

# On the Outskirts of Legality:

Policy and Legal Aspects of Slum Resettlement in Delhi

*By*

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Mehmood Akhtar joked that he would have to tell his friends and family to call him Mohammed from now on, the piece of paper known as the “safayed parchi” (Provisional Identification Slip) said so<sup>1</sup>. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 2006, the Slum and JJ Department of the MCD issued a document in the name of “Mohd.” Akhtar, who had been, until that day, a resident of the slum at Nangla Machi T-junction. The document, titled “Provisional Identification Slip”, allotted to him plot number H-56 at the Savda Ghevra resettlement colony. Savda Ghevra resettlement colony is in North West Delhi, it took the researchers of this paper three hours to get there using a combination of various buses, a lift from a private vehicle, a ride on the Delhi metro, cycle rickshaw and a long walk.

It therefore isn't difficult to understand why, when Mehmood mentions that, financially, he and his family have become far worse off after having moved here, or more appropriately, after having been “relocated”. The plot of land his family's two roomed dwelling occupies is all of 12.5 square metres. Apart from the Rs. 7000 he initially paid to be able to avail of the plot, for which he received a red coloured receipt<sup>2</sup>, or a “lal parchi”, he reckons it cost him around Rs. 50,000 to build the small house he and his family presently reside in. Mehmood runs a small corner store from one of the two rooms in his house. His store, located well within the resettlement colony, and far from any major road, caters to other residents of the colony. Most of whom, happen to be unemployed.

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Dileep is 19 years old. He works as a daily wage labourer doing various construction jobs in Noida. He is a resident of Arjun Camp, a slum in South Delhi's Malviya Nagar. Arjun Camp, reckons Dileep, is a slum that's around twenty odd years old. He'd come to Arjun Camp as a child, when his parents had migrated to Delhi from rural Rajasthan. Arjun Camp has around a thousand people residing in it. The people of this colony all have access to water and electricity. The interviewee also informs us, that they also all have voter ID cards. When we asked him whether being able to vote helped in getting better services for the community, he seemed sceptical. Politicians, he said, were only to be seen on the eve of elections canvassing for votes. Life though, in his opinion, wasn't too bad. They hadn't, yet, received

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<sup>1</sup> Refer to Appendix A(i)

<sup>2</sup> Refer to Appendix A(ii)

*any trouble from the MCD or the police. He earns a reasonable three to five thousand rupees a month doing the jobs that he does. When asked who owned the land on which Arjun Camp had been built, he said he wasn't sure, but he'd heard that ownership of the land was presently being fought over in some litigation in court. In his opinion, once the case was over and ownership of the land had been decided, the slum would be demolished and its' residents moved to some resettlement colony.*

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## Introduction

Slums today are not a recent problem by any means. Countries of the third world have been facing it for at least half a century if not more. No country can claim to have solved the problem. Some have chosen to face the problem, others to shun it totally. If one looks at government intervention in that domain, one can scarcely see any large scale examples to be inspired by, whether it be the resettled *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, the French *banlieues* with their HLM, and American row-houses are just a few illustrations amongst many others. In a country such as India, never has the attraction to the capitalist economy been so strong. People flock from the rural areas to make a better living in the city. However, this poses various problems as the cities they migrate to have never been designed for them and do not want to absorb the rapidly expanding community of slum dwellers. Also, they inspire violent reactions from bureaucrats and Government agencies, which are badly equipped to deal with them.

Of these cities, we have chosen to study Delhi for the following reasons. It is first and foremost the Capital, and therefore has a particular example to set for the Nation and as a mirror internationally. As a Capital, it has been facing the settlement of slums since Independence and has been a laboratory for various types of planning. It is now one of the richest cities in India and the great gap between the newly-empowered middle classes, its' reactions and fears, and the poor constitutes an interesting phenomenon to observe. Finally, as said before, with the growing wealth of India, more and more people of the middle-classes can afford to delegate tasks, and therefore there is a need for a close and cheep labour-force willing to execute these menial tasks. Hence the slum communities in Delhi are also becoming "job-banks" and offer the advantage of proximity to many an urban resident.

Many Delhi Government authorities have spent many hours, voted many plans and tried many different methods to solve this issue. Sometimes through a positive attitude, oft in a negative one. We believe that these attempts failed because they never managed to grasp the precise nature of slum communities, either treating them as town parasites to be evicted, or as helpless “children” to be nursed by the State.

We believe they are neither of the above and would like to propose alternative solutions to Delhi’s policies towards the slums. We believe that property legislation, and Government attitudes towards it, contains both the errs of the Past and the solutions to a brighter Future, according to what the choice may be.

We have already talked of two personal narratives, one, of someone who has already been ‘rehabilitated’ by the Delhi govt., and the other, who lives in an illegal slum cluster, who might soon share the same fate. Both these narratives are from interviews and observations we have drawn from our numerous field trips to slum and resettlement colonies in and around Delhi. We’ve also used many of these first hand observations throughout the paper in order to highlight individual experiences with governmental policies. We shall now proceed to explore certain economic trends which are of considerable interest when talking of lower income groups in Delhi, and then explain certain reasons as to why we believe there is such a lack of legal, affordable housing in Delhi. The legal status of slum dwellers and questions concerning their access to property rights, shall then be examined. Our main argument for legal entitlement, and the solutions it brings with it, shall be revealed in our final chapter.

## I. The Slums: its Citizens and their Livelihoods

### a. Better off, but still without a home

Sunita Kackar notes<sup>3</sup> that as per NCAER’s Market Survey of Households, the number of low income households, that is, those households that have an income below Rs. 45,000 at 2001-2002 prices, has halved; from 14.9 million households in 1989-90, to 7.6 million in 2001-2002. As a result of the tremendous economic growth that the capital has experienced over the past decade or so, there has been a

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<sup>3</sup> Kackar, Dasappa Sunitha., *MPD-2021 and the Vision of a “Slum-free Delhi”* in *Draft Delhi Master Plan 2021: Blueprint for an apartheid city*. 2005, New Delhi: Hazards Centre.

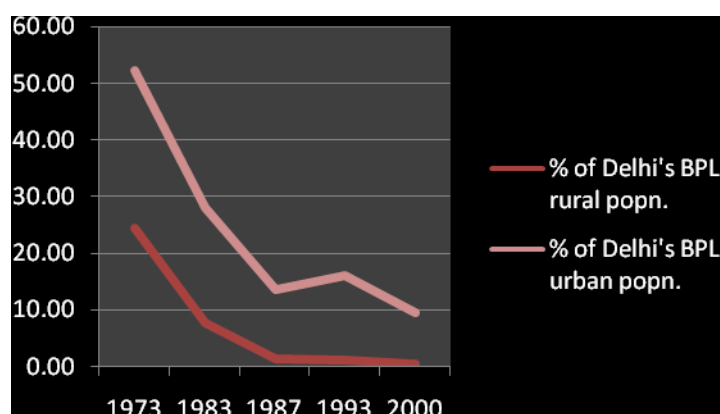
significant movement of households into a higher income bracket. Delhi's per capita income stands at Rs. 53,976<sup>4</sup>, which is substantially higher than the national average. Also, according to Delhi's City Development Plan (CDP)<sup>5</sup>, the percentage of Delhi's population who are below the poverty line (BPL), has come down significantly. The percentage of those below the poverty line in 1973-74 stood at 49.61%. This figure further declined to 26.22% in 1983; 16.4% in 1991 and 14.69% in 1993-94. In 2001, the percentage of people below poverty line stood at 10.02%. (Table 1.1)

Table 1.1

Year	Rural BPL Population (in lakhs)	Percentage to Total (Rural)	Urban BPL Population (in lakhs)	Percentage to Total (Urban)
1973	1.06	24.44	21.78	52.23
1983	0.44	7.66	17.95	27.89
1987	0.1	1.29	13.56	13.56
1993	0.19	1.19	15.32	16.03
2000	0.07	0.4	11.42	9.42

Source: CDP Chapter 6 Page 1

Figure 1.1



<sup>4</sup> . Planning Department, Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, *Chapter 2: State Income. Economic Survey of Delhi*, pp8-16, 2005-2006, New Delhi

<sup>5</sup> IL&FS Ecosmart Limited, New Delhi, *City Development Plan, Delhi (JNNURM)*, Chapter 6, p.1, Department of Urban Development Government of Delhi. October, 2006.

What is obvious from these numbers is that there has been significant economic betterment in the city, poverty rates have come down substantially over the past few decades (refer to Fig. 1.1), and many previously low income households would now be able to count themselves as members of the middle class. It is interesting to note, that in spite of this very visible economic betterment that the city has experienced, the number of slums and JJ colonies has only increased. Again, going back to the CDP<sup>6</sup> for Delhi, in 1951 Delhi had only 12749 *jhuggi jhompri households* (JJs) scattered over 199 clusters. The population seeking housing through these extra-legal means stood at 63,745 in 1951. By 1973 the number of JJs had reached 98483 and was spread over 1373 clusters, housing a population of 492,415. The CDP credits the resettlement schemes, carried out by the Delhi government with concentrated effort between 1975 and 1977, as being responsible for the fact that by 1977 only 20,000 JJ households remained to be relocated. But interestingly, in 1983, the number of squatter households had gone up to 1.3 million. By 1997, 3 million of Delhi's residents lived in slum and JJ clusters. In 2001, this number somewhat declined to around 2,148,310 people (*Table 1.2*). This decline in the number of JJ clusters (728 from 1100 in 1997) is attributed to the relocation of around 300 clusters from Gautampuri, Kingsway Camp, Ashok Vihar, AIIMS, Hauz Khas and various other places.

Table 1.2

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of Slum Clusters</b>	<b>No. Of Jhuggi Households</b>	<b>Area Occupied by Slum Clusters (in Ha.)</b>	<b>Population of Slum Clusters</b>
1951	199	12749	21.1	63745
1973	1373	98483	164.1	492415
1983	534	113000	188.3	565000
1990	929	259000	431.7	1295000
1997	1100	600000	902.1	3000000
2001	728	429662	650.2	2148310

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid p.5

Source: CDP Chapter 6, page 11

Figure1.2

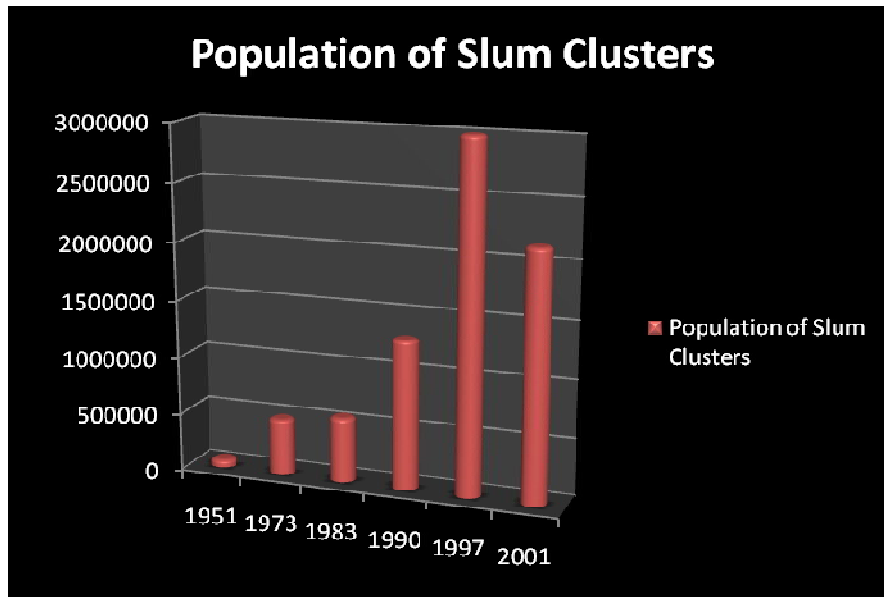
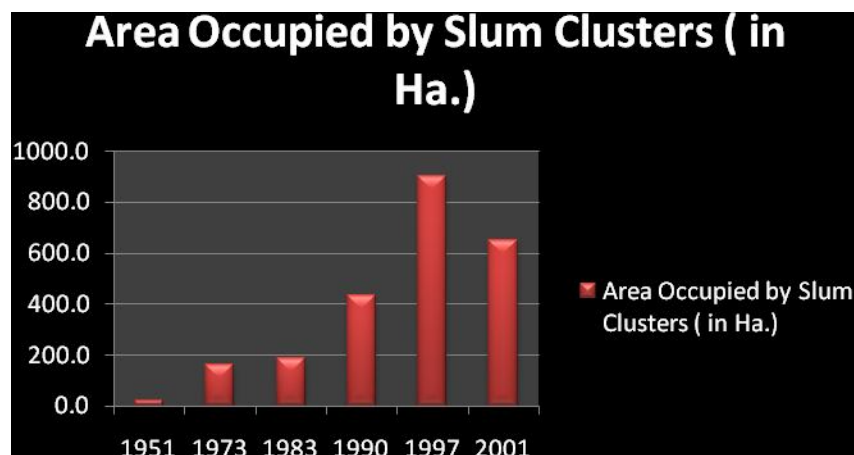


Figure 1.3



Thus, as of 2001, around 2.1 million of Delhi's citizens called extra legal dwellings, or jughhi jhompris, their home. And, as per the Govt. of India Census of 2001, this constitutes almost 18% of Delhi's population.

To recapitulate, the number of people who live below the poverty line is steadily *declining*, and household incomes are steadily *increasing*. But, the number of people who do not possess a legal title to land or dwelling they presently occupy, apart from a relocation induced blimp between 1997-2001, is increasing (Refer to Figures 1.2



& 1.3). The question here is a rather simple one; why is there such a lack of legal, yet affordable housing in Delhi? The market simply does not seem to cater to almost 20% of Delhi's population, for whom legal housing simply isn't affordable. Hence they are forced to find accommodation in extra-legal settings.

**b. Why there's no such thing as cheap legal housing in Delhi**

This is a basic question we sought to answer through the course of researching the various rehabilitation policies of the Delhi government. In order to understand how Delhi's slum clusters were being relocated, what effects this was having on its residents, and explore if there could be alternatives to present policies, we first had to understand how Delhi's slums got there in the first place.

Why can't the residents of Delhi's slums afford legal housing- is it because, there simply isn't enough land? Yes and no. The ever useful CDP provides a vital clue; it gives data regarding the location of the various slum clusters. According to it<sup>7</sup>, out of all the various land owning agencies in Delhi on whose land there are slum colonies; namely the DDA, NDMC, MCD, Cantonment Board, Railways, Private Owners and others, a staggering 83% of these, are located on the land owned by a single major agency- the DDA, the Delhi Development Authority (*Refer to Table 1.3 & Fig. 1.4 on pg 10*).

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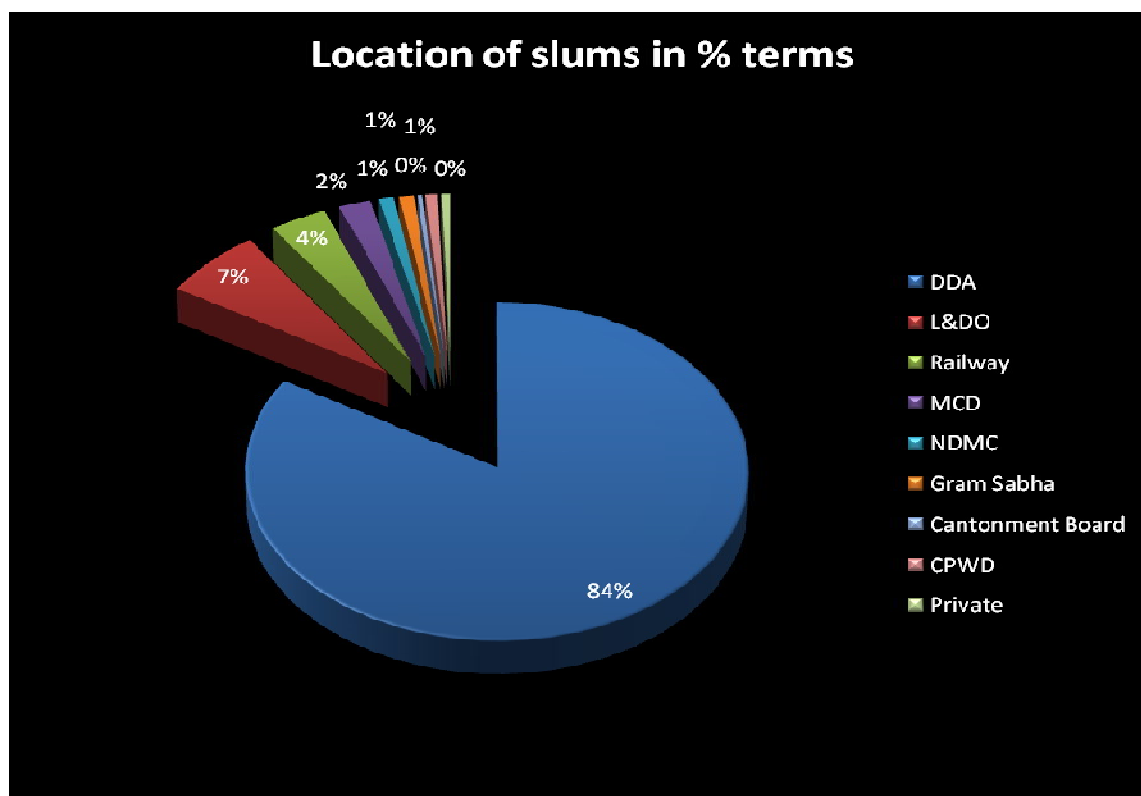
<sup>7</sup> *Op. Cit.* CDP p.6

Table 1.3

Land Owning Agency	Number of Slum Households		Population in 1994	Area in Acres
	1990	1994		
DDA	280988	349705	1856683	1865.93
L&DO	21530	29415	132327	149.86
Railway	12161	17346	78929	84.34
MCD	8428	11052	52045	47.29
NDMC	3226	4487	20182	22.52
Gram Sabha	4132	4360	19619	21.31
Cantonment Board	1570	1700	7064	7.86
CPWD	3040	4316	19421	16.84
Private	2454	2885	12980	14.45
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>337529</b>	<b>425266</b>	<b>2199250</b>	<b>2230.4</b>

Source: CDP Chapter 6, Page 6.

Figure 1.4



As per 1994 figures, 1865.93 acres of DDA land is occupied by slum colonies. Many commentators blame the DDA for creating an artificial scarcity of land in the capital, especially its land banking policies. Land banking implies that a government acquires land areas in advance of needs. The primary argument in its favour is that such acquisition of land, whether compulsory or otherwise, serves to achieve certain “public” service objectives, and provides a tool to influence the pattern of development in accordance to overall planning objectives. Article 15 of the Delhi Development Act of 1957, makes a provision for the compulsory acquisition of land “if it is required for the purpose of development, or for any other purpose, under this Act”<sup>8</sup>. The Article further justifies the power of the Central government to forcibly acquire land by referring to the colonial era legislation which is quoted in all activities pertaining to “development”, the Land Acquisition Act of 1894.

By the 1970’s the DDA had acquired around 67,000 acres plus of prime land in Delhi, which constitutes almost 18% of Delhi’s total land area. A report<sup>9</sup> in the news journal *India Today*, narrates the experiences of an officer who worked with the DDA in the 70’s under its then vice-chairman, Jagmohan. The article highlights the short sightedness in the land banking approach of the DDA, with its stubborn insistence on playing nanny to Delhi’s growth, often with disastrous results.

*“As the vice-chairman of the DDA in the late '70s, it was Jagmohan who had stopped private realtors from developing property and decided to entrust the task to the state body. According to him [the officer of the DDA], Jagmohan acquired 55,000 acres of prime land in the capital from farmers and earmarked it for the DDA. However, the DDA, unlike the private landowner, did not have the resources to protect its land. As Delhi's population burgeoned with migrants – [e]specially unskilled labour from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and other northern states -- moving in, this government land became easy target for squatters. Said the officer: “Is it any surprise that nearly 80 per cent of slums in Delhi are on DDA land?””<sup>10</sup>*

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<sup>8</sup> *Article 15- Compulsory Acquisition of Land*, Chapter 5, in *The Delhi Development Act , 1957, New Delhi*

<sup>9</sup> **Damodaran, K. Ashok.** *Master Blaster.*, in *India Today* May 29, 2000.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

A study carried out by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP)<sup>11</sup> in 1993, calls the land banking strategy carried out by the DDA a failure, and that fact that the “root of the problems stem from the fact that the objectives of the land bank never were clearly defined.” Since, as the study states that “there were no targets attached to very general objectives”, what resulted was that apart from becoming the wealthiest land owner in Delhi, the DDA achieved little else. And in complete contradiction to the scheme’s stated objective of regulating land values, land prices soared astronomically since its inception. Also, ironically enough, as B.P. Acharya (1987) notes<sup>12</sup>, one of the ‘general objectives’ of the DDA was “to prevent the concentration of land ownership in a few private hands and safeguard the interests of the poor and underprivileged”. As the study by the UNESCAP points out<sup>13</sup>, this hasn’t happened. As of 1982, 14,669 plots had been distributed to low-income groups, which is about 44 per cent of the total amount of plots distributed. Although the high-income group only constituted eight per cent of the population, they received 38 per cent of the plots and 58 per cent of the residential land area.

We thus see that policy failures have indeed contributed in a large part to the creation of an artificial scarcity of land in Delhi and thus the proliferation of extra-legal housing alternatives for the urban poor, the slums. But as of today, how does the establishment, namely the Delhi government, the MCD, various land owning agencies such as the DDA, how do they perceive these slum dwellers? What sort of policies has the government implemented for this section of the population?

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<sup>11</sup>**Chapter 6. Availability of public land and public land acquisition** in *Municipal Land Management in Asia: A Comparative Study*. United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1993, See:[http://www.unescap.org/huset/m\\_land/chapter6.htm](http://www.unescap.org/huset/m_land/chapter6.htm)

<sup>12</sup> **Acharya, B.P** *Policy of Land Acquisition and Development – Analysis of an Indian Experience*, in *Third World Planning Review*. Vol 9, No.2, 1987, Liverpool University Press.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. Cit.*

## II. Government Perspectives: The Slum Dweller as the 'Encroacher'

### a. The magnitude of the "problem", and the three pronged approach

"The squatter problem of the city is increasing day by day." Thus begins the introduction to what the Municipal Corporation of Delhi's Slum and JJ Department calls the "Magnitude of the Problem" in a project report<sup>14</sup> detailing the construction of housing for various groups of evictee people at the Savdha Ghevra resettlement colony. According to the report, it is "the employment opportunities (formal and informal) in Delhi [that] have attracted migrants from all over the country, particularly from the backward states and areas due to regional economic balances." The MCD, also seems to believe that such migration, although the right to which is guaranteed by the constitution, can be problematic; as,

*"this influx of population has resulted in the increase in population of the city, pressure on civic amenities, crime, social imbalances, economic exploitation, unplanned growth, deterioration of city beautification, culture, environmental setback to city development in a planned manner etc."*<sup>15</sup>

It is keeping in mind 'problems' of such gravity posed by the "influx of population", that the Delhi Government has adopted a three pronged strategy to remedy it. This strategy itself has two main objectives<sup>16</sup>;

- (a) No fresh encroachments shall be permitted on public land, and
- (b) Past encroachments which had been in existence prior to 01/12/1998 would not be removed without providing alternatives.

The three pronged strategy itself involves; **(i) Clearance and Relocation, (ii) In-situ upgradation, and (iii) Environmental Improvement Schemes.**

<sup>14</sup> Slum and JJ Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi.. Detailed Project Report, Construction of Four Storied E.W.S. Housing For Slum Dwellers at Savdha Ghevra Phase- III under JNNURM. January 2008, New Delhi

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>16</sup> *Op. Cit. CDP p 10.*

**(i) Clearance and Relocation**

As the CDP (City Development Plan) states<sup>17</sup>, this has been “the mainstay of the policy towards the squatters and JJ clusters.” This strategy is adopted when the land owning agency whose land has been occupied by slum and JJ clusters, requires the land in question for the implementation of projects “as per requirements in the larger public interest”. The land owning agency then submits a request to the Slum and JJ Dept. for the clearance of these clusters and also contributes their due share towards the resettlement cost.

As per MCD estimates<sup>18</sup>, the cost of resettling one household amounts to Rs 29,000. Out of this, the beneficiary is required to contribute Rs 7000 and the Slum department has to provide a grant of Rs 10,000 towards the cost of sites and services for the purpose of resettlement. The land owning agency in question is expected to cover the remainder of the cost. Those families that can provide proof establishing year of residence before 31<sup>st</sup> January, 1990 are allotted plots of 18 m. sq. And those that can provide proof of residence prior to at least 1<sup>st</sup> December 1998 are provided with plots of size 12.5 m. sq. Those without proof of residence prior to this date, are removed without any recompense. Between 1990 and 1999, around 13000 JJ households have been relocated as per CDP estimates.

Interestingly, at the Savda Ghevra resettlement colony, residents talked about the manner in which the MCD goes about conducting the survey to determine who is eligible for a plot at the time of resettlement. The MCD, two or three weeks prior to eviction and demolition, announces the date on which this survey is to be held. The survey is only held once. Residents of Savda Gevra talked about how many people missed this survey, and thus, even if they were eligible for a plot, having been a resident of the slum colony prior to December 1998, were not allotted a plot.

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*

**(ii) In-situ Upgradation**

In situ upgradation of slums involves the re-planning of the existing JJ dwelling units in modified layouts by redistributing the encroached land pockets. The JJ households are given plots of 10 to 12.5 m. sq. in the modified layouts. The beneficiary constructs the shelter under a self help approach with technical extension services from MCD and Slum & JJ department.

The implementation of this particular strategy is dependant on the land owning agency in question issuing a NOC (No Objection Certificate) to the Slum and JJ Dept. for the utilisation of land, and also clearance of the project by the technical committee of the DDA. Though the CDP itself states that "80% of dwellers of JJ clusters favour in-situ up-gradation of clusters", actual fulfilment of the two required conditions is rare, as is obvious from the CDP, according to which in-situ up-gradation has been undertaken in only 3 JJ clusters, namely: Prayog Vihar (214 DUs), Ekta Vihar (471 DUs) and Shanti Vihar (112 DUs).

**(iii) Environmental Improvement Schemes**

Irrespective of the status of the land and it's year of 'encroachment', the Slum & JJ Dept. seeks to extend certain basic civic amenities for community use under this scheme to all slum and JJ clusters. These basic amenities, as per MCD's norms and standards<sup>19</sup> are:

- i) Water Supply-One tap for 150 persons;
- ii) Drainage for Waste water and Storm Water;
- iii) Community Bath- One bath for 20-50 persons;
- iv) Community Latrine- One WC seat for 20- 25 persons;
- v) Widening and paving of lanes;

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<sup>19</sup> Op. Cit.CDP p.11

- vi) Street lighting- poles 30 meters apart
- vii) Community Facilities- Community Centres, Dispensaries, non-formal educational centre.

As Sunita Dasappa Kackar argues, that these strategies are only “curative rather than preventive”<sup>20</sup>, they are temporary, and do nothing to actually create availability of new low cost urban housing stock.

The fact that *Clearance and Relocation* forms the mainstay of the MCD’s strategy towards slum dwellers, is based on the premise that slum dwellers are ‘encroachers’ on public land and thus they must be cleared. As we have seen, this premise itself is flawed, as the lack of low cost housing, which induces slum dwellers to ‘squat’ in the first place, owes in large part to artificial scarcities created by policies such as forced acquisition of land via land banking.

#### **b. The paradigm shift from ‘horizontal’ to ‘vertical’**

The Detailed Project Report (D.P.R.) for the construction of four storied housing at Savda Ghevra states<sup>21</sup> that there has been a “paradigm shift” envisioned in the Delhi Master Plan as far as the clearance and relocation strategy is concerned, from that of allotting plots of land, to that of multi-storied dwelling units.

*“the pattern of horizontal plotted development will have to be replaced by high density, high rise (multi-storied) pattern of rehabilitation in which built up accommodation would be provided. This would also be desired because this is likely to be far less susceptible and vulnerable to speculative misuse of [the] resettlement site and their transfer and alienation than plots.”<sup>22</sup>*

This success of this approach, which embodies the broader philosophy of slum rehabilitation as laid out by the JNNURM, depends on the locational characteristics of the development to ensure employment opportunities in vicinity. It is exactly this

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<sup>20</sup> *Op. Cit.*

<sup>21</sup> *Op. Cit*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*



consideration that is ignored in the construction of such types of developments. In the resettlement colony at Savda Ghevra for instance, the residents who presently have been allotted plots, people such as Muhmood Akhtar, complained that they have become *worse off* after having been moved there. They say that Savda Ghevra, being at least 3 hours from the city, means that in a 10 hour working day almost 6 hours are taken up in travelling to and fro, making employment in the city unviable. It isn't surprising to note why even most men, let alone women, are unemployed in Savda Ghevra. Such an approach to slum rehabilitation that seeks to forcibly relocate slum dwellers far away from city, into small apartment blocks is woefully short sighted and ignorant of the realities of the slum dweller. As Solomon Benjamin points out in *Land, Productive Slums and Urban Poverty*;

*"Significantly, access to shelter falls way below in priorities of poor groups as compared to food, employment, and water. Poor groups, especially the poorest would prefer a squat in a city centre near multiple sources of employment rather than a well finished house away from work. Another serious consequence of emphasising high standard housing, is that this is normally accessible to only those groups with well established tenure certification, and only serves to exclude a large section of the poorest groups who live in varying shades of tenure conditions."*<sup>23</sup>

Not only is this new "paradigm shift" to vertical apartment\tenement blocks far from the city centre insensitive to the priorities of the slum dweller, but even in purely economic terms such a shift involves considerable costs. The four storied housing project at Savada Ghevra Phase III for instance, involves costs of approximately<sup>24</sup> Rs.203, 000 per Dwelling Unit (DU) as per the Detailed Project Report (D.P.R.), and that, excluding the cost of land and supporting infrastructure. According to the D.P.R., "50% of the dwelling unit cost will be met out from the JNNURM"<sup>25</sup>. The report also mentions that "houses should not be provided free of cost to the beneficiaries by the state govt. It has been considered that Rs. 40,000 will

<sup>21</sup> Benjamin, Solomon.. *Land, Productive Slums and Urban Poverty: A note for the World Bank Consultation*, PovertyNet Library April 4-6 1999, see <http://poverty2.forumone.com/library/view/4063/>

<sup>24</sup> *Op. Cit* Pg 8

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*

be the share of the beneficiaries.”<sup>26</sup> Therefore not only does this approach demolish whatever investments the slum dweller made in constructing his dwelling at the slum colony, it also effectively destroys his source of livelihood by moving him far away from the city, and then finally expects him to pay 40,000 rupees for a small apartment, that is non-exchangeable and non-resalable.

### **c. Masterplan 2021: Housing demand projections and supply solutions**

The Delhi Master Plan 2021<sup>27</sup> estimates that based on the projected population of 230 lakh by 2021, the estimated additional housing stock required will be around 24 lakh dwelling units. Also, “around 50-55% of the housing requirement would be for the urban poor and the economically weaker sections in the form of houses of two rooms or less.” It is exactly this section of the population who would find the low-cost housing options offered by the slums attractive, and as we have seen, these would also be neighbourhoods that would be susceptible time and again to clearance and resettlement as and when “requirements of public interest” arise. So how do Delhi’s institutional agencies plan to address the housing demands from this section of the population, for whom legal, affordable housing remains non-existent? The Materplan envisages that the private developers of group housing shall

*“ensure that minimum 15% of FAR or 35% of the dwelling units, whichever is more, are constructed for Community- Service Personnel / EWS and lower income category. In old built up areas, this may be as redevelopment schemes or industrial housing, etc., whereas, in urban extensions, the acquisition and development cost of this land should be borne by rest of the project. Such reserved lands should be handed over to a designated agency for promoting housing for low income and weaker sections.”*

Such a policy is fraught with problems; the Masterplan makes no mention of how it would actually go about implementing such a requirement on the developers of group housing projects. Leaving aside obvious difficulties of implementation, a

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, pg 9.

<sup>27</sup> Page 18, Part II Section (iii). in Master plan for Delhi- with the perspective for the year 2021. February, 2007. **Ministry of Urban Development**.

policy such as this, is rather naive in expecting developers of private real estate to comply as this would entail loss of profit. Thus it would create further avenues for corruption and non-compliance.

An important question that arises from all this is the precise legal situation in which the Slum dwellers are held, considering property rights are at the very heart of the problem. So, what does Indian Law say about them?

### III. Rewarding the “Pickpocket”: The Law in the Lives of the Slum Dwellers

#### a. The law of the slums and the evolution of its jurisprudence

Slum dwellers seem to have a particular case in law considering, in the eyes of the law, they are *criminals*, yet claim rights. However, they do not break the law willingly but by lack of choice. These people are not squatters, they do not build and steal private property, they are homesteaders, they settle on public land which is owned in theory by nobody hence everybody. This would lead us to a much wider reflection on what exactly is property, which is not our objective here.

Article 14 of the Constitution says “*The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India*”. In practice, it is a totally different story: they are expelled like parasites from the belly of the City. The Leviathanic bureaucracies of Delhi such as the MCD and the DDA force them out and purge the City all in the name of the “*greater good*”, the all too flexible rule utilitarian concept. In Delhi today, segregation of economic classes is the new unity.

This was not always the case. In 1985, the Indian Supreme Court ruled in its decision in the *Olga Tellis vs. Bombay Municipal Corporation*<sup>28</sup> case that “*to lose the pavement or the slum is to lose the job. [...] The eviction [of the slum dwellers] will lead to deprivation of their livelihood and consequently to the deprivation of life.*” It then went on to recognise

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<sup>28</sup> *Olga Tellis vs Bombay Municipal Corporation* (1985), 3 SCC.

that “*The encroachment committed by these persons are involuntary acts in the sense that those acts are compelled by inevitable circumstances and are not guided by choice*”.

One can only wonder what happened between that period of judicial activism and the case of *Almitra H Patel vs Union of India*<sup>29</sup> (2000) in which Justice B.N Kirpal concluded that “*rewarding an encroacher on public land with a free alternate site is like giving a reward to a pickpocket*”. This evolution seemed to have occurred during the early 1990’s and shift in attitudes from the not-caring of the pre-1980s, to the said activism, to the clearly anti-poor policies of last decade and a half seems to have found it’s climax in the recent years.

Legal researchers Usha Ramanathan and Veronique Dupont<sup>30</sup> point out this shift to us in the 2003 case of *Okhla Factory Owners’ Association v. Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi*<sup>31</sup>, in which it is argued that “*Encroachments [are an] injury to public property (and in that description, constituting a criminal offence)*”. It then goes on to emphasise the role of a ‘developer mafia’ in the slums making use of compensations to promote squatting on public land, hence inciting people to encroach for such a purpose. This is an easy and obvious way of disqualifying one’s opponent by criminalising him. Of course, in the Government’s attempts to tackle this “problem”, they make use of this extensively.

### **b. State abuse versus property rights: a definition**

The Supreme Court mostly used Articles 19 (e), (g)<sup>32</sup> and Article 21<sup>33</sup> for the *Olga Tellis* case. But the fact the right to property, which was formally defined in Article 19, was deleted by the 44<sup>th</sup> Amendment act in 1978, gives *de facto* unlimited power to

<sup>29</sup> *Almitra H. Patel v. Union of India*, (2000.02.15) **WP 888/1996**

<sup>30</sup> **Veronique Dupont and Usha Ramanathan**, « *The Courts and the Squatter Settlements in Delhi- or the Intervention of the Judiciary in Urban Governance*”, IDPAD Seminar on *New forms of urban governance in Indian Mega-Cities*, , January 10-11, 2005, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi

<sup>31</sup> *Okhla Factory Owners’ Association vs GNCTD 2003* (108) DLT 517, Delhi High Court.

<sup>32</sup> **Jain, MP**, *Indian Constitutional Law*, Wadhwa, 2003, Nagpur “**19. Protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech, etc.**—(1) All citizens shall have the right—

(e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India; and

(g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.”

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* “**21. Protection of life and personal liberty.**—No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.”

the State to abuse the terms of Article 19's "replacement", article 300-A<sup>34</sup>, as it so wants. Property, unlike what many people think, is the *basis* of law<sup>35</sup>. It does not *originate* in it. Private Property is an institution which prevents any stronger or more powerful person than myself from taking my land, my work, my home. That person may be moral or physical yet it is also a guarantee against the State exceeding its rights.

The end of the article 300-A<sup>36</sup> "*save by authority of law*" by which the Right to Property was replaced has a dubious veneer of legality to it. Though, this is only superficial as the authority concerned here is the State. Held up to the prism of an intelligent reading, one can see that the State is granted full powers for taking any land in the country. Probably the worst aspect of mass eviction, emotions and morality set aside, is that it is, in fact, legal - it only depends on the "*hierarchy*" the judges see in the Constitution.

Article 300-A is similar to a type of law known as *eminent domain* in Common Law: the fact that a State may evict anyone for public benefit such as for building roads, railways, and infrastructures. The U.S. Constitution, however, makes a provision in the Fifth Amendment against excessive power from the State which argues that "[...] *private property [may not] be taken for public use, without just compensation*". The importance of the word "*just*" must be underlined as it holds the State accountable to offer the person who is expropriated the value of his real-estate in compensation. The State may not do expropriate "for free" nor may it offer a dishonest sum to the people concerned. In India, this provision, sadly, does not exist and compensation is not systematic in the case of the resettlement of slum dwellers.

*Eminent domain* caused a public outcry in the US with the case of *Kelo v. City of New London*<sup>37</sup> in 2005 where the public claimed that its powers were too broad. And on

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* " **300-A. Persons not to be deprived of property save by authority of law**- No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law."

<sup>35</sup> **Bastiat, Frederic.** *The Law* [Book Online]. Published in English as part of Essays on Political Economy 1850 (G.P. Putnam's & Sons, 1874). Accessed on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008 at <http://www.mises.org/books/thelaw.pdf>

<sup>36</sup> *Op. Cit.*

<sup>37</sup> *Kelo v. City of New London*, U.S. Supreme Court **545 U.S. 469 (2005)**

the first anniversary of the case, President Bush issued an executive order "*limiting the taking of private property by the Federal Government to situations in which the taking is for public use, with just compensation, and for the purpose of benefiting the general public*"<sup>38</sup>

One therefore asks what kind of title a slum dweller may acquire? There exists a title known as *fee simple* which consists in a real-estate title allowing for inheritance, transfer and exchange with no time-limit on it. Indeed, the term "*simple*" comprises the notions that it is not limited in any ways. It is the most common form of contract for the acquisition of property in the West as it affords the most complete ownership and protection to the owner. In this case, the State may only gain ownership of the property if the owner deceases without heir, or next of kin to take over.

By contrast, in resettlement colonies, the MCD has been distributing "titles" of a *life-estate* type called a "*provisional identification slip*" to slum dwellers, for which, they needed to pay Rs.7000. What is called a *life-estate* in Common Law is a type of property title which ceases to be upon one's death: it can not be inherited and the person may not leave the property, contrary to the *fee simple* contract. Occurrences of this kind are very rare in Law considering most titles are of the latter type rather than the former for practical reasons. The MCD's "*provisional identification slip*" is similar to the *life estate* form of title in that it restricts the freedom of the allottee to be able to exchange the property or use it as any useful form of capital. This situation becomes particularly unfortunate, when the resettlement plot is located far away from the city and the employment opportunities it provides, thus virtually holding the allottee prisoner, all ironically for the sake of his "rehabilitation".

In 2001, the Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation drew up the drafted a piece of legislation known as the National Slum Policy. Unfortunately, this remarkable piece of legislation, was never passed into law. The policy<sup>39</sup>, apart from stressing on the importance upgradation and improvement as a primary strategy

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<sup>38</sup> Executive order 13406: *Protecting the rights of the American People*, 71 Federal Register 36973, June 23<sup>rd</sup> 2006 see <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/06/20060623-10.html>

<sup>39</sup> *Draft National Slum Policy*, Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation, October 2001, see: [www.whoindia.org/LinkFiles/Policy\\_Slum-Policy-2001.pdf](http://www.whoindia.org/LinkFiles/Policy_Slum-Policy-2001.pdf)

rather than one of clearance and relocation, also talks about the importance of the slum dweller being able to access the kind of property rights that as we have argued a *fee simple* kind would be able to provide. It warns against excessive regulation and restriction being placed upon the slum dweller's right to exchange property, which it opines would only result in the flourishing of a "black market". It says;

*"While this Policy would like to ensure that, as far as possible, house plots remain with the original allottees, it also recognises that any over-regulation of the property market will simply lead to the flourishing of a "black market". With a view to obviate this, the Policy would not wish to prevent any poor household from realising the value of their asset should they be forced to sell for any legitimate reason (such as loss of income, death, etc)"<sup>40</sup>*

The problem with such restrictive property titles which prevent exchange and resalability was also apparent when we visited Savda Ghevra resettlement colony. In 2007, residents report, the MCD Slum and JJ Dept. conducted a surprise inspection in which it found that the residents of 76 households were not those to whom the plot had been initially allotted. These people were then evicted and their houses sealed. As Hernando De Soto expresses with much wit in "*The Mystery of Capital*"<sup>41</sup>, "[...] it is very nearly as difficult to stay legal as it is to become illegal. [...] Migrants do not so much break the law as the law breaks them".

One also has to understand that a slum dweller, if deemed a "criminal" by Indian Law, unlike any other criminal, has nothing to gain in this illegality except work himself up the ladder to legality. These people come from their rural areas where no work is available and unlike the official stance, who sees a real Slum Mafia dealing in the "encroached land and housing", they come for a job; not a house.

Houses are always deemed more than simple property for the very reason it is the most important Market product we buy in our lives. In turn, this is because it helps create our lives: during the day, we work our jobs and then go back home, we eat with our family and go back to our children (at home). In turn this affords us

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid* p.11

<sup>41</sup> De Soto, Hernando *The Mystery of Capital*, Basic Books, 2000, New York

security, a last refuge. But what can one do when his very home is under threat, when it has been destroyed unjustly, when the entire relations he entertains with the proximity to his home has been repeatedly raped? And imagine all this being committed by perhaps the only entity you shall never defeat- the State. Thus is the reality of a slum dweller.

## IV. Legal Entitlement

### a. Common Misconceptions

Capital is present in slum-entrepreneurship and innovations do exist yet illegality poses huge problems such as no security, no betting on future earnings, no expansion,&c. Enough profit is made to survive and to be able to afford an extra-basic comfort of living (if one believes that elements such as TVs and Mobile Phones are not primary to existence). Yet, one is at a loss to explain where these funds actually disappear to, whether they just stagnate or do they in some way go towards the community. As these funds are in no way counted for except estimated by painstaking methods over huge lengths of time, they are off the radar.

The way the slums have been considered traditionally is incredibly misleading. What De Soto calls the "*Mystery of the Missing Information*"<sup>42</sup>, notions such as helplessness and incapacities to create wealth, which are systemically repeated about the poor of the Third World create a biased approach to all policies approaching the subject.

This, in turn, has lead to hardly anybody being aware that wealth is created, daily, and on a non-negligible basis, inside the slums of Delhi and elsewhere in the world. No comprehensive survey has even been conducted in Delhi on the total amount of extra-legal capital which is produced by citizens of the slums, let alone ways in which this capital could be unlocked. This is due to many different factors including the notions that flowing in money, from governments and abroad, is the only

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<sup>42</sup> *Op. Cit.*



solution<sup>43</sup>. The constant infantilizing by certain non-governmental groups and sections of the media, what Rotimi Sankore calls "*development pornography*"<sup>44</sup> only serves to aggravate this vicious circle. They believe slum dwellers are neither capable of, nor clever enough to support themselves. But as one learns in Law, aid is the contrary to right- these people deserve legal rights not subsidies.

### **b. Historical Parallels**

In Delhi, most people do not see the potential capital that slums have. You have the politico-bureaucratic establishment, such as the DDA for example, that sees them as 'encroachers', and the MCD as we have seen before, which sees them as responsible for "crime, social imbalances, economic exploitation, unplanned growth, deterioration of city beautification, culture, environmental setback to city development in a planned manner"<sup>45</sup>. Not only are these notions highly mistaken, but they are downright discriminatory.

The state in which most third world countries are today, is that in which most Western countries were 200 years ago. And the most powerful of all, the USA, are actually born of homesteading. Homesteading is the act of settling on a land and improving it. American settlers used to settle upon a land and farm, build, and develop communities around it. In 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed the Homestead Act<sup>46</sup> into Law. This gave a freehold title on the land to settlers. Three steps were required: file an application, improve the land and file for deed of title.

However, this had already been the lay of the land for centuries in the American colonies. It was preceded by the Preemption Act of 1841<sup>47</sup> which enabled the sale of land worth 160acres (65ha) to the settlers for no less than \$1.25 per acre. The settlers could buy their land after six months or improve the land during five years, after

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<sup>43</sup> Knox Beran, Michael, "*Hearts of Darkness : trendy paternalism is keeping Africa in chains*", in *City Journal*, Winter 2008, no. 18, vol. 1. [http://www.city-journal.org/2008/18\\_1\\_paternalism.html](http://www.city-journal.org/2008/18_1_paternalism.html)

<sup>44</sup> Sankore, Rotimi, "*Behind the image : poverty and "development pornography"*", in *Pambazuka News*, April 21 2005 see <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/27815>

<sup>45</sup> *Op. Cit.* D.P.R.

<sup>46</sup> *Homestead Act, United States Federal Law*, signed in on May 20<sup>th</sup>,1862 by President Lincoln, see <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Homestead.html>

<sup>47</sup> *Preemption Act of 1841, United States Federal Law* voted by Congress on September 4<sup>th</sup> 1841, see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Preemption\\_Act\\_of\\_1841](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Preemption_Act_of_1841)

which they would be given titles to their land. The Federal Government saw this as the means to effectively utilise the potential of both the land and the growing immigration in the expanding western colonies of the Union. Indeed, as De Soto explains "*in most colonies, politicians believed that territorial development could be accomplished only through immigration*"<sup>48</sup>.

As for Delhi today, the same situation occurs, most slum dwellers are immigrants: Indians from other States and people from neighbouring countries. Immigration, as always, brings innovation, ideas, development and a labour force. Where the U.S. of the settlers' era was an agrarian society, as is India now. The situations are parallel, yet Delhi today is in an economy of services, what Alvin Toffler defines as the Third Wave.<sup>49</sup> The types of jobs offered by Delhi slum dwellers are different to those of their American counterparts two centuries before but their patterns remain the same. Slum dwellers work as cleaners, builders, security guards, and more. As said before, they make life in the city possible -they are the inhabitants of the shadows that nobody wants to see save for the fruit of their labour.

### **c. The need for a new approach**

Delhi has to work to include these people in the city, they are namely a "job bank". What bureaucrats must understand is that these people are willing to work, they came to Delhi to work- not live off subsidies.

The authorities of the city such as the MCD and the DDA have to entitle these people with titles of the kind proposed above such as a *fee-simple* titles on the basis that the slum dwellers take care of their neighbourhood (which they mostly already do). Instead of viewing slum dwellers as 'encroachers' and 'criminals', what is required is a complete paradigm shift in the approach of policy to these citizens of the metropolis. An approach that incorporates the spirit of the Homestead Act, namely improving the land- seeing and encouraging them as individuals who contribute to the vitality of the urban economy.

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<sup>48</sup> *Op. Cit.*

<sup>49</sup> Toffler, Alvin, "*The Third Wave*", , Bantam Books, 1980

The other problem posed by illegality is the incapacity of developing any kind of business created in the slums. The *Instituto Libertad y Democracia(ILD)*<sup>50</sup>, on the problems posed by illegality for businesses in slums, gives four main problems:

1. It is impossible to organise systems hierarchically and organise goods and services
2. It is impossible to establish limited liability and share the business' assets
3. It is impossible to access property rights that "*fix the potential of asset and make them fungible*"<sup>51</sup> which enables converting assets into shares, gain access to the stock market, and obtain liquidity.
4. It is impossible to "*gain access to standardised legal mechanisms so as to obtain a business identity*"<sup>52</sup> which would enable their businesses to expand their circle of customers.

Giving legal entitlement to the slum dwellers is not just a question of housing, it is also a question of livelihood. Some people would obviously ask whether citizens going by the law would feel cheated by the system were this to happen. However, the "*slumizens*" do not choose to be illegal, they choose to move to a city where they are afforded the possibility to enter an economy, which they could not access from their native lands, to improve their lives.

The mentalities, unfortunately, are reluctant to such openness. Both the influential classes and the successive Master Plans use segregation, economic and geographical to achieve the ends of those who see the dwellers of the slums as a threat.

## Conclusion

An interesting thing happened when we were at the Savda Ghevra resettlement colony. We were walking with Ramesh, a social worker who worked with people of that community, and he was telling us about the problems being faced by the people

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<sup>50</sup> *Instituto Libertad y Democracia, Lima, Peru*, see <http://ild.org.pe/en/home>

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* see [http://www.ild.org.pe/files/diagnosticos/mexico\\_en.pdf](http://www.ild.org.pe/files/diagnosticos/mexico_en.pdf)

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*

and what they were doing to overcome them. We soon found ourselves surrounded by a small motley group of people; some curious children, an old man, some women, and few youths. The old man wanted to know if we could tell him when the MCD might be able to issue voter ID cards. One young man said he had heard the Delhi government was going to start vocational training programs; he asked if we knew when. The women thought we might have some idea why there was never any water at the community toilets.

It happened again at Rajiv Camp, the basti at Jhilmil Colony in East Delhi. We were surrounded by people who had discovered we had been around asking questions, they asked us about why the toilets were always in such a bad state, and why the MCD never did anything despite repeated requests.

We never had any answers for them. We did realise something though, that the government, or the *sarkar* as the people of the slums and the resettlement areas know it, is rather important in the lives of these people, whether it be in the form of the MCD, the DDA, the Delhi government or the police. In fact, the *sarkar* is their life. It is the *sarkar* that decides one fine day, that the land upon which they had built their homes and their lives, did not in fact, belong to them, and shall be appropriated “as per requirements of public interest”. It is also the *sarkar* that decides that it shall resettle these people to a location that is three hours away, thus destroying any source of livelihood they had depended on until then. It decides the size of the plot they shall receive at this resettlement area, and yet it overlooks the laying of water and sewer lines. The *sarkar* can be cruel, yet it can also be munificent. It builds the schools to which the children of the resettlement area go to, there being no other close by. It also runs training programs to impart vocational skills to the youths, after having destroyed their parents’ source of income.

Hernando De Soto talks of those in the third world, the select few, who exist within what Fernand Braudel called the ‘bell jar’, who live within the world of legal titles and property rights, but the vast majority can only look into this bell jar, and never enter. The slum dweller and the resident of the resettlement colony are among those

who gaze into the jar, they live in the outskirts of legality, both figuratively and literally. They do not possess property rights to the homes and neighbourhoods they build, hence the state may easily choose to evict them at will. And even when they are moved to the far outskirts of the city, they are virtually held prisoner, denied any real legal right to their plots, forever dependant on whatever crumbs the state may throw them.

We have seen why and how the slums in Delhi came about as they did, and how, the governmental and judicial establishment sees them today, and based on this perception, how it defines policy pertaining to them. The problems with the present thrust in policy towards clearance and relocation have been highlighted. We have shown why we believe the new JNNURM funded “paradigm shift” in Delhi’s policies towards building multi storied apartment blocks is ignorant of the realities of the slum dweller’s existence, leaves him more impoverished and thus needlessly squanders taxpayer money. The slum dweller maybe poor, but he is not helpless. As we have seen, there definitely is capital present in the slums, yet this remains ‘dead’ capital, capital that exists in illegality and therefore can neither access nor be accessible to the formal economy of those who live within Braudel’s bell-jar.

The phenomenon of there being a large section of the population for whom the law holds no significance is not new. Extra legality is the reality throughout the third world. And yet, as we have seen, the present developed nations of the west also faced such predicaments in the past. They initiated processes to bring those that remained on the outskirts of legality, within it. And this was done with legislations that recognised the enterprise of the private individual such as the Homestead Act.

We believe that needs to be a shift in the way that slum dwellers are both thought of, and dealt with, in the realm of public policy. It is of utmost importance that the enterprise of those individuals who build slum colonies be recognised, and the first step in this course is to guarantee security of tenure by providing them with such forms of legal entitlement as we have talked about. When the slum dwellers feel secure of both their home and livelihood, it is then that they would be incentivised to

invest in, and better their neighbourhoods. We believe it would be such neighbourhoods that would be key, in meeting the projected demand in housing for the lower income groups. Not resettlement colonies and certainly not forcibly inducing private developers to reserve sections of the group housing projects they build.

An architect we interviewed told us that when he first came back to India at the end of the eighties, he had a vision of his company being a train, as it is the only form of transport that still comprises all classes of individuals- from the poor to the wealthy. He was forced though to abandon his social housing projects as it just wasn't possible to be an honest private player in this sector. At the end of the eighties, he talked about how he was assigned to design a government funded low cost housing project, he came up with a design that cost just Rs33,000, but how when actual construction had begun, almost a third had been eaten up through substandard building and embezzlement of funds.

He wasn't the only one, many other private architects and urbanists are conscious of the problem and offer new viable solutions to it everyday. But the bureaucracy being what it is, refuses to incorporate new ideas. An example was a social housing projects built with earthenware, which enabled to keep the cold out in the winter and keep the heat out in the summer. It also has the huge advantage of being a very cheap construction material. It was refused, for the list of authorised materials for such projects dates from colonial times.

There is something that De Soto says in his book that is particularly pertinent as far as the slum dwellers of Delhi are concerned, that the law must in the end reflect the way people live; or it will otherwise remain condemned to inconsequence. It is therefore up to the State, which, until it enforces its' prime tasks of security, rule of law and freedom, can never give its citizens equal opportunities. It is also up to those that constitute it to recognise this, by refusing to do so, the city will remain one in which there exist unequal citizens.

To quote the great Hayek, what the Slum dwellers “*above all want is protection against the monster state-not grandiose schemes for organisation on a colossal scale, but opportunity peacefully and in freedom to build up once more [their] own little world*”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Hayek, F.A., *The Road to Serfdom*, Routledge, 1944, Oxon

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# APPENDIX A

## i) Mehmood Akhtar's *Provisional Identification Slip* (Safayed Parchi)

NO. 30/8/2506

SNO 165



SIKHS 241 DEPARTMENT  
MUNICIPAL CORPORATION OF DELHI

PROVISIONAL  
IDENTIFICATION SLIP

Slum No. 117

- Name of JI Cluster: T. Junctions - Nagla N
- Name of the JI Dweller: Mohd Akhtar
- Name of Father/Husband: Md - Kallimulla
- S.No. of JI Survey List: 307
- Plot No.: 4-56 Savda - Ghevara
- Share Money received vide G-8 No. 28128 No. 67 - 6-8-76

Signature/ Thumb Impression of the allottee: Mehd Akhtar

Asstt. Director (SI) [Signature]  
Asstt. Director (SI) [Signature]  
Chim & Gully Deptt. No. C.O.

NOTES: This slip is valid for 30 days. You are requested to contact the Director (SI) within 20 days from the date of issue of this slip to take over possession of the plot. Possession of the plot is subject to result of SI.P. 3166-07 filed by the Government of India and local Govt. against the order dated 29/11/02 passed in CWP No. 4113/44 and 2/127/02 of Hon'ble High Court of Delhi.

ii) Receipt for the payment of Rs 7000 to the MCD (Lal Parchi)

307

क्रमांक A 38125

से स्लम एंड के. जे. विभाग, दिल्ली

**लाल पार्ची मिन**  
स्लम एंड के. जे. विभाग

नाम श्री Mohd Akhtar S/o Md. Iselimulla  
पता 931 Bazar Rd. Nurgu machi

नगर विभाग के लिए नीचे उल्लिखित राशि प्राप्त हुई है और इसे उसके/उनके खाते में जमा कर दिया जायगा :-

नाम व सम्बन्धन वंजीका संदर्भ	भुगतान का विवरण	रुपये	पैसे
योग (शब्दों में)	CASH RECEIVED TOWARDS SECURITY & L. FEE FOR 10 YEARS  (RS. SEVEN THOUSAND ONLY)	7000	00
		7000 =	00

भुगतान की तिथि 4/1/06

दैनिक आरोही योग

(कालम I तथा दैनिक योग के कालम को केवल रिकॉर्ड वाली कार्बन की प्रतिलिपि में ही भरना चाहिए)

रसीद जारी के अनुसार

*Nikhil Joseph is a second year Development Studies major at the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras.*

*Pascal Goodman is a graduate in Political Science from Paris University. He is currently starting a post graduate degree in International Political Economy in Brussels.*