

Sanchal Foundation
“Rights Based Approach to Poverty Reduction”
Research Study & Advocacy Programme
Delhi Final Report
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Objectives

The Research Objectives of this Research Study and Advocacy Programme are:

- To use the norm of equality to highlight the discriminatory denial of access to core basic rights that lead to poverty and affect particular individuals and groups. It is a powerful argument to allege that a state’s failure to expend its resources constitutes a state failure to refrain from unlawfully discriminating against a particular group.
- To explore the scope and enduring impact of governing institutions in using the legal Right to Equality and non discrimination to provide for equal protection regardless of category or circumstance and an obligation on the state to give full effect to the right to equality in all activities of the state and in particular to promote equality in all relevant policies and programmes.

Methodology

The Methodology, in the *first phase*, was to undertake a comprehensive literature review and analysis of existing work establishing the relationship between poverty and the principles of equality and non-discrimination, with particular attention to the inclusion of the most vulnerable, with respect to the following Rights:

1. The right to an adequate standard of living (food, clothing and housing) (Article 11)
2. The right to health (Article 12)
3. The right to education (Article 13)
4. The right to work and just and favourable conditions therein (Articles 6 and 7)

In the *second phase* case studies are to be prepared on the use of right to equality and non-discrimination in redressing – for instance, employment, health, education and housing – that are attentive to the particular situation of specific vulnerable poor communities, e.g. the migrant workers in urban areas who work in the informal sectors and in construction in the case of Delhi.

Activities

In the *first phase*, we had translated the Constitutional Rights into a set of actual entitlements that the most vulnerable sections of society in Delhi would be entitled to. We did this first by examining the legal provisions in this regard: with respect to food, clothing, and housing, we called upon the provision of a minimum living wage as arrived at through tripartite agreement at the 15th Indian Labour Conference in

1957; for health and education, we further defined them through the Development Norms specified in the statutory Delhi Master Plan 2021 for health and education services; and for work, we examined the provisions in the Delhi Master Plan 2021. We then also explored the targeted norms stipulated for each entitlement: for food and clothing, we looked at the new norms postulated under the Food Security Act; for housing, we have chosen the norms given for resettlement and relocation under the Slum Policy in Delhi – which have also diluted the norms for targeted health and education; and for work, we looked at the actual performance as displayed in the Statistical Abstract 2014 of Delhi as well as the Minimum Wages declared by the Delhi Government.

Thus, we were able to construct Table 1 which gives the standard norms as against the targeted norms:

Table 1: Differential Norms

No	Right	Standard Norm	Targeted Norm
1	Food	2700x4 calories per day per family ¹	35 kg rice and wheat per month for AAY ²
2	Clothing	18x4 yds per year per family ¹	No entitlement ²
3	Housing	40 sq.m per family ³	12.5 sq.m per family ⁴
4	Health	Dispensary on 1600-2400 sq.m ⁵	Dispensary on 200 sq.m ⁶
5	Education	Primary school on 4000-8000 sq.m ⁵	Primary school on 3200 sq.m ⁶
6	Work	36% of population (83.82 lakh in 2021) ⁷	33.4% as per NSS 68 th Round 2011 ⁸
7	Wage	Rs 795 per day as per ILC norms ⁹	Rs 348 to 423 per day as Minimum wage ¹⁰

1 --- Workmen vs Management Of Raptakos Brett.And Another, 31 October, 1991; 1992 AIR 504, 1991 SCR Supl. (2) 129

2 --- National Food Security Act, 2013, Ch II, Sec. 3 (1).

3 --- Delhi Master Plan 2021, Sec 4.2, Category I and II.

4 --- Delhi Development Authority, Relocation Policy of JJ Clusters, F2(1)2001/LMCPLA/86 dated 3.2.2004.

5 --- Delhi Master Plan 2021, Table 3.3, one unit for a population of 10,000.

6 --- Delhi Master Plan 2021, Sec 4.2.2.2.B, one unit for a population of 10,000.

7 --- Delhi Master Plan 2021, Sec 2.6

8 --- Statistical Abstract of Delhi 2014, Table 1.10

9 --- Computed from provisions spelt out at 15th Indian Labour Conference, and Supreme Court of India in Raptakos Brett, 1991

10 - Government of Delhi, Labour Department, Rates from 01.04.2015

Field Visits

In the *second* phase we examined the actual situation on the ground. Six settlements were originally selected in Delhi: two each from the slums, the resettlement colonies, and the unauthorised colonies, where the informal sector and migrant workers are largely located. While these three types of settlements are similar in that they house the most vulnerable sections of the population, they also have important differences. The slums, referred to as *Jhuggi Jhonpri* Clusters, are generally situated on public lands where migrants have settled as squatters over time because of the lack of affordable housing in the city. They are entitled to minimum basic common urban services such as street lighting, drains, paved streets, water supply at stand-posts, and community toilets.

Resettlement colonies are officially built settlements where those who are evicted from slums are moved by government agencies on to small plots of land where the evictees build their own houses and line agencies are supposed to provide basic services at the household level. Unauthorised colonies, on the other hand, are not entitled to any services at all because, while the residents have bought the land and built their homes, the colonies themselves are unauthorised as they have been constructed by

property dealers who have illegally acquired the land from the owners through power of attorney deals. Such colonies will be given civic services only when they have been regularised – and this is a promise that has been held out by different political parties over the last three decades but not fulfilled.

At least two local preparatory meetings were held at each settlement and local researchers selected from among educated residents of the settlements who began the work in July. Three workshops were held with the local researchers to develop the survey methodology and to plan out the timelines. Some attempts were also made to draw into the methodology the specific concerns of each settlement as expressed by residents at informal public meetings. Midway through this process, however, one slum area had to be dropped from the study as the local researcher was unable to complete the required tasks because of some personal problems. The final settlements where the study was carried out are given in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Study Areas

No	Settlement	Location	Nature
1	<i>Shiv Park</i>	South Delhi	Unauthorised Colony
2	<i>New Yadav Enclave</i>	West Delhi	Unauthorised Colony
3	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	East Delhi	<i>Jhuggi Jhonpri</i> Slum
4	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	North Delhi	Resettlement Colony
5	<i>Bawana</i>	Northwest Delhi	Resettlement Colony

The remaining five local researchers completed the schedule with the guidance of our researchers, and then examined the actual availability of entitlements, by administering the schedule to 100 families at each location. The conditions of work, wages, ration shops, shelter with services, health and education facilities at each location were documented, and compared with the regular (universal) as well as reduced (targeted) norms as specified in the Delhi Master Plan 2021, other welfare schemes of the Delhi Government, and some relevant legislation and judicial orders. The local researchers also carried out 5 detailed interviews with selected respondents at each location to document the problems people have had in accessing the available schemes and services and what mechanisms have been used by them to obtain some part of their entitlements. Brief descriptions of each settlement are given below.

Table 3: Social Classes in Different Settlements

CLASS	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Minority	2	8	7	8	9
EWS	10	14	1	20	0
General	17	21	0	0	0
OBC	13	33	22	34	13
SC	6	16	60	31	33
ST	0	0	4	2	0
Blank	52	5	6	2	45
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Shiv Park

Shiv Park is an unauthorised colony located on small privately-owned plots in the South of Delhi within Duggal Colony near Khanpur. As Table 3 shows, it is a mixed settlement where General (or Upper) Castes are resident side-by-side with Economically Weaker Sections (EWS), Other Backward Castes (OBC), and very few Scheduled Caste families (SC). The name suggests that this is a lower caste settlement located within a general caste colony carved out of original farmland by *Jat Khattris*, but the demography could not be fully captured as over half the respondents to the survey did not wish to reveal their social background. Most of the families are reported to be either working in offices or firms or are self-employed in businesses. Many are migrants and have taken houses on rent from the property dealers who carved out the colony and, hence, do not have ration cards as the house owner will not issue formal receipt of rent. Dispensary and Primary School are available in the area, although they are much less than the Master Plan norm of 1 per 10,000 population and occupy less land than stipulated. Public meetings and discussions revealed that the majority of residents are deeply concerned about the issues of health and education, albeit most have *pakka* homes with toilets and send their children to school. Work is also an issue as the incomes are not sufficient to meet basic needs of the families; hence there is an incipient demand for more employment opportunities with better wages.

New Yadav Enclave

New Yadav Enclave was established in 1988 in West Delhi within a cluster of unauthorised colonies near Nangloi that are still bereft of basic urban services. It is also a mixed population with various castes living in the area but, as the name suggests, there is a pronounced tilt towards the Other Backward Caste (*Yadav*) category who may have been the ones who initiated the settlement. A large majority of residents state that they work in the informal sector and rations are reported to be accessible to barely half the families as they have been unable to acquire the necessary papers. Being in an unauthorised colony they are ineligible to access most public services. Unlike Shiv Park though, at public meetings residents claimed that they owned their plots and houses, but their main grouse was that there was no piped supply of water to their colony and they had to depend upon tankers. There is no dispensary here, although the population is well in excess of 50,000, and there is no hospital either. Three schools are inadequate to meet the requirements. The colony is listed among the 1695 unauthorised colonies proposed to be regularised, but there has been no attempt to do so for the past three decades. At public discussions people emphasised the semi-urban nature of the colony (underlining dominance of the Yadavs, a milk-producing caste in rural areas) demanding that facilities for dairies animal husbandry also be incorporated in the plans.

Nehru Camp

750 to 800 huts constitute this *jhuggi jhonpri* cluster or slum situated on the main highway near Patparganj in East Delhi. As is prevalent in many slums, the name signifies that the residents are trying to acquire the protection of their 'illegal' tenure on land (and, therefore, delaying eviction) by sheltering under the presence of a notable of a political party with whom they have a patron-client relationship. Many of the families have migrated from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar to Delhi in search of employment and the majority appear to belong to the Scheduled Castes. While the men work in the informal sector as

construction labour or rickshaw pullers or factory workers, most of the women find work as domestic maids in the neighbouring upscale built-up colonies. There is only one community toilet in the entire settlement so many of the residents have carved out space in their tiny plots to construct privies. There is a ration shop but it does not function regularly nor does it provide rations equally to all. At public meetings several residents expressed displeasure about government schools refusing to admit their children; hence parents can afford to educate their children only up to primary level at private schools. There is a government hospital within one km of the settlement but here too the poor and discriminatory service forces them to go to private clinics. Just recently piped water supply with meters has been initiated as a result of public pressure on the local Councillor.

Metro Vihar

Metro Vihar is a resettlement colony that is part of Holambi Kalan in North Delhi, and is so named because the families here were evicted in 2001 from about 26 slums that lay in the path of the Metro that began to be constructed in 1998. What is notable is that the largest chunk of the population appears to belong to OBC, SC, and EWS categories, marking the close connection between class and caste in urban India. At the moment the population is about 70,000 and they have been allotted plots of 18 and 12½ square metres depending upon whether they have documents proving their residence in Delhi before 1990 or 1998. People here claim that many among the evictees did not have the requisite papers, or their papers were not accepted as genuine, so as many as 40% of the original settlers did not get resettled. After relocation the men have tried to find work mainly at Wazirpur or Narela industrial areas. There is no piped water supply yet even though the colony has been officially resettled. People are dependent upon irregular and uncertain supply by tankers. A few better-off families have invested in their own private bore-wells but the water is not potable. Most people present at public meetings claim to have had ration cards in their original settlements but many of these had been cancelled at the time of relocation. The few public toilets are badly maintained and lack supplies of water; there is a dearth of schools and dispensaries: people feel their original slum conditions were far more favourable.

Bawana

Bawana in the Northwest corner of Delhi is yet another resettlement colony that was carved out of farmland belonging to Bawana village to house over 18,000 families who were forcibly evicted from slums all over Delhi between 2004 and 2010 in the run-up to the Commonwealth Games. All these families were given tiny plots measuring 18 or 12½ square metres to build their own houses after having to pay Rs 10,000 or 7,500 as "license fee" for the plot valid for 10 years. Curiously, on the fringes of this resettlement colony (officially called a J J Colony) there are about 1000 huts belonging to those families who are also evictees from the same slums but could not prove their entitlement for being resettled and hence, followed their brethren to Bawana when their slum was demolished. There are a few community toilets but there was no water, no sanitation, and no caretaker at the time of the survey. Ration shops exist but often deny the people any rations because the old ration cards have been cancelled. There is no dispensary and the nearest hospital is 6 km away. Water is supplied by pipeline from bore-wells but the water is saline and not fit for drinking. After relocation the men and women tried to find work in the Bawana industrial area next door but very few got jobs so they often have to travel 40-45 km to work.

Surveys

Once the initial field visits and workshops with the local researchers was completed, a schedule was designed and administered to 100 families selected as every third house in a neighbourhood that people suggested was the most representative of the settlement. From the replies we tried to get information about the access of respondents to food, clothing, shelter, health, education, work, and wages and what they perceived as the main problems they faced in these areas. Table 4 provides some information about the educational qualifications of the respondents – most of whom were the male heads of the household although, in some cases, the men were absent at work so the women gave the replies. From Table 4 it is evident that, except for the unauthorised colony of Yadav Enclave, roughly half the respondents were unwilling to disclose their educational background. From those that did reply, the indication is that educational levels are higher in the unauthorised colonies than in the other colonies.

Table 4: Educational background of respondents

Qualification	<i>Shiv Park^a</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave^a</i>	<i>Nehru Camp^b</i>	<i>Metro Vihar^c</i>	<i>Bawana^c</i>
V	8	15	13	11	17
VI	4	0	1	4	2
VII	0	2	2	1	2
VIII	8	17	12	9	9
IX	2	4	1	6	0
X	16	25	9	8	14
XII	11	6	7	8	5
B.A	5	16	0	2	1
Professional	1	2	1	0	0
Other	3	0	0	1	0
Blank	42	10	54	47	50
Total	100	97	100	97	100

a = unauthorised colony; b = jhuggi jhonpri slum; c = resettlement colony

Table 5 shows that the possession of ration cards is distinctly higher in the resettlement colonies and slum than in the unauthorised colonies. This is to be expected given that the unauthorised colonies of Shiv Park and New Yadav Enclave are not legally recognised for entitlements but are peopled by slightly better-off families who can buy land and build their own houses. In Nehru Camp slum the number of Antyoday (AAY) and Below Poverty Level (BPL) cards is higher than the unauthorised colonies, but Metro Vihar resettlement colony has a high number of Above Poverty Level (APL) families and Bawana resettlement colony has the highest number of AAY and BPL families. This shows that while the slum and the resettlement colonies are comparable in terms of their poverty level, the Bawana resettlement houses more families from lower socio-economic classes than Metro Vihar. For all these classes, a ration card should be able to provide the stipulated 2700 calories per person daily, equivalent to Rs 12000 per month, for a family of four, at current prices. The AAY card holders should get the food grains at a highly subsidised rate with the BPL and APL families being able to purchase the same grains at roughly twice and thrice the price respectively.

Table 5: Possession of a Ration Card

Ration Card	Shiv Park	Yadav Enclave	Nehru Camp	Metro Vihar	Bawana
AYY	0	1	13	8	16
BPL	8	5	35	20	47
APL	28	44	29	42	2
Blank	64	47	33	27	35
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Food

Possession of a ration card alone, however, does not necessarily mean that people are able to access the rations from the Fair Price Shops. As Table 6 illustrates, the monthly expenditure on rations is highest for Metro Vihar followed by Bawana – both of which are resettlement colonies. The majority in Nehru Camp slum, which also has the highest number of BPL and AYY families, are able to purchase less than Rs 1000 of rations per month. Half the respondents in the unauthorised colonies of Shiv Park and Yadav Enclave have not given details of their rations, but this may be because, as Table 5 has shown, they do not possess ration cards. Almost half the families of Yadav Enclave still manage to purchase rations within Rs 1000 per month, while Shiv Park families spend up to Rs 2000 per month at the Fair Price Shop.

Table 6: Monthly expenses on rations purchased from the Ration Shop

Ration expense Rs	Shiv Park	Yadav Enclave	Nehru Camp	Metro Vihar	Bawana
<1000	13	45	73	17	48
1000-2000	15	0	1	53	19
2001-3000	4	0	0	11	3
3001-4000	6	1	0	5	4
4001-5000	2	1	2	7	1
5001-6000	0	0	0	1	0
6001-7000	5	0	0	1	0
>7000	0	0	9	2	0
Blank	55	50	26	0	25
Total	60	97	100	97	100

What is revealing, though, is the data on total expenses on food that includes both purchases from Fair Price Shops as well as from the open market, as given in Table 7. This shows that the monthly expense on food for a quarter of all families in all the settlements goes up three-fold into the Rs 4000-5000 range. A quick comparison between Tables 6 and 7, therefore, means that, in spite of being able to acquire between one-fourth to half of their food supplies from the Fair Price Shop, families even in the resettlement and slum colonies have to acquire the remaining half to three-fourth from the open market at much higher prices. Targeting of the PDS by declaring that subsidised rations of 5 kg of rice and wheat per person per month under the National Food Security Act 2013 will be available to APL and

BPL categories at higher prices, and only those covered under Antyoday shall be entitled to receive them at Rs 3 and Rs 2 per kg respectively, has clearly further diminished the amounts that should have been given to provide 2700 calories per person per day.

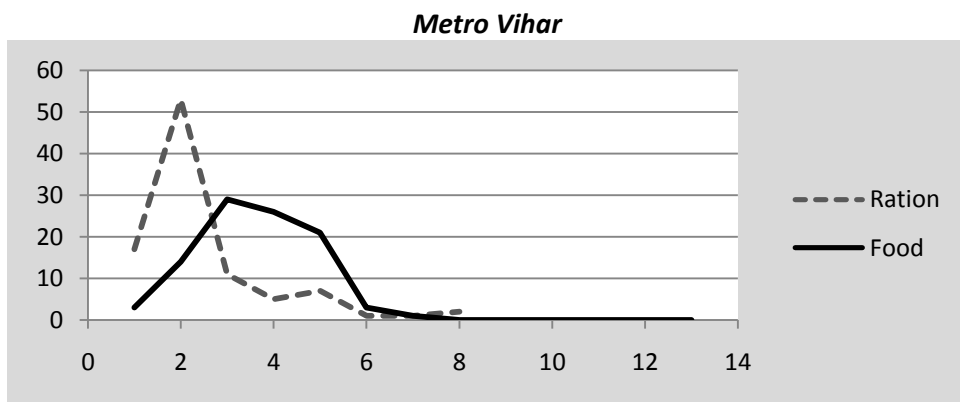
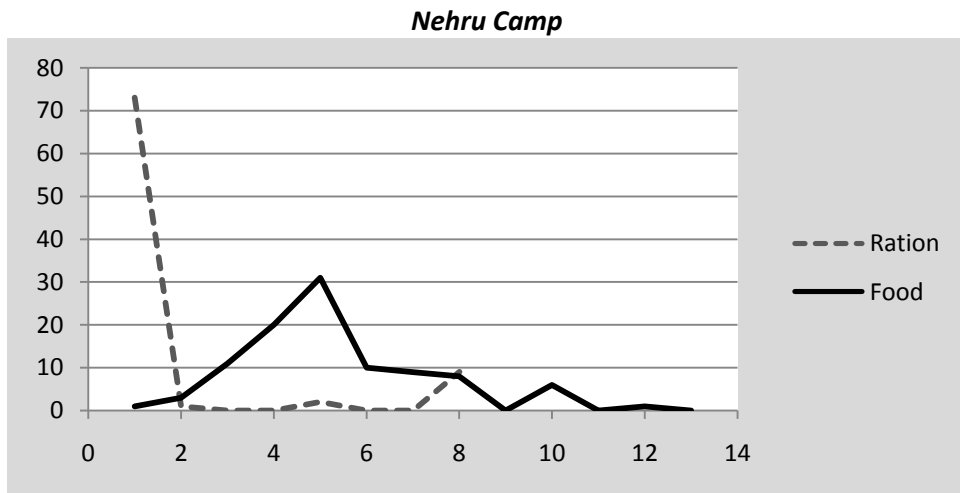
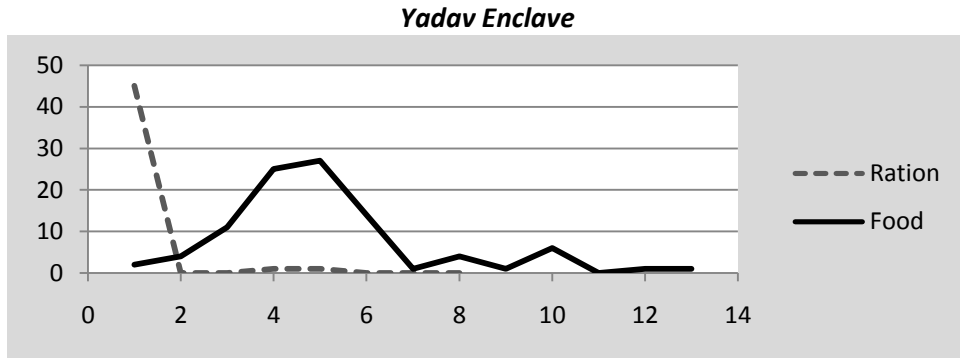
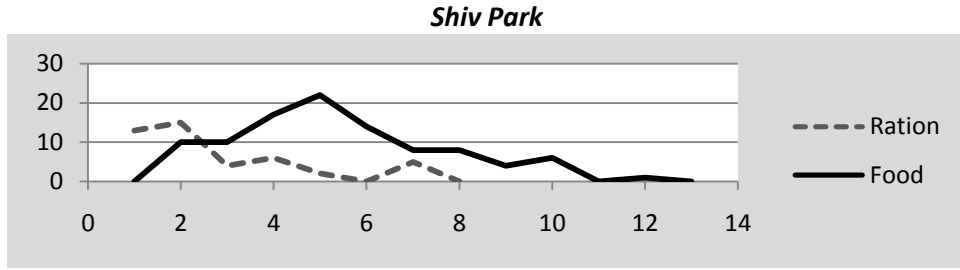
Table 7: Total food expenses per month

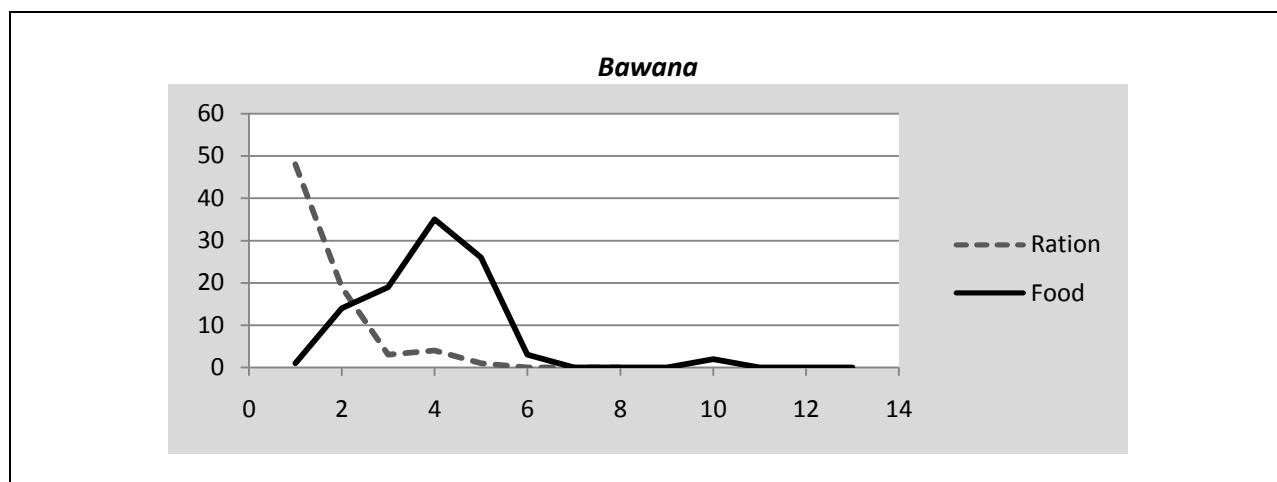
Food expenses Rs	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
<1000	0	2	1	3	1
1000-2000	10	4	3	14	14
2001-3000	10	11	11	29	19
3001-4000	17	25	20	26	35
4001-5000	22	27	31	21	26
5001-6000	14	14	10	3	3
6001-7000	8	1	9	1	0
7001-8000	8	4	8	0	0
8001-9000	4	1	0	0	0
9001-10000	6	6	6	0	2
10001-11000	0	0	0	0	0
11001-12000	1	1	1	0	0
>12000	0	1	0	0	0
Total	100	97	100	97	100

The comparison of total consumption of food and the proportion coming from rations comes across even more clearly when presented graphically as in Figure 1. For both the unauthorised colonies there is a pronounced shift to a higher consumption range, more for Yadav Enclave than for Shiv Park, and that is related to the fact that more residents of Yadav Enclave possessed APL cards than Shiv Park (see Table 5) and that meant that they had to purchase extra food-grains from the open market while, for Shiv Park residents they were already purchasing most of their requirements from the market. This is reflected in the fact that higher numbers in Shiv Park were purchasing in the above Rs 6000 range, some buying food for as much as Rs 10,000 per month. We shall see later how these patterns correlate to higher wages being earned by families from Shiv Park and Yadav Enclave.

Nehru Camp slum exhibits a shift in consumption similar to Yadav Enclave but the purchase pattern of all food-grains is more akin to that of Shiv Park, with a considerable number purchasing in the above Rs 6000 range from the open market. However, the deprivation due to the targeted relocation of slums can be seen most clearly in the cases of Metro Vihar and Bawana resettlement colonies, with none of the sample households being able to purchase more than Rs 5000 worth of food-grains in a month, with the proportion from ration shops being somewhat lower in the case of Bawana than Metro Vihar. This highlights the intersection of economic and social deprivations as Bawana has a greater number of Scheduled Caste families, while residents of Metro Vihar were displaced from upscale areas next to the main arteries in Delhi, where the Metro lines were laid.

Figure 1: Purchase from ration shops compared to purchase from open market





Clothing

According to the norms set by the Indian Labour Conference in 1957, the capacity to purchase 18 yards of cloth per person for a year should be part of the living wage received by a worker. For a family of four this works out to 72 yards (or 66 metres) of cloth per year, equivalent to about Rs 5,000 annually at Rs 80 per metre for coarse cloth in the open market. This should have been supplied at subsidised prices at Fair Price Shops, as was done up to 1991 when PDS was a universal scheme, if the amount is not included in the worker's wage. What the survey of the five settlements reveals in Table 8 is that the majority of sample families in Bawana resettlement colony and Nehru Camp slum are spending less than Rs 5,000 annually on clothing while in the unauthorised colonies the expenses for the majority is in the range above Rs 5,000. In Metro Vihar roughly half the population falls in each category. Thus, targeted PDS has not resulted in a reduction of the expenses of the poor.

Table 8: Annual Clothing Expenses for the family

Clothing Expenses Rs	Shiv Park	Yadav Enclave	Nehru Camp	Metro Vihar	Bawana
<5000	44	32	61	48	85
5000-10000	35	63	38	49	15
10001-15000	13	1	0	0	0
15001-20000	7	1	1	0	0
20001-25000	1	0	0	0	0
>25000	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Housing

The Master Plan of Delhi 2021 (as well as earlier Master Plans) provides for a plot size of minimum area 40 sq.m for an average family to build a house. However, the Resettlement Policy of Delhi Development Authority (until very recently) has arbitrarily reduced this to plots of area 18 sq.m for families who can

prove residence prior to 1990 and 12 sq.m for those who provide papers up to 1998. It is also officially recognised that slums and unauthorised colonies have come up in the city primarily because of the DDA's abject failure to construct the necessary number of Domestic Units as per the targets set in all their own Master Plans. The replies from respondents in this survey revealed that housing continues to be constructed through the people's own efforts. Thus, Table 9 indicates that the majority of houses in all the settlements are *pakka* in spite of tenure being uncertain. Especially in the unauthorised colonies the number of *pakka* houses goes well beyond 90%. Bawana resettlement colony has also provided sufficient security to build over 80% brick and concrete houses but, for some reason, Metro Vihar resettlement colony still lags behind with a little less than half remaining *kaccha*. Even Nehru Camp slum has overtaken Metro Vihar in this respect, probably because the slum has been in existence for far longer.

Table 9: Type of Housing

Type of house	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
<i>Kaccha</i>	6	6	39	43	19
<i>Pakka</i>	94	91	61	54	81
Total	100	97	100	97	100

On the other hand the huts in Nehru Camp are much smaller than the plots in Metro Vihar (Table 10). Most of the *jhuggis* in the slum are built on tiny plots of less than 10 sq.m, while the plot sizes in Metro Vihar are largely of 18 sq.m. Comparatively, Bawana has largely been settled on 12½ sq.m plots. It is only in the unauthorised colonies that plots become larger and cross over the 25 sq.m size, with Yadav Enclave having some even in the 40 sq.m range. Thus, when families purchase land, even if illegally, they approach the universal norm, but when they are either "squatters" or officially given land in resettlement, the sizes come down dramatically. Targeting for relocation (that is supposed to improve their quality of life) clearly does not benefit the poor in any significant way.

Table 10: Area of House

Plot Area sq.m	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
<12	21	0	85	0	0
12	37	1	5	22	50
15	2	0	1	0	0
18	8	0	0	58	14
19-25	11	14	0	2	0
26-40	0	24	0	0	0
41-80	0	27	0	0	0
>81	0	7	0	0	0
Blank	21	24	9	15	36
Total	100	97	100	97	100

The reasons for the differences between the two unauthorised colonies seen so far become clearer when we study the ownership patterns. Table 11 illustrates that Shiv Park is mainly populated by those migrant families who have taken the houses on rent while in Yadav Enclave the owners are occupying the houses themselves. Curiously enough, even in the Nehru Camp slum there is a sense of ownership, while tenure on license has been accepted as proprietorship in the resettlement colonies of Metro Vihar and Bawana.

Table 11: Ownership of House

Ownership of house	Shiv Park	Yadav Enclave	Nehru Camp	Metro Vihar	Bawana
Owned	0	83	89	84	79
Rental	100	13	11	11	16
Blank	0	1	0	2	5
Total	100	97	100	97	100

But it is the voices of the residents which reveal most strikingly how the problems of housing are linked to universal versus targeted entitlements (Table 12). When asked about their principal grievances, the respondents from Yadav Enclave were emphatic that the services were wholly inadequate – a direct consequence of their presumed illegality. Why this was not so for Shiv Camp and many respondents were more concerned about their own shelter, is probably linked to their status as tenants. Similarly, in Bawana there were some worries about whether their licenses would be renewed after 10 years and they would be allowed to retain the plots on which they had expended so much effort and money. Metro Vihar is the outlier here and we have no explanation why there were such a large number of respondents who did not reply to the question on their perceived problems.

Table 12: Perceived Problems in Shelter

Housing problems	Shiv Park	Yadav Enclave	Nehru Camp	Metro Vihar	Bawana
Shelter needed	38	3	11	2	50
Rentals high	2	0	5	0	12
Services inadequate	2	94	46	1	32
Blank	58	0	38	94	6
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Health

The problem of health in these settlements is as much related to the provision of water and sanitation as it is to the availability of health services. Apart from the public services available there is also access to private provisioning. Thus, Table 13 yields data on sanitation that shows that the availability of private toilets is high in Shiv Park and Yadav Enclave which have been built by property dealers and homeowners. Many residents of Nehru Camp have also been compelled to carve out toilets in their tiny *jhuggis* because of the absence of public facilities. Metro Vihar families cannot access sewered services

(the Sewage Treatment Plant in the colony is unusable while the drains flow the wrong way) so they resort largely to open defecation. Bawana residents are unable to go for open defecation because of a state of siege by the hostile villagers nearby so largely depend upon community toilets even though these are badly maintained.

Table 13: Sanitation

Toilet usage	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Open	0	0	21	57	2
Private	81	97	64	27	24
Public	19	0	15	13	51
Total	100	97	100	97	100

The differences in quality of life between the various communities can often be traced to the status of water supply. The data given in Table 14 shows that the essential difference between Shiv Park and Yadav Enclave, both unauthorised colonies, is that the former has access to piped water supply and bore-wells, while the latter is almost totally dependent on water tankers. Nehru Camp is even luckier as it is located in a well-serviced area where there is good access to piped water. But if it is demolished at any time then the people's fate will be similar to the resettlement colonies of Metro Vihar and Bawana where the only supply is from bore-wells and the water is saline and polluted. Thus the move from the 'illegal' and 'dirty' slum to the 'habitable' but peripheral resettlement colony, while officially pursued to improve the lives of the slum-dwellers, yields no benefits with regard to water and sanitation.

Table 14: Water Supply

Water source	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Tanker	1	95	2	16	0
Pipeline	35	0	95	1	0
Borewell	53	0	2	80	65
Handpump	2	0	0	0	0
None	9	2	1	0	35
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Shiv Park and Nehru Camp are further blessed because they have access to both public as well as private health providers. Metro Vihar and Bawana, on the other hand, have to depend upon public services but the government hospitals are at a considerable distance since these resettlement colonies are situated at the periphery of the growing city. Yadav Enclave has to largely call upon the private doctors who are within calling distance (Table 15). Dispensaries are available at Shiv Park, Nehru Camp, and Metro Vihar (Table 16), and medicines and doctors are also correspondingly available (Tables 17 and 18). But the Nehru Camp slum residents complain of discriminatory behaviour while residents of Yadav Enclave and Bawana understandably want increased access to public services in the neighbourhood (Table 19).

Table 15: Health Provider

Health provider	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Private	17	47	8	0	15
Public	68	35	33	97	80
Both	15	15	59	0	5
Total	100	98	100	97	100

Table 16: Dispensary Availability

Dispensary available	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Yes	100	0	98	81	2
No	0	97	2	16	98
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Table 17: Medicine Availability

Medicine available	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Yes	97	0	96	78	8
No	3	97	4	19	92
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Table 18: Doctor Availability

Doctor available	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Yes	100	0	96	80	4
No	0	97	4	17	96
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Table 19: Problems with Health Services

Problems with health services	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
No nearby hospital	0	97	0	5	13
Government services needed	7	0	0	0	63
No medicines in dispensary	5	0	25	7	0
Treatment is not good	3	0	42	1	0
Others (mainly costs)	2	0	8	0	0
Blank	83	0	25	84	24
Total	100	97	100	97	100

Education

We have already mentioned about the availability of government schools in each settlement. But what determines the quality of education is not merely the presence of a school but whether there is any teaching that is being pursued at the school. Queried about the number of children in the classes of their children, respondents from Shiv Park, Yadav Enclave, and Nehru Camp answered that the number ranged from 40 to 70 students in each class (Table 20) as against the norm of 25. This is clearly not conducive to good teaching of any quality. Metro Vihar and Bawana residents remained silent because of the absence of schools in their neighbourhoods even though the Master Plan explicitly provides for such schools, although at a diluted normative level.

Table 20: Number of Students in a Class

Students in the class	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
<20	0	1	0	0	0
20-30	1	4	2	0	1
31-40	6	4	2	0	0
41-50	8	23	26	0	1
51-60	40	28	17	0	0
61-70	22	10	15	0	0
71-80	2	4	11	0	0
81-90	3	5	0	0	0
>90	0	2	0	0	1
Blank	18	16	27	97	97
Total	100	97	100	97	100

The dissatisfaction of respondents with the schooling system is clearly obvious from their replies to what problems they perceived in education (Table 21). Either the school was too far away or the quality of education their children were receiving was not good. Nehru Camp slum-dwellers seemed to feel particularly aggrieved in this regard.

Table 21: Perceived Problems in Education

Problems in schools	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
School too far away	0	97	0	0	53
Education is not good	26	0	36	17	8
Facilities are inadequate	7	0	0	10	0
Blank	69	0	64	70	39
Total	38	97	100	97	100

Work

Employment is the primary reason why already disadvantaged communities migrate from the hinterland to urban areas. Different settlements have been able to find space for themselves in the local economy. Thus, as Table 22 reveals, the residents of Shiv Park have found service roles in the formal and informal sectors along with home-based work. Residents of Yadav Enclave, as befits an upper caste constituency, have found regular private jobs apart from running their own businesses. Nehru Camp slum-dwellers, on the other hand, are either looking after their homes and working as domestic maids in other people's homes or offering themselves for daily wages. Daily labour also dominates the occupational background in both Metro Vihar and Bawana, although Metro Vihar residents have some alternatives to pursue in private jobs. Evidently, the Master Plan projections for regular employment have not unfolded in reality.

Table 22: Occupation

Occupation	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Business (shop)	9	11	3	3	
Informal services	13	2	10	15	1
Home-based work	24	13	0	1	0
Housewife	16	0	39	10	0
Private job	7	30	7	22	1
Daily labour	2	9	12	33	94
Formal services	14	10	11	11	1
Unemployed	9	5	0	0	1
Miscellaneous	5	11	1	1	0
Blank	1	6	17	3	2
Total	100	97	100	97	100

It is, however, the situation with respect to wages received that is most striking. As Table 23 shows, it is only in the unauthorised colonies that some families are able to earn the minimum monthly wage of Rs 10,000. Relocation from a slum to a resettlement colony can bring down wages sharply, as evident in the case of Bawana. However, nobody is even approaching the living wage of about Rs 24,000.

Table 23: Wages Received

Wage earned Rs	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
<3000	11	3	2	2	0
3000-5000	40	25	36	36	117
5001-7000	25	52	46	39	16
7001-9000	33	19	20	27	0
9001-11000	14	18	5	4	0
>11001	14	11	2	0	0
TOTAL	137	128	111	108	133

Respondents have pointed out the problems they perceive in obtaining employment (Table 24). There is substantial unemployment in Bawana resettlement colony and it is also an issue in the unauthorised colonies. Underemployment plagues the residents of Yadav Enclave and Nehru Camp, but what sets them aside is that the former are more concerned about the conditions of work, while the latter find they are receiving inadequate wages and good jobs are not available. For some reason the respondents of Metro Vihar have chosen to remain silent on this issue. But the slum seems to be the most vulnerable to the job market and moving to the resettlement colony appears to completely distance from this market as is seen in the case of Bawana.

Table 24: Perceived Problems of Employment

Problems in employment	<i>Shiv Park</i>	<i>Yadav Enclave</i>	<i>Nehru Camp</i>	<i>Metro Vihar</i>	<i>Bawana</i>
Good job unavailable	11	6	23	0	0
Employment not guaranteed	8	4	1	0	0
Conditions to be improved	10	55	1	3	0
Inadequate wages	5	2	28	5	0
No work for women	2	0	4	0	0
Underemployed	5	14	18	4	0
Unemployed	25	15	6	0	96
Blank	34	0	19	85	4
Grand Total	100	97	100	97	100

Summary of survey findings

Overall, a comparison between settlements (where there are a sufficient number of respondents who have replied and there are not too many blanks) indicates that the unauthorised colonies have a larger number of families from the General and Other Backward Castes, which is linked to a greater depth of education, higher wages or incomes, bigger and *pakka* houses with more private toilets, and higher purchasing power in the markets. The slum and resettlement colonies have a greater number of lower caste families, but with better access to public services, although in the slum the complaint is of greater discrimination. What emerges in general is that tenure of shelter gives greater entitlements but actual provision of public or private services is largely dependent on the financial strength of the families as well as on whether the settlement is located within or at the periphery of the city. Thus, both the unauthorised colonies and slum are regarded to be 'illegal' but the capacity of the latter to access services is lower than the former, although the availability of the infrastructure is greater for the slum which is within the city. Also, it may be added, social interactions and relationships are much stronger than the slum where they have developed organically, while in the resettlement colonies (which are also much larger in size) these linkages have deliberately been fractured by the process of relocation to the periphery of the city. The social structure in the unauthorised colony, on the other hand, is related to whether the families are owners or have taken the house on rent, as well as where they are located in the city.

In many ways the resettlement colonies are supposed to be a representation of how the government provides legal entitlements, but they become an extension of the slum because they are far away on the fringes of the city where infrastructural facilities are meagre and, therefore, families find it both difficult to earn a livelihood as well as obtain services. Thus, indirectly, the fulfilment of one 'right' – that is of shelter – deprives the residents of other rights to water, sanitation, education, health, food etc. This is probably also related to the lower caste or minority character of the residents. The unauthorised colonies, on the other hand, are 'illegal' and so not entitled to any services, but since the plots have to be bought and the houses built by the residents with their own money, the families come from relatively better-off castes with higher incomes and, therefore, can access services from private providers also. But, here too, the structure is dependent partly on whether the colony is located within the city or outside, and whether the houses are occupied by owners or rented out.

Summary Case Studies

Our local researchers conducted interviews in the selected settlements to develop five case studies each in order to provide a qualitative understanding of the processes at work in each type of settlement. These case studies are presented below.

Shiv Park

1. Savitri

Savitri is 24 years old, married to Shivkamal. She was born in Sunwa, Faizabad, in Uttar Pradesh and could not be educated. She has been in Delhi for almost 15 years. Shivkamal earns a living supplying tea to lawyers in the courts and his income is about Rs 7,000 every month. They have to look after a family of 5 on this income but do not have a ration card. So they have to spend almost Rs 4,000 every month on provisions; even then it is not adequate to provide enough nutrition in these days of inflation and high prices. They have not been able to acquire any proof of residence as they are tenants living in a 25 sq.m room and the owner refuses to give them any receipt. This is what stands in the way of their getting a ration card or any other benefits from the government's welfare schemes. Savitri has no knowledge of any housing schemes such as Rajiv Awas Yojana. There is no expense on education at the moment as the children are still very young. For health problems they go to the nearby Government hospital where they feel the treatment is adequate.

2. Shehanaz

Shehnaz is 20 years old and from Darbhanga in Bihar. She is not educated and has been in Delhi for the last 10 years where her husband Sakir has been searching for employment. Sakir makes garments at home while Shehnaz attaches decorative stars to dresses. Between them they are able to earn Rs 9,000 per month. Of which Rs 2,500 goes for paying the rent for their one tiny room. Water and electricity has to be paid for separately. Since the room is small it is difficult to work at home for both of them. In addition, there are seven members in the family and it is impossible to make ends meet even though they have a ration card that enables them to

purchase 27 kg rice and 28 kg wheat every month at subsidised rates. They feel that treatment at the government hospital is not good; no attention is paid to poor people. Because of this, they have to approach private doctors from time to time and that costs a good deal with Rs 3000 paid for medicines alone. Their five children all go to school where they get free meals and books. They have neither birth nor caste certificates for access to welfare schemes.

3. Manora

Manora is aged 45 years and has migrated from Assam along with her husband Rehman about 20 years ago, since when they have been living in Shiv Park. She works as a waste-picker and her monthly income is about Rs 3,000 per month. The rent for the one room they live in is Rs 2,500 per month. They have two daughters, both of whom are studying in school. But since they do not have any identity papers they are unable to obtain any assistance for the girls' education, on which they have to spend Rs 1,500 per month. However, they have procured a ration card to purchase wheat at Rs 6 per kg. When they need clothes they depend upon charity. In times of illness they are reluctant to go to the government hospital as it takes a lot of valuable time and the doctors are rude and impatient while no facilities are provided. Life is difficult and making ends meet a daily challenge. They have no knowledge of any government welfare schemes.

4. Saniyara

Saniyara is about 30 years old. She is married to Idris and she is a native of Assam, having come to Delhi 11 years ago. She works as a domestic maid in seven homes nearby, which gives her a total monthly earning of Rs 5,000. Her son works as a waste-picker and he too is able to earn about Rs 5,000 per month. The working day begins at 7 a.m. and ends at 5 p.m. They all live in a tiny hut for which the rent is Rs 2,500 per month, and there are no facilities. They do possess a ration card but the rations are totally inadequate to feed a family of five, so they have to purchase Rs 4,000 worth of provisions every month. They are reluctant to approach government hospitals when they fall sick because they feel that they are made to run from pillar to post for treatment. In their experience private clinics cost more but the cure is better. Two of the children go to school where they get free meals and books but they are unable to avail of any financial assistance as they do not possess any birth or caste certificates. They do not have any information about welfare schemes but have taken out a life insurance policy.

5. Crorepati

Crorepati and her husband Dwarka are natives of Rani Bazar, Faizabad in Uttar Pradesh. She has been in Delhi for over 20 years and works as a domestic maid in several homes in Khanpur, from which she is able to earn about Rs 3,000 per month. She works in two shifts from 8 a.m. to noon in the mornings and from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. in the evenings. There are nine members in the family and one son, Rajkumar, works in a grocery shop from 8 in the morning to 9 at night and earns Rs 7000 per month. They have no identity proofs, not even a ration card. The rent costs Rs 2,500 per month and water and electricity have to be paid for separately. When they are ill they go to both public and private health providers but are not happy with the treatment and facilities provided in government hospitals, which is why they have to go to private clinics in times of need. Four of the children go to school where they get free meals and books as well as some

learning. However, they are unable to access any financial assistance for educational purposes from welfare schemes because of the lack of identity papers.

Yadav Enclave

6. Chintamani

Aged 52 years, Chintamani has studied up to the 12th class and works with Pepsico, earning Rs 10,000 per month. He has been resident in Delhi since 1996 and has a wife and two children. He says it is not possible to survive on existing rations and pulses, sugar, oil, lentils vegetables etc should also be sold at subsidised rates. The unauthorised colony suffers heavily from a lack of drainage, leading to the collection of stagnant dirty pools of water. There is no piped water supply either. There is a dispensary in the area but it is present in name only. The hospital is 6 to 7 km far away and it is so crowded that it is difficult to see the doctor leave alone get any treatment. They feel the area needs a larger functioning dispensary and another hospital to meet health requirements. They are of the opinion that the government should pay more attention to education too and provide for all so as to prevent the private schools from looting the people. It is not possible for his family to survive on what he earns; he wishes that work was nearer home and the government made policies to enable all to live with dignity.

7. Krishna

Krishna has completed his postgraduate degree and came to Delhi from Sultanpur in 2007 in search of a living. He works 12 to 14 hours a day to earn Rs 10,000 per month. They are unhappy with the amount of grain available at ration shops because it is inadequate to feed a family. His demand is that a variety of daily provisions should be made available at fair price shops so that people do not have to purchase them at high prices from the open market; especially since the wages are not adequate to compensate for the amount of work extracted by employers. For a family with wife, children, and older parents the wage should at least be Rs 20,000 per month. Every employee should be covered by ESI and PF schemes so that there is some security. Illiteracy in the country will be banished only when the government provides free education at all levels. A plot of minimum size of 100 square yards is necessary for a family; while schools and colleges should be opened by the government. In addition, sanitation, drainage, and broad roads should be provided by the municipal administration.

8. Deepak

Deepak's father came to Delhi from Jaipur over 70 years ago. He is 29 years old, has studied up to 7th standard, is handicapped, and operates a battery-driven e-rickshaw which gives him a net income of roughly Rs 10,000 per month. From his gross earnings he has to pay Rs 300 every day to the e-rickshaw owner. His family consists of his mother, wife, one child, and two younger brothers and a sister. The house is about 25 square yards in area. He has applied several times for a ration card but in vain. They are extremely unhappy over the state of drainage in the colony; the fact that there is no piped water supply; and the presence of a non-functioning dispensary. They feel there should be a dispensary in every ward taking into consideration the population density at the ward level, along with a larger hospital. Otherwise the cost of treatment is unaffordable for people like him. Since there is no government school in the area

they are forced, along with many other parents, to send the children to a private school. They have no knowledge of any welfare schemes or provisions for loans for self-employment.

9. Saligram

Saligram is aged 53 years and sells garments for a living, from which he earns about Rs 15,000 per month. Even then this earning is not enough for him to feed his family, educate his children, and lead a life of dignity. In their experience a plot of at least 100 sq.yds is required for a family to live on. There are five members in his family and he claims that rations from the shop are just not adequate to feed his family. Hence, they have to buy at high prices from the market. They feel that vegetables too should be made available at the fair price shops. They are concerned about the drainage and waste disposal problems in the area, as well as the issue of irregular supply of water. There is no dispensary or hospital in the neighbourhood and this is one of the demands of the community. The cost of education is very high while there are so many students in a class in the government school that it is difficult for teachers to teach. Since there is no college or ITI or Polytechnic nearby children leave schooling after 12th standard. From his perspective Saligram suggests work should be made easily available by the government and facilities for protection from rain and sun should also be provided to outdoor workers.

10. Yogesh

Yogesh is a computer mechanic who has completed his BA. He is 23 years old and earns roughly Rs 10,000 per month. His father is a mason but complains that work is available irregularly as all construction plans made by the government are based on norms that are 50-60 years old and do not cater to the present needs or take into account the existential circumstances. The rations from the fair price shop are inadequate to feed a family of six and most of the provisions have to be bought on the open market. They feel that vegetables and pulses should also be made available at subsidised prices. Their estimate of land needed for a family dwelling is restricted to 60 sq.yds. Health conditions are of concern in Yadav Enclave hence the government should set up a dispensary and hospital immediately. Since there is no government school nearby, parents are compelled to send their children to private schools and the expenses go up correspondingly. Technical education or vocational training (such as computer repairs) costs even more.

Nehru Camp

11. Sitaram

Sitaram was born in Delhi 24 years ago and his family stayed in a slum at Mandavli, from where they moved to another slum in Vinod Nagar and eventually to Nehru Camp. They have taken a small room of 6'x8' on rent which has no kitchen or toilet, so they have cook and defecate in the open. He works as a mason on contract at Rs 450 per day and can earn up to Rs 9,000 per month. The days he does not go to work his earnings are deducted; there is no security in the job; the contractor is harsh and domineering. There are only three members in the family but they have no ration card as they have not been able to stay at any one place for long enough. Purchasing all provisions from the open market makes survival an expensive business and cannot be sustained at such low wages, especially at a time when there is runaway inflation. Sitaram strongly feels that there should be universal access to the PDS as even getting a ration

card under the present targeted system places huge obstacles in the way of those who have no papers to prove their eligibility. Annually they have to spend Rs 6,000 on buying clothing since there is no sale of cloth from fair price shops any more. For treatment of illness they go to the government hospital but the doctors are rude and don't even have time to listen to the patient.

12. Shyamsundar

Shyamsundar is a migrant from Amethi in Uttar Pradesh. He works as a gardener and goes from house to house to care for the potted plants. For this he is able to earn no more than Rs 5,000 per month. Sometimes he is also able to earn a daily wage as a labourer. There are five members in the family who are crowded into a single 8'x10' room. At this wage level and with so many family members they should be entitled to receive subsidised rations from the fair price shop and they have applied several times but in vain. They are unable to provide the requisite certificates that would satisfactorily prove their entitlement to the authorities. He feels that the Food and Supply office is deliberately not giving him a ration card as many other residents of the slum have complained that their old cards have been cancelled without giving any reason. They go to the government hospital for treatment but do not find the services satisfactory as they are clearly biased against the poor. The school where they send their children is situated at half an hour's walking distance but the kids get a mid-day meal and they have also been able to access financial assistance from one of the welfare schemes.

13. Mayadevi

Mayadevi is 52 years old and has been with her husband Dayanand at Nehru Camp since 1996. She has passed her 7th standard school examinations and used to live at her parental home in Haryana earlier. She now works as a domestic maid in several homes and earns Rs 2,500-3,000 per month but feels it is inadequate for the amount of work that the employers extract from her. If she is delayed for some reason then there is a wage cut that is imposed. The family of five lives in a *jhuggi* of 10'x10' which has no facilities. They had a ration card earlier in 1990 that was arbitrarily cancelled in 2007, renewed in 2009, and then cancelled again in 2014. It is difficult to meet the rising costs of food without having access to subsidised grains. Mayadevi is emphatic that everyone should get ration cards and universal access to food as was the case in 1990. She buys clothing for the family at the weekly market and sometimes even accepts old clothes from her employers. The dispensary is 1 km away and the hospital is at a distance of 4 km. Sometimes medicines are given free, at other times one has to buy them. The school is at 1.5 km and they have been able to get their children admitted to a private school under the EWS quota system. However, the private school invariably extracts money out of them on some pretext or the other – such as educational tours or festivals.

14. Roma

Roma is married to Dilip and is 35 years of age. They earlier used to live in Dholak Basti on the banks of the Yamuna but after that was demolished in 2004 they could not prove eligibility for resettlement so moved to Nehru Camp across the river. She works as a domestic maid and her monthly income is about Rs 6,000. There is no security in this work and no government aid either. There are seven members in the family and she has an old ration card but because she

does not have an Aadhar card the authorities are not entering the names of her children on to the card. Hence, a considerable amount of provisions has to be bought from the open market and this is expensive at a time of high prices. She is also insistent that the ration card should be for everyone and all should be able to get cheap rations if and when they need them. She also saves money by buying clothing at cheaper rates from the weekly bazaar. The hospital is 4 km far away and they have to sometimes purchase medicines too. Three of her children attend school where the teaching is satisfactory and they also receive financial assistance plus money to buy uniforms once a year.

15. Hemraj

Hemraj, age 50 years, used to live in Madhya Pradesh earlier and came to Delhi in 1986. He has studied up to 9th standard and works as a mason. There are five members in the family and his monthly income is Rs 10,000. They live in a 9'x14' room which has no facilities. Every month they have to spend Rs 8,000 on provisions alone as they do not have a ration card and purchases have to be made in the open market which is terribly expensive. They are of the opinion that there should be no categories in the ration cards, there should be universal entitlements, and pulses, vegetables, salt, ghee, oil, and spices should also be part of the ration portfolio. They purchase their clothes at the weekly bazaar to save on expenses. The hospital and dispensary are far away, medicines are available sometimes only. The children have grown up and do not go to school. Their greatest concern is what will happen if the slum is demolished. Will they get alternative plots for relocation and will employment be available at the new site? It is an insecure existence.

Bawana

16. Achhelal

The problem with Bawana resettlement colony is that it is located so far at the periphery of the city that local jobs are hardly available. For Achhelal this is the biggest concern. Achhelal's family gets 16 kg wheat, 4 kg rice, and 5 kg sugar from the ration shop every month. This is actually distributed among four families who need 30 kg food-grains every month, since the kids have grown up and begun their own families but everybody does not have a separate ration card. Hence, grains and vegetables have to be bought at high prices from the open market. The condition of education is pitiable because there is no school nearby. The same is true for health as there is no dispensary in the neighbourhood. What is available is very far away. They feel that it is the duty of the government to provide all these services in the resettlement colony.

17. Chanwata

Chanwata is also concerned about the paucity of jobs in the area. The factories in the industrial area next door are wary of employing local labour and their previous jobs are far away in the city from which they were displaced. When they were in their original slum at Saraswati Vihar they feel that conditions for a life of dignity were much more conducive there as work as well as basic services were available. There are eight members in her family and she only gets 16 kg wheat and 4 kg rice for them from the ration shop. In addition they have to buy about 30 kg wheat and 25 kg rice every month from the open market. This places an enormous strain on

their shrinking incomes. The government has thrown them into the resettlement site without providing any of the basic services that are necessary for survival. There is no dispensary, no school, life is very difficult.

18. Pardesi

Pardesi is one of the few persons who has been able to get a job in the industrial area across the canal. Work is hard and tiring and wages are barely enough to make ends meet. They are able to get 25 kg wheat, 8 kg rice, and 5 kg sugar from the ration shop at subsidised prices. The rest has to be bought in the market at very high prices. Prices are particularly inflated in Bawana because all food-grains and vegetables have to be brought in from the faraway wholesale *mandis* in spite of the fact that the agricultural area of Bawana is right next door. The agricultural output is also declining because of the large scale developments in the area, in the midst of which they have been forcibly dumped by the government without any basic services at all. There is no health or education or drinking water and sanitation in the area.

19. Indudevi

Both Indudevi and her husband have to work to support a family of six. She does not have a ration card so all provisions have to be bought from the local market where prices are very high and quality is poor. It is very difficult to bring up the children in such a situation. At least when their slum was in Saraswati Vihar she could earn more by just doing domestic work in the homes (*kothis*) in nearby colonies. But remote Bawana provides no such opportunities. The school is far away and the environment is bad for children who come from the "JJ Colony" as they are looked down upon by the other children. There is no dispensary, unlike in the previous slum, and health is a major issue especially since the conditions of water and sanitation are not conducive to good health at Bawana. The situation is terrible.

20. Umesh

According to Umesh at any time only 70 out of 100 men get some kind of uncertain daily wage in the area. The remainder are unemployed. The situation is far worse than what it was earlier in their original slum from which they were evicted. The government has merely allotted tiny plots of land in the name of resettlement and washed its hands of ensuring gainful livelihoods and proper civic services of water, sanitation, roads, and electricity. Umesh has a ration card and his family receives 20 kg wheat, 3 kg rice, and 5 kg sugar every month. They have to purchase additional 25 kg wheat, 10 kg rice, pulses, sugar and other provisions from the market where prices are unimaginably high. The government should fulfil its obligations and provide all services as per the norms to everybody equally, including health and education.

Metro Vihar

21. Geeta

Geeta was born in Chhapra in Bihar and is educated up to the 10th standard. She is 31 years old and lived in Gautampuri slum near the Income Tax Office earlier with her husband Ajit before they were evicted from there in 2002 and sent to Metro Vihar. Now they have to travel 35-40 km every day to earn as daily wagers in the city for a monthly income of Rs 8,000. There is no

public transport available so they have to avail of privately run transport such as joint autos and tempos. Rations are available but do not meet the needs of the family. Garments are bought only once in a year. The plot is too small to accommodate the entire family but there is no alternative. The government does resettlement but does not provide basic urban services. There are six members in the family and they send their children to private schools under the 25% EWS quota which they know about since the education in the government school is not satisfactory and there is a lack of facilities. For health problems they go to the ESI hospital which is about 7 km from Metro Vihar. If the problem is complicated they may have to travel 20 km to the nearest government hospital, although they know that according to norms there should be a nearby hospital for such a large settlement.

22. Islam

Islam says he is 72 and illiterate and came to Delhi in 1983 from Muzaffarpur in Bihar. His first settlement was at Minto Road and he now earns Rs 8,000 per month from sewing and tailoring for 12 hours a day. In his opinion shelter and occupation should be close to one another. There are five members in his family and they do get rations but the quantity is completely inadequate so provisions have to be bought from the local market. Islam knows about the old-age pension and that a hospital should be constructed for a population as large as the Metro Vihar/Holambi Kalan area, but that is the extent of his information about welfare services. The present hospital is very far away and there too tests and medicines have to be paid for at facilities outside the hospital. The children go to the government school but the quality of teaching is poor so they have to go for tuition classes also.

23. Moni

Moni is 26 years old, educated up to 5th standard and came to Delhi in 2002. She was resident in a slum near Bapu Dham before her family was evicted to Metro Vihar. She still tries to earn a living as a domestic maid in her previous location but distances are very far and travel expenses eat into the Rs 6,000 that she is able to earn in a month. There are no job opportunities at or near Bawana. Rations from the fair price shop are not of much use and open market prices are prohibitively expensive. Since the home is confined to the 12½ sq.m plot there is no space for a separate kitchen or toilet. Garments are rarely purchased and the family makes do with what they have. The living conditions in the house and the area are very poor. The school is so bad that none of the children want to go. There are no neighbourhood health facilities so they have to go far to Pooth-khurd/Bawana to visit the hospital there.

24. Saroj

Saroj came to Delhi in 2001 along with her husband Hari when they settled in Rohini. From there they were evicted to Metro Vihar which is now about 20 km from where she works. Saroj has done her schooling up to the 10th standard and there are four members in the family. There are no holidays or other welfare benefits at work and the behaviour of the employer is rude and vulgar. Also travel costs and time to get to and from work are high but there is no option as there are no local opportunities. The ration card is of some help to eke out a living but the plot is too small and there are associated problems of water supply, sanitation, sewerage etc. She

knows about the EWS quota in private schools but has been unable to avail of the facility. Neither is there any financial support for students in government schools where the conditions are very bad. For medical attention they have to go far to the distant hospital at Pooth-khurd.

25. Shankar

Shankar has crossed his 50th birthday and works as a mason. He is 10th pass and came to Delhi from Bhagalpur, Bihar in 2004. He has to travel far to find work and the travel time is large as are the expenses that have to be incurred because there is no public transport available at Metro Vihar. One day work may be at Wazirpur, on the next day one may have to travel to Palam. The only option is to travel by train but that is both unsafe as well as time consuming. There is no surety of work either. A missed day at work means a day's wages are lost. The employer is harsh and offers no facilities or insurance at work. There is no safety training that is imparted and the job demands going and coming every day in the early mornings and late evenings. If they ask for higher wages the contractor merely dismisses them from work. All that they have been able to get is scholarships for their children's education out of the Construction Workers Fund. However, there are 90 children in a class which makes teaching impossible. There is a shortage of teachers, drinking water, toilets in the school; no aid, uniforms, or books; so most parents are sending their children to private schools. There is a dire need to revitalise the government's schools and the quality of education they should be providing. The same is true of the crumbling public health system. Shankar says they do not even get potable water and have to purchase it in the market. Everything has become so much more expensive. He also feels that the minimum size for a plot should be 50 sq.yds so that they can build toilets and kitchens within the house.

Social mobilisation

Obtaining rights is also dependent on whether firstly, the residents know of their rights, and secondly, on whether they are organised to claim them.

Some insights that emerged during the collection of case studies, in discussion with both the families as well as their peers and neighbours, was that the residents of the resettlement colonies were the most aware of their entitlements because they had been deprived of their homes in the slums by the state agencies and been promised entitlements to land, shelter, and services as part of the relocation process itself. Thus, the residents in both Metro Vihar and Bawana are involved in small struggles that involve repeated petitions to the authorities, delegations that go to meet political representatives, and demonstrations before offices of service providers. In the case of Metro Vihar the struggles have focussed on the issue of sanitation and several applications under the Right to Information Act have been used to unearth the amount of funds allocated for cleaning of drains and maintenance of the Sewage Treatment Plant in the area. Petitions based on this information as well as mass delegations to the political representatives and the civic authorities have resulted in sporadic attempts by the municipal officers to improve regular sanitation services in the area. In Bawana, on the other hand, the organisational efforts have focused on the construction of a school for the children and repeated

attempts to lobby with the authorities to allot the land and begin construction of the school building. In addition, there has been a long-standing struggle to get plots allotted to families who had been earlier declared ineligible but have all the required documents to prove their eligibility.

In the Nehru Camp slum, the mobilisation has been triggered by the existence of a school that was refusing to admit the children and discriminating against their families on the basis of their lower caste. Here too the residents filed applications under the Right to Information Act to obtain information about their entitlements and then repeatedly petitioned the school authorities as well as demonstrated before the school until the children were granted admission. In addition, they campaigned against the supply of water through tankers on the grounds that the water was not fit for use and built pressure on the local elected councillor until he used his clout to get the service providing agency to supply piped water to the slum. In the unauthorised colonies, though, the public discussion is dominated by the fact that a 'Public Interest' litigation had been filed in 1996 to remove the colonies on the plea that providing them with services would make the infrastructure crumble. However, the government had intervened in the court at that time to promise that the colonies would be 'regularised' so that they could avail all the services. This promise has been pending through successive governments and, since the colonies have not been removed, the residents are still hopeful that the regularisation will take place, and their mobilisation consists of repeatedly petitioning the politicians to accelerate this process. In addition, in Shiv Park the families approached the authorities through NGOs to obtain ration cards and electoral photo identity cards.

Conclusions

With respect to the two-fold objectives of the study, it was postulated that (1) the discriminatory denial of access to rights by the State leads to poverty, and (2) using legal entitlements can provide for equal protection.

The first phase of this study has shown very clearly (Table 1) that, in the name of addressing poverty, the State has systematically diluted the entitlements to food, clothing, housing, health, education, work, and wages in Delhi, arguing that diluted standards would make it easier to deliver services directly to the targeted poor.

The subsequent household surveys in five settlements – two from the unauthorised colonies, one from the slums, and two from the resettlement colonies – where the vulnerable poor live, brings out the following features of the targeted policies:

- Possession of a document, such as a ration card, that proves a family's entitlement is the first hurdle for the poor.
- When the entitlement is restricted, such as the quantity of food grains to be provided, then the needs have to be satisfied by purchase on the market and that deepens the poverty.
- Where the entitlement is removed, such as clothing being provided at subsidised rates at fair price shops, expenses increase in market purchases.

- There is an intersection between economic and social deprivations with families from lower castes being given fewer entitlements to all resources and services.
- The poor attempt to improve their lives by incremental processes, such as gradual construction of *pakka* houses, but lack of legal tenure often robs them of this investment.
- When poor families purchase a resource, such as land, they try to approach universal norms, but targeted resettlement drags them down below the earlier poverty levels.
- Some families are able to earn the minimum wage, which gets diminished through targeting, while nobody was assured of access to the living wage.
- Displacement entails lack of access to livelihoods and this both decreases income as well as increases expenses in a targeted manner.

The interviews with some of the respondents further reveal:

- The poor are aware of these tendencies within targeting and demand universal entitlements but they do not have access to political voice.
- They demand equal access to identity documents, subsidised provisions, fair wages, affordable shelter, water, sanitation, health, education, and livelihoods – not just for themselves, but for all citizens.
- And they demand that these be provided directly by a welfare State and its institutions, and not through private agencies or intermediaries hired by the State.
- On occasion, residents do gather together, either through their own internal mechanisms or through the agency of an NGO, to petition the authorities to provide urgent necessities.
- However, there is also a conflict between depending upon the present political system to protect their interests and developing their own systemic organisations for self-empowerment.

The critical query posed by this study, therefore, is what are the larger social and political mechanisms through which the poor can use the legal apparatus more effectively to challenge discrimination, especially targeted schemes that dilute the legal entitlement, and obtain equal rights of access?