Kanjurmarg: Making resettlement history
a Venture of the alliance of SPARC Mahila Milan and NSDF
The residents of Railway slums.

How communities work out options for their own resettlement and redevelopment...

This is a story about the settlements along the railway tracks between Ghatkopar and Bhandup. These communities came to live here around 30 years ago. At that time, the area surrounding the tracks consisted of derelict land, clogged with dirt and water. Each new family cleared up their area, marked out their own territory and set up their houses. Some of these houses have unauthorized water and electrical connections and the municipality has provided the slums with toilets. Since the last 5 years, demolitions have been taking place as the Railway Authorities want their land back. Despite the frequent demolitions and the expenses involved in re-building the huts, the residents of the slums are unwilling to move elsewhere.

The 6th Corridor - the process begins

The Railways want to add 2 new tracks to the existing 4 tracks (that's why the name "the 6th corridor"). In order to achieve this, slums lying within 50 feet of the tracks between Ghatkopar and Bhandup have to be evicted. If the slums do get relocated, the trains can also move faster.

Two years ago, SPARC was approached by the Authorities to conduct a survey of all the houses lying between Ghatkopar and Bhandup. House-counting with the help of the community members began and a list of all the houses and the socio-economic activities was obtained. Together with the communities, cadastral maps were also made. An important outcome of this process was that SPARC was looked upon favorably by the communities despite the presence of other political and social groups in the area. Community support and involvement in the survey promoted group formation and familiarized the communities with their statistics. All those houses which have to be relocated have been given a number and 3 copies of the list have been made: one copy stays with SPARC, one with the Railways, and one with the Collector, on whose land the relocation will take place.

As it was not going to be possible to evacuate the slums without providing the slum dwellers with a reasonable alternative, the Railway Authorities acquiesced to provide relocation in Kanjurmarg. The land at Kanjurmarg belongs to the Collector and it will accommodate slums within 50 feet of the tracks from Ghatkopar to Bhandup. Those communities who are up for relocation have been registered, and the process for acquiring the land is still underway. For land ownership, all the members have to provide proof for their identity, such as the ration card or the voter's card. Since not all the members are able to furnish this proof, SPARC is submitting family photographs of such members under the MUTP project. All members have been divided into societies so that the identification and shifting process becomes easier. The societies from Ghatkopar onwards will be moved first so that Bhandup will be the last to shift.

What the people did...

Once the communities gained confidence in SPARC, they began to visit the organization in other areas and developed an idea of SPARC's work. In 1996 an office was opened in Ghatkopar, and Mahila Milan was formed. The members realized the usefulness of saving money, and started their own housing and saving scheme. As SPARC got involved in the relocation project as well, it helped the communities to negotiate with the government for procuring land close to their existing slums. At first, the government was unwilling to do so, but as the communities themselves undertook the task of identifying vacant land, Kanjurmarg, as a solution emerged. This land was given free to the communities by way of relocation. Due to the introduction of the savings scheme, the members have each saved around Rs.7000 over the last 2 years, and the Ghatkopar society alone has collected Rs.6 lakhs. The money collected for housing will come into use once the tenure is obtained and the society is unable to get grants from the government. In the event they get grants, the money the members have deposited with the society will serve as a security against their deserting the houses (i.e. so that the members don't sell the houses and run away, as they are getting the land and house free). At the moment, their savings are being deposited in Bank of Baroda. As the Kanjurmarg land was procured fairly recently, SPARC is training the communities for the building process. These communities will eventually have to manage their own affairs, so they have to be equipped with the skills to be able to do so. Exchange programs between communities to Pune, Mankhurd, Goregaon, etc., were held to achieve this end. Communities have to learn the steps involved in house building, how to monitor these steps, and how to participate in the physical construction.

Since societies in Ghatkopar are going to be moving out first, groups have already been formed regarding how the members are going to rotate on a daily basis for construction of their houses. Approximately, 10 members will go to the site everyday and help in the construction. The committees for labour, finance, etc., have yet to be formed. In the meanwhile, Bhandup observes Ghatkopar's training program learns from it.

At the site

Before construction can begin at Kanjurmarg, the land has to be filled up as it is marshy. SPARC has already reclaimed a small patch with the help of the Ghatkopar society and has set up an office there. The filling up process has already begun, and the shifting of the societies will take place in phases. Societies at Ghatkopar will set up transit camps while their houses get ready and once this is complete, they will move in and another society will shift into the transit camps. The houses will be built in three-storey structures such that each building will accommodate one society. This means that every building will house about 44-56 families and there will be a total of 22 buildings (providing accommodation for 1460 members). Therefore, 44 temporary houses will be set up in the transit camp with common toilets and water supply so that a society can move into the site before their housing is complete. A model house will first be created so that members get a concrete idea of the whole process as well as of their dwellings. Regular visits are made by SPARC and the community women to the municipal corporation to ensure sound infrastructure. Applications for various facilities have been made and the Ward Officer has even visited the site.

ASA students work for 6 weeks in Kanjurmarg-1997

ASA - VISIT OF GERMAN PROFESSIONALS FOR 3 MONTHS TO SPARC IN JULY OR OCTOBER 1999.

In 1997 we had a team of 5 german students from different professions who came to sparc for a term of 6 weeks last year. They had in fact worked out an arrangement with Kisan Mehta from the save Bombay committee which never worked out. They were meant to work on the heritage project and help document it however a lot of pressure was put on them to find their own finances to take out about
Ongoing saga of the resettlement at Kanjurmarg

4000 pictures of all the heritage sites. This the students felt would be impossible for them to handle and they also felt that it was their role to actually work out a way of documenting one such project thoroughly and not be just photographers. They were a team comprising of a geographer, architect, urban planner and sociologist and were in this project to contribute to the process professionally and understand the issues and not just volunteerere.

Since their relationship with save Bombay did not work out they decided to look at other options and met other organizations in the city. They met various NGO’s and then decided to work with sparc and were happy to look into the kanjurmarg project, which is a mutp project which involves the resettlement of around 1400 households from Ghatkopar to kanjurmarg. These families live 30ft from the railway tracks. The project plans to have an extra corridor along this line and this would entail 1400 households shifting. This project includes various actors the railways, the state government, the municipal corporation, the the local housing cooperatives who are members of the railway slum dwellers federation who in turn affiliates with the national slum dwellers federation and mahila Milan.

The team in a period of 6 weeks had a look at settlement design options created for the purpose of putting into reality what the future settlement would look like. Basically the students took this design and had a discussion with the local women’s group and the existing leadership to get an idea of what people were thinking of their resettlement especially the women. This was the most important part of the exercise as it forced them to deal directly with the community instead of getting their questions answered thru’ members of the sparc team or Nsdf. This also created a form of equality in the process of information gathering and the community felt they could ask them the same questions about their context.

This exercise broke a lot of myths about slum dwellers in the minds of the students and they had to unlearn a lot about what they learnt in university back home about the poor in the third world. The discussion on the resettlement itself an the design was something concrete that inspire both the students and the community who were also eagerly looking forward to moving into a better house. Though the time was short, with the help of a translator the team was able to produce a report which worked quite well for us. As we were in the initial phase of the process we were quite happy to have a document that had compiled some basic information of the settlement and the design option. We used this document to engage every concerned official something concrete in the form of a report also made the actors involved feel more confident of the peoples side of their work and the fact that a group of german students were studying the project gave it added credibility. The students during their work was able to involve the institute if architecture in Bombay and use their institutional support to complete their assignment. As a result 2m Indian student were involved in the process along with them. What we wished would happen was to have a presentation of their work with the community involved and sparc. However due to time constraints they did a presentation to the institute and wished we were present. However none of us from Sparc could make it. They left behind a report which we made Xerox copy so circulated it to as many involved in the process.

This exercise energizing for the students, for the community and for us at Sparc. Sparc has agreed to have students for 1999 and we look forward to involving them with the Cidco project for the resettlement of 8000 families from VT atp Mankurd so that the speed of the trains from VT to belapur could be decreased to a minimum of 40 minutes. The other option would be to engage them in any of the SRA projects. Now there are no dearth of projects to involve professionals with. The challenge is to be able to understand the intrinsic value of a people centered process and how to translate peoples aspirations into a technically viable plans.

The challenge is to create a n idea of partnership and using this partnership creatively so that it becomes an collective energy that we all draw from.

Lessons for sparc

1. Our ability to use what ever limited support that comes in this form is getting better organizationally.
2. We feel this kind of input can be used strickictly to begin to engage officials and other professionals involved in the process.
3. It also helps bridge the gap with local professional institutions for whom we normally do not have much time to invest in.
4. Mainly it was a pleasure to engage students of a nother cultural background to look at the issues in our context and the open mindedness and readiness to learn made this exercise energizing for the students, for the community and for us at sparc.
5. We feel ready organizationally to take on such exposure visits and use it to the advantage of both the community and the students/professionals.
6. As a result of this exercise we have ASA made a decision to nominate Sparc this year as one of the organizations they would like to partner with for the students to visit in 1999.

This team would be a mix of an architect, urban, planner, sociologist and with an added requirement of someone who understood a little more of alternative energy. This is to look at how we could use other ways of making hot water available or other related services for a cheaper price and which is more sustainable and cost effective.
Starting from the world bank aided MUTPII and dealing with issues of resettlement:

There has been much water under the MUTP II bridge while the World Bank, the Government of Maharashtra and the Railways battle, negotiate, withdraw and restart their discussions, the city of Mumbai screams for improved local/suburban transport of trains. This system already carries 4 million and people up and down the city and needs urgent expansion.

The railways, the Government of Maharashtra have decided that they will initiate work on 5/6th corridor regardless of the Bank finances and SPARC/NSDF/Mahila Milan have been a part of this dialogue from the very beginning. The solution ought is to create the stalemate. To do that the focus is on the “encroachments” on both side of the track between Kurla and Bhandup.

The SPARC survey shows that 1910 households reside in this area. The State Government has come up with a piece of land which will accommodate the first 1210 households since the land is low lying, the railways will contribute costs for basic land development. SPARCNSDF/Mahila Milan and RSDF have formed 22 cooperative societies of this 1910 households. As the railway needs land, the cooperatives will move to this new piece of land.

Each cooperative has mention who have saved between 3000 - 5000 with SPARC’s help will seek a loan from HUDCO, build their own houses using the Mahila Milan housing model on a settlement plan with Gr+3 units of 225 sq.ft. The area will have courtyards in each building, community centre, day care for children and a modest playground.

This strategy has been crafted by communities and adopted and fully supported by Railways and the Government of Maharashtra. It is unique for its sheer simplicity. It will give the city of Mumbai and India its first urban resettlement where such a partnership drafted the process.

“David and Three Goliaths”
Kalpana Sharma and Sheela Patel

Rehabilitation strategy for those residing

This encroachment slows down the trains reducing as many as 1/5th of the volume, because trains have to slow down to 5 km in such areas. Presently, the wall I Borivali done by SPARC/NSDF/Mahila Milan has created the foundation for dialogue. Both central and western railways are now working closely to realign the settlements.

What this will do, is to move all the slums back beyond 50 ft, in return people will get permissions to get infra and amenities, and land lease to be able to reconstruct Gr+2 structures (like Kanjurmarg) on same site.

These recommendations were made in 1988-89 along with survey. It has required 10 years of patience and perseverance.

22 cooperatives of 1390 households will form the first groups who will be relocated to the first site that has been developed at Kanjurmarg.

This land has been allocated by the state government and will be developed by SPARC at a cost of RS 1.33 crores.

The SRA will be the intermediary who will work out the process on behalf of the State government and over see this process.

The RSDF is deeply involved in this process and sees it as its investment of ten years paying off.

The details of the process will form the basis of the experience of relocation and rehabilitation which SPARC will build upon in the future.

The Railways explore new partnerships

The Indian Railways is an institution that the alliance is gradually beginning to understand and dialogue with. In the Slum Rehabilitation Policy of Government of Maharashtra (1995) the state made a commitment to be actively involved in the dialogue with Government of India and other land owners on whose lands slum dwellers reside.

Today slums of Defense, Railway, Airport etc. don’t get any basic amenities and are like pavement dwellers. RSDF survey “Beyond the Beaten Track” suggests 28,000 households reside in 80 ft. of the track, of these _____ are within 30 ft.
This story is about the work of Railway Slum Dwellers' Federation (RSDF). This federation initially brought together slums on the railway lines in Mumbai, and is now gradually linking up with similar settlements in other cities. So far, links have been established with communities in Pune, Kanpur, Hyderabad and Pondicherry.

Since 1989 with the help of the SPARC Mahila Milan and NSDF alliance, the Mumbai railway communities have got together and demonstrated that they want to move away from the railway track as much as the railway wants them to move.

It all got going with the wall at Borivali. Developed, constructed and managed by RSDF, the wall demonstrated that the communities meant what they said and sparked off discussions between the Urban Development Ministry of Maharashtra, the Western and Central Railway Divisions and the communities.

A Task Force, headed by Mr Sukhtankar, was set up to develop recommendations for the Rehabilitation of people affected by the MUTPII (Mumbai Urban Transport Project). SPARC was part of that task force, while Jockin was on the committee to explore land availability for the resettlement. Communities made their suggestions to the committees through demonstrating their past experience, and through representations made via SPARC. Much of the strategy recommended by the task force, and now accepted by the Maharashtra Cabinet, emerges from what the communities themselves suggested.

While negotiations about the wider MUTPII project continued between the Government of Maharashtra, the Railways and the World Bank, the Government of Maharashtra and the Railways decided to explore the strategy suggested by the alliance. The resettlement related to the sixth corridor, was taken up as a pilot project independent of the World Bank.

In the last 8 months there have been joint discussions about selection of land, who contributes what to the solution, what roles are played by which agency and what communities will do.

In an unprecedented scenario of co-ordination, the state government of Maharashtra will give land, the railway will develop the land, the Municipality will help fill it and level it and provide off site infrastructure, and then hand it to community co-operatives. 1200 to 1500 households will get land tenure. They'll then design and construct their houses and on site infrastructure. The house construction will be financed by HUDCO loans through SPARC. Communities will deposit between 10-25% of the 30,000 they need as a loan in HUDCO in lieu of a guarantee for repayments.

This part of the process is being documented by SPARC to present at a UNCHS meeting in Florence. Through this case study, SPARC aims to show not only that poor communities can actually benefit from resettlement, but also that creating infrastructure for the whole city need not be at a cost of poor people being forcibly removed from their dwellings. On the contrary, with some investment of time, energy and foresight, these projects can also create secure permanent homes for poor communities.

Since many of the strategies suggested by SPARC are still not completely acceptable to the World Bank, this project provides a good way out for both parties. It allows the alliance to demonstrate what it promotes without too many prescriptive and inhibiting demands which accompany all World Bank assisted projects. The RDB Bank, which is hesitant about anyone else's solutions, especially simple ones developed by communities, gets an opportunity to have a look and decide if it will accept it or not.

In a city like Mumbai, where land would never be available to the poor, it is most essential to us that the state makes that provision, allowing communities to undertake what they can do best, which is design and build the houses they have dreamed of for so many years.

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Events of March and April 1998:

These two months have been full of a range of activities:

1. The GR which gave the details of the proposal of how the rehabilitation was to proceed should have come four months ago. However the elections and its code of conduct delayed this.

2. The railways would have liked to give the first installment of the Rs 1.3 crores to SPARC but the delays of the GR and the process of routing the money was a major delay.

3. In the meanwhile everyone wanted the shifting of the first 145 families to be in course, and so, SPARC began to undertake those activities anyway. Since the filling was not being done by the BMC as planned, money was invested in that activity.

4. Toilets and the first transit housing has begun to get constructed.

5. Mr. Bharagav who headed the MTP retired in March and before he left he did the Bhumi Puja of the site, for which representatives of all the various cooperatives came. His association with SPARC go back to the RR task force, and he has been a major factor in helping the Railways to use the partnership with SPARC and the alliance to sort of R&R matters.

6. 22 Cooperatives have been formed and each day huge groups of each society come to Byculla to have meetings. They discuss possibilities and seek to be actively involved in all activities. Initially the plan was that most houses would be half constructed, however the RSDF have decided that since they have savings and see themselves living in these houses form some time, they would like to opt for the HUDCO loan and deposit scheme in which they will put aside a deposit, get a loan, and with the help of the alliance build the houses. When SRD projects come, the long term loans can be sorted out.

7. Jockin Sheela and Sundar visited HUDCO on 22nd April 1998 to finalize this credit line of about 1.4 crores against a deposit of 14 lakhs for the first 700 households. HUDCO is very interested and sent Mr. Joglekar who has helped design the units and provide technical assistance.

8. SRA is willing to provide a general OK on the potential SRA scheme for the future, and work out modalities to the transfer of funds which have been discussed at great length at a meeting with Chatterjee CEO SRA.

9. MSEB will now give the electrical connection to the site for a payment of Rs 5,00,000.
Encounter with many implications:
From
celine@milan.ilbom.ernet.in Mon May 11 11:36:44 1998
(As narrated by Sharmila to Celine)
Suhasini Parab is the Nagar Sewika of Kanjurmarg. We had a meeting with Shiv Krupa to discuss the shifting—so we decided to form a society and so we told them to also start savings for housing. They misunderstood the concept of housing savings and thought we were collecting money for housing. Some of the residents went to Suhasini and complained—Meanwhile our Kanjurmarg office was demolished by the local councilors and we spoke to the ward officer Mr. Shah we got the permission to rebuild.

One day Suhasini came with the residents of Shiv Krupa and wanted a proof of how we constructed our office. She wanted to know what we would do if people did not give us money and wanted to see the plans. When Sharmila asked who she was—she refused to say and said that she had come from the residents. When Sharmila told she would have to go to Byculla she said then we should in fact build our office at Byculla then and not here. So she just spoke very angrily. She left saying that she would complain. She visited Byculla with 4 local residents and spoke to Jockin and by the end of the meeting they were convinced and were ready to start savings. Now she is even ready to give us money from her fund for water connection and ready to extend any kind of help.

Jockin showed her the plans and explained to her why we told people to save and The role of MM and how the bank accounts were on the individual names and MM was the recognized organization who would control this exercise with the federation and SPARC.

The other case was with Ashok Pawaskar who is also a councillor and works with Leela dhar Dake( ). He too came to the office asking for proofs. He has a history of taking contracts for building works in the area. He had the same questions. So, Sharmila said that it is your government policy and in fact you should be telling us what to instead you yourself have questions. He said he was working for people.
(The meeting with Suhasini gave clarity to the field staff on how to reply these guys. This we discussed at the Monday meeting.) He too wanted to see proofs. So we showed him the collectors letter which said that this land has been given to SPARC and this site has been given for the construction of a temporary site office. He said she would have to attend a meeting at the Mantralaya to clarify all these questions in front of Leeladhar Dakhe. Sharmila said she could not attend these meetings and would have to go to Byculla. He of course never came to Byculla or the site again.

Now the Tahisildhar office and collectors office visit the site regularly and keep checking the map to see if they can get some space for the Tahisildhar’s office say we should construct it and give it to them.
Kanjurmarg: Swinging Between urgency and procedures...

Why isn’t everything over already? (June 1998)

Since the middle of November 1997, there have been innumerable meetings which have discussed the modalities of moving households between Ghatkopar and Kurla to a plot on Kanjurmarg. This plot is a two hectare green field which was part of land earmarked for a commercial district center which was carved out and converted to this use to house the dishoused.

The Government resolution to this effect was only passed in March 1998 because the election period unto February 1998 made it a resolution which would breach the election code of conduct.

When the GR. acme out, it made several points:

a. That SPARC would undertake the whole project.
b. The Railways would give 1.38 crores to SRA who in turn would give the money to SPARC for the development of the infrastructure.
c. The Gr. allowed SPARC to explore the SRA option which would treat the 1.38 as a revolving fund.

SRA continued to be concerned about their role. This was further exacerbated by the fact that the collector in which charge this land was, was not ready to transfer the land to SPARC. In a long debate and several meetings later the housing secretary suggested that the R&FD maintain the land and only give it to the societies when such are formed.

The BMC and the Railways were unable to do the filling and now it was expected that SPARC would pay for filling the land and for obtaining water etc. for which it would pay. Based on the GR. SPARC prepared a layout in which it would move 350 households into transit houses and start SRA… a whole plan was prepared and by Mid May 1998 that process was ready to roll on. SPARC and NSDF met with HUDCO and prepared a project to obtain funds for this proposal. The first 130 houses of 120 sq. feet were started and communities began to come on Board.

The trouble began on several fronts….
The Changing Requirements...

Many demands and expectations... yet no spirit of collaboration...

In mid May 1998 soon after a plan to undertake a mixed development, SPARC had already begun to work on the site. An investment of about 25 lakhs in already made in anticipation of the money to be given by the railways. When after many discussions it is decided that “pitches” of 12x10 would be given to the households, that the plan for this site was to now be submitted to the BMC which would pass it... that all costs would be borne by the funds paid given by the railways. Only 900 households can be fitted in this much land. And questions begin to fly from all sides. Somewhere a costing of Rs 9000 per household is unearthed and it is suggested that only 81 lakhs be given since the 900 houses are moved. Others ask how come SPARC has taken construction without permissions. Yet the railways and UD expect the first lot of 146 households to be moved by June!!! Between May and June 1998 Ministers of UD and various other officials visited the site... and on 29th June the Chief Minister took up a meeting of all officials concerned and the following was the outcome:

a. The Total number of households to be shifted for the railways to improve tracks was 3500 between Thane and Kurla.
b. There were 1560 between Kurla and Ghatkopar of which presently 900 be shifted to Kanjurmarg.
c. The Railways would give 1.38 crores for the project and of these 80 lakhs would be given immediately.
d. There were another 450 between Bhankup and Thane which also needed further rehousing.
e. The scheme prepared by SPARC was special and unusual and all the various departments would work to coordinate this activity and make the project work because the special feature of this was that the communities were ready to move.
f. SPARC and SRA would work together and move the households and give them pitches. Later when the communities would form societies and go for SRA they would get land and ownership.

It is now expected that SPARC will get Rs 20,000 er household for 900 households form HUDCO and build houses, and 1.38 crores from Railways and but in the infrastructure and water etc. In the first week of July Th. efforts 146 houses will move to Kanjurmarg.