CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The existence of slums in cites is a reality which cannot be ignored in contemporary world undergoing the process of rapid urbanisation. The phenomenon of squatter settlements has to be seen as a phase in the process of urbanization in a developing country like India. Rapid growth of slum areas in urban settings is becoming the major issue of concern reflected in the United Nation Millennium Development Goal (United Nations HABITAT). Urban poverty has revealed itself most evidently through slums. These urban slum settlements accommodate the people who are excessively poor.

Urbanization has led to the development of haphazard and un-planned human settlements giving rise to appalling problems relating to housing, sanitation, pollution, transport and water supply. The most evident outcome of the rapid urbanization is formation of squatter and slum settlements in developing nations. Census report 2001 and 2011 demonstrates that it is this rapid urbanisation, in conjunction with industrialisation that results in the growth of slums.\(^1\) According to United Nation (UN) Habitat Report (2010) the number of slum dwellers worldwide continues to grow at the rate of 10 percent every year. Today large number of people lives in the cities but do not have any entitlements."\(^2\) These people who do not have any entitlement are called as informal dwellers as they do not possess the legal holding of land and house in the city. Slum dwellers are approached as non-persons,\(^3\) as other-half\(^4\) and socially disorganised sections\(^5\) with sub-culture of poverty.

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\(^4\) Martin and Mathema in their concept of ‘How the Other Half lives’ mentioned that Slums and informal settlements are considered as other halves. For detail See Richard Martin and Ashna Mathema, *Development Poverty and Politics: Putting Communities in the Driver’s Seat* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2010), p.49.

Survey reports demonstrate that the majority of the urban poor are disadvantaged and endangered by the inadequate housing and physical condition in which they live. There are various reasons which results in the proliferation of slums, among which shortage of land in housing, higher price of land, influx of migrants both from rural as well as smaller towns to the cities for better jobs are prominent factors. United Nation Habitat (2003) report confirmed that “more than one billion people live in indecent areas without access to basic needs; adequate sanitation, improved water supply, durable housing, adequate living space, and secure tenure. Lack of one of these basic conditions has direct consequences on the physical and psychological well being of the urban population. The basic dignity and rights of the poor people are being denied in squatter settlements.”

According to the City Development Plan Report in Chandigarh, “more than one fifth of population of the city resides in slums, squatters and other rehabilitated colonies. Their contribution to city’s economy has been growing over the period. Slums are scattered around the city in its periphery, with high population densities and the number of people inhabiting them estimated to be around 1.5 lacs. This report shows that city is characterized by a very significant presence of the urban poor. Slum settlements have multiplied over decades and the living conditions of the poor have not improved. Urban poor migrants are not considered as citizens, they are mere numbers contributing to the population of the city.

Existence of slums and informal settlements in the cities are examples of physical manifestations of social and geographical exclusion in the cities. People living in these settlements experience the most deplorable living and environmental conditions. They are also excluded from participating in the economic, social,

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7 For details see Ministry of Urban Development (JNNURM, Chandigarh Administration), *City Development Plan Report*, Chandigarh: Chandigarh Administration under JNNURM. And also see City Development Plan Chandigarh Available at [http://chandigarh.gov.in/knowchd_stat_ab12.asp P-54 accessed on 23rd march 2014.](http://chandigarh.gov.in/knowchd_stat_ab12.asp)

8 Pushpa Agnihotri while citing work by Morse (1965) argued that slums at periphery are facing marginality not only at sociological level but at geogaphical, economic and psychological level also. For details see Pushpa Agnihotri, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity: Survey of Slums*, (New Delhi: M.D. Publications,1994), p. 24.
political and cultural spheres of the city.\(^9\) Slums are an integral part of the phenomena of urbanization in India which are socially, geographically and culturally segregated from mainstream settlements. Therefore, slum dwellers are forced to live a life which is quite different from life of population living in mainstream city. Slum is a physical and spatial manifestation of urban poverty and intra-city inequality.

There are not only physical but social aspects of slums also. Socially, a slum is a way of life, a special character which has its own set of norms and values reflected in poor sanitation, health practices and social isolation. According to Hunter (1968) slums are the reflection of the social structure of a particular society. Thinking about slums gradually led to a different characterization of slums, ranging from features such as poverty, and dilapidated housing, overcrowding, to concentration of lower class people, racial segregation, crime, health problems, alienation, un-hygienic conditions and broken homes.\(^10\) The emerging urbanizing society is increasingly becoming a rural-urban environment, in a physical form and as a way of life.\(^11\) As Rajesh, Gill (1994) in her comparative study of slums of Chandigarh and Mumbai termed slums as ‘Urban Villages’.\(^12\) In these settlements one can find neo-rural or village like pattern since the dwellers in these settlements follow traditional procedures with regard to physical and social development.

Many Indian sociologists and anthropologists\(^13\) while studying life in slums have acknowledged that Indian urban poor are disjointed from the rest of the society, with identifiable characteristics of their own. While addressing the distinction of

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\(^9\) According to Ben one of the most enduring physical manifestations of social exclusion in cities is the proliferation of slums and informal settlements. Slum residents are also excluded from participating in the economic social, political and cultural spheres of the city slum as expressions of social exclusion explaining the prevalence of slums in African countries; Ben C. Arimah, *United Nations Human Settlements Programme* (UN-HABITAT Report, 2003), p. 3.


\(^11\) Dipankar Gupta has argued that India may not yet be quite urban but neither it is rural. Perhaps the clumsy term ‘rurban’ might suffice for the time being; for time being it is given the rapid transformation that is taking place in village India. For details see Dipankar Gupta, ‘The Importance of Being ‘Rurban’: Tracking Changes in a Traditional Setting,’ *Economic and Political Weekly*, 24, (2015), p. 37.


slums/squatter settlements from mainstream settlement of middle class they have supported the prepositions given in the existing theories and borrowed the argument that life in the slums has its own logics and dynamics. Chatterjee (2004) while making a distinction between population (urban poor) and citizens observes that:

“Population groups belonging to the urban poor could not be treated at par with proper citizens. If squatters were to be given any kind of legitimacy by government authorities in their illegal occupation of public or private lands, then the entire structure of legally held property would be threatened. Large sections of the urban poor could not be treated as legitimate citizens precisely because their habitation and livelihood were so often premised on a violation of the law.”

14 Slum dwellers are not treated as proper citizens. As the life in slum is different from the upper and middle class therefore, it is predictable that the meaning of politics in slum would also differ from the assumptions and theories of politics reproduced in mainstream politics. The uncertain and insecure local circumstances of social life in the slums play an important role in shaping politics in the slums. No doubt that governmental, electoral and clientelism concepts which are part of mainstream politics are inseparable part of slum politics but politics in slums consists of much more than this. As life in slum has its own parameters therefore it can be seen only from a different spectrum and vision.

Given the above mentioned context, present work put emphasis on the study of local notions to understand life and politics in slums of Chandigarh City. It presents the politics in slums differently from the mainstream politics of the planned city. This study not only focuses on electoral politics and the descriptive notion (i.e. images of formal policies, policy making meetings, political parties, citizenship rights and state institutions) of politics but also focuses on the internal notions of politics in slums. This study is an attempt to view political life of the slum people from the bottom. In order to understand and analyse the nature of politics in slum colonies this study stress

specifically on the pattern of electoral politics, politics of basic amenities (approaches or ways of slum dwellers to get access to their basic needs) and the local/community leadership (emergence and influence) within the slums of Chandigarh City.

Universe taken for the present study is the post-colonial urban city Chandigarh that came into inception in the aftermath of partition. While most of the studies on political life of slum dwellers in India have mainly focused their attention on old unplanned metropolitan cities but present study focuses on a new planned, medium sized modern city. In this aspect the study attempts to fill in the existing gap in the literature. Being a planned city, the city planners of Chandigarh never visualized slum localities in city. Slums in the Chandigarh are not much visible like slums in Mumbai, Pune, Delhi and Nasik as the slums are located at the outskirts of the city. But the ever increasing population and the various social and political activities in these peripheral spaces have received the attention of city administration, politicians and researchers.

The social and political history of ‘un-intended city’\textsuperscript{15} is almost as old as ‘intended city’. As Chandigarh is a completely planned city of modern India both the slums and planned city have evolved and grown together and both spaces have achieved their distinct social and political identities together. The workers who came to build the city have settled down in the ‘un-intended city’. As the city came into being and its middle-class residents started settling in, the migrant labourers in the slums played an important role in sustaining the daily life of the city’s middle classes. Thus the slums became an inevitable part of the “planned” city. The continuity of the construction activities in the city over a long period continued to attract labour forces and contributed to growth of slums.

The city as a ‘happening’ city is comparable to other cities like Bangalore, Pune, Hyderabad and Chennai among others which have witnessed rapid economic and demographic changes in the wake of liberalisation process. Master planners of Chandigarh City envisaged a model city, prosperous, hygienic and arranged in a systematic order but failed to appreciate that this construction could only be done by

\textsuperscript{15} Ashis Nandy defines unintended city as “the city that was never part of the formal ‘master plan’ but always implicit in it”. For details see Ashis Nandy, “Introduction: Indian Popular Cinema as the Slum’s Eye View of Politics” in Ashis Nandy, (eds.), \textit{The Secret Politics of Our Desires: Innocence, Culpability and Indian Popular Cinema} (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 2-3.
the labourers or working poor, for whom no provision had been made in the plans except thinking of a small segment in each new sector for the economically weaker sections. Thus the building of planned city was mirrored in the simultaneously mushrooming of un-planned city. The development of slums at the initial stage was not a violation of the plan; it was an essential though short term accompaniment to it. Presently, Chandigarh administration has decided to make city slum free very soon by relocating un-authorized houses. These slum colonies due to dependency on administration for their shelter facility and tenure (land) security are more vulnerable to political forces than intended city. These features make the task of exploring social, political and economic life of slums in centrally administered city like Chandigarh an interesting one. The ‘city beautiful’ cannot boast of being slum-free as the poverty is very much visible in the peripheries of city. According to 2011 census, slum households comprise of 9.7% of the total households of the urban areas in Chandigarh and the city has been categorised amongst the bottom five states reporting slum households. Although the slum population of city is less than big metropolitan cities yet this population plays a very significant role in city especially in its politics. Analysis of the results of the 2014 Lok Sabha elections in Chandigarh shows that the votes from the slum population constitute 32.23% of the total votes cast. Votes from the slums have always been decisive in Chandigarh’s electoral verdicts.16 Vote Bank politics is one of the reasons for proliferation and sustainment of slums. The administration keeps complaining against the politicians for encroachments because they find that offenders enjoy protection from the politicians. The political parties, on the other hand, asked the administration to nip encroachments in the bud. They keep blaming each other for the un-planned growth of the city. Political motive to keep slums in city is very clearly visible in Indian cities.

Introductory chapter gives a brief introduction of the background and the research; leading to the research problem. It also includes the identification of the research objectives and the corresponding research questions that needs to be

16 Khushboo Mahajan (2015) in her working paper “Analysis of Results of 2014 Lok Sabha Election in Chandigarh” which she has presented in Congress seminar has shown that 50.56% urban population has been voted in 2014 elections, 17.21% voted from rural area and 32.23% slum population voted in lok Sabha election.
answered and the significance of outcome of the study. The section also presents the scientific pillars pertinent to the research topic or the domain in which the study tries to attain the research objectives.

**Understanding the Concept**

In order to explore the political life in slums; it is imperative to understand meaning and various aspects of the term politics used in this study. Therefore, it is important to develop a sense of the term ‘Politics in Slums’ (this section gives a brief idea of the various aspects of ‘politics in slums’ which has been explained in detail in chapter two of the thesis). Definition of politics in slums in present study has been mainly drawn from larger works of Chatterjee (2004), Koster (2009) and others. Field visit also contribute a lot in the understanding of concept of politics in slums. Politics here is not only considered as the politics of the state apparatus and the government politics but it includes much more than this. The politics in slums has been seen as particular ways of doing and experiencing politics in the slums. The notion of politics in slums in this study involves itself simply in local issues. Among the different aspects of politics one of them is ‘electoral politics’ which is suggested in traditional political studies of slums as a study of politics. Individuals engaged in politics along with slum residents are local leaders/pradhans, officials and party workers. Politics of basic amenities which refers to the struggle and approaches of slum dwellers to fulfil their basic needs/services has also become an inevitable part of slum politics.

Politics in slums includes the collective actions of slum dwellers in making demands from the governmental institutions and administration, holding demonstration and rallies against the administration to voice their demands for the services. Access to urban amenities and political participation are seen as overlapping concerns in slums. Electoral politics which is an important part of politics in slums manifest it as an instrumental practice which is directly or indirectly related to votes or elections in slums. It includes processes like voting, participation in election rallies or campaigns and attending meetings etc. Electoral politics remains always there in the slums but it becomes more visible during the election time (Lok Sabha election and local Municipal Corporation (MC) election. Electoral politics in this study focuses more on individual relationship rather than political parties, party ideology
and agenda. Individuals engaged in politics in slums are the local leaders, slum dwellers, officials and party workers.

Along with the politics of basic amenities and electoral politics; local leader in slums are also seen as one of the important aspects to influence the politics in slums. Local/community leaders play a very significant role in politics in slums. Local leaders act as the mediators or agents between the slum dwellers and governmental institution. Local leaders are important political agents as they can influence the implementation of development or community participation schemes. Local leadership in this study has been seen as a specific form of the general concept of leadership. Local leadership in the slums is about community level or grassroots leadership. The local leaders are viewed as spokesperson of the poor and head of a grassroots organisation. Local leaders are envisaged as persons who have had a reputation in the slum community or persons who have a position in any of the community organizations such as residents association, formal *panchayat*, caste *panchayats* or local cell of a political party. Most Indian slum leaders play an important political role. “More often than not they are considered as the local and lowest level representatives of the various parties.”

Slum dwellers being on the margins socially as well as economically often do not directly contact the city authorities, government officials and high profile politicians. They seek help of an influential person to articulate their demands and needs. These are the informal leaders who are accessible to all slum dwellers. There are few important questions which need to be explored in the slums of the city while discussing community leadership. How community leaders have become leaders in the slums? What expectations do fellow slum dwellers have from them? Emergence and influence of local leadership in the slums need to be dealt with at length to understand politics in slums and the proposed study is a modest effort in this direction with focus on slums in the Chandigarh City.

**Significance and Scope of the Study**

Life in a slum is driven by a whole range of social, political and economic factors unique to it. Therefore, it is important to uncover the political and social life in the

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slums to know about the life in slums. Study on politics in slums appears as an instrument to explore the social, political and economic dynamics in slums, because slums are essentially a consequence of the politically determined access to resources on part of the marginal people. As Koster (2009) has shown that political potential of the margins of the political order have great ability to affect the ways in which the life in slums has been organised. Therefore this study is an attempt to explore the complexity of life in the slum through politics in slums.

There is plethora of literature and work on slums and slum dwellers in India. Poverty, housing facilities, human rights, immigration and socio-economic and cultural aspects of slums has engrossed the attention of many social scientists including the ones who have focused on Chandigarh City. However, theme of the politics in slums has failed to attract the attention of social scientists in India. And specifically in the context of slums of Chandigarh City studies related to political life of slum dwellers are negligible. One can find few studies related to the political aspects of slums in the cities other than Chandigarh. Most of these studies have mainly focused on the elections, political parties, political leaders and political culture of slum dwellers and policies and programmes of government to study politics in slums.

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18 As shown by Martijn Koster, *In Fear of Abandonment: Slum Life, Community Leaders and Politics in Recife, Brazil* (Netherlands: Wageningen University Press, 2009), P.16


Existing studies in anthropology and sociology have provided with the insight that the life in slum has its own logic and dynamics. Social scientists\textsuperscript{21} demonstrate that slum dwellers have their own ideas, ideals, attitude and practices which play a very significant role in every aspect of life. But the political and economic practices of slum dwellers however are constantly being neglected through dominant views on politics and the economy. The political and economic aspects in slums are not being seen with the ideals, attitude and practices espoused by the slums. Politics in slums are seen with the dominating notions of political aspects in democratic country. Therefore, it becomes important to study politics in slums with its own internal notions.

There has also been a strong ‘rural bias’ in developmental policy studies. Due to this, little quantitative data or evidence is available on the political aspects of the poor in the cities. Citizens living in poverty are perhaps, more directly affected by government policies than are members of other socio-economic strata\textsuperscript{22} as the allocation of public resources is essentially a political decision and is selectively targeted. But studies based on policy-making show a rural bias and sometimes biasness towards the planned city makes it important to identify which urban residents are being over-represented in political discourse in urban sphere.

In the past, there was hardly any consideration for the people living in slums, the squatter population, pavement dwellers. Most of them are without proper documents and were almost invisible on the radar of the governmental agencies. Today the notion of the urban poor including the ones living without shelter or in slums has changed. They are recognized as a vital section of the society as without them the cities will not function the way they do. They provide the required services and labour for essential activities to be carried out. The factor that has contributed to changing this notion is their growing number. As they form a considerable number of


\textsuperscript{22} As Lawless and Fox (2001) supported the concept that people living in poverty are more directly affected by policies of government and poor are dependent on the welfare policies of government. See Jennifer L. Lawless And R.L. Fox, “Political Participation of the Urban Poor,” \textit{Social Problems}, 48, 3(2001), pp. 362-385.
the population now, they have developed a sense of authority to demand for basic facilities of infrastructure like water and electricity. With time the administration of the city recognized the importance of the role played by the ‘urban poor’ in the city. But these people put up miles away from the city. With the passage of time it became clear that for the functioning of the city the ‘urban poor’ had to be considered as part of city. For this reason the slums were make part of the city administration and policies were made to answer to the basic needs of this section of the society. However they couldn’t be called the citizens of the city as they didn’t own any land.

By the 1990’s, the position of the ‘urban poor’ was strengthened owing largely to their number; as their votes could set up a government and their dissatisfaction could shake their roots. Therefore, the authorities couldn’t take them lightly and had to provide for their needs and satisfaction. The residents of slum settlements have now started striving for visibility than earlier. Ironically during the initial period of settlement invisibility was considered as beneficial. “During the earlier years of settlements invisibility was beneficial and thus welcomed by slum dwellers.”

However, now slum dwellers increasingly seek the attention of the government and policy makers. Without the much needed official document and living in unauthorised colonies they could easily be ousted. Their visibility can make them able to associate with allocation of funds, infrastructure and facilities. The widening and deepening of democracy in India has contributed to it as they have become politicised and aware of the value of their votes.

The political parties have started to recognize them in order to come to power by promising to fulfil their demands. Policies for rehabilitation and relocation are being formulated both at the national as well as local level all over India. In case of Chandigarh City it was the implementation of ‘National Slum Policy, 2001’ by the Union Territory (UT) administration which provided for the provision of the tenure and provision of basic services in slums. It advocated provision of minimum basic


24 According to Anna Zimmer the visibility, from residents’ perspective, is associated with allocation of funds, infrastructure and facilitie. Furthermore, knowledge of the population totals might help residents establish claims for more meaningful political participation as citizens. See Anna Zimmer, “Enumerating the Semi-Visible: The Politics of Regularizing Delhi’s Unauthorized Colonies”, Economic & Political Weekly xlvi (2012), P.90.
services for all households irrespective of land tenure or occupancy status. National Slum policy 2001 also advocated the granting of tenure on all government tenable lands, including resettlement or rehabilitated sites. Due to such kind of policies slum residents strived for more visibility. Further, importance is given to security of tenure by including it as one of the objectives of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). The emerging trend among slum dwellers to become visible socially and politically makes study of politics in slums inevitable and more important.

In planned city Chandigarh, more than one fifth of population resides in slums and other rehabilitated colonies. These migrant labourers residing in these colonies contribute largely to the city’s economy and growth as un-skilled, semi-skilled workers both in service as well as industrial sector. But in the absence of clear policy and programme to tackle the problems of the poor these migrants suffer from many inadequacies in terms of access to basic services, socio-economic needs. Labourers inhabiting in the jhuggies and squatters play very important role in the economy of the city by contributing their skills and labour to the development of city. Industries, factories, godowns and other working sectors need them as labourer, constructor and wanderers not only these sectors but middle upper class people want them for domestic works. Their inevitable need for the sustainable development of city makes them an important part of city. On the one hand this serving class is being accepted as part of city but on the other hand they are being rejected by the administration and people of city beautiful as un-wanted section. They are not provided with enough basic facilities and assistance in the city.

The increasing political importance of these settlements as some kind of a ‘vote banks’ for politicians also demands for the research in this particular sphere of slum settlements. Political parties have been taking more interest in influencing the

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25 JNNURM in its report shows that in Chandigarh, more than one fifth of population resides in slums, squatters and other rehabilitated colonies. These migrant labourers are making a great contribution to city’s economy and growth. 25 Slum Rehabilitation Detailed Project Report for Grant under JNNURM, CHB, Chandigarh 2006. Available at http://jnnurm.nic.in/chandigarh-reform.html (Accessed on 16th August 2014), p.54.

26 Joop de Wit in his study of Slums in Madras city demonstrate that the reason for the excessive interest of politician in slums and their inhabitants is because of the vote bank as one third of the Madras population lives there. In Madras the slum population is much more involved in politics than the non-slum middle or higher income groups. Joop de Wit, Poverty, Policy and Politics in Madras Slums: Dynamics of Survival, Gender and Leadership, (New Delhi: Thousand Oaks, 1996), p. 141.
voters in slums of urban areas realising the high level of electoral participation on the part of slum dwellers. Politicians always want to maximize their political support while expending minimal campaign funds and time and for that reason also slums draw their attention. According to Khushboo Sandhu (2009) the reasons for the haphazard growth vary from appeasement of the vote bank to a liberal rehabilitation policy. Encroachments are made by migrants easily because offenders enjoy protection from politicians. The politicians want to keep slums for a political motive is clearly visible to everyone.27 They are more interested to attract the voters in groups. They have been primarily interested in keeping slum dwellers as vote banks. Slum colonies have a sizeable population and the slum dwellers could find in groups easily. Their task is made easier if a party can get the backing of slum landlords or settlement leaders who are, in certain cases, leaders of factions of gangs.

Urban slums are having a great importance for politicians in electoral terms. The high-density slums with large population provide politicians with valuables votes.28 The illegal status of the slums made the inhabitants more vulnerable for demolition/basic services and marginalisation. Second part of Slum Census series, 2011 shows that states such as Gujarat, Assam and the U.T. of Chandigarh, which have the least proportion of slums in the country, have worse-off households in slums compared to other states. Overwhelming majority of slum households surveyed in Gujarat and Chandigarh have no exclusive room or only one room of their own.29 The illegal status of slum colonies made them more dependent on administration and political system to get services and resources in slums. Politicians attempts to take


28 Mitra and Edelman in their study shows that Political leaders are more interested to attract the voters in groups rather than individual voters, as groups help mobilization of the slum dwellers for political support during the political election. Political leaders have been primarily interested in keeping slum dwellers as vote banks. Slums of any city are having a great importance for politicians in electoral terms. The high-density slums with large population provide politicians with easy picks for votes. For details see Brent Edelman 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. 32. Wit has also shown that slum people are easily accessible to politicians as vote banks as they live closely together in easily identifiable areas and they have many unfulfilled needs. See Joop de Wit Poverty, Policy, and Politics in Madras Slums: Dynamics of Survival, Gender and Leadership (New Delhi: Thousand Oaks, 1996), p. 141.

advantage of this vulnerability of slum settlers and use them for electoral gains. The importance of slums as group voters seeks the attention on the political aspects.

Chandigarh is the one of its kind of first completely planned city of post colonial India which was considered as symbol of modernity and development. And now for some time administration has been taking concerted action to make the city as first slum free smart city\(^{30}\) in coming years with some rehabilitation scheme and demolitions of illegal Jhuggies.\(^ {31}\) Due to the special attention given to the slums in city by administration and government, it draws the attention of researchers and planners towards it. The process of demolitions of un-authorised jhuggis and rehabilitation of slum colonies acquire lots of political activities around it. These attribute make the study of slum settlements from political angle more imperative.

All grounds given here thus illustrate the importance of describing political life in slums of Chandigarh City and fill the remaining gap left by the earlier studies in describing slum politics. Therefore, it is very important to unfold the pattern and nature of politics in slums with its own internal notions and taking the views from the bottom. Specific study based on small scale field area could be proved very helpful to add some fine insights to the exiting knowledge on life in slums in Chandigarh City. Before figuring out the research problem and major objectives of study; it is significant to see the existing literature available on concerned topic.

**Review of Literature**

A careful survey of existing literature on slums in India clearly reveals certain gaps as far as the political life of slum dwellers is concerned. Most of the existing studies on the Indian slums predominantly focus on sociological issues, cultural aspects, policies

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\(^{30}\) When Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited to Chandigarh to inaugurate Rehabilitated Colony at Dhanas he has mentioned in his speech that “Chandigarh would be first to slum free city in the country”. For Details see IANS Chandigarh (September 14, 2013) available at http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/manmohan-singh-chandigarh-chandigarh-slum-free-slum-free-city/1/309817.html (Accessed on 20th April 2014). Also see Master Plan of 2031 which confirms the idea of the Rehabilitation project is to make Chandigarh slum-free. Chandigarh’s rehabilitation policy conforms with Government of India’s current vision of Rajiv Awas Yojana which aims at inclusive and equitable cities with every citizen having access to basic social and civic services. Master Plan 2031 available at http://chandigarh.gov.in/cmp2031/housing.pdf (Accessed on 25th June 2014), p.71.

\(^{31}\) Referring to the NDA’s Proposal to set up 100 smart cities in the country, Finance Minister Arun Jaitley said “the first Indian smart city to be created probably could be Chandigarh” for more details see http://www.mid-day.com/articles/chandigarh-may-be-indias-first-smart-city/15909166 (Accessed on 20th April 2014)
and processes of urban renewal or redevelopment, resettlement problems, rural urban migration, poverty and human rights, labour and informality and urbanisation and slum formation. There has been a dearth of literature in the field of politics in the urban slums in India. The study on the slums of Chandigarh City from the political aspect is almost missing in the existing literature only few studies are there on the political processes in slums of Indian city. Studies focusing on political aspects of slums attempts to understand politics in slums of city by explaining electoral participation, political parties, public policy formation and patron-client relationship in slums.

Slums of planned city Chandigarh have been abode for the poor migrants from various states. As such they have always drawn the attention of researchers, planners, administrators, various organisations and social activists. The vantage point of these persons/organisations to see the slums in city is quite different from each other. Among the social scientist sociologist, geographers and historians have been in the forefront of studying the slums. D’souza (1968), Paramjit Singh (1980), Balvinder Kaur Ghrewal (1982) and Rajesh Gill (1994) have focused primarily on sociological aspects of slums of Chandigarh City. Sociological studies of slums in India threw much light on the conditions of slums in Indian cities. Study of social aspects of slums by Joop De Wit, Weibe, Ratna Rao, and Tapan Kumar Majumdar mainly focused on social conditions of slum dwellers and made attempts to explain the life of slum dwellers at community level with various social categories. Ravi Kalia (1987), Norma Evenson (1966), Krishan Gopal (1970), Madhu Sarin (1975 and 1982), Maxwell Fry (1954 and 1955), Bindia Vimal (1994), Ravinder Kaur (2004) had studied Chandigarh City and its slums from the geographical point of view. They have mainly focused on the pattern of town planning, development of Chandigarh City and the architecture of

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planned city.\textsuperscript{33} Many historians like Rajeev Lochan, Chitleen K. Sethi, Meeta, Kavita Sharma (1999); Bhatnagar (1996) and Sukhdev Singh Chibber (1977) among others have brought out the historical perspective of the growth of slums as well as the planned sector of the city. These studies trace the history of growth and development of the city.\textsuperscript{34}

Post-colonial planned city of Chandigarh which never envisaged slums in its planning now has considerable literature on its slums. Diverse contribution has been made by social scientists, census department research institutions (Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development Centre, Institute for Development and Communication Development and NSSO) and Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation Government of India planning organisations like ‘Chandigarh Housing Board’, the documents ‘Chandigarh Master Plan 2031’, JNNURM and CDP. These agencies have played crucial role in highlighting the problems in slums and the strategies and programmes adopted by the government to help the slum residents. Social activist groups in Chandigarh like Ghar Adhikaar Sangarsh Morcha, Lok Awaaz and Students for Society and free-lance journalist also provide the radical dimensions of the slums in city. They seek sympathy from government and administration on the part of the slums. They also try to mobilise the slum dwellers to fight for their rights. Notably slums of city also found a space in regional (city specific) section of various newspapers like Chandigarh Tribune, Chandigarh Times


of India, Chandigarh Hindustan Times and Indian Express, which help the researcher to know the various activities taking place in slums of city.

Hence literature on the planned city of Chandigarh and its slums has flowed in from diverse directions. However, there is no previous academic literature available that focus on the politics of slums of Chandigarh City. Rarely a comprehensive view has been taken of the slums in context of political life in slums. The present study is a humble effort to fill this void. As the literature on political aspect of slums in Chandigarh City is not available therefore, present study reviews the works based on political aspects of slum dwellers/poor people/low income households/street dwellers in other parts of India and outside India.

Literature has been reviewed thematically in four sections. In the first section literature review throws light on the socio-economic status of slum dwellers and its impact on their political aspects. Second section of review focuses on the literature that deals with those works which refers to the attitude of urban poor towards political processes and the participation in politics. Third section of the review deals with the studies which see the politics as way and opportunity to access public services and establish connections in slums and outside slum world. The last section of the review consist the literature which deals with the role of local leaders on political life of slum community.

**Socio Economic Cleavages and Political Life in Slums**

Many sociologist and anthropologist who have studied social life in the Indian slums looked at social structure of slum as an important factor to shape the life in slums. They have portrayed the life of slum dweller as one veering around the social and economic structure they are residing. Existing literature shows that the major social and economic cleavages existing in slums have a significant effect on the political life of the slum dwellers. It is apparent from the existing studies that social structure of Indian slums is segregated on the basis of various socio-economic factors (caste, regional and religious backgrounds etc.) and the identity based groups/organisations play important role in slum community. Slums are considered heterogeneous in sociological terms, different castes, kinship and religious clusters inhabit in the
slums.\textsuperscript{35} As observed by Lynch (1974) in his study of slums in Bombay city, Adi-Dravidas in Bombay slums (an immigrant group) had different language customs and culture. Their ethnic identity in the slum becomes more relevant when there is a struggle for scarce resources. He further observed that slum dwellers express ethnicity directly through political organization rather than through apolitical organization in slums.\textsuperscript{36} Gooptu (2001) has suggested that the mode of mobilization of urban poor depends on the question of caste, religion and nation. The category ‘urban poor’ in turn was a far less cohesive character as social class. The urban poor are divided on lines of caste; occupation and religion frequently experience conflict among themselves as with their social and economic superiors.\textsuperscript{37} Scholars like Weibe (1975) and Majumdar (1982) in their studies have mentioned about the importance of organisations based on the ethnic identity (kinship, caste, religion and region of origin). Both of them find the existence of local informal associations considered as panchayats in slum settlements. Weibe (1975) in his study of Chennanagar slums of northern area of Madras explained the kinship, caste, religion and region of origin as the fundamental basis for social organization in the slums. For him these identity affiliations provide the building blocks for group and organizational activities among the poor. He has find many different types of associations in the slums of Chennanagar ranging from informal and traditional associations such as Panchayats and festival committees to formal political associations which are linked up to the regional or national political parties. But he writes that caste has little direct influence on the political processes of slums. Leadership is not correlated with caste and there is little evidence that any kind of political associations have emerged on the basis of caste. Political action in slum is by no means now a simple product of traditionally defined socio-religious groupings. \textsuperscript{38} Similarly Majumdar (1982) distinguishes

\textsuperscript{35} While studying the relationship between politics and the urban poor in developing nations Nelson in her study has argued that slum or squatter settlements are rarely homogenous communities. In addition to differences based on education, occupation and income they may be differentiated on the basis of language, religion, ethnicity and caste. For details see Jenice M. Nelson, \textit{Access to Power: Politics and the Urban Poor in Developing Nations}. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).


\textsuperscript{37} Nindini Gooptu, \textit{The Politics of the Urban Poor in Early Twentieth-Century India} (England: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

between associations in the slums on the basis of traditional identities (kinship, communal and regional ties) and those which cut across such affiliations, particularly in economic and occupational activities, education and other social services. According to him the most common and widespread type of local associations appear to be the *panchayats* based on a very small groups, such as neighbourhood or caste cluster within a slum and in such cases the composition of *panchayats* may vary according to the nature of problem which needs to be solved. Sometimes the caste *panchayats* are highly formalized and are based on caste network.  

Literature on this aspect contended that the social network based on kinship, caste, religion and region of origin are the fundamental basis for social organization in the slums and as such they provide the building blocks for group and organizational activities among the poor.

There are few set of literature which emphasised on the importance of ethnic and community based identity to provide help to slum dwellers in the absence of any other important/pivotal agency to provide help. Ethnic identity creates a bond among slum people. Organisations and associations target the slum dwellers along with the ethnic lines. Siddiqui (1969) in his study of slums in Calcutta city has argued that a major characteristic of the slums is that they resemble rural centres in an urban milieu. Slums provide entry points for immigrants to the city, and went on to duplicate the closeness and structuring of social life in the village, even reflecting the earlier occupational background of the dwellers. Despite the insanitary conditions and crowding in these *bustees*, life in them is generally well organized.  

Dhandave (1989) while articulating sociology of slums argues that slum dwellers identify themselves to one or the other caste or religion in the society. The caste institutions are the pivot around which the whole pattern of life of the slum dwellers is revolving. The slum dwellers are still not only identifying themselves to a particular caste or religious groups but are also controlled and guided by its principles.

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Banerjee and Bucci (1994) and Edleman and Mitra (2006) in their study on Delhi slums found that the slum dwellers accept the importance of the caste/religious/region based organizations in their life. Banerjee and Bucci (1994) argue that the lack of a rural-urban continuum makes it natural for migrants to form groups on the basis of caste, kinship and ethnicity bonds. The use of clientelist policies also targeted along ethnic lines may cause poor voters to value a politician's primordial identity over and above his other qualifications. They see that there is a reinforcement of association with political party and caste/religious organizations. Similarly Edleman and Mitra (2006) on the basis of field study in Delhi slum argued that the political parties often make an attempt to help migrants to cope with the challenges posed by a frequently un-welcoming urban environment by providing a link to caste, kinship and village compatriots. Politicians exploit caste, linguistic and religious division within slum communities to break larger and potentially more powerful, slum communities into smaller, more manageable entities. Koster (2009) in his work states that ethnicity plays an important role in providing resources to slum dwellers. Slum dwellers get political patronage on the basis of ethnic identity. Politicians in ethnically fragmented society might establish a patron-client relationship with co-ethnic groups to mobilize or reward their political support. Slum dwellers identify themselves to one or the other caste or religion in the society. The use of clientelist policies also targeted along ethnic lines may cause poor voters to value a politician's identity on ethnic basis over and above his other qualifications. There is a reinforcement of association with political party and caste/religious organizations. Ethnicity is a politicized phenomenon, used as a criterion of access to economic resources (land) and also to political power in slums.

One class of literature that has grown in this respect emphasise on economic status of urban poor as an important factor in deciding political attitude of urban poor. Therefore, it becomes very important to see the impact of social and economic

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attributes of urban poor and slum dwellers on different political aspects and social life in slums.

Dafe (2009) in his study of the slums of Nairobi identifies class in slums as more important than the ethnicity in explaining political economy of slums. Even in a context of heightened politicized ethnicity elite bias will probably remain a key driver of the persistence of slum political economy. Similarly Gill (1994) in her study of slums in Chandigarh City has given importance to economic factor, by showing that economic factors play a vital role in the adjustment of rural migrants into the urban slums. The satisfaction with urban life, level of alienation, rural linkages and integration with the urban community tend to be largely influenced by economic status. Slums may be an area of hope for some and area of despair for the rest, depending upon economic status. While explaining the satisfaction level with urban life she has founded that economic factors have great impact over political and social aspects of slum dwellers. There is a study by Lawless and Fox (2001) which explains about the degrees of economic hardship to show as to how the economic factors affect the extent of political participation of the people living in poverty. Urban poverty affects the willingness to participate in the political system. Material resources and the demographic attributes usually associated with the tendency to get involved with political activism among poor people.

There are authors who believed that bad economic conditions of urban poor limit the political activism and their active involvement. Palshikar and Kumar (2004) in their article “Participatory Norm: How Broad Based Is It?” highlight the fact that active participants in political activities are still mostly from the more privileged sections of society, with education and class being the determining factors. Dalits, Adivasis, women and the poor still remain largely at the periphery. Thus, participation of more people in politics, as evidenced in recent elections, does not automatically ensure the entry of the less privileged sections into the political process.

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(2002) in his study of Zambia slums finds that economic trends helped shaping the patterns of political participation. Amidst conditions of high poverty, economic circumstances may hinder or dissuade people from participating in the political process. According to him poverty might influence the level of participation by two means. The first is through a lack of resources, while the second is through a heightened sensitivity to non-performance. Poverty does not directly affect the political participation but poverty undermines participation.\textsuperscript{49} Kumar (2009) argues that the churning of the late 1980’s and early 1990s in electoral terms brought more poor into the political arena, but in the later period, this advantage was perceptible neutralized. The post-1998 elections saw upper and the middle class voter turnouts going up and there was a decline in enthusiasm for voting among the lower class voters. The participation of socially un-privileged section has reached to the point of saturation in contemporary period.\textsuperscript{50}

Above studies shows that economic conditions do affect the political behaviour of urban poor in cities. Economic adversity results in a marked tendency of citizens to abstain from the polls and studies cite a strong link between the likelihood of protest and economic dissatisfaction.

Few studies deny that poorer conditions of urban poor impact the political behaviour of slum residents. According to Gay (1994) the effects of contextual poverty on the political behaviour of the poor indicates that living in areas of concentrated poverty does not depress electoral participation among the poor. Rather, the social experience of being poor in a low-poverty community may have detrimental effects for voter participation.\textsuperscript{51} Yadav in his study has referred to “Second-Democratic Upsurge” in India which shows that the social composition of voters has changed dramatically in the period of 1990’s. The underprivileged and downtrodden have shown greater participation than the socially and economically privileged.


classes. Krishna (2008) has provided with the robust empirical evidences from the three countries Africa, Latin America and South Asia that poor people do not value democracy any less than their richer counterparts. Their faith in democracy is as high as other citizens, and they participate in democratic activities no less than other citizens. Neither participation nor faith in democracy suffers on account on individual poverty. Although wealth is not in the most part related to political values and political behaviours, education and information is strongly and commonly associated with increased support and enhanced participation.

This part of literature review demonstrated about the social structure and network of people of lower social and economic status. Various studies show that slums/urban poor areas are heterogenous in nature. Ethnic and community identity based organisations exist in slums and this organisation play important role in shaping political aspects in urban low income areas. Review also presents that few authors believe that those who live in poor economic condition are characterised by disorganisation and have low political and social aspiration. While some others accepts that life in slums are organised and slums are not an area of despair but an area of hope in economic sense which is favourable for political activities.

**Political Attitude in Slums of Urban City**

Involvement of urban poor in political process could be estimated by learning about their involvement in various political processes, such as, their role during elections, their interest in politics, political awareness, political mobilization and people’s degree of involvement in the working of various political and other organizations. Existing literature presents two different views (politically apathetic and politically pathetic) regarding the political activities of the urban poor. Participation of slum dwellers in institutional and organisational activities other than political has also been seen as an important characteristic of political activities in slums.

There are authors who have focused on the apathetic attitude of urban poor/slum dwellers towards politics and social organizations. They have considered

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urban poor people as disoriented towards political activity and not interested in having membership of any institution. According to them, slum dwellers have little interest in politics and little awareness of the political events. Abram (1964) in his study argues that slum dwellers are alienated from social, cultural, economic and political aspects of the city due to their non participation. Similarly Lewis (1965) also observes that people in slums are trapped in a social environment of poverty. They are characterized by apathy, fatalism, lack of aspirations, exclusive concern with immediate gratifications, and frequent endorsement of delinquent behaviour. There is a lack of participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of the larger society. Slum dwellers are not members of trade unions and political parties and have a mistrust of existing government. Lewis characterises the poor as having a high potential for protest and for being often used in political movements aimed at upsetting the existing political order. Perlman (1976) has also supported the theory of marginality which holds that slum dwellers have little interest in politics, little awareness of political events and lacking in terms of internal political organization. Chaudhri (2005) in her work on Calcutta (Kolkata) has observed that migrant slum dwellers have some cognition about the political system and role of incumbents in legislative assembly but they have little effective and evaluative orientation towards the existing political system. During her field study slum dwellers also revealed a sense of frustration among them about the performance of political parties, trade unions and state legislature. She has regarded individual bustee dwellers as politically apathetic and being passive participants. This predicts that poor people living in the periphery rarely participate in electoral politics. They avoid direct political actions. Slum dwellers are thus held as politically apathetic.

However, this argument does not find favour from most of the studies done on this theme. There are many studies which do not regard the slum dwellers as politically apathetic. The running argument in these studies has been that urban

poor/slum dwellers do make participation in political and other associational activities and they are politically conscious, efficient and aware about the politics. Desai and Pillai (1972) pointed out that slum dwellers are not immobile, inert and passive. Slum dwellers do not lack politicization; they are politically aware. Supporting the argument of Desai and Pillai; Nelson (1979) in her study of developing countries argues that urban poor are not politically apathetic. She suggests that the conditions and characteristics common to the urban poor are more powerful determinants of their political behaviour than the differences in their circumstances and outlooks. She finds that the political responses developed by the poor to struggle for their own interests in the face of these difficulties vary markedly according to the specific political, economic, and social contexts in which they are found. Nelson shows that the urban poor are not a class apart, but are closely linked to and interact with other strata of society. The urban poor are neither politically passive nor fatalistic. They are generally not politically marginal as often depicted.

While reviewing the attitude of slum dwellers towards political activities many authors have also considered the involvement of the slum dwellers in informal activities as part of politics. These authors have thrown light on the participation of urban poor in activities like self-help programmes, participation in protests or demonstration and participation in various organisations as part of political activities. Weibe (1975) in his study of slums in Madras City brought out the fact that the slum dwellers had access to local level political organization and the slum dwellers include the membership of these organisations. These organizations (Manrams) have become platforms where people make demands, determine their leadership, find their interests articulated and represented to “outside” political figures. According to Majumdar (1982) a majority of those living in the slum settlements identified themselves with some local community. He demonstrates that many people in slums participate in the self-help programmes and make collective demand making for assistance from the public authorities or other external organizations. The low income migrant choice of demand making focuses on the priorities attached to the different needs for community improvements. Those who are involved in demand making are those who

frequently participate in community self-help. Dietz (1998) while studying the urban poor in Lima during the period of 1970-1990 mentions about the level of participation in formal (voting) and informal political activities. Dietz shows that poor have more commitment to informal neighbourhood activities and shows a persistent dissatisfaction with the performance of political parties. He infers that there exists a lack of engagement between Peru's poor and the nation's formal political structures and institutions. His research explains that the poor gain more from direct action than from voting. It does not replace informal participation in any capacity. One can assume clearly from the existing literature that political attitude of slum dwellers and urban poor is not created and shaped by any one factor but it is result of various aspects.

**Politics as Way to Access Basic Services in Slums**

There is a group of researchers who have studied politics as opportunity to access public services and establish connections in slums and outside slum world. According to Edelman and Mitra (2006) political contacts are an important channel/way for slum community to fulfil their needs and services. Slum dwellers lack social network and therefore rely heavily on political networks. They find out that political contacts help slum residents to establish connection outside world to fulfil the demand for services in slum settlements. Banks (2006) while explaining the extent of political participation of the urban poor in Dhaka City shows that slum dwellers identify several actors whom they look to for assistance. These actors can be political channels, including slum leaders, landlords and Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Slum dwellers are politically aware and tend to vote with regard to the

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performance of government. They provide political support to that agency which helps to get services.\textsuperscript{61}

Gooptu (2007) in her study has shown that un-availability of various resources to urban poor is not economic concern but for them it is political concern that government is failing to provide public services and economic opportunity to them. According to Gooptu labouring poor interpret their experience of unemployment not primarily as an economic phenomenon, but as a political crisis involving the betrayal of the working classes. This perception has led the poor to abandon political activism, to condemn democratic politics as un-representative, and to confine their engagement with institutional politics merely to extract patronage based benefits.

Wit and Berner (2009) in their study provides this concept a strong empirical support and make an argument that the urban poor often prefer to rely on vertical patronage (such as relatives or political intermediaries) to safeguard livelihoods and obtain access to persons, basic services and institutions of value to them. They are not ‘naturally’ inclined to engage in horizontal organizations or get involved in collective actions. Slum residents mainly go for using an intermediary or broker to increase the chance of obtaining a service or gaining protection against a threat (gaining needs and services such as shelter, jobs, credit, etc.). The poor usually have more faith in contacting intermediaries and politicians than in organizing rallies to voice their demands or collective projects to meet their needs.\textsuperscript{62} Similar kind of inference is shown by Koster (2009) in his work on slums in Brazil. He states that electoral politics in slums are based on needs and aspirations of slum dwellers. He has shown that slum politics is grounded in slum dwellers’ particular needs and aspirations, which emerge in the precarious and provisional life in the slum.\textsuperscript{63}

Existing literature on this very theme shows that many authors suggest that achievement of services and needs in slums are inevitable aspect of slum politics.

\textsuperscript{61} Nicola Banks “A Tale of Two Wards: Political Participation and the Urban Poor in Dhaka City”. Centre for Governance Studies BRAC University (Working paper, 2006), pp. 1-35.


\textsuperscript{63} Martijn, Koster, In Fear of Abandonment: Slum Life, Community Leaders and Politics in Recife, Brazil (Netherlands: Wageningen University, 2009).
Studies show that politics in slum is an important opportunity to get the benefits from various agencies and institution.

**Role of Local Leaders in Slum Politics**

Anthropological, Sociological and Political Science literature that deals with the life in Indian slums has described the figure of the community leaders in a cursory manner. Authors who studied leadership in slums and low income communities have viewed the local leaders in these communities as an important person who plays important role in political life of slums.

Some authors acknowledged the community leaders at slums as mediators and lowest level representatives of political parties. Slum leaders belonging to any political party plays crucial role in politics in slums. Lynch (1974) while studying Bombay slums recognized that leaders do fulfil important functions for the urban poor, lessening their isolation and marginality. Lower class people access to strategic resources through political channels rather than other channels. The system is such that politicians need support and bargain for it through promise of patronage and favours. The relationship between the slum leaders and the local party and faction bosses is based on reciprocity without the essential services of the slum the foundation of political structure would be in danger.64

Weibe (1975) in his sociological work has also pointed out that most Indian slum leaders play an important role. More often than not they are local and lowest level representatives of the various parties. Hence they are often instrumental in canvassing votes for political parties while linking local areas to the higher political arenas of the state. Slum people always seek patronage whenever they can find it through local leaders and outside contacts. *Panchayats* in the slums of Madras City are replaced by a *Manram* (group). These associations have been formed for the purpose of securing basic amenities for their members. No *Manram* has any direct political association, but in fact, each is identified with a particular party and almost

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all of their active members are active party members as well. These associations provide basic amenities to the members.\textsuperscript{65}

Ward and Chant (1987) in their work have recognized that local slum leaders are mediators between local residents and supra-local institutions, whether they governmental political or private. Local leaders are important political agents and influence the implementation of development or community participation schemes. Their activities may or may not contribute to an improved position for the urban poor.\textsuperscript{66} Wit (1996) has also emphasised on the patronage role of leaders in slums. His study of slums in Madras focuses on the role of the slum leaders belonging to different political parties and make argument that politics plays a crucial role in the implementation of various policies and on the lifestyle of slum areas. Political leaders act as brokers between slum-dwellers and the authorities, solving some of the slum dwellers access problems. The relationship between the rich and the poor is defined by the role of the mediators and the slum-leaders who are generally involved with different political parties. Slum leaders are the local representatives of the political parties, leading local slum organizations. They link slums to the wider urban institutional and political arenas. These linkages often lead to some kind of a patron-client relationship between leaders and residents of slums.

Jha, Rao and Woolcock (2007) revealed in their study that slum leaders play a central role as intermediaries with the formal authorities. Informal leaders are accessible to all slum dwellers. They have found that slum dwellers have access to contacts which encompass both traditional leaders and tiers of formal government. These contacts may provide alternative channels, with informal provision of services substituting for formal government, or they may interact with informal leaders facilitating access to formal leadership. Informal leaders are accessible to all slum dwellers, but formal government figures are most accessed by the wealthy and the well connected.\textsuperscript{67}

Bipasha Baruah in her study of ‘Women and Property in Urban India’ argued that slum dwellers or poor seek out the support of local political leader who can act on their behalf to secure stay orders from courts and to organize protests, demonstration and other visible newsworthy events to derail any plans for displacement. In addition to support from local politicians there is a growing and influential lobby against eviction as well as media and judiciary support for the right of squatters as citizens.\textsuperscript{68} According to Gooptu (1990) local politicians on their part have however been found institutional arena of service oriented relationship particularly useful for mobilizing the poor for electoral politics. According to her poor people see party politics as a resource in everyday problem solving in the locality and a bargaining counter to secure their individual or collective interest in return for electoral support. According to Gooptu political relation of slum dwellers with their local representative and politicians in multiple fragmented and localized arenas has increased the dependence of the poor on local leaders and politicians. Leaders mediate in nearly all matters involving the government. For e.g. getting a license, identity card, or a ration card, dealing with the police in case of arrest of sins, getting welfare, housing or other public scheme benefits. In addition slum leaders also arbitrate in private conflicts. Most slum leaders are political agents representing political agents representing a political party and more often than not they are instrumental in canvassing votes for their party. It is not motivated by ideological or traditional loyalty but by political cost benefit analysis largely based on self interest.\textsuperscript{69}

Academicians have thrown some light on the capabilities/capacities of local leaders in slums to become pradhan at slums. Many studies find out that community leaders are mainly drawn on the basis of better income, education and their ability to get things done. Caste, community and kinship ties are along with income and education also play an important role in framing the local leadership in slums. Various virtues like income, education, occupation, staying period, regional affinities, caste and communal identity plays very important role in shaping the local leadership pattern in slum community. Siddiqui (1969) in his study has demonstrated that slum

\textsuperscript{68} Bipasha Baruah, \textit{Women and Property in Urban India} (The University of British Columbia:UBC Press:2010), p. 114

\textsuperscript{69} Nandini Gooptu, \textit{The Politics of the Urban Poor in Early Twentieth-Century India} (England: Cambridge University Press, 2001) , p.47
leadership comes mainly from the hut owner and well to do businessman in the slums along with a few educated persons. These are the individuals who wield the greatest economic and political power in the slums. Newer and ethnically diverse slums depend on informal leaders who gain their authority through political connections, education, and network entrepreneurship. Education and political affiliation are more important than seniority in determining a leader’s influence. Similarly Singh and D’Souza (1980) claim that local leaders are the individuals who wield the greatest economic and political power in the slums. According to Majumdar (1983) grassroots leaders in Delhi slums are drawn from the different kin-cum-caste or village based social groups whose members reside together in compact areas in the various bastis such leaders draw their strength from traditional mutual bonds that exist between them and other members of the groups. He identifies two kinds of community leaders in slums one is grass root leaders who come from different caste and religion. Another type consists of those leaders who become leaders because of the large number of their particular caste or regional groups. If leadership draws from caste it is always on the basis of numerical strength of caste. Leaders have been made leaders because of the large number of their particular caste or regional groups. This kind of leadership found at the level of large groupings of single caste, religious or regional groupings.

Paramjit Singh (1980) in his study of protest among slum dwellers in Chandigarh claims that party leaders appropriate caste/communal identities at various levels for mobilization purposes. A politicized caste with the numerical strength has great ability to mobilize other caste group within a slum. The use of clientelism also targeted along ethnic lines may cause poor voters to value a politician’s primordial identity over and above his other qualifications. Weibe (1975) has find out that many factors involved in the selection of the candidates in the area e.g. income,

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occupation (a person with a good income has clear advantage), gender, party affiliation is important and the successful candidate must demonstrate an ability to get things done. He may do these things simply in relation to the contacts he has with important people.\textsuperscript{74} Jha, Rao and Woolcock (2007) in their study of slums in Delhi find out that newer and ethnically diverse slums depend on informal leaders who gain their authority through political connections, education, and network entrepreneurship. Education and existing political affiliation are the main characteristics that drive a pradhans ability to manipulate government networks. Access to sources of authority like politicians, bureaucrats and police officers depends on the elite leaders.\textsuperscript{75}

Review presents with the inferences that local leaders in slums are acted as mediator and agents between slum dwellers and governmental institution and authority. They have acted as patrons sometimes. Slum dwellers provided help to get basic amenities in slums. Leadership drawn in slums are dependent on the various factors like income, education, regional affinity, caste and capability to bring benefits for community.

**Gaps in Existing Literature**

A large amount of existing literature on Indian slum life has been illustrated only about social, cultural and economic life of slum dwellers. There are only few studies in slums which focus on the political life in urban slums. Significant studies on political life of slum dwellers are done by the authors like Weibe (1975), Pushpa Agnihotri (1994), Desai and Pillai (1972), Partha Chatterjee (2004), Chaudhri, S. (2005), T. K. Majumdar (1983) and Joop De Wit (1985) among others. These authors have focused on the study of political parties, leaders, elections and voting pattern. These studies on slums have focused on external notions of politics.

Notions like electoral politics, public policies, political parties and state agencies have been used to study politics in slums. Lesser attention however, has been

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paid to explain the politics in slums with its own parameters and logics present within the slums. However, a study which could analyze the slum life with vantage point of politics is yet to be undertaken in slums of Chandigarh City. Very few studies on politics of slum settlements are available in India.

Existing literature on leadership patterns in slums has viewed leaders (pradhans) in slums as mediators and agents between slum dwellers and government institutions. There are few studies however, which focus on the qualities of local pradhans in slums. Only a few academicians like Koster (2009), Joop De Wit (1985, 1996 and 2009), Auyero (1999 and 2000), Jha, Rao, and Woolcock (2007) and Majumdar (1978) have made an attempt to explain the local leadership in slums. In-depth study on the emergence and influence of local leaders/pradhans in slum has been lacking in Indian context. How community leaders become leaders? How dwellers who receive favours, goods, and services from patrons in slums think and feel about these exchanges and how do they evaluate the leader’s activities have not given proper attention by authors. Structure of local leadership in slums needs an extensive study.

Slums in Chandigarh City have been studies from the sociological and economic perspectives. Political life of slum dwellers in city has not been studied by anyone. This study would make an effort to fill in some of the above gaps while focusing on politics in urban slums in Chandigarh. The existing gaps in literature justifies why it is important to make further study on this particular topic which has earlier been studied by various authors in various slum areas of the world.

Research Problem

A review of relevant literature and gaps existing in reviewed works clearly indicates that there are still many questions related to the political and social life in slums which have remained un-explored. Slum dwellers living in urban cities are considered different from middle and upper class people in physical, social, and political-economic aspects. And life in the slum has been characterised with its own logics and dynamics. As life in slums is fundamentally different from middle or upper class

life, similarly the meaning of politics in slums differs from the middle and upper class due to the marginalisation of political and economic order. The marginalisation and the difference of slum dwellers from mainstream politics put political life in slums into a different category of politics. It becomes important to see politics in slums to see with its own dimensions and logics. Due to the social and economic difference study of external notions like public policies, good governance, budgets, and issues of citizenship, political parties, governmental institutions and electoral politics are not enough to understand politics in slums by many social scientists. Therefore, it becomes important to view slum politics with the notions which provide an approach to look slums politics with its own parameters.

Considering the background knowledge and information this study raises few questions which need to be answered to understand politics in slums like; what form of politics do poor people engage in? How politics in slums demonstrate particular ways of doing and experiencing politics in slums. Through which channels or ways slum dwellers manage to have access to the basic needs/services? Who do slum dwellers approach to solve their day to day problems? How do slum dwellers connect to world outside slums? And how does local leadership influence politics in slums?

All these small questions are assembled into an all encompassing research question in the present study:

**Major Research Question**

- What is the nature of politics in slums of Chandigarh City?

**Related Research Questions**

- In what forms of politics do slum people get engaged in?
- How does the need of basic amenities/services impacts the politics in slums of Chandigarh City?
- What are the channels adopted by slum dwellers to have access to the basic amenities and services in slums?

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• How existences of particular local leadership (i.e. pradhans) pattern contribute in shaping the nature of politics in slums?
• What are the characteristics of local leadership in the slums of Chandigarh City?
• What kind of pattern of electoral choices characterise the politics in slums of Chandigarh City

Objectives of the Study

• The major objective of the study is to find out the nature of politics taking shape in slums of Chandigarh City, with larger focus on electoral politics.

• To explain the politics playing around the availability of basic amenities/services in slums. To see the kind of politics happening aimed at getting access to the basic amenities/services in slums present study focuses on the various practices and approaches adopted by the slum dwellers. Process of establishing connections with various channels to get the basic services in slums is also the focus of this study.

• To understand the nature of local leadership in the context of slums of Chandigarh City. For this purpose present study concentrates on the common/basic characteristics of local leadership in slums of India, emergence of local leadership, reputation and influence of local/community leaders among slum residents and ability of leaders to provide help to slum dwellers.

• Final objective of the study is to explain and analyse the pattern of electoral politics in slums of Chandigarh City. In order to explain the nature of electoral politics in slums present study focuses on participation of slum dwellers in election rallies/campaign and demonstration, electoral choices of slum dwellers, factors impacting electoral choices of slum dwellers and existence and nature of patron-client relationship.

Research Design

The choice of the method for comprehending and interpreting a research problem is dictated by the nature of the problems and the objectives of the study. The present study is based on both primary and secondary sources of data collection. Secondary data in this study is used to have the conceptual understanding of the wider area of
politics and local leadership in slums. Secondary sources relevant for the study referred in the form of books, working papers, journal articles and reports. The study relies heavily on primary sources to substantiate its argument. Primary source is based on an intensive field study conducted in selected slums of Chandigarh scattered in its different parts.

The primary data is generated by using mixed method (a mix of quantitative and qualitative method). Semi-structured questionnaire has been used to collect relevant information. The face to face interviews were conducted with sample respondents to collect information regarding study. To get views from the slums residents, the personal in-depth interviews, focus groups discussion and interactive methods were followed. For the purpose of accuracy it was decided to go for voice recording of interviewees (only done with their knowledge and authorization to avoid ethical dilemmas). The questionnaire consisted questions set under four parts. Case studies of local leaders have been taken up for in-depth study of slums level leadership model in slums. Along with them, researcher interviewed the Ward Councillors, State Party Presidents of all the political parties, academicians, journalists, social activist of Ghar Adhikaar Sangrash Morcha and Society for Students (SFS) and the experts working on Chandigarh slums to get their views on slums.  

Sampling

For the field study, four un-authorised slum settlements were selected on the basis of their geographical location (the sample scattered in different direction of city) and population size (most populated slums have been selected). Un-authorised/squatter settlement colonies selected for the field study were Nehru Colony (Sector- 52), Political leaders of Chandigarh UT like Satya Pal Jain and Harmohan Dhawan of BJP, Manjeet Singh (spokesperson of AAP party), Akali Dal leaders and state party presidents working in the city politics. Some of the experts on slum studies Bindu Duggal (CRRID), Manoj Kumar Teoita (CRRID), Kanchan Chander (Centre for the study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive policy, PU Chandigarh), Navprit Kaur, Journalist Daljit Amy and Hamir Singh ( Chief Editor of Punjabi section at The Tribune, Chandigarh) enlightened me with their expert ideas various aspects of slum life.  

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77 Political leaders of Chandigarh UT like Satya Pal Jain and Harmohan Dhawan of BJP, Manjeet Singh (spokesperson of AAP party), Akali Dal leaders and state party presidents working in the city politics. Some of the experts on slum studies Bindu Duggal (CRRID), Manoj Kumar Teoita (CRRID), Kanchan Chander (Centre for the study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive policy, PU Chandigarh), Navprit Kaur, Journalist Daljit Amy and Hamir Singh ( Chief Editor of Punjabi section at The Tribune, Chandigarh) enlightened me with their expert ideas various aspects of slum life.

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Madrasi Colony (Sector-26)\textsuperscript{79}, Labour Colony Number-4 (Industrial Area Phase-1) and Slum Colonies, Sector-25 (Janta & Labour Colony). Field visits to the selected slum settlements were done in four different phases. First time field was visited in the April, 2011 while commencing the present research. This pre-field visit helped researcher to get acquainted with the life in slums and come up with the relevant research question. In the first phase field was visited in the month of January to April 2013 with semi-structured questionnaire, in second phase field was visited during the month of Lok Sabha election (April 2014) to see the scenario of elections. Researcher also visited polling booths at Government Model High School, Sector-25 and Government Primary School, Sector-26, on the day of election 10th April 2014. In the third phase (May-June 2014) two colonies (Madrasi and Nehru Colonies) were visited again when notice for demolition had been issued by the U.T. administration for demolition of Madrasi and Nehru Colonies. These two slums were also visited after their demolition too. The purpose was to know the impact of demolition activities on slums. In the last phase researcher interviewed the city based politicians, academicians, social workers, researchers associated with the life of slums in the city.

After the selection of the settlements, every 10\textsuperscript{th} household from slums was visited on the basis of random sampling. Respondents were interviewed from these selected households. Male and female respondents were selected according to proportion of their population in slum colonies. From four un-authorised slum settlements total 200 respondents (50 from each location) were selected for the interview. To collect data from the residents of all four slum colonies, semi structured questionnaire was used for conducting face to face interviews. Semi-structured questionnaire was prepared on the basis of pilot study observation and findings. Interview were aimed to collect information on practices and approaches of slum dwellers to access their basic needs, nature of local leadership, pattern of electoral participation and background information of slum dwellers. Most of the questions were kept open-ended for the residents. Focus group discussions were done with the slum residents where discussion took place on the issues like eviction/demolition and basic public services. Focus group discussions were also used to observe the views of

\textsuperscript{79} This slum was demolished completely in May 10, 2014 in the second phase of demolition.
slum residents during 2014 Lok Sabha election and to capture the picture after the
demolition of slums in their localities.

All the four phases of field work involving interviews and group
discussions/interactions was conducted in Hindi and the best effort was put in to
accurately translate the interviewees’ answers and comments. However, some terms
may not be fully represented in the English information processing. I got an added
advantage in the fact that the respondents were cooperative and helpful. Individual
respondent spent almost 25 to 30 minutes with me. They readily agreed to talk about
various problems they were facing in the slums. Focus group discussions and
conversation of 8 to 10 persons in slums proved very helpful to throw light on the
election related activities during 2014 Lok Sabha election. When demolition drive
was taken for various slums after that researcher had focused group discussion with
persons which helped researcher to understand about the grievances of slum dwellers.
Not only slum residents, even slum leaders also spared their precious time for in-
depth conversation with the researcher despite knowing that being a mere researcher,
researcher could not offer any help to them.

Structure of the Thesis

Present study has been broadly structured into four chapters. Introductory chapter
provides the background for the detailed analysis that follows. This chapter focus on
the research questions raised by the researcher for the thesis work, objectives of the
study, significance of the study and research design. Introductory chapter also deals
with the existing relevant literature and come up with the gaps to formulate the
research problems and objectives of the study. Lastly introductory chapter tells about
the organization of study that how study will progress.

Following the introductory chapter; we have second chapter entitled
“Understanding of Politics in Slums: A Theoretical Framework” intended to explicate
the meaning of politics in slums and to provide the larger theoretical framework for
concerned study. It also provides the research context and theoretical background for
the study. This chapter involves itself in the critical understanding of politics in slums
by focusing on earlier studies on concerned study. It also defines all the concepts or
terms which are being taken as aspects of the politics in slums.

Third chapter is entitled “Genesis and Proliferation of Slums in Chandigarh
City” throws light on the origin and growth of slums in planned city. This chapter
based primarily on secondary literature attempts to trace the history of origin of slums
in city from the period of its inception. First section of chapter gives an overview of
rapid urbanization and formation of slums. After having a broader overview on
urbanization and slums the urbanization trend in Chandigarh City specifically has
been studied. This chapter explains about the growth and proliferation of slums from
its inception to present scenario of demolition and process of rehabilitation.

Chapter four captioned “Voices from the Field: Study of Slums in Chandigarh
City” is based on the inferences drawn from the detailed interviews with slum
residents and local leaders and the participant’s observations to know the nature of
politics in the slums of Chandigarh City. Field study based findings and narratives are
used to answer the questions raised in this research. In the beginning all the four
sampled slums have been introduced in brief manner. This section provides the basic
socio-economic information of slum residents collected for the present study. The
facts regarding the slum respondents have been complied on the basis of primary and
secondary sources in this part. Capturing the voices of the slum residents directly
from the field has been divided into three major parts.

First part is about politics of basic amenities entitled as “Voices from the Field :
Politics of Basic Amenities in Slums”. This part mainly deals with the accessibility
of various services/needs in slums and the adoption of channels or ways through
which slum dwellers access their basic services and goods and establish connection
outside the slum world to get basic services. Collective actions of slum residents to
solve the community problems are also seen as an important part to explain the
politics of basic amenities.

The second part of field visit entitled “Voices from the Field: Nature of Local
Leadership in Chandigarh Slums” attempts to explore the pattern of local leadership
functioning in slums of Chandigarh City. It primarily focuses on emergence and
influence of local leaders among slums dwellers. In order to explain the emergence of
local leadership in slums history of leader’s emergence has been captured by taking
in-depth interviews of local/community leader where they have provided the information of emerging as leaders. People’s perception and the socio-economic characteristics of slum leaders also throw some light on the nature of existing local leadership in slums. Influence of local leaders has been measured by their ability to provide basic amenities and services to the slum dwellers and the mobilisation ability of local leaders.

The last chapter of field visit titled “Voices from the Field: Electoral Politics in Slums of Chandigarh City” has focused on the nature of electoral politics taking shape in slums by looking at their voting behaviour, participation in various political activities and patron-client relationship in slums. This section largely focuses on participation of slum dwellers in political activities, voting pattern of slum dwellers in Lok Sabha and Municipal Corporation elections, political interest of slum dwellers and patron-client relationship in slums.

The concluding chapter summarizes the arguments presented in the thesis along with the limitations of the study and also refers to future area of research in the study of slums to enrich the existing knowledge.