drivers of governance. **Dipankar Mitra** felt some specific steps should be taken to counter the problems faced by the workers, particularly in Jaipur. **Deepak** suggested that the government policies for services and facilities for labourers could be studied and reforms recommended for better implementation.

There was a general consensus that there was a need for a common strategy to counter the oppressive policies of the state, in collusion with the technocrats and the courts. Such

a strategy would have to be based on extensive and meaningful people's participation. However, **Anand Lakhani** pointed out that while many NGOs argued against this kind of planning of flyovers and mega-development projects, the government accused the NGOs of being 'anti-development', and this problem would have to be addressed.

In response **Hemalata Kansotia** said that the government policies regarding labour are hardly effective for those in the informal sector. Traditional and construction workers do not have a single employer, hence they are denied social security. Construction workers had taken out many rallies and protests under a united banner, but it was important to organise all the informal sector workers through a large concerted campaign. **Dunu Roy** commented that the state used to adopt the role of a referee, but is now openly acting on behalf of capital, and the common man is no longer heard.

But this also contributes to the strength of resistance as people come to recognise on whose side the government is. As all services and land are gradually privatised under the garb of "efficiency", the trends show that prices would go up steeply, leading the middle class too to resist. The critical question, therefore, is how to do the necessary research that will establish and propagate these trends? As most of the mainstream institutions have been co-opted to the service of capital, it is only workers' organisations who can do such research and the challenge is to devise the methods and procedures through which such knowledge can be created.

Unorganised sector in Indore

Shashikant Prasad

Hazards Centre, Delhi

The urban changes that have been mentioned in the last session are also visible in Indore, with the same shift from the manufacturing sector to the services sector. The informal sector is growing and more and more people are looking for self-employed work. The study in Indore was conducted with four categories of workers in this sector, which were selected on the basis of information from local observers about which were the most prevalent occupations 100 vegetable sellers, 165 waste dealers, 100 hawkers, and 50 tempo drivers were interviewed during the course of the research. The number of respondents amongst the tempo-drivers was less, because there are totally about 500 tempo-drivers in the whole of Indore.

Historically, Indore used to be a hub of cloth mills and metal artefacts as the main traditional work, but most of these units have closed down and the jobless workers have started their own work. The study indicated that 96% of the fruit and vegetable vendors are self employed, while 98% hawkers, 100% waste dealers, and 100% of the tempo drivers are self-employed. The tempo drivers are exceptional in that they have been in that occupation for more than 15 years; the reason being that the state stopped issuing permits for tempos since 1970. The fruit and vegetable vendors have been working for the last 1-5 years, 60% of the waste dealers are in the business for 5 years, and 89% of the hawkers for 5 years too.

Among the vegetable and fruit vendors as well as waste dealer, 99% do not have any license. While 57 % of the hawkers do not have a license, the remaining 43% make payments to the municipality. The general absence of licenses is attributed to the fact that, here too, the state stopped issuing permits in 1970. In the case of storage of goods, the people in the informal sector do not have access to any legally demarcated space for this purpose. 60% of fruit and vegetable vendors and 99% of waste dealers store their goods in their homes; while 54% of the hawkers store in rented godowns, which charge around Rs 50-75 per day.

The average daily income for all categories is around Rs 100-150. The informal character of their work ensures that these self-employed workers have to regularly bribe the local authorities and the police. 72% of the vegetable vendors have to pay up to Rs 200 every 2-3 months. The hawkers and tempo drivers pay Rs 200-250 on a monthly basis. The

worst sufferers of this extortion are the waste dealers who have to pay Rs 200-500 per month, as they are the first targets of the police in case a crime is committed in their area.

As in the other cities, Indore too has new malls as part of the new urban plans. When queried about the impact on sales due to these developments, around 50% of the fruit and vegetable vendors said it would be disastrous, as did 78% of waste dealers and 68% of hawkers. About 98% of the tempo drivers said that the proposed introduction of the new Bus Rapid Transport System would probably mean an end to their work and their livelihoods would suffer as a consequence. All the respondents were unanimous that without unity they would not be able to challenge these developments.

Anand Laxhan

Deenbandhu Society, Indore

Indore is the largest city in Madhya Pradesh with a population of about 16 lakhs and it is said to be the 14th largest city in the country. Almost 63.5% of the population lives in the slums which occupy 325 hectares of land – that is 7.8% of the total land used for housing in Indore. In spite of this clear inequality the slums are being demolished and the residents relocated. While it is also evident that shelter should be near livelihood for the poor, and the VAMBAY flats meet that criterion, yet the high-rise buildings are not suitable for self-employed people who have to store goods in their homes.

The new Master Plan of Indore is completely anti-poor and a copy of the old one, which was rejected. It does not provide the working majority with any services. Furthermore, it has changed the land use of the green belt into commercial and residential purposes for the affluent. The new green belt is being created on land where the poor are living now. The guidelines provide for three times more area than the proposed plan which will clearly benefit the builders, colonisers, and commercial enterprises. The Indore Development Authority has also proposed two projects for 8000 houses, which will help to escalate prices of property.

Under JNNURM, they are also bringing in many projects of infrastructural development like grade separators, two-lane roads, four-lane roads, garden projects, sewage plants, etc. The media is fully and vocally in favour of these projects. But 15 roads are planned to become eight-laned, and it is feared that the tempo-drivers will be badly affected by the Bus Rapid Transport System. 2-3 tempo drivers have already committed suicide and if the situation remains the same there will be more casualties. Hawker zones have been created for only 10,000 hawkers who will be relocated to these zones. And, under Narmada Phase III, 60% of the public taps are to be replaced by private connections.

Discussion

During the discussion, there were several questions raised by the participants. **Dipankar Mitra** enquired whether the tempo drivers and hawkers were aware about the implications of the Mission. He repeated the issue raised in the previous session about where the investment was coming from and what were the conditions for the loan. Similarly, **J Adsule** wanted to know what had happened to the objections submitted by the social movements in Indore. He was clear that a national protest was necessary to change things and felt it was necessary to learn from earlier national campaigns.

Shashikant Prasad responded that the workers were very aware while **Anand Lakhan** said that alternative data regarding the slum population (700 instead of 150 slums) had been presented before the Indore Development Authority and several suggestions and complaints had been submitted but there has not been enough strength within the social groups to carry the day. **Jamal Kidwai** endorsed the idea of a national campaign, protest, or struggle to be debated by the many urban movements represented at the seminar.

Dunu Roy clarified that roughly half the capital would come from private companies and they would invest only if they could make a profit out of it. The public private partnership concept would enable subsidiaries of the same company to both give financial loans as well as bid for the contract. So the private sector would control the planning, building, and financing of the development of the city. Thus, while 30% of the JNNURM budget was normatively set aside for services for the urban poor, the private consultants have reduced the allocations to less than 10%. And the public investment on mega-projects can only be recovered by increasing taxes on property, education, health etc.

Impact of JNNURM on Patna

Praveen Jha,

Action Aid, Patna

Ranjan Kumar

Nidan, Patna

While studying the situation of Bihar, it was found that 50% of the districts are flood affected, which compels people to migrate to Patna. Other than Patna, Bodhgaya has been accepted under JNNURM as a cultural city. Patna Municipal area is presently 135 sq.km, but it is proposed to increase that to 333.2 sq.km. Patna is located between two rivers and the land on the banks of the Ganges and Poonpoo is to be developed for residential purposes. The south bank is known for its supply of fruits and vegetables to the city and thousands of cultivators would be affected by the acquisition. Last year, 38 deaths occurred in Bihar in rural areas that were related to loss of livelihoods.

Two consultants were hired to make the Master Plan of Patna, and even a casual look shows their arbitrary way of working. Under JNNURM, the state is planning big projects and investments but it is clear that all these developments are done either in haste or without any need-based assessment. For instance, near the Patna railway station there is an old jail that the Lalu government had wanted to convert into a VIP jail but the Nitish government wants to make it into a park and has demolished a large slum cluster for the purpose. It will also not be environmentally sound to encroach on to the low-lying Poonpoo river bed to the South when the natural development of the city is from East to West.

JNNURM has assured that housing the poor would be a priority. The Master Plan has earmarked 35% of the land for residential purposes, but only 1.8% of the fund allocation is for EWS housing and 15% for LIG housing, so together it comes to a mere 17% of the total for the 50% of Patna's population that lives in the slums. Patna also desperately needs to improve its drainage system, but when the State Government approached the Japanese Government for a loan, the Japanese refused on the grounds that investing in drainage would not yield any financial returns.

A training workshop had been organised in Patna to discuss JNNURM and the development initiative under it. Several community organisations realised that the Mission would have a lot of adverse consequences and they strategised to resist the plan.

by creating a common platform called the '*Jhuggi-Jhopri Sangharsh Morcha*'. It is a member-based organisation, which has filed cases in court and publicly protested on various issues. On 10th December, Human Rights Day, there was a massive rally with wide media coverage. The *Morcha* has also fought against the development of a film city and finally got a judicial stay. In one of the brutal slum demolitions in January, the Authority removed a cluster and did not give the residents any time to remove their belongings. The *Morcha* protested and managed to get the media to cover the story so that the Minister had to finally come to the site and make a public apology.

While the campaign has mobilised the residents of the slum areas and made them aware of the increasing problems that the urban planning projects will create, but the middle class still believes that these protests are anti-development. It is necessary to make the media and the middle class conversant with the shortcomings of the JNNURM. It is planned to involve various media personalities in the campaign and asking them to write in the mainstream newspapers, so as to take the debate further and particularly to explore the way to include the judiciary in this process.

Aashray Bachao Andolan is also thinking of preparing an alternative development plan for Bihar focusing on the ground realities and looking into all the environmental problems. The *Jhuggi-Jhopri Sangharsh Morcha* is seriously planning to fight in the coming Municipal elections and to field 27 candidates. The people living in the slum areas are half the population of Patna and they have every right to be represented in the democratic functioning of state and administration.

Patna Campaign

Prof U.N. Mishra

Nidan, Patna

The common people cannot understand that the impact of liberalisation and privatisation and of new changes like the JNNURM on the every day life of the people. A great deal of government land will be sold into the hands of private builders. A large part of the government land is still remaining which people have been earlier using through lease. A lot of the land has been occupied by slum colonies, where live the workers without whom the city cannot function. Development in the name of the Master Plan is not based on these ground realities. If such a Plan is implemented in Patna then the livelihoods of many will be destroyed.

The government had tried to evict slums many times earlier, but failed. Now it has even begun using police against protesters to frighten other slum dwellers. And this time the danger is real. The government has scrapped the Urban Land Ceiling Act, which earlier gave people the right to housing and they could go to court to fight for their rights. It is

imperative to mobilise the people and protest. The Patna Campaign was launched to encourage the slum dwellers to organise themselves. Eventually, they took out a rally of more than 10,000 people on the streets.

The preparation included media workshops on the issue of JNNURM that resulted in a systematic coverage and the sensitisation of this class. It was also necessary to make the farmers aware of the consequences of the development of the low-lying farm land into a residential and institutional area, and the proposed commercial development on the banks of the Ganga. It was clear that all remunerative projects had been given to the private builders while the non-profitable plans were marked for the poor from public funds. While the government is talking of rehabilitating the evictees, all services will be at cost. The plan is to impose taxes on all urban facilities, which will eventually make urban life very expensive for all. This provides the impetus to organise all sectors and sections of society.

Discussion

Many participants were eager to know more about the *Jhuggi-Jhopri Sangharsh Morcha*. **Dipankar Mitra** wanted more details of its structure and functioning. **Debendra Baral** was keen to learn about the degree of participation of local people in the Master Plan. **Prof. D.N. Kalia** was more interested in the political process. **Shanta Toofani** sounded a note of caution that while the civil society activists sat and discussed, the government executes its plans. It was more important to come together to struggle so that the poor could win their rights. **Indu Prakash Singh** felt that there was no difference between the various cities and a wonderful opportunity had emerged to come together and resist these changes.

Ranjan Kumar clarified that the *Morcha* began in 2004 when there was an eviction of around 375 families in one of the slums near a big market area, where the workers earned their living. All the residents joined the fee-paying member-based alliance, and then other slums joined as well. It began with a membership of 700 and grew to 9000 people. The alliance has formed various committees that file PILs and make sure that all residents are enrolled in the voter's list. It also plans to intervene in the political process in the future. While the people are not participating in the planning of the Master Plan, they are now becoming aware of the need to intervene. The *Morcha* is trying to sensitize the judiciary, the lawyers, and the students.

Informal sector workers in Delhi

Jamal Kidwai

Aman Charitable Trust, Delhi

The Aman Trust conducted a study among cycle rickshaw pullers, private bus conductors, rag pickers, and construction workers in the Okhla area of South Delhi. More than 90% of the workers were found to be migrants and the work was done through contractors. Between these professions there is a caste hierarchy, with the rag pickers at the bottom and the bus conductors at the top. There is also a division according to their place of origin. Thus, the rickshaw pullers are from Purulia in West Bengal; the bus conductors are mostly from Western Uttar Pradesh; the rag pickers are mainly from West Bengal but generally called Bangladeshi; the construction workers are also from West Bengal: all are Muslims.

An important finding was that large amounts of money are paid for sheer survival. The workers of the unorganised sector have to interact with the police or the Municipality on a daily basis. The police find it very convenient to accuse them of being 'Bangladeshi' – and ignore all documentary proof to the contrary – to extort a lot of money. It is a well organised system that mostly functions through the contractors. For example, there are 3000 rickshaws in the area and the police extract Rs 600 per rickshaw per year. In areas where 40 buses are running, the police will receive Rs 2000 per bus. Thus, every year the police and other authorities 'earn' about Rs 20 crore from bus operators and Rs 16-17 lakh from the rickshaw pullers. So, all the officials benefit greatly from the existence of this informal, but illegal, sector. Regularisation will result in huge losses to them.

Debendra Baral

Bal Vikas Dhara, Delhi

In Delhi, there are about 2 lakh waste pickers and all work through contractors who bribe the authorities. The government claims they are from Bangladesh but an independent study shows that 90% had proof of residence from West Bengal, Bihar, Tamilnadu and Assam. It is always said that these documents are forged, but the question is who makes these documents? Avoiding this question provides a pretext for not catching the real culprit and harassing and exploiting the victim. The media in Delhi also does not look upon them with favourable eyes and does not cover their plight.

In future, Delhi will either have buildings or roads according to the new Master Plan. The *Sajha Manch* alliance has filed many objections to the Plan, but so far there has been little or no response from the planning authorities. The courts have restricted the hawkers from running their business in Delhi within hawkers' zones with valid licenses. It is thus clear that, on the one hand, the government wants to throw the poor out of the city while, on the other, it is crucial to collectively organise people in one alliance. There are many networks working on various issues in Delhi, and our primary objective is to bring people to one common platform.

Thaneshwar Adigaur

National Campaign for Construction Worker's Rights, Delhi

The construction industry is a major growth sector work but the question is whether there will be work for workers in the industry in future. There are about 6 lakh workers in Delhi who wait for work in 150 labour *chowks*. Some of the *chowks* can be very big with an average of 1000 workers. All the workers work under contractors and the salaries vary a lot. Some get Rs 128 per day, while those who work with a government contractor get even less, and women may get as little as Rs 60. Labour intensity is also decreasing in the new processes of construction work, and women have been almost eliminated. Thus, in the Metro, there are only 50 workers although the magnitude of work could have easily provided employment to more than 500 workers.

The law to protect construction workers was enacted in 2002, wherein a Board was supposed to be formed to take care of the security and welfare of construction workers. This Board has not functioned since its inauguration, and no social security rules have been notified under the Act. The Board has not been able to register more than 1500 workers, although it consists of 17 members (including 5 government representatives, 5 political representatives, and 5 labour representatives who all have political affiliations). In such a Board it is unlikely that decisions will be taken in favour of workers.

To get registered with the Board, a worker has to pay Rs 85 along with two photographs which is too expensive for the worker. This is the reason why membership is so low. Until now the Board has received Rs 50 crores through cess collection towards the welfare of the workers, although Metro alone should have deposited Rs 117 crores, and a conservative estimate, based on the flyovers under construction, gives a figure closer to Rs 500 crores. The JNNURM does not have any provisions for employment generation, so the general attack on labour makes it all the more important to link all resistance together, at least at the city level.

Discussion

Discussants deliberated on various strategic concerns that emerged out of the various presentations. **Vikal** wished to examine the relevance of police reforms in the context of the rampant exploitation in the name of Bangladeshis. **Promod Chawla** raised the issue of electing genuine people's representatives as councillors. **Vijaykant Sinha** felt that greater attention would have to be paid to sensitising the media. **Dunu Roy** wondered how communities could connect at different levels in spite of the existence of divide and rule policies and many different networks.

Indu Prakash Singh mentioned that the City Development Plan of Delhi had a total budget of Rs 9000 crore, out of which Rs 4000 crores was to be spent on cleaning the Yamuna River, but only Rs 1068 crore on the construction of 25,000 houses. It was thus important to deconstruct these missions and plans, as well as to ask for accountability of the judiciary. **Mansoor** reminded the gathering that Delhi has more than 1 lakh homeless about whom there had been no mention.

Jamal Kidwai agreed that it was necessary to bring the divided people together to create a people's movement. Different organisations had to enable workers in the informal sector to share their individual and organisational problems and build a common platform. **U.N. Mishra** also emphasised that networking amongst various social movements was necessary because governments listened only when lakhs of workers poured out in protest on the streets.

Cities of Uttar Pradesh

Urban Resistance in UP

Alakshendra

Vigyan Foundation, Lucknow

City Development Plans have been prepared under JNNURM for Lucknow, Varanasi, Allahabad, and Agra in Uttar Pradesh. The first thing they did was to scrap the Urban Land Ceiling Act in order to encourage big private builders to develop townships and buildings. Stamp duty is to be reduced, and this is expected to almost double the amount of land transactions in all cities of UP. The visible changes in Lucknow are the construction of multi-storied buildings, parks, high-tech offices, and malls by the private sector. The price of land is increasing rapidly but there are no basic services being developed for the poor.

Although the ragpickers have been doing a lot of 'free' work for the Municipalities, still their task is being privatised. Hawkers are to be removed and put in certain zones while big retail ventures like Big Bazaar are being actively promoted. The census terms Lucknow as a slum-free city, but our study shows that there are 787 slums. The CDP of Varanasi gives a population of 1 lakh slum dwellers, but our study shows that there are 350 slums housing a population of 4 lakhs. Similarly, in Agra the government is giving a figure of 1 lakh slum dwellers while we estimate 4 lakhs.

Against these glaring inconsistencies, Lucknow's City Development Plan proposes a budget of Rs 11,856 crores, out of which 12% will be spent on giving basic services to the urban poor. When divided by the actual slum population this yields the sum of Rs 100 per person. Lucknow is to be made into a metropolitan area, for which it is planned to acquire 500 villages in the neighbouring district of Barabanki. Urban local bodies and politicians do not have any information about these proposals included in the Master Plan.

Discussion:

Dipanker Mitra asked how the government could be convinced that the plans in the JNNURM were against the poor. **Indu Prakash Singh** enquired about the implications of the recent court order against the slum dwellers. **Dunu Roy** wondered whether there had been any initiative to provide information to the councillors, **J. Adsule** examined the discrepancies in the data, while **Umesh Varma** compared the plan to clean the Yamuna

with one to clean the Ganga. **U.N. Mishra** reiterated that there is a lack of awareness on the impact of JNNURM in all cities and within all sections of the society.

Alekshendra informed his interlocutors that the mayor had made a public statement that Lucknow is full of Bangladeshis. In one slum earmarked for demolition, the residents had got together and refused to get the survey done. In another slum cluster, which was to be removed for developing as a park, the people had filed a PIL but the judges had ordered that all their valid documents, like ration cards and voters card, should be taken away. There had been an attempt to write to the councillors asking them to examine the issue in the House. But there is manifestly no concern for the urban poor.

Thematic Presentations

Insecure employment

Dunu Roy

Hazards Centre, Delhi

The 'work participation rate' is an index to compare the number of working men to the number of working women in a society. The data for 7 years from 1993–2000 for urban India indicates that the condition of working men has not changed much over that period, but for women it has increased in some of the cities. While 50 % of the men are employed, 10-11 % among women are now working, which is a higher percentage as compared to the past. Men are finding it more difficult to find work and they get lower salaries than before. In the majority of the states, unemployment is growing. So it is clear that women are entering the labour market in larger numbers, but employment is also changing from a secure and permanent nature to temporary and casual. This also points to the shift from the organised manufacturing sector to the informal services sector.

To give an example, Chintan's study of rag pickers in Delhi indicates that they work mostly in the Municipal areas rather than in 'New Delhi'. As the study shows, one rag picker with a cycle lifts more than 75 kg in one trip as compared to one on foot, who carries about 25 kg, and in New Delhi cycles are not allowed for this purpose. A simple calculation also demonstrates that the Municipality saves a considerable amount of money through their work, because it does not pay them even the minimum daily wage of Rs 100 for picking up the waste which is the legal duty of the Municipality. In return, not only does the Municipality not relinquish its property rights over the waste, but it does not even provide the rag pickers with a license or any basic facilities, such as a dhalao for segregation and a place to live in.

This study was successfully used by Chintan to lobby for changes in the Master Plan and is now being followed up with a campaign for stopping the privatisation of waste. Such a sectoral study demonstrates the need to collect primary data on livelihoods and analyse it to strengthen the advocacy efforts on behalf of labour in the city. An organisation that is able to base its arguments on realistic information also has a better chance of putting up a strong case for appropriate changes in policy by government. Such lobbying has, of course, also to be accompanied by mass action on the streets, and that is why it is important to consider the merits of participatory research wherein the working men and women are also better informed about their own situation.

Transport in City Development Plans

Dr. Geetam Tiwari

TRIPP-IIT, Delhi

One of the focal points in the JNNURM is the restructuring of urban corridors, as part of the imagery of the 'world class city' – taken to mean the widening of roads and the modernising of vehicles. But what is the context for this restructuring? Research for urban India in 2002 showed that 30-50% of the families own a bicycle, 3-13% own a car, and 40-50% own a two-wheeler. It is clear then, that the modernisation plans are only for those few families who own a car. Hence, the priorities set by the city plans (CDP) needs to be questioned. Particularly since, with the spending of several thousand crores in Delhi on the 60 km long Metro, many other cities are also aiming for similar visions.

The data shows that, in most cities, 60% residents use buses, and others travel by foot, rickshaw, or auto, because public transportation is not adequate for their needs and they do not own cars. Thus, when planning for better public transport, it is important that planners take care of the needs of this section of the population which actually uses public transport. But in the CDPs that are being developed, there is no space for buses, nor are there any plans to develop footpaths for pedestrians. In fact, when the planners talk of smooth traffic, they are only thinking of the construction of flyovers - that will neither benefit the common man, nor solve the problem of traffic jams.

The construction industry, however, is booming because of these anti-people plans and the construction of numerous flyovers, expressways, grade separators, and so on, although these structures do not help the common man at all. Thus, the Dhaula Kuan flyover in Delhi was made without planning for bus commuters or pedestrians. It was only when there were many road accidents and a public outcry that the PWD decided to construct a 10m high over-bridge! The trend is to build these user-unfriendly pedestrian crossways in most cities. While the National Transport Policy talks about the benefits for people, not cars (even listing many people-friendly aspects), yet most of the CDPs have designed the transport system to suit the car owners with wider roads under JNNURM.

Fortunately, the Central government has so far not approved of these CDPs (particularly Pune's), nor given the 40% grant. Learning from this, most cities have now changed their transport plans by including lanes for cyclists and pedestrians. The Central government has also said that if these plans are not implemented in the same manner then it will not release the second instalment. So today common people have some weapons to assert their rights to walk and cycle in the city and for demarcated spaces for pedestrians, cyclists, and bus commuters on the roads. They can now also demand road-crossing facilities for pedestrians, separate bus lanes, and adequate bus stops.

Reforms and sustainability of JNNURM

Prof Shreekant Gupta

Ex-Director, NIUA, Delhi

The Common Minimum Programme of the UPA government brought the JNNURM to the urban areas after the Rural Employment Guarantee Programme in the rural areas. India is rapidly urbanising and the JNNURM is planned for 7 years for 63 cities, with a budget of Rs 1 lakh crore, of which Rs 50,000 crore will come from the Central government. While urban development has always been a State subject, the Mission gives the Central government a central role. But the Mission begins on a wrong premise, as it is divided into two sub-missions under two Ministries with two different websites and very little coordination. As part of civil society we should question this repeatedly.

The Mission has been developed by bureaucrats for bureaucrats without any democratic consultation with the elected representatives, and they have identified 35 million-plus cities, along with all the state capitals and a few historic tourist and cultural centres, for inclusion in the JNNURM - with 40% of the total urban population. The National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA) has appraised the CDPs of 18 cities (out of 21) till now and found that the guidelines have not been followed. Thus, the guidelines state that the CDP is a 'shared and collective' vision, but an Ahmedabad organisation has evaluated the Delhi CDP at 2500 crores, but few people in Delhi know of this.

In some cities such as Pune and Kanpur the plan has been presented on television and on billboards. However, consultants have developed the plans and the Toolkit does not even give directions on how they should 'consult' the public. There are thus, no facilities for the poor who have not been involved in the planning process. There are more than 50 CDPs that have been appraised through various agencies, before which the city will not be funded. 54% of Mumbai's population is in slums, but there is no consultation with them. The Sachhar committee has said that 10 cities have 25 % Muslims, but there is no consultation with them.

It is very important to have strong and accurate data before the making of any plan. But the data used in all the CDPs is very weak and abstract. In most of the CDP appraisals, the state government was never even involved. In other words, the JNNURM or CDP is an extra-constitutional measure without a statutory requirement, as for the Master Plan. And for most cities there is no integration between the CDP and the Master Plan. In all cases, the treatment of the urban poor, of transport, and of integrated planning is very weak. The government has made a working committee to revise the CDP and the toolkit, which provides us an opportunity, but only if a different set of people are involved. Delhi's CDP came after a year, and should have learnt from the experience of other cities to provide a better CDP.

Discussion

The three presentations gave rise to an animated discussion on the current nature of city planning. **Anand Lakhan** wondered how older cities like Indore could have wide roads and what would happen to the poor living in that area. **Geetam Tiwari** clarified that widening had not been planned for the inner city. Only those roads would be widened where there was a space of 30-45m on the roads, enough for cycle paths and footpaths. To **Shanta Toofani's** query about why the government did not think and plan in favour of the poor, **Shreekant Gupta** explained that even the elected representatives did not have information about these plans. To which **Anuradha Sharma** asked what would ensure public participation as per the 74th Amendment? **Shreekant Gupta** felt that we should all get information through websites or RTI and demand to know how the 74th Amendment is being implemented in different cities. "If we, as civil society, want to make sure that the money is spent well, than we will have to work hard for it."

Lalit Batra said that the government was trying to justify the public-private partnerships through the 74th Amendment because it would take 10 years for the implementation of the functions enumerated under 12th Schedule, or formation of the finance commissions and various state commissions. He wanted to challenge the undemocratic process through which the Mission had been constituted. **Shreekant Gupta**, on the other hand, felt that states and cities were thinking that PPP was a way to get central government funding. In the JNNURM it was specified that 85% properties should be brought under the property tax, although almost 30-40 % of the properties in Delhi could not even be found in the records, paving the way for large scale corruption. He was of the opinion that some of the reform measures (community participation laws, RTI, area sabhas, mohalla samitis etc.) were necessary.

Santosh Kumar was of the clear opinion that JNNURM was totally against the masses while **Ranjan Kumar** suggested that pro-people experts should give time to talk with the local councillors. **J Adsule** wanted to know who was the implementing authority and if the constitutional validity of JNNURM could be challenged. He also suggested that the information gap between social movements and academic institutions should be bridged. **Indu Prakash Singh** asked whether the participatory process could be made democratic. **D Leena** explained that there was a lot of confusion regarding the 74th Amendment because contrary to the Amendment's potential to involve and empower the people, the JNNURM stipulates that the municipalities will have to generate their funding from private financial institutions by way of loans, thus becoming dependent upon market forces.

Shreekant Gupta added that apart from JNNURM, small and medium cities were being developed under the Rs 900 crore UIDSSMT, and the World Bank was giving loans for capacity building. Hence, there was a need to intervene with the urban local bodies and

to force the government to put all the documents on the website. “We have a right to know what kinds of projects are being developed with our money.” Since much of the wealth of the local bodies came through goods, through community tax, and the rich did not pay for services at the level of their consumption, the concerns of the urban poor had to be highlighted and mainstreamed in urban renewal projects. People had to learn to question the schemes developed by the government and point to the faults in it.

Debendra Baral wanted to know what security was being proposed for the urban poor like the rag pickers; **Shivani Bhardwaj** asked where was the land and the livelihoods; **J Adsule wondered** where the figures for income benefits were coming from if cities were shifting to unorganised labour; **Azad** reminded the participants that the poor were not getting wages according to their hard work, but were deprived even of shelter; and **Kalyani Sen Menon** argued that while the NSSO data was considered authentic, at the ground level we were seeing that 25% women were working, so we need to confirm our data if it is to be used for the struggle.

Dunu Roy responded to some of the comments by pointing out that there was no real distinction between housing and employment, which were closely inter-connected. While, for last 5 years, it was clear that slum areas were under attack, now it was equally obvious for work with small factories being closed down and rickshaws being prohibited on the roads. Hence, there was a need to be prepared for this with more genuine data that people could collect on their own. He was of the opinion that the use of RTI legitimised government misinformation. The challenge was to show a different map of the city, a city that is dependent on the labour of the urban poor without being degraded by them. In tandem with this, there had to be a demand that the NURM had to meet the basic needs of the working poor.

Future Strategies

Moderated by Dr. Imrana Qadeer

The final session of the Seminar was devoted to an open discussion on possible strategies that could be adopted, or were being experimented with, by the participants from different cities. **Dipanker Mitra** from Kolkata suggested that it should be the organisation's aim to pose City Development as an activity that paid attention to the welfare of all residents. Thus, personal ego should give way to the involvement of public representatives, members of trade unions, and students in our work. **Sister Sylvan** from Hyderabad explained how they have formed of people's committees in 80 slum areas, so that the people can take up the issue of right to housing in their own neighbourhoods. This approach has been successful in some areas, so they are also planning to undertake research at the local level as well as learn more from the experiences of other cities.

Darshana from Delhi proposed the idea of creating an economic organisation to supply small-scale loans to the poor so that they could employ themselves. **Mohanlal Parikh** from Jaipur added that there was a common lack of work opportunities for labourers in the city, hence all organisations were prepared to work together to address the rising problem of unemployment. **Savitri Chaudhary** from Delhi illustrated how they had created awareness among the women in the basti to successfully demand an Aaganwadi in their area. **Thaneshwar Adigaaur** of Delhi further insisted that the urban development plans should give priority to employment and the different organisations should create a network on this issue.

Ranjan Kumar from Patna agreed that it was necessary to learn from the different processes of development in each city, so that a national strategy could be constructed. Documentation and data available at the grassroots level should also be available at the national level. **Anand Lakhan** of Indore felt that since all the organisations were involved in local struggles, it could be possible to link them together at the national level. **Alekshendra** from Lucknow indicated that they were planning to create a core-group in Uttar Pradesh to investigate the JNNURM and prepare a movement at the state level to act against it. **Hemalata Kansotia** from Jaipur felt that for strengthening this common sharing the information regarding the content of the JNNURM should reach the grassroots level. **Shailendra Shroff** from Mumbai suggested that a memorandum should be prepared by the seminar to present to the government.

Afaq from Delhi said it was necessary to collect alternative data in order to challenge

government policies. **Prof U.N. Mishra** of Patna asked whether the participants were ready to challenge the politics that was changing life in the cities. If they were, then it was imperative to create a common platform where organisations and individuals could assemble: financially independent but struggling together. In parallel, it was necessary to motivate the media, and train communities so that there was continuity to the struggle and the network, both at the state as well as national levels. **Dr. Imrana Qadeer** summed up the consensus that collective work would be strengthened through the process of sharing of information about each other's work.

Conclusions

In this two day seminar there was an aim to create a consensus on the JNNURM, which has been achieved. All the participants have agreed to pass the following resolution:

1. The National Urban Renewal Mission has been divided among two departments/ministries, which uproots its integration. Hence, our first demand is that the coordination of the Mission be brought under one department/ministry.
2. This Ministry, through the Information & Broadcasting Department, should proactively make the entire information public and display it on the website of the Ministry. In particular, the information with respect to finance management, conditions for loans, and arrangement for returning loans should be notified to the public.
3. Before any policy is finalised, it should be debated in Parliament in consonance with democratic procedures. In the context of NURM no such debate has taken place in Parliament. Therefore, our second demand is to table the full information in Parliament. And because urban development comes under the purview of State Governments, the debate should also take place in the Vidhan Sabhas.
4. According to democratic processes, the provision of constituting the Ward Sabhas and Ward Committees under the 74th Constitutional Amendment had to be implemented 14 years ago. Hence, our third demand is that the Constitution should be followed and each state should immediately constitute Ward Sabhas and Ward Committees. Along with this Urban Local Body and State Finance Commission should also be constituted immediately and mandated with their full authority.
5. The Ward Sabhas have extensive rights to formulate local development plans, and the city development plan should be an integration of these local development plans.
6. Consequently, our fourth demand is that until the Ward Sabha plans are formulated democratically, the City Development Plans prepared by bureaucrats and consultants should not be accepted.
7. The strategy of NURM deals with infrastructure and basic facilities for the urban poor only. Thus, our fifth demand is that it should have provisions for livelihoods, which lies at the foundation of any city.

List of Participants

S.No	Name	Org.	Address	Email/contact No.
1.	Amzad Hassan	DANMU	1996/5, Pilanji Sewajagar Kotla Mubarakpur	damu.org@gmail.com
2.	Kapil	DANMU	-do-	-do-
3.	Shantadevi Tufani (Mataji)	Ankur	7/10, Sarvapriya Vihar, New Delhi-110016	26521411, 26523395 ankureducation@vsnl.net
4.	Fulwati	Ankur	-do-	-do-
5.	P.K. Praveen	Action Aid	A-3,Vivekanand Park, Patliputra Colony, Patna	pravind.praveen@actionaid.org
6.	Abhay Razdan	Chintan	C-14, IInd Floor Lajpat Nagar – III New Delhi	46574171, 72, 73, 74 abhay@chintanindia.org
7.	Makrand Bakore	Centre for Civil Society	K-36, Hauzkhas Enclave New Delhi-110016	makrand@cccs.in
8.	Jaya	Delhi Shramik Sangathan	Basti Vikas Kendra F-Block, Vikaspuri	
9.	Anil	Delhi Shramik Sangathan	-do-	
10.	Dr. J. Adsule	CRH Mumbai	22A/704, Migra Binbisec Mumbai-65	jadsule@hotmail.com
11.	Rakesh Kumar	Sneh bandhan Society	B-150, Karampura Najafgarh Road Delhi	
12.	Anil Soman	Snehbandhan Society	-do-	
13.	Shivakant	Lok Panchayat	V-385, Prem Nagar Delhi-110086	
14.	Vimla	CFAR	F-19, Kalkaji	
15.	Rukmini Barua	Aman Trust	C-651, 2 nd Floor New Friends Colony	rukmini@amanpanchayat.org
16.	Shambhunath	Bal Vikas Dhara	C-24, Masurpur Vasant Kunj New Delhi	9811380113
17.	Asher Ghetner	University of California		9811273789

18.	Bharat Dogra		C-27, Raksha Kunj Paschim Vihar New Delhi-110067	25255303
19.	Wakil Ahmad + 8	Ankur	7/10, Sarvapriya Vihar, New Delhi- 16	26521411, 26523395 ankureducation@vsnl.net
20.	Sajida	Delhi Forces	DIZ Area, Raja Bazar Connaught Place New Delhi-110001	
21.	Vikal	Kalpavriksh	134, Tower-10 Supreme Enclave Mayur Vihar-I Delhi-110092	vikal.san@rediffmail.com
22.	Aheli Chowdhary	Aman Trust	C-651, 2 nd Floor New Friends Colony New Delhi	www.amanpanchayat.org
23.	Harini Narayanan		G-24, 2nd Floor Jangpura Extension New Delhi - 110 14	9810542867 narayananharini@gmail.com
24.	Afaq Ullah	Hazards Centre	D-11/110, Zakir Nagar New Delhi-110025	9313530018 lushkary_afaq@yahoo.com
25.	Anand Mishu	Chintan	C-14, IInd Floor Lajpat Nagar - III New Delhi	46574171, 72, 73, 74 abhay@chintanindia.org
26.	Mrinalini Goswami	Hazards Centre	92-H, 3 rd Floor Pratap Market Munirka New Delhi-110067	
27.	Anuradha Sharma	Hazards Centre	do	annuradhasharma@gmail.com
28.	Kaushalya	Mahila Pranali Manch (CFAR)	Janta Mazdoor Colony	
29.	Sushila	Satark Nagarik Sangathan	B-76, S.F.S. Flats S.J.I.	
30.	Dunu Roy	Hazards Centre	92-H, 3 rd Floor Pratap Market Munirka	haz_cen@vsnl.net
31.	Prabhakar Rao	Kalpavriksh	134, Tower-10 Supreme Enclave Mayur Vihar, Phase-I Delhi-110099	pra_1431@hotmail.com
32.	Shashikant	Bal Vikas Dhara	C-24, Masoodpur Vasant Kunj	9891977975 26125867

			New Delhi	
33.	Mr. Devender Kumar Baral	Bal Vikas Dhara	-do-	9811507172 26125867
34.	Bijulal M.V.	ISI	10, Institutional Area, Lodhi Road New Delhi – 110003	24622379(o), 26015909 9968161012
35.	Md. Ishtiyaq	DAMU	D-1/1225, Ratiya Marg, Sangam Vihar, New Delhi	
36.	Dr. Md. Shamim	DAMU	GI8/241A, Ratiya Marg, Sangam Vihar, New Delhi	9313331728
37.	Mohan Lal Ji	Labour Education and Development Society, Jaipur	244, Pashupati Nath Colony Jaipur	
38.	Shailender Shroff	Centre for Urban Studies	Mumbai	9224297063
39.	Dipankar Mitra	Action Aid, Kolkata	19, Lake Temple Road Koklata-29	24657017/18 2004.dipankar@gmail.com
40.	Md. Gulzar	Delhi Forces Neev	DIZ Area, Sec-4 Raja Bazaar, Delhi	gulzar84@rediffmail.com delhiforces_neenv@yahoo.com
41.	Harmender Singh	LEDS, Jaipur		Leds.Jaipur@gmail.com
42.	Md. Rafi	AAWAZ	N20/A75 Udham Singh Park Wazirpur, Delhi-52	aawas_esp@yahoo.com
43.	Raghuraj	AAWAZ	Do	aawas_esp@yahoo.com
44.	Sangeeta	AAWAZ	Do	aawas_esp@yahoo.com
45.	Kalpna Sakte	Mahila kalpna Shakti	Khanpur JJ Colony Ambedkar Nagar Sector-2, New Delhi	
46.	Bablu	Mahila kalpna Shakti	do	
47.	Birju Nayak	Lok Raj Sangathan	Delhi	
48.	Bharat	LEDS	38 Motinagar Jaipur	9210285899
49.	Anand Lakhan	Deen Bandhu	57-C, Suryadev	aldbss@rediffmail.com

			Nagar, Indore	
50.	Mili...	Bal Vikas Dhara	C-24, Masoodpur Vasant Kunj New Delhi	
51.	Imrana Qadeer		C-4/111, SDA New Delhi	
52.	Ajay Gandhi		E-3, Greenpark New Delhi	ajay.gandhi1@gmail.com
53.	Snehlata	CFAR	F-19, Kalkaji New Delhi	
54.	Archna	Mahila Pragati Manch (CFAR)	Janta Mazdoor Colony, New Delhi	
55.	Hemlata Kansotia	Labour Education and Development Society	38, Moti Nagar Queens Road Jaipur	leds.jaipur@gmail.com
56.	Juhi Jyoti	Aman Trust	New Friends Colony	juhi@amanpanchayat.org
57.	Jamal Kidwai	Aman Trust	New Friends Colony	jkidwai@amanpanchayat.org
58.	Indu Prakash Singh	Action Aid Int. India	N-222, GK-I New Delhi-110048	indu.singh@actionaid.org
59.	Shashi Bhushan Pandit	HRA	B-1999, III Floor, Gali No. 3, W.V. Nagar, New Delhi	
60.	Govardhan Kisna	HRA	do	
61.	Ashok	Satark Nagrik Sangathan	B-76, Gr.... S.F.S. Flats, S.S.I. New Delhi	ashok.sns@gmail.com
62.	Meera Devi	Mahila Pragati Manch	Sunlight Colony	
63.	Mehrunisa	Mahila Pragati Manch	Sunlight Colony	
64.	Rahina	Mahila Pragati Manch	Sunlight Colony	
65.	Tauqueer	National Foundation of India		tauqueersabri@yahoo.co.in
66.	Ram Prakash Mishra	Mahila Pragati Manch	Kalyanpuri	
67.	Mansoor Khan	BMSS	Fatehpuri	9213217063

68.	Thaneshwar Adigord	National Campaign for Workers Rights	Karampura	9213731844
69.	Sat...Rawat	SBS	Karampura	9873413700
70.	Raje Bhaduria	SBS	Karampura	9818980496
71.	A. Jaya Kumar	Hazards Centre		9213958893
72.	Bishnu Mohapatra	The Ford Foundation	55, Lodi Estate New Delhi-110003	
73.	Satyajit Das	Hazards Centre		
74.	Shravaba	CFAR	F-19, 3 rd Floor Kalkaji, New Delhi	26292787, 26430133 cfarasaar@ndf.vsnl.net.in
75.	Kundan	CFAR	F-19, 3 rd Floor Kalkaji, New Delhi	ckundan@gmail.com
76.	Sr. Selvin Irany	CHATRI	A-6-509, Esamia Bazar, Koti, Hyderabad-27	chatri_hydr@yahoo.co.in
77.	Umesh Varma P	Gamana	Plot No 1,G-3, Arunodaya Colony, Madhapur, Hyderabad-500081	040-23100219 umesh_varma@yahoo.com
78.	Nadira...	Rehdi	Yamuna	9818436733
79.	DNKAL TA	Ind.	199, Sahyog Apts. Mayur Vihar	22753275
80.	Rajeev Kumar	Janbaat	II Floor, Silver Park Shivpuri	9210825420
81.	Anila Shukla	Mahila kalpna Shakti	Khanpur JJ Colony Ambedkar Nagar Sector-2, New Delhi	9868771691
82.	Dr. M.K. Ray	RMP Federation Delhi	F-26. Chattarpur Extn., New Delhi - 110 074	mkray_63@yahoo.co.in
83.	Prem Bahukhandi	CAVE	H-35, B.K. Dutt Colony, New Delhi	9810881284 prembahukhandi@gmail.com
84.	Naresh Kumar	CAVE	H-35, B.K. Dutt Colony, New Delhi	nareshanubhava@rediffmail.com
85.	Priya Ranjan	Peoples Canvas		peoplescanvas@gmail.com
86.	Manish Kumar	Swami Shraddhanand College, DU	H.No. 209, Mukherjee Nagar Delhi-110009	manish107msh@yahoo.co.in
87.	Madan Kumar Dubey	Human Rights Activists	5/3ae, Kalpana Apartments, Vaishali,	9868753321 mjbd_hr@yahoo.co.in

			Ghaziabad	
88.	Ranjan Kumar	NIDAN	Patna	
89.	Alakshendra Pratap Singh	Vigyan Foundation	D-3191, Indira Nagar, Lucknow	Vigyanfoundation@yahoo.com
90.	Ajay K. Sharma	Sarokar Magazine	S.B.S. Jafar Marg New Delhi-110002	Ajayksharma66@yahoo.com
91.	Lalit Batra			9899091413
92.	Pramod Chawla	Jan Pratinadhi Sangathan	K-87, Hauzkhas New Delhi-110016	pramodchawla@bol.net.in
93.	Jagdish	Pro-..		jagadheen@gmail.com
94.	Shashi Kant	Hazards Centre	92-H, 3 rd Floor Pratap Market Munirka New Delhi-110067	
95.	Vinod Koshti	DSW	3, University Road D.U. New Delhi	9891275989 vinodkoshti@rediffmail.com
96.	Mohd. Anas	DSW	3, University Road D.U. New Delhi	9899096092 unas_msw@yahoo.co.in
97.	Anuj Bhuwania		P4A, Jangpura Extn. 3 rd Floor, New Delhi-14	anujbhuwania@gmail.com
98.	U.N. Mishra	Janashakti	Janakshakti, Adalatganj, Patna-800001	2224954
99.	Vijay Kant Sinha	Ashray Bachaao Andolan, Bihar	Langartali, Patna-4	9835457408
100.	Kalyani Menon	JAGORI	B-114, Shivalik New Delhi-110017	Kalyani@jagori.org
101.	Mitishbu	Bal Vikas Dhara	C-24, Masurpur Vasant Kunj New Delhi	26125867, 9210231024
102.	Sansar Chandra	Vyavastha Parivartan Gathbandhan	405, Maidan Garhi IGNOU Road New Delhi	sansar.chandra@gmail.com
103.	Santosh yadav	Lok Panchayat Kiradi	A-7/30, Prem Nagar II, Delhi - 110 086	9811302063
104.	Shivani Bhardwaj	Sathi all for Partnerships	E-09, Anand Vihar Mayur Vihar-I	9810536717
105.	Gyananendra.	IGSSS	28, Institutional Area, Lodhi Road New Delhi-110003	9350820316
106.	Indu Prakash	Action Aid	W-222, G.K.-I	9313327669

	Singh		New Delhi-110048	
107.	S.P. Sharma	ASC	West Patel Nagar	25842180
108.	Dev Bhartiya	Delhi bturk	4395/4A, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj	9810611667
109.	Savitri Choudhary	Vikas Jagrukta Samiti	N-64, Sector-12 NOIDA-201301	9911270505 vikasjagg@yahoo.com
110.	Ashok Kumar	Satark Nagarik Sangathan	B-76, S.F.S. Flats S.J.I.	ashok.nss@gmail.com
111.	S. Azad	PRASAR	G-12/462 A Sangam Vihar	silicosiskiceti...@gmail.com
112.	Anil Kumar	CISRS, UPF	14, Jangpura-B Mathura Road	4379821
113.	Bharat	LEDS (Jaipur)	38, Moti Nagar Jaipur	92102858
114.	A. Seshadri	The Vigyan Vijay Foundation		ajit.seshadri@vigyanvijay.org
115.	Sanjay	Student	7245 Ram Nagar New Delhi-110055	
116.	Leela Devi	JOB	7245 Ram Nagar New Delhi-110055	
117.	Dr. G.S. Gahlot	RMP Federation Delhi	B-5/429, Yamuna Vihar, Delhi	9313970835 9313970155
118.	Nasirudin Sindi	Redi Patri Morcha	Railway Road Shahadra	
119.	Rakesh	Snehbandhan Society	B-150, Karampura	9210692782
120.	Rohan Dsouza	JNU/CSSP	103. OTK JNU	rohanxdsouza@gmail.com
121.	Giromder S Somgj	RTFC	Q-21 B, III Floor Jangpura Extn.	gsinghoedu@gmail.com
122.	Ritu Priya	CSMCH/JNU	147-A, U.K, JUNU	ritupriya@vsnl.com
123.	Prof Arun Kumar	JNU		
124.	D.Leena	Hazards Centre		dabiru.leena@gmail.com
125.	Sadre Alam	Hazards Centre		mosdral@yahoo.com

Programme Schedule

Day one – 15th February 2007

2 Schedule	
9.30 am	<i>Registration of the delegates</i>
10 am – 10.15 am	Formal Inauguration of the Seminar Followed by a presentation from Dunu Roy “Once and future city restructuring the imagination”
Session – I (10.15 am to 11.30 am)	
10.15 am – 10.30 am	Presentation of Study on Jaipur – Hemalata Kansotia from Labour Education and Development Society, Jaipur CHAIR: JAMAL KIDWAI
10.30 am – 11.30 am	Discussion on the city
<i>11.30 am – 11.40 am – Tea break</i>	
Session – II (11.40 am – 1.00 pm)	
11.40 am – 12.00 pm	Presentation of Study on Indore – Shashikant on behalf of Deenbandhu Society, Indore CHAIR: JAMAL KIDWAI
12.00 pm – 1.00 pm	Discussion on the city
<i>1.00 pm – 1.45 pm – Lunch Break</i>	
Session – III (1.45 pm – 3.00 pm)	
1.45 pm – 2.00 pm	Presentation from Patna - ff from Nidan, Patna CHAIR: INDU PRAKASH SINGH
2.00 pm – 3.00 pm	Discussion on the city
Session – IV (3.00 pm – 4.15 pm)	
3.00 pm – 3.15 pm	Presentation from Delhi – Jamal Kidwai from Aman Trust, Delhi CHAIR: PROF U.N.MISRA
3.15 pm – 4.15 pm	Discussion on the city
<i>4.15 pm – 4.30 pm – Tea break</i>	
Session – V (4.30 pm – 5.30 pm)	
4.30 pm – 4.45 pm	Presentation from Lucknow – Alkashendra from Vigyan Foundation, Lucknow CHAIR: PROF U.N.MISRA
4.45 pm – 5.30 pm	Discussion on the city

Day two – 16th February 2007

9.30 am – 9.50 am	Briefing for the second day	
Session - VI (9.50 am – 11.10 am)		
	Sectoral Presentations with JNNURM focus CHAIR: PROF DINESH MOHAN	
9.50 am – 10.10 am	Insecure employment	Dunu Roy
10.10 am – 10.30 am	Transport sector and CDPs	Dr.Geetam Tiwari
10.30 am – 10.40 am	Reforms and Sustainability of JNNURM	Dr.Shreekant Gupta
<i>11.10 am – 11.30 am – Tea Break</i>		
Session - VII (11.30 am – 3.45 pm)		
11.30 am – 1.00 pm	Future Strategies CHAIR: PROF IMRANA QADEER	
<i>1.00 pm – 1.45 pm – Lunch Break</i>		
1.45 pm – 3.45 pm	Future Strategies (conti) CHAIR: PROF IMRANA QADEER	
<i>3.45 pm – 4.00 pm – Tea Break</i>		
Session - VIII (4.00 pm – 5.30 pm)		
4.00 pm – 5.00 pm	State Level Actions CHAIR: DUNU ROY	
5.00 pm – 5.30 pm	Conclusion	

Committee on Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

With the concern of taking the deliberations of the Seminar further, a Committee was formulated. The list of the members of the Committee is:

- (1) Dunu Roy
92H, III Floor, Pratap Market,
Munirka, New Delhi 110067
Phone: 011-26187806, 26714244
Email: haz_cen@vsnl.net

- (2) Devender Kumar Baral
Bal Vikas Dhara
C-24, Masoodpur
Vasant Kunj,
New Delhi.
Phone: 9811507172, 26125867

- (3) Anand Lakhan
Deen Bandhu
57-C, Suryadev Nagar,
Indore
Email: aldbss@rediffmail.com

- (4) Hemlata Kansotia
Labour Education and Development Society
38 Motinagar,
Jaipur

- (5) Ranjan Kumar
NIDAN
Patna

- (6) Indu Prakash Singh
Action Aid India
N-222, GK- I
New Delhi-110048

- (7) Birju Nayak
Lok Raj Sangathan

- (8) Thaneshwar Adigord
National Campaign for worker's rights
Karampura
Phone: 9213731844

- (9) Dr. J. Adsule
CRH
22 A/1704, Migra
Binbisec
Mumbai -65
Email: jadsule@hotmail.com

Hazards Centre
(A Unit of Sanchal Foundation)
92-H, 3rd Floor, Pratap Market
Munirka, New Delhi-67
Tel:011-26187806,26714244
E-Mail:haz_cen@vsnl.net
hazardscentre@gmail.com
www.hazardscentre.org

