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Unequal Realities

IDENTITY, HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES IN FOUR INDIAN CITIES

2016

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IDENTITY, HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES IN FOUR INDIAN CITIES

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Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) is a non-profit development organisation committed to enabling vulnerable groups to access their rights and address human rights violations. YUVA supports the formation of people's collectives that engage in the discourse on development, thereby ensuring self-determined and sustained collective action in communities. This work is complemented with advocacy and policy recommendations on issues.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AWCS	Anganwadi Centres
BMC	Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BSFC	Basic Services Facilitation Centres
CSO	Central Statistical Organisation
DAY-NULM	Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana- National Urban Livelihood Mission
EPIC	Electronic Photo Identity Card
ERCMS	E-Rational Card Management System
EWS	Economically Weaker Section
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMC	Guwahati Municipal Corporation
HDI	Human Development Index
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Services
IDA	Indore Development Authority
IMC	Indore Municipal Corporation
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
LIG	Lower Income Groups
MHUPA	Ministry for Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NFSA	National Food Security Act
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
ODF	Open Defecation Free
PAN	Permanent Account Number
PMAY	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
PMJDY	Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana
PPP	Public Private Partnerships
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RTI	Right To Information
SBM	Swacch Bharat Mission
SC	Scheduled Castes
SECC	Socio-Economic Caste Census
SRS	Slum Rehabilitation Scheme
ST	Scheduled Tribes
SUH	Shelter for Urban Homeless
UFWC	Urban Family Welfare Centres
ULB	Urban Local Bodies
UWIN	Unorganised Workers Identification Number
VAMBAY	Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana
WHO	World Health Organisation

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FOREWORD

India, or more broadly the subcontinent, enters the latter part of this decade with a careful celebration of its emergence as one of the bigger world economies. The spoiler that marks the prosperity is similar to the problems that humanity faced at the beginning of the twentieth century, i.e., increasing disparities in wealth distribution, income and access to livelihoods; a vastly different 'new economy' that destabilises older forms of work and community while inflating social tensions and perpetuating identity conflicts.

Nowhere can we see these contestations more vividly captured than in the complex economic, gender-based, caste-based and ethnic divisions of contemporary urban India. It mirrors a worldwide trend of urban economic growth accompanied by high rates of unemployment and poverty that is concentrated especially in low income, working-class marginalised *bastis*. The low skilled urban workforce find themselves in a curious position. On the one hand, they find themselves at the 'end of welfare', but on the other hand have little access to livelihood options that provide living wages, employment security and adequate benefits. Where do we go from here then?

Unpacking these economic, spatial and social divisions has been the central purpose of this study, which is an inquiry launched by an interdisciplinary team of social workers and community members with support from Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA). Based on surveys of households and communities in Mumbai, Indore, Guwahati and Bhubaneswar, the study aims to construct a comprehensive and systematic look at the roots of inequality in entitlements and basic services in urban India.

The long ranging and far reaching transformations that followed the liberalisation of the economy at the start of the new millennium set the larger background for the multi-city study. First, the transformation of the urban economy in the last twenty years to one that is neoliberal, heavily reliant on finances, services and technology is a primary context. Accompanying this economic and social transformation is the spatial restructuring of urban space brought about by the gentrification, metropolitanisation of residential and industrial space. Spurred on by free market policies and the State's push towards a 'cleaner' and healthier city, the long term trend towards residential inequities profoundly impacts the geographic map of opportunity. It shifts the marginalised populace away from the central parts to an evergrowing periphery. The process and rationalisation of the spatial restructuring varies physically across the urban spectrum and is shaped by a range of developmental histories. This includes segregationist policies, institutional practices, social and cultural politics, gentrification of the population, forced displacement and diminishing employment opportunities.

Within this context and basis many years of intensive community work in these cities, this study seeks to articulate how sanitation, housing, basic legal entitlements or access to basic infrastructure like water or electricity impinge on deepening urban inequalities. Beyond the data it specifically tries to understand trends of inequality within post-industrial urban economies, the future that it paints for its citizens and how existing gaps play out across different cities. The study recognises the urban environment as a complex playground where the forces of caste, class and gender intersect in the face of the declining welfare role of the state and diminishing spaces for participatory democracy. That the study developed through a collaborative process with community members and social workers is most exciting – it points to inclusive ways of researching and understanding urban inequalities. As an ongoing and dynamic endeavour in knowledge creation, the study raises key questions and helps sharpen strategies for our continued struggle and resistance.

Roshni Nuggehalli

Executive Director, YUVA

July, 2017, Mumbai

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Overview

Of the many changes that the world has undergone in the last century, one of the most significant is the increase in urban population as compared to population in the rural areas. It has been estimated that more than half of the world population lives in the urban pockets (Pravitasari, 2015). In India, urban population growth has been on a steady rise. According to Census data, in 1901 India's urban population was 11.4 percent, this increased to 28.53 percent in 2001 and further to 31.16 percent in 2011. According to the data collected through the Socio-Economic Caste Census-2011 (SECC-2011), 20.30 percent of the urban population lives in slums (22.4 percent as per the Census 2011), 0.31 million people are homeless and 0.23 million people live in shelters. It has been found that 35 percent of urban Indian households qualify as poor. This is above the earlier estimates of the urban below poverty line (BPL) population, that ranged from 13.7 percent as per the Tendulkar Committee's methodology to 26.4 percent going by the Rangarajan expert panel's formula (SECC, 2011).

While cities represent spaces of economic hope, the urban poor who are largely engaged in the informal workforce in cities are forced to live in inadequate housing. Their right to live and work in the city are questioned, hindered and have to be constantly struggled for and negotiated. At the core of this, is the idea of the urban poor as unequal citizens - 'encroaching' on land, 'evading' the formal economy and 'manipulating' access to basic services. In such a context, the state tries to enumerate and account for their numbers; and for the urban poor, legal identity documents become fundamental in negotiating citizenship within the system. Legal identity documents form the bedrock of access to development in the city - housing upgradation, basic services and social welfare schemes. While government schemes and programmes are aimed at inclusion, they paradoxically exclude access based on individual and family documentation.

This study is an attempt to create an evidence-based report on the status of access to legal identity documents and its relationship with housing and basic services in select inadequate settlements in four Indian cities (Mumbai, Indore, Bhubaneswar and Guwahati). Case studies from the cities have provided detailed accounts in the issues of access to these entitlements and services.

Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA), runs **Basic Service Facilitation Centres (BSFCs)** in inadequate settlements or slums in the cities of Mumbai (Maharashtra), Indore (Madhya Pradesh), Bhubaneswar (Odisha) and Guwahati (Assam) to empower the urban poor and facilitate their access to legal entitlements and basic services, contributing to the improvement of the Human Development Index (HDI). For this report a total sample size of 800 households spanning these four cities was selected. Data collection was carried out in five to six inadequate settlements (or slums) in Mumbai, Indore, Bhubaneswar and Guwahati. In Mumbai the sample drawn included homeless communities. This report is the outcome of a triangulated methodology for data collection. Data was collected from primary as well as secondary resources using qualitative as well as quantitative research methodologies. The primary methods used in data collection are household surveys, focus group discussions (FGDs) and, in-depth interviews which are documented as case-studies. The research tools used in this process are structured questionnaires, FGD checklists and in-depth interview guides. An analysis of secondary data has also been done.

It is important to understand the socio-economic, cultural, demographic and political differences of these four cities as they are from the North-East, West, East and Central India, located within distinct stages of urbanisation. After these considerations, it becomes essential to understand that they cannot be compared in absolute terms. Also, each of the cities developed in different phases and the specific approaches towards the process of development have also been different among them. Moreover, a sample size of 200 (for each city), cannot holistically depict or represent the status of basic service accessibility and entitlements in each of the cities but indicate larger trends of accessibility to basic services among inadequate settlements and the homeless.

Key Findings

1. Legal identity documents such as ration cards, voter identity cards, bank accounts, Aadhaar cards, worker's registration cards and state specific registration are a prerequisite to accessing social welfare schemes such as subsidy on food, education and healthcare. However these identity documents are not just used to access welfare - possessing these documents gives the urban poor a legal identity within the system, citizenship and rights in the city. It doubles up as a proof to be able to access basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity and, most importantly, shelter.

2. The study found that the sample population possess a high percentage of legal identity documents. Among the four cities, residents in Bhubaneswar possess a variety of legal identity documents. Madhya Pradesh has a state specific identity card, the '*Samagra* identity card' - which is an additional requirement by the state government that allows a family to access only a single social welfare scheme. In Guwahati, the 'D-voters list' disallows suspected immigrants and their families from accessing any welfare schemes until the case has been disposed.

3. Most of the urban poor have migrated from rural or urban areas. In their daily struggle to earn a living, taking time from work to procure legal documents has often been a long, cumbersome and often corruption ridden difficult procedure.

4. Owing to the unorganised and informal nature of their work, most of the respondents from all four cities did not have proper employment documents. More than 40 percent of the respondents owned hawker's licence and maximum were those from Mumbai and Indore while in the other two cities of Bhubaneswar and Guwahati the hawkers did not own any licence for selling their wares. Similarly, shop ownership (*Gumasta*) licences were also mostly owned by Mumbai and Indore respondents.

5. Inadequate settlements, commonly called slums, face regular threats of eviction. Almost 35 percent of the sample population across the four cities do not have housing schemes applicable for their slums. This is largely due to lack of land ownership and documentation. Moreover, since the homeless do not fall under any housing schemes, they can access schemes for homeless shelters.

6. Contrasting data on house ownership and land ownership reveals a trend - while 65 percent owned their homes only 1.25 percent lived on land that belonged to them and only 12.88 percent were able to upgrade to a *pucca* structure. More than 86 percent of the total respondents in all the four cities have not availed any credit for housing. Only 6.25 percent of the respondents stated that they are paying house tax or land tax. Taxes ranging from Rs 1,000 to more than Rs 3,000 per annum were mostly paid by respondents in Indore. More than 60 percent of the total respondents from the four cities were not aware of the process to register for a housing society.

7. In Guwahati and Indore more than 95 percent of the households have legal electricity connections, while in Mumbai, less than 50 percent households have legal electricity connections. Around 24 percent of the respondents from Bhubaneswar and 34.5 percent of the respondents in Mumbai used borrowed electricity connections. Around 19 percent of the Mumbai respondents use tapped electricity connections. A tapped connection means the connection is taken from a main supply wire, while borrowed connection means the connection is taken from neighbours on rent.

8. In all cities, residents get their daily drinking water supply from common water taps or borewells in the community. However, water from these sources is only available at certain specific times of the day. In-house water connections were only accessed by 21.5 percent of the total respondents. Most of the residents from these cities do not pay any charges for drinking water. Among those who paid for water, maximum number were from Mumbai who purchased water from suppliers and ended up paying as much as Rs.900 per month. Ground water supply was an alternative drinking water source used by most of the respondents when the main source was not available. The quality of the drinking water varied across cities and settlements.

9. With regard to sanitation facilities, Guwahati and Indore represent a better picture than Bhubaneswar and Mumbai with a high number of in- house toilets. Due to the inadequate provision of toilets in proportion to the users, maximum open defecation was practised among the Mumbai respondents. None of the respondents from Bhubaneswar, Guwahati or Indore paid any charges for using common toilet facilities unlike in Mumbai where there is a differential pay structure based on area and community dynamics.

10. While basic services like water and sanitation are available at a premium price in Mumbai, they are more affordable in the other three cities. In Guwahati while the surveyed slums were all on railway land they had developed a functional system for all basic services. In Indore while all slums have been slated for relocation under the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY), their existing settlements have all basic services.

In order to ensure equity in cities, following are recommendations to improve access to legal entitlements, housing and basic services for the urban poor:

Recommendations

1. Approach each city differently, develop city-based habitats for inclusive urbanisation: The study revealed a common trend in the approach to the urban poor and while the issues they face are common, a one size fits all policy has different implications for different settlements in cities. Take for example, Indore that shows the highest degree of access to land, secure housing and basic services. Yet each settlement faces the threat of being relocated to 'concrete housing' under the PMAY. Similarly, the slums in Guwahati and Bhubaneswar are well established, yet they face the threat of being forcibly evicted owing to railway expansion plans and Smart City plans, respectively. These settlements have developed organically and each has a well developed habitat - relocation and/or a fixed housing scheme unsees these habitats. Inclusive urbanisation would mean understanding city settlements and developing specific city-based habitat policies.

2. Provision of tenure for settlements and various housing options in a habitat policy: A housing policy does not adequately address the needs of the urban poor. The data shows only 12.5 percent of the households live in *pucca* houses and 35 percent are not eligible for any housing scheme. At the core of the reasons for lack of availability of adequate housing is the lack of land tenure. A specific habitat policy must include provision of land tenure and infrastructure in such settlements. Provision of rental housing should be introduced to help the urban poor find an alternate solution to the problem of lack of land ownership documents and cut-off dates which hinder their access to housing.

3. Provision of basic services in informal settlements must be delinked from tenure status of the settlement: In Mumbai and Bhubaneswar there was a strict correlation seen between housing, basic services and tenure. As long as there remains a strict correlation between the two, urban poverty will be exacerbated. In an insecure existence, people do not invest in their homes and pay a much higher price for basic services. In this case the local urban bodies hold the prime responsibility in ensuring basic services while tenure is the responsibility of the state and central governments.

4. Implement a law for slums on railway land: Taking into consideration, the extent of slums that exist on land owned by the railways, the railways must develop a slum development strategy with provision of basic services and infrastructure for slums on their property. A law for slums on railway land will ensure a holistic approach to the issues faced across cities.

5. Strict implementation of government schemes and policies introduced for the benefit of the urban poor: Independent committees at the state and/or city level should be appointed to constantly monitor and evaluate the implementation and progress of government welfare schemes and policies. These committees should also be responsible for providing regular feedback to the government.

6. Provision and access to legal identity documents must be simplified: Basic legal documents should be easily facilitated. Centres modelled around the Common Service Centre (CSC) in rural areas should be introduced at the electoral ward level in cities. These centres should facilitate access to legal identity documents in a non-bureaucratic, corruption-free process.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Documenting Urbanisation - Poverty and its Politics

India's urban population has grown rapidly over the last century from 62 million in 1951 to 377 million in 2011 (Census 2011). Though the share of the country's urban population to its total population is still at 31.16 percent (Census 2011), India's current non-rural population is larger than the entire population of the United States, which is the third most populous country in the world (IIHS 2014). It is projected that the urban population of India would grow to about 470 million in 2021 and 700 million in 2041 and the level of urbanisation is expected to reach the 50 percent mark in the next three to four decades (Slums in India- A Statistical Compendium 2011).

For the first time in history, Census 2011 highlighted that the net decadal addition to the population during 2001-11 was more in urban than in the rural areas, thus marking the beginning of a demographic shift. This trend will be an ongoing process with 600 million people expected to reside in urban areas by 2030 as compared to 377 million in 2011. Similarly, a report by McKinsey Global Institute found that during the last 50 years, the rate of growth of Indian urban population has been double of the rate of growth of the entire Indian population. Thus, while it took nearly 40 years between 1971 and 2008 for India's urban population to rise by 230 million, in the very near future, it could take only half that time to add another 250 million people to India's ever growing population (MGI 2010).

In India, cities are considered to be the engines of economic growth and, thus, are the source of diverse formal and informal sector employment opportunities. While urban India accommodates less than one-third of the country's population at present, its contribution to India's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is far larger. The Central Statistical Organisation (CSO) estimates indicate that this urban share of GDP increased from 38 percent in 1970-71 to 52 percent in 1999-00 and 62-63 percent in 2009-10 (HPEC 2011). Further, the Eleventh Five Year Plan document projects it to increase to 75 percent in 2021 (ibid.).

A striking feature in the trends of urbanisation in developing countries such as India is the shift in the locus of poverty to cities and towns. According to the World Bank's Agglomeration Index, a globally applicable alternative measure of urban concentration, the share of India's population living in areas with urban-like features in 2010 was 55.3 percent (Ellis and Roberts 2015). This suggests that there is an existence of considerable hidden urbanisation when one compares this to the 32 percent urban share of the total population as per Census 2011. Seen on the peripheries of major cities, this hidden urbanisation can be seen as a consequence of the failure to adequately address congestion constraints that arise from the pressure of urban populations on infrastructure, basic services, land, housing, and the environment.

The Niti Aayog[1] (formed on April, 2016) also draws its focus on rapid urbanisation. According to a report on 'Urban Management Programme for Capacity Building of States and Urban Local Bodies' published by Niti Aayog:

> rapid urbanisation is increasing the pressure on provision of basic services to citizens like water, sanitation and mobility in the urban areas. Infrastructure deficit is increasing the coping costs as well as leading to loss of productivity in the cities. Governance in the urban sector is seen as a challenge. Therefore, an effort needs to be made to ensure that the urbanisation process is efficient and inclusive (Niti Aayog, 2016).

According to the data collected under the Socio-Economic Caste Census-2011 (SECC-2011), 20.30 percent of the urban population lives in slums, and 35 percent of urban Indian households qualify as poor. The data also uncovers that in urban areas, 0.31 million people are homeless and 0.23 million people live in shelters. A caste analysis of urban areas finds Scheduled Castes (SCs) constituting 12.13 percent of the total households while 2.54 percent households belong to the Scheduled Tribes (STs) (SECC-2011). As per the Census 2011, 20.4 percent or 1 out of every five slum residents are SCs, compared to just over one out of 10 for urban India as a whole. This figure is 3.4 percent for STs. The proportion of SCs living in slums has risen by 38 percent over the last decade, and the number of STs living in slums has doubled (51.8 percent). This is contrasted by the 25.1 percent increase in overall slum population between 2001 and 2011 (Census, 2011). A gendered division of slums as per the Census 2011, found 22.5 percent women living in slums in slum reported towns.

[1] A government agency set up to replace the erstwhile Planning Commision. It aims to be a policy think tank that follows a participatory approach to achieve the goal of cooperative federalism. It must also be noted that the population the study was conducted with is where the BSFC has an outreach.

The right to live and work in a city is met with barriers and constrained by social and class locations. This exclusion, when viewed from a systemic lens, unravels structures that hinder the access to equitable citizenship in a city. In such a context, state provided documents become fundamental in negotiating citizenship within the system. Highly contested debates pertaining to slums in the cities are often situated in frameworks of state, development and citizenship.

The urban poor, who largely live in inadequate housing or in slum-like conditions, are unable to access adequate housing and basic services. Thus their experience of poverty intensifies. Access is hindered for various reasons, centred around debates on legality and illegality of residence. While government schemes and programmes are aimed at inclusion, they paradoxically exclude access based on individual and family documentation. For the poor who have migrated to the city or have moved from one location to another within the city, legal recognition through documentation of their existence becomes the only way to access any form of development.

1.2 A Permit for Existence - Legal Identity and Claim-making

In India, access to entitlements and basic services such as subsidised food, water, sanitation, housing, electricity and government welfare schemes require the possession of documents such as voter identity cards, ration cards and more recently bank accounts, PAN cards and Aadhaar cards. These documents have come to define existence. They are often linked to one another and valued not just for what they provide, but more for what else they can be used for. This has been exacerbated by local governments and state governments placing an importance on 'cut-off dates' that determine legality of residence, which can only be 'verified' by these documents.

Take for example the case of the ration card. It is a food card provided by the Food and Civil Supplies Department. Yet, for the urban poor, the ration card is continuously used to access housing, basic services, mortgage and as a security to establish existence in a city prior to a particular date. According to Taranginni Sriraman:

> The ration card system in India may be traced to late colonial rule (1940s) when the rationing of miscellaneous items was introduced as a wartime measure to ensure cautionary spending, keep the cities from starving and buffer priority sections like soldiers, policemen, industrial and mill workers. Post-independence, socialist considerations and the imperative of austerity in a country weighed down by food deficit, the follies of continued dependence on imports and the creation of a central food procuring agency informed the sporadic re-introduction of rationing. In the 1960s, following the establishment of the Food and Civil Supplies Department, ration cards issued for the purposes of regulating the consumption of specified articles like wheat, rice and sugar became key markers of identity across various classes of subjects ... emerged in post-independent India as a standard document of identification because it was sought by all classes well until the late 1990s not because of the food security it extended but also because of the residential proof it furnished. These various official and non-official functions of the ration card were rendered legally unacceptable in 1999 and again in 2001 when orders were clearly passed stating that the ration card cannot be used for anything other than the withdrawal of rations (Sriraman, 2013).

In spite of this, the ration card continues to be the most sought after document among the urban poor. This can be attributed to the fact that the ration card spells out family details at a particular residence that enables access to housing, resettlement and basic services. For the poor, it is these documents that become their legal identity that act as a safeguard and allow claim to land and resources in a city.

The importance of legal identity documents in the lives of the urban poor has also been captured by Vivek Monteiro (Jha, 2013):

> Though the phenomenon of migration has a long and chequered history, post 1991 liberalisation policies have enhanced the pace of internal migration of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers from rural to urban areas. It is seen that vast majority of these migrants are engaged in unorganised sector work and live a life of insecurity, vulnerability and are susceptible to 'illegality'. Monteiro describes the unorganised sector generally as comprising a large number of unregistered persons. Typically, born in village homes without birth certificates, dropped out of school at some stage without leaving certificates, forced to migrate to distant cities for work, live in unauthorised slum dwellings, often without any identity card. For many such persons, their name on a voter list is the only record of their existence as an Indian citizen. Informal staying arrangement for people engaged in informal and unorganised work limits their claim to citizenship (Jha, 2013).

Documenting the paramount importance of the voter identity card in Mumbai and its intricate link to access government resettlement housing Manish K. Jha (2013) writes:

> These enumeration processes became markers for declining illegality and illegality of claims of the migrant poor over housing rights in particular and on city-citizenship rights in general. Subsequently, the state government also introduced legislation that protected the slum dwellers who could establish that they were living at a particular place as of 1st January 1995. The homes of 'eligible' slum dwellers thus could not be demolished without their first being resettled. Any squatter family that owns its structure and can prove that it has been there since 1st January 1995, will be given a new home at no cost if their community is targeted for a government aided project. This meant that all slum residents and pavement dwellers who could establish that their names were on the electoral rolls on 1 January 1995 were protected in a manner by which they are to be rehabilitated if their homes are demolished for the project. Those who cannot furnish documentary proof will automatically fall outside the purview of any consideration. The 'cut off' date determines whether the state is going to tolerate the urban poor within its limit or not. The entire enumeration process undertaken by agencies like the MMRDA and the issuance of identity numbers are the proof of peculiar forms of classification and surveillance which keep the insecure poor always on tenterhooks (Jha, 2013).

1.3 Legalising Bodies - Inclusion and 'Application'

Legal identity refers to a human being's legal (as opposed to physical) personality. It allows persons to enjoy the legal system's protection and to enforce their rights or demand redress for violations. Narrowly constructed, legal identity refers to official, government issued identity documents that prove one's status as a person who can exercise rights and demand protection under the law (Asian Development Bank 2010).

In Indian cities, legal identities are formed based on documents such as voter identity cards, ration cards, bank accounts, UID/Aadhaar cards, PAN cards, passports, driver's licence, school certificates, birth certificates, FIRs, hospital records and in some cases even monthly transport passes! A document to establish legal identity becomes crucial for the informal migrant worker on a construction site, the child born in a slum, the family that has lived in an informal settlement for half a century and even the family that has been resettled into a colony on the periphery of the city. A legal identity is the means to access entitlements provided by the state and secure one's claim and right to the city. Alternatively, it is also used by the state to refuse claims made by individuals who are not able to produce adequate information through these documents.

The lack of legal identity documents results in an insecure existence. It not only causes a hindrance to access affordable housing in urban areas, it can be the reason for being rendered homeless by the state and the reason for not being able to access basic services like water and sanitation. In such a scenario, many poor and marginalised communities who do not have access to these documents live a precarious and a vulnerable existence. Hence, to understand and explain issues in access to basic services, a detailing of the hurdles and challenges to access documentation becomes important.

This study is an attempt to create an evidence-based report about the status of access to documents, housing, basic services and entitlements among the urban poor in the four cities of Mumbai, Indore, Bhubaneswar and Guwahati. The objectives of the study are as follows:

a. To unravel issues in access to different types of legal identity documents, housing and basic services by the urban poor in the cities of Mumbai, Guwahati, Indore and Bhubaneswar.

b. To comprehend and highlight the issues faced by the urban poor in accessing entitlements, housing and basic services.

1.4 Understanding Urbanisation- Indore, Mumbai, Bhubaneswar, Guwahati

Urbanisation is termed as a rise in population levels accompanied by economic growth, which is assumed to lead to a spread of urban areas. Urbanisation as a process seems to depend on a number of factors which range from migration, economic facilities to health concerns (Census 2011).

Indore - Madhya Pradesh's largest city as well as economic capital, Indore seems to be at the centre of the national imagination. Madhya Pradesh has had a steady rise in the number of towns in the last century of planned and unplanned development (1901-2011). The number of towns in the second largest state in India rose from 105 to 476 in the given period. This steady upward trend is further elucidated by the fact that there are 33 towns with a 100,000 plus population with the four major cities of Indore, Bhopal, Jabalpur and Gwalior comprising of a population exceeding 1,000,000. Indore is the most populous city in Madhya Pradesh which is home to 1.9 million people. The population has increased by an exponential rate of 34.3 percent between 2001 and 2011 (ibid).

Mumbai - The most populous city in the country and Maharashtra's capital, Mumbai, is home to 18.4 million individuals out of which there are 9.8 million males to 8.5 million females. The city's population rose from 16.6 million in 2001 to the 2011 levels of 18.4 million. The Mumbai Metropolitan region which is made up of Mumbai, Navi Mumbai, Thane, Vasai-Virar, Bhiwandi and Panvel, boasts of a population of 20.7 million and is stated to be the second most populous metropolitan region in the country (ibid). Greater Mumbai's population rose by a factor of twelve during the last century. The Island City was subject to much of the growth till the early 1950s, however the migration of refugees post independence led to a rise in the population of its eastern and western suburbs. In the time frame ranging from 2001 to 2011, Mumbai's urban sprawl grew by 14 percent (New Geography 2011). As a result, the population densities here are as high as 48,215 persons per sq. km. with 16,082 per sq. km. in suburban Mumbai (Census 2001)

Bhubaneswar - The capital of Odisha, Bhubaneswar's population was a mere 16,512 in the year 1951 but it grew by a massive 131 percent through the decade of 1951-1961 due to a shift in the capital city from Cuttack in 1954. The population growth rate in Bhubaneswar during the decades 1961-1971 and 1971-1981 was the highest and second highest in India, respectively. The Census of 2011 tells us that the city has a population of 843,402. There are 446,204 males to 397,198 females. Taking a look back at the growth rates of Bhubaneswar we see that the city grew by a factor of five since independence. Area-wise Bhubaneswar grew from 25.9 sq. km. in 1951 to 146.6 sq. km., with the density of people living per sq. km. rising from 638 in 1951 to 7,357 in 2008 (Pathy and Panda 2012).

Guwahati - The Census pegs the decadal growth of urbanisation in Assam at 27.61 percent which is comparatively lower than the last decade. But the share of urban population grew from 12.9 percent to 14.08 percent when compared to 31.16 percent of 2011. Urban growth here could be understood to be resulting from migration, both inter-state and intra-state, displacement and rapid development (Census 2001). After the partition of the country a large number of people were displaced and consequently settled in different parts of Assam. The shifting of the state's capital from Shillong to Guwahati in 1971 could also be thought of as an important factor in Guwahati's rise as an urban centre with the rapid expansion of roads, medical and educational institutions in these towns.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methodology

This study is a mixed method study that uses both quantitative and qualitative data, using both primary as well as secondary research tools. A total sample size of 800 households spanning four cities - Mumbai, Indore, Guwahati and Bhubaneswar - was selected. Data collection was carried out in five to six locations in each city. The sample respondents were scattered as per density of the population in each location. As a result, in all cities, while the net population covered is 200 households, the location wise sample varies as per the population size. In each city, two to four field staff conducted the survey in 200 households spanning 7 to 15 days.

The method of data collection was household survey, focus group discussions (FGDs) and, in-depth interviews documented as case-studies. The primary tools utilized for data collection were a structured questionnaire, FGD checklist and an interview guide.

Household Survey through Structured Questionnaire: For the study, door to door household survey was conducted. A structured questionnaire (see Annexure) was formulated to cover various questions on entitlements, housing, and basic services.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs): For the purpose of this research, two FGDs were conducted in both Guwahati and Indore while three were conducted in Bhubaneswar. In Mumbai, a day long discussion took place with 33 homeless men and women on issues related to access of basic services. All the FGDs had around 20 to 25 participants. Each FGD lasted for around one hour, except in Mumbai where the discussion was a day long. These FGDs were facilitated by two moderators. They then documented the discussion which took place. The participants included men, women, youth who belonged to Scheduled Castes (SCs) and minority communities.

In-depth Interviews Documented as Case Studies: To understand the problems of the urban poor with respect to processes involved in accessing basic entitlements, in-depth interviews were conducted in all four cities. On an average, four interviews were conducted on issues such as access to ration cards, issue of D-Voters in Guwahati, worker's registration cards and so on. These in-depth interviews were then documented in the form of case studies to highlight the important issues faced by the urban poor in terms of access to basic services and legal entitlements.

This primary data was then analysed on SPSS and has been complemented with extensive secondary data to arrive at findings.

2.2 Profiles of Households Surveyed

Across the four cities where the survey was conducted, it was noted that more than 65 percent of the respondents were female. One of the reasons behind this was due to the fact that women were generally available when the data was being collected. Since most of the respondents were female, the data collected represents several deficits in household facilities which are generally faced by women. Almost 50 percent of them were below 35 years of age.

Women in the urban slums (across four cities) showed lower educational attainment as compared to the males. More males are seen pursuing higher education as compared to females. More than 30 percent of the respondents reported their occupation to be that of a homemaker. The next reported occupation was that of labourer, and it can be concluded that maximum families in all the four cities were engaged in labour activities. Followed by labourers, there were 17 percent people who were self-employed and they were offering services within communities, and some even went out to offer their services. Some respondents reported that they were involved in local business, informal services or were self-employed. Around 8.13 percent of the surveyed population were engaged as domestic workers.

More than 65 percent of the households reported that they were the owner of their house. In this case, the ownership of house means ownership of the structure and not necessarily land ownership.

CHAPTER 3 STATUS OF ACCESS TO LEGAL IDENTITY DOCUMENTS AND ENTITLEMENTS

3.1 Status of Access to Documents and Entitlements

Legal identity documents such as ration cards, voter identity cards, bank accounts, Aadhaar cards, worker's registration cards and state specific registration are a prerequisite to access basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity, waste management; social welfare schemes such as subsidy on food, education and healthcare; and affordable housing. Possession of these documents gives the urban poor a legal identity within the system. Through the study it was found that the sample population possessed a high percentage of documentation[2]. The subsections below outline the challenges to access these legal identities and various concerns regarding access and entitlements.

Table 1: Types of Identity Document Holders in Each City

City	Ration Card	Voter Identity Card	Aadhaar Card	Bank Accounts	PAN Card
Bhubaneswar	79.50%	93.00%	95.50%	90.00%	25.00 %
Guwahati	34.00%	100.00%	0.00%	99.50%	98.00 %
Indore	60.50%	99.00%	100.00%	99.50%	21.50%
Mumbai	70.50%	61.50%	83.00%	69.50%	78.50%
Total	**61.13%**	**88.00%**	**70.00%**	**89.63%**	**55.75%**

3.1.1 Ration Cards

Ration cards are issued under the Public Distribution System (PDS), a national programme wherein beneficiaries who possess a ration card are provided certain food items at subsidised rates from a local-level Fair Price Shop (commonly referred to as the Ration Shop). BPL ration cards are issued on the basis of a certain annual income fixed by the state governments on the basis of the state quota earmarked by the Centre.

Public Distribution System and Food Security

The Public Distribution System (PDS) ensures availability of essential commodities like wheat, rice, sugar, edible oils and kerosene to the consumers, through a network of outlets or Fair Price Shops (FPS). There is at present a network of about 4.61 lakh PDS retail outlets in the country. PDS is operated under the joint responsibility of the Central and State Governments. The Central Government bears the responsibility of procurement, storage, transportation and bulk allocation of foodgrains, rice and wheat at subsidised prices, while the responsibility of distribution to consumers through FPSs rests with the State Governments. The PDS is one of the largest safety net programmes in India, set up to provide subsidised grains to the poor. Although it began as a universal programme in the context of food shortages in the early years of the nation, since 1997 it has been targeted towards the poor, providing rice, wheat, sugar and kerosene at highly subsidised prices to the poor, although households above the poverty line may also access PDS at economic cost. It is generally assumed that as incomes rise, households will buy higher quality grains from the market rather than the PDS shops (Niti Aayog, 2016)

The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) found that 35 percent of the OBC population in urban India possess ration cards while only 16 percent of the SCs own a BPL card in urban India (Hindustan Times, July 12 2007). Furthermore, approximately 2.16 crore de-duplicated/ghost/ineligible/forged/ fake ration cards have been deleted by the State/UT Governments during the years 2013 to 2016 (Business Standard, August 2, 2016). Some of the common problems with regard to ration cards are: a) many BPL families are not able to acquire ration cards because they are either migrant workers or due to the fact that they live in

[2] It must also be noted that the population the study was conducted with is where the BSFC has an outreach.

unauthorized settlements, b) mortgaging of the ration cards for money, c) creation of numerous cards for the poor due to poor planning, and; d) lack of proper information about the benefits of the cards has discouraged BPL families from registering for new cards (Deccan Herald, December 31, 2012).

Data showed that 61 percent of the cumulative sample had access to ration cards. The FGD data revealed that the quality of grain supplied in PDS shops not only changed from city to city but also from slum to slum. In Bhubaneswar, the quality of ration was good in the Birsa Munda slum and Public Health Department colony while Janta Lodge slum residents complained about the poor quality of ration. In Mumbai, Indore and Guwahati, the quality and quantity of ration across slums was dismal. In order to avoid conflict with the residents, the ration shops remained open only when food supply was ensured. Many ration shops were closed throughout the week since most of the time the food supply was not ensured.

Migrant workers and the homeless seldom have ration cards and thus, are forced to buy expensive food and items of daily use from the open market. Moreover, those migrants who possess ration cards are not able to use them in the cities where they work since the ration cards are issued at the place of origin, i.e., area from where they have migrated. Though the process to avail a ration card is fairly simple (process illustrated), the hurdles to access are multiple and based on a range of factors. While getting a ration card issued for the slum residents is a difficult task, it is exceptionally arduous for the homeless. **Case Study 1** highlights the problems the homeless face while applying for legal entitlements (like ration cards) that ensure a food subsidy.

Steps to Get a Ration Card Issued

Visit the local District Food & Supply Dept. to apply for Ration Card

↓

Get the application form (D1 Form) from the Govt. website

↓

Fill up the above mentioned form

↓

Give an affidavit declaring that he/she does not own any other Ration Cards

↓

Verification by the inspector/sub inspector of Food & Supply Dept. concerned

↓

Ration Card will be issued within a month.

3.1.1.1 Case Study 1: Ration Cards for the Homeless in Mumbai

Three years ago Surekha found herself without a roof above her head, living by the streets in Mumbai with her two children. She had been disowned by her husband and had nowhere else to go. She was unable to make a ration card given the time and money it would involve, especially since she had no 'residential proof' whatsoever. Without a ration card, she was forced to spend whatever little she earned, making garlands and cleaning bottles, on food bought from the open market. Her children did not get the nutrition they needed and were malnourished.

The local ration officers have reasons as to why they do not easily sanction ration cards for the homeless in such cases. The homeless do not have residential proof, largely owing to migration and their transitory nature within the city and hence it is difficult to assess how legitimate these cases are. For single women the problem is even graver - their names are on the ration cards of either their natal or marital homes and hence they cannot claim to not have ration cards at all, say officials. The homeless quota is another major reason given for denying a ration card. As per the targeted system or 'homeless quota', the homeless should receive wheat, rice, sugar, cereals, oil and kerosene through a fixed quota and at a fixed price. With regard to the ration card being used as residential proof, the officials feel that the homeless may as well get an affidavit from the local Corporator or MLA stating how long they have lived on the street - there would be no need for a ration card for this.

In 2004, the Maharashtra Government issued a Government Resolution (GR) stating that every citizen has the right to a ration card under the PDS. The Maharashtra Government has released a number of GRs (dates of these GRS given in the brackets) to relax the conditions regarding proof of residence for these groups. These include ration cards and entitlements for - unorganised workers (9/11/2000), homeless (23/3/2004), deserted women and widows (1/11/2000) commercial sex workers (29/9/1999) and migrant workers (14/7/2005) (Shah, 2014).

While the case above highlights the actual issues in accessing ration cards, the case below outlines how these bureaucratic hurdles are faced even by intervening organisations and outlines the lengthy processes involved.

3.1.1.2 Case Study 2: Accessing Ration Cards for the Homeless in Mumbai with Support

The BSFC ran an awareness campaign around the issue of basic entitlements. Sana wanted a ration card and approached the BFSC for the same. The BSFC staff filled up the form for the ration card, attaching her husband's PAN card as a proof of identity and made sure that she or her family did not have a ration card. As she lived on the pavement at the time she applied for the ration card, she was grouped under the homeless category.

Post submission, the BFSC, took legal assistance to complete the formalities. This included the filing of an affidavit that informed authorities of the urgency of the matter, while mentioning that no other ration cards had been issued earlier for the applicants. For the following nine months the BFSC staff followed up the case with the ration office every week. The concerned officer did not quite entertain queries on the filed requests. The Ration Cards guidelines clearly mention the provision that a ration card is guaranteed to be provided by the State within fifteen days (for people with documents) and within a month (for people without documents) of filing of the papers. Due to the lack of institutional will in providing Sana and her family with a ration card, the BFSC was compelled to file an RTI which asked for reasons for the delay, after a year of follow up. A week following the filing of the RTI, the BFSC staff were summoned to the Ration office where the newly appointed ration officer, asked them to fill out the requisite forms again. After re-submitting the forms, an officer was expected to do a background check and address check. But this process too, was subject to a number of bureaucratic hurdles as even without paying a visit the officer declared the background information as filled out by the applicant as false. This grave mistake was followed up with the ration card officer, who after eight months of follow up granted Sana and her family the approval of being a citizen of the state, of giving them the ration card, while they still lived on the pavement.

Sana's case demonstrates how the process to get a ration card is not without many bureaucratic obstacles. This in spite of assistance from people who were able to fill out applications, make demands and constantly follow up. For those without such assistance, the middle man is the only alternative. This route however is fraught with corruption and residents often have to shell out amounts as high as anything between Rs 5,000 to Rs 10,000 to receive a ration card in Mumbai.

The issue of ration cards is complex and one fraught with stringent rules. During the years 2013 to 2016 approximately 2.16 crore de-duplicated/ghost/ineligible/forged/fake ration cards were deleted by the State/UT Governments (Ministry of Consumer Affairs, Food & Public Distribution 2016). Case Study 3 highlights the issue of bogus ration cards in Guwahati and the hurdles encountered to ensure eligible beneficiaries receive PDS benefits.

3.1.1.3 Case Study 3: Issue of Bogus Ration Cards in Guwahati

All fresh issuances of ration cards were at a standstill in Guwahati since December 2015. The Director of Consumer Affairs explained that the department had tried to cover their quota of reaching out to beneficiaries in all the wards of the district and people did receive their cards within a few weeks in the December of 2015. But a few weeks later the Department was served a notice by the Commissioner who stated that there were flaws in the way people were chosen under the scheme. A survey was ordered to ascertain the genuineness of the card holders. The bogus card holders were asked to submit their cards back to the authorities by July 15, 2016. Along with this, all those who were found to own either a two wheeler or a four wheeler were asked to return their cards by the aforementioned date. By July, 8,047 ration cards that had been issued under the NFSA Act had been returned. The ration cards that were submitted were cancelled and the name struck off from the E-Ration Card Management System (ERCMS). The vacancies that were created as a result of this drive were planned to be filled up with new beneficiaries from the different wards of Guwahati Municipal Corporation (GMC). With a view on the vacancies created through the surrender of ration cards created by the NFSA beneficiaries, a new batch of card holders were to be selected as per procedures laid down under the National Food Security Act, 2013.

Due to an advocacy approach coupled with a steady follow up mechanism, the BFSC has followed up with issuing and processing the ration cards for reaching the larger goal of greater food security.

3.1.2 Electoral Photo ID Card or Voter Identity Card

The voter identity card is a document issued by the Election Commission of India to offer citizens the right to cast votes in the elections at the municipal, state and national levels. It also acts as a general identity, address, and age proof and is also known as Electoral Photo ID Card (EPIC). For the 2014 General Elections, 814.5 million citizens above the age of 18 were eligible to vote and out of these, 28,314 transgender persons were registered under the gender category of 'other'.

The study revealed that 88 percent of residents possessed a voter identity card. While the slum residents of Bhubaneswar seem better off in possessing a variety of legal documents as compared to the other three cities, they had problems with getting their voter identity cards issued. After repetitive requests and applications being submitted, many people were excluded from the process of acquiring a voter identity card as they had not applied within the given period. Due to the lengthy process of acquiring legal entitlement cards as well as filling repetitive application forms again and again, the slum residents have now started to suspect the issuing authorities of corrupt practices. This problem is further exacerbated in the case of those who are homeless and live on the streets. Case Study 4 focuses on the challenges faced by the homeless in Mumbai to get a voter card issued in their name. A legal identity document like the voter identity card will ultimately be what ascertains eligibility access to shelter.

3.1.2.1 Case Study 4: Voter Identity Cards for the Homeless in Mumbai

Anusaya Ramchandra Waghmore faces two problems - she is elderly and homeless. Abandoned by her family, she has been living on the streets of GTB Nagar, Mumbai, near a Hanuman Temple. She begs throughout the day to feed herself. For gaining access to basic services and entitlements, she lacks any legal identity proof.

Election officers are weary of allowing the homeless to access voter identity cards stating that it is a security threat, the homeless could be anyone who is not a citizen of the country. Clause 6 of the rules and regulations in the voter identity form states that for the homeless, residential proof is not required to access a voter identity card; election officers need to verify that the homeless live in a particular place. Officers are expected to do three rounds at night to make sure the homeless live there. However, sometimes election officers make these visits during the day when the homeless are at work. Moreover, the homeless are asked to provide a voter identity card of a reference (from the nearby building, shop, or any relative living with them who already has a voter identity card). This proves to be the most difficult. As an alternative, a self-declaration form of the Government of Maharashtra has been used by the homeless to avail a voter identity card. This self declaration has a rider stating that if the information is found to be false, legal procedures can be initiated against them. In spite of this, there remains an unwillingness among the officers to provide the homeless with voter identity cards. Experience has shown that it takes 1.5 years to get a voter identity card for the homeless after repeated applications and verifications.

In Assam, access to basic services and legal entitlements is a dream for those who are termed as **'Doubtful Voters'** or **'D Voters'**. In 1997, the Election Commission of India identified more than 3,70,000 people as D Voters. They were mostly Muslims but also included people from marginalised communities like linguistic minorities, Koch Rajbangshi, Nepali, etc. The process of the identification was dubious and it is alleged that the officials of the Election Commission were asked to mark at least 10 to 20 voters as D voters in each villages. There are many examples where some members of a family were marked as doubtful while the others as Indian citizens. There are instances where government servants are marked as D voters only because of their religious or linguistic identity. Till July 2012 there were 2,31,657 D voter cases in Foreigners Tribunals and of them 88,192 cases have been disposed off, while 6,590 were declared foreigners and 44,220 were declared as citizens of India.

Several lakhs of Muslims in Assam are facing brutal persecution in the name of being illegal Bangladeshis. Their citizenship is doubted by the state and they are forced to go through rigorous legal processes without any valid reason (see Case Study 5). If they fail to provide adequate documentary proof of their nationality or even fail to produce themselves before the Foreigners Tribunal, they are arbitrarily arrested and sent to a detention camp.

3.1.2.2 Case Study 5: D-Voters in Assam

An autorickshaw driver by profession, Nazir Khan is a 53-year-old resident of Santipur slum, which is situated on land belonging to the Indian Railways in Guwahati. During the 1990s he came in contact with and became associated with the Rashtriya Seva Dal, a subsidiary of the Indian National Congress. He served as a volunteer there. For the past few years Khan has become an activist for the Congress, which has historically been the dominant party in the state. Despite his activist background, owing to the fact that he belongs to a local Muslim community, he was labelled as an illegal Bangladeshi immigrant. The alphabet 'D' came to acquire new meaning for him during the year 2005 when came to know that the letter had been affixed to his name in the voter's list. It meant that he was categorised under the doubtful voters list and could neither vote nor avail of any government sponsored schemes. His children could not apply for government jobs nor could they open a bank account. He could not even get his daughter married because of the suspicion of being a Bangladeshi. Such was the weight of the letter D.

The resultant mental trauma has ruined his ability to work. This has meant that the weight of running the household has fallen on the shoulder of his daughter who works as a private tutor for children in the slum. Khan has claimed that he has all the requisite documents in place that prove his Indian nationality. This includes his 1966 voter list registration, ancestral property in Digboi (Miyadi Patta Land), a family ration card prior to 2005, Permanent Account Number (PAN), etc. He wonders why his citizenship is being questioned even though his forefathers, the indigenous Assamese Muslim have been part of the community since the 12th century. Nazir Khan is now preparing to fight his case at the Foreigners Tribunal as soon as he gets the summons.

The cases of accessing ration cards and voter identity cards are indicative of larger issues. While the ration card entitles citizens to subsidised food, the voter identity card entitles citizens to participate in democratic politics. Yet both these documents do not remain as mere proof to access entitlements. They double up as residential proof in insecure settlements, as citizenship documents when their nationality is questioned, as age proof to access scholarships and livelihood schemes, as proof to claim a basic water connection - and most importantly as a form of security to claim existence in a city. It is that voter card that will enable access to a government housing scheme or resettlement housing in case of an eviction.

3.1.3 Bank Accounts

The Census 2011 showed that only 58.7 percent households had access to banking. According to data released by Reserve Bank of India (RBI) in 2015, the number of deposit accounts increased by 17.4 percent, from about 1,227 million in 2014 to 1,440 million in 2015 due to the success of the Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY). Total number of savings bank accounts in 2015 was 1,170 million as compared to 978 million in 2014 (RBI 2015). The PMJDY is the National Mission for Financial Inclusion ensuring access to various financial services like availability of basic savings bank account, access to need based credit, remittances facility, insurance and pension to the excluded sections, i.e., weaker sections and low income groups. Under this scheme, nearly 22 crore accounts have been opened between 2014 and 2016, with the total deposits amounting to a little over 36,700 crore rupees (Times of India, May 26 2016). The 'Household Survey on India's Citizen Environment & Consumer Economy' (ICE 360° survey) reveals that 99 percent of households in both rural and urban India have at least one member with a bank account and 91 percent of urban households have their Aadhaar card linked to their bank accounts (Livemint, December 15 2016).

Maximum respondents from all four cities had bank accounts. Almost all households in the three cities of Indore, Guwahati and Bhubaneswar had bank accounts. On the other hand, more than 30 percent of the respondents in Mumbai did not have bank accounts. Only 10 percent of the total respondents in the four field cities needed help for opening bank accounts and the help required was the most in Mumbai. This is owing to the sample of homeless people who were included in the study.

3.1.4 Aadhaar */UID*

The Unique Identification (UID) project began in 2009. The Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) is a statutory authority established under the provisions of the Aadhaar (Targeted Delivery of Financial and Other Subsidies, Benefits and Services) Act, 2016 (commonly called the Aadhaar Act 2016) on 12 July 2016 by the Government of India, under the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology (UIDAI, 2009).The Aadhaar is a 12-digit unique identification number issued by the Indian government to every individual resident of the country. It is considered the largest biometric based authentication. This UID was established as a single proof of identity and address for any resident in India.

The UID which claims to be unique, universal and ubiquitous is being projected necessarily for streamlining welfare and service delivery, though officially it declares that 'UID will only guarantee identity, not rights, benefits and entitlement. The rationale for such a massive exercise is legitimated by the promise that this identity would make the poor and the marginalised visible to the state. The UID number is expected to plug leakages, including in the Public Distribution System (PDS), ease payments to be made under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), and enable achievement of targets in consonance with the right to education. Service delivery is a central theme in its promotional literature. However, numerous questions concerning the social consequences of the biometric tech based Aadhaar card come to the fore. Is it driven by a certain kind of political economy? Will it really improve the lives of the people? Is a centralised system of identification, and regulation, compatible with the dispersed form of governance structure, a hallmark of modern democracy? Will the private sphere liquefy under the system of an all encompassing centralized repository of digitised database?' (Jha, 2013)

While the Aadhaar card has helped the poor secure access to services like opening bank accounts, receive monthly pensions, access LPG Subsidy and other entitlements, on the other hand the question is, has accessibility become convenient for those who have secured the card? The paradox remains whether with or without the Aadhaar the urban poor still lack access to basic services, schemes and entitlements. The data showed that 70 percent of the respondents stated that they have an Aadhaar card. In Guwahati since the UID has not begun, the number was nil.

3.1.5 State Specific Registration Cards

Along with the Aadhaar Card, *Samagra* Family and Resident Identity Cards are issued to all residents of Madhya Pradesh. The Family and Resident database is created, owned, updated and managed by the concerned local bodies. The necessary information is provided during registration and includes a self-attested affidavit mentioning the age, residence, domicile, disability, BPL status and occupation. After verification of this information, an 8-digit Unique *Samagra* Family ID is provided to each concerned family while each member of the family is provided a 9-digit Unique *Samagra* Member ID. The database of families is intended to be used for transparent and easy implementation of various beneficiary-oriented schemes. However, the *Samagra* Card is fraught with various problems on the ground. Case Study 6 highlights the problems faced by the Indore residents because of the introduction of the *Samagra* Identity Card.

3.1.5.1 Case Study 6: Reality of *Samagra* ID Cards in Indore

The *Samagra* ID is one of the most important legal entitlements in the state of Madhya Pradesh. People question its relevance, when there is already the centrally sponsored Aadhaar Card programme in operation. The ID is made mandatory in every state government department and almost all schemes are linked to this special ID. It has caused both confusion and distress for the people of the state, who as a result are unable to avail of the benefits of state sponsored schemes. The application process for the ID is lengthy as well as time consuming, involving a mountain of paperwork. The *Samagra* ID links schools, ration cards, beneficiary cards, social security schemes as well as bank accounts. Several students in the state find themselves unable to sit for competitive exams due to a lack of this ID. Every household is linked to the *Samagra* ID and the state government can now decide autonomously as to what benefits the household will be entitled to. It is seen that the state suspends multiple benefits enjoyed by a particular household to only one benefit per family. Take the case of a household in Indore which consists of a domestic worker (the wife) who owns a domestic worker's card, a street vendor (the husband) eligible for benefits of a street vendor as per the Street Vendor's Act 2014, an elderly dependant woman who receives a widow pension. The family also holds a BPL card as the family belongs to the below poverty line category. Under the *Samagra* ID, the state

government allows only one welfare scheme to be accessed. The household in this case can now avail only the widow pension!

The main goal behind the introduction of the ID has been to connect each person and household with various government schemes but the reality depicts a totally different picture whereby the entitlements of the urban poor in Madhya Pradesh have been cut down in the name of *Samagra* ID linkage.

3.1.6 Employment Documents

The Ministry of Labour, Government of India had introduced the Unorganised Worker Identification Number (U-WIN) card in 2015 to provide social security schemes such as life and disability cover, health and maternity benefits, as well as old-age protection for workers in unorganised sector under the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act, 2008. Envisaged to register 35 million unorganised sector workers within three years, this labour card scheme has been scaled down in 2016 and replaced by the Aadhaar Card (Economic Times, May 9 2016). This is because the mandate of U-WIN or the unorganised workers' identification number criss-crosses with that of Aadhaar's and would lead to unnecessary duplication of work which is already being done under the ambit of the latter project.

All four cities reported low level of ownership of employment documents. The hawker's licence was owned by more than 40 percent respondents. Maximum licence owning hawkers were from Mumbai and Indore while in the other two cities of Bhubaneswar and Guwahati, the hawkers did not own any licence for selling their wares. Similarly, shop ownership (*Gumasta*) licences were also mostly owned by Mumbai and Indore respondents. Other employment documents such an Employment Identity Card and Domestic Worker's Registration were owned by less than 5 percent of total respondents. The Domestic Worker's Registration is not applicable in Guwahati and Bhubaneswar as both states do not have a law for Domestic Workers. The overall situation indicates the informal and unregulated nature of respondents' occupations.

Table 2: Type of Employment and Income Document Holders in Each City

City	Worker's Registration Card	Employment Identity Card	Shop Ownership (*Gumasta*) Licence	Hawker's Licence	Domestic Worker's Registration
Bhubaneswar	27.00%	7.50%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Guwahati	0.00%	0.00%	0.50%	0.50%	0.00%
Indore	6.00%	0.50%	40.00%	78.50%	6.50%
Mumbai	3.50%	3.00%	97.50%	0.00%	0.00%
Total	**9.13%**	**2.75%**	**34.75%**	**43.25%**	**1.63%**

3.1.7 Access to Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS)

Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) were launched in 1975 to provide supplementary nutrition, immunisation, medical check-ups, recommendation services, pre-school non-formal education and nutrition as well as health awareness to young children and their mothers. There is near universalisation of ICDS in India, to the extent that the ICDS scheme covers nearly 7,067 ICDS projects (99.89 percent) out of the approved 7,075 and almost 13.60 lakh *Anganwadi* Centres (AWCs) (97.14 percent) out of 14 lakh across states of India. However, of these, there are just 755 ICDS projects and 1,17,411 AWCs sanctioned for urban areas across the country. A study done by Action Aid in 2010 on the homeless in Chennai discovered that 66 percent of children under five years were not availing the ICDS facilities. According to Saxena (2012), the ICDS runs very poorly in urban slums areas and the urban *anganwadis* are in pathetic conditions.

Table 3: Access to ICDS in Each City

City	Percentage of participant's access to AWCs located at the community level
Bhubaneswar	77.50%
Guwahati	40.00%
Indore	72.00%
Mumbai	68.00%
Total	**54.38%**

The above table highlights that out of the four cities, access to *Anganwadi* (ICDS) is poor in Guwahati while in Bhubaneswar and Indore, more than 70 percent of the respondents had *anganwadis* in their vicinity. Additionally the people complained of low food quality in the *anganwadis* and their time of supply is also not satisfactory. On an average only 54 percent of the slums had access to ICDS services.

Image 1: Providing access to entitlements in Guwahati, Assam

Image 2: Registration of waste recyclers at Budh Nagar, Indore

3.2 Key Findings

- Lack of legal identity documents is the main reason for not being able to access basic services in slums, housing and social security schemes. It is what exacerbates poverty. For the urban poor, legal identity documents for a particular purpose do not just represent access to a particular entitlement like food subsidy or adult franchise. They have evolved to be their biggest security net - used as age proof, residential proof, and even a marker of citizenship. Apart from this, these documents are used to mortgage property, avail loans from informal sources and establish proof of existence prior to a certain date. The latter being the single factor affecting access to housing.
- The process involved in securing these identity documents is often beyond the capacity of the urban poor. Moreover, it is time consuming and despite regular follow up, it takes years to secure owing to bureaucratic hurdles. As seen through the cases, with the help of civil society organisations the procurement of such documents becomes more accessible, however, this is not a solution. In most cities, middlemen charge a hefty sum to procure a single identity document and become the only point of access of these identity documents.
- While the ration card is a sought after document, there are constant complaints about the poor quality of PDS in the four cities. The ration shops remains closed for most of the days owing to the poor supply of food items. The ration shops also do not give adequate amounts of ration to the beneficiaries.
- Issues like 'D Voters' in Assam or the implementation of the *Samagra* ID in Madhya Pradesh cause further hindrance in access to legal entitlements.
- As compared to other employment documents, hawker's licence was owned by more than 40 percent respondents across the four cities - this can be attributed to the Street Vendors Act (2014) and attempts by local governments to register street vendors.
- Access to *anganwadi* services (ICDS) was at 50 percent on average across settlements in the four cities.

CHAPTER 4 STATUS OF ACCESS TO HOUSING AND ELECTRICITY

4.1 Housing in Urban India

According to the Census 2011, there are 24.67 crore households in India, of these 7.9 crore are urban households. Census data suggests that a majority of urban households (69 percent) live in owned houses, 27.5 percent in rented houses and 3.3 percent in other housing options (Census 2011). The Socio-Economic Caste Census-2011 (SECC-2011) data shows a similar picture but with slightly different statistics. If we look at the ownership status of households in urban India, according to SECC-2011 data, 74 percent of the urban population, i.e., 48.14 million households live in self-owned houses while 22.02 percent live in rented housing. Around 1.43 percent urban households reside in houses provided by their employers whereas 0.42 percent live on the premises with their employer (SECC-2011).

While India's urban housing shortage is estimated at nearly 18.78 million households in 2012 (MHUPA 2012), the status of implementation of national housing schemes shows us that under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) and Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), 13,86,761 houses in the Economically Weaker Section (EWS) category were sanctioned out of which 10,60,899 houses have been completed. Under the 'Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (Urban) {PMAY (U)}', 8,54,386 houses for the EWS category have been sanctioned since its inception and construction of only 1,770 houses have been completed so far (as per data released during the Question Hour of the Parliament Monsoon Session 2016).

RAY was a centrally sponsored housing scheme launched in 2011 which envisaged to make a 'Slum Free India' by providing housing and improving basic civic infrastructure and social amenities such as water supply, sewerage, drainage, internal and approach roads, street lighting and social infrastructure facilities in slums and low income settlements. The scheme focussed on according property rights to slum residents and the urban poor by the states and union territories and would also provide subsidised credit. A progressive shift the RAY made was to de-link documentary proof of residence prior to state government cut-off dates. It stated that housing would be made available to the individual who is living in notified or non-notified structures. With a change in government at the central level, RAY was replaced by PMAY and all pending projects under RAY were incorporated within PMAY. What the PMAY brought back was the insistence on the state government cut-off date to access housing that can be proved only through an identity document made prior to the state government cut-off date. In Maharashtra that translates to documentary proof prior to 01.01.2000. An Aadhaar Card is also mandatory to access the PMAY.

4.2 Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana and its Status in the Four Cities

Indore: In Madhya Pradesh, there are 1,09,776 beneficiaries for whom houses have been sanctioned under PMAY (U) upto January 2017. The Indore Municipal Corporation (IMC) has planned to resettle urban poor into 68,126 *pucca* constructions by 2022 under PMAY (U). Out of a total of 1.82 lakh slum households, 41,638 households and 20,862 families will be benefitted in the beneficiary led housing and credit-linked subsidy schemes under PMAY (U).The remaining families will be benefitted through EWS/LIG policy, IDA and MP housing board schemes and shifted to Ground + 8 high rise buildings (Hindustan Times, December 23, 2016).

Bhubaneswar: In Odisha, there are 46,708 beneficiaries for whom houses have been sanctioned under PMAY (U) upto January 2017. The Bhubaneswar Development Authority and Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation (BMC) will be starting 10 slum development projects in the city which will result in 5,000 residential units for the EWS. In addition to this, 5,000 EWS houses in the city will also be constructed under various public-private partnership (PPP) resulting in a total of 10,000 houses for the EWS in the near future (Times of India, March 2, 2017).

Mumbai: As per a Maharashtra Cabinet Decision the PMAY will not be applicable in cities in Maharashtra where the Slum Redevelopment Scheme (SRS) is operational. In 1995, the Government of Maharashtra started the SRS under which private developers can purchase slum land from the government at a relatively low price - 25 percent of the fair market value of the land, and redevelop the land through the incentive floor space index. After purchasing the slum land and obtaining the

consent of 70 percent of the slum residents in the community, the developer will clear the land and rehouse the eligible slum residents free of cost in multi-storied tenements of 269 square feet (upgraded from 225 square feet) carpet area per household. Only slum residents who have legal identity documents to prove that they have been living in the slum prior to the cut-off date of 1 January 2000, are eligible for the free housing. The rehabilitation buildings are on a part of the land occupied by the slum (in situ). In return, the developer can construct buildings on the rest of the slum land and sell them on the market as a free-sale component (Wilson Center 2016).

Guwahati: GMC has started a house-to-house demand survey in Guwahati city as mandated by the guidelines of the PMAY scheme to select beneficiaries. In Assam, there are 24,345,708 beneficiaries for whom houses have been sanctioned under PMAY (U) upto January 2017. PMAY (U) has been extended to all 97 towns in Assam from the initially planned 9 towns of the state (Sarkari Yojana, December 29, 2016). The Assam government has set a target constructing 2.85 lakh houses for the urban poor under PMAY (U) (Times of India, August 11, 2016).

4.3 Status of Access to Housing in the Four Cities

Only 6.25 per cent of the respondents stated that they pay house tax or land tax. Yet the settlements studied in the four cities were largely marked as 'illegal settlements' and residents were referred to as 'encroachers' in the official documents of land owning agencies. These residents have faced forced evictions from the local government and railways. Not only has the railway been trying relentlessly to evict the slums, local bodies like Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation and Indore Municipal Corporation also have taken steps to evict the slum residents owing to Smart City Proposals in the former and PMAY in the latter. The homeless in Mumbai have been evicted by the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) for various reasons.

4.3.1 Land Ownership of Households

Table 4: Distribution of Land Ownership in Each City

City	City Authority - 15 percent land reservation (specific to Indore)	Airport	Municipal Land	Collector's Land	Forest Land	General Admin. Dept.	Public Health Dept.	Private Land	Railway Land
Bhubaneswar	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	80.00 %	20.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %
Guwahati	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	7.50 %	11.50 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	8.50 %	72.50 %
Indore	5.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	95.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %
Mumbai	0.00 %	8.50 %	33.00 %	48.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	10.50 %
Total	**1.25 %**	**2.13 %**	**1.75 %**	**37.63 %**	**2.88 %**	**20.00 %**	**5.00 %**	**2.13 %**	**18.13 %**

Maximum slums (37.3 percent) in the four cities were on the Collector's land, which is essentially state government land, followed by land belonging to civic authorities, including General Admin. Dept. in Bhubaneswar (21.75 percent) and then the Indian Railways (18.13 percent). Out of the homeless, 10 percent lived on Railway Land, i.e., on railway platforms of the local train stations, while the rest resided on Municipal Corporation land. In Indore, the '15 percent land reservation' meant that land ownership was assured. In total they form just 1.25% of the sample.

Image 3: A house at a slum neighborhood in Indore, Madhya Pradesh.

4.3.2 Type of Houses

According to the Census 2011, *pucca* houses are those houses whose walls and roof are made of permanent materials such as stones, burnt bricks, cement bricks, concrete, metal/asbestos sheets, machine-made tiles, cement tiles and so on. On the other hand, *kutcha* houses are those whose both walls and roof are made of materials that have to be replaced frequently such as grass, unburnt bricks, bamboos, mud, reeds, thatch, plastic/polythene, loosed packed stone, etc.

Table 5: Type of Houses in Each City

City	*Kutcha*	*Pucca*	Homeless	Total
Bhubaneswar	99.50%	0.50%	0.00 %	100.00%
Guwahati	100.00%	0.00 %	0.00 %	100.00%
Indore	72.00%	28.00%	0.00 %	100.00%
Mumbai	40.50 %	23.00%	36.50 %	100.00%
Total	**78.00%**	**12.88%**	**9.13 %**	**100.00%**

Very few households (12.88 percent) amongst all the four cities have a *pucca* structure. In Guwahati and Bhubaneswar nearly all households have *kutcha* type of houses. Indore has the maximum number of *pucca* houses (28 percent). In Mumbai, almost 32 percent of the respondents were homeless who lived without any proper housing. This data if contrasted with house ownership data and land ownership reveals a trend - while 65 percent owned their homes only 1.25 per cent lived on land that belonged to them and only 12.88 percent were able to upgrade to a *pucca* structure.

4.3.3 Housing/Land Taxes Paid

Table 6: Housing/Land Taxes Percentage in Each City

City	Tax Paid	Not Paid	Not Applicable	Total
Bhubaneswar	0.50 %	99.50 %	0.00%	100.00%
Guwahati	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Indore	24.00 %	60.00 %	16.00%	100.00%
Mumbai	0.50 %	63.00 %	36.50%	100.00%
Total	**6.25%**	**55.63%**	**38.13%**	**100.00%**

Only 6.25 percent of the respondents stated they are paying house tax or land tax. In Indore, almost one-quarter (24 percent) of the Indore respondents paid taxes. It becomes imperative to point out that a parallel can be drawn between the number of respondents who paid taxes (24 percent) and the number of *pucca* houses in Indore (28 percent) and land ownership, as seen in the previous section. According to the survey conducted, maximum taxpayer respondents paid less than Rs. 1,000 per annum. In Indore, which showed a maximum number of respondent taxpayers, the taxes paid ranged from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 8,500 per annum.

Image 4: A tent accommodation in Indore, Madhya Pradesh

4.3.4 Housing Development Schemes Applicable to Surveyed Slums

Almost 35 percent of the respondents were not applicable for any housing schemes. None of the slums surveyed in Guwahati had any applicable housing scheme. Furthermore, the respondents occupying Railway Land were deprived of any housing schemes as the Railway did not have any rehabilitation policy. In Bhubaneswar, maximum slum housing was developed under Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY). In Mumbai, the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme was the only option for those residents who have documentary proof of residing in a slum that is on state government land or municipal land prior to the cut-off date of 1 January 2000. In Indore, more than 90 percent of the respondents were eligible for upgradation owing to the 15 percent land reserved for the weaker sections. However, only resettlement under PMAY is an option for these settlements. In Indore 5 percent reported having accessed the Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY). The VAMBAY was launched in December 2001 with the prime objective of facilitating the construction and up-gradation of dwelling units for slum dwellers and providing a healthy urban environment through community toilets.

4.3.5 Credit Availed For Housing

More than 86 percent of the total respondents in all the four cities have not availed any credit for housing as they did not have the knowledge or the access to such credit schemes.

Table 7: Credit Availed For Housing in Each City

City	Availed	Not Availed	Not Applicable	Total
Bhubaneswar	1.00 %	98.00%	0.50%	100.00%
Guwahati	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Indore	1.50 %	87.00%	11.50%	100.00%
Mumbai	1.00 %	62.50%	36.00%	100.00%
Total	**0.88 %**	**86.88%**	**12.13%**	**100.00%**

4.3.6 Formation of Housing Societies

A 'housing society' is a group of house owners within a residential complex, usually one consisting of buildings with flats. The housing society formed must be formally registered with the registrar of co-operatives. In India, each state has its own rules with regard to housing societies. For example, a government resolution (GR) issued by the Revenue Department in Maharashtra states that the ownership documents should be provided either to individual slum-residents or to cooperative housing societies formed by them. However, if individuals are made the owners, then, they are supposed to form a cooperative housing society within two years of getting the ownership documents. Once the slum residents form a housing society, the district collector will have to transfer the ownership of the slum to that society (The Times of India, January 5, 2017). Hence, it becomes imperative to form housing societies for the slum residents in order to get ownership documents.

Table 8: Formation of Housing Societies in Each City

City	Formed	Not Formed	Not Applicable	Total
Bhubaneswar	99.00 %	1.00 %	0.00 %	100.00%
Guwahati	0.00 %	100.00%	0.00 %	100.00%
Indore	16.00%	84.00 %	0.00 %	100.00%
Mumbai	21.00%	42.00 %	37%	100.00%
Total	**34.00%**	**56.76%**	**9.26%**	**100.00%**

More than 60 percent of the respondents from all the four cities were not aware of the society registration process. In all the four cities, only 34 percent of the respondents have formed housing societies. Almost all respondents in Bhubaneswar have formed housing societies while none have formed any housing society in Guwahati. No respondent from Guwahati was aware of this society registration process. Out of all the four cities, only 12 percent of all the respondents had applied for the registration of housing societies and most of them were from Indore and Mumbai. Furthermore, 37 percent respondents in Mumbai city who had answered 'Not Applicable' belonged both to the urban slums as well as the homeless community.

4.4 Key Findings on Access to Housing

- Maximum slums in the four cities were on the Collector's land (37.3 per cent), which is essentially state government land, followed by land belonging to civic authorities (21.75 percent) and then the Indian Railways (18.13 per cent). Out of the homeless, 10 percent lived on Railway Land, i.e., on railway platforms of the local train stations, while the rest resided on Municipal Corporation land. In Indore, the '15 percent land reservation' meant that land ownership was assured. In total they form just 1.25% of the sample. Many of these settlements also faced constant threats of evictions from municipal and state authorities.

- Almost 35 percent of the sample population across the four cities do not have housing schemes applicable for their slums. This is largely due to lack of land ownership and documentation. Moreover, as the homeless do not fall under any housing schemes, they can access schemes for homeless shelters. More than 86 percent of the total respondents in all the four cities have not availed any credit for housing.

- Contrasting data on house ownership and land ownership reveals a trend - while 65 percent owned their homes only 1.25 percent lived on land that belonged to them and only 12.88 percent were able to upgrade to a *pucca* structure. Only 6.25 per cent of the respondents stated that they are paying house tax or land tax. Taxes ranging from Rs 1,000 to more than Rs 3,000 per annum were mostly paid by respondents in Indore. More than 60 percent of the total respondents from the four cities were not aware of the process to register for a housing society.

4.5 Status of Access to Electricity

Energy is a crucial input to promote socioeconomic development. Modern, affordable and improved access to energy and its services are crucial to stimulate social, economic and environmental development. In order to gain access to basic services like electricity the legal recognition of the slum settlement is the

prerequisite. One of the most significant barriers to accessing electricity by the urban poor is the connection fee followed by lack of residence proof for much of the urban poor, delivery and monitoring of electricity services (Lipu, Jamal & Miah, 2013).

In urban areas, 94.85 percent of the households have access to electricity. Kerosene, solar and other types of oil are also used as a source of light in urban India (SECC 2011). According to World Bank estimates, Indian urban population's access to electricity increased from 86.5 percent in 1990 to 98.2 percent in 2012.

4.5.1 Types of Electricity Connections Used

Table 9: Types of Electrical Connections Used in Each City

City	Legal Connection	Tapped Electricity Connection	Borrowed	Total
Bhubaneswar	74.00 %	0.00%	24.00%	100.00%
Guwahati	99.50%	0.50%	0.00%	100.00%
Indore	97.50%	0.50%	2.00%	100.00%
Mumbai	44.50%	19.00%	34.50%	100.00%
Total	**78.88%**	**5.00%**	**16.12%**	**100.00%**

Image 5: Electricity poles at a slum in Indore, Madhya Pradesh

The electrification across the four mentioned cities is almost 100 percent, but in slums, not all residents have an electric connection. Some people have legal connection, some borrow electricity and some use tapped electricity. The tapped connection means the connection is taken from a main supply wire, while borrowed connection means, the connection is taken from neighbours on a rental basis.

The slums in all four cities had household electric connections but the nature of connection was different. In Guwahati and Indore, more than 95 percent of the households have legal electricity connection while in Mumbai, less than 50 percent households have legal electricity connections. Around 19 percent of the Mumbai respondents use tapped electricity connections while around 24 percent of the respondents from Bhubaneswar use borrowed electricity connections. In Mumbai, 34.5 percent of the respondents who use borrowed electricity connections belong to both homeless communities as well as urban slums.

The electricity supply in Guwahati was taken from a private supplier as the respondents lived in slums on railway land, while in Bhubaneswar and in Indore it was supplied by the electricity board. The Birsa Munda

and Public Health Department Campus slums in Bhubaneswar had regular electric supply and also had street lights. The cost of the electric supply in cities like Guwahati goes upto Rs 7 per unit. In the Janta Lodge slum in Bhubaneswar, the electricity was supplied by a self declared owner and everyone was paying a certain price to this 'owner' for accessing electricity. Respondents with borrowed connections from Mumbai and Bhubaneswar were trying to get legal connections and had applied to electricity supply companies. Most of the slums in the four cities did not have street lights which were creating difficulties for the residents at night, especially for women.

While residents do not have their own land, electricity bills are in the name of the house owner. Let us take the example of Indore. While a slum may be on the Collector's land, the electricity bill for every month comes in the name of the house owner. The situation is similar in Bhubaneshwar, Guwahati and Mumbai. If electricity is shared by households, in that case households who share electricity pay the required amount to the master household (in whose name the electricity bill is registered). This is done on the basis of sub meters or by mutual understanding among these households. Additionally, in Indore there exists a government scheme where 'ek batti' (one bulb) option can be availed through the government. Very few have availed the option as most of them have electricity connections in their respective names or on sharing basis.

CHAPTER 5 STATUS OF ACCESS TO WATER AND SANITATION

5.1 Access to Water in the Four Cities

In India, the main source of drinking water in slum households is tap water from treated source (65.3 percent), followed by hand pump (12.7 percent), tap water from un-treated source (8.7 percent), tubewell/ borewell (7.6 percent) and other water sources such as covered wells, rivers, tanks/ ponds and so on (Census 2011). According to the survey done under SECC-2011, 72.11 percent of the urban population, i.e., 46.97 million households have drinking water sources within the premises whereas 20.27 percent have the water sources near their premises and 7.60 percent away from their premises. While Census 2011 shows entirely different numbers, analysis done by IIHS (2014) of the Census 2011 data reveals that nearly two-thirds of the households do not have access to water within the house, and 8 percent of households need to fetch water from more than 100 meters away from their households. Further, nearly 40 percent of urban households have no access to public supply, and have to depend on other sources of water such as small-scale private players like tankers and self-provisioning, typically through tube-wells or hand-pumps (IIHS, 2014).

5.1.1 Drinking Water Supply

Table 10: Drinking Water Supply System in Each City

City	Connection in Residence	Common Tap	Common Hand Pump	Purchase from Another Source	Total
Bhubaneswar	41.00 %	80.00 %	32.50 %	5.00 %	100.00 %
Guwahati	14.00 %	100.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	100.00 %
Indore	25.50 %	53.00 %	23.00 %	16.50 %	100.00 %
Mumbai	5.50 %	23.50 %	1.00 %	70.50 %	100.00 %
Total	**21.50 %**	**64.13 %**	**14.13 %**	**23.00 %**	**100.00 %**

In all four surveyed cities, only 21.5 percent residents have in-house water connections. Maximum residents (64 percent) use common water taps, water from which is available only at certain times of the day. Bhubaneswar has maximum number of water connections within the residence while Mumbai has the least. It is seen that even people who have tap connections within their residence were using common water tap connections as residential water supply is not sufficient.

The water supply to the slums in the four cities is the responsibility of their respective Municipal Corporation, though for those slums located on railway land the Municipal Corporation does not provide water. The water supplied in the slums of Guwahati was through bore-wells situated within the community. Water was pumped out of the bore-well with the help of electricity and stored. The water is supplied at a particular time and most of the households fetch the water from a central tank. In Bhubaneswar, water was stored in tanks created by Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation located in the communities. Each community or lane has their own common water tap so that people can go and collect the water at a stipulated time. In Indore, source of water supply was the borewell and the same water is used for drinking and other household purposes. In the case of Guwahati, in slums where the survey was conducted, the source of water was either bore wells or community wells, either in the community or one serving five-six households. In Mumbai, maximum people purchased water from the suppliers and the water was provided in plastic cans.

In Guwahati, water timings were one hour in the morning and one hour in the evening and the residents could only fetch water at those times. The water timing in Indore was critical as it was available only once a day and in one settlement (Suryadev Nagar), some parts were getting water on alternate days of the week. In the slums surveyed in Bhubaneswar timings for fetching water were better and people seem to get enough water as it is available both in the morning as well as in the evening.

Image 6: A source of drinking water in Guwahati, Assam

5.1.2 Cost of Drinking Water

Most of the residents (78 percent) from the four cities do not pay charges for drinking water. In Indore, the electricity charges for the borewell were paid by the local corporator. Though most of the people get water for free, few people purchase water if their requirement is higher or resort to private water tankers to access water in the summer. In the case of Guwahati, in slums where the survey was conducted, the source of water was either bore wells or community wells, either in the community or one serving five-six households. Hence, they do not have to pay for the water they receive. Those who buy water from the water supply department are charged Rs. 100 or 200 per household as four-five households buy 600-700 litres of water at a time. In Bhubaneswar, water charges were not fixed and people were fetching water free of cost. In Mumbai water charges were the highest.

Table 11: Amount Paid per Month for Availing Drinking Water in Each City

City	No Charges	40 to 100 Rs./Month	200 to 300 Rs./Month	Above 300 to 600 Rs./ Month	Above 900 Rs./Month	Total Percentage of Response
Bhubaneswar	100.00%	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.0 %	100 %
Guwahati	98.00 %	2.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	100 %
Indore	84.50 %	0.00 %	12.50 %	2.50 %	0.50 %	100 %
Mumbai	30.50 %	8.00 %	10.50 %	19.50 %	31.50 %	100 %
Total	**78.25 %**	**2.50 %**	**5.75 %**	**5.50 %**	**8.00 %**	**100 %**

Among those who paid for water, Mumbai residents were paying the highest charges for the water which can mount up to Rs. 900 per month. All residents from Bhubaneswar city were not paying any charges for their drinking water. In all four cities, fetching water was the responsibility of the women who were responsible for collecting, storing and processing fetched water into drinking water. Women are doubly burdened and it is important to note that such gender discrepancies (with respect to fetching water) are not just visible in urban scenario but it is also quite distinct in the rural areas.

5.1.3 Alternative Water Sources

Ground water supply was an alternative water source used by most of the residents when the main source of water was not enough or available.

Table 12: Alternative Water Sources in Each City

City	Leaked Water Line	Common Tube-well	Public Health Dept. Supply- Borewell	Open Well
Bhubaneswar	0.00 %	0.00 %	100.00 %	0.00 %
Guwahati	0.00 %	17.50 %	0.00 %	0.00 %
Indore	0.00 %	52.50 %	0.00 %	22.00 %
Mumbai	4.50 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %
Total	**1.13 %**	**4.38 %**	**25.00 %**	**5.41 %**

The above table depicts that in Bhubaneswar, all the respondents used the borewell as alternative sources of water while in Indore, water from open well was used when the primary source of water was not available. Common tube-well as an alternative water source was used both in Guwahati (17.50 percent) and Indore (52.50 percent). Around 4.5 percent of the Mumbai respondents used leaked water line in case the primary source of water was unavailable.

5.1.4 Key Findings on Access to Water

- Maximum residents (64 percent) use common water taps, water from which is available only at certain times of the day. Only 21.5 percent residents have in-house water connections. Bhubaneswar has maximum number of water connections within the residence while Mumbai has the least. It is seen that even people who have tap connections within their residence were using common water tap connections as residential water supply is not sufficient.
- Most of the residents (78 percent) from the four cities do not pay charges for drinking water. However, among those who paid for water, Mumbai respondents paid the highest charges for the water - upto Rs.900 per month.
- Ground water supply was an alternative water source used by most of the residents across cities when the main source of water was not enough or available.

5.2 Access to Sanitation in the Four Cities

Around 81 percent of urban households have access to toilet facilities within the household premises, 6 percent use public toilets and 12 percent resort to open defecation (Census 2011). A small percentage of households make use of unsanitary options like unimproved pit latrines, or toilets where waste is removed by humans, animals or drains. This often perpetuates the practice of manual scavenging, which goes against human dignity (IIHS 2014). Access to sanitation facility in slums is a challenge when slums are not recognised by the local government that is supposed to provide these basic services. Census (2011) discloses the data that in slum households all over India, 57.7 percent use flush/pour flush latrine; 18.9 percent defecate in the open; 15.1 percent percent use public latrines; 6.2 percent use pit latrines; 1.6 percent dispose their night soil into the open drain and only 0.6 percent use service latrines. The data from the Census 2011 reveals that 66.6 percent of the slum households in India have a bathroom with bathing facility within their premises while there is no such provision in 19 percent of the slum households in India. SECC 2011 data

on waste water outlet connection reveals that 56.17 percent households have closed drainage while 30.93 percent have open drainage for waste water.

The Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM), was launched on 2nd October, 2014 with the aim to make 4,041 statutory town/cities Open Defecation Free (ODF) and with 100 percent scientific management of Municipal Solid Waste by 2nd October, 2019. 115 cities have been declared ODF under SBM (Urban) while of the six lakh plus villages in India, 54,732 were declared ODF as of 31st March 2016 (The Hindu, October 2 2016). The target as per the SBM guidelines are 10 million individual household toilets - 2.2 million toilets have been constructed so far.

5.2.1 Toilet and Urinal Facilities

Table 13: Types of Toilet and Urinal Facilities in Each City

City	Own	Common	Open Defecation	Urinal	Total
Bhubaneswar	42.00 %	54.00 %	0.00 %	2.50 %	100.00 %
Guwahati	97.00 %	1.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	100.00 %
Indore	93.00 %	53.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	100.00 %
Mumbai	8.00 %	32.50 %	22.50 %	38.50 %	100.00 %
Total	**60.00 %**	**35.13 %**	**5.63 %**	**10.25 %**	**100.00 %**

Most Guwahati and Indore respondents had toilets in their houses. Less than 50 percent of the households in Bhubaneswar had in-house toilet facility while very few households (8 percent) had this facility in Mumbai. Apart from having a toilet at home, in Indore, few family members, especially the men, used common toilets. This is because more number of people live together in a small dwelling and thus, it becomes difficult to make use of the toilet at home. In Guwahati, some people have also built *kutcha* latrines, i.e., pit latrines that are dug in mud, in open spaces near the community. In Bhubaneswar, there are common toilets which are not sufficient to meet the needs of all the slum residents. The people from the Janta Lodge slum in Bhubaneswar used the railway track for defecation while children were defecating in the open. Maximum open defecation is practised in Mumbai as residents had fewer common toilet facilities in proportion to the population. This is evident in Ambujwadi (Mumbai) where only 12 toilets are constructed for a population of over 5,000 people. The case is similar with the homeless population living in Matunga King's Circle (Mumbai). It is important to note that in Mumbai common toilets have been constructed based on the public private partnership model under the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan but the number of these toilets are still less to cover the urban population in the city.

Overall, only 10 percent of the total respondents had a facility of a common urinal in the four cities. The common urinals however were not in proportion to the population. Almost 40 percent of the respondents in Mumbai had access to common urinals.

Image 7: A toilet in Guwahati, Assam

More than 60 percent of the respondents who were using common toilet facility applied for a proper in-house toilet facility to the civic authorities. Around 94 percent of the respondents who are forced to defecate in the open due to lack of toilet facilities were the most active in applying to avail toilet facilities.

5.2.2 Charges for Toilet Facilities

Table 14: Usage Charges of Toilet Facilities Per City

City	No Charges	2 Rs. Per Use	3 Rs. Per Use	4 Rs. Per Use	5 Rs. Per Use	Rs.20 Per Month	Rs.40 Per Month	Rs.100 Per Month	Per Total
Bhubaneswar	100.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	100 %
Guwhati	100.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	100 %
Indore	100.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	0.00 %	100 %
Mumbai	40.50 %	16.00 %	10.50 %	12.50 %	16.00 %	2.00 %	2.00 %	0.50 %	100.00 %
Total	**60.13 %**	**4.00 %**	**27.63 %**	**3.13 %**	**4.00 %**	**0.50 %**	**0.50 %**	**0.13 %**	**100.00 %**

Respondents from Bhubaneswar, Guwahati and Indore do not pay any charges for using toilet facilities. Residents were only charged in Mumbai. This charge varied across communities and toilets depending on systems of pay and use. One time users were more frequent among the homeless. In some communities toilets have been constructed based on the public private partnership model. Each family gets the key to use the toilet and they have to pay Rs 50 for 5 people for a month and if the members are more than 5 then Rs 60 is to be paid every month. The issue remains that the number of toilets constructed are way less in comparison to the population.

Children in slums defecate in the open and, most of the time, near their houses. Where community toilets are available across cities, they were not maintained properly, and people using those toilets were not happy with the condition of the toilets. Women did not find the community toilets safe as there was neither proper lighting nor water available in the toilets.

5.3 Key Findings on Access to Sanitation

- Most Guwahati and Indore respondents had toilets in their houses. Less than 50 percent of the households in Bhubaneswar had in-house toilet facility while very few households (8 percent) had this facility in Mumbai. Maximum open defecation is practised in Mumbai as compared to the other three cities since the Mumbai sample population had less common toilet facilities in proportion to the population.
- In Guwahati, some people have also built *kutcha* latrines, i.e., pit latrines that are dug in mud, in open spaces near the community. In Bhubaneswar, there are common toilets not sufficient to meet the needs of all the slum residents. The people from the Janta Lodge slum in Bhubaneswar used the railway track for defecation while children were defecating in the open. Maximum open defecation is practised in Mumbai as residents had fewer common toilet facilities in proportion to the population.
- More than 60 percent of the respondents who were using common toilet facility applied for a proper in-house toilet facility to the civic authorities. Around 94 percent of the respondents who are forced to defecate in the open due to lack of toilet facilities were the most active in applying for availing toilet facilities.
- Respondents from Bhubaneswar, Guwahati and Indore do not pay any charges for using toilet facilities. Residents were only charged in Mumbai. This charge varied across communities and toilets depending on systems of pay and use.

5.4 Access To Healthcare

India, over the last two decades, has enjoyed accelerated economic growth, but has fared poorly in human development indicators and health outcomes. Large inequities in health and access to health services continue to persist and have even widened across states between rural and urban areas, and within communities (Baru et al, 2010).

At the outset, it is important to look at the statistical display of data with respect to health in India. The World Health Organisation's (WHO) 2000 global healthcare profile ranked India's healthcare system 112th out of 190 countries. In India there are only 1,083 Urban Family Welfare Center (UFWCs) and 871 Health Posts (HPs) catering to 377 million of the Indian urban population which comes out to be one UFWC/HP per 192,992 urban populations instead of the stated norm of one centre for every 50,000 persons, highlighting severe accessibility issues (Gupta and Guin 2015). Recent data has shown that the urban poor, though living in proximity of good health facilities, are often unable to access them. This becomes evident if we take into consideration the under-five mortality rates among the urban poor which is nearly three times higher than that for the urban high income groups. As per the NFHS III (2005-06) data, among children 12-23 months of age, belonging to the urban poor, only 40 percent are fully immunised. The proportion of severely underweight children among the urban poor (47 percent) is nearly twice than that of urban non-poor group (26.2 percent).

This study has analysed access to healthcare facilities across four cities. In this regard it has been found that out of all the four cities, Guwahati represents a satisfactory picture when it comes to health care accessibility. In surveyed areas almost all respondents agreed to the fact that Primary Healthcare Centres and Dispensaries were located only 2 kms away from the area whereas the Municipal Hospitals were 10 kms away. In Bhubaneswar, 77.5 percent of the respondents have access to Primary Healthcare Centres within 2 kms, 69 percent of them have access to the local dispensary with 2 kms and 77 percent of them have access to the Municipal Hospital located within 10 kms. On the other hand Indore still holds a better position when it comes to accessibility with respect to PHC within 2 kms (84 percent), dispensary within 2 kms (100 percent) and municipal hospital within 10kms (100 percent). The commercial capital of India has the worst record when it comes to health care (according to the survey). In Mumbai 31 percent participants recorded access to Primary Health Care Centres (located within 2 kms), 55 percent of them have a dispensary within 2 kms and 81 percent have access to Municipal Hospital (within 10 kms).

CONCLUSION

The concept of right to city, rooted by French radical philosophers in 1968, has become a popular slogan today among rights activists and inclusive growth policy makers. The right to city is a transformative idea with a socialist agenda - this concept is characterised by the right to inhabit/reside, and concretised through housing and mortgage regulation plus access to basic services and legal entitlements. Right to city should be envisioned as a fundamental human right (Maringanti, 2011). The concept of right to city should be concretised through the medium of social movements so as to give shape to inclusive growth and welfare for all in the urban space.

According to the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (2016), most of the poor living in urban cities are involved in the informal sector activities where there is a constant threat of eviction, removal, confiscation of goods and almost nonexistent social security cover. They face deprivation in terms of lack of access to sanitary living conditions and their well-being is hampered by discrimination, social exclusion, crime, and violence, insecurity of tenure, hazardous environmental conditions and lack of voice in governance.

This study was an effort to understand and analyse the dynamics of issues and hardships with respect to accessing legal identity documents, housing and basic services across the four Indian cities of Mumbai, Indore, Bhubaneswar and Guwahati. The data analysed in this study has revealed some profound, yet appalling insights.

Cities are considered to be the engines of growth and are continuously expanding but at the same time, the stigma of being an 'encroacher' is associated with a large number of people. This hampers their means to access important identity documents but also curbs their ability to claim right to land and resources in a city. Further, poor access to water, sanitation, food, housing, health care and constant threat of evictions makes them vulnerable to remaining in a cycle of poverty. The findings from this report are only the tip of the iceberg and further research is needed in order to study trends in access of legal identity documents and basic services across different Indian cities.

In order to ensure equity in cities, following are recommendations based on the findings in this report:

1. Approach each city differently, develop city-based habitats for inclusive urbanisation: The study revealed a common trend in the approach to the urban poor and while the issues they face are common, a one size fits all policy has different implications for different settlements in cities. Take for example, Indore that shows the highest degree of access to land, secure housing and basic services. Yet each settlement faces the threat of being relocated to 'concrete housing' under the PMAY. Similarly, the slums in Guwahati and Bhubaneswar are well established, yet they face the threat of being forcibly evicted owing to railway expansion plans and Smart City plans, respectively. These settlements have developed organically and each has a well developed habitat - relocation and/or a fixed housing scheme unsees these habitats. Inclusive urbanisation would mean understanding city settlements and developing specific city-based habitat policies.

2. Provision of tenure for settlements and various housing options in a habitat policy: A housing policy does not adequately address the needs of the urban poor. The data shows only 12.5 percent of the households live in *pucca* houses and 35 percent are not eligible for any housing scheme. At the core of the reasons for lack of availability of adequate housing is the lack of land tenure. A specific habitat policy must include provision of land tenure and infrastructure in such settlements. Provision of rental housing should be introduced to help the urban poor find an alternate solution to the problem of lack of land ownership documents and cut-off dates which hinder their access to housing.

3. Provision of basic services in informal settlements must be delinked from tenure status of the settlement: In Mumbai and Bhubaneswar there was a strict correlation seen between housing, basic services and tenure. As long as there remains a strict correlation between the two, urban poverty will be exacerbated. In an insecure existence, people do not invest in their homes and pay a much higher price for basic services. In this case the local urban bodies hold the prime responsibility in ensuring basic services while tenure is the responsibility of the state and central governments.

4. Implement a law for slums on railway land: Taking into consideration, the extent of slums that exist on land owned by the railways, the railways must develop a slum development strategy with provision of basic services and infrastructure for slums on their property. A law for slums on railway land will ensure a holistic approach to the issues faced across cities.

5. Strict implementation of government schemes and policies introduced for the benefit of the urban poor: Independent committees at the state and/or city level should be appointed to constantly monitor and evaluate the implementation and progress of government welfare schemes and policies. These committees should also be responsible for providing regular feedback to the government.

6. Provision and access to legal identity documents must be simplified: Basic legal documents should be easily facilitated. Centres modelled around the Common Service Centre (CSC) in rural areas should be introduced at the electoral ward level in cities. These centres should facilitate access to legal identity documents in a non-bureaucratic, corruption-free process.

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ANNEXURES

1. Percentage Distribution of Respondents as Per Numbers of Households in Each City

City	Location	Numbers of Households	Percent of Households
Bhubaneswar	Behera Sahi	9	5
	Khandagiri	30	15
	Kharvel Nagar	68	34
	Saheed Nagar	61	31
	Satya Nagar	32	16
	Total	**200**	**100**
Guwahati	Bharalumukh	40	20
	Bhutnath	50	25
	Dhirenpara	40	20
	Santipur	40	20
	Uzanbazar	30	15
	Total	**200**	**100**
Indore	Choithram Mandi (Indrajeet Nagar)	32	16
	Hawa Bangla (40 Quarters, Maratha Basti, Budh Nagar, Gujarati Basti, New Suryadev Nagar)	123	62
	Ekta Nagar	12	6
	Rahul Gandhi Nagar	33	17
	Total	**200**	**100**
Mumbai	Bhajiwadi – Bandra Airport	17	9
	Behrampada (Bandra East)	34	17
	Ambujwadi	45	23
	Annabhau Sathe Nagar	40	20
	Homeless	64	32
	Total	**200**	**100**
Grand Total		**800**	

2. Survey Questionnaire

YUVA - Survey on Access to Basic Services and Entitlements

1. Name :..... Mob No.....Form No:.....
2. Street/Chawl:.....Area:.....Ward:.....City.....
3. Age: ..... Sex:..... Education:..... Occupation:.....
4. House ownership *(ask at the end)*: 1. Own 2. Rented 3.Other

Sr	Services	Access/ownership *NA=not applicable*	if not *DK=Don't Know, AP=Applied, FU=follow up*
1	**Access to water**		
a	Direct water connection in residence	Yes ☐ No ☐ NA ☐	DK ☐ AP ☐ FU ☐
b	Common water tap in lane	Yes ☐ No ☐ NA ☐	DK ☐ AP ☐ FU ☐
c	Common hand pump in lane	Yes ☐ No ☐ NA ☐	DK ☐ AP ☐ FU ☐
d	Purchase water from private source	Yes ☐ No ☐ NA ☐	☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
e	If yes, cost of water (in Rs.)		
f	Other (please specify – eg. Well in community)		

2	Access to sanitation												
a	Toilet within residence	Yes	☐	No	☐	NA	☐	DK	☐	AP	☐	FU	☐
b	Community Toilet	Yes	☐	No	☐	NA	☐	DK	☐	AP	☐	FU	☐
c	If community toilet, is it paid	Yes	☐	No	☐	NA	☐	DK	☐	AP	☐	FU	☐
d	Amount paid (in Rs./day/week/month)												
e	Public urinal	Yes	☐	No	☐	NA	☐	DK	☐	AP	☐	FU	☐
f	Open defecation	Yes	☐	No									

3	Electricity												
a	Legal connection	Yes	☐	No	☐	NA	☐	DK	☐	AP	☐	FU	☐
b	Illegally sourced	Yes	☐	No	☐	NA	☐	DK	☐	AP	☐	FU	☐

4	Housing & Land								
a	Land ownership	City Development Authority ☐	Municipality ☐	Collector Land ☐	Defense ☐	Forest ☐	Railway ☐	Private ☐	Others ☐

b	Housing scheme availed	RAY	SRA	R&R	PMAY		BSUP	Others	
c	Housing societies formed	Yes		No		NA	DK	AP	FU
d	Type of house *(surveyor to fill – do not ask)*	Kaccha		Pucca		Semi Pucca		Others	
e	Taxes paid (collector, property)	Yes		No		NA	DK	AP	FU
f	If yes, amount								
g	Credit availed for housing upgradation	Yes		No		NA	DK	AP	FU

5	**Access to the following legal entitlements**												
a	Ration card	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
b	Voting identity card	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
c	Aadhar card	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
d	Worker's registration card	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
e	Income certificate	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
g	Employment card	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
h	Bank accounts	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
i	Photo pass	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
j	PAN card	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
k	Shop ownership *(Gumasta)* license	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
l	Hawker's licence	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
m	Senior citizens certificate	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
n	Disability certificate	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
o	Domestic worker's registration	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
p	Other(please specify)												

6	**Health & Food Security**												
a	Primary health centre available within 2km	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
b	Dispensary available within 2km	Yes		No		NA							
c	Municipal Hospital within 10 km distance	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
d	Adequate Community/Public Space available	Yes		No		NA							
e	Anganwadi (ICDS) in community serving 40 Families	Yes		No		NA		DK		AP		FU	
f	Distance to Ration shop (in km)												
g	Distance to Primary School (in km)												
h	Distance to Police Chowki (in km)												

3. FGD Schedule

YUVA - Focus Group Discussion on Access to Basic Services and Entitlements

City: _____Name of Basti: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____ Duration: _____

Total number of Participants: _____ No. of Male: _____ No. of Female: _____

Facilitators:_____

Note to facilitators:

1. This FGD should be conducted by 2 people – 1 person asks the question and 1 person takes notes
2. Every FGD should be voice recorded
3. Given below is a sequence, please use your discretion to change the flow if needed
4. In case any of the given questions are of sensitive nature to a community, you can skip the question.

1. Access to Water

1. What is the source of drinking water? What is the source of water for household purposes?
2. What is the quality of the water? (color, smell, frequency of water related illness)
3. How much time does it take to collect water?
4. Who is responsible for collecting water in the family?
5. What are the water timings and number of times a day when water is available
6. Why is water not directly available to basti from the municipality? Is there any policy that prevents this?

2. Access to Sanitation

1. Where do men, women and children defecate?
2. Are community toilets used? If not, why?
3. Are the community toilets safe?
4. Have you accessed Government schemes like Swachh Bharat Abhiyan for constructing toilets?

3. Access to Housing & Electricity

1. What is the land ownership of the Basti?
2. Since how many years are they living in this Basti? (State the year e.g. 2006)
3. Have you ever experienced eviction?
   - i. If yes, how many times?
   - ii. What challenges have you had to face due to evictions?
   - iii. What was the reason given for eviction and what was the actual reason behind the eviction?

iv. Who carried out the eviction? Did you receive any compensation or rehabilitation?

v. Whether you got any noticed before the eviction?

4. If you have not accessed any government housing scheme like PMAY, RAY etc, what is the reason?

5. Whether having no land ownership affected your access to government scheme?

6. How is the monthly electricity payment made in each household?

7. Does the Basti have street lights?

4. Access to Entitlements

1. What are the problems involved in getting access to legal entitlements like ration card & voter id?

2. Do you have an Aadhaar card and what you are using for?

3. Out of all the Legal entitlements, what, according to you, are the top three which are most important and why are these 3 important? (Eg. 1. Ration (70% agree) 2. Bank Account (50% agree) 3. PAN Card (70% agree)

5. Food Security

1. What types of ration card do most people have in the Basti? (APL, BPL and AAY)

2. Can you please tell us about the quality of ration stuff availability in PDS

3. How many days a month does the ration dealer distribute ration?

4. What is the timing and frequency of the Ration Shop being open?

5. What is the quality of food provided through the ICDS?

6. Are services provided to than children in ICDS for e.g. Pregnant women and lactating mothers.

7. Did you have access to government health scheme? Do you prefer go to Government or private medical facility

About YUVA

Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) is a non-profit development organisation committed to enabling vulnerable groups to access their rights and address human rights violations. YUVA supports the formation of people's collectives that engage in the discourse on development, thereby ensuring self-determined and sustained collective action in communities. This work is complemented with advocacy and policy recommendations on issues.

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