

EXPLORING AMARTYA SEN'S DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK AND THE INDIAN ALLIANCE.

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Day 2. Morning Session
RSDF Transit Camp, Mankhurd

MD 6

Jockin and Sheela Discussing the program for the morning.

Jockin – this is a settlement, this is a transit camp. People are living in Railway, some of these key leaders, I think that Shehnaz – she was this young girl there on the track. She is now married and had children and got a separate house. She will be able to narrate the whole question which we have been debating since yesterday. That is how it has happened. Never, nobody thought in 18 years time, this is possible. These are the oldest people who started the Railway federation, who moved here on the transit. And the transit it's very important here is – it's a parallel government including police, local community policing, sanitation, water, electricity, management, cleanliness. Corporation, State government have nothing to do in this settlement. Everything managed by the community, totally. You can go around and find out even if there is a garbage here. .. this is the kind of people there are.

There are 900 families here. Another 800 families next door. There is another 900 families in the third place. There are three such settlements. This settlement in this particular around 3000 houses were build buy the federation within 8 months! 3000 houses. These all houses are built by the Federation. Kind of a construction and people making choice, who want to live where. This is the number of co-operative societies here. You can see the names. In a years time from now, they will be moving to the new buildings, which is getting construction started for two months back. Today, apart from various other kinds of activity they are involved even now they are going to the new site making their choice, which building they wanted to live in. apart from this, as many number of people, an amount of money, most of them have already saved 25,000 rupees as their contribution. It is ready with them. Just now we had, before you all came, there are about 7 school trusts are coming and approaching them, they want to start a school here. Now they are debating how the school should be running. What kind of a fees structure, what kind of a language, just they were negotiating. You are free to have a dialogue with them. **3.29 The histories, some of the people like Parab, Gaokar, many of these ladies are all who were the beginners of the federation in 1987. After 17 years their dream come not as a house; it came as a bulldozer. These are the people houses were bulldozed. They were living on the land even after bulldozing more than a month. Just on the road. Then they made a choice of this land.** But unfortunately the land we were chosen, this land we thought of 15 years back. Told the government this land is available, they said no, this land is not available. Finally government has to agree, this land is available start working on it. That is how it is. You can get a big background of the past. How they have been living. These two people, mainly leaders, there are all of them as I told yesterday – today morning there is a big rush for people from here and all our places going to the chief Minister program. Inauguration of a program. So morning all were

running to go there. I think we can spend more than an hour also, whatever you feel like, then very close by walking distance

Sheela – we will also go to see the permanent houses that were purchased by the state.

Jockin – I think one of the leader, this one's very she was in ... this cadre. She was Laxmi bai, she is a leader. Many of them have been up and down, leaders, sometime gone down. She is the very good example. She will work very hard. She is a communist leader. After three years suddenly she will disappear. After three years she will come back with the same thinking and go back. She also debated with us – what are you fooling us. Do you think this is all going to happen? Tut! Nothing is going to happen, we have to fight for it we have to go ... blah blah blah. Finally I think, late she came and joined. She will be able to give the right story, what is it, how she visualized this thing. I think somehow these people will be able to give a lot. These old leaders from Byculla whom you saw- this company is still here. This is how they play the role in repeated.. we have separate meetings today here, we called them.

That's it Sheela you can start.

Sheela – what is happening there, everybody wants to know.

Jockin – here, these people are living next to the navy, as a highest security risk where the Indians naval Armaments are kept underground. Their huts are touching their wall. So the government of India and navy has asked me to look at them, how they can help the safety to be... So these many people have come now, their houses are going to be demolished or removed. They come out with the details. This is what I am trying to say. They have done every homework coming to the Federation. Where do we go now. What do we do. How to stop the demolition. Or we move first? Or we'll stay somewhere there? This is the third time I am meeting them. This has to be done before 21st. By 21st-30th one has to clear the place and one has to find house for them. Two things. So the government of India, with the Railways and the State have requested the Federation – please talk to them..

...

Jockin – Now this is what happened. They all get out. At least 80% of them fully employed. IN Navy as well as railways and the state government. Their houses has to be demolished. Simple reason is - they are next to the naval armament Depot. Safety, security. They took some of us, showed around the secret place, how it is danger to the .. anything may happen here and there. So we are discussing and we are going there and working out what to be done.

Sheela – I'll start off. OK. Maybe you can join us there. **What we did with the Mahila Milan, we have to give us our history through people's stories. I will introduce everybody and then Smita and I will translate for you. Let's introduce ourselves. They know them, now you begin. Keep sitting.*

Naidu – *my name is Lisbeth Naidu, I am from Ghatkopar*

Sheela – *before you introduce yourselves tell us about which Railway slum area you lived in, how many years, in short, so that they know where you come from, when did you join the organization.* What I am trying to do is to say that when

* Text in italics is translated from Marathi or Hindi.

they introduce themselves they should give a very short description of their migration. Just process and which settlement they were and when they joined the Federation.

Naidu – *My name is Lispeth Naidu. I used to live in Ghatkopar. I lived there for four years. Four years ago we were surveyed, SPARC came and did the survey. They put numbers and names. Then we went to Kanjur marg where we lived for two years. After that we shifted to the building here.*

Sheela – My name is Elizabeth Naidu. I lived on the railway settlement for four years in Ghatkopar at which point there was a survey done of the Railway settlements. Subsequently I went a transit camp in Kanjur Marg. (I will later on tell you what is Kanjur Marg) From Kanjur Marg then I moved to Mankhurd to a building.

Yamini – Yamini Yeshwant Gudiye. (drowned out in a pressure cooker whistle from next door)

Sheela – Ok, I think I will do it the other way round because otherwise you won't know what they are saying about their relocation. *Now on I will do the reverse.* I'll change the way in which we are talking otherwise you won't understand the references. We will start with the history of the Federation. And then move to the introduction, so that you'll know where did they stay, where did they move, where did they come. So you will get that sense. I will start.

12.18 I was sitting in the office of the Housing Secretary. The Railway people came to the Housing Secretary of Maharashtra to say that they wanted a survey of households who were living up to 50 feet of the Railway track to be done. So that a compound wall could be built and all the people who were living within 50 feet could be removed. What it meant to me was that there was a proposed demolition. Without doing much more thinking I made a proposition to the Housing Secretary (who already knew about or Pavement Dwellers survey, who knew we'd done a survey in Dharavi) to say 'could we be involved in doing the survey' and that 'could we do this survey along with the collector of slums' who is the usual person to do this thing. because we believe that when the collector does the survey by themselves they don't do a proper enumeration of slums.

The Housing Secretary said – we'll have to see whether the Railways and the Collector agree to it but I think it's a good idea. In 1987 we undertook a survey of about 35,000 households and categorized them in terms of households that were within 30 feet, 50 feet and 80 feet of the track. And we produced a report called 'Beyond the beaten Track' in which all that information that we gathered was also attested by the Railway Estate management and the Collector's office. In that process, those people from NSDF who conducted the surveys began to meet with all the senior leaders of this group. And in 1987 we had a meeting in which the Pavement Dwellers and one group of very committed slum dwellers on the railway track produced a house model exhibition. And at that exhibition invited all the Railway Slum Dwellers to form a Federation.

Until that point of time you can see that it was a activity that was initiated out of grasping an opportunity that we saw. But while we collected the data we produced a Federation. Now you say. Tell you name and what you do.

Parab – *My name is SH Parab. I have been living in Mumbai for the past 36 years. When I got married I did not have a place of my own that is why I lived next to the Railway Tracks for 20 years.*

Sheela – My name is Parab. I have come to live in Bombay for 36 years. But for 20 years I have lived on the railway tracks because after I got married there was no place to stay. *How did you go there?*

Parab – *I went there – I work in the Mumbai Municipal Corporation for the past 30 years. Mumbai Municipal corporation gives its workers houses, but I did not get a house because of seniority basis.*

Sheela – there is a housing facility available for people but because of the fact that he wasn't senior enough he didn't get the opportunity.

Parab – *Because of family responsibilities I could not afford to buy a house of my own in Mumbai.*

Sheela – Because I had commitments to my family in the village, I could never save the money to purchase a house in the city.

Parab – *That is why I had to buy a house that I could afford. That is why I saw houses in various slums in Mumbai. I saw on the collector's land but the rates were different, the houses on municipal land had different rates, finally the house that I could afford was in the slum next to the track on the Railway line. Then I got the house there.*

Sheela – he says the only house that I could afford was in a slum and even within slums there is a different price for a house on collectors land, there is a higher price for that on collector's land or BMC land. The only house I could afford was a house on a Railway settlement. *How much did you pay for that?*

Parab – *at that time I took the place for 7,000 rupees.*

Sheela – I purchased that house for 7000 rupees. Whom did you buy from?

Parab – *there was a householder who had retired and was leaving Mumbai. He gave me the house.*

Sheela – the person who residing in that location, to whom I gave Rs 7000 was actually retiring, leaving Bombay and going back to the village, so he sold me this hut.

Parab – *when I went to stay there, that place did not have any water, electricity, no toilet. This is how I lived there.*

Sheela – there were no amenities and services. No water, no toilets, no electricity.

Parab – *After I went to live there I felt that we do not have these basic amenities here. We should have those and for that we should get organized.*

Sheela – In order to obtain those amenities we decided we needed some form of organization.

Parab – *from there gradually we felt that .. the people who lived next to the Railway line – we got a notice in 1982 to vacate the land.*

Sheela – they'd got an eviction notice in 1982 to get out of the land.

Parab – *when the notice came all the people along the Railway Line were disturbed. What are we going to do, where will we go? Our jobs are in Mumbai and we can not go back to the village. Where will we go, where will we live?*

Sheela – there was a lot of anxiety for all the residents on the Railway tracks half the time because there was a crisis that their employment was in the city but there was no way they could get another place to stay in. How were they going to address this issue?

Parab – *since 1982 we had been looking for somebody to help us in this effort.*

Sheela – so we were looking for somebody who could guide us and advise us on how to do.

Parab – *ordinarily in four or five meeting we and Jockin sir, meaning NSDF we came to know each other. We came to know the Jockin sir works in these slums.*

Sheela – then we found out that there was a Federation called NSDF and that they worked on issues of slum dwellers. *When was this?* It was in 85, 86.

Parab – *after we came to know, when we were finding out, the exhibition took place. In 87.*

Sheela – *what about the survey. That took place earlier.*

Parab – *at that time we felt that we should have an organization here. All of us on the Railway tracks, Mankhurd to Govandi our leaders began discussing it. But there was nobody to advise us properly.*

Sheela – in the discussions that they were having on this issue, there were people from the Railway slums which belonged to different political parties and they all met together to find out the solutions. But nobody had any really useful ideas.

Parab – *that is why we conducted a survey along the railway line. In 1987*

Sheela – that's the time when NSDF involved us in doing those surveys. We all began to volunteer to support it for our localities.

Parab – *after the survey we came to know that if we make a organization properly and make societies, make a federation, saved something then we could ask for land.*

Sheela – that was the time when the strategy of NSDF and Mahila Milan became interesting as an exposure to us because we saw that the Federation's strategy of forming proposed co-operatives of our various locations, saving money, discussing about alternatives could possible help us negotiate for land.

Parab – *In 1987 we had the exhibition and we felt that if we got land in the same manner then we could build a house. A model house had been made in the exhibition. And there was choice. What kind of a house did the people like and we had to choose.*

Sheela – when that census was over and we were involved in doing the house model exhibitions we also had invited all the slum dwellers who lived along the

railway track and they began to identify which of the house models and what kinds of designs we would be choosing. That's how people started getting excited with this possibility.

Parab – then we established Housing societies and after that began Housing savings. In the exhibition the Byculla Mahila Milan and we got together and they guided on how to form the organization. Then Mahila Milan savings also began. The women were organized on the one hand and on the other housing society were formed. Then we got a good response to the federation.

Sheela – it was at that time that we got the exposure to the Byculla Mahila Milan who then began to explain to us how to form the cooperatives, how to start the savings and more importantly how to do this dual business of forming cooperatives of communities and encouraging women to form Mahila Milan's in our own network. And when all these groupings began to develop at that level forming the overall RSDF federation became something that we could envision.

Parab – Because we lived next to the Railway line we did not have any arrangements for water, electricity or toilets. but we somehow or the other, unauthorized even managed to get these because of our organization.

Sheela – it was also during that time that although we were not legally entitled to have electricity water and toilets we used informal mechanisms to get access to water sanitation and electricity.

Nick – what is informal?

Sheela – *what does informal mean?*

Parab – We are on the railway line within the 50 feet limit. The land that is beyond 50 feet is private land and beyond that is BMC land. We would show that we would fit the common meters on the houses on the BMC land. We would tell the people there that we are arranging for this and you should give us some space. We would show the place and get the meters installed.

Sheela – what we used to do is – why the federation is important – if you look at the land, 50 feet from the track or the 50-80 feet from the track belongs to the railways. or the permission related to households that ... the system here is that if your land belongs to a Central government agency their No Objection Certificate is necessary for the Municipal Corporation to give you any amenities and facilities. Ok, supposing this is the Railway track, you can .. look at this – 50 feet on either side – the permission to do anything in that you have to get from the Railways, even if the land belongs to anybody. He said that 50 feet belonged to the Railways, then the next 50 to a 100 belonged sometimes to the private or BMC. Because they were all organized as a Federation across the boundaries of land location when they went for permission to get say, an electricity sub station they would locate the entire sub-station on BMC land and then do the internal wiring. Earlier they would have done it individually but if they were living within 50 feet then they wouldn't have got it.

Nick – so they played the system quite effectively.

Parab – the same thing with water and toilet also.

Sheela – and they did the same for water and same for toilets.

Parab – there was no space anywhere for toilets. but we managed to get toilets wherever possible on the BMC land along the road.

Sheela – and so even if they were building toilets on the roadside, they would build so that people had access to it.

Parab – *and when our work was seen then the rest of them also saw how to work and learnt the method of working. They began to feel that the Federation is going to help us.*

Sheela – this began to grow as people saw these ideas and began to replicate them in other Federations and the true meaning of the RSDF or a Railway slum Dwellers Federation emerged out of our ability to share these ideas and strategies with each other.

Parab - *we worked in this manner for 13 years at that place. Janakalyan in 90.*

Sheela – the next milestone after 87 is 1990.

Parab – *when the Mankhurd to Belapur Railway line was put down they had to build a new Mankhurd Railway Station. Next to the Mankhurd Railway Station there was a big slum called Bharat nagar. There were 900 and another 120 .. in all 1000 or 1100 people. We took the responsibility for shifting those people. And for that the PMGP (Prime Minister Grant project) built 905 houses. They were given ready houses. But they were not free houses. And those who could not pay to get the houses came to our organization. They wanted to know from NSDF and SPARC how to get land, how to build houses there, where to get money from, how to draw plans for the house. We learned all that, at Janakalyan.*

Sheela – In 1990, if you remember yesterday Mr. BK Agarwal talked about how his association with SPARC started. He was the housing secretary when a very critical change occurred in this city. Up till then .. new Bombay (after this Ward, you go to what is called new Bombay) and until 1990 there was no local Railway line that connected the city of Bombay to new Bombay. And that was restricting the growth of taking the city over flow and moving it into the mainland. People had to come by bus into the city and then go by road. So in 1990 there was a plan to set up this Mankhurd Railway Station which would provide this thing and for that a slum which was on that land of almost a 1000 to 1150 households had to be removed. At that time SPARC and the Federation assisted RSDF to help those people who could pay the money and move into built tenements. There was another project called the Prime Ministers Grant project. So about 905 households were able to pay that money. but the rest of the households, 181 households could not pay for that. We negotiated with Mr. Agarwal who was the secretary at that time and bought land from the State and built houses which are ground houses with a 14 foot mezzanine. And Mahila Milan Byculla and the RSDF got their first experience of actually building those houses, in that. How to use their savings to get a loan, how to do the community driven construction, how to design. All that experience we got on Janakalyan.

Alison – Mankhurd Railway Station's how far from here?

Sheela – it's about a ten minute walk.

Alison – and those new houses you are talking about?

Sheela – that's just opposite. *Then*

Parab – *when we got the land there then we came to know how to build houses for the others in the same manner and what example we can give those people.*

For that we need land. We did not ask for a building. We just wanted some land and if we get land in Mumbai then we will make the same houses as in Janakalyan Cooperative housing society. There are 115 families who live there today. Accordingly we created a Building Center. How to prepare materials on the site and how we can build our houses. We built an example and accordingly made societies.

Sheela – that was a very important milestone for RSDF because we developed this concept of having our building center, training ourselves to produce the materials for these houses. And it helped us develop a blueprint of our vision of what kind of relocation we wanted, what kind of houses we wanted, how much it would cost. And based on that people started saving, people started planning and the drive to locate alternative land actually grew.

Nick – Was this part of the Housing Center Movement in India, was it linked to that?

Sheela – yes.

Parab – *all the women sitting here went to the building Center and learned how to make laadis, how to make bricks.*

Sheela – and almost from every settlement women came there and learned. One of the things they do is they produce their own funicular roofing material and blocks. Mahila Milan trained from all these Federations so that site became like a training ground for everybody.

Parab – *After that step by step, almost till 2000 this federation continued with Mahila Milan savings, Loans to women, loan repayment, small meetings. This is how the organization continued. But on 28th February 2000 ...*

Sheela – *but before that we had done the MUTP survey ...talk about that. Ok tell me ...*

Parab – *he is a very close associate of mine, we both did all this*

Sheela – Both of them have got white hair together.

Gaokar – *My name is Digambar Govind Gaokar. I began working when I was 34 years old and now I am 53 years old. We conducted a survey of the people next to the Railway line in this way that – how many people are there up to ten meters from the railway track and how many outside the ten meters. What is everyone's profession. Family data we prepared.*

Sheela – *I will tell them some background. 35.36 In 1995 the MUTP II process began to get activated where the World Bank was in dialogue with the Government of Maharashtra and the Indian Railways to upgrade the investment in Railway tracks and public transport. At that time the World Bank made a demand on the State Government that they should have a policy that addresses the issue of relocation and rehabilitation for all the people who are going to be affected by the track. In that committee I was one of the three NGO's. that couple that you worked with, Panwalkars, Mrs Panwalkar, myself and Tragler. We were the three NGO's in that committee along with many others. But the entire relocation design and strategy was accepted on our recommendation – of how we believe the survey should be done. We put into the policy the fact that the community should be involved in doing the survey and should sign off on the documents to say – these are the number of people*

who are living here, this data is acceptable to us and that they have a copy of every single document that the State and the International Agencies get. So that nothing can be fudged or changed. This is the outcome of that. We have the entire, the Central Western, and Harbor Line, we have blueprints like this and these are Plain Table surveys and every house is numbered and that number is reflected in this document. So we have this data per household, per settlement and even individual data within households. And then each community member was given these ID cards. You will see that these ID cards but Federation ID cards. This is a very important thing for us in the Federation and SPARC that we don't force the State to give you a sense of identity. The location of that identity is within the Federation. But this paper was finally signed by the collector of Bombay, the Railway Estate manger and Jockin on behalf of SPARC. Mahila Milan and NSDF. So this is today official documents which are used in all grievance redressals even in the court of law.

Nick – who did the actual survey.. the survey was partly enumerated by community totally, but who did the drawing up ..

Sheela – we hired surveyors who worked with the Federation. First they did a rough one and then there would be meetings like this. *who will tell me how the meetings of the Federation took place where you matched the surveys for the house in RSDF.*

Gaokar – *In the beginning we used to take an area and decide upon a boundary. Eg, from one drain to another drain.*

Sheela – first of all we would demarcate the physical or the geographic location within which a survey or boundary of a particular thing was done, often the boundaries were not related to our settlements but to some physical area. So one canal to another or things like that. And within that you will see that the various settlements that were identified by them, which are geographic internal micro-settlements were marked on that.

Gaokar – *then we put numbers on each house. Beginning from one to however houses are there, we would mark in chalk. Or oil paint. After the numbers were given, then the internal size of the house was measured. Then the surveyor was called. This is how we prepared these maps.*

Sheela – what they were saying is that before the surveyors came in the communities were involved in numbering all the houses. Whether a particular structure was one house or two house was determined by the community and they did the numbering and then per house they measured it internally and worked out the ... then once it was acceptable within the community then they called in the surveyor gave them this information and that was validated by the surveyor and then this was done.

Nick – was each house owned by one individual family or was there a lot of renting and sub-letting..

Sheela – there were two kinds of things, there were sub-lets and there were rental and that was also identified. *In this we take all the data of rental, sub-let.*

Gaokar – *also first there has to be a detailed survey. So what we did was – in the beginning we took an area but nobody knew when we would go to that area. Because one or two people went to do this and quickly put the numbers and then*

we began checking everybody's documents. Like rationing cards etc. and then how many years they have been here

Sheela – what they used to do is that the federation team which went to do this would go unannounced and unplanned to the settlements and just number the houses, once they have numbered the houses then they would check the documentation that people had. So there was an internal verification to make sure that people didn't opportunistically sub divide their houses for the purpose of this process.

Alison – where you got houses with sub-letting or tenants they also got these identity cards, they were treated on the same basis?

Sheela – *Ok those people who were living on rent or has sub-letted – how did you decide about them?*

Gaokar – *If there was a loft the structure was one. Before the demolitions we had begun work for almost 13 years. If there were tenants there, and if they were there for a year, they would not be there the next year. The owners were named.*

Sheela – what he wants us to remember is that this thing.. the formalization of this survey was only done now but this process of numbering and documenting and the detail of this process has been done over the last 13 years. There was a very clear understanding of who were the temporary rentals. *If there were 15-20 structures with one person then*

Gaokar – *If somebody had 15-20 structures – we did not really have any such people. There was only one exception, otherwise we did not have any such.*

Sheela – there had been only one or two instances where there was one person who owned ten fifteen structures. In which we had to negotiate for him, saying you will get only one structure.

Alison – Temporary rentals, how do you define those and they went through ..

Sheela – those are just people who come for one two years.

Alison – so they weren't included in this identifying.

Sheela – no, they were not included and they were aware right from the beginning that they were not included.

Alison – but if they are five six years then they start becoming permanent.

Nick – when is permanent and temporary?

Sheela – *how do you decide between permanent and temporary?*

Gaokar – *one – there should be a ration card, then if there is something else on that address ...*

Sheela – they looked at a range. The federation has 14 pieces of documentation that it looks at.

Gaokar – *If a child has been born in that house, they would have a certificate,*

Sheela – birth certificates, ration card, voting list.. they look at a range of things to determine whether that person is there on a transient basis or a permanent basis.

Gaokar – *the postal correspondence held over four or five years.*

Sheela – postal. Documentation of you getting post cards or letters.

Gaokar – *On top of that this is the owner..*

Sheela – that arbitration was done internally

Gaokar – *and the societies were established. And then each member had documents showing how did the member come here. We were putting money in the bank. And our societies were already there.*

Sheela – and you must remember that the societies were formed since 1986. so there was a very clear picture and understanding. It wasn't like a sort cut thing. *who will tell me about Kanjur Marg.*

Alison – once they can give allocation of houses, those people can rent in the new process. Whether it's a cousin or an uncle who is renting a room. They get space in the house then there is no reason they can ...it's an issue we are looking at in other cities, they are doing surveys in. And these kinds of level of issues is really difficult.

Sheela – that's what we will discuss in the afternoon that these can't be arbitrated on the outside. You have to prepare this arbitration mechanism on the inside because it is both .. but the interesting thing here is – *I am explaining how we arbitrate. There might be four societies but if you feel that the society is not giving you justice, you go the RSDF. If you don't get justice in RSDF then you go to the NSDF. So we have levels.* There is a fairly well developed grievance redressal. First the society itself, the committee participates if there is a fight between three people about ownership, this that. It is done at the cooperative society level. If it is not accepted at the cooperated society level then it goes to the RSDF. If the person is not happy with the RSDF they will go right up to the NSDF. By which time that process comes out clearly or not clearly.

Alison – then in these new houses there is another committee as well, isn't it.

Nick – but what kind of proportion ...

Sheela – *how many people of you feel that justice has not been done and go to RSDF or NSDF?*

Woman – *Truly we do not have such people. There are several societies which are perfect because of their mutual trust.*

Sheela – she says that at that level there is such a high degree of trust within that cooperative society that it rarely happens. But those kind of issues came when the relocation was there.

Gaokar – *in February 2000, those people living next to the railway line, I was there, the society was ready – even then ... Railway had told us that those houses that are there are there. But whoever has extended it forward towards the railway track – they were to demolish those houses. They had even marked those. And those houses that were to be demolished along the railway line were within 30 feet or 10 meters of the railway line.*

Sheela – In early February 2000 there was a discussion by the Railway authority saying that – after you have done all these Cadastral and everything, there are new encroachments. So can we work with the federation and identify the encroachments. Then the Federation went with them, and marked all the extensions that the people had done which were very close to the Railway tracks. And they agreed that we will get these additional encroachments removed. And in the end of March, in a matter of five days 3000 houses up to 30 feet were just bulldozed ... whoosh! Like this! And it was done in a very terrible way. *How did they do the bulldozing? How did you ...*

Gaokar – *When they were demolishing ... even in the morning 10 o'clock they were saying that we will be breaking only the extensions in the front. We are not going to touch the rest. We were getting the teams ready. Five teams of demolition people and our five teams so that we could show them what was to be broken. This was the meeting held in the morning. And at 10 when they actually came to demolish, they had mobiles while we did not have anything – so they told each other. They told us to go and talk to the officer. We would go to talk there and they would get the bulldozer and clear everything.*

Sheela – 50.45 This was in the era before the Federation had mobile phones. I'll explain to you. **What used to happen is that – say, on day 1. they would work with one team of the railways and the demolition squad and mark out that these are all the people and that these houses should be broken. Then they will say – ok, I'm phoning that other guy from that other place, you go and mark the houses there and we will demolish these. By the time this team went there, they just razed all these houses. By that time people were completely shocked because this was not their expectation.. And their whole ability to communicate with them was gone. By the time they ran to tell the other place, this whole demolition was done!**

Nick – why did that happen? What were the Railway authorities playing at?

Sheela – we believe that there is a section of the Railways which does not want this project to go on. Because first of all they are deeply against rehabilitation and they are deeply against these procurement system that the World Bank is instituting for their Wagon carriages and those kind of things.. And they felt that if they breach this issue then the World Bank and the NGO's would scream and shout and the World Bank would back off because of the pressure of ... if in a MOU you have a commitment to doing this and in routine ways we as NGO's would have screamed and shouted and said this is breach of trust – we are not going to participate.

Then the senior people would say ,oh, I am so sorry we didn't realize ..

Nick – do you think it might have been the senior people actually who strateg...

Sheela – it was, it was. That guy would talk... he played that same game with Jockin also and with the chief Secretary. So in the evening they would meet us in the meeting where we would talk about this. On the first evening when this (remember Alison we were there when that CLIC workshop was on) and then World Bank people were there and when we went in the evening they'll say – oh, we were so sorry, we didn't plan this... Next day, same thing! Like this in three days they demolished 3000 houses.

Nick- were those houses just the one's that had the new extensions and encroachments or did they demolish...

Sheela – no, no. they demolished 30 feet ...like that!

Alison – the ones actually planning relocation also were demolished without any talks.

Nick – it's interesting because I remember being on the internet in England and receiving e-mails saying 'Railways are behaving badly, demolishing' ..

Sheela – what we did that time is – we jammed all the Fax machines in the government secretariat. And they had to phone Jockin and plead with him to stop the faxes. We just jammed them. We gave every fax number in the government secretariat and in the railways and we got everybody to just send faxes after faxes, after faxes. They were completely.. their work came to a standstill because there was this stuff spewing out.

Gaokar – After this happened – there was no program for houses immediately.. the government did not have any program. That if so much demolition has been done, then what will it do with the people. People were in the open. Then what happened was – NSDF, SPARC and we together – we took all the sick and old and those who had just delivered (babies) and made temporary tin sheet transit homes.

Sheela – this was a crisis situation and there were no plans nothing. Negotiations were going on. At that time the federation identified families who were vulnerable – either there were pregnant women, old people, people who could not cope with living in the open while the negotiations were on. And the federation built tin sheds. We put all those people in those houses.

Gaokar - on the other side we had negotiations with the government. Whatever buildings were ready and houses were bought in those. SPARC. And after they were bought 2100 people were provided for in permanent houses. On the other hand we began to construct these transit houses.

Sheela – that was the time when the State's attitude was – when the discussions began and Jockin and me and Sundar and Celine went to negotiate, their first response was – let people just build the houses back there and then we'll go and do relocation for them. Jockin represented the federation and said – nothing doing. Now the houses are broken, you just speed up the relocation. They said – how shall we do that? We said Ok, buy all the buildings that you have. We know you have all these buildings here, just buy them and let people stay there. We said – buy the buildings and all the people who can't live in the buildings lets build the transit housing. They said – 'oh, the World Bank's procurement will not allow that.' Why won't it allow it? 'Because these houses are already built and they don't fulfill the procurement obligations that are there in this project.' the government said 'we can't do this'. so we made a representation to the World Bank in which we explained to the Board of Directors of the World Bank that really what the Federation has done it that it truly believed that this project was of vital importance to the city. And that against the general sentiments (which is there amongst Indian activists about not working with the Bank, being hostile to State policies,) we were actually taking a huge risk in going into partnership in this process. And that already this partnership had breached it's trust to the people by demolishing these houses. And the knee-jerk response would be for us to scream and shout and confront and reengage. And say – you've reengaged, so get out. We said 'here we have an opportunity to fulfill our larger commitment.

And we said – we understand your concern about procurement in relationship to buying wagons and steel and all those things but the issue with housing is the location – that the location is acceptable to the poor and that the physical structure is good and the pricing is right. Those are the principles of procurement that are applicable to this process. And if these principles are fulfilled in the things we are identifying, you should not have a problem in doing this. because in this case – the community is telling you 'we want these houses'. And you know that we won't do it just to fulfill the government's need to sell these houses.

There was a long discussion when the World Bank made a concession and allowed ...

Nick – was it a concession or was it just – they are applying their own moves.

Sheela – No, no, it was a serious concession which was given by the board of Directors of the Bank, in Washington.

And we began at that time to demand that the World Bank change the way it looks at people's processes and procurements. That's the starting point of that... this was in 2000. That's the history of how we are negotiating on procurements for CLIFF.

The first issue of procurement was that. Then the second thing was that only --- how many houses could be fitted into a building? IN Mankhurd?

Jockin – Mankhurd only 1860.

Sheela – so there were 3000 households and only 1800 could be fitted there. So there still was some more whose houses were demolished.

Jockin – As I am saying, many of them were – I am going to the building, my neighbor is in the Transit Camp. For us it's a very important ..

Sheela – big crisis. The crisis was that each cooperative society was split up. The front part was demolished and the back part was there.

Jockin – *to explain to them. They broke everybody's houses but some went to buildings, some went to the transit housing. How did we decide? whom to send where.* The main thing here at that time was to see – even in this project I think it has a lot to do with our discussion yesterday and can continue. The whole row – same neighbor, same eligible people, all the time for us, we got 40% building and 60% transit. How to decide who should go. Who will go in the building, who will not go in the building. Who will go to the transit camp for two years. This is half the size of the house that is complete settlement. Once you go means that is over. Your life is settled. You start beginning. Here the crucial ... all of them who are here also was demolished. Also after some of them into the buildings, these people have to remain there for three more months in the monsoon, before this get completed.

Sheela – then the question was – how to construct this. if this was set out for tender it would not have been ready till December. There was an urgency to build the houses.

Jockin – then the best thing happened was that the World Bank decided – if SPARC does it, the Federation does it, it should do it in 50% of their normal cost. 50%. 60,000 rupees is the cost for this transit camp we built. One unit. SPARC know it, we said we challenge it. We will do it in 25,000. ... Because the

government makes all this kind of a wastage, corruption, making money, everybody greased everywhere. And finally the product is also qualitatively good, the way we want it. this is how to have it in our own control. therefore we offered. Then the Bank said - yes, fine. They are asking for 50% they can do it.

Sheela - 1.02.46 **the bank had to deal with giving us transit, giving us the sole source thing for doing the transit, also giving us the sole source to do the surveys, and the relocation and everything and buying these things. So these were the three breaches in their tradition of procurement.**

Alison - and within that survey business, there's an interesting issue that normally if you prepare a project you can't then be engaged in building it ...

Sheela - we'll do that in the afternoon. So, they had to sit and decide who had to go where. And as parts of the transit was built people came to stay here. Sp people didn't wait till the whole thing was finished. They came as the houses were done.

Nick - the issue here is that there is a great deal of transparency about this enumeration process. Everybody was involved. To what extent were the community involved in the dialogue with you the World Bank. Did you constantly have to feed back to them and....

Sheela - absolutely. *His question is that when we were talking to the government - we want a transit, we want this building then did SPARC and NSDF discuss all this with you?*

Nick - all this is very arcane, complicated procurement rules which usually you wouldn't expect the average person to be interested in.

Sheela - *when we had said that we will do the construction and the management, was there a discussion with you or not?*

Gaokar - *there was a discussion with us. But the discussion was not with the entire public. There was a federation at that time which had leaders. Those leaders and the leaders of NSDF and SPARC discussed how we will do what and what will happen. All the people could not discuss everything. If we talk about anything in so much a public, it is not possible for 100 people to have unity. Sheela - but later you would tell them...*

Gaokar - *later. In the morning the federation, federation and SPARC will have a meeting. In the evening we would come to the settlement and have a meeting and tell them about what happened in the morning. Every two or three days we would call them wherever they were. So many people were there (along the railway tracks)*

Sheela - what he is saying is that he didn't have public meetings to make choices. What we would do is - in the morning we would have a meeting with SPARC and NSDF and RSDF overall committee and we would identify the probable choices that we have on the basis of which SPARC and NSDF would negotiate on our behalf and those choices and possibilities we would discuss in our own in the evening , then bring that feed back the next morning. SPARC and NSDF people did not go and have mass meetings. But the leadership went in the evening back to their settlements and had their discussion with them. So there was two layers.

Nick – the main issue is – who were you in the eyes of the World Bank to represent all these people. How did you convince the bank ..

Sheela – *he is saying that SPARC and NSDF broke all the rules of the World Bank and the government rules and did not let them do anything. That is your right – that you are their leader. How did I prove that I am taking for all of you? One very important reason was that the project leader of this – In January 2000, Chris Hoban who was the Project leader of the World Bank team engaged to meet us and said that we've have been getting a lot of demands from all of you to do all this. Till then we used to deal only with the social Development officers. That time we met the project leader. The team leader and he said – I am a Highway engineer. I don't understand all this social stuff. You tell me as the project manager, how you can build my confidence; that if I fight for you within the bank to do this work, that you will actually do it. You demonstrate to me that you will do it. what we did is – he spent one whole day with us, on a Sunday, and he walked from settlement to settlement and saw their documents. Their preparation, their work of the last 13 years. Therefore there was adequate confidence within them that the structure which I was representing to them reflected what they saw objectively there. So there was an internal understanding of that process and an acceptance that this representation was coming from ...*

Gaokar – *how did they see that SPARC had communication with the public – on 4th, 5th and 6th February 2000 there was a big function and in that three day meeting, from morning 10 to 5 in the evening... there were 3-4-5000 people in those days. The World Bank officers has also come to that function, the Railway people had come to the function. This was before the demolition. The demolition was later, after that.*

Sheela – he is reminding me of another event which was in February of that year, when actually the Federation was telling all the government officials and the World Bank people that these are the houses that we want; this is the manner I which we want this. At those meetings which were there for three days, by rotation there were 5-10,000 people attending those meetings chorusing those views.

Jockin suggests that we continue this conversation in the other place. We will get up now and just walk through the settlement and then go to the next federation.

Jockin talks about a live example in problem solving in the community.

Jockin – here is mother and daughter. She wants the house, mother owns her house and she wants the house. Three years now we are dealing. Mother doesn't want her daughter to stay there. And she has gone right up to the chief Minister and it is referred back. Her mother.

When the mother went to the Gulf, and she was living there. We took her affidavit, took her signature and when we did the enumeration, the house was in the mother's name. So we gave the house to her in the building. When she came back from the gulf – she said 'no this is not her (daughter) house, this is my house.' Now we locked the house. Both of them out. It's about six months back. Her mother is also staying out, she is also staying. She comes everyday. She fights legally through... in the building.

This is like yesterday's question. The individual question. Where do we find out. I have about six seven cases. She went to the Chief Minister personally and got recommended that I should look into it. to the federation. Got back and I suggested that as an exceptional case divide the flat into two, give it to the two.

The mother says – no. then finally some other compromise. Then she said – I am ready to accept her, but not her husband. This is the latest. She says – ‘how can I live without my husband.’ And she is not ready to leave the husband. Still going on. This is the third year. Now she is on the road somewhere. Mother brought a lot of money from the gulf and she is also living in rented house. She is old, any day any year she will conk off. I think the result will come only when she dies. She gets the key.

This is also within the Federation. These are the kinds of cases that come to the Federation.

Nick – what happens with inheritance? Does your tenancy transfer to your children.

Jockin – yes, with children, daughter. Most of the time many of them...

Sheela – they go by co-operative law. In the formal Housing cooperative you have to nominate in your membership form, who will inherit it. these are the permanent cooperatives whose members are in this place. Remember the chart you saw in ..

Jockin – Everywhere this is what you can see. Everywhere. That is what the relation... like this 80% of Bombay slums is with us. Maps like that? Something around 10-12,000. you go everywhere, that is our store. You ask which slum in Bombay today – just now somebody called from another department asking about – we want these details. I said, -ok, we will give you. What we did – the Federations job was this – irrespective of waiting or thinking about all this – organize the community, go ahead, do the map, get the information, statistics etc.

Nick – does the Census department come to you to ask how they should change their method.

Jockin – yeah, yeah. We changed in the last tenth year but they could not change in such a way. So this time, the next tenth year, i.e., 2010 we may be fully involved into separately categorizing this – homeless category. Plus the slum. Now it is the slum and middle class, everybody mixed up. Therefore those statistics doesn’t give this kind of figure. We go around with the top officials of the census department in the night. Start after 11, work till 3 in the night. Go to the places and show how we are working, what is this, what is that.

Sheela – I just to explain to them why you are here. We can have a round of introductions.

END OF MD 6

MD 7
Contd.

Alison - ..here for five six years in Delhi. I work in a program of the British government, for four years and now I am in a new program Cities Alliance in Delhi. I don't have children, I have one husband. From England. We are now old.

Nick – My name is Nick, Nick Hall, and I have got three children and one wife and they are very annoyed that I am here alone.

Smita – *his name is Nick hall and he has one wife and three children, who are annoyed that he is here for the whole week.*

Nick – I used to be a roof thatcher and then I decided to abandon the physical work and moved to London, the bog city. I was living in the rural areas, of course being a roof thatcher. And I had to be a squatter in London because I couldn't afford to buying a house. I was a squatter for a while and then we organized among all the people who were squatting. And eventually we managed to negotiate a tenancy with a Housing cooperation.

Smita – *Earlier he used to lay roofs on houses. He lived in a village in England. Then he came to London to work but he could not get a house because a house is very expensive in London. There was no place to stay and he entered into somebody else's house. (laughter)*

Sheela – it is good to know that you have squatters in England.

Smita – *He got into someone's house and live there for free and some of his friends also lived like that..*

Sheela – *then they made an organization. In 1980. there, there are a lot of places where no body lives in the bungalows. So they break open the doors and get indoors and live there. Then they get organized – just like us!*

Nick – we negotiated a tenancy instead of squatting. We got some legal rights, not very much.

Sheela – *little legal, like lease.*

Nick – and eventually to cut a long story short, I moved from being a building worker to being a sort of housing activist in London and then eventually into this sort of work internationally.

Smita – *he is not giving you the entire Ramayana, but saying that earlier he used to build houses now he works to help others to get houses.*

Sheela – *Like me. Like me.*

Nick – Now I have been advising in Zambia ... I suppose so, except you were never a thatcher. (laugh)

Sheela – *he says I have never built a house while he has built houses! How are you here?*

Nick – why am I here? Ummm .. because he is my friend. I am interested in Sen's idea as well.

Sheela – Now I am trying to explain. *How Jockin got the Magsaysay award. It is a big prize. Similarly there is a bigger award known as the Noble Prize. And from Bengal we have a big man called Amartya Sen, who got this prize. He has written and put forward a theory. 4.34 **If we want our country to progress then all the people – poor or otherwise – it is their right that they should be able to fulfill their wishes. How we say that as a citizen of India it is our right that we can go anywhere in India and look for a job and do this and that. And when we do what we want ... we don't have to murder somebody but when we work for our development and there are impediments, then the task of removing those impediments should be done by the government.***

And it is our right to do this. I tried very hard to explain the she is saying that our Federation is doing the same thing.

Nick – One of Sen’s ideas is about transparency. One of the freedoms is related to transparency. That’s what we are talking about here.

Sheela – **What he is saying that we have the right to different freedoms. One right is that whatever discussion is happening about us, or whatever the government decided – they say that when we carry out our surveys, it is our right to see whether our name is in that or will we get our right under that. An outsider does not have the right to insert his name in it. This is our right and we can ask for this right. And whoever breaks that right takes away our rights from us. That is his theory.**

For that they are saying - that all these big academics write big theories. And in the work that we do amongst the poor, and the organization that we have, can we have a discussion about this. they have come for that. And when we tell them our story they look at it according to that theory.

Alison – my vocabulary doesn’t reach that far. I didn’t understand any bit.

Sheela – I did it also in Marathi.
... - now that you have learned Hindi, learn Marathi.

Sheela – she is saying that now that you have learnt Hindi you can learn Marathi also. OK Michael.

Michael – Just to start on the family side, I am a grandfather. And I work with the British government and my role there is then to understand what you are doing here.

Sheela – *he is a grandfather. He works with the British government and he says that his role is – that all our organizations and programs for the people, their wishes, their needs, their ideas, their understanding – how it has to be put before government institutions and how to make them understand. That is his role.*

Michael – As a response we have been assisting in the development of CLIFF, Cities Alliance and now working with Romi Khosla and Jane to see where the joining up of these opportunities come with the understanding that Sen is providing.

Sheela – *For these things they, along with World Bank and other such institutions, form institutions that can help us, eg, Cities Alliance. We had done that big thing about Secure Shelter, that was done with Cities Alliance. The capital that has been given to NSDF to enable us to build houses and the loan that we took for transit against our money. where did the money come from? They had given us the money as capital. All these programs they do under that to help us. Now He (Romi) and Jane study the theories of Amartya Sen and now they study how all this will appear in the light of Amartya Sen’s theories. These two have introduced those two to us. And now a discussion between SPARC, NSDF and them is on. We said that our discussion can not take place unless you talk to our federations. So we have talked to Mahila Milan over there, today they will talk to you and tomorrow they will go to Dharavi. So these are the three big federations. Their needs, their wishes, how they fulfill those, how we support them, all this we have been showing them. Like, today they asked you – when SPARC does this, how do you know of it? If I tell them, it is of no use. How will*

they know how you feel, how do they understand it. that is what our discussion is about.

Jane – what did you say?

Sheela – I explained that they got you in touch with us to try and interpret Amartya Sen's ideas to see how relevant they are to us and that we felt that just our dialogue of NSDF and SPARC leadership with you would be incomplete. If their experiences and their imageries were not incorporated in this discourse by your direct exposure.

Jane – My name is Jane Samuels. I am a mother and he is 18 years old. My training is in several things, Architecture, in Cultural Oral, listening to something...

Sheela – *her name is Jane Samuels, and that is her son, he is 18 years old. She is an architecture and her special subject is oral culture. Oral culture like in our history and in the Ramayana, Mahabharat are all oral. So all the oral history and culture that is there, she thinks on that. She believes that (I am just giving a further thing that all of us recognize that the Federation culture is also oral.) In the discussion in the morning it came out that the Federation theories and the culture is also oral. We trust each other though what we tell each other. I was saying that it resonates with the fact that the Federation's culture is oral and our relationships of trust are based on oral discourse.*

Jane – that's probably enough really but one last thing is that this man Amartya Sen will be ... I feel like the reason I am here is because I think that his ideas come from a really great culture and that he seems to look at the World in terms of every human being and his ideas seem to think that every human being has a voice then really it's the best way to ...

Sheela – *she says that she has a lot of respect for Amartya Sen because he is so great yet in his writings and in his books etc, he says that each man, woman or child has the right to present their wishes. You might be poor or rich, it doesn't make a difference. Those ideas are very great. And in our development and in our work in our organization how we use them. That is what they want to know.*

Sheela – I must tell you why they giggled for Shendi. When you want to tease somebody they say – *you have put a shendi on him.*

Romi – *I live in Delhi and I make buildings there and make plans. And sleep very comfortable. But when I heard you story then I couldn't sleep. Again and again we wondered what all they are doing there. All the world knows about it, but we in Delhi do not know. Sheela did told us that we should come to Bombay to see what you are doing here. Changing the World. That is why we have come running here to listen to your story.*

Sheela – *but his special work is – we see on TV that in Afghanistan or in Iraq, all the houses and villages have been demolished – they go there and help build houses etc.*

Smita – we came to see after hearing the Bombay story. The World has heard them, but we haven't and that's why we came running to Bombay to see what they are up to.

Sheela – Now, quickly you (ladies) introduce yourselves.

Yamini – *My name is Yamini Yeshwant Ghurye. I live in 138A. I am in the Mahila Milan committee.*

Sheela – she stays here in this transit. She is in the Mahila Milan committee. All the names are there.

Shehnaz – *My name is Shehnaz Damad. I live in 138 A. I am in the Mahila Milan. We are here for three years. I have been working in this association ever since I was very young. Before me my mother worked with them.*

Sheela – Name is Shehnaz, lives in 138 and is in Mahila Milan. Her mother used to be a member in the various committees and member of Mahila Milan in the Federation and now she also is... she is part of this, she has grown up with the Federation Culture.

Shehnaz - *I feel that whatever our right is, our women's right, we should get it. it is our right. We have learned a lot in the Federation and we want to work further. If we get our work done then we shall work for others.*

Smita – she is saying that I really believe that we have rights and we should achieve our rights. We have got a lot out of our federation already but we want to do more work to get more out with our federation. Besides what we get for ourselves, we also want to them transmit that to other communities and pass on that.

Nick – what sort of a more.. what does more mean?

Shehnaz – *more means --- here we are in the Transit. We think of ourselves as guests.*

Smita – we are here in transit, we feel we like we are just guests here.

Shehnaz – *but we should have a permanent house, where we could settle for always.*

Smita – we want our own permanent house where we can settle for ever.

Shehnaz – *and we fully believe that we will get a permanent house, we don't know when*

Smita – We do believe that we will get that as a community, our own permanent structure..

Shehnaz – *she reminds me that I did not say anything about my children. I have three children, one daughter and two sons.*

Smita – I forgot to tell you I have three children – one girl and two boys.

Shehnaz – and one husband! (laughter)

Kula bai – *My name is Kula bai Yadhav and I live here in 138. I am a community member. I am a member of the Bhagyodaya society. I like working here. I do not have children. Just one husband*

Sheela – Her name is Kula Bai Yadhav, she is a committee member and she is the leader of the cooperative called Bhagyodaya Society. She like to do this work. She doesn't have children and just one husband.

Kashi – My name is Kashinath Bhorbhate. I am a Vice president in the .. committee and I live in 138A. My husband works in the BMC and I have six children. Four daughter and two sons. My eldest daughter is married and the second one is also getting married on the 22nd. I invite you all for the wedding.

Nainar – My name is Nainar Malika and I have come here from Tirpur. I have been here for three years and I work in the middle committee. And I am a Vice president in Mahila Milan. I have one son and a daughter and a husband.

D.. Tukaram – My name is Durga bai Tukaram Jojo. I am the treasurer of the society. Two sons and a husband.

Sheela – actually what is important about this is that all the services of managing sanitation, infrastructure, water, electricity, garbage, within the settlement is done by them. And the ration shop.

So lets get up and go to see.