RESEARCH ARTICLE

AVOIDING RESETTLEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF KATHPUTLI COLONY

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	The purpose of this study is to understand the role of social capital in avoiding resettlement. The methodology used in this study is case study. This research is about the settlement in Delhi known as Kathputli colony, where dwellers were avoiding the resettlement. This study is based on the Bourdieu's theory of social capital i.e. social capital as "the actual or potential resources which are linked to a durable network which provides each member with their mutual support of the collectivity-owned capital with 'credential'."(Bourdieu, 1986). The finding indicates that in the implementation process it had affected and damaged their livelihood. In this study social capital plays an instrumental role in avoiding resettlement.

INTRODUCTION

In India 24% of people live in informal settlements (World Bank, 2014). Delhi accounts for 14.6% population living in informal settlements (Census of India, 2011). In India, there is a policy shift from eviction to relocation and now to rehabilitation to address the issues about informal settlement. Policy makers have acknowledged the 'right to city' principle of Lefebvre (1996/1968: 154), i.e., that every citizen has a right to live in the city (Huchzermeyer 2010). In 2015, Government of India (GOI) launched Prime Minister Housing Scheme which aims to provide "housing for all" by 2020. The main component of this mission is in-situ resettlement policy, using land as a resource with the help of public private partnership (PPP). In Delhi there are various approaches to slum improvement like Relocation, In-situ upgradation, In-situ rehabilitation etc. In case of 'Relocation', project affected people (PAP) are permanently evicted from the original habitat place and relocated in the area other than the original place. In case of 'In-situ upgradation and rehabilitation schemes', PAP are relocated for limited period to facilitate the upgradation of their original settlements. In case of relocation policy, PAPs are usually provided with piece of land (plot) for constructing their houses at relocation site. While in case of 'In-situ Upgradation schemes', PAPs are usually allotted with the flats known as EWS flats i.e. standardized flats for Economically Weaker Section (Banda, Subhadra and Sheikh, 2014).

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Delhi Master Plan 2021 is inclined towards the in-situ rehabilitation of JJ clusters (JJ or Jhuggi-Jhopri- is the vernacular term for slums). As per Delhi Master-Plan 2021, DDA decided to launch the "In situ Slum Rehabilitation" to rehabilitate the slum dwellers. In this scheme, the rehabilitation was proposed on the land which was occupied by the slum dwellers with the help of public private partnership. Under this scheme, they will sell the land through a tender process to the private partner to finance the up gradation of settlement. The private player usually constructs multi-storey buildings addressed as sale buildings on the purchased property to generate finance for the slum up gradation and certain profit(Banda, Subhadra and Sheikh, 2014). This research is concerned about one such settlement in Delhi known as Kathputli colony, where dwellers are avoiding the resettlement since 2009. Delhi Master Plan 2021 has incorporated "slums dwellers right" in the planning process. The Kathputli colony is 40 years old slum, with families of puppeteer, magicians, folk singers, dancers, acrobats, jugglers and storytellers. In the 1970s, few performers from Rajasthan migrated to the capital of India, Delhi and settled themselves in the accessible prime area in the city, Shadipur. Overtime variety of artist from different states like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, also joined them and began to come here into a single settlement known as Kathputli after the performance by the residents. In 1980's 'Kathputli' gained international recognition, in U.K in 1982 and in the United States in 1985. There are total 3200 inhabitants living in 5.2 hectare of land in Kathputli colony (Dupont, Véronique; Banda, Subhadra; Vaidya, Yashas; Gowda, Shankare 2014).
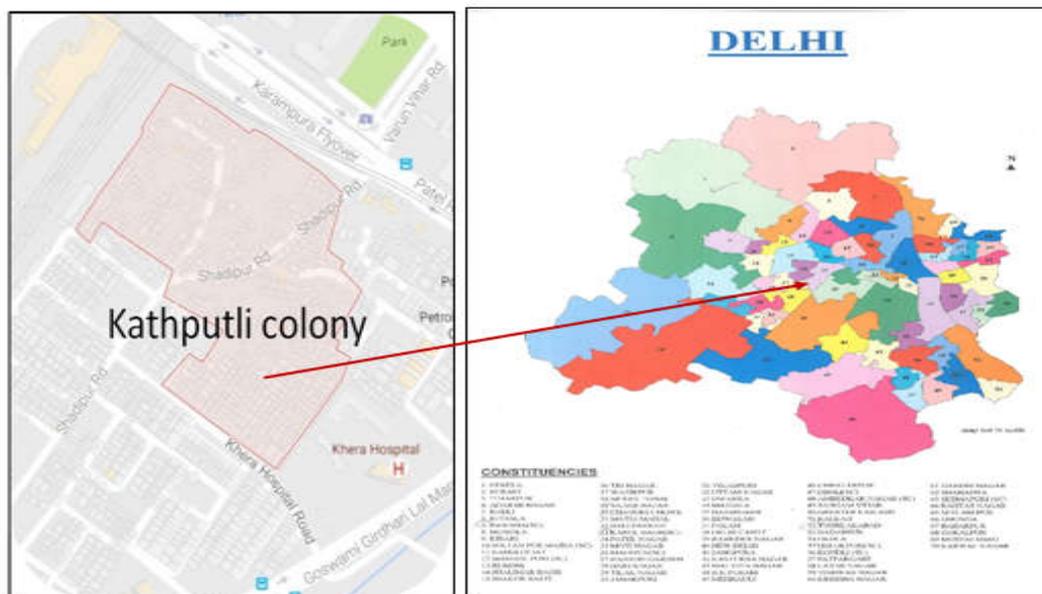
Source: Google map and Author (MapInfo)

Figure 1. Study area

The Kathputli colony is the pilot project of the in-situ rehabilitation by DDA for the wellbeing of the dwellers. The people are avoiding resettlement since 2009. It is important to analyse the reason that influenced the dwellers for avoiding resettlement. This will also help to identify how the project designed in support of dwellers. Therefore it is essential to study the role of social capital. This will help to analyse the gap of the project and also how social capital are utilized in avoiding resettlement. The problem about the resettlement policy globally is that there is a tendency to avoid resettlement especially when the planning process is top down, without slum dwellers participation (Cernea 2008). In Kathputli colony the people are avoiding in-situ rehabilitation. There was confusion about the information about the project and the communication between the dwellers and DDA was week. The eligibility criteria was not clear. The dwelling unit projected by the DDA was unpublished. DDA ignored the community consent. The confusion, lack of communication and community consent are the major issue of avoiding resettlement. (Dupont, Véronique; Banda, Subhadra; Vaidya, Yashas ; Gowda, Shankare 2014)

Literature Review

The rapid urbanisationin developing world are significantly related to informal settlement. There for it is significantly important to rethink and plan sensitively for urban informality (Mcfarlane, 2012;Roy, 2005). The theory on which this research is based, is Bourdieu's concept of social capital.

Adequate housing is a universal need (Shlomo, Angel, 2000). Housing is not only shelter, it is a process. Houses should not be seen in terms of physical characteristics but rather in terms of who uses them and a greater focus should be placed upon human use values. (Shlomo, Angel, 2000) also argues that housing needs change. It changes according to family size. "It changes according to the priority, individual needs and possibilities among the users" (Nientied and Linden, 1988p. 139; Collins, Kuhn, & Leeds, n.d). The upgrading of squatter settlements deals with existing housing which are poor and illegal.

The site and services increase the housing stock and henceforth the poor population do not need to do squatting (Nientied and Linden, 1988).

Housing being a right, it is important that resettlement has to be planned sensitively enabling it to provide basic services to the people living in the informal settlements that can assist in their well- being. In the 21st century, the urban growth is increasing in the developing world but theories related to cities remain confined to developed world. Massey (2001) in (Roy 2005) mentioned the future of urban lies in Third world cities like Mumbai and Rio de Janerio; the urban transformations in the developing world particularly associated with poor squatter settlement. It is seen as a generalized mode of metropolitan urbanization. The planner should keep in mind the challenges of informality. This will give distributive justice not only in Third world but in urban planning globally (Roy 2005).

The major research in the third world focusses on urban informality and policies related to it such as slum upgradation and land tilling. Informality is the main focus at the international arena of development and urban planning. The informal economy and housing constitute an important percentage of urban economy. There are various policies developed by the government to improve the situation of informality. The discussion on informality in Urban 21, Hall and Pfeiffer in (Roy 2005) paid attention to 'informal hyper growth' cities. They argued that the urban poor build their own settlement near the formally planned city. In De Soto's (Roy 2005) work informality is "heroic entrepreneurship". He believed that there is discrimination as the poor are unable to do any activities in this formal system. He demanded the legalization of informal settlements and it will aid in capital flow into the world (Roy 2005).

In India most of the urbanisation is a result of urban informality, with no provision of adequate infrastructure and the presence of a municipal governance structure is also weak. Most of these settlements develop along the major transportation routes as well as in the metropolitan boundaries. Informality is a different type of market where affordability

accrues through the absence of formal planning and regulation. These are complex phenomenon of legality and illegality where squatter settlements grow through land invasion (Roy 2005). *"Urban informality indicate an organizing logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself (Roy and Alsayyad, 2004) in* (Roy 2005)*."*

In Kathputli Colony, Delhi there were many reasons why people were avoiding resettlement; one major reason was the great deal of confusion surrounding permanent evictions. "The DDA process for its first in situ rehabilitation project remained opaque to both researchers and, more importantly, to the subjects of its ambitious new project. The examination of the Kathputli Colony redevelopment project, Act I, underlines a top-down approach as well as the lack of a proper consultation procedure and involvement of the affected slum dwellers in their own rehabilitation scheme"(Dupont, Véronique; Banda, Subhadra; Vaidya, Yashas; Gowda, Shankare 2014, P45).

There are 400 out of 3200 inhabitants who have shifted to Transit camp, but the majority of people are still living in the same place. The project will give them a flat, houses which will affect their livelihood and access to perform as they are puppeteers and artists. For them it will be difficult to perform in such high rise buildings. The social network and community consciousness of these people and fear of permanent eviction justify their reluctance to relocate to Transit camps. The social network and political support encourage such avoidance of such plans unsuccessfully (Sikka 2014).

Every citizen has a right to live in the city. The right to city depends on individuals to claim to ownership of the property (Huchzermeyer, 2010). Social capital is an important asset during crisis, enjoyed for personal benefit or material gain. The social network is useful to those communities who are confronting poverty and vulnerability of resolving disputes or for new opportunities. It helps with the poverty alleviation problems throughout most parts of developed and developing world (Woolcock and Narayan 2000).

Social networks are important assets for the dwellers of informal settlements. Bourdieu describes social capital as "the actual or potential resources which are linked to a durable network which provides each member with their mutual support of the collectivity-owned capital with 'credential'."(Bourdieu, 1986). The social network helps to raise voices during vulnerable situations and struggles. Mostly all groups have an institutionalised form of delegating social capital and it is the basis of existence for groups which is mostly represented by one actor or group of people to represent the whole group for the collective benefit of the group. The individuals with access to a particular social network are mobilized and are utilized as a resource in struggle or crisis (Dijk 2011).

Social capital according to Bourdieu cannot be isolated from power that constitutes social structures. It is inseparable from economic and cultural capital. Social capital refers to an unequal distribution of a particular social power. Economic capital controls material resources and cultural capital acquires knowledge and credentials. Social capital refers to connections that enable individuals to accrue material or symbolic benefits (based on who they know) Social capital arises from the quality of one's connections with the economic, cultural and

other forms of capital possessed by one's network (Levien 2015). In other words it is derived from other forms of capital, it is a product and has features of class inequalities. Social capital is fungible and an object of reconversion strategies. Individually economic status is being used by individuals to build networks and to accumulate economic capital. Acquiring and maintaining the social capital is one of the principal strategies of class mobility and reproduction. Individuals in any social unit are endowed with social networks of unequal quality and quantity, which are rooted in class inequalities. These networks are not coterminous with any social unit, and have no necessary relations with the norms or levels of trusts within it. Social network can be used for individual self-advancement rather than collective benefit and in ways this violates social norms or exploits the trust of others. Bourdieu's symbolic capital is the ability to portray possession of other forms of capital as legitimate. For Bourdieu norms are not static but rather the malleable stakes in dynamic strategies to maintain and accumulate capital.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The methodology used in this research is case study (Yin 2012). This research is concerned about the settlement in Delhi known as Kathputli colony, where dwellers areavoiding the resettlement since 2009. In order to investigate this research topic, qualitative method of data was collected by in-depth semi-structured interview. The in-depth interview was carried out and to analyse the interview qualitative programme Atlas ti software is used to interpret the data.

Primary data

Kathputli Colony
5 Residents = 3 Male + 2 Female
2 groups of informal Discussion (group of 10)
Municipal Corporator
Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust
Support organisation : Hazard Centre
DDA Commissioner
DUSIB

Secondary data

The secondary data sources are

- DDA – Delhi Development Authority
- DUSIB – Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement board
- Newspaper Articles
- CPR Report

This research was conducted in 2016 .The various sources were used to ensure the maximum variety possible to answer the research question and hence better triangulation. In order to investigate this research topic, qualitative method of data was collected by in-depth semi-structured interview. As snowball non random sampling method was used to collect data. The in-depth interview was carried out and to analyse the interview qualitative programme Atlas ti software is used to interpret the data. The coding of the interview is done in Atlas ti .The codes were selected on the basis of operationalisation of the variables.

Findings

From the analysis and the interviews given by the residents and key informants, it was evident that the inhabitants of Kathputli colony were avoiding resettlement.

In the Kathputli colony the inhabitants are trying to avoid resettlement due to uncertainty pertaining to implementation process in DDA's first pilot project of in-situ rehabilitation. There were many loopholes in the implementation process. Firstly they were failed to provide proper information and lack of communication. Secondly, it lead to fear of eviction due to lack of basic information and awareness among the community. The survey was unreliable which lead to confusion. The major fear was among the residents who were left out during the survey. The major crisis raised when the DDA tried to forcefully evict the resident. It was then they moved to the court with the help of support NGO and used legal formal procedure in avoiding the resettlement.

Using the guidelines of Delhi Master Plan 2021, DDA selected Kathputli colony as a pilot project to implement in-situ rehabilitation project in Delhi. In this scheme DDA will build the flats with public private partnership in order to rehouse the current inhabitants. As per the study there was uncertainty pertaining to implementation of this scheme which played an important role in avoiding resettlement process.

DDA had communication with the residents through two NGOs working with the artists. The NGOs main duty was to assist the consultant in the socio economic survey and public meetings. There was an acute conflict between both the NGOs. It was difficult for them to work neutrally hence they withdrew and asked the Pradhan to deal with the DDA directly. The plan was made without consulting and incorporating the people's perspectives who would be living there (Dupont, Véronique; Banda, Subhadra; Vaidya, Yashas ; Gowda, Shankare, 2014). The major reason that inhabitants are avoiding resettlement is due to incomplete information provided by the DDA. As per the interview given by the respondents in Kathputli colony, it can be recognised that community was not aware of this in-situ rehabilitation scheme of DDA which played an important reason of avoiding resettlement. They got the information from outside resources that their land is been sold to Raheja builder. *Extract from the interview, "we never knew about this in- situ plan of DDA and DDA sold 1 hectare of land to Raheja Builder in 6 crore 11 lakh, we ultimately got to know about the land is already sold to Raheja from outside."*At the same time residents of Kathputli colony mentioned that DDA did not considered the community consent and agreement which is an important issue of concern for the inhabitant which played an important role in avoiding resettlement. From the interviews it was reveal that inhabitants of Kathputli colony used RTI act to obtain the plan proposed by the DDA.

DDA conducted survey four times between 2008 and January 2012 for the rehabilitation project. As per the first survey conducted by the consultant refers 2754 dwelling units and 13,520 residents identified. The DDA rounded it with 2800 dwelling units was made final number of flat to be build. The second survey in 2010 done by the DDA was comprises of 3200 identified jhuggies in Kathputli colony. DUSIB also did a biometric survey in 2011 which was not published. These surveys are confusing and unreliable. There 350 household in the alarming situation. The survey did not include the upper story, they only considered part of dwelling units. They only considered ground floor. This was a major concern for the residents who were not taken into account (Dupont, Véronique; Banda, Subhadra; Vaidya, Yashas ; Gowda, Shankare, 2014). From the research it was revealed that, there was a discrepancy surrounding the number of inhabitants; the proposed number of inhabitant living in the Kathputli colony were contradicted by the actual number of household. Extract from the interview *"There are approximately 3200 families living and they promised 2800 families house."* The most important question raised by the residents was about the 800 families those were left out in the proposed plan.

The location of Kathputli colony is such which is responsible for high real estate price. It is well connected to the city centre and west Delhi locality. The land value is very high due to strategic location. DDA sold the land to Raheja building company at a significantly very low price .It was found shocking that DDA had sold the land at Rs 6 crore and 11 lakhs worth less than 1% of the land's actual value. As per the plan mentioned Raheja will use 1/5th of the land for its own purpose of high rise flats and a shopping complex. They argued that they are living there for more than 40 years, that it is their own presence and their ability to develop their land made it more valuable. As per the respondent answered that they were in crisis when in 2014 DDA gave an order to evict them and demolish their houses. Extract from the interview, *"the bulldozer came here to remove us forcefully."* At the same time DDA was successfully managed to secure signature *from 574 families out of with 400 families moved.* The majority of the residents of Kathputli colony werenot ready to shift to the transit camp. During this time Kathputli colony residents filled a petition to stop the construction by Raheja Builders from Delhi High Court. The petition was filed under the name of Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust and was helped by the support organisation Hazard Centre.

The High Court gave the judgement on three grounds

- The number of families left out by the DDA should also get the flats.
- The transit camps are not fit for habitation, so DDA and builder should jointly check the loopholes and fill all the gaps and build more houses for those residents or tenants who were left out.
- The third point was on the violation of Masterplan by DDA and builder.

Extract from interview, "The whole community of Kathputli colony was able to show 24 points on which they said that transit camp is not fit for habitation. They also pointed out that there are also 8 violations of Master Plan. The court gave a judgement that those who wanted to move to transit camp they should not be stopped by the petitioner and those who want to live in Shadipur should not be removed from their place". It is evident that community under the leadership of Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust was able to show the violation of Master Plan by the DDA. They used the legal procedure for avoiding resettlement.

In Kathputli colony there are two types of network which inhabitants are utilising for avoiding resettlement. The residents of Kathputli colony were individual member of the internal organisation Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust. They utilized the connection with the organisation for work and in their problems. The membership of the organisation benefited them in large. The community was largely dependent on the BBKT under their leadership the residents were avoiding resettlement. BBKT filed the petition on behalf of whole community against the DDA.

Kalakar Trust which claims to work closely with the residents to promote their artistry, they had school in the colony provides space to the artist to pursue their activities. Prayas is running remedial school. Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust provide space for the artist to perform (Banda, S., Vaidya, Y. and Adler, D., 2013). As respondent mentioned in the interview all of them are member of only one association/ organisation namely Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust.
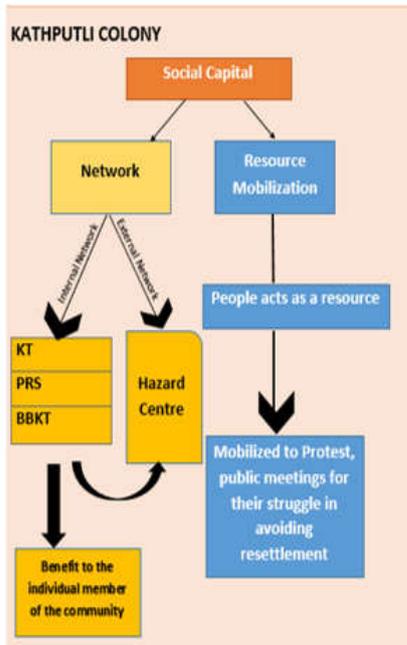
Social capital in Kathputli colony

The association / organisation is important for the community to gain information, to gain work and help in their problems. *Extract from the interview, "Bhule Bisre Kalakar Association is the only our organisation."*

The residents of Kathputli colony are involved among each other through Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust which acts as an important organisation. Their work involve large participation of people. They are closely related to each other economically, socially and culturally as their type of work is inter related, as their art form is traditional require musicians, acrobats etc., so large number of people are needed to perform the puppet shows. The connection of the residents in the colony is related through their type of work they practice, which creates a large network of people who are socially helping each other through their relation with the association / organisation i.e, Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust. Their social relations are improved by developing the network that develops due to involvement in their organisation.

As per the finding through the answer given during the interview, the KC inhabitants are largely dependent on their leader from the Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust to fight for their rights collectively. The participation of community is nil, every initiative is taken by the Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust. The strong relation with the organisation benefited them to get information and judicial procedure related to the in-situ rehabilitation scheme of DDA.

The Kathputli colony residents are helped by an external network i.e Hazard Centre which act as their support organisation. *Extract from interviews, "The Hazard centre is*

the only organization that is helping us in our fight." As resident answered during interview the Hazard Centre helped them to translate the in-situ rehabilitation scheme. They helped them in providing the information and awareness about the scheme which they were unaware. The HC guided them to understand the government roles and flaws in the scheme. They assisted KC inhabitants to enunciate their demands. The BBKT with the support of HC filled a petition against DDA (Raman, B. , 2015). The community under the leadership of BBKT was able to prove in the high court that the actual plan proposed by builder and accepted by DDA is not under the norm of Master Plan and were successful in pointing out 8 violations of norms of the Master Plan. The community realized it is their own valuable presence which played an important role in avoiding the resettlement process. The community by their own will successfully manage to do the survey of the whole community and were able to prove 25 points that illustrated that transit camp was misfit for habitation.

In KC the inhabitants were mobilized and are utilized as a resource in struggle and crisis. *Extract from the interview, "the bulldozer came here to remove us forcefully."* As respondent mentioned, in 2014 DDA came with bulldozer and there was a crisis situation. DDA was trying to evict them from their own land.

Extract from the interview carried out, one of the respondent mentioned "I was a new Councillor that time, the transit camp was made in Anand Parbat (Tents were started building), then around 2000 people came to me, told me they do not want to shift , first we want to understand the plan and people who are not included are they going to adjust them , we have no clue about this please stop this eviction; then at that time I was also new I also had little knowledge about this plan at that time I was adamant that they will not shift right now, then I met DDA and builder and the eviction was stopped."

In crisis situation they were mobilized by the leader through public meetings to understand their rights. The people were mobilised under the leadership of Bhule Bisre Kalakar Trust approached many local leaders but no one were helping them. Then they approached the councillor. The residents of JJ cluster were not ready to move in the transit camp. These forms of capital define the position and possibilities of the resident's acts as an individual actors helped them to win the struggle for their own land. The residents do not enunciate anything but as a large group they support their leader. There were massive protest by the residents of KC forced them to stop eviction.

Conclusion

At last I would like to conclude that,it was evident that the inhabitants of Kathputli colony were avoiding resettlement due to uncertainty pertaining to the implementation process by DDA and PPP. DDA failed to provide proper information and awareness among the inhabitants of Kathputli Colony due to lack of communication causing fear of eviction. The present location provides them space which is necessary for their traditional occupation and important for their survival. Social capital played an important role in avoiding resettlement. In Kathputli colony the social networks and their connections were so strong which was playing an important role in negotiating with the government machinery. The community

was largely avoiding resettlement under the leadership of BBKT with the support of an externalorganisation i.e., Hazard Centre. The Kathputli Colony was forcefully evicted by the DDA and people were forced to move out. The social networks were not able to stop this eviction.

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