CHAPTER FOUR  I

Voices from the Field: Politics of Basic Amenities in Slums

Social and material structures of slum settlements play an important role in shaping the political life of slum dwellers in the city. As slum dwellers are living in the margins of the social and economic order; their lives are threatened by the lack of basic human requirements and opportunities. A review of relevant literature\textsuperscript{246} clearly indicates that the slum dwellers living in urban cities are considered different from middle and upper class people in physical, social, and political-economic aspects. The physical structures of squatter settlements are quite different from the structures in mainstream city. Survey reports\textsuperscript{247} and existing literature\textsuperscript{248} demonstrate that slum dwellers in Chandigarh City experience manifold deprivations and also show that living conditions in the slums are sub-human, with little or no access to civic amenities. Residents in informal settlements are living with inadequate housing, little access to clean water, electricity, sanitation, health care, schools and other essential public services. The access to health, educational and transport facilities are inadequate in most of the slums.


\textsuperscript{247} Census Report of India (2001, 2011), Ministry of Rural and Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme (United Nation)-HABITAT Report (2003 and 2009) and other Survey Reports on slums shows that people living in these settlements experience the deplorable living conditions, which are characterized by inadequate water supply, poor sanitation conditions, non-existence of waste disposal arrangements, overcrowded and dilapidated habitation, hazardous location, insecurity of tenure, and vulnerability to serious health risks.

\textsuperscript{248} For details see Joop De Wit and Berner, “Progressive Patronage? Municipalities, NGOs, CBOs and the Limits to Slum Dwellers Empowerment,” \textit{Development and Change}, 40, 5 (2009), pp. 927-947. Ravi Kalia, \textit{Chandigarh: The Making of an Indian City}. New Delhi: Oxford University Press (1987). Also see Manoj Kumar Teotia “Planning for the Urban Poor in North-Western India: Emerging Policies, Practices and Issues” (Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development: Chandigarh, 2013) and also see Bindu Duggal, Chandigarh Slums: \textit{Issues of Poverty and Human Rights}. (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 2010). All these studies have highlighted deficiencies in urban planning, governance, infrastructure, housing and basic services in the context of the poor. These studies highlighted that slum dwellers are unable to get various basic services. There is inadequate access of water supply, poor sanitation/sweeping, absence of door to door garbage collection, lack of individual toilets and poor condition of community toilets. Inadequacy and non-functioning of street lights dilapidated conditions of streets accumulation of filthy water in low lying areas.
The inadequate housing structures and other important basic urban infra-structure mould the social and political life in slums in a very different way. State/governmental institutions are largely directly involved in distribution of resources in slums. Distribution of resources has a special place in slum as residents are more or less dependent on the state and government for the basic services. The primary responsibilities for environmental improvement and providing basic amenities have been entrusted to the Municipal Corporations which undertake this work with financial assistance from the central and state governments. Basic amenities are expected to be maintained by the Municipal Corporation. Literature that has grown in respect of the political life of slums all over the world emphasizes mainly on the electoral politics, political parties and political connections in slums. Remaining aspects of politics have received much less attention. Politics of basic amenities are ignored in slum politics. The survival of slum households in an urban set-up with inadequate basic facilities is an issue of concern for all. The slum as a spatial and cultural location itself symbolizes a degraded, de-humanized existence and limited access to basic amenities. Bindu Duggal, (2010) in her study of “Human Rights of Slum Dwellers in Chandigarh City” illustrates that

“People living in Chandigarh slums not only face deprivation but are also trapped in that poverty because they are excluded from the rest of society, denied a say, and threatened with violence and insecurity. She has shown that slum dwellers in Chandigarh are deprived of their basic needs of shelter, proper water, sanitation and other basic facilities. And this lack of basic needs has strong impact on (social, cultural and economic) life of slum dwellers.” (Bindu, Duggal, 2010:18)

Similar kind of conclusions has been figured out by Parmjit Singh (1980), Ravi Kalia (1987) and Navprit Kaur (2000) in their dissertations which were based on slum of Chandigarh City. According to Kalia Chandigarh’s planners were preoccupied with the administrative and the planned physical character of the city, they had paid little attention to urban labour and had discouraged informal activities. Parmjit Singh mentioned that lack of basic amenities like housing and some other basic facilities in slums of Chandigarh adversely impact upon the life in

---

city’s slums.\(^{250}\) Navprit (2000) stated that living conditions in the slum are deplorable, as most of the slum dwellers live in kutcha hutments. A sense of insecurity prevails among them as they fear demolition of their hutments by the administration. Slums present a general picture of neglect where the basic facilities are not available to the residents.\(^{251}\) Mohanty (1993) in his study on Delhi slums had also recognized the lack of basic needs and their demand by slum people as important aspect of political and social life in slums.\(^{252}\) Haider (1993) while exploring the dynamics of the “political processes of the urban poor observed that provisions of basic amenities have more important place than provision of stable government, nationalism and secularism.”\(^{253}\) It has been apparent from the existing studies that migrants came to settle in city in search of a better life; in search of economic opportunities, or to seek better basic services and facilities. Therefore, existing studies on this topic reveal that the provisions of basic amenities is the dominant theme in slums than other themes like the provision of stable government, nationalism and institutions in politics. Studies also revealed that basic amenities/needs in slum have immense impact on the social, political and cultural life of slum dwellers.

In the above given context it becomes important to see the politics of basic amenities in slums. Politics in slums is about the struggle of slum dwellers to get basic needs and amenities by putting pressure on the Union Territory (U.T.) administration. Present chapter takes deficiency of few basic services; insecure tenure, poor quality of shelter and other public services as important considerations to study politics of basic needs. Basic needs of slum dwellers are their human rights also. Question raised in this section is how slums dwellers deal with their basic needs/services for survival in slums of city. The interviews give some insights on difficulties faced by slum for their basic needs in un-authorized slum colonies. Chapter has been divided into mainly three sections. The first part deals with the important basic needs and the access of


\(^{251}\) Navprit Kaur, Dalit Politics in Chandigarh, Identity Formation and Electoral Dynamics (unpublished M.Phil Dissertation to Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2000), p.41


basic services and needs in slums. Second section of chapter deals with the various channels through which they access basic needs in slums. Lastly it deals with the mobilisation of slum dwellers for basic amenities.

1. Access/Availability of Basic Amenities in Slums

One of the Le Corbusier’s stated goal was for the newly planned city to offer was basic amenities to all the citizens. “City has to offer all the amenities of life to the poorest of the poor of its citizens to lead a dignified life to the poorest of the poor population.”

But contradicting to the concept of Corbusier, lives of hundreds of millions of slum dwellers are threatened by the lack of access to the most basic human requirements: water, sanitation, shelter, health, food, electricity and education etc. Slum life is very difficult for the urban poor as housing and living conditions are not favourable for anyone there. According to Agarwal and Taneja (2005) “poverty hinders the urban poor’s capacity to fulfil basic survival needs, they live in congested conditions which promote the spread of infectious disease with poor sanitation and drinking water facilities. Moreover, they are frequently excluded from basic government nutrition and health services as they often live in un-authorized settlements.”

There is a noticeable lack of basic infrastructure, services, and basic shelter in slums. Mundu and Bhagat (2008) in their study have mentioned that slums are characterized by high concentrations of population, heterogeneous and ethnically multi-racial, largely inhabited by poor and socially weaker sections of society. Local administrations always failed to provide urban civic amenities and sewage facilities.

Joop De Wit (1996) in his study experienced that slum residents in informal settlements are living with inadequate housing, little access to clean water, sanitation, health care, schools and other essential public services. The migrant poor of rural background usually have less information and limited access to available resources for shelter, employment, basic amenities. Hamir Singh (Deputy Editor of Punjabi Section in The Tribune) has mentioned that:

255 Siddharth Agarwal and S.Taneja, “All Slums are not Equal: Child Health Services Among the Urban Poor. Indian Pediatrics, 42 (2005), pp. 233-244.
“As the city is developing and expanding similarly slums in city are also expanding. He finds the problem in distribution of resources in these areas. Politicians and authority let migrant labourers come and settle in Jhuggies for construction. Developmental model is urban centric where slum dwellers go to more marginalization. Discrimination on the basis of social and economic basis was always there but now they are getting discriminated on the basis of technology and skilled education. Now everything (filling forms for jobs and admission) has to be done online which needs some knowledge and access to internet. Quality education for slum children and youth is missing in the city. They are facing exclusion in every sphere of life.”

(15th May, 2015 at his Office)

Slum inhabitants have reported that the quality of life is quite deplorable in un-authorised colony. An attempt has been made to assess the quality of life by measuring the level of deprivation in the slum colonies. The deprivation index prepared by ministry of housing and poverty alleviation calculated by taking into account the extent of access to most basic amenities to the slum dwellers namely shelter, safe drinking water, and toilets source of lighting and use of fuel. Deprivation index shows that “Labour Colony Number-4 with the population of 16,196 has been considered in the extremely high deprivation index. And Slum Colony at Sector-25 (10,708) and Nehru Colony, Kajheri (5,152) come in the very high deprivation index and Madrasi Colony Sector-26 with 8,513 population falls into the high deprivation index.”

According to the United Nation (UN) Habitat Report 2003 a slum is contagious settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services.

---


“Planned urbanization of city has been marred to an extent by the excessive demand for basic amenities resulting in deterioration in the physical environment. The quality of life has thus suffered due to continuing influx of migrants. The access to health, educational and transport facilities are inadequate in most of the slums. The institutional support for basic services, social welfare and poverty alleviation programmes seem to be inadequate in slums. Most of the slums are un-authorized they are built on the public land. And because of their un-authorized status government agencies do not take responsibility to provide civic amenities to these areas.”

Many studies on Chandigarh slums clearly illustrate that slum dwellers in city are deprived of various basic needs. Availability of resource is limited and therefore, slum dwellers have to struggle for the access of basic needs. Report of the committee on slum index prepared by ministry of housing and poverty (See annexure 1.10) housing represents that Slum dwellers in Chandigarh, Bihar, Odisha and Chhattisgarh were worse off than slums of other states in 2011. Slums in Chandigarh ranked number one in higher vulnerability index of worse off slums (see annexure 1.10 and 1.12). There is a large consensus on what are the universal basic needs (includes food, portable water, shelter and clothing) of a human being to help them to survive. Basic amenities involve a descriptive definition. Kanchan Chander (Research Associate at Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, Panjab University, Chandigarh) while sharing her experience of visit at slum colonies she has mentioned that:


260 Bindu, Duggal in her study of Chandigarh Slums accepts that slum dwellers in Chandigarh are deprived of their basic needs of shelter, proper water, sanitation and other basic facilities. For details see Bindu Duggal, Chandigarh Slums: Issues of Poverty and Human Rights (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 2010), p.234. Similarly The Minister of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation report also accepts that a large number of people living in slums and cities are facing acute shortage of basic amenities. The key problems concern the issues of security of tenure at affordable prices, affordable housing, water supply, sanitation, health, education and social security. Press Information Bureau report, Ministry of Housing and urban Poverty Alleviation available at https://www.pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=69992 accessed on 12th March 2014.

“Availability of basic amenities is not enough in slums. These slums are in horrible condition. There is no hygiene at all. People living there did not have proper houses they used sheets of aluminium, clothes, bricks, wood, rays, paper boards mud and soil and jute to make hut. During storm, the big trees usually fall destroying their weak built houses. There were no proper doors and no privacy. Only few houses are there which possesses television, cooler, electricity and job.” (18th May, 2015 at her Office).

In many existing studies urban public services has been referred to physical and social services such as provisions of water, garbage collection and disposal, electricity as well as health care, child care, education and so forth. Field study also symbolizes (see table number 4.1.1) that same provisions are preferred as primary needs/services by slum residents in sampled settlements.

Table 4.1.1 Various Sources Recognised as Basic needs by Slum Residents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Needs</th>
<th>Adequate Housing/Shelter/security of tenure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water supply (Individual taps and community stand-post)</td>
<td>Subsidized food/Government Fair price Ration shops/depot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation (Public toilets/ Bathrooms, garbage)</td>
<td>Electricity /Street lights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Roads /Streets/Pavements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>Hospitals /Health Care</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Field visit in four slums of Chandigarh City (January to April 2013)

Most of the studies have been focused on few amenities as basic amenities i.e. shelter, water supply, sewerage, and sanitation, health care and public distribution of food grains. Teotia in his study on Chandigarh slums has mentioned that the housing and basic services like water, sanitation, road and other infrastructures are also crumbling in urban areas and situation is worst in slums. Slums with poor infrastructure lead to several social and environmental problems and risks. The safety and security of inhabitants in the slums are always at risk. The house sing in slums are usually of poor quality sometimes of woods and plastics in used. These material are very sensitive to fire and other disasters. The slums are also congested Manoj Kumar Teotia, Planning for the Urban Poor in North-Western India: Emerging Policies, Practices and Issues: A Case Study of Chandigarh, (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 2003), p.67.
Conversation with the respondents illustrative that shelter and a reasonable degree of security of tenure (in the sense slum residents does not expect to be evicted) are amongst the most demanded needs. It has been seen that slum residents are very much dependent on city administrations and authority for the help. Rajeev Lochan (Professor at Department of History) has considered the growth of slums in city is the result of incompetence of government. While mentioning about the failure of government or administration to provide basic amenities to the slum colonies he has mentioned that:

“Government agencies are not treating slum residents as citizens of city. Inability of poor people residing in the slums to fulfil their needs and their very much dependence on state and government agencies made politics in slums more peculiar than mainstream politics. He has further mentioned that government should help them by regulating them and providing protection and employment to them otherwise they will turn to local leaders for help as the government was not helping them. Incompetency and inaccessibility of government has led to worsen of situation of slum residents. Government agencies need to play positive role to make city more favourable for migrant labourers.”

(30\textsuperscript{th} May, 2015, Interview taken at his Office)

It is clearly visible in slums that political figures give slum residents some hope to provide them with employment and a status of part of city. During the conversation with political leaders\textsuperscript{263} and local leaders of various political parties at slums it have been find out that largely people visit them for water, electricity, preparation of any document and rehabilitation problems and Police harassment. Satya Pal Jain in his conversation has mentioned that:

“Slum people usually come to me with their problems of employment, for the documents to show their legality as citizens (ration card), problem of electricity and water. We always (Bahartiya Janta Party) helped them to get amenities like pavements, mobile van to slum residents, water taps and Street lights to the slum residents with

\textsuperscript{263} During the field visit researcher has met political leaders at city like Pradeep Chabra (Congress), Satya Pal Jain (BJP), Harmohan Dhawan (BJP), Pawan Kumar Bansal (Congress), Hafeez (BSP) and elected councillors of wards.
Member of Parliament (MP) led funds.” (Interviewed on 19th May, 2015 at his Office)

It can be seen clearly in slum settlements that shelter and elements of urban infrastructure (i.e. electricity, water supply and sanitation facilities) are the major concerns for slum residents. Public services such as facility of subsidised food, public toilets, street lights, roads, primary schools and health care facilities are also considered as primary needs for daily life.

1.1 Shelter in Slums

Shelter and security of tenure (affordable, safe and secure urban land for shelter) has been studied in detail as it has been found that the place for habitation (shelter/house) is the most preferable and demanded basic need among slum dwellers of all the four colonies. Slum dwellers living in the slums without security of tenure do not have legal protection, which makes the situation more challenging for slum residents. Adequate housing is recognised as a fundamental right. Not only the slum residents but academicians, administration authority and social activist also accept shelter as the most primary prerequisite for migrant labourers in slums.264 Every year, millions of people around the world are threatened by forcibly eviction, often leaving them homeless, landless, and living in extreme poverty and destitution. Forced evictions commonly result in severe trauma and set back even further the lives of those that are often already marginalized or vulnerable in society.265 Reflecting on the importance of shelter as basic need in slums Phulwati, who is living in a hut in Slum Colony at Sector-25 with poor conditions remarked that:

“Our first priority among basic need is shelter. When there will be roof over our head only than we would be able to think about other things. In city like Chandigarh anybody can get opportunity to earn. We can arrange something to eat by working hard and relatives also help to get food but nobody gives shelter to stay. To rent a shelter it takes lot of money.” (Slum Colony at Sector-25; 27th March, 2013)


A similar situation has been referred by Mohammad Irfan (shoemaker) from the Uttar Pradesh who does not fulfil the eligibility criteria to get house under rehabilitation scheme and much worried about the habitation as CHB (Chandigarh Housing Board Authority) is planning to demolish the colonies to make city slum free. He has remarked that:

“Rather than any other basic amenities; shelter is our foremost need. Definitely we do have many other basic requirements like water, electricity and employment however, without shelter these resources would be out of use. I earn money to fill the stomach of my family as this city provides with various opportunities but it is very difficult to get some place with urban facilities to live in slum/jhuggies. Even I got this jhuggies with great difficulty.” (Labour Colony No-4, 10th April, 2013)

Another respondent Ramesh working as a daily wager in Nehru Colony (who is also unable to fulfil the criterion of eligibility for getting rehabilitated in colony) reflecting on the helplessness of residents in Jhuggies has expressed his views that:

“Whether it’s summer or winter season one needs roof over its head. Being a poor person we cannot afford air conditioners, coolers or heaters to lessen the worse effect of weather. We have roof to accommodate ourselves that is more important for us. We need security for the shelter from authority. We serve the other classes of the city. I don’t know why government authority is against us and wants to evict us from these settlements.” (Nehru Colony; Sector-52, 16th February, 2013)

Analysing the data and views provided by slum residents it becomes clear that facilities of shelter or security of tenure is the most emphasized basic amenity among slum dwellers in these un-authorised colonies. The demand for land has pretty much crowded out any other needs. It has been find out that the shelter to which the poor have access, often illegal and kutchalsemi-pucca in nature. Almost 75% of slum dwellers mentioned that they had constructed shelters/huts themselves without outside
help. Many of them complained that during monsoon season their huts get devastated and they have to repair it by using tins, plastics, mud etc. Nobody help them in repairing and renovating the jhuggis. The slum dwellers residing in un-authorized colonies have shown keen interest in rehabilitation programme. Most of them are keenly aware of the policies and programmes of the Union Territory administration. Most of them seek to get dwelling units at rehabilitated colony or to get security of land (not being evicted) where they are residing at present. Most of the residents remain worried about the security of land as being illegal residence they can get evicted any time. The fear of eviction haunts them day and night. The Jhuggies which were built for their survival became the reason for their disturbed life.

Along with housing facilities slum colonies lack the elements of urban infrastructure too. This study not only focuses on shelter but also on the elements of urban infrastructure (i.e. electricity, water supply and sanitation) and public services such as facility of subsidised food, public toilets, primary schools and health care facilities as basic amenities/services in slums.

1.2 Access and Availability of Sanitation and Water Facilities in Slums

It has been seen in previous studies and field visit (See table no. 2.4) that sanitation facilities in slums are very poor. Colony Number-4 and Madrasi Colony have more access to public toilets than Nehru Colony and Slum Colony at Sector-25 at the time of field visit. Field survey shows that more than 55% slum residents practice open defecation and 40% uses public toilets. Only 5% slum dwellers were using in-house latrine (See table no. 2.4). Many women respondents accepted that they avoid use of

---

266 Large number (85%) of slum respondents have good knowledge about the urban poverty alleviation schemes or programmes JNNURM, SJSARY, Housing policy/Rehabilitation policy (small flat scheme) and Antoydayal/Annapurna scheme.

267 Illegality of jhuggies has led to the perpetual insecurity about eviction among the slum population. The construction of the jhuggies by the slum dwellers as illegal construction poses a danger to their survival in the form of the eviction. For details see Bindu Duggal, Chandigarh Slums: Issues of Poverty and Human Rights (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 2010), p.175.

268 Conditions appear to be worst in terms of access to certain basic amenities such as latrines, sewerage facilities and garbage disposal. In some of the states, for example Rajasthan, Bihar, Orissa and Punjab, 75% to 100% of the slums did not have latrine facilities in 2002. For details see Edelman, Brent and Arup Mitra, “Slum Dwellers Access to Basic Amenities: The Role of Political Contact, Its Determinants and Adverse Effects”. The Applied Regional Science Conference, 18.1, (2006),p.30.
public toilets because of sanitation problem. Remarks of Phulwati Devi who is involved in work of rag picking with her son concurred:

“We have jhuggi with only one room with small space. It is too congested and narrow to accommodate more than two persons. The roof is made-up of tin which gets wracked easily during rainy seasons. We cannot afford toilet and bathroom by our own. We don’t use public toilet as it is far away from our jhuggies and it is not clean. There is a (ground) large open space nearby therefore; we use that instead of public toilets.” (Slum Colony at Sector-25, 30th March, 2013)

This narrative can further be supplemented with the views of other residents who asserted that poor maintenance, inadequate water supply, absence of electricity connection and distant location on the peripheries also limits the use of public toilets. Because of lack of proper maintenance, many of these toilets are rendered un-useable. Owning to the non-availability of inadequate sanitary staff and other problems, many of these remain closed for several days sometime. The accessibility of Sulabh Sauchalaya are also limited and restricted to some particular timing in slums. In addition to this payments had to be made for each visit. Community latrines, even where available generally remain filthy and insanitary and virtually a menace to the areas in which they exist. Accessibility of bathroom facility in slums is also very less among slum dwellers. Almost 88% families bath in open place and bedroom of jhuggies. As these colonies are un-authorized and not of permanent nature both slum dwellers and city administration pay less attention to build toilet and bathrooms within premises.

Only 9% of households have domestic connections for water supply remaining (91%) gets water from community stand-post based supplies. Field study has shown that availability of water resources (community stand-post locations) is very congested during supply hours. Large number of water saving containers and barrels at slum households are a common feature of almost every un-authorised slum. No attention has been paid to the maintenance of public taps. A considerable number of slum dwellers have to fetch water from outside. Large number of stand posts for slums are available to slum residents. It requires a great physical effort on part of
residents (mainly women) to get water in slums. The water taps located far away from the houses. Daily experience of Sangeeta (resident of Labour Colony No.-4) reflects on the above given views:

“Usually I go to collect the water from nearby stand-post. But whenever I am busy or tired I ask my children to fetch water. We need water to cook, clean the house, wash the dishes, clothes and for bathing. Community stand posts remained congested during the supply hours in morning and evening. During summer water shortage becomes a problem. Water was made available for more hours than earlier by administration.” (Colony No.-4, 22nd April, 2013)

Interviews held with women in the four slums in the city illustrate that it is primarily the women and the children who collect water from public standpipes. There is absence of individual drinking water taps in slums. In slum areas the number of persons using public taps is generally very high. Data gathered in field visit supports the existing literature about large use of public taps installed by the authorities.

Electricity is accessed by almost all (98%) the slum dwellers (see table 2.6). All the slums are electrified and people have access to it through private contractors in slums. Field surveys demonstrate that majority (98%) of slum residents’ access electricity but this does not mean that electricity is easily available to them. In order to provide electricity to slum residents administration made its first sincere effort in ninth five year plan. In this plan (1997-2002) city administration decided to provide electric connections to the residents in 14 colonies in a phased manner.

1.3 Accessibility of Government Fair Price Shops

Governments attempts to provide necessary commodities to the poor at subsidized rates through the public distribution system. This matters a lot to the slum population. Through public distribution system government shows its involvement/commitment by issuing ration card, coverage of commodities, system of issuing rations and the pricing policy, etc. to benefit the poor people. The fair price shops (ration depots) are

269 Slum residents revealed that most of them draw water from Public Stand Posts (PSP) managed by urban local bodies. Unauthorized slum dwellers have to either get it from a psp outside the locality, from households that have domestic connections, and from ponds in the neighbourhood.
important link in the administrative hierarchy of the public distribution system. Lately; Government has come up with the programmes of providing subsidized food to the poor through various schemes i.e. Anthodia Anna Yojana and Annapurna Scheme (Sasta Aata Dal scheme). Around 78% interviewed slum residents accepted that they posses ration card, generating access to the central government public distribution system for ration. Public resources (rationing) include the rice or wheat, flour, lentils, salt, sugar, edible oil, wheat and kerosene oil etc. from the ration store. Large number of slum residents possessing ration card reported that they had problems in receiving the resources through public distribution system in the past years. They have shown their discontent with the food distribution system because they are getting very less amount of sugar, rice, aata, sugar and wheat. Even the quantity of oil has been also reduced in last few years. Many slum resident’s complaint about the less availability of kerosene oil as cooking fuel. Only marginal population of slum dwellers uses liquid petroleum gas (24%) more (70%) are dependent on kerosene oil, which they try to get at government controlled price. This dis-contentment with food distribution system can be observed evidently in stories narrated by slum residents recorded during the field visits. For instance one resident observed:

“We don’t get enough rationing from ration shops/depots. Quantity and quality both have been decreased now. See only a week left of this month and still we did not get any ration for this month when we ask distributor for rationing he comes with many excuses and ask us to wait for few more days.” (Interview taken from Sabasi Devi, Nehru Colony working as a maid on 17th February, 2013)

Ramnath (54 years), residing in Nehru Colony has also some grievance to mention against the distribution of resources. In his own words:

According to Kundu the working of the fair price shops is, to a large extent, determined by the rules laid by the department of civil supplies. This includes matters concerning business hours, issue of ration cards, giving receipts to buyer, maintenance of account books, periodicity of sale, method of arranging supplies from wholesale depots to fair price shops, etc. These procedures are determined by taking into consideration the needs and preferences of the average urban dwellers and therefore are not sensitive to the requirements of the poor. Amitabh Kundu, In the Name of the Urban Poor: Access to Basic Amenities (New Delhi:Sage Publication,1993), p.104.
“In present period we don’t get enough rationing in small amount of money. Earlier we used to get 40 kg of grains and 30 litres of oil on one ration card. Now the quantity has decreased. We get only 25 kg of grains and 6 litres of oil on one ration card. This is much less than our needs.” (Nehru Colony, 16th February, 2013)

This shows that fair price shops/ration depots have been largely failed to provide the enough resources to slum dwellers even in a city known for better governance. Only few commodities are available to them. Many respondents complained that persons controlling these ration depots never take responsibility for anything. They kept blaming upper authorities and government. In this process residents get neglected through public distribution system. Slum residents are not getting full ration intended for them.

1.4 Health Care Services and Primary Education in slums

Availability of health care services like dispensary civil dispensary/primary health centres are important for the healthy environment for slum residents. Conversation with the slums residents shows that slum residents are less concern for health care facilities. They do not care for the availability of the health care facilities. All the four slums do not have any good dispensary nearby. The distant location of the dispensary and inadequate supply of free medicines are also creating a problem for them.271 People residing in these slums keep visiting to the Post Graduate Institute of Medical Education and Research (PGIMER), Sector-12, Government Multi Speciality Hospital (GMSH), Sector-16 and Government Medical College and Hospital (GMCH), Sector 32, Chandigarh; as they get sick frequently due to the poor environmental conditions. Health care is never considered as major problem by slum residents. Slums has shown that the less concern for health care and facilities.272 There is an infrastructural inadequacy in terms of health care in Chandigarh slums.

---

271 Bindu Duggal provides with the similar findings that the location of the government health facilities in distant area with limited timings leading to a great rush and inadequate supply of free medicines and diagnostic tests. Bindu Duggal, Chandigarh Slums: Issues of Poverty and Human Rights. (Chandigarh: Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, 2010), p. 229.

272 Duggal mentioned that Below Poverty Line families are not able to get regular sufficient supply of medicines in dispensaries. Patients have to spend themselves for the diagnostic tests. Unavailability of ambulance facilities and emergency services are there in most dispensaries. For details see Ibid., 178.
Not only health care but education is also an ignored aspect in slums. The slum settlements possess community based *Aanganwadi* centre where they can send their young children to learn basic codes of behaviour and play. In these centres pre-school education is provided to kids. Labour Colony-4 posses’ easy access to these centres otherwise all the other three sampled slums find it difficult to send their kids to these centres due to the distance of centres. Because of the large distance of these centres and their working place mothers avoid sending their young children to these centres. Slum children’s are having access to the government schools in the dwelling areas. Data gathered in survey shows that more than 50% respondents accept that their children are enrolled in nearby government school. But very less number of respondents is satisfied with the working of government schools. According to them these schools lack the efficient staff for teaching and other facilities in the school. Slum people also complaint about the non-reach, delay and insufficient provisions of the government incentives like free text-books and free uniform to bring more slum children to schools up to elementary level. But administration is not paying much attention to these problems.

**Summary**

It follows that findings on the issues of accessibility of basic needs and services in slums does not provide much different inferences from the existing literature. Slum communities are having poorly built housing, mostly of a temporary nature with inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities in un-hygienic conditions. As these settlements are constructed without formal planning and illegal in nature can be evicted any time. They do not have proper facilities of electricity, access to clean water, or sanitation. Houses are constructed with sub-standard materials and are located in close proximity to each other. Not only individual basic needs but community level basic demands are also important as public services for them. Public services like provision of street lights, hospitals, primary school, roads (pavements), public distribution centres (ration depots) and community sanitary system among the basic amenities of slums. Slum dwellers have access to most of the public services to some extent but they are not satisfied with all these facilities. They get adjusted themselves with the available facility of public services. A large number of slum households lacked the important basic services. No doubt that city administration provided with the limited number of public toilets and street lights’ but these were not
enough to make the condition better in slums. Slum residents blame Chandigarh administrative authority for failing to provide the public services in the slums of city. As Municipal Corporation is the nodal agency to provide basic services to slum residents in squatter settlements. Slums lack adequate and affordable/free education, healthcare facilities, public distribution system, subsidised electricity, water, sanitation and other facilities in all the four colonies.

It is visible clearly that basic needs of slum dwellers are not completely different from middle class but have some kind of dissimilarity only because of their socio-economic marginality and illegality and un-authorised status of migrant labourers. Due to their socio-economic marginality their approaches and ways to get the basic needs are quite different from the mainstream city dwellers mostly middle and upper classes. Earlier sections of this chapter explain about the various ways through which slum resident’s make attempts to access the various public services and utilities in slums while keeping low expectations.

2. Various Channels/Approaches to Access Basic Needs

As life in slum is fundamentally different from middle or upper class life, similarly the concept of accessibility of needs of slum dwellers differs from the middle and upper class due to the marginalisation of political and economic order. Distribution of public resources and availability of basic amenities in slums have great impact on the lives of slum dwellers.

The survival of slum households in an urban set-up with inadequate basic facilities has become an issue of concern for social scientists now. How slum dwellers are able to survive in harsh conditions of an un-welcoming urban setup with limited accessibility of facilities. The reports show that slum are the first stopping point for immigrants they provide the low-cost and only affordable housing. Migrants to the growing slum of the developing world face the difficult challenge of securing access to vital services and protecting their lives and livelihoods. This continued existence of slum households in an urban set-up with an inadequate basic facility has been attracted the attention of all.

---

Difference in the approach and accessibility of resources led to the puzzle that through which channels or ways they access their needs. Whom they ask to establish connections outside the slum world? While capturing the issue of different channels/approaches in field work, efforts were made to discover if the slum residents had received any access to basic amenities through political connections, local leaders and associations based on ethnic basis and relatives/friends. For the attainment of social and material needs slum dwellers sometimes struggle individually and sometimes put collective efforts. Slum residents struggle individually when they have to make demands for the basic amenities at the household/individual level. While demanding for community needs slum residents always struggle collectively. Various channels in slums are there through which slum residents attempt to achieve their basic services. In order to find out the adoption of channels/ways/approaches to get basic amenities in slums by slum dwellers present work focuses on the approaches of slum dwellers to get various documents, shelter, civic amenities and public services.

2.1 Accessing Document Proofs (voter identity card, ration card and any other identity proof)

Majority of slum resident’s always need to get the documents of identity proof as it help them to get benefits of government schemes and public resource distribution system. Voters identity card is the important document for them which provide them a sense of legality in slum. Obtaining voter’s identity card, ration card and school registration certificate legitimizes slum dwellers stay and provide them a token of citizenship. In order to attain voter identity card nearly 35% slum dwellers were helped by local community leaders (pradhans and ward councillor). Only 2% slum residents approached to political parties/political leaders (Member of Parliament) directly and 11% of slum residents acquire this with the help of social connections (relative/neighbourhood/friends). Majority (52%) of slum dwellers asserted that they asked no one for help to get voters card and acquire it by themselves. Observation of

Basic amenities in slums could be divided into two categories on the basis of their use at individual level and group level i.e. household needs and community level needs. Individual needs affect the slum dwellers at household level whereas collective needs refer to the needs of whole community and it impacts the life of whole slum community. Community make collective efforts or actions to solve the problems related to community needs.
the statement of a resident Raju from Labour Colony-4 also proves the fact that most of them preferred to prepare voters card by themselves. He told us that:

“I have prepared my voters identity card myself. There is a day when government personnel come to make our voters card. We all get informed about this by various sources. Whenever, these personnel’s have to visit in slums local residents are informed through announcement. Preparing voters card is easier than preparing any other document in slums.” (Labour Colony -4, 23rd April, 2013)

Not only Raju but similar kind of assertion was made by the many of other of slum dwellers too. This reflects that large number of slum residents prepared voters card. Slum authorities send representatives to prepare voters card in every slum. Majority of the slum dwellers prepared their card during that period. According to them preparing voters card is an easy task therefore, they did not ask anyone to help them. Possessing ration card help slum dwellers to get subsidised food or other schemes of Antyodaya Anna Yojna and Annapurna scheme in it. While having formal conversation with slum residents it came in to light that many of newly migrated slum residents lack ration cards otherwise more than half (78%) of the slum dwellers posses the ration cards. Slum residents who does not possess ration card face the major hindrance in getting ration card as they are not having a permanent (legal) address. Field visit further reveals that the procedure of issuing ration cards involves an implicit bias against the temporary migrants. Only, those slum residents who do not satisfy the requirement of having their own legal ownership over the residence; do not possess a permanent address of their own in city. Some of them are not trying to have it as they are seasonal migrants and they have their name in the ration card in their original place. Mainly the residents who are residing here for more than 10 years are possessing ration cards. Preparing ration card is a time taking process. The fact that preparing ration card in slums is a difficult task is reflected in the remarks of Vinod, a daily wage worker in Labour Colony No.-4, who has recently prepared his ration card has viewed that:

275 There are different categories of ration cards and associated entitlements depending on a household’s material conditions. Yellow and red cards are for the poorest households categorized as Below Poverty Line (BPL). White cards are for those who are Above Poverty Line (APL).
“It is very easy to prepare voters card than ration card. Many incentives are provided to prepare voters card; for instance five months before election one can find that group of government officials come to prepare voters card (they make announcements before coming to slum) and the local representatives of political parties in slums offer us help to prepare voter card. But it's very difficult to prepare ration card in present period. In order to prepare ration card one need to request influential people in slums. Everyone wants to grab things in fewer expenses. It takes lot of effort to make ration card in slums.” (Labour Colony No-4, 22nd April, 2014)

The story narrated by the Santosh Kumar from Slum Colony at Sector-25 also indicates that preparing ration card in slums is more difficult than preparing other documents like voter identity card, Aadhaar card. While reflecting on this he asserts:

“Preparing a ration card has become a huge task now; nobody helps you to get that, if you ask local leaders they charge you a large amount of money. Even you provide them with money after than they would ditch you at the last moment. When I approached to pradhan for ration card he asked me for money to prepare ration card. I gave him an amount of rupees 2000 as he asked for. Two or three months later he again asked for money. Even then he did not prepare ration card. I got annoyed and asked him to return my documents and money. Even after so much of troubles, I have yet to receive my ration card.” (Slum Colony at Sector-25, 15th April, 2013)

Interview with the slum residents who holds ration cards demonstrate that many of the residents (36%) prepared their ration cards themselves. Almost 31% slum residents were helped by local community leaders to access ration card and only 7% accessed it through political connections (elected officials). As it is difficult for migrants to produce documents/proof for ration card in new place therefore, many of them approach to pradhans/local community leader earlier. Councillor of their ward signed that document only otherwise they have completed it by themselves. Local
community leaders sometimes help (mediate) slum dwellers in attesting the identity proofs/documents through ward Councillor/Corporators or by any other recognized authority.

Table 4.1.2 Accessibility of Document Proofs through Various Channels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Residents Access of Ration Cards (79%)</th>
<th>Various channels through which access ration cards</th>
<th>% age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Through local community leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help/no one help</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties/political leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social connection</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Field-Study of Four slum Colonies in Chandigarh (January to April 2013)

Majority of the respondent who accessed ration card in earlier period accessed it through leaders and political connection. But role of local leader in providing help to get ration card decreased with the passage of time. Large number of respondent’s complaint that no one helped them to get ration cards. Not only to prepare new ration card but to renew old one they themselves have to go through the whole process. Councillors sign the forms only. Slum dwellers themselves submit it for the renewal. They perform their tasks themselves.

This inference has been reflected in the remarks of Siya Ram Singh (43 year old) who works as a rag picker in Nehru colony asserted that:

“Councillor’s (pradhan) only task is to sign the ration card renewal form. Otherwise we have to complete all the formalities ourselves. We have to attach all the documents along with the form and complete it otherwise it gets rejected. Once it gets signed from the councillor we have to submit it in Sector-43 office (office issuing ration cards) which is far away from here. In this whole process we have to struggle alone.” (Nehru Colony, Sector-52, 19th February, 2013)

---

276 Along with the ration card renewal form slum residents have to attach copies of Aadhaar cards of whole family members, passport size pictures bank account information and complete details of habitation.
It appears from the above statement that the real cost of obtaining ration cards for them is significantly more than that for the non-poor population. Preparing ration card is the burdensome and time consuming process. Completing the ration card forms and repeatedly visiting the civil supply office puts the poor at a disadvantage position. Slum dwellers with their limited resources fail to cope with the administrative requirements of the system is extremely limited due to their socio-economic background. Access to Ration Card and Voter’s identity card legitimize the stay as a city resident and help the dwellers to participate in the public distribution system.

2.2 Employment

Main reason behind the arrival of the many migrants in a Chandigarh City was search for income opportunity. But arrival was not only due to a random search for income opportunity in Chandigarh. As many respondents said that they were invited by their friends, caste man, relatives, and fellow villagers. Most of the slum residents are engaged in un-organised working sector. As, more jobs are available in un-skilled working sector. Many migrants are not eligible to work for the job in skilled work sector.

Many slum residents confirm that city has provided employment opportunities in various sectors. If we see the availability of employment as a basic need of slum dwellers in slum we can find out that slum people find less obstacles in finding earning sources in Chandigarh. Most of them find manual and un-skilled works easily in city. Majority of slum residents recited that availability of earning opportunity was the major incentive for their migration from their original place. Many of them accept that they got this job by taking help of their connections. But employment opportunity in slums does not represent a win-win situation. As some slum residents have complaint against this employment opportunity. According to Kanshi Ram, a factory labourer in Madrasi Colony asserted that:

---

Kundu has shown that due to their low level of literacy, unfamiliarity with the rules and regulations and their inability to establish ‘contacts’ through friendship and family ties, the urban poor have no access to the bureaucracy. Finally engaged in a struggle for survival, they do not have time to complete the bureaucratic requirements of obtaining a ration card. Amitabh Kundu, *In the Name of the Urban Poor: Access to Basic Amenities* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1993), p.177.

---
“Earlier when we moved to this place there was lot of employment opportunity as construction work was going on everywhere in the city. Industries and factories were establishing and planning of city was at initial stage. There was a great demand for manpower for establishment of a planned city. But now the demand has slowed down. As establishment or construction of industry has reached at saturation point. In other un-skilled works; the earning is very less. Women still get better opportunities as domestic helper than men.” (Madrasi Colony, 11th April, 2013)

Rajkumar (young respondent) from Slum Colony at Sector-25 argued in the similar vein that:

“Nowadays it is very difficult to find out employment in city. Even in order to get employment in factory first we have to bribe local contractors and others involved in this. Even after getting the job we keep worrying about the insecurity. As we are not educated enough it is difficult to get job in government sector firms.” (Slum Colony at Sector-25, 28th March, 2013).

Therefore, one can find out that Chandigarh as a planned city in its beginning years of establishment was full of job opportunities but now as cities is moving towards the formation of smart city does not allow much opportunity to migrant labourers. City demands for middle and elite class to make it a smart city with limited number of labourers.

While analysing about the various channels to which slum dwellers depend upon to get recruited it has been found that recruitment to various occupations in majority of slum is take place by personal and informal methods. Vacancies are mostly advertised by word of mouth and therefore, territorial, kin and caste affinities play a predominant role in the recruitment of workers to the urban labour force. As Majumdar (1978) in his study of Delhi slums has shown that 75% of the workers among the urbanizing poor had friends, relations, fellow villagers or those from the same region working in the city and it was through their assistance that they were able
to get jobs in the city. Present study also finds out that almost 45% respondents were helped by their kins, relative, friends and fellow villagers to find out the jobs. Social connections play an important role to provide help to get employment in slums.

Table 4.1.3: Availability of Job Opportunities through Various Sources in Slums

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accessibility of Income Opportunities in Slums through Various Channels</th>
<th>% of Slum Dwellers who Used these Channels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relatives/Kins/friends</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local leaders (pradhans)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-regulated (find jobs through their own efforts)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties/big political leaders</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Visit in Four Slum Colonies from January to April 2013

Around 25% argued that they struggled alone to get employment. They asked none for the help to get job but manage themselves to get income opportunities. Around 21% slum residents accepted that they were accompanied by local pradhans to some office/factory where he was introduced to the official one knows. As far as women are concerned they were predominantly employed in the informal market, the most effective way to get a job was by recommendation to a future employer by a relative. Most slum dwellers are engaged in informal/un-organised sector. Most women are engaged as self-employed domestic helpers/engaged in work at home and vegetable vendors.

2.3 Approaching to Police/Bureaucrats/Administrative Officials

Slum dwellers are dependent more on the state resource than any other classes. They seek help of administration and authority to secure access of basic amenities and resources. Slum dwellers are largely dependent on city authority and administration for shelter, secure land tenure, to produce legal documents and for the subsidised

---

food. Therefore, accessibility to the bureaucratic/administrative officials and police by slum dwellers play an important role in political life of slum residents. Slum residents largely access administrative authority/officials/bureaucracy/through local community leaders. Around 53% of residents accepted that in order to establish connection with government officials/bureaucrates they took help from local leaders. Whereas 39% of slum residents mentioned that they approached bureaucrats and officials alone. Social connections are used by very few to establish connections with bureaucrats. In response to the question how many times slum residents approached to pradhans, political party and elected officials to deal with police the majority of residents favoured visiting local leaders from time to time. When we see how slum dwellers establish connection with bureaucrats and other officials at individual level, we find that slum dwellers establish connection outside slum with the help of local leader than any other channel. Around 17% of households have gone to the police at some point in their lives. Of those who went to police about 9% reported they accompanied by slum level leaders. Slum residents accept they were accompanied by slum leader to approach bureaucrats/government officials where he/she was introduced to the official one by local leader.

2.4 Dependence on Various Sources to get Civic Amenities (Electricity, Water and Sanitation)

In case of Chandigarh City colonies are built on the public land and un-authorized in status. Because of this status government agencies do not take responsibility to provide enough civic amenities to these areas. Slums are lacking adequate basic facilities. In order to get the basic amenities like electricity, water and sanitation facilities (toilets and bathrooms) at household level slum dwellers they themselves put much effort than asking any other agency.

All the slums in city are electrified and all of (98%) of them have access to the electricity. The households are dependent on electricity provided through metered connection or through contractors, only few households resorted to kundi connections (illegal electricity connection). All the slums get electricity from private contractor.
Table 4.1.4 Access Electricity Connections in Slums through various sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Various Sources/channels to Access electricity</th>
<th>% of Slum residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local leaders (pradhans)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political leaders</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives/caste man/friends</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No one helped (self-regulated)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field visit in four Colonies of Chandigarh, January to April 2013.

Analysis of data demonstrates that many slum residents (58%) put efforts themselves to get electricity connections in slums. Local pradhans and ward councillors also helped slum residents (27%) to get electricity connections in slums. Neighbourhood associations and political connections do not play much effective role in getting electricity connections at household level. City administration provide contract to a person in slum. The contractor who distributes electricity in slum is also the person among slum dweller. The contractor at slums distributes the electricity further. Commenting on the provision of basic amenities, Sonu 25 year old youth (born and brought up in Slum Colony at Sector-25) threw light on the availability of electricity in slums. He told us that:

“Access to electricity in place like Chandigarh is not an easy task. We have to struggle for electricity connection and payment of electricity bills. Private contractors are big thieves; they have looted slum people more than anyone else. They always attempts to take advantage of the ignorance and illegal status of slum dwellers.” (Slum Colony at Sector-25 Colony, 28th March, 2013)

Electricity access and use is a very costly affair to slum people as private contractors provide electricity at very high rates. These contractors do not provide any kind of subsidy to them as it does not come under the administration. The one serious complaint that made by slum dwellers is over-billing. Over 60% slum residents say
that they received a very high electricity bill. Electricity is among one of the basic need for which slum residents came on roads and shown their protest against the inadequacy of power in summers. Slum residents from Colony No.-4 and Nehru Colony have mentioned that they keep having jaloos and dharnas against the un-availability of adequate electricity and high electricity bills.

As far as water and sanitation facilities are concerned it has been find out that very less number of households’ posses the individual water taps and an indoor private toilet/bathrooms. Most of the slum dwellers used the public stand posts or public taps to get water. Individual connection of water is possessed by slum residents themselves. No one help them to get the connections. The problem of affordability for the individual taps is expenditure of obtaining a new domestic connection. Those slum residents who accessed sanitation facilities argued that no one helped them to get in-house toilets/bathrooms. The policies and schemes related to sanitation facilities are not implemented properly in the slums by administration. Most of them use public toilets and open spaces for defection. Very few slum residents accepted that they approached to political channels directly to solve any problem related to water and sanitation facility. Large number of slum residents accepted that they approached to concerned authority along with slum leaders to get the proper water supply and sanitation facility. Slum dwellers protested and demonstrated against administration regarding un-availability of sanitation and water facility as a community. Large number of slum respondents (52%) mentioned that they have participated in demonstrations against the un-availability of enough water supply and cleanliness of public toilets. Some of them also mentioned that along with local pradhans they visited to administrative officials to complaint against the un-availability of proper sanitation and water facilities and high electricity bill.

Analysing the use of various channels by slum residents to get various basic amenities in slums demonstrate that slum residents took help of any channels which is easily accessible to them. These channels could be local leaders, relatives, friends, political parties/leaders; neighbourhood association based on caste and kinship and elected officials. There is a very complex relationship among various channels on which slum residents rely. The complexity of relationship makes it difficult to draw
clear inferences to who slum residents approach to solve the problems. As majority of local leaders and headmen of caste/region based organisations are linked to dominating political parties. Most of the councillors interviewed in four slums are acted as pradhans of slums earlier. This mobilisation is started largely by local leaders, political leaders/parties and sometimes social activist. Collective demands and problems are more likely to be solving through elected officials (Member of Parliament and Councillors) and local leaders. The assumption that there is very less activity around caste, region and religious neighbourhood associations in slums proved true to some extent as there is not enough evidence of associational activity in providing the basic amenities to slums. People report that only few regional and caste based associations are there and have not been involved much in the problem solving efforts.

2.5 Politics of Protest and Demonstration for Basic Civic Services in Slums

When slum dwellers come across any problem at community level regarding public services/needs they mainly attempt to solve it with collective actions. These collective actions include the protest, demonstration and participating in self-help programmes of neighbourhood communities. While performing the collective actions slum residents raise their demands from the governmental institutions and administrative authorities. Field visits made researcher aware of many instances when slum residents had taken part in demonstration and rallies against administration to voice their collective demands for the public services. Conversation with slum respondents about the demonstrations reflects that collective actions of the slum dwellers often depend on local leaders, neighbourhood associations, influential persons and political parties for the initiation and development.

Field visit demonstrate that slum dwellers were involved in protests and demonstrations against authority while demanding the shelter and other civic amenities (water, electricity, sanitation, rationing and public services) in slums. In order to make their voices heard to the Chandigarh administration they come up on the roads many times. When slum dwellers were asked the question how many times they participated in demonstration against authority?. Around 60% said that they have participated in demonstration/protest once and more than one times in last five years.
Table 4.1.5 Participation of Respondents in Protests and Demonstration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Colony</th>
<th>Total respondents from four slums (200)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents Participated in any Demonstration and Protest in last five years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour Colony No.-4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slum Colony at Sector-25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrasi Colony</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehru Colony</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Visit of Four Slum Colonies (January to April 2013)

Out of 60% slum residents around 45% respondents answered that they were participated in protest more than five times. These protests were mainly to stop the demolition/eviction, to ratify water, electricity supply and delay/un-availability of ration through public distribution system. Very few (15%) respondents remembered that if the demonstrations and protest were made for better roads, sanitation and educational facility. No one remember about the demonstration and jaloos for health services.

The type of demonstration, agitation and protests occurred at the slum colonies are more of economic nature as they were prominently for the fundamental civic amenities (water, electricity, shelter) and security of tenure. All the slum colonies do not show equal ability to make demonstration and protest. More number of slum residents at Colony Number-4 and Madrasi Colony has participated in protest and demonstration than the Nehru Colony. Large number of residents of Nehru Colony does not remember any demonstration that took place in last few years. They remember only few earlier occasions when protest and struggle for water, electricity, and sanitation facilities took place. Labour Colony Number-4 has shown large orientation towards protest and agitation. People are very assertive about their rights and demands. Madrasi Colony showing the same trends in protest and demonstration illustrate that after Labour Colony No.-4 slum residents at Madrasi Colony took
participation in demonstration. More number of slum people in these two colonies is factory and industrial workers they got more exposure for these kinds of activities as trade unions and labour unions keep making such kind of protest. Whereas, slum colony at Sector-25 which is having less number of industrial workers and domestic workers are in more number have very few persons (27 out of 50) who took participation in protest and demonstration. Nehru Colony with the least respondents who took participation in protest and demonstration places itself at the last among four slum colonies. One of the very old respondent accepted that in the Nehru Colony protests has made at earlier period but now no such kind of protest have been experienced by us. A 78 years old resident Ramnaath from Nehru Colony recalled that:

“\textquote{I don’t remember any strong protest and demonstration for basic needs in present period. But yes earlier we used to have \textit{jaloos} and \textit{dharnas} on roads frequently for \textit{bijali} (electricity), water and ration. We used to visit whole slum area raising slogans against the authority. After that we used to come at the roads adjoining the sectors with many people. Our pradhan was always there with us.”} (Nehru Colony, 18\textsuperscript{th} February, 2013)

Interview of Sunil Sharma of Madrasi Colony also reflects the same picture that:

“The pavement in the squatter area which one can see now was not like this earlier. It used to be totally dumped area with filth and mud. During the rainy season it became impossible to live in Jhuggies as all the mud and soiled water used to enter in our Jhuggies. Concerned departments were not paying any heed to our needs. We all were tired of all this, and one day Pradhan and some other influential members of slum took an initiative and gathered all the slum residents for protest. We made dharnas and rallies against authority. Only after that Chandigarh administration paid attention on this problem and started working on it.” (Madrasi Colony Sector-26, 14\textsuperscript{th} April, 2013)

From these two above narratives and data gathered from field it can be safely argued that demonstrations for various needs in slums were made several times by
slum dwellers. Along with local leaders, neighbourhood associations and with the support of political parties they made protest but all the protests were not successful. Only few of the problems raised by them through demonstrations were considered by administration. The collective efforts of slum dwellers become quite visible in their protests and demonstrations against authority for the shelter or security of tenure. To cope up with this particular problem slum residents protest together and attempted to inhabit on any other land together. Slum dwellers secure shelter/housing or tenure and demonstrate against eviction.

Satya Pal Jain has mentioned that he get involved with slum residents many times for protest and demonstration while demanding civic amenities. While sharing incident of protest in slum colonies he mentioned that:

“We took a very strong protest for electricity at Colony Number-5 in early 1990’s which took place for whole day and night. Only after that slums in Chandigarh City got the metered and regulated supply of electricity. Our party (Bahartiya Janta Party) helped residents to get better pavements, mobile van to slum residents, water taps and street lights to the slum residents with Member of Parliament (MP) led funds. When I was Member of Parliament in 1998 I have opened up 30-35 ration depots in slum colonies and brought gas connection facility for them. Our party has always attempted to help the all sections of city.”

(Interviewed 19th May, 2015 at his residence/office)

Not only for housing but for other civic amenities also we took stand for slum dwellers. Most of the issues for demonstration were related to water, electricity, pavements and sanitation facility. It has been seen that slum dwellers never initiate any demonstration and protest alone. It is the local pradhans, political leaders, political parties, social activist’s and neighbourhood association which initiate the protest and encourage them to join the protest. Many of the collective actions are initiated by pradhans along with social activists which are supported by the various associations and political parties in slums. Along with the pradhans neighbourhood associations and political parties also have a visible role in supporting the collective actions of slum dwellers.
In slum colonies protest is not only taking place for economic issues but for the social issues also. Only few demonstrations/jaloos for social causes have been supported by slum leaders. Only few incidents are there for the protest against criminalisation in slums to close the liquor shops and protest against humiliation of women and rape. Protest to close the liquor shops, police harassment, exploitation and women harassments and security has been experienced by slum residents. Protest on social issues has been occurred only few times.

Dalip Sharma a local leader in Madrasi Colony has shared an experience of dharna for social cause and said that:

“In order to protect the community centre from closing where any kind of ceremony (marriage) can be performed by the poor people without paying money we have performed a large level protest. During this protest one of the slum residents tried to immolate himself. This protest was a success as administration did not demolish the centre.” (Madrasi Colony, 15th April, 2013)

Sunita Kumari residents of Sector-25 Slum Colony; narrated the story of protest which also reflects on the protest for social cause. She asserted that:

“We had protested against the opening of a tavern in our locality. We walked on the main road in front of the Dainik Bhaskar Office, leading to rotary of Sector-37-38. Along with other women’s of slums we raised slogans against the administration for opening liquor vend near our residence. We jammed entire road and come up on the roads.” (Sector-25 Slum Colony, 27th March, 2013)

These narratives illustrate that demonstration for social causes also occurs at slums. But the protest for social issues take place at smaller level and are fewer in number. Protests and demonstrations are mainly done for material resources in slums. Participation of slum dwellers in demonstration activities plays an important role to achieve basic needs in slums. Few old age residents in slum colonies felt that twenty years ago there was much active participation in demonstrations and protest than today. Collective mobilization and protest for securing habitation took place more...
than any other activity. Mobilization against eviction/demolition and need for civic amenities are always supported by the local leaders.

2.6 Politics of Rehabilitation in Slums

One of the major problems that poor migrants in city face is the inadequate housing facility. Being at illegal position all the four slum colonies in city had never been provided with adequate shelter and other basic infrastructural facilities. Temporary houses formed the large proportion of slum settlements. Slum dwellers have temporary place to live in slum settlement. With little financial resources and less political/bureaucratic connections they find it difficult to get a house with basic urban facilities. For the migrant labourer finding affordable, safe and secure land for shelter is always a big task in an urban area. Most of the poor do not have access to secure land tenure. These squatters are vulnerable to frequent eviction. Finding a place to live in the city and income sources are the biggest challenges to slum dwellers and also their principal concerns. Largest struggle has been done for demolition and getting better housing facility which leads to a very important aspect of politics in slum colonies.

In this above given context it becomes very important to see how slum dwellers manage to obtain shelter in the un-authorized colonies. Interview with the respondents in all the four slums revealed that almost 69% of respondents were initially helped by their relatives, friends, and caste man and village persons when initially they reached to the slums. Social connections helped slum residents to establish temporarily huts in settlements at initial stage. Many of them established their huts together on a piece of land to form a cluster. To collect material and resources for construction of hut was the responsibility of migrants himself/herself. Only few (21%) slum residents accepted that they were helped by their friends/relatives and neighbours in improving and renovating the huts or raise a semi-pucca house. Large number of slum residents struggle alone to construct semi-pucca houses at slums as they attempt with the passing years to improve roof, floor and walls of the jhuggies. This has been reflected in the narrative of Telu Ram and he asserted that:
“It is very difficult for us to repair kutcha huts again and again. It needs to be fixed after the end of every monsoon. Therefore, we need to get a permanent solution for slums by establishing semi- pucca house. Therefore, we try to transform it with the passing years by renovating roof, floors and walls etc.” (Labour Colony No.-4, 24th April, 2013)

Another respondent named Rampati owning a kutcha hut has remarked that:

“I am afraid to change my kutcha hut into semi-pucca house as this hut was established temporarily and it can be demolished by government agency any time. Therefore, we do not want to spend money to repair the jhuggi. We try to find some easy solution to protect jhuggi from rain. We spend very less on its renovation.” (Madrasi Colony, 14th April, 2013)

This fear of non permanency of hut led many residents not to repair and transform the slum into semi-pucca houses. The security of land is the most important consideration for the jhuggis dwellers that are staying in un-authorised colonies as illegal dwellers. Conversation with the jhuggi dwellers shows that for the security of land and tenure they have to rely on political connections, bureacurates/officials and pradhans.

There are many instances happened in all the four slums when administration has tried to vacate the jhuggies. The step taken by government gave rise to the protest and demonstration from slum residents. Most of the slum colonies in the planned city are built at those places which were meant for the construction of buildings for other purposes. Therefore the demolitions of the huts of such squatter are the most expected actions by city administration. Threat of eviction and demolition by the authority is one of the major factors which unify the slum community to take collective efforts (demonstration and protest) against authority. Possibility of eviction is acknowledged by most of the residents in slums. As these four slums were located on public land; the tenure to the land was uncertain. This fear had led to the perennial external threat for eviction and demolition.
When administration starts clearing the slums; slum dwellers have two alternatives either they allow the administration to demolish their huts or they react to the situation by uniting and protesting. This is evident in the various scenarios happened earlier and happening presently. Around 64% mentioned that they took participation in demonstration against demolition/eviction. They made demonstrations against authority. They met the higher authorities and demanded alternative accommodation. It has been found in conversation with the slum residents that whenever there was any demolition activity by Chandigarh administration in slum settlements; slum people come out on the road shouting slogans against ruling party, authorities and administration. In their conversation they mentioned that they were accompanied by the local community leaders, academicians, social activist, opposition political party members and eminent persons from various fields for protest against the eviction and demolitions. Slum dwellers from Slum Colony at Sector-25 and Colony No.-4 referring the protest happened at earlier period mentioned that famous political leaders like Satpal Jain, Harmohan Dawan, Sanjay Tandon, Lalit Joshi and influential local leaders Mishra, Tiwari (Colony No.-4) and Kishan pradhan (Slum Colony at Sector-25) have supported them in protest against demolition.

The insight provided by the Chibbu Ram Yadav in Labour Colony No.-4 is also reflective of the same trend that:

“It was the local pradhan and his people who informed us about the evacuation/demolition after that we start gathering together for discussion. In meeting we decide about the structure of protest. The protest for our land rights is most of the time headed by the influential personalities. During the protests not only the residents of one slum but residents of all slum colony come together and demonstrated against it.” (Labour Colony No.-4, 20th April, 2013)

Another respondent Charan Kumar Yadav from the Labour Colony No.-4 has mentioned that:

“We protested and demonstrated against the administration’s decision to vacate the colony. We demanded the alternative accommodation and

---

When Administration asks the respondents to vacate the slums some of the residents in colony remains passive and agree to vacate. They show their helplessness against the governmental activity of demolition of their huts.
right for housing before the colonies are get demolished. In our protest against eviction, opposition political party members and some influential persons supported us.” (Labour Colony No.-4, 24th April, 2013)

In the third phase of field visit (April-May, 2014) it has been found that residents of colony staged a large demonstration against authority and demanded them to drop the idea of demolition. Large number of residents of slum colonies protested at against the demolition notice sent to them by the Estate Officer, Chandigarh Administration. What I found during field visit is slum poor are reluctant to invest in the improvement of their hutment as they lack security of land tenure. Squatter settlement in Chandigarh City is built on public land. City administration was unable to provide the urban poor with collective security against eviction or the demolition of illegal structures in slum. Slum dwellers in these localities could not organize any struggle on their own. Occasionally they fought against plans of relocation but it was always under the leadership of some political leader.

Biometric survey was the test that Union Territory administration has planned for the rehabilitation of slum dwellers. Under this test all those living in slums have to furnish details of their fingerprints, photographs, face recognition, voice recognition, signature, shape of the hand, and other such details. This was supplemented by other personal details, including date and place of birth, father’s name, number of family members, present address, et al. But there are many slum residents who missed the biometric survey done at 2006 and unable to fulfill criterion. These people did not have the any access to new houses according to the rules. Many of the respondents confirmed their helplessness against the governmental activity of demolition of their huts as they were not present during survey.

Indermati asserted that:

“Administration only focuses on development of city and ignores our existence. And we are left with no option. Before election all the candidates of Lok Sabha seat visited to slum localities and promised to help us for shelter and tenure of security. But immediately after the
elections are ended slum colonies have been vacated and demolished by the administration.” (Nehru Colony, Sector-52, 26th May, 2014)

Not only had those who were not included in biometric survey but some potential beneficiaries also facing the problems to get tenements at rehabilitated colonies. These beneficiaries argued that they are facing many difficulties to complete all the documents and fulfil the criteria put forward by authority. Rehabilitation scheme has put some conditions for identification of potential beneficiaries such as that name of beneficiary should appear in Bio-metric survey conducted by the administration in the year 2006, name should registered in the voter list of the year 2006 and the voter list of the year in which allotment is made. If the beneficiary name, not appearing in the voter list of 2006, the beneficiary to be considered to qualify the said criteria if his/her name exists in the voter lists of 2004 or 2005 and that of 2007 or 2008. In order to complete the documents and various information potential beneficiaries also has to visit government officials/bureaucrats and local leaders/municipal councillors for help.

It has been find out that in order to solve the problems of accessibility of shelter, slum dwellers initially attempts themselves. But when slum residents could not afford to help themselves they approach to some agencies like leaders, social connections and politicians/bureaucrats directly in slums. As the city administration is responsible for the eviction of slum dwellers and their rehabilitation. Therefore, potential beneficiaries for rehabilitation tends to be seen as associated more with the bureaucratic establishment and local leaders than the social connections. For civic amenities slum residents struggled alone most of the time but in order to get house at rehabilitated colony, secure land tenure and to establish connection with officials/bureacurates they took help of various agencies/channels.

Politics playing around the demolition and rehabilitation policies for shelter is gaining weight-age in all the slums of India. Chandigarh is under the process of making slum free smart city. Demolition and rehabilitation catches the politics in slums with full swing with the involvement of residents, local leaders or political party leaders, government and the policy making in Chandigarh slums.

Navprit Kaur (freelance writer) who has seen life in Chandigarh slums in her writings has mentioned that:

“Slum residents are playing an important role in development of city. While talking about their uprooting she has mentioned that these slum dwellers have a sense of belongingness with slums. Uprooting happens not only physically but emotionally and socially also. As they have social relations in slums. Uprooting the slum dwellers from slums and taking them authorized colony change their whole social life. She has further mentioned that city behaves very mysteriously to the poor migrants. It accepts migrants as workers to get services for middle classes and upper classes but does not consider migrants as a part of itself and still does not consider labourers as citizens.” (19th May, 2015 at her house)

Politics played around government schemes for the rehabilitation of the slum resident is quite visible in slums. The entire mechanism of providing shelter is guided by the various schemes launched by the Government of India (GOI) and city administration. The Chandigarh administration has formulated a onetime scheme ‘The Chandigarh Small Flats Scheme-2006’, to provide them a hygienic and safe living space with all basic amenities. Largest number of the protests against administrations has been made for the shelter and land security.

In its aspiration to emerge slum-free, Chandigarh has been trying to map illegal encroachments since 2006. The administration conducted a biometric survey that year to determine the number of people living on government land across the city so as to facilitate construction of houses for the poor on the outskirts under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). To allot a house under JNNURM, the city administration has made biometric documentation mandatory. But a faulty survey methodology has rendered an estimated 50,000 poor homeless, as their names did not figure in the records. The same people have been issued voter identity cards and below poverty line (BPL) cards by the administration.

In order to uplift the poor, the government has formulated various welfare schemes like ‘Licensing of Tenements and transit Sites in Chandigarh Scheme, 1975’, ‘Licensing of the tenements and transit sites in Chandigarh (Supplementary Scheme)
1976, and ‘Chandigarh Allotment of Low Cost Tenements on Lease and Hire Purchase: Basic Schemes, 1979’ etc.

However, the data shows that most of the schemes have failed to reach the targeted beneficiaries in un-authorized colonies of the city.” In spite of the efforts made by the government in containing the number of slum dwellers, increasing the population of slums have not been stopped in Chandigarh. This was because of failure of earlier policies. The influx of the migrant labourers remained continued regardless of the fact that the city had reached saturation point.

In fact Bindu Duggal (2010) in her interview has mentioned that”

“Chandigarh’s rehabilitation policy of providing shelter to the slum dwellers also attracted more migrants. Some of the labour class working outside Chandigarh preferred to reside in the un-authorised colonies of Chandigarh in the hope of ultimately getting a reasonable shelter in the city. A large number of migrants thronged the city with the expectation of getting an inexpensive house.” (Interview taken at her office on 15th June, 2011)

Inability of rehabilitation policy of administration to provide houses to all and a high incidence of sale of rehabilitated houses and resettlement in the slums made this scheme a failure. In order to avoid the errors made in the earlier policies the Chandigarh administration has decided to change its policy, on the initiative of the new administrator and make one last final effort to rehabilitate all the slum dwellers on a monthly licence fee basis of Rs. 800 for 20 years. According to the latest biometric survey carried out by the Chandigarh Administration 23,841 families live in slums and it has been decided to rehabilitate and provide accommodation to all of them in a phased manner over a period of three years. Chandigarh Housing Board report confirms that the Government of India has sectioned two projects for Chandigarh for Rs. 428.92 crores and Rs. 136.01 crores respectively for slum rehabilitation under the JNNURM, ministry of housing and urban poverty alleviation.

---

The Chandigarh Administration has launched the Small Flat Scheme-2006 under 10\textsuperscript{th} five year plan. It plans to provide accommodation along with civic amenities (individual water, electricity and sewer connections) and supporting infrastructure. During the third phase of field visit (May-June, 2014) when notification was issued for the demolition of slum colonies few respondents were interviewed. These respondents complained against the city’s authorities as they were missed out by biometric survey. Biometric survey of 2006 was done in a faulty manner and did not cover vast majority of residents who had otherwise been residing in the selected slum colonies. Many slum residents mentioned that survey investigators of biometric survey visited slums only once or twice in which, many slum families were missed.

Organisations like Ghar Adhikar Sangharsh Morcha, Students for Society, Lok Aawaz and others find that strong protest and demonstrations are needed to protect the slums from demolition. Only strong protest and agitation can stop the demolition of slum colonies before providing enough and adequate housing facilities to the slum residents. Slum Colony No.-5 was earlier getting demolished at 2003 by administration; but could not get demolished as when the officials and city authority went to remove the \textit{jhuggis} people made a strong agitation. The demolition derive get stopped due to the strong protest at that time. But later on during the demolition derive at 2013 when few of them got the houses at rehabilitated authorized colonies under small flat schemes and many went to Jail under \textit{Jail Bharo Adolan} nobody left to make a strong protest against administration. This made the work of administration easy and the slum got demolished without facing any strong demonstration. The demolitions derive take place at 2013 demolished the colony completely (around 7000 houses has been destroyed) leaving many slum residents without any other option/place to live.

In April 17, 2014 notice was issued for demolition of Sector-53 Nehru Colony, Pandit Colony and three more colonies. Slum residents from various colonies participated in the demonstration organized by “Ghar Adhikar Sangarsh Morcha.” Basti dwellers along with GASM members raised the slogans like ‘\textit{Bastiyo Ko Ujadana Band Karo, Ujdo Ke Liye Ghar Ka Prabhand Karo}’ and ‘\textit{Har Zor-Zulm Ki Takkar Mai; Sangharsh Hamara Naara Hai}’ against the administration. Although
the protest and demonstrations failed to stop the demolitions of eight colonies but slum residents of remaining nine un-authorised colonies became active and aware about the politics of demolition. Members of SFS and Ghar Adhikar Sangharsh Morcha distribute pamphlets, make plays and provide information by visiting the slum colonies to make slum dwellers more informed.

Social workers fighting for rights of slum dwellers blamed both the parties Bahartiya Janta Party and Congress for their in-activeness. These parties has always seen the beautiful side of city and wanted to demolish the jhuggies without any other better provision for them. One can find how easily after the elections slum colonies got demolished; large number of migrants left houseless but Bahartiya Janta Party and Congress party find no interest in it. Not only social workers but newly emerged political party Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) has criticised the existing policies and programmes of ruling government.

Aam Aadmi Party members are against the demolition and are in favour of in-situ rehabilitation for slum dwellers. Manjeet Singh (AAP Spokesperson) insisted on the in-situ rehabilitation of slum dwellers. He asserted that:

“If government wants to rehabilitate poor slum dwellers they should rehabilitate them within the city. They should be rehabilitated on the same place where they were residing earlier, so that their lives cannot be disturbed in slums. It is very difficult for them to get rehabilitated at different places and continue with their earlier work and adjust with the old routine with new place. In-situ rehabilitation is needed to provide a sense of citizenship to them as they are contributing in the political and economic sphere of the society. Political and economic contribution of slum residents in slums is considerable. Government is treating them like a disease or the problem of the city and trying to throw them out of the beautiful forever’s.” (Interview taken at his residence on 25th September, 2013)

Slum residents are getting rehabilitated in those areas which are far away from their working places which make their lives more un-comfortable. It is very important
to provide a sense of citizenship to them as they are contributing in the political and economic sphere of the society.

Aam Aadmi Party candidate Gulkirat Kaur Panag in her manifesto has blamed the elected representatives and administration for the present state of the slums where even basic amenities are not present. She has mentioned in her speech that the appalling state of affairs in Chandigarh is a result of the corrupt nexus between the administration and elected representatives. The people of Chandigarh have been repeatedly failed and fooled by the un-fulfilled promises of the mainstream political parties.

While contradicting the above given views members of political parties like Bahartiya Janta Party, Congress and city officials treated demolition as a step forward for making the city slum free. Interview with the local and political leaders represent that providing slum dwellers the status of complete citizenship by rehabilitating them is one of the important consideration. Leaders of both the parties completely ignored the question of demolition during their interview and focused only on rehabilitation process. Members of both the major parties took the credit of rehabilitation. Alluring the slum dwellers by providing incentive of rehabilitation is the trick used by both the parties from many years. It could be made clear with the example of ‘Dhanas’. It is the largest rehabilitated colony is considered as the vote bank area of Congress party as during the period of Congress party it got rehabilitated. Colony has the large number of Congress supporters. Now Bahartiya Janta Party is trying to bring rehabilitated colony ‘Maloya’ (work of rehabilitation colonies is in progress) under its influence to get the “Vote Bank” from that place.

Bahartiya Janta Party and Congress both do not accept the inability to rehabilitate large number of slum residents. Politicians defend themselves by giving reference of various rehabilitation and pro-poor schemes. In this regard Pradeep Chabra (State President of Congress Party) has mentioned that:

“Administration has recognised the poor migrants residing in jhuggies for rehabilitation through Biometric Survey, 2006. All the slum dwellers those have been covered in biometric survey got the houses and are going to get it soon. But there are some migrants at jhuggies who came after 2006 in order to get houses as they heard that city is
providing houses to poor migrants. These jhuggi dwellers (migrated after 2006 biometric survey) are not eligible to get homes at rehabilitated colonies. Inability of administration to provide houses to those who do not fulfil the basic criteria is not the fault of administration. You can find the evidences that our party has rehabilitated the slum people and the opposition party has demolished them.” (15th May 2015 at his residence)

Congress party office worker at city finds that it was Congress party which come up with the pro-poor schemes and policies for the rehabilitation and public distribution system.

Pawan Kumar Bansal (former Member of Parliament and Union Minister) in his interview mentioned that:

“Our party put great effort to make Chandigarh slum-free city. Slum dwellers were provided with the best of amenities. Government took the initiative to authorize street vendors. Only those people, who held ineligible for slum rehabilitation flats’ scheme, are demolished. Rehabilitated colonies are result of the efforts of the Congress party. The largest rehabilitated Colony at Dhanas (40,000 people to get the flats) is the result of our effort. I kept consistently raising the issues of the slum people at the Centre. We took up the issue of affordable housing for all city residents with the Chandigarh Administration. He also mentioned slum dwellers backed Congress party in all the elections and party has also fulfilled its promises to help them.” (Telephonic interview taken on 23rd June, 2015).

Narratives show that politicians were more concerned with the rehabilitation policy than the demolition activity. Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) after Dhawan left the party had struck without a strong leadership which could have the attention of slum residents. Other leaders of Bahujan Samaj Party never showed any kind of interest in the protests and collective efforts of slum residents.
Officials of housing board and planning made it clear that demolition of slums has taken to bring development in the city. According to them eligible candidates for housing has got the houses at authorized colonies. Now the remaining jhuggies are getting demolished. This has been done to prevent the occupation of these empty jhuggies by newly migrating labourers.

One of the Chandigarh Housing Board Official mentioned that:

“Many times the beneficiaries rent the jhuggies to newly migrating labourers and sometimes they ask their relatives to come and live in those jhuggies in order to help them. The land on which jhuggies are established belongs to the government and this land brings money for new projects for rehabilitation. We want to make Chandigarh a city where everybody should be provided with adequate housing facilities. Officials also accept that it is difficult to provide housing to all at once but we get initiated with the project for smart city. Issues like women security, education also get attention in these.” (Administrative official asked not to reveal name, 28\textsuperscript{th} June, 2015)

Field survey shows that rehabilitation process in slums include political angle in it. Rehabilitation process includes the involvement of political parties and political leaders at large level. This rehabilitation programme is leading slum dwellers towards the social exclusion as they are being rehabilitated in the outskirts of the city (except rehabilitated colonies at Sector-49 and Vikas Nagar). Slum residents are getting rehabilitated in those areas which are far away from the mainstream city area. Working place and schools for their children is far away from these rehabilitated colonies. In-situ rehabilitation of slums is needed to provide slum dwellers a sense of belongingness to the city.

No doubt that local leaders and political party leaders sometimes play very important role in informing and awaking slum residents for slum issues. But some of the incidents narrated by slum residents shows that some of the leaders persuade/manipulate local residents to make compromises in demonstration and protest. They misguide the residents for their own interest and benefit. They sometimes represent only their interest by supporting state and its agencies. While
making protest and demonstration slum dwellers are unable to form collective community on their own and want to get some initiative from outside. Local leaders or any influential person/social workers get them initiated.

Respondents in their interview mentioned that leaders who pretend to lead them sometimes misguide them. This can be represented in the narratives of slum residents and others. One of the residents from Nehru Colony asserted that:

“Local leader of his area assured him about the security of slum. Leader told me that he had talked to the housing board officials and politicians of the party he belongs and it has been confirmed that slums are not going to be demolished even the notification has been issued.”

(Om Prakash, Nehru Colony, 27th May, 2014)

GASM convener Sachinder Pal Singh in his conversation has mentioned that:

“Local leaders keep misleading the slum residents. The roles played by local leaders are quite ambiguous and negative. Except few leaders most of them try to manipulate the things and keep the residents away from reality. They always support that side from where they get benefited. State agencies and politicians are the people from whom they got more resources. Therefore they serve them by exploiting the ignorant slum poor.”

(Interviewed in Panjab University Campus 15th June, 2015)

Similar kind of answers are found from many other respondents in slum colonies which represent that pradhans are more concerned about their own image. Respondent from the slum mentioned that these leaders get the incentives like two or three houses at rehabilitated colony or money and promise to provide service (job) to them or their children. Therefore, they support the administration and government. They always create a communication gap between residents and political leaders/concerned officials/authority. They become well-wishers of slum residents and assured them to save the slums from demolition before getting any other provision from administration but when they approach to the housing board authority and ruling government they never speak up the minds of people.

Slum leaders enjoy more power at the time of crisis. At the time of crisis; leader shows their influence to administration as well as local people. Administration
which is ready to take rigid action against illegal settlers and ineligible residents of the city asked leaders to cooperate with them by providing them some incentives. The interest of leader comes in forefront of the interest of the community in this kind of situations. This kind of leadership pattern has been found more in the Nehru Colony than any other colony. This can be the one reason for least participation of Nehru Colony residents in protests against demolition derive happened in 10th May, 2014 which led to demolition of slum colonies.

**Summing up**

This chapter primarily emphasized on the people’s access to basic civic amenities in slums and various approaches to get these basic needs. Findings clearly indicate that availability of daily basic needs of slum residents have significant impact on the social and political life. People living in Chandigarh slum settlements are having access to water and electricity, sanitation in slums to some extent. Among all the basic amenities secure tenure of land and shelter is the most demanded basic need. Many of the residents of these settlements are residing in these colonies illegally for temporary period. Because of this temporary nature of their habitation slum residents become more vulnerable to politicians. Vulnerability of shelter and other basic amenities make them more political person than other mainstream residents. All the basic needs in slums have some kind of impact over the life of slum dwellers. Slum residents may able to get many basic facilities in planned city like Chandigarh but they are unable to enjoy the proper accessibility of all the basic amenities. Slum dwellers are struggling in their day to day life to get basic facilities. And they are leading a fearful life for shelter.

Some of the slum residents confirmed that they helped themselves to get access to basic amenities in slums and some of them directly and indirectly accessed it through political and social connections. The availability of basic needs in slums has been politicized by political parties and leaders for their own benefit. The ways and approaches of slum dwellers to access basic needs in slums are principally based on their social networks, political connections and their dependency on local leaders. Slum dwellers mostly employ social networks to get place to live at initial stage and income opportunity. In order to establish connections with government authority/administration they rely heavily on the political connections through local leaders. Local leaders act as most important channel to establish connections outside
slum and with political parties. Slum residents make bargaining with political leaders and administrative officials for basic needs. Residents do not approach to them directly. Direct relationship between slum residents and political channels are absent in slums.