Slum Rehabilitation Schemes (SRS) across Ahmedabad: Role of an External Agency

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Abstract
This research examines ‘The Regulations for Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of the Slums 2010, Gujarat’, prepared on lines of Mumbai’s SRS model, its subsequent amendments and implementation process across Ahmedabad. By documenting its implementation process in two slums – Kailashnagar, Sabarmati and Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi, the study highlights the roles of the stakeholders – Developer, competent authorities, slum dwellers and the external agency / non-governmental organization (NGO), explores dynamic partnerships between the stakeholders and challenges involved in course of implementation. Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT), one of the renowned NGOs in Ahmedabad, has been involved in both slums by the developer.
Acknowledgements
This paper is based on the research which began in course of discussions held in the summer of 2013 with MHT on conflicts arising due to current planning policies and governance in Ahmedabad.

We would like to thank MHT for enabling us to undertake research in this area and strengthening our understanding, the involved staff member of MHT – Ms. Neelam Patel, for their painstaking efforts in addressing our queries and inviting us to the meetings held with the residents of Kailashnagar, Sabarmati and Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi. We would also like to thank representatives of the involved developers, B-Safal, HN-Safal, Gala Builders and Harshayu Infrastructure Service, with whom we interacted in the course of documentation.
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1. Introduction

In-situ slum redevelopment schemes, as per the ‘Regulations for Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of the Slums 2010’ (hereafter referred as 2010 regulations) have started in Ahmedabad city in around 12 slums and are at various stages of implementation. Prepared on similar lines of the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) in Mumbai, these regulations were released in 2010 with the objective of in-situ redevelopment of slums (irrespective of their ownership) through private sector involvement and capturing value of land, through allowing increase in the Floor Space Index (FSI) or Floor Area Ratio (FAR). The FSI / FAR increase allowed utilization of the same land better by increasing occupancy on the land. In a way, FSI / FAR increase is part of attempts to increase land supply in the cities. It is also a measure to incentivize the private sector to take up slum redevelopment activity, which otherwise is not profitable for them. However, until the 2012 amendments of the SRS regulations, which offered more relaxations in terms of usage of FSI to the developers, it failed to bring in a good response from the developers in the State.

Map 1: Location of Slums under SRS in Ahmedabad.

The 12 approved sites vary in their location in the city (Map 1), size, their ownership, community composition, housing quality, presence of an external agency such as a non-governmental organisation (NGO) and level of basic services. Ironically, the

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1 Approved by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC).
availability and level of basic services in the slum taken up under the SRS is sometimes linked to implementation of Slum Networking Programme (SNP) in the settlement in the past. Around three slums have less than 60 households while the rest are in the range of 80-800 hutments (see Table 1). Four private developers of Ahmedabad city, B-Safal, HN-Safal, Gala Builders and Harshayu Infrastructure Services, are currently involved in these 12 sites.

Table 1: Settlements selected under SRS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Name of Settlement</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No. of Hutments</th>
<th>Name of Developer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bhikhadevano Vado</td>
<td>Amraiwadi</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>HN Safal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rushinagar &amp; Talawadina Zumpda</td>
<td>Amraiwadi</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>HN Safal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abhujina Kuvana Chhapra</td>
<td>Ambawadi</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>B-Safal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kailashnagar</td>
<td>Sabarmati</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>B-Safal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bavajina Chhapra</td>
<td>Kankaria</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>B-Safal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bavajina Chhapra</td>
<td>Kankaria</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>B-Safal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mangal Talawadina Chhapra</td>
<td>Vasna</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>B-Safal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lakhudi Talawadi</td>
<td>Naranpura</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>B-Safal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sanjaynagar*</td>
<td>Anil Starch</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>Dropped at latter stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Salatnagar</td>
<td>Gomtipur</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>Gala Builders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bhilvas</td>
<td>Shah-E-Alam</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Gala Builders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gulbai Tekra</td>
<td>Ambawadi</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Harshayu Infrastructure Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Arvind Mills were to redevelop it since majority of their factory workers were residing there. However, the project was dropped after getting necessary approvals from government.

Note: The coloured rows are of the slums where MHT is present. Case studies of Abhujina Kuvana Chhapra (hereafter referred as Abhuj Na Chhapra) and Kailashnagar have been discussed in the later section of the paper.

Source: “5 city slum rehab schemes see light of day,” Jitendra Dave, DNA dated October 20, 2013.

The second section of the paper briefly discusses various slum development approaches and programmes that have been implemented in India over a period of time, their achievements and shortcomings. It also reviews the experiences of various in-situ slum rehabilitation programmes in Mumbai, in particular the SRS. The next section explains features of the 2010 SRS regulations released across Gujarat, its amendments, implementation process and roles of the stakeholders – developer, competent authorities, slum dwellers, external agency / NGO (if any are involved). The fourth section narrates implementation process of the scheme adopted by the developer by involving a NGO through the case studies of two slums, Kailashnagar (Sabarmati) and Abhuji Na Chhapra (Ambawadi), though the regulations do not recognize role of any NGO / Community-based organization (CBO). The course of implementation in both slums was similar, but the issues faced by the stakeholders in the two settlements differed. Though initial preparatory work commenced long back after its release from 2010 onwards, it has taken almost four years to implement SRS in these settlements. This paper documents the implementation process based on the field visits in which the author had participated as an observer along with the involved NGO over a period of one year. Work at sites commenced only after receipt of the Rajachittithi (commencement letter) from the urban local body (ULB). The last section
encapsulates lessons learnt from the two case studies, gaps in the regulations and suggests various futuristic recommendations.

2. Experiences of Slum Development Schemes

Many programmes adopting different approaches have been designed and implemented in India to increase the access of urban poor to land and basic services. While the first sub-section discusses these programmes, the second sub-section reviews the SRS in Mumbai, where the programme has seen the widest implementation across all the cities in India.

2.1 Slum Development Approaches and Programmes in India

While on one hand, nationalisation of land was gaining ground in India during the seventies (Kabra 1975) along with importance of land tenure as being next only to food and water in urban areas being stressed after the 1976 UN-HABITAT’s Conference held in Vancouver (Oberlander 1985); on the other hand, housing experts advocated the governments to shift their focus from providing direct public housing to enabling communities to choose and develop their housing (Mukhija 2001). With tenure regularisation, slum improvement and upgradation and sites and services being the viable policy options to improve the access of urban poor to land and provision of serviced land (Mahadevia 2002), many governments focussed on the same with assistance of multilateral and bilateral agencies. Though the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA), 1976 was introduced with the objective of increasing the access of urban poor to land, the contradicting results of this act are widely known.

Broadly, the programmes for improving the access of the urban poor to land and basic services can be classified into three categories based on the system of management, the levels of cost recovery, methods of implementation (either through the local community or any of the three tiers of government) and forms of tenurial rights (Mahadevia 2002), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Classification of Programmes implemented in India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Services Programmes</th>
<th>Shelter cum Services Programmes</th>
<th>Special Programmes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Community Development (UCD)</td>
<td>Sites and Services Schemes (S&amp;S)</td>
<td>Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) / Slum Improvement Programme (SIP)</td>
<td>Slum Upgradation Schemes (SUP)</td>
<td>Mega City Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Basic Services for Poor (UBSP)</td>
<td>Giving of Pattas</td>
<td>Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Cost Sanitation (LCS)</td>
<td>Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) / Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slum Networking Programme (SNP)</td>
<td>Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Mahadevia 2002.
The Urban Community Development (UCD) programme, launched in 1966 as a centrally sponsored scheme, got transferred to the state sector in 1969. This programme aimed to involve the community in the improvement of slum (included provision of facilities such as sewer lines, public stand-posts, roads, street lights etc.), provision of health facilities and the construction of dwelling units (included as a part of the project), thereby reducing the cost of the project and for the post-project maintenance. It was successfully implemented in Hyderabad\(^2\) in three major stages, namely, granting *pattas* (tenure regularisation), finalising the layout plan of the colony and actual construction of the dwelling units. The project has delivered nearly 20,000 *pattas* and upgraded 12,000 houses (Adusumilli 2001).

Both *Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS)* and *Slum Improvement Programme (SIP)* were concerned with the physical improvement of slums through provision of a standard package of community facilities, such as provision of water taps, open drains for outflow of wastewater, storm water drains, community bath and latrines, widening and paving of existing lanes and street lighting. However, both programmes were restricted to authorised / notified slums (Mahadevia 2002). Both schemes differed in terms of implementation, the former being implemented through the grants of the central government while under the latter, in some instances the slum dwellers had to pay back the total cost of improvement.

Launched in 1972 with total assistance from the central government, the EIUS was transferred to the state sector under the Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) during the Fifth Five Year Plan. Part of the funds was required to come from the state government. In the Eighth Five Year Plan, the scheme was taken up along with Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP), Low Cost Sanitation (LCS), and Nehru Rojgar Yojana (NRY) under the Urban Poverty Alleviation Programme. This scheme’s coverage remained inadequate because very low grant per family was made available.

Implementation of SIP was of two types. Under the first type, facilities were provided without charging the beneficiaries, like the EIUS. For example, (i) Replacing previous slum clearances programmes, the Government of Maharashtra took up SIP in 1971 which failed to achieve its envisaged objectives owning to high density of slums, poor quality of services provided to the slum dwellers and exclusion of slums located on private lands and central government lands. (ii) The Accelerated Slum Improvement Scheme was taken up in Madras through the state government funds and implemented by the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB). In the second type, the cost of improvement was recovered from the beneficiary in instalments. The World Bank

\(^2\) Though launched in fourteen cities, out of which, at the end of the Fourth Plan, it continued only in six namely, Baroda, Rajkot, Surat, Jamnagar in Gujarat and Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. Subsequently it was started in Vishakhapatnam, Madras and Calcutta as well. Presently, the programme is entirely funded by the municipal budgets in Hyderabad.
financed urban development projects, which had SIP as a component, such as the Calcutta Urban Development Project (CUDP) and Tamil Nadu Urban Development Project (TUDP), belonged to this category. While the Bank provided grants and loans to the implementing agency through the Government of India for financing this component, the loan was passed on to the beneficiaries at a 12 per cent rate of interest repayable in 20 years. Also, to cover half the project cost, the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) advanced loans for the scheme at an interest rate of 9 per cent to be repaid over 10 years.

The Urban Basic Services for Poor (UBSP) was an integrated approach to improve conditions in the slums. Though, its focus was on women and children, the entire population benefited from it. The components of the programme were health and nutrition, education for women and children, water supply and sanitation (including installation of hand-pumps and construction of low cost pour-flush latrines), training of community workers and development of community organisations in the slums. Part of the programme cost was also shared by the user. This programme was initiated by the UNICEF in 1976 and since then the financial participation of the central government, the state government and the UNICEF was in the proportion of 20:40:40 (Kundu 1993). This programme differed from the EIUS / SIP in two major aspects. First, unlike the EIUS / SIP, it was an integrated programme and not mere physical improvement of slum. Secondly, it required financial as well as organisational participation of slum dwellers, thereby reduced the possibilities of future displacements (Kundu et al. 1996). The UBSP was discontinued in 1997 (during the Ninth Five Year Plan).

The Low Cost Sanitation (LCS) Programme, a centrally sponsored scheme for liberation of scavengers, was started to provide sanitation facilities to 80 per cent of the urban population at the end of the UN Decade for Water Supply and Sanitation (1980-81). The main objective was to convert the existing dry latrines into low-cost pour-flush latrines and provide alternative employment to the liberated scavengers. HUDCO came forth with assistance to cover the slums and old city areas with LCS programme. Owing to several constraints like non-availability of sufficient space to construct individual latrines, poor loan recovery from individuals, reluctance of state governments to provide guarantee for securing HUDCO loans, incompletion of units in absence of subsidy for super-structure portion etc. (MoHUPA 2014), the scheme was revised in 2008 and is now known as Integrated Low Cost Sanitation Scheme (ILCS).

The Slum Networking Programme (SNP)\(^3\), a slum improvement programme with the participation of beneficiaries, has been implemented in some of the cities of Gujarat\(^4\) and Madhya Pradesh. This partnership-based slum development programme has community at its core, partnering with the social institutions, industry organization (private sector),

\(^3\) Also known as ‘Parivartaan’ (meaning transformation).

\(^4\) Implemented in Ahmedabad by the AMC in 1995 in partnership with two city-based NGOs (Saath and MHT), corporate sector and slum residents.
local government (the implementing agency) and the NGO acting as a facilitator for providing physical and social infrastructure and extending education and health facilities like non-formal education programmes, maternal and child health in the slums. The programme had two components: (i) Improvement in physical environment which contained individual water supply, latrines and sewerage connections, paving of the streets, garbage collection, street lighting and tree plantation; (ii) community development and social infrastructure involving formation of neighbourhood groups, women’s groups (*mahila mandal*) and youth groups (*yuvak mandal*) with the active involvement of NGOs (Bhatt and Shah 2010). While the beneficiaries contributed upto 30 per cent of the cost, the remaining cost was shared by the private sector (mainly in form of grants)\(^5\) and the local authority. In Ahmedabad, though slums covered under the SNP were given tenure security in form of a no-eviction guarantee by the AMC for a period of 10 years (for details see Acharya and Parikh 2002; Dutta 2002), some of them were demolished for various city development projects (Mahadevia et al. 2014).

The **Sites and Services (S&S) Schemes**, introduced during the Fifth Five Year Plan, mainly made serviced urban land in small lot size accessible to the poor who were expected to construct their houses primarily through self-help. The scheme gained impetus only after involvement of the World Bank\(^6\) in Madras Urban Development Project (MUDP) from 1976-77 onwards (Mahadevia 2002). The World Bank financed this scheme in different cities over a period, for example, Kanpur in 1981-82, Indore in 1982-83, several cities of Gujarat in 1985-86, Mumbai in 1984-91 etc. The S&S schemes financed by the World Bank in India had several options relating to plot size for people in different income groups within the EWS category and even LIG and MIG housing. Serviced plots were also provided for commercial and industrial use so as to cross-subsidise the small plots. Mahadevia (2002) pointed out that S&S projects have been criticized on some fronts like the review of some S&S projects in different cities indicated transfer of the allotted plots to slightly better-off households thus leading to gentrification and due to distant and inconvenient locations of lands available for the schemes. For example, in Mumbai, sites and services schemes were located beyond 30 km from the city centre.

By the 1980s and through the 1990s, international agencies led by the World Bank advised governments to refrain from any direct role in housing provision. Instead, they had recommended the governments to rely on market-actors and enable housing provision through policies of decentralization, privatization, deregulation and demand-driven development (World Bank 1993).

The **Slum Upgradation Programme (SUP)** was started in the Fifth Five Year Plan at the instance of the World Bank and mainly provided shelter and basic services, like the

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\(^5\) After completion of the pilot project, the corporate sector had backed out and henceforth the programme continued with involvement of other three partners only.

\(^6\) HUDCO was the first financing agency to introduce this scheme in the country.
SIP. However, two main distinguishing factors between SIP and SUP were that the latter included the requirement of giving of land _patta_ on a leasehold or freehold basis and availability of a Home Improvement Loan (HIL) for shelter upgradation to the beneficiary on an optional basis (Mahadevia 2002). The SUP was of two types, one where the _pattas_ were given to individual households on a freehold basis. The MUDP-I and II and the TUDP were examples of this. Under the second type, land was leased out to the community on a collective basis, in case of Bombay which is explained below.

In Bombay, the SUP was launched in 1985 in collaboration with the World Bank and the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC). Besides providing some civic amenities, it envisaged slum co-operatives to undertake slum development in exchange for transfer of land tenure in form of 30-year lease (_patta_) and provided housing loans in order to facilitate self-improvement to improve the quality of housing in slums. But due to lack of drive and commitment on part of the authorities and influence of the real-estate developers on the government against the transfer of land tenure to the slum dwellers, only 22,000 households were covered in a period of eight years upto 1993 (Das 2005). Simultaneously, the Prime Minister’s Grant Project (PMGP) primarily consisting of central government grants commenced in 1985 with the objective to improve housing conditions in Mumbai including redevelopment of Dharavi with an appropriate density and infrastructure as one of its main proposals. This proposal recommended accommodation of 30,000-35,000 families in four-five floors high apartments while around 20,000 families were to be relocated outside Dharavi. While the residents feared land capitalization by private developers, the proposal was also criticized by leading NGOs of the city for the displacement, if implemented. Strong criticism, large-scale off-site resettlement, lack of required land and financial resources with the PMGP led to its revision; limiting it to a pilot effort of organizing 3,800 houses as co-operatives. There was intense competition amongst the residents to have their houses selected as PMGP was supporting residents opting for the proposal with a direct subsidy of 10 per cent and an interest-free loan for 20 per cent of the construction cost. Also, another important incentive for the slum dwellers was the potential appreciation in the property values of their housing assets because of the redevelopment. As the project progressed, construction work slackened due to inaccurate cost estimates, inflating costs, inability of beneficiaries to keep up with the required payments and complexities involved in implementing a redevelopment strategy. The proposal was also rationalized to meet up with the financial gaps by taking additional payments from the commercial members to cross-subsidize the residential members. Besides financial problems in implementation of the project; the PMGP, being the single agency responsible for redevelopment, found its institutional capacity stretched in implementing such a strategy. Mukhiija (2001) pointed out that with progress of the PMGP the state policy-makers appeared to have learnt at least four lessons. First, there was a constituency for redevelopment, slum dwellers were willing to allow redevelopment of their slums and live in medium-rise apartments if they could benefit by obtaining more valuable housing. Second, despite slum dwellers’ interest, redevelopment was expensive and not all slum dwellers were
able to keep up with the expenses. Third, there was a possibility of creating cross-subsidy for the slum dwellers. Finally, in accordance with the emerging conventional wisdom, the government needed to involve the private market actors to invest in, and manage redevelopment.

Though **giving of land pattas (tenure regularisation)** to the slum dwellers was an acceptable policy option, only few state governments had initiated this policy through legislation. For example, Madhya Pradesh government passed legislation in 1984 to confer tenurial rights for a period of 30 years on leasehold basis to households squatting on public land; in Delhi, unauthorised colonies were regularised which included giving of pattas. However in both cases, achievement levels were low owing to limited coverage of the policy and problems in the implementation process.

Under the Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), both **Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP)** and the **Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP)** aimed to provide housing and basic services to the urban poor. Both schemes differed in terms of their financing pattern\(^7\) and coverage of cities\(^8\) (MoHUPA 2009a and 2009b). Huge amount of funding was channelized by all three tiers of the government for public housing. While both the schemes intended to include all slum improvement / upgradation / relocation projects including upgradation / new construction of houses and provision of basic services to the urban poor, on the contrary they adopted the approach of merely constructing new housing units mostly in the peripheral areas of the cities and not in-situ (For details of BSUP, refer Mahadevia et al. 2013). Besides location of housing, these programmes faced issues related to selection of beneficiaries, allotment process and quality of housing. In many cities, like Bangalore and Hyderabad, the housing stock has remained unused and unoccupied. While in the city of Ahmedabad, the BSUP housing have been used to resettle families displaced from the city’s slums for various development projects in the city (Refer Mahadevia et al. 2014 for details).

Introduced in 2009-10, the **Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)** programme envisaged a ‘Slum-free India’ by encouraging States / Union Territories to tackle the problem of existing slums in a definitive manner and increasing the supply of land and small housing for the new migrants while universalizing basic services. Like BSUP, it also acknowledged that in-situ rehabilitation and upgrading along with provision of tenure security of housing was a more successful approach (Mahadevia et al. 2014). It focussed on the idea of a contextual case-to-case basis approach to slum

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7 Under BSUP, the share between Central Government and State / ULB / Parastal (including beneficiary contribution) was 50:50 for mission cities having population above 1 million, 90:10 for mission cities in special category states and 80:20 for other remaining mission cities; while under IHSDP the ratio between Central Government & State Government / ULB / Parastatal was 80:20 and 90:10 for cities in special category states.

8 BSUP covered the 68 mission cities, while the non-mission cities were covered under the IHSDP.
redevelopment, with the understanding that one-size does not fit all (Mahadevia forthcoming). However, the new government in 2014 has decided to discontinue this programme.

The Special Programmes included (i) the Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT), a central government funded programme. Basically meant to discourage migration to large cities, a part of this programme was to provide basic facilities to the poor in the IDSMT towns so that they could be absorbed in these towns and their move towards large cities could be arrested; (ii) the Mega City Project, another centrally sponsored project covering five metros, Mumbai, Calcutta, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad, aimed to improve the overall infrastructure status of these cities and included the urban poor also. However, there were many problems in ensuring allocation of funds for the poor under this project; (iii) the Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme, a centrally sponsored scheme, was included in the Eighth Plan for towns having population less than 20,000.

2.2 Review of SRS in Mumbai
In 1991, the state government launched the Slum Redevelopment Scheme (SRD) to improve the living conditions of slums. This was the first attempt to involve promoters like owners / developers / co-operative housing societies (CHSGs) / NGOs in execution of in-situ redevelopment under the condition that slum dwellers would be resettled on the original site in houses of 17-21 sq. mt. of carpet area and that they were to pay around Rs.15,000-18,000 (approximately 23 per cent of the estimated cost of construction) per house as their contribution towards the building. To make this scheme feasible, it allowed project promoters to develop additional floor space on the slum land by increasing maximum allowed built-up area, measured in terms of FSI / FAR upto 2.5 whereas the normal FSI for the island city was 1.33 and for the suburbs was 1 at that time. By taking advantage of the scarcity of land in the island city, introduction of the SRD was the first comprehensive step taken by the state government towards market-oriented approach which was advocated by the World Bank since long. This was to provide carrot of additional FSI to the private developers, who ruled the real estate market and also had one of the strongest political lobbies, to undertake the slum redevelopment programme (Mitra 2003). The promoter was allowed to make a ‘free sale component’ within the same plot with the unutilized FSI after rehabilitating all the households on the site. The developer was allowed to sell such buildings / dwelling units to cross-subsidize the rehabilitation component. A special committee, named the SRD Committee, consisting of bureaucrats and political representatives from the state government and the BMC was established for project approvals.

However, there was little progress in the implementation of this scheme. The scheme had put a profit cap of 25 per cent for the private developers, who were therefore not interested in the SRD. Moreover, in the financial model set-up by the SRD committee to calculate developer’s profit and maximum allowed FSI / FAR, there was no place
to factor-in interest rates and the developer’s cost of finance. Furthermore, conflicts and disagreements among community members, private developers and between communities and developers and lack of transit accommodation were responsible for delays. Also, slum-dwellers were reluctant to give possession of their plots in absence of alternative accommodation as they feared losing possession of their sites permanently. Experiences of attacks on them and forcible evictions at many places in the city by a number of builders contributed to their reluctance.

After the 1995 state elections, the newly elected Government of Maharashtra announced its intention to replace the SRD with a new programme, the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS), in one of its first policy decisions. It claimed that the SRD was unsuccessful and unattractive to both – the developers and the slum dwellers. The SRS was based on a series of prescribed ratios between the rehabilitation areas (new housing for slum dwellers) and the market sale area (for the developers). However, the government stipulated that FSI consumed on any site should not exceed 2.5. For developers, this scheme allowed more predictable FSI allowances with no obligatory limits on their profits. In case developers were eligible for additional development area, they were issued additional Development Rights Certificates (DRCs), which could be used through the instrument of Transfer of Development Rights (TDR). This was the first instance where the TDR was introduced for slum redevelopment. It may be noted that the concept of TDR was already in use in Mumbai since 1991 but only for heritage buildings and compulsory land acquisition purposes (Mitra 2003).

Thus, the DRC issued by the municipal corporation allows the owner to use the TDR for construction or sell it in open market. The plot for which the DRC is issued is called as TDR generating plot and the plot where TDR is used or intended to be used called as receiving plot. While the owner loses the right to develop any built-up area on the generating plot, the DRC holder could use the area specified in the certificate to construct additional floor space in the receiving plot, provided that the FSI in the receiving plot does not exceed 2 or 2.5 (depending upon the location of the plot). However, in Mumbai, it was compulsory for the TDR receiving plots to be in the north of the TDR generating plot, so that southern areas of the city do not get congested further.

Mitra (2003) pointed that in context of Mumbai, TDR had been an ad hoc arrangement which was introduced by taking advantages of artificially created scarcity of FSI. He also stated that the potential of TDR had not been explored like a regional development tool to safeguard the coastal zones, no development zones or other environmentally fragile zones, as it had happened elsewhere in the world. Rather, it was being utilized to decongest the city and push growth to the periphery, which in fact was contrary to the principle of TDR which advocated a denser growth at city center sparing the natural environment of the fringe areas.
The state government constituted an advisory committee, the Afzalpurkar Committee, to analyze past experiences and to recommend implementation guidelines for this new scheme. Based on the committee’s recommendations, the state government incorporated the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA), a centralized, single-window agency to approve projects and institute regulatory changes to improve project implementation under this scheme. This independent, autonomous body was declared as a planning authority by amending the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning (MR&TP) Act, 1966. The Chief Minister of Maharashtra is the Chairperson of SRA and a senior IAS Officer is full-time Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Authority. It also consisted of 14 other members including Ministers, elected members of the State Legislature, Secretaries of concerned State Government Departments and some non-official members who are experts in fields of building construction, planning, architecture, social services and others.

Formally launched in 1997, the guiding principle of SRS was in-situ redevelopment of slums. For implementation of the scheme, 70 per cent of eligible slum dwellers in the slum had to form a CHSG. All slum dwellers whose names were on the electoral roll as on January 1, 1995 were eligible for a free 25 sq.mt (269 sq.ft.) dwelling unit at the same site, irrespective of area of their existing slum structure. After constructing units for the rehabilitated slum dwellers, the developer could construct extra units (of an equivalent area) to be sold in the open market. In addition, the developer had to contribute Rs.20,000 per rehabilitation dwelling unit to a central fund, the interest from which could be utilized to cover maintenance costs and municipal taxes. The developer was expected to make enough profit from the sale of extra units to cover costs of providing free dwelling units and other miscellaneous costs. The ratio of built-up area required for rehabilitating existing slum dwellers to the allowable sale built-up area was 1:0.75 for city area, 1:1 for suburbs area and 1:1.33 for Dharavi area. Maximum FSI upto 3.0 was allowed for SRS. Commercial areas (with an upper limit of 20.9 sq. mt.) could be included in the floor space along with space for social amenities like creche (balwadi), society office and welfare centre. Wherever major rebuilding was necessary, families could either find temporary alternative accommodation on their own or be regrouped on the site itself or be accommodated in the transit camps provided by the developer (Burra 2005). The dwelling unit allotted to a slum dweller could not be sold for a period of ten years from the date of allotment. However, it could be transferred to a legal heir with prior permission of CEO (SRA).

The SRS has been an experience of partnership. The various stake-holders involved in the scheme are:

- **SRA**: It is structured as a single-window agency to facilitate execution of programmes and therefore has engineering (building approval), financial (approval of financial terms), estate and revenue (land records, approval of eligibility of slum dwellers) wings. The SRA is also a quasi-judicial body with powers of arbitration. It is thus a powerful body in terms of financial and
administration powers (Bhide 2012). However, its contradicting role as a promoter stimulating the private sector vis-à-vis protecting interests of the slum dwellers is evidently visible.

- **Developers:** They are core partners in this scheme as due to their initiative in preparing proposals and executing them would any scheme be implementable.

- **Slum dwellers associations:** These are the CBOs. The overall proposal including identification of eligible beneficiaries for rehabilitation, building plans, transit arrangement, allotment of dwelling units, is supposed to be developed and executed in consultation with them. Since the CBOs are constrained by lack of information, their negotiation capacity has been limited. Also, there are no specific provisions for CBOs or community consultation at different stages of implementation in the SRS projects. Unlike developers who are represented by an association, there is no federation representing interests of the slum dwellers.

- **NGOs:** An incentive of additional 5 per cent built-up area for NGOs to get involved in implementation of the scheme has been provided. However, very few NGOs are actually involved due to lack of construction related competencies and finance. As Bhide et al. (2003) have pointed out in their study that the overall role of NGOs in SRS was low. While some NGOs had taken on role of developers, especially for PAPs, others had organized CHSGs of slum dwellers to undertake construction. However, issues of non-transparency and non-involvement were abound even in such cases.

### Table 3: Statistics of Slum Rehabilitation Schemes (SRS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particular</th>
<th>In- situ Rehab Scheme (DCR 33 (10))</th>
<th>Tenements for PAP Scheme (DCR 33(10), clause 3.11)</th>
<th>Permanent Transit Tenement Scheme (DCR 33(14)D)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SRS sanctioned</td>
<td>1,195</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of tenement approved</td>
<td>3,33,533</td>
<td>1,26,311</td>
<td>8,249</td>
<td>4,68,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of tenement under construction</td>
<td>2,15,657</td>
<td>1,24,704</td>
<td>7,517</td>
<td>3,47,878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of tenement OCC granted</td>
<td>82,188</td>
<td>73,751</td>
<td>1,787</td>
<td>1,57,726</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In-situ rehab scheme: Rehabilitation is done at the site of slum; Project-affected Person (PAP) tenement scheme: For slum dwellers who cannot be rehabilitated in-situ due to land required for projects like road, bridges, airport, drainage and others; Permanent transit tenement: Constructed in-situ by the land owner in lieu of incentive FSI.


With launch of this scheme, the SRS was clearly an exercise to create access to prime lands for the builders, who could then rake in quick profits from slum redevelopment. This was pepped-up with the objective of providing free houses to the existing
dwellers through the principle of cross-subsidization. The scheme entirely depended upon private investments. With increased role of developers and builders in providing housing to the poor, FSI was offered as an incentive to developers who could earn profits through sale of extra built-up area obtained through use of unutilized FSI on the same plot or through use of the TDR if unutilized FSI realization was not possible on the same plot. The scheme appeared to be apologetic to the builders and was for the builders and by the builders and subverted the philosophy of housing in which people must be directly in control of their development.

As highlighted by Bhide (2012), while there have been several changes in the scheme since then, its basic features have remained the same. These are:

- It is based upon the concept of land-sharing. By granting higher FSI to slum areas, it has potential of freeing lands for ‘development’ while ostensibly not harming the interests of the slum dwellers.
- The scheme is firmly located in a planning paradigm that is unaccommodative of ‘irregularities’, which is not accepting the housing typology of slums in an urban landscape. It however has a humane approach in which slums are sought to be rehabilitated.
- It attempts to address the issue of lack of resources for housing the poor by bringing in private and market initiatives. Higher FSI and TDR are incentives offered to developers. In this sense, implementation of the programme is largely dependent on the vagaries of the real estate market. This is a programme in which the facilitative role of the state could be operationalized. The SRA assumes several responsibilities in this context, stimulating the housing market, facilitating participation of developers in the programme, arbitrating between developers and slum dwellers, and advocating changes in the policies of other administrative institutions.

This scheme has been criticized by eminent experts on many aspects such as:

- Cut-off dates for eligibility of beneficiaries: An arbitrary cut-off date of January 1, 1995 for eligibility of beneficiaries in the scheme was decided. This meant that a slum dweller, who came to the city post-1995, was not eligible under this scheme or would have to undertake means of producing fake documents to prove his / her eligibility by paying exorbitant amounts to the slum-lords, mafia and many others. Also, there was great temptation for the builders, politicians, officials and mafia to earn fantastic amounts by increasing the number of fake slum dwellers, taking over public lands by having one hut only, coercing slum dwellers into acquiescing in their scheme and so on (Gandhi 2007). The 1995 cut-off date had continued till the state government’s resolution dated July 22, 2014, which relaxed the eligibility of beneficiaries till January 1, 2000 (GoM 2014). Again this implies that slums that have come up in last decade would still not be considered under the SRA. It is being envisaged that this move had been taken primarily keeping in mind the October 2014 state assembly elections.
• Expected profits of the developers: Returns, as per the scheme’s outline, were a great bonus for the developer. In any city, property prices are basically a function of land prices and they vary hugely depending on the location. On other hand, construction cost variation is not area-linked. Thus by investing in construction cost of two dwelling units, the developer would give one to the slum dweller for free and sell the other in open market. When property prices were much lower a decade ago, this scheme did not attract too many takers, but after property prices skyrocketed since 2000, the SRA attracted many to exploit the programme in many different ways. Also, given that there is no rational basis for the profit margins of the developers, they tend to find illegal ways of increasing their profits, even to absurd levels (Gandhi 2007).

• Subjugating interests of slum dwellers: Terms under which rehabilitation process is undertaken, which does not take into account their preparedness or the site conditions, ends up neglecting the interests of the residents. The role of slum dwellers, who would be living in the redeveloped units, is merely restricted up to proving their eligibility and giving consent to the scheme. They are nowhere involved in any consultations during the implementation stages. Their involvement and satisfaction seemed to matter the least to the key partners whose prime interest seemed to be ‘freeing lands for development’ in exchange for a free dwelling unit rather than rehabilitation in the real sense (Bhide 2012).

• Conflicts between various stake-holders: This scheme was subjected to several conflicting agendas of the major political parties in the state. Also, a change in role of the state, as expressed by the SRA in facilitating market processes, was being evidently visible as the scheme was dominated by the private sector at all stages. Rather than a mere supervising agency for implementation of the scheme, SRA should have taken a proactive role in initiating rehabilitation schemes in slums (irrespective of their ownership) with the help of local NGOs, developers, experts and other professionals.

• Amplifying threat of displacement: With scarcity of land for public housing with the Government, this policy further encouraged giving of land by the Government to private developers as well as investor as freebies. Also, Incentive FSI could and Bhide (2003) argued would encourage forcible evictions, which might also target certain vulnerable communities in the society and lead to demolition of slums occupying prime property by the real estate mafia. To obtain large surplus for sale in the open market, it is clear that only low-density slums would be targeted by the developers, thus leading to large-scale displacements and social unrest amongst the slum dwellers.

• Usurpation of public lands: In guise of slum redevelopment, undertaking schemes along the coastline; thereby violating the Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) guidelines by the developers’ along with active support from the Government had also been attempted.
• Violation of statutory provisions of the scheme: There were cases wherein statutory provisions of providing alternate accommodation or rehabilitating slum dwellers had been violated by the developers.

• Time consuming process: Though the number of people benefitting was larger than any other scheme at the time in early 2000, the implementation process was slow (Mitra 2003). Completion of any SRS project took around 24 to 44 months, depending upon the enthusiasm of the developers.

• Biased selection of slums: While the present SRS might have taken care of slums on private lands but fate of slums located on various types of government lands lied in uncertainty. Also, slum pockets, more complex in nature from the point of view of rehabilitation, were ignored by the private players for whom social accountability is not the prime criterion (Mitra 2003).

3. The Regulation for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of the Slums 2010, Gujarat: A Synoptic View

In 2010, the Urban Development and Urban Housing Department (UD & UHD) of Government of Gujarat (GoG) released ‘The Regulation for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of the Slums 2010’. These regulations, constituted under the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act (GTPUDA), 1976, were for in-situ redevelopment of slums (irrespective of their ownership – public or private) through participation of the private sector (developer).

The regulations provides for: (a) a fully serviced dwelling unit (DU), minimum 36 sq. mt. built-up area (excluding common areas) to all eligible slum dwellers and (b) social infrastructure on the site depending on the size of the settlement. In addition to the DUs required to rehabilitate slum dwellers, the developer was required to construct minimum 10 per cent of extra DUs, to be surrendered to the Prescribed Authority (PA), which could be the Municipal Commissioner or the Chief Executive Authority in the Municipal Corporation or Collector & Chairman of District Urban Development Agency in the Municipality area, for the use as an extra housing stock to rehabilitate PAPs. Thereafter, if additional unutilized land remained, the developer could develop it for commercial purposes after acquiring it from the authority at 100 per cent of prevailing Jantri rates. The last provision was stated as it was envisaged that only the slums on public land would be eligible for the programme. The beneficiaries could transfer / sell DUs only after 20 years from date of possession.

The regulations defined an eligible slum resident as ‘a slum dweller who is not a foreign national and is an occupant of hutment for a period of minimum of 10 years and has domicile of Gujarat for 25 years or his / her descendent.’ The required occupancy proofs included copies of any two of the following documents: ration card, electricity bill, proof of being in the electoral rolls and any other proof as decided by the authority. However, during surveys conducted for collection of occupancy proofs by NGOs / external agencies in the potential slums, as discussed later in the paper, it
was realised that though the residents were occupants of hutments since 10 years, they did not possess the requisite documents. Instead, they had other documents validating 10 years of occupancy such as school leaving certificate of children, birth / death certificate, wedding invitation cards, jewellery bills, etc. With pressure from various stakeholders, the State Government amended definition of eligible slum dweller as ‘slum dweller registered by the competent authority in their slum survey conducted as on or before December 1, 2010’ (GoG 2011). Under these surveys, each covered hutment was allotted a unique Household Identification Number (HIN). This not only supported the occupancy clause but also deterred people from setting hutments overnight so as to be part of this scheme and gain undue benefit⁹. Besides this, the amendment included certain provisions regarding parking in common plot as per the General Development Control Regulation (GDCR), which were not covered in the original regulations.

The regulations made it mandatory for the developer to acquire consent of at least 75 per cent of occupants of the settlement being considered under the scheme. However, the course of action for remaining 25 per cent residents was not mentioned. Thus, it is yet unclear whether they would eventually join the scheme voluntarily or coercively or would be evicted from their present location. Besides, the developer had to form a registered CHSG or association consisting of 11-12 members of the settlement to whom the SRS project would be handed over to for future maintenance, after obtaining the certification of completion from the authority. The developed also had to give the competent authority an amount equivalent to 10 per cent of the project cost, which would be transferred to the CHSG later on. During the process of construction (i.e. from vacating the site until completion of construction), the developer was required to provide transit accommodation to the eligible slum residents.

After obtaining necessary clearances from multiple departments at the corporation-level, the developer had to submit the proposed rehabilitation scheme to the Slum Rehabilitation Committee (SRC) comprising of senior officials from the Municipal Corporation, Urban Development Authority and the UD & UHD, which ever is the PA. Once the SRC approved, the the State-level UD & UHD had to finally approve the scheme. Once all the sanctions are obtained, the PA had to appoint a consultant to supervise quality and timely execution of the project. The consultant had power to certify the release of the security deposit of the (5 per cent of the project cost) with the PA.

On August 30, 2011, the State Government notified 16 areas across the city as slum areas under Section 3 of the Gujarat Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and

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⁹ In Mumbai, as discussed earlier, many fake households gained entry in the list of eligible beneficiaries through creating false documents by paying exorbitant amounts to the slum-lords / local leaders.
Redevelopment) Act 1973. (Refer Appendix 1: Notification of UD & UHD dated August 30, 2011). Under the sub-section 1 of Section 3 of the Act, any area which is a source of danger to the health, safety or morals of the inhabitants of the area or of its neighbourhood, by reason of the area being low-lying, insanitary, squalid, overcrowded or is unfit for human habitation or by reason of dilapidation, over-crowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation factors or any combination of these factors be detrimental to safety, health or morals may be declared as slum area by the State Government.

This was followed with a circular by the State Government to the AMC providing further clarifications on roles and responsibilities of the developer as well as the competent authority. The important points included:

- At the time of issue of permission, the competent authority had to scrutinize and verify area calculations for common plot, built-up area, FSI and common facilities. It also had to scrutinize details of physical infrastructure like water supply, drainage, street lighting and social infrastructure like school, welfare centre, dispensary, balwadi, society office and ensure they are in accordance with the regulations.
- The concerned municipal corporation issued a final permission for the scheme to make land available for particular use and verified the number of eligible beneficiaries. In case of any differences / discrepancies, the municipal corporation were given power to amend and then approve the proposal.
- Development of the approved scheme / slum had to be carried out by the developer within the time period of three years from the date of approval.
- If in case, the eligible beneficiaries were holding hutments of more area or commercial establishment than area prescribed in the regulations, then it was the responsibility of the developer to convince them and make them accept the lesser area or the developer could provide area as per demand of the beneficiaries.

As these regulations offered a DU in lieu of an existing hutment / slum house without considering household size and area of the existing hutment of the beneficiary, availing consent of the beneficiaries with large household size or holding hutment area larger than that prescribed in the regulations had posed a challenge for the developer.

The 2010 regulations failed to attract the private sector. Subsequently, another amendment to the regulations was introduced in May 2012 (Refer Appendix 2: Comparison between the 2010 Regulations and its amendment in 2012). The revised regulations provided more incentives to the developers such as transferable FSI and period during which it had to be consumed (GoG 2012). Thus, after rehabilitation of slum dwellers, if additional FSI was available, it could be utilized on the same slum
plot or any other plot in a zone having permissible FSI of 1.2 or more. It could also be utilized on other lands in the city for projects granted under the Regulation of Hotel, 2011 and Regulation for Hospitals, 2011. The remaining FSI had to be consumed within a period of five years from the date of granting permission for slum rehabilitation. Also, the total FSI could not exceed the maximum permissible FSI under these aforesaid regulations.

Following this amendment, rehabilitation schemes by leading developers for eight slums, situated in both eastern and western parts of Ahmedabad, got approval from the State Government (DNA 2012). The number subsequently increased to 12. These schemes largely included slums located on public lands. Although it has been reported that many proposals were approved by the State Government before the amendment, the developers did not submit the plans for approval until after the amendment.

Interestingly, neither the 2010 regulations nor its subsequent amendments mentioned involvement of any NGO / civil society organisation (CSO) / an external agency to mobilize the slum residents. Nonetheless, realising the difficulties in the process, some developers have involved NGOs / CSOs, which had prior presence in the slum for a considerable period of time such as MHT in Kailashnagar, Sabarmati and Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi and Insaniyat in Salatnagar. For all approved schemes, Frischmann Prabhu (India) Pvt. Ltd. had been appointed by the AMC for third party inspection (TPI) to undertake project monitoring, quality assurance, periodical quality audit and review construction programme.

4. Involvement of MHT
With the mandatory condition of including 75 per cent consent of the slum residents in the submitted rehabilitation proposal, the conventional approach adopted by the developers was to select slum(s) based on their convenience, explain the scheme to the residents to avail their consent. This required series of interactions between the slum dwellers and the developer, not bearing immediate positive outcomes as envisaged but often leading to altercations between them. The slum dwellers perceived SRS either as a novel eviction strategy of the government or an opportunity for the developer to usurp the land on which they were presently located. Sometimes, multiple developers visited a particular slum, which added to chaos amongst the slum dwellers. Due to lack of clarity about the scheme and low outreach efforts by the local authorities, slum dwellers approached their local leaders (aagyevans) / NGOs having presence in their areas, whomsoever they trusted to confirm its authenticity.

While some developers were directly approaching the slum settlements, the MHT had also approached some developers directly with the list of slums notified under the August 30, 2011 notification of the State Government, which mainly included

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10 The transferable FSI could not be utilized in projects granted under the Regulation of Townships, 2009.
settlements either lacking availability of basic services or housing or feared eviction. In some of these slums, the MHT had grassroots presence or past associations during implementation of SNP or had slum residents’ support while constructing pucca housing through any other available government scheme (i.e. where SNP could not be implemented). In course of approaching various developers, B-Safal a well-known realty estate firm expressed its interest to collaborate with MHT for in-situ redevelopment of Kailashnagar, Sabarmati and Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi. Looking at the slow pace of response from slum residents and to ease the community mobilization process involving a NGO already having grassroots presence in the settlement seemed to be a better proposition than going alone.

In absence of any specific terms and conditions in the 2010 regulations and its subsequent amendments regarding involvement of any NGO or an external agency for mobilization of slum residents, a memorandum of understanding (MOU) was executed between the developer and MHT specifying each others roles in SRS implementation. The MOU did not elaborate on the details of the slums proposed to be covered under this partnership. While role of developer was to develop the slum occupied land and rehabilitate the slum dwellers, MHT’s role was specifically limited to facilitate and ensure that the slum rehabilitation activity undertaken by the developer was welfare oriented. MHT would neither bear any economic, financial or legal compliance nor claim / demand any share of financial benefits arising out of the project undertaken by the developer. Besides motivating and mobilizing the slum dwellers to join the programme, MHT would also help in formation of the slum dwellers’ CHSG by educating and organizing them and undertake other welfare activities with the slum dwellers for their development. While both, developer and the MHT, had equal rights for compliance / follow-up with different government offices, matters pertaining to the implementation and execution of the project were to be handled by the developer solely. Also, the developer and the NGO mutually agreed to share all technical knowledge and information related to the rehabilitation project and build a knowledge and research base for implementing projects of similar kinds.

Proposals for SRS in these two selected slums were prepared only after signing of the MOU. Each clearly included the status of land ownership on which slum was located, 75 per cent consent of the residents, beneficiary details, plans of the scheme and financial statements (audit reports) of the firm of last three years. Necessary building regulation permissions as per prevailing GDCR were also obtained and included in the proposal11.

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11 While we have presented case of only two slums, during our discussions with other developers (other than B-Safal), it was found that their proposals to the SRC were rejected. The prime reasons for rejecting any proposal were any ambiguities on status of land titles of the slum(s) or absence of necessary approvals from various departments or lack of 75 per cent consent of slum residents or ambiguity in the firm’s audit reports. In one slum named Ektanagar, there was a water pumping station within the site and the local authority did not give permission for redevelopment. Thus, the SRS proposal for Ektanagar was rejected.
Out of the 12 approved settlements, B-Safal developer was involved in six slums across the city. These slums not only varied in their sizes but also in their physical character, location, surrounding features, and implementation of SNP. This paper details MHT’s partnership with this developer for two slums mentioned earlier. Both these slums were of small size, consisting of around 45-55 households. MHT had grassroots presence a priori in both settlements. In Kailashnagar, the MHT was involved in the formation of *sakhi mandal* with the objective of implementing the SNP, which however could not be implemented due to the settlement being located on an open *nalah* below the level of drainage system. The residents of Kailashnagar had repetitively put forth requests for implementation of SNP to the MHT and the AMC but the latter did not grant permission. In Abhuji Na Chhapra, the MHT was involved during implementation of SNP as well as in *sakhi mandal* formation.

Inspite of having prior presence in the settlement and knowing residents, MHT had to still put in lot of efforts to convince them to provide their consent for implementation of SRS and collection and verification of required documents. Many did not believe that they would get *pucca* DUs in a flat-type arrangement for free of cost at their present locations. Besides being suspicious about the intentions of the government and private developer, they also feared permanent eviction from their present location on the pretext of SRS implementation. The NGO partially blamed lack of awareness and outreach initiatives about the scheme by the local authorities for its sluggish response.

With continuous and rigorous efforts, MHT allayed these fears and convinced the residents to join to the scheme. The representatives of the MHT remained present during the interactions between the developer and the residents, which were arranged by the MHT itself, to address the doubts / queries, if any of the residents. The MHT emphasised and pushed the developer and the AMC to introduce protective measures in the interest of slum dwellers such as issuing photo-identity cards by the developer to each eligible beneficiary, making an agreement between each eligible beneficiary and the developer prior to vacating site, and issuance of a letter from the ULB to the eligible slum dwellers regarding SRS implementation. Such efforts did make a positive impact on the slum dwellers, although, unlike SNP, where the ULB was fully accountable for its implementation, there was hardly any involvement of the ULB in the 2010 regulations (Refer Appendix 3: AMC Flyer prepared during implementation of SNP and Appendix 4: AMC letter to Gokuldham CHSG. Both documents show how differently the AMC had addressed the slum dwellers in these two programmes – SNP and SRS). Onus of the entire scheme was on the developer.

Besides explaining the process of SRS implementation in two settlements, the next section highlights efforts of the MHT in Kailashnagar - the first slum wherein SRS was implemented and in Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi where multiple litigation cases halted work at the site.
5. Case Studies

5.1 Kailashnagar, Sabarmati

Located in Ward No.15, Kailashnagar is situated opposite to the Sabarmati Police Quarters and Ram Nagar BRTS station in the West Zone. It can be accessed from the State Highway (SH) 41 and is surrounded by residential societies and other slum settlements. It is situated on three adjoining Final Plots Numbers (F.P. Nos.) 450, 451 and 452 under T.P. Scheme No. 23 (Sabarmati) reserved for slum up-gradation by the ULB (Refer Map 2). Situated on a low lying terrain (i.e. on an open *nalah*), the settlement remained inundated during monsoons and implementation of SNP was not feasible here. Hence, basic infrastructure services such as individual tap water, drainage, *pucca* roads etc., were lacking. The internal lanes were partially laid with stones (Refer Picture 1). The residents fetched water from the common water tap located within the settlement.

Map 2: Location of Kailashnagar.

![Map showing the location of Kailashnagar](source: Prepared by CUE)

After execution of MOU with the developer, the first step was to obtain details of land ownership and details of the land parcels. The Revenue Survey Nos. obtained from the Talati Office, Revenue Department after considerable efforts, turned out to be incorrect. After identifying the settlement’s approximate location in the T.P. Scheme, Revenue Survey Nos. / F.P. Nos. were identified with help of property tax bills of neighbouring residential societies. Subsequently, the F-forms procured from the Town
Planning Department of the AMC by mid-June 2011 provided details of Revenue Survey Nos., owners, plot sizes were obtained (Refer Appendix 5: Sample Copy of F-form). While the F-forms showed ULB as the owners of the plots, the 7/12 showed that ownership of plots was vested with private owners, thus there was a mismatch regarding the ownership of the plots in both documents. However, since these plots were reserved for slum up-gradation under the T.P. Scheme of the ULB, ownership of these land parcels vested with the AMC.

**Picture 1: Existing Conditions of Kailashnagar as on July 4, 2013.**

While land ownership details were being gathered, simultaneously the MHT commenced a survey to identify eligible beneficiaries for the rehabilitated scheme. Around 43 hutments were falling within the roughly demarcated plot boundaries. Identification of these hutments took considerable time due to their organic and haphazard clustering. After that, documents proving their occupancy were collected. Tenants were asked to inform the hutment owners to submit their occupancy documents. In some cases, though the residents were occupants of the settlement since 10 years, required documents as specified in the 2010 regulations were unavailable with them. They were either destroyed during monsoons or lost. The MHT assisted in creating a database of available documents with the slum dwellers which proved their occupancy in the settlement since past 10 years (Refer Appendix 6: Database of documents available with dwellers). Some came forth with documents such as school leaving certificate of children, birth / death certificate, wedding invitation cards,
jewellery bills, etc. This was also brought to notice of the concerned authorities. With efforts of the MHT and other stakeholders, eligibility criteria was redefined and those covered under the biometric based Socio-Economic survey as on or before December 1, 2010 were considered as eligible beneficiaries (Refer Appendix 7: Sample copy of the biometric based Socio-Economic Survey of a beneficiary). Consent forms of all eligible beneficiaries along with copies of their available documents, details of the biometric based Socio-Economic Survey, financial statements of the firm for last three years were included in the proposal by the developer.

Map 3: Site Layout and DU Plan of Kailashnagar.

The developer had submitted a proposal for 65 DUs (considering 10 per cent extra units) to the SRC in March 2011. After approving the proposal, the SRC submitted it to the UD & UHD, State Government for final consent. After approval from the State Government, any revision in the proposal such as increase in number of eligible beneficiaries meant re-approval of the SRC. The UD & UHD approved this proposal along with 15 others through its notification in August 2011, wherein 16 slums in Ahmedabad were declared as notified slums. The developer had to register a CHSG consisting of 11 members essentially residents of the settlement, as per the Gujarat Co-operative Societies Act, 1962 after depositing the security amount – 5 per cent of
the total project cost (applicable only if the submitted proposal gets approved). The developer went ahead with this norm and a current account in the name of the Gokuldham CHSG was opened in the Ahmedabad District Co-operative (ADC) Bank. Necessary procedures for registration of the CHSG were carried out and by August 2011 Gokuldham CHSG was registered (Refer Appendix 8: Gokuldham CHSG registration letter).

In course of time, it was realised that according to the T.P. Scheme the area adjoining these three plots was proposed to be developed as a 9.14 metre wide road. Around 16 hutments were falling in this area. Inclusion of these 16 hutments in the proposal, primarily PAPs under road cutting, meant re-approval of SRC. After repetitive request applications by MHT regarding their inclusion, the number of eligible beneficiaries in the proposed rehabilitation scheme increased from 43 to 59.

In the meanwhile, there was a pressure from the lobby of the developers that had shown interest in the programme to provide them more incentives under the 2010 regulations which led to its amendment in May 2012. For next one year, proposals under this regulation reached an impasse till developers received the Rajachitthis from the ULB. Amongst the approved proposals, Kailashnagar was the first settlement to receive the Rajachitthi in June 2013.

Till then, on the insistence of the MHT, notarized photo-identity cards of eligible beneficiaries were prepared by the developer. These cards included details of DU owner along with his / her signatures / thumbprints and other family members. In case of unexpected death of the beneficiary, this document provided details of beneficiary’s kinship. Photograph of each eligible beneficiary standing in front of his / her hutment were also included (Refer Appendix 9: Sample of Photo-identity card of an eligible beneficiary living in Kailashnagar). This enabled the developer in keeping track of the eligible beneficiaries during rent distribution and also gave residents a hope that sooner or later this scheme would be implemented. By now around two-three years had passed since release of the regulations.

As per the regulations, the developer had to provide transit accommodation to the beneficiaries till completion of construction. Instead, the mutual decision between the developer and beneficiaries (in consultation with MHT) was to pay each beneficiary an advance for rental accommodation suitable to their needs. The amount towards this was decided as per prevailing rents across the area. There were three ways of providing this rental advance. The developer could either give monthly advance in person to each beneficiary or deposit a lump-sum amount for the period till completion of construction (approximately 8 months – 10 months) in the beneficiary’s bank account or deposit a cumulative amount of all beneficiaries in Gokuldham CHSG’s bank account. MHT was apprehensive that depositing a cumulative amount in Gokuldham CHSG bank account might lead to misuse of funds and the beneficiary might not be able to access his eligible share. Probability of spending the money for
speculative purposes or for consumption of alcohol was also high in these settlements. Also, many beneficiaries did not have individual bank accounts. In order to prevent such mishaps and after many rounds of negotiations, it was decided unanimously by all that an advance monthly rent of Rs.3,000 would be paid to each beneficiary in person by the developer. A fixed date of meeting would be announced to the beneficiaries in advance during which all beneficiaries were required to remain present to receive this amount.

Besides this, agreements between each eligible beneficiary and developer were to be prepared for which the beneficiaries insisted on involving a lawyer. Clauses of the agreement - details of the DU owner, responsibilities of the developer such as provision of transit allowance, construction period and allotment of DUs, etc., and pros and cons of involving the legal services of an external lawyer were discussed with the beneficiaries by the developer and MHT. Although, both, the developer and the MHT, had in-house capacity to provide legal services, they did not want to influence the beneficiaries in any way. While the beneficiaries were being made aware of the fact that they would have to take up rental accommodation and chose the lawyer soon, things remained unstirred till the developer received the Rajachitthi from the ULB.

This was followed with series of meetings held with the beneficiaries to discuss the time-frame for clearing the site and details of the draft agreement. Most of these meetings were held at MHT office premises. While the developer wanted beneficiaries to clear the site within a period of one month as monsoons were approaching, the beneficiaries expressed their difficulties in finding rental accommodation within the prefixed rental amount in vicinity at a short notice. Inspite of their repetitive requests to increase value of the monthly rental amount, the developer refused to give into their demands. Time extension grant for vacating the site by a week / fortnight were still accepted. Also, the beneficiaries wanted their final individual agreements ready, after which they would vacate their hutments and clear the site. The beneficiaries went ahead in taking legal expertise of a lawyer, known to them. Draft legal agreement was prepared, checked and verified by all (i.e. Developer, MHT, lawyer and beneficiaries). Final agreements of all eligible beneficiaries were prepared by their lawyer, only upon receipt of his legal fees from the beneficiaries (Refer Appendix 10: Sample of the agreement between the beneficiary and the developer). While cost towards the stamp papers for the agreements was borne by the developer, each beneficiary paid around Rs. 2,500 for the lawyer’s legal fees. This proved to be a costly affair for the beneficiaries. Each agreement was duly signed by the beneficiary and developer in presence of both MHT and lawyer.

The first monthly advance rent was paid to each beneficiary by the developer from July 2013. The rent was always distributed in presence of MHT representatives. In case any beneficiary was absent, rent was given to his / her immediate relative or spouse, upon consent of MHT and other present beneficiaries. However, beneficiaries
were advised not to follow this practice repetitively. A book of record was maintained by the developer in which signatures / thumbprints of the recipients were taken during the distribution of the advance rent.

In meanwhile, during the final check of plot boundaries by the developer and the AMC officials there was a variation in the demarcations originally done by the MHT and the developer. This led to a confusion regarding four hutments which were falling partly within the final plot boundaries and had not been previously included in the proposal. Whether to include or exclude them was a decision to be taken by the concerned department of the AMC upon verification at site. Neither the developer nor the MHT could take a call in this aspect. The affected dwellers had repetitively put forth their requests for being included in the SRS scheme. The developer had availed approval for building a total of 65 DUs (inclusive of 10 per cent extra units to be handed over to the authorities). Out of which, 59 DUs were to be allotted to the eligible beneficiaries. Inclusion of these four beneficiaries meant reduction of housing stock available to the AMC.

**Picture 2: Demolition of Hutments by Residents as on July 31, 2013.**

While on one hand the decision of the four hutments was pending, on the other hand beneficiaries were still reluctant in vacating the site even after having their photo-identity cards, individual agreement and first monthly rental advance in hand. As a final measure, MHT pursued the ULB to provide a notice to the settlement regarding
implementation of SRS by the developer that would serve as an assurance to the beneficiaries. With lot of pursuance, the AMC issued a letter to Gokuldhama CHSG which asked them to co-operate with the developer in implementation of the SRS in their slum (Refer Appendix 4). Only upon the receipt of this letter, the beneficiaries commenced vacating and demolishing their existing hutments (Refer Picture 2). Many sold debris, stone slabs used in kitchen platform, wooden and metallic frames of doors and windows, roofing material of their hutments in the market. This contributed to their revenues. Many beneficiaries had expected an increase in their cost of living till completion of the SRS in their settlement. With the news of redevelopment scheme in the area, rentals in the surrounding areas had increased. Many residents opted to send their families to their native villages or took accommodation at far off places where rentals were at lower rates. This increased their transportation costs and travel time and also disturbed livelihood patterns in some cases.

As the concerned officials were yet to visit the site to verify changes in the site boundaries and decide upon the inclusion / exclusion of the four hutments, it was consciously decided not to distribute rent nor demolish these hutments. Upon visit of AMC officials at the site (in presence of the developer and slum residents only), inclusion of the four hutments was approved. Consent forms and documents proving their 10 years of occupancy were collected and individual agreements were made by their lawyer upon receipt of his legal fees.

**Picture 3: Demolition of Temple and Site Clearance as on August 16, 2013.**

[Images of demolition process]

Photo Credit: Authors.
When the major part of the site was demolished voluntarily by the beneficiaries, the site was handed over to the developer. A surveyor, on behalf of the developer, demarcated the final plot boundaries. Reference points from existing surrounding structures were included wherever the boundaries were inaccessible. Access route for heavy vehicles was demarcated. While it appeared that all issues related to the beneficiaries were settled, demolition of the temple located in middle of the site was stirred-up into a controversy by the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries did not want to demolish it without performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of the deity. A temporary place for keeping the deity was fixed at the site which delayed the final site clearance by a week (Refer Picture 3). The site was then levelled and temporary structures serving as site office, store for keeping the construction materials and quarters for the construction workers were constructed.

Kailashnagar, being the first site wherein SRS was being implemented in Ahmedabad, a brick-laying ceremony to commence the construction work was held by the developer (Refer Picture 4). The Minister, UD & UHD was invited as guest of honour. Advertisements regarding the same were published in city’s leading vernacular newspapers. Thereafter, construction work commenced at the site. Beneficiaries living close-by visited the site at regular intervals to check upon its progress. At the end of each month, the developer would distribute advance rent to each beneficiary at site / MHT office premises.

**Picture 4: Brick-laying Ceremony as on September 9, 2013.**

Since Gokuldham CHSG was already registered, a meeting was called by the developer for selecting the 11-member core committee. All beneficiaries were informed in advance to compulsorily remain present. The committee members would primarily consist of DU owners and include fair representation of women. Remaining beneficiaries would remain as nominal members of the CHSG. These selected 11 members would be trained by the developer and MHT about the CHSG’s functioning as they would have to maintain the site later after the completed site is handed over by the developer, after which, neither the developer nor the MHT could interfere in the
internal matters of the CHSG. A temporary list of these 11 members was proposed in
the meeting upon mutual consensus of present beneficiaries. Upon insistence of MHT,
names of two women were also included in the proposed list. While suggesting names
of female candidates for the committee, MHT experienced counterattacks from the
men arguing that women were inept in handling financial matters and undertaking
decisions about repair work in the society in future. Nevertheless, a final list of
proposed 11 members was prepared by the official of the Registrar, Co-operative
Societies, Ahmedabad District. Signatures/thumbprints of these members were
taken. The officer from Registrar pointed that remaining nominal members of the
society (i.e. excluding the proposed names) would have to convene a meeting to give
their consent for the nominated names, after which only, the 11-member core
committee would be finalized. MHT proposed to conduct a training programme to
explain matters pertaining to day-to-day affairs of the CHSG and site up-keep for all
beneficiaries before the final selection meeting. In this two-day training programme
arranged at MHT’s office, special attention was given to the female residents,
especially those who were DU owners. They were orientated to participate in the
decisions of CHSG actively and voice out their opinions. While some were energized,
many felt that their illiteracy was a set-back in tackling the CHSG’s issues. Many
dreaded interacting with males, within and outside the settlement. Examples of
CHSGs solely handled by women such as Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi were
showcased as good example.

Then, date for conducting the final selection meeting was finalized. But it actually
never took place. Later, it came to MHT’s notice that a fresh list of 11 members,
consisting of all men, was prepared with developer’s consent and submitted to the
Registrar office for undertaking necessary paperwork. With time, it became evidently
visible that beneficiaries had started interacting with the developer directly as they felt
that the developer had an upper hand in decision making. Many times, MHT was
uninformed about the proceedings by the developer as well as beneficiaries. This had
proved to be detrimental for the NGO’s spirits and had also increased probability of
biased or unfair decision making by the CHSG members.

By October 2013, the anganwadi was ready and open for children residing in the
vicinity. Frame structure of all blocks was completed and masonry work had
commenced on the site (Refer Picture 5). Due to the upcoming festive season, pace of
work had slowed down for a fortnight which picked up speed in the following two
months.

By January 2014, a sample house was ready at site and was open for residents to visit
(Refer Map 3). Each unit consisted of two rooms, kitchen, bath & toilet and balcony.
There was a clear segregation between the wet and dry areas in each unit as access to
wet areas was provided from the balcony. The rooms were well ventilated. A room for
bore well was provided within the site. Works related to site development and
external finishing (painting and electric finishing) were pending. External painting of
the blocks was not included in the final proposal by the developer. The site was expected to be handed over to the AMC by end of the month. This was to be followed by a computerized draw based on which beneficiaries would be allotted DUs. Till then, there was lack of clarity about the details of the draw.

Picture 5: Status of site as on October 26, 2013.

By mid-February 2014, in light of the upcoming general elections in May, many development projects in the leading cities of the state including Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS), tertiary treatment plant, draw of housing schemes for the various sections of the society under Mukhya Mantri Gruh Yojana (MMGY), and so on were to be inaugurated. The draw of Kailashnagar was also included in this event. The results of the draw were declared after two-three days of the draw (Refer Appendix 11: Sample of Kailashnagar Draw). Though the site was ready by then, no one was allowed to enter it. Since there was no religious amenity proposed in the proposal, upon beneficiaries’ requests the developer willingly obliged to build a temple in the common plot of the site.

The draw results provided by the AMC were announced to the beneficiaries by the developer (Refer Picture 6). While declaring results, it turned out that all the 11 members of the core committee had been allotted DUs on upper floors of the blocks (i.e. 2nd or 3rd floor). This led to a dispute as many committee members, in particular the President of CHSG, felt that the allotment process was biased towards others and
no due consideration was given to those who took the responsibility as the committee members to realize the SRS project in the settlement. Some said that they would appeal to higher authorities. Both, the developer and the MHT, explained them that since the draw was a computerized process, their allotment could not be changed on individual preferences. They also explained that had all the committee members been allotted DUs on lower floors, foul play would have been suspected by others which could have resulted into a major conflict among all the beneficiaries. An option of exchanging DUs internally, upon mutual agreement between both beneficiaries, was suggested by the developer. It took some time for the committee members to accept the draw results. A few exchanged their units, amicably. Overall, beneficiaries were extremely happy and profusely thanked MHT for their constant efforts over the years. Many claimed that they could not have been able to build such a unit in their entire life. Relatives and people from other settlements kept visiting the site from time to time that boosted beneficiaries’ self respect.

Picture 6: Allotment of DUs as on February 17, 2014.

All beneficiaries had decided to shift into their new DUs only after completion of the temple at the site. In the meanwhile, many commenced furnishing their units with plaster-of-paris (POP), tile work, kota stone slabs for storage (Refer Picture 7). In the meanwhile, each beneficiary was asked to deposit Rs.5,000 which included expenses for temple rituals, CHSG share fees, inheritance agreement, and dastavej charges by the core committee. Many felt that hefty amounts were being asked by the committee and informed the MHT about the same. Since the final selection of the members was done under the wraps, MHT was unable to suggest anything. Also, both MHT and developer were in receipt of harassment complaints from some female DU owners who claimed to be threatened by the committee members to vacate their units. Upon intervention of the MHT and the developer as arbitrators, the committee members refuted these charges. In course of time, allotment letters were given by the AMC to all DU owners (Refer Appendix 12: Copy of the allotment letter). After the residents shifted to the DUs, the developer deposited an amount equivalent to 10 per cent of the project cost in the CHSG’s bank account for the site maintenance.
Also, another 10-15 hutments along the site boundary were demolished by the AMC as they were falling in the area proposed to be developed as a road according to the T.P. Scheme. During MHT’s visit to the site, residents of these demolished hutments repetitively requested to the MHT for considering them under an in-situ redevelopment scheme instead of relocation. Their requests were noted but nothing was promised to them. Being the first SRS site to be completed in Ahmedabad, Kailashnagar is being cited as a pilot case in the city. Post completion, both MHT and developer have been approached by many other settlements, residents of which wish to implement SRS scheme in their settlements.

Table 4: Timeline of SRS implementation in Kailashnagar, Sabarmati.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Date / Month</th>
<th>Policy Released / Notifications / Orders / Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>March 5, 2010</td>
<td>Release of the 2010 Regulations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>November, 2010</td>
<td>MHT visited Kailashnagar and Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>January 3, 2011</td>
<td>Eligibility of slum dweller redefined and inclusion of parking provision in common plot as per GDCR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>February 11, 2011</td>
<td>MoU between B-Safal and MHT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March, 2011</td>
<td>Submission of proposal to SRC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>June, 2011</td>
<td>Procurement of F-forms of plots from T.P. Department, AMC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>August, 2011</td>
<td>Registration of Gokuldham CHSG (Kailashnagar).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>August 30, 2011</td>
<td>16 areas notified as slums by GoG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>September 13, 2011</td>
<td>UD &amp; UHD Letter to AMC clarifying roles of competent authority and developers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.No.</td>
<td>Date / Month</td>
<td>Policy Released / Notifications / Orders / Events</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>May 22, 2012</td>
<td>Amendment of the 2010 Regulations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>September, 2012</td>
<td>Eight slums get approval from GoG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>May 18, 2013</td>
<td>Photo-identity cards issued to beneficiaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>June 2013</td>
<td>Issue of <em>Rajachithi</em> by AMC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>June 24, 2013</td>
<td>Meeting with residents and developer to discuss modalities. Issue of letter by AMC to Gokuldham CHSG about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>implementation of SRS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>July 3, 2013</td>
<td>Finalization of draft agreement between beneficiaries and developer at City Civil Court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>July 23, 2013</td>
<td>First rent distribution by developer to residents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>July 31, 2013</td>
<td>Demolition of hutments at site by residents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>August 5, 2013</td>
<td>Final plot boundary demarcation by developer and AMC officials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>August 18, 2013</td>
<td>Demolition of temple and site clearance by developer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>September 9, 2013</td>
<td>Brick-laying ceremony by Minister, UD &amp; UHD.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>September 27, 2013</td>
<td>Distribution of rent, tentative list of 11 members of core committee prepared.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>September 28, 2013</td>
<td>Training programme of CHSG members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>October 3, 2013</td>
<td>Training programme of ladies at MHT office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>October, 2013</td>
<td>Inauguration of <em>anganwadi</em> at site, frame structure of 4 blocks completed and masonry work in progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>January, 2014</td>
<td>Sample unit complete at site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>February 14, 2014</td>
<td>Draw of GHB schemes and SRS scheme at Surat (telecasted at Town Hall). Visit of Mayor and others at site, location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of temple decided by beneficiaries and developer at site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>February 16, 2014</td>
<td>Issue of allotment letter to beneficiaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>February 17, 2014</td>
<td>Allotment of DU to the beneficiaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>March 2014</td>
<td>Residents shifted in the new DUs after <em>Holi</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by the authors.

5.2 *Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi*

Located in Ward No.10, Abhuji Na Chhapra is situated in Ambawadi in the West Zone. It abuts boundary of C.N.Vidyalaya and can be accessed from Surendra Mangaldas Road. It is predominantly surrounded by middle class residential apartments and an educational institute. It is situated on F.P. No. 422 of T.P. Scheme No. 21, which was reserved for slum up-gradation by the AMC (Refer Map 4). It consists of 55 hutments (DNA 2013a). MHT has been associated with the settlement since 2001 when SNP was being implemented (Refer Picture 8).

The course of SRS implementation in this settlement was similar to that of Kailashnagar. However, due to multiple litigation cases filed by some residents of the settlement claiming to be the legal owners of the land parcel (on which the settlement was situated), stalled its implementation for a period of 10 months, created hurdles and harassment for those who had accorded their consent for the scheme and led to unanticipated costs which were borne by the developer. Originally, Abhuji Na Chhapra was scheduled to be completed along with Kailashnagar (i.e. by January 2014).

12 *Holi* refers to festival of colours, usually takes place in the month of March.
Map 4: Location of Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi.

Source: Prepared by CUE.

Picture 8: Glimpses of the settlement as on September, 2013.

Photo Credit: Authors.
The first civil court case (CS-CCC/2334/2010) was filed way back in 2010 by a group of five residents from the settlement, led by Babuben (widow of Khodaji Abhuji) (thereafter referred as plaintiffs) against Shantaben Parshottamdas Patel and two others (thereafter referred as defendants) on October 10, 2010. The plaintiffs claimed to be the legal heirs of Abhuji Khodaji and declared the action of defendants who wanted to evict them from the suit premises as illegal and void. This was followed with a public notice published by the plaintiffs in a leading vernacular paper on August 3, 2011 (Refer Appendix 13: Copy of the public notice published in the vernacular paper) wherein the plaintiffs challenged the defendants, who were not residing on the premises, to have illegally attained the power of attorney of F.P. No. 421 (area 1,891 sq.mt.) and F.P. No. 422 (area 1,459 sq.mt.). A period of two weeks, from date of publishing the notice, was given to the defendants to file their objections. On August 16, 2011, an affidavit was filed by 36 other residents of the settlement to be included as a third party in this particular suit. In course of time, various hearings pertaining to this case were held. Many a times, there would be shuffling of judges, delay in submission of requisite documents. In the meanwhile, various developments related to the settlement had taken place:

- Under the State Government’s notification dated August 30, 2011; the plaintiffs discovered that their settlement had been declared as a slum area under Section 3 of the Gujarat Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act 1973.
- Under the Gujarat Co-operative Societies Act, a CHSG of the slum residents had been formed by the Registrar, Co-operative Societies (Refer Appendix 14: Shantideep CHSG registration letter dated May 12, 2011).
- The PA constituted under the Act, 1973 and the 2010 regulations had allotted the role of developing the settlement to a private developer. Also, the ownership of land on which the settlement was situated vested with the AMC for slum redevelopment purpose.
- No notice was served to the plaintiffs of this particular case at any point of time. The plaintiffs filed writ petition challenging the action of the State Government, the AMC and other authorities in relation to this settlement in the High Court and also made several representations to the Governor of Gujarat and State Government in this regard.

In meanwhile, with the assistance of MHT, a survey of 38 hutments was undertaken. Documents proving their occupancy for past 10 years were collected. Though, not all residents of the settlement had given their consent for the SRS implementation in their slum, the developer went ahead in preparing the rehabilitation proposal which consisted of three blocks housing 56 DUs and submitted it to the SRC for necessary approvals by March 2011 (Refer Map 5). After approving the proposal, it was sent to the UD & UHD, State Government for final consent by the SRC. While the proposal was cleared by the UD & UHD, issue of the Rajachitthi by the ULB was awaited; hence the project remained at a halt. Since the developer was in receipt of the
Rajachitthi by the AMC for Kailashnagar by June 2013 and anticipating issue of the same for Abhuji Na Chhapra in near future, the developer went ahead in preparing the notarized photo-identity cards of the eligible beneficiaries of Abhuji Na Chhapra. The Rajachitthi for Abhuji Na Chhapra was received in July 2013 by the developer (Refer Appendix 15: Rajachitthi by the AMC dated July 22, 2013).

Map 5: Site Layout and DU Plan of Abhuji Na Chhapra.

Source: B-Safal.

Thereafter, the developer completed various formalities with the competent authority such as deposit of security fees, etc. Various meetings between the developer and the beneficiaries who had given their consent were arranged by the MHT to decide on the future course of action. The beneficiaries were sceptical about the SRS implementation and feared stay order in course of the construction since the verdict of the first case filed by Babuben was pending. Also, they kept requesting for time extension grants to search rental accommodation. Such thoughts not only showed their resistance in vacating their hutments, but also revealed their fears of displacement from the site. To put their doubts and fears at rest, copies of the Rajachitthi by the ULB and approved layout plan of the scheme were shared with the beneficiaries in the meetings. Also, it was decided to provide the advance monthly rent of Rs. 3,000 (as mutually decided) from July onwards so that the beneficiaries could commence vacating their existing hutments and take rental accommodation
elsewhere suiting their needs. The beneficiaries were also suggested to visit Kailashnagar wherein SRS works had already been initiated.

After lot of persuasion and negotiations, the beneficiaries agreed to shift their belongings and vacate their existing hutments within a period of a month. Though given the option of taking the expertise of in-house lawyers of MHT or developer; like Kailashnagar, the beneficiaries of Abhuji Na Chhapra also opted for a lawyer (known to them) to finalize their individual agreements with the developer, for which, the beneficiaries themselves had to bear the legal fees of the lawyer. By this time, the beneficiaries were aware of the high costs borne by Kailashnagar residents and hence were able to negotiate about the same with their lawyer. Eventually, Abhuji Na Chhapra beneficiaries paid around Rs. 600 per agreement to the lawyer, which was almost one-fourth of the amount paid by Kailashnagar beneficiaries. Cost towards the stamp papers was borne by the developer. Clauses to be incorporated in the agreement were broadly explained by the developer. By then both, the developer and the MHT, had realized that only upon receipt of the agreement and advance rent, the beneficiaries would be assured and would vacate the site. During these meetings, beneficiaries having larger household sizes or cases where two to three brothers lived together with their families in one hutment approached the developer / MHT to negotiate for more than one DU or discuss about the legal owner of the DU in future. Such queries were addressed upon cross-verification of the hutment ownership documents.

By end of July 2013, the State Government had announced four housing policies which aimed to provide affordable housing to urban poor and lower middle income population under the Mukhyamantri Awas Samrudhi Yojana (MMASY). These included assistance to build houses for economically weaker sections (EWS) of the society, slum rehabilitation scheme, interest subsidy for EWS and lower income groups (LIG) for private housing, and housing for LIGs (DNA 2013b). During one of the meetings with the beneficiaries, these policies were explained by the developer. They were also apprised that since the settlement was located on a plot reserved for slum up-gradation by the ULB, sooner or later, it might be utilized under any of these policies, without giving the dwellers any other option but to vacate.

On August 30, 2013, a team of officials from various departments of the AMC conducted a site visit to check and verify identity proofs of the beneficiaries. MHT and the developer were present during this visit. Despite of prior intimation to the beneficiaries, around 15 hutments could not be verified as its occupants had left for their daily work. Follow-up of these hutments was done later by the officials. After which, individual agreements of the beneficiaries with the developer were prepared by first week of September 2013. These agreements were based on similar lines of Kailashnagar. Only after receiving the final copy of their agreements, many beneficiaries started shifting their belongings and demolishing their hutments. The demolition started from the farthest corner of the plot (Refer Picture 9). Many sold
debris in market while some stored stone slabs / roofing sheets at convenient places (at their native villages or with relatives) for future use.

**Picture 9: Demolition of hutments by the residents as on September 12, 2013.**

After demolition commenced at the site, a notice was submitted to the AMC by eight households of the settlement communicating their unwillingness to join the scheme. It is to note that these households had also not given their consent originally. However, after three-five days, four of these eight provided their consent to join the scheme. They alleged of being forced by others to put their thumbprints on the submitted notice. Documents proving their 10 years of occupancy in the settlement were collected, after which their agreements were prepared and the monthly rental advance was paid to them by the developer.

On September 20, 2013, CCC/2457/2013, the second case, was filed in the City Civil Court, by Samunben Ranch hodji Thakore W/O. of Nathaji Thakor (plaintiff) against the AMC and developer (respondents) to avail a permanent stay on the F.P. No. 422. The suit claimed that no notification was given by the government regarding SRS implementation in the settlement. During the court hearings, neither the plaintiffs nor their advocate remained present which deferred the hearings from time to time. On December 17, 2013, the plaintiffs submitted to withdraw this case, which was granted by the Civil Court with the liberty to file a fresh case.
Box 1: Experiences of some women after shifting from Abhuji Na Chhapra.

Geetaben (President of Shantideep CHSG) had been actively involved with the MHT since 2006, when SNP was implemented in their settlement. She worked as a domestic maid in the nearby residential societies. She had taken rental accommodation for Rs.3,000 per month at Sabarmati with her family. The rent excluded electricity bills. After shifting to Sabarmati, her travel time had increased due to which she was keeping unwell also. This had affected her work; hence she had stopped working at some of the houses. Every day, she spent around Rs.19 travelling from Sabarmati to Nehrunagar in BRTS and from Nehrunagar, she took a shuttle / sharing rickshaw for Rs.5 to reach Ambawadi. In case shuttle rickshaw was unavailable, she paid Rs.25 for a special rickshaw to reach Ambawadi. Per day, she spent around Rs.50-100 (approximately) on transportation and travelled for 3 hours daily.

Kashiben had shifted with her family near Lal Darwaza. She worked in four bungalows at Ambawadi. Daily, she left her house at 7 am to catch bus for Ambawadi. Since there was no direct bus to Ambawadi, she had to change bus at Lal Darwaza. She spent around Rs.50 (two-way) for commuting. In case, buses were unavailable, she took shuttle rickshaw. She reached Ambawadi by 8.30 am and returned back home late in evening.

Hetalben had shifted to Vastrapur gam. She paid Rs.4500 as rent for a unit which included one room and a kitchen. Besides rent, she also paid Rs.200 for water and light bills. Daily, she travelled to Ambawadi by bus / rickshaw (as per availability) with her son for which she spent Rs.60 approximately. Her son continued with his schooling at Ambawadi itself. After shifting from Abhuji Na Chhapra, she had adjusted her timings at the bungalows, where she worked. The bungalows owners had been considerate to accommodate her request.

Hansaben had taken up a room at Rajiv Nagar, Vasna for Rs.3,000, where she stayed with her husband, in-laws and two boys. She worked at bungalows in Ambawadi. Since no buses were available for Ambawadi, she paid Rs.60 daily for rickshaw. After shifting to Vasna, her children’s travelling cost had increased. Earlier, they used to walk down to school, now she spent Rs.700 per month for covering their travel expenses by rickshaw.

Ashaben, a septuagenarian, had taken rental accommodation for Rs.2,500 at Rajiv Nagar, Vasna. She spent Rs.25 (one way) to reach Ambawadi. She left from home at 8:30-9:00 am and returned back by 5:00 pm. She works in the bungalows as housemaid. Due to severe pain in her knees, travelling long distances had become difficult for her.

Source: Interviews with the residents on October 24, 2013.
Every month, advance rent was distributed by the developer or his representative to the beneficiaries (those who had given their consent) at the MHT’s office. By then, more than half of the hutments were demolished at the site. Many beneficiaries had taken rental accommodation at various places in the city (Refer Box 1: Experiences of some women after shifting from Abhuji Na Chhapra). Most of the women, who worked in nearby bungalows / residences as domestic maids, continued to visit the site daily.

On September 25, 2013, Babuben (widow of Khodaji Abhuji) along with four others (the petitioners) filed SCA/15204/2013 in the High Court against the State Government, AMC and developer (the respondents) challenging the legality and validity of the UD & UHD notification dated August 30, 2011. They claimed that the notification sought to eject the petitioners from the area consisting of F.P. No. 422 under T.P. Scheme No. 21 at Ambawadi since the area was required to be rehabilitated under the 2010 regulations and neither the State Government through UD & UHD nor the PA nor the committee had heard petitioners consistently on the well founded principles of natural justice. It also claimed that the registered Shantideep CHSG included around 50 members but none of the petitioners or interested persons had been included as members in the CHSG and all affairs were being administered arbitrarily. Also, none of the dwellers in the premises were informed about the CHSG’s existence. They alleged that neither the developer nor the PA could hold back the material right of the slum dwellers in participating in the affairs of their CHSG and expressed that the CHSG / slum dwellers had right to choose developer of their own choice. The petition put forth that since AMC cannot impose its decision on the slum dwellers who were the society members, the PA may consider or accord permission to replace the developer. This was the third case related to the settlement.

In meanwhile, there were many negotiations between the plantiffs and petitioners of previous two cases with the developer in lieu of vacating site. While some bargained for hefty amount of money or more DUs, others proposed the developer to build a residential scheme for commercial purposes and share profits with them. The developer refused to give into their demands. Many beneficiaries also attempted to convince them to join the scheme which was in the larger benefit for all. In most of the hearings at the City Civil / High Court, the plantiffs / petitioners chose to remain absent which deferred hearings from time to time.

Since the petitioners / plantiffs had not vacated their hutments, the developer could not commence any work on site. As the deadline of completing the project within three years after date of approval was approaching, the developer put forth his grievance to the PA. Hopes of the beneficiaries, who had already shifted, began to wear out which stemmed into frustrations against the plantiffs / petitioners. From time to time, the beneficiaries met various officials of the AMC to gauge the situation and
expected consequences. In anticipation of disturbances in future and for assurance of
the beneficiaries, during the rent distribution meeting in October 2013 the
beneficiaries were suggested to put forth their grievances to the PA. An application
inclusive of relevant documents and availed permissions was prepared by the
developer and the MHT which was submitted to the PA by the group of beneficiaries
headed by MHT. In response, the AMC issued notice to the CHSG requesting all the
members of the CHSG to vacate their hutments and co-operate with the developer for
SRS implementation. However, the situation at the site remained unmoved.

On October 24, 2013, petitioners of SCA/15204/13 sought permission to withdraw
their case and urged the High Court to provide a direction to the State authorities or
any concerned authorities constituted under these regulations for abiding by the
principle of natural justice before any demolition was undertaken at the site.
Permission for the same was granted and the matter was disposed as withdrawn.\textsuperscript{13}

On December 4, 2013, Babuben (widow of Khodaji Abhuji) along with four others
(petitioners) filed another special civil application (SCA/17859/2013) in the High
Court against the same set of respondents stating that they cannot be evicted nor their
houses under F.P.No.419 could be demolished. The application stated that the father
and forefathers of petitioners were statutory tenants of F.P.No.419, 421, 422 since
1950 which was originally an agricultural land. This land was vested under a
registered will by widow Laxmiben Abhuji in favor of the son, who had died and
accordingly it became property of coparceners, the petitioners. It also stated that since
the State Government did not notify F.P. 419 under its notification of August 30, 2011
which only included F.P. No.422 for the purpose of redevelopment, the authorities
(State Government or the AMC) cannot evict / eject / demolish property of F.P. No.
419. However, the High Court observed that no information regarding suits filed a
prior in the City Civil Court was disclosed by the petitioners. Also, case of malafide
intention to misguide the High Court was observed as the petitioners contested in
respect of F.P. No. 419 while occupying F.P. No. 422 which was reserved under the
T.P. Scheme No. 21 by the AMC under its notification dated March 27, 2000.

On December 17, 2013, CCC/2457/2013 (the second case) was withdrawn by the
plaintiffs. On the same day, the plaintiffs filed another case - CCC/3148/2013 in the
Civil Court against the AMC and developer on similar grounds of the withdrawn case.
However, a different advocate represented the plaintiffs in this case. This was followed
with another case (CCC/3167/2013) filed by Kacharaji Ghemaji Rathod along with
three others (plaintiffs) in the City Civil Court against the AMC and developer on
December 18, 2013. They claimed to be the lawful possessor of the F.P. No. 422 and
wanted permanent stay order on the plot. They alleged being cheated by the developer
and claimed that since their settlement was not a notified slum, they could not be
evicted nor their hutments could be demolished by anyone.

\textsuperscript{13} The High Court order dated October 24, 2013, in C/SCA/15204/2013.
On January 7, 2014, CS-CCC/2334/2010 (the first case) was withdrawn by the plaintiffs. Since the suit was filed in the year 2010, after which various developments had taken place regarding the suit property (as discussed earlier), it contained a formal defect. Hence, the suit was disposed as withdrawn with no order to cost with the liberty to file a fresh suit. The defendants did not object upon its withdrawal. However, an objection was raised by the third party’s advocate which was denied. Since they had not been added to the suit till date, they lacked legal standing / right (i.e. locus standi) for objecting withdrawal of the suit.  

The sixth case, CCC/237/2014 by Babuben (widow of Khodaji Abhuji) alongwith four others (petitioners) on January 27, 2014 in the City Civil Court against the AMC, developer, Commissioner of Police (the respondents) was filed declaring the action of the August 30, 2011 notification as unjust, unfair, unreasonable, arbitrary and had violated Article 14 and 19 of the Constitution of India. It argued that any action intended to be implemented by the PA or any authorities of the ULB, which threatened to evict and eject the plaintiffs, or other persons, was unjustified. Also, no opportunity of being heard as required under the well founded principles of natural justice was provided to the plaintiffs.

In course of this, Babuben (widow of Khodaji Abhuji) along with others (petitioners) filed another case SCA/3320/2014 on February 28, 2014 in the High Court against the State Government (UD & UHD), AMC and developer (respondents). However, before the next hearing wherein further directions from High Court were expected, the remaining hutments were demolished by the AMC without giving any further notice to the residents (Gujarat Samachar 2014). In the next hearing, both parties were directed to maintain status quo, on the disputed plots. Such a step was possible only in anticipation of this kind of direction by the court and to avoid chances of any other further petitions. Also, the residents observed that the tax bills of the current year included F.P.No.422 instead of F.P. No. 419. Upon clarification from the AMC, it was admitted that the error in the F.P. No. of previous tax bills had been rectified. In course of hearings, the respondent’s advocate argued that the petitioners may submit their documents to the authorities for verification, which if found satisfactory petitioners may be included and be treated at par with other beneficiaries of the scheme. Requests for time grants were put forth by the petitioner’s advocate for collection of requisite documents. It was also brought to the notice of the High Court that as per the 2010 regulations, the developer was bound to complete the SRS scheme within a time-period of three years (from date of permission grant) which was due to complete in September 2014. Subsequently, the developer was directed to

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remove the debris present on the F.P. No. 422 in T.P. Scheme No. 21 (Ambawadi) and time was granted for verification of the petitioners documents.  

The plaintiffs of CCC/237/2014 (also petitioners of SCA/3320/2014) submitted to withdraw their case unconditionally on the terms that the Civil Court did not have the jurisdiction to entertain and try the present suit and appropriate proceedings had been chosen to be filed before the High Court for resolution of the dispute involved in the suit. Their plea was granted by the City Civil Court on March 11, 2014.

On March 12, 2014, SCA/4029/2014 by Kacharaji Ghemaji Rathod along with three others and SCA/4024/2014 by Patel Vinubhai Kantilal were filed in High Court against the same set of respondents. In both cases, the petitioners claimed to be residents of Abhuji Na Chhapra and thus asserted to be included as eligible beneficiaries in the scheme. They claimed being unheard nor were given any notice by the developer or the AMC or the PA. The respondent’s advocate appealed to the High Court to draw a limit for admission of fresh cases on similar grounds in future, stressing that the probability of having more cases of such kind in future was high, if the petitioners of SCA/3320/2014 were to be included in this scheme (upon verification by the AMC). Also, it was brought to notice that Patel Vinubhai Kantilal did not reside in the premises of the settlement but at B-1, Viking Apartment, Ambawadi, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad. The final verdict of this case was awaited.

However, before the next final hearing of SCA/4029/2014 and SCA/4024/2014, petitioner of SCA/4024/2014, Patel Vinubhai Kantilal went ahead in filing another case - LPA/388/2014 on March 14, 2013 to claim his occupancy in the DU (demolished on February 28, 2014) over a period of time. In course of hearing of this particular case, he was asked to produce more documents (such as ration card and other documents) to prove that he was residing in premises for the minimum period required to be qualified for the scheme. At this juncture, respondent’s advocate submitted that without taking into consideration the fact whether the petitioner is eligible to be beneficiary or not, an amount of Rs.3,000 per month by account payee cheque at par with other beneficiaries of the scheme would be offered to the petitioner. However, in the final judgment (on March 31, 2014), it was passed that since this LPA was filed against the order of SCA/4024/2014 on March 13, 2014, whose hearing was scheduled to be out on April 4, 2014, the LPA was disposed.


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of documents by all petitioners to the AMC within a period of a week, the AMC was asked to submit their decision about the eligibility of the petitioners of all three cases within four weeks’ time. Based on the AMC’s outcome, petitioners would be treated at par with other beneficiaries in terms of rent. Till then, the private developer was ordered to keep DUs vacant for the petitioners. It was open for the petitioners to challenge the decision of the AMC regarding the eligibility of the petitioners in the scheme in future. Eligibility of some petitioners was proven in course of hearing and they were simultaneously included in the list of beneficiaries. This verdict meant that the construction work at site could commence without any further hurdles which was a relief for the beneficiaries, who had already shifted into rental accommodations. By now more than nine months had passed since the first rental advance was paid to them in July 2013.

**Picture 10: Status at site as on April 5, 2014.**

![Photo Credit: Authors.](image)

While it appeared that most of the issues regarding the eligibility of the beneficiaries for SRS implementation in Abhuji Na Chhapra had cleared out, on April 7, 2014, MCA/1081/2014 was filed in the High Court by Babuben (widow of Khodaji Abhuji) along with four others (petitioners) against the same respondents demanding an increase in monthly rental amount given by the developer. However, it was argued that since the petitioners had accepted monthly rent of Rs.3,000 twice previously and construction work at the site was in progress, the case was declared as infructuous and thus disposed. However, liberty to file fresh application was accorded in case of any difficulty.

By April 10, 2014, construction work had commenced on site. The developer continued to pay advance rental amount to all the beneficiaries, including the fresh entrants. And within a month, construction of the frame structure had completed (Refer Picture 11 &12). The beneficiaries kept visiting the site regularly to check

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upon its progress. The construction work was expected to be complete by October 2014, after which the DUs would be allotted to the beneficiaries.

**Picture 11: Casting of Footing as on May 9, 2014.**

[Image]

Photo Credit: Authors.

**Picture 12: Frame structure construction as on June 7, 2014.**

[Image]

Photo Credit: Authors.

Looking at sequence of events that had unfolded in Abhuji Na Chhapra in past one year, one could reason out the importance of location of a slum in the implementation of any SRS. Though, the developer had anticipated smooth course of implementation in the settlement considering the successful implementation of SNP, better socio-economic conditions of the dwellers in comparison to Kailashnagar and presence of the NGO who knew ins and outs of the settlement, vested interests of some residents delayed the construction by more than nine months. Also, contingency costs for the developer had increased as he was liable to pay extra rental amount to all who had shifted from the site till completion of final DUs, legal fees of the advocates representing him and sometimes paid travel costs to the beneficiaries for attending hearings in the court. The beneficiaries (those who had originally accorded consent for the scheme) had ensured their representation during all court hearings. Besides facing harassment, these events had disturbed their livelihoods. Also, animosities between the beneficiaries and the petitioners / plaintiffs of the litigation cases had surfaced. Being situated in a prime locality in the western part of the city, one can envisage the gains to the petitioners / plaintiffs, if the verdicts had been in their favour or the developer had given into their demands.
Table 5: Summary of City Civil and High Court Cases filed in respect of Abhuji Na Chhapra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Case No.</th>
<th>Filing Date</th>
<th>Completion Date</th>
<th>Names of Plaintiffs</th>
<th>Names of Respondents</th>
<th>Matter</th>
<th>Present Status / Verdict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>CCC/2334/2010</td>
<td>12/10/2010</td>
<td>07/01/2014</td>
<td>Babuben (Widow of Khodaji Thakor) Ashok Khodaji Thakor Madhuben Khodaji Thakor Jigishaben Ashokbhai Thakor Dinesh Khodaji Thakor</td>
<td>Shantaben Parshottamdas Patel Masneki Horamasji Tehaminaben Jivanji</td>
<td>Plantiffs claimed to be lawful owners of the slum land. Remaining residents of slum applied for adverse possession as third party. Since the suit lacked facts and subsequent developments had taken place, it was withdrawn and liberty to file fresh suit was granted.</td>
<td>Disposed: Withdrawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>CCC/2457/2013</td>
<td>20/09/2013</td>
<td>17/12/2013</td>
<td>Samuben Ranchhodji Thakore (D/O In Law of Nathaji Thakor)</td>
<td>AMC Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd. Director, Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd.</td>
<td>To avail permanent stay on F.P. No. 422. It claimed that no notification was given by Government regarding implementation of SRS in this slum. It was withdrawn with liberty to file fresh case.</td>
<td>Disposed: Withdrawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>CCC/3148/2013</td>
<td>17/12/2013</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>Samuben Ranchhodji Thakor (D/O In Law Nathaji Thakor)</td>
<td>AMC Safal Const. Pvt. Ltd. Director, Safal Const. Pvt. Ltd.</td>
<td>It was filed on similar grounds of previous case CCC/2457/2013 with a different advocate representing the plaintiffs.</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>CCC/3167/2013</td>
<td>18/12/2013</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>Kacharaji Ghemaji Rathod Rameshbhai Ghemaji Rathod Kamleshbhai Kacharaji Rathod Govindbhai Keshaji Vaghela</td>
<td>AMC Safal Const. Pvt. Ltd.</td>
<td>It was claimed that the AMC had illegally given authority to B-Safal for construction. Plantiffs claimed to be the legal owners of the property; hence their DUs could not be demolished.</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Case No.</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 5   | CCC/237/2014  | 27/01/2014  | 11/03/2014      | • Babuben (Widow of Khodaji Thakor)  
• Ashok Khodaji Thakor  
• Madhuben Khodaji Thakor  
• Jigishaben Ashok Thakor  
• Dinesh Khodaji Thakor | • AMC  
• Safal Const.Pvt. Ltd.  
• Director, Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd.  
• Commissioner of Police  
• Shree Police Inspector, Ellis Bridge | • It was claimed that the AMC had illegally given authority to B-Safal for construction.  
• Plantiffs claimed to be the legal owners of the property; hence their DUs could not be demolished. | Withdrawn (OBJ) by Plantiff                                                                 |

**High Court Cases**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Case No.</th>
<th>Filing Date</th>
<th>Completion Date</th>
<th>Names of Plaintiffs</th>
<th>Names of Respondents</th>
<th>Matter</th>
<th>Present Status / Verdict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 6   | SCA/17859/2013| 04/12/2013  | 06/02/2014      | • Babuben (Widow of Khodaji Thakor)  
• Ashok Khodaji Thakor  
• Madhuben Khodaji Thakor  
• Jigishaben Ashok Thakor  
• Dinesh Khodaji Thakor | • State Government of Gujarat  
• AMC  
• Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd. | • It claimed that father and forefathers of petitioners were statutory tenants of F.P.No.419, 421, 422 since 1950.  
• State Government did not notify F.P. 419 under its notification dated 30.08.2011, hence cannot evict / demolish property of F.P. No. 419.  
• Only F.P.No.422 was included in the notification for redevelopment purpose.  
• No information about previous suits filed by plantiffs disclosed to court.  
• Case of malafide intention to misguide the High Court was observed as plantiffs were contesting in respect of F.P. No. 419 not F.P. No. 422, which was subject of the SRS.  
• Plantiffs were not in occupation of F.P.No.419 but of F.P. No. 422 (a reserved plot under the T.P. Scheme No. 21 by the AMC under its notification dated 27.03.2000). | Disposed: Verdict                                                                 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Case No.</th>
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<th>Matter</th>
<th>Present Status / Verdict</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>SCA/15204/2013</td>
<td>25/09/2013</td>
<td>24/10/2013</td>
<td>• Babuben (Widow of Khodaji Thakor) • Ashok Khodaji Thakor • Madhuben Khodaji Thakor • Jigishaben Ashok Thakor • Dinesh Khodaji Thakor</td>
<td>• State Government of Gujarat • AMC • Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd.</td>
<td>• Challenged legality and validity of August 30, 2011 notification by on principles of natural justice. • Petitioners claimed unawareness about existence of the CHSG. • They sought permission to withdraw case with direction by High Court to the authorities for abiding provision of natural justice before any demolition.</td>
<td>Disposed : Withdrawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>SCA/3320/2014</td>
<td>28/02/2014</td>
<td>04/04/2014</td>
<td>• Babuben (Widow of Khodaji Thakor) • Ashok Khodaji Thakor • Madhuben Khodaji Thakor • Jigishaben Ashok Thakor • Dinesh Khodaji Thakor</td>
<td>• State Government of Gujarat • AMC • Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd.</td>
<td>• Petitioner claimed to be the lawful residents of the settlement, hence asserted to be treated at par with other beneficiaries of scheme. • Repetitive time grants for collection of documents were put forth by the petitioners. • The AMC was directed to verify the documents of the petitioners.</td>
<td>Disposed : Verdict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>SCA/4024/2014</td>
<td>12/03/2014</td>
<td>04/04/2014</td>
<td>• Patel Vinubhai Kantilal</td>
<td>• State Government of Gujarat • AMC • Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd. • Chief Secretary To The Govt. of Gujarat</td>
<td>• Petitioners claimed to be residents of settlement who had never been heard nor given any notice by the developer or the AMC or any authority. • Asserted to be included as the eligible beneficiaries of SRS. • Respondents contested that petitioner’s residence was located at different place, not within premises of the slum. • AMC directed to verify the documents of the petitioner. • If eligible, petitioner to be treated at par with other beneficiaries of scheme.</td>
<td>Disposed : Verdict</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Case No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>SCA/4029/2014</td>
<td>12/03/2014</td>
<td>04/04/2014</td>
<td>• Kachraji Ghemaji Rathod</td>
<td>• State Government of Gujarat</td>
<td>• Petitioners claimed to be residents of the settlement and had never been heard or given any notice by the developer or AMC or any authority, thus asserted to be included as eligible beneficiaries of scheme. • AMC was directed to verify the documents of the petitioner.  • If found eligible, petitioners would be treated at par with other beneficiaries of the scheme.</td>
<td>Disposed: Verdict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Kamlesh Kachraji Rathod</td>
<td>• AMC</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Ramesh Ghamji Rathod</td>
<td>• Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Govind Keshaji Vaghela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>LPA/388/2014</td>
<td>14/03/2014</td>
<td>31/03/2014</td>
<td>• Patel Vinubhai Kantil</td>
<td>• State Government of Gujarat</td>
<td>• Filed by petitioner, before the verdict of its previous case. • Petitioner asked to produce more documents for entire period which would satisfy required minimum period to be qualified for SRS.  • Suit was disposed as it was in lieu of the previous case of which hearing was due.</td>
<td>Disposed: Verdict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• AMC</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Gujarat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>MCA/1081/2014</td>
<td>11/04/2014</td>
<td>20/06/2014</td>
<td>• Babuben (Widow of Khodaji Thakor)</td>
<td>• State Government of Gujarat</td>
<td>• Petitioner demanded higher amount of rent from the developer.  • Since petitioner had previously accepted monthly advance rent twice and construction was going on the disputed land, the case was disposed of being infructuous.</td>
<td>Disposed: Verdict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Ashok Khodaji Thakor</td>
<td>• AMC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Madhuben Khodaji Thakor</td>
<td>• Safal Construction Pvt. Ltd.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Jigishaben Ashok Thakor</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Dinesh Khodaji Thakor</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled by the authors.
6. Lessons Learned

In a city like Ahmedabad which has around 834 slums (as stated in AUDA 2013) and given that more than three years have passed since release of the 2010 regulations, its coverage of only 11 settlements upto early 2014 (See Table 1), which is merely 1.3 per cent of the slums present in the city, appears to be very limited and raises questions on the viability of this approach as the only one to address the need for slum redevelopment in the city as well as the state. The obvious reason is that the developers are not attuned to work with low-income households and in particular slum households to understand the latters’ needs, social organization, politics and affordability. The developers do not have wherewithal to assess who is the genuine slum dweller and who is not. Since the stakes are high, given that free housing is to be provided to the ‘existing’ slum dwellers, the scheme as envisaged, by the developers and for the developers, would allow for wrong households to stake claim. The fear of such dynamics brought the NGO, MHT, to fore, who proactively approached the developers as well as the AMC to assist in the individual slum project. The MHT also, with its presence in the two slums presented in the paper, played a mediator role, between the two stakeholders, the slum dwellers and the developer, to facilitate negotiations in case of conflict or perceived conflict as well as protect the interest of the slum dwellers. Even then, the process faced some bottlenecks.

The obvious reasons for various bottlenecks in the SRS implementation and hence its limited coverage were lack of proper dissemination initiatives by the state government / local authorities across the prime stakeholders (slum dwellers in the city), its inaccessibility to the slum dwellers (hard copies of the regulations were largely available at the main offices of the ULB) and on the internet and lack of single-window clearance system. Unlike the widely publicized SNP, hardly any measures were undertaken to widen its reach. Owing to which, it was initially a challenge for the developers to obtain consent of the slum dwellers. Also, multiple builders attempting to woo dwellers for their consent, added to the slum dwellers dilemma in giving consent for SRS. The developers were not enthusiastic as they felt that incentives offered and rewards gained were too meagre considering the quantum of efforts in implementing SRS implementation across any slum.

Further, it appears that these regulations had been prepared in haste by the Government with the motive of benefitting the developers. The document was lacking on several grounds such as:

- At the outset, there appears to be a off-loading of the responsibility of the local authorities from the conventional norm of providing public housing to the slum dwellers. Rehabilitation scheme of such kind largely depends upon the initiative and enthusiasm of the developer, which obviously hinges on the benefits available to them. Presently, the overall role of SRC consisting of officials from the ULB as well as the State-level Department is merely restricted as a facilitator in simplifying the process for the developer, as an informant who
informs slum dwellers to co-operate with the developer during implementation, as an evictor who assists the developer in eviction (if need be) and as an arbitrator in case of any disputes between the stakeholders. It appears that the ULB simply wants to shrug off from its responsibility and merely act as a passive spectator.

- The ownership of the unutilized portion of the land parcel is to be transferred to the developer who could develop it for commercial purposes. However, till now all the slums redeveloped under the SRS are on public lands reserved for slum up-gradation. Giving the ownership of the unutilized land to the developer, even at Jantri rates, would mean reduction in the land bank of the local authorities as well as its utilization for any other purpose excluding housing for the urban poor.

- The approval process for any SRS proposal has been unnecessarily lengthened by passing it through two channels of clearances – first through the SRC followed by the State Government UD & UHD. Since necessary clearances from various departments of the ULB are to be included in any SRS proposal which would be verified by the SRC (consisting of officials from the ULB and standing committee etc.), there hardly seems to be any point of sending these proposals to the State-level department for final consent.

- The role of the slum dwellers, around whom the entire scheme revolves, is restricted to providing consent and forming a CHSG. Neither their inputs nor suggestions are included during designing or any other stages of the schemes. Thus, residents have no choice but to accept the predetermined design of the DUs. Also, in absence of any prior experience in handling a CHSG and affairs of site maintenance without any mobilization and training regarding the same, expecting behavioural changes within the slum dwellers is immature and impractical. Community mobilization should be mandatorily included as a component of any SRS.

- The SRS regulations fail to mention the course of action to be undertaken for the slum dwellers who do not provide their consent for scheme (i.e. remaining 25 per cent), thus leading to uncertainty about their inclusion. However, in both cases, eventually all joined the scheme partially with persuasion of their fellow neighbours or after being convinced that the scheme would eventually take-off in reality or through verdicts of the litigation cases (as in Abhuji Na Chhapra).

- There is no mention of what happens if the project is stalled midway or whom to approach if the project took longer than promised time. In case of Abhuji Na Chhapra, people were apprehensive since more than three years had passed before the actual construction commenced, and those who had given their consent at the onset did not know whom to approach for assurance on the project progress. Also, if the scheme gets stalled in mid-way, as was case of Abhuji Na Chhapra, fear of being permanently displaced from their settlement location lingered on for long and the slum dwellers had no way of assuaging their fear.
The very idea of getting a *pucca* house with all basic amenities (water, electricity, personal bath and toilet) for free of cost seemed absurd to many. Given the demolition drives undertaken by the ULB for various development projects in the city in recent years, fear of displacement lingered in their minds till the beneficiaries received keys of their allotted DUs in hand.

The regulations offered a DU of a fixed built-up area in lieu of an existing hutment irrespective of the present size of the hutment or the household size living in the hutment. For those living in hutments smaller than 36 sq.mt. built-up area, this proposition seems to be fair but a loss for those having hutments of larger size.

The SRS scheme, as designed, not recognize role of any external agency / NGO to facilitate community participation or mobilization. As observed in the case studies, partnership between the developer and the NGO was beyond the purview of the regulations and the involved authorities. In such a scenario, how strongly could the NGO voice its opinion was always questionable. The MHT’s past experience of working with private sector, where its efforts were not recognized, led MHT to sign a MOU with the developer with clear defining of the roles of both agencies.

The SRS regulations lamely mention about including ownership details of the land parcel(s) (on which the slum(s) is located) while applying for necessary approvals without elaborating on the course of action to be undertaken by the developer in case the slum(s) is located on private lands. It does not suggest any preventive strategies in case of any litigation cases. Had such nuances been envisaged during the policy making, occurrence of litigation cases as observed in Abhuji Na Chhapra could have been avoided.

There is ambiguity about inclusion or exclusion of hutments falling partially on the boundaries of the selected slum land parcels. Though competent authorities are given powers to act as an arbitrator in case of disputes between developer and beneficiaries, how fairly such issues would be resolved is debatable. It appears obvious that the final decision of the SRC / competent authorities would be largely influenced by the developer’s review, given their close ties.

Nevertheless, certain aspects of the regulations are well commendable. Given that the city has witnessed the process of relocating urban poor primarily consisting of people displaced from the banks of Sabarmati river and other development projects from 2009 onwards, threat to displacement continuously hovers over the slum residents. Thus, this scheme that is for rehabilitating the slum dwellers within their present location, while benefitting private developers is novelle and seemed unrealistic to many slum dwellers. Further, the regulations have attempted to provide habitable dwelling units along with tenure security of tenure without uprooting slum dwellers, their families or their livelihoods. The other commendable aspect is the flexibility in the implementation of the scheme. One example is the decision of amending eligibility of slum dweller in the regulation. The regulations stated eligible slum
dwellers as one ‘who is identified and registered by the competent authority in their
slum survey conducted as on or before December 1, 2010’. But, in practice, the cut-
off date was taken as the most recent while undertaking the survey. In that sense, this
SRS is more liberal in comparison to Mumbai’s scheme. The criteria for finding
eligible beneficiaries in the two case study slums also ensured that the fake
beneficiaries could be eliminated to a large extent. For that, every household covered
in the biometric survey was given a unique HIN for its identification, any household
without the HIN was considered either to be a recent occupant or tenant in the
settlement. Nevertheless, utmost care in scrutinizing the documents of dwellers by
both - developer (an outsider to the slum settlement) and external organization / NGO
helped in restricting fraudulent cases.

According to the regulations, selection of slum was entirely depended upon the
developer who would be taking in account its location, size and ease with which he is
able to build his relations with the prospective beneficiaries in order to obtain their
consent for scheme implementation. Slums like Abhuji Na Chhapra or Lakhudi
Talawadi, which are located in prime areas of the city predominantly housing the
middle / upper class, would attract different kind of challenges for the developer.
Investing in such slums would not only mean copious benefits for the developer but
also more resistance due to the vested interests of slum-lords / local touts considering
that prices of such land parcels would shoot up in the real estate market after
implementation of SRS. This was observed in Abhuji Na Chhapra as vested interests
of some slum dwellers to usurp more DUs or extort money from the developer led
into multiple litigation cases against the implementation of the scheme.

Though the regulation has failed to acknowledge role of any external agency / NGO
to facilitate community participation or mobilization, involving a NGO in such
rehabilitation projects appears to be advantageous for all, the developer, the slum
dwellers and the involved NGO. Partnering with an external organization / NGO like
MHT, already having grassroots presence in the settlement would quicken and
smoothen process of building relations with slum dwellers for the developer. Such
kind of backing would be an added fillip in gaining the slum dweller’s confidence.
Also, the developer can pass on the responsibility of organizing the community at
several stages such as convincing dwellers, collection of documents, obtaining
consents etc., to the NGO. Since the MOU between the developer and NGO was an
open-ended agreement, hence there is a possibility of this continued association in
other slums as well.

However, without any financial allocation for the NGO put aside by the ULB or the
developer (in total project cost) for community mobilization, how viable is it for the
NGO to venture into such kind of projects is questionable. If in case there is a
financial arrangement between the developer and NGO, the role of the NGO in this
scheme might be seen as the developer’s aide to assist in eviction of the slum dwellers
for which they are being paid by the developer. In absence of any such arrangement
from the developer and the ULB, financing its activities through other available grants appears to be the only probable way out for the NGO.

For the slum dwellers, the NGO bridged the gap between them and the developer. One cannot deny that the eligibility of the slum dweller was redefined with consistent efforts of the NGO / other involved external agencies. Besides arranging joint consultations between developer and slum residents from time to time, necessary measures in interests of the slum dwellers such as preparation of notarized photo-identity cards, individual agreements between the beneficiaries and developer, letter from the ULB to the CHSG (all included representation of the local authority) were taken due to proactiveness of the NGO, as observed in both case studies. There is also a fear that the slum dwellers may bypass the NGO if they think that the developer is more powerful between the two.

Though SRS schemes have been implemented in many other settlements without having presence of NGOs or any other external agency, their role as a mediator ensuring a balance between the profit-oriented motives of the developer and welfare-oriented measures for the slum dwellers cannot be denied. A complete denial of their presence in this scheme shows the lop-sidedness of current policy practices which favour the private sector. However, such schemes do appear to be a silver lining for the slum dwellers who get new DUs at their present location itself while the ULB’s responsibility to improve slum settlements in the city gets transferred to the private sector.

Currently, all the slums wherein SRS is being implemented are situated on public lands belonging to the AMC. Implementation of SRS in slums situated over private lands would pose a challenge to the developer. In order to obtain approval for the scheme, the developer must submit land ownership documents for the land parcel. However, identification of private landowners has always been quite difficult. Due to enactment of Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA) of 1976, many private landowners had subdivided their land parcels into smaller chunks and sold them off through stamp papers. In such cases, the slum residents only have the stamp paper documents. However, the 7/12 form continues to mention the names of the original landowners who might be untraceable in the current scenario. Also, implementation of the rehabilitation scheme (or mere speculation about its implementation) would increase value of the selected land parcels and its surrounding areas. For a slum located on private land, none of the landowners would encourage its implementation and instead may attempt to get back their land or make money through notorious means such as by evicting the slum dwellers on pretext of SRS implementation or extort money or flats from the developer or file litigation cases so to obtain stay order as was observed in Abhuji Na Chhapra, Ambawadi.

Given the experiences in Kailashnagar and Abhuji Na Chhapra which were of relatively smaller size, it would be worthwhile to observe the differences in SRS
implementation across larger settlements in the offing where no NGO / CSO have been involved by the developers in terms of how the developer mobilizes the slum community, what kind of conflicts arise and how are they resolved, etc.

**Postscript**

In course of this documentation, various other developments related directly / indirectly to the 2010 regulations had occurred. The 2010 regulations have now been superseded by the Gujarat Slum Rehabilitation Policy - PPP - 2013. Though prepared from experiences of the preceding regulations, this recent policy differs starkly in various aspects such as its scope, mode of selection of private developers, roles and responsibilities of the PA at both state and city-level, participation of slum dwellers as well as NGOs. It clearly defines its scope limited to notified slums located on public lands. The developer would have to participate in the bidding process and submit technical and financial proposals for in-situ rehabilitation schemes in slums which are pre-identified by the PA at city-level. Sans 75 per cent consent of slum dwellers, the policy has relieved the developers from the mammoth task (DNA 2013c). However, the criterion to be adopted by the ULB in prioritizing notified slums on public lands in the bidding process still remains unclear. Nevertheless, it recognizes participation of slum dwellers at various stages of the scheme implementation such as community mapping and survey. Though it mentions involvement of NGO / CBOs through the private developer for slum community participation, their smooth rehabilitation and mobilization in terms of improved, healthy and responsible life-style after occupying their new DUs in the rehabilitation scheme but does not offer anything to the NGO to be able to cover its costs for the same. It does not recognize NGO as a member in the constitution of the PA at the state or city-level or in any of the committees. These are the broad-level differences between both policy documents; however its implementation on ground is yet to take place.

While interacting with the involved four developers, this recent policy was criticized on many fronts. While it was friendlier for the developers, they were now being restricted to participate in bidding process for notified slums for which tenders would be invited by the authorities. On one hand, this does away with the malpractices adopted by the developers in the past to obtain the slum dwellers consent but on other hand the qualifying criteria for the developer would be based on highest number of units to be handed over to the authorities (technical proposal) and least project cost (financial proposal). Compromising quality of construction by the developers would be rampant in such a case in order to increase their profits. There is lack of clarity on what criterion would the slums be notified and selected for the bidding process. Also, many considered involvement of NGO in community mobilization unnecessary as it would lead to delay in the entire process. Though tenders have been invited for some slums under the 2013 policy, but final selection of the developers is still pending on behalf of the authorities.
Besides, field visits across other nine settlements under the 2010 regulations gave glimpses of issues faced / practices adopted. Some observations include:

- In larger settlements such as Salatnagar (Gala Builders), Bhikhadevano Vado (HN-Safal), the overall time period for completing construction was around 12-18 months. In such cases, developers had given lump-sum amount of rent to the beneficiaries in two instalments, one prior vacating hutment and other after vacating. Payment towards these instalments was usually given in form of cheques. The developers had roped in banks to open zero balance accounts for the slum dwellers through which these cheques were encashed.

- Sometimes, the lump-sum amount of rent was negotiated in settlements having presence of strong leader / committee members / CSO. Such particular case was observed in Salatnagar where a CSO named Insaniyat was closely monitoring the SRS implementation. The head of this group had been associated with the settlement since 2002. This settlement was severely affected in the anti-Muslims pogrom in Ahmedabad. The CSO not only acted as a keeper of the settlement in SRS implementation but also negotiated better deals for the security of the slum dwellers in terms of obtaining no-objection certificates (NOC) from the government (considering the settlement had witnessed eviction threats and communal riots in past), higher amount of lump-sum rent (for a time-period of 12 months, each beneficiary was paid Rs.50,000) and inclusion of community hall (which was eligible for settlements having 500 or more DUs). The CSO also mobilized the slum dwellers from time to time as they would have to take care of site maintenance after shifting back.

- No developer had opted to provide transit accommodation to the slum dwellers. This was appreciated since no one wanted to take the responsibility of maintenance of the transit accommodation and it gave flexibility to the slum dwellers to search for rental accommodation according to their choice / budget. However, slum dwellers of settlements in the eastern part of the city such as Amraiwadi, many who were refused rental accommodation by landlords due to caste differences. Also, the rental prices had increased and many fell in the clutches of brokers who minted money on the pretext of providing them rental accommodation. Sometimes, after paying rent, brokerage and shifting to the accommodation, landlords would ask them to vacate immediately. Thus, the many dwellers lost their money paid towards rent and brokerage in this process.

- Rushinagar and Talawadina Zumpda which consisted of three adjoining plots (each having its own CHSG), had conflicts between members of three CHSGs as well as within the CHSG on several grounds such as submission of fake consent forms or threatening vulnerable households for their lump-sum instalments and so on. Sometimes these conflicts resulted in fights between the different communities staying in the settlement.

- Similarly in Gulbai Tekra, which predominantly housed the Marwari community who are involved in casting Ganesha idols, there were conflicts between the residents regarding the ownership of the plots. Though a sample
house (comparatively more than 36 sq.mt. carpet area) had been constructed at the site, the developer has been unable to proceed further due to the conflicts.

- Since a mausoleum (heritage structure) was located near the Mangal Talawadina Chhapra in Vasna, the developer was supposed to obtain necessary permissions from the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). Later, it was discovered that a metro route was being proposed through the site according to the AUDA Development Plan 2021 and there was no clarity about distance to be kept between the buildings and proposed metro routes. Hence, no work had commenced in the settlement.

- In Lakhudi Talawadi, before residents gave their consent to B-Safal they were approached by another developer who misguided them about the scheme and claimed to have paid their current property tax liabilities in order to lure them for consent. While some had given their consent to B-Safal, many were in favour of the other developer. It might be possible that the latter would have resorted to malpractices like bribing the residents in order to obtain their consent. Such instances might also result into conflicts within the settlement which comprise of people belonging to different communities.

On a larger picture, implementation of SRS has been ongoing in settlements with and without presence of NGO / CSO. In settlements having no involvement of any external agency, the developer would have to depend more on the local leaders within the slum, usually the aagyevans or the slum-lords, and may have to bribe them to fast forward the necessary processes. Nevertheless, benefits, financial as well as through utilization of the accumulated TDRs, to the developers in undertaking such redevelopment schemes would certainly be exceeding the project costs and other miscellaneous expenses and are yet to unfold in future.
Appendices

Appendix 1: Notification of UD & UHD dated August 30, 2011.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Area known as</th>
<th>Town Planning Scheme No</th>
<th>F.P. No.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bhav Na-Chhipara at Khokara extension</td>
<td>25 of Khokhra Mahendhabad</td>
<td>164/1, 164/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lakhdil Talevali Na-Chhipara at Navrangpura</td>
<td>3 Elsince, Shahpur, Khapur</td>
<td>190</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Gudhali Tekars at Navrangpura</td>
<td>20 Gulab Tekars</td>
<td>262, 263, 264/2, 264/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ambwadi</td>
<td>21-Ambwadi</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sabarmati</td>
<td>25-Sabarmati</td>
<td>450, 451 and 452</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Angrabadi</td>
<td>27-Angrabadi</td>
<td>56, 52/A</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Kodhara</td>
<td>25-Kodhara</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Vasana</td>
<td>26-Vasana</td>
<td>274 and 275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By order and in the name of the Governor of Gujarat,

(Gaurangbhai J. Desai)

Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of Gujarat Urban Development and Urban Housing Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments to:

- The Chief Executive Officer, Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority, Ahmedabad.
- The Chief Town Planner, Gujarat State, Gandhinagar.
- The Senior Town Planner, North Gujarat Region, Ahmedabad.
- The Commissioner, Gujarat Housing Board, Ahmedabad.
- The Collector, Dist. Ahmedabad.
- The District Development Officer, Ahmedabad Dist. Ahmedabad.
- The Manager, Government Central Press, Gandhinagar.
- The Legislative and Parliamentary Affairs Department, Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar.
- The Department of Information, Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar.
- The Revenue Department, Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar.
- The P.S. to Hon’ble Minister (UD), Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar.
- The Select file of ‘TH’ Branch (2011).
- The personal file of Dy. Section Officer (2011).
Appendix 2: Comparison between the 2010 Regulations and its amendment in 2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameters / Policy (Regulations or Amendments)</th>
<th>Regulation for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of Slums 2010 (A)</th>
<th>Amendment of (A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applicability</td>
<td>Slums on lands or plots or part of lands or plots irrespective of ownership.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligibility of Slum Dweller</td>
<td>• Hutment occupant for minimum 10 years.</td>
<td>• Identified and registered by competent authority in their slum survey conducted as on or before December 1, 2010.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Domicile of Gujarat for 25 years / his descendant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Not a foreign national.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents required as occupancy proof</td>
<td>Copies of any two of documents:</td>
<td>• Copy of the biometric based Socio-Economic Survey which includes the HIN.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ration card</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Electricity bill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Proof of being included in electoral rolls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Any other proof as decided by PA</td>
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<td>Any State-level Authority / committee constituted</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slum Rehabilitation Committee (SRC)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Municipal Corporation</td>
<td>• Municipal Commissioner (also known as the PA)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Standing Committee Chairman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>• Chief Town Planner or representative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Chief Executive Authority of Urban/Area Development Authority</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Deputy Municipal Commissioner</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>In Municipalities</td>
<td>• Collector &amp; Chairman District Urban Development Authority (also known as the PA)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• President of Municipality</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Director of Municipalities or representative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Town Planner of district branch office of Town Planning and Valuation Department</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Chief Executive Officer of Gujarat Municipal Finance Board or representative</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Chief Officer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parameters / Policy (Regulations or Amendments)</td>
<td>Regulation for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of Slums 2010 (A)</td>
<td>Amendment of (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area of DU</strong></td>
<td>Built-up area of 36 sq.mt. (Excluding common areas).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permissible FSI</strong></td>
<td>As specified for slum rehabilitation zone in GDCR.</td>
<td>FSI permissible as per use zone</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Transferable FSI (TDR)**                      | Permitted proportionate to the *Jantri* value of the respective plot where it is transferred. | • Permitted in all use zones having permissible FSI of 1.2 or more.  
• Can be used in projects granted under the Hotel and Hospital Regulations 2010.  
• Cannot be used in projects under Regulation of Townships – 2009.  
• Available on any plot other than slum plot on pro-rate basis proportionate to *Jantri* rate of respective plots. |
| **Time period for utilization of TDR**          | Not mentioned.                                                | Within five years from the date of grant of permission for slum rehabilitation. |
| **Components of Rehabilitation Scheme Proposal**| • DUs for eligible beneficiaries.  
• Basic amenities – Water supply, drainage, power supply to individual DUs.  
• For every 500 DUs:  
  • Five room school of minimum total area 100 sq.mt.  
  • One community centre of minimum area 50 sq.mt.  
  • One *anganwadi* or health post of minimum area 50 sq.mt.  
• For less than 500 DUs, facility for community centre, school, *anganwadi* or health post as per decision of slum rehabilitation committee.  
• May include commercial or residential or any other purpose which developer may sell / dispose / lease / rent. | |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameters / Policy (Regulations or Amendments)</th>
<th>Regulation for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of Slums 2010 (A)</th>
<th>Amendment of (A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Responsibilities / Duties of Developer</strong></td>
<td>• Transit Accommodation for all beneficiaries.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Seek consent of 75 per cent of occupants.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Organize eligible dwellers into a Registered CHSG or Association.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Construct 10 per cent extra DUs for PAPs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Include PAPs as part of CHSG and issue him requisite shares and allot the DU in the scheme.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Hand over maintenance of services to the registered CHSG.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Transfer absolute ownership rights of all DUs and related infrastructure free from all encumbrances to the CHSG of the slum dwellers free of cost.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Can construct buildings other than those of slum rehabilitation only after complete construction of DUs and infrastructure related to slum rehabilitation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Payment of any charges / deposit by the developer</strong></td>
<td>• Deposit minimum 10 per cent of cost of rehabilitation DUs with competent authority which would be later transferred to CHSG.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Deposit 5 per cent of estimated project cost as security fees.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Pay external development charges equivalent to the prevalent and applicable rates of amenities fees.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Waiver of betterment charge, development charge, amenities fees, scrutiny fee proportionate to that used for slum rehabilitation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Selection of Developer / Slum</strong></td>
<td>Developer selects the slum and submits proposal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transfer / Sale of DUs by beneficiaries</strong></td>
<td>Transfer permissible after 20 years from the date of owning possession.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appointment of third party consultant</strong></td>
<td>On sanction of project, the PA shall appoint consultant to supervise the quality and timely execution of project.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approach towards grievance redressal</strong></td>
<td>• Beneficiaries entitled to lodge his complaint before the PA.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The PA would resolve the grievance by giving direction to the developer to resolve the issue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled by the authors.
Appendix 3: AMC Flyer prepared during implementation of SNP.
Appendix 4: AMC letter to Gokuldham CHSG.
Appendix 5: Sample Copy of F-form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Owner</th>
<th>Survey Number</th>
<th>Area in Sq. Mtr.</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police, Ahmedabad</td>
<td>2/04</td>
<td>5872</td>
<td>6000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This copy of form-F is issued to Shri... He has paid Rs. 5,000 vide receipt no. SFO-2000. Date 9/12/2019. TRUE COPY.
Appendix 6: Database of documents available with dwellers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Document</th>
<th>Date of Issue</th>
<th>Date of Issue (YYYY-MM-DD)</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>File Type</th>
<th>File Size (KB)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Name 1</td>
<td>Date 1</td>
<td>Date 1</td>
<td>Size 1</td>
<td>Type 1</td>
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<td>File Size 1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Name 2</td>
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<td>Date 2</td>
<td>Size 2</td>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>File Type 2</td>
<td>File Size 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Name 3</td>
<td>Date 3</td>
<td>Date 3</td>
<td>Size 3</td>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>File Type 3</td>
<td>File Size 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Name 4</td>
<td>Date 4</td>
<td>Date 4</td>
<td>Size 4</td>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td>File Type 4</td>
<td>File Size 4</td>
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<td>Type 5</td>
<td>File Type 5</td>
<td>File Size 5</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Name 6</td>
<td>Date 6</td>
<td>Date 6</td>
<td>Size 6</td>
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<td>File Size 6</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Date 9</td>
<td>Date 9</td>
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<td>File Size 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Name 10</td>
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<td>Date 10</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Name 11</td>
<td>Date 11</td>
<td>Date 11</td>
<td>Size 11</td>
<td>Type 11</td>
<td>File Type 11</td>
<td>File Size 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>Date 12</td>
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<td>File Size 13</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Name 14</td>
<td>Date 14</td>
<td>Date 14</td>
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<td>Type 14</td>
<td>File Type 14</td>
<td>File Size 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Name 15</td>
<td>Date 15</td>
<td>Date 15</td>
<td>Size 15</td>
<td>Type 15</td>
<td>File Type 15</td>
<td>File Size 15</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Size 16</td>
<td>Type 16</td>
<td>File Type 16</td>
<td>File Size 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 7: Sample copy of the biometric based Socio-Economic Survey of a beneficiary.

![Sample copy of the biometric based Socio-Economic Survey](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Work Dist.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>CHHANABHA PATNI</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>0 - 3 Km</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ASHABEN PATNI</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Daughter In Law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>BHARATBHAI PATNI</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ASHABEN PATNI</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Daughter In Law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>BABUBHA PATNI</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>RAMLABEN PATNI</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Daughter In Law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economic Status Of Family: APL
Annual Income: Rs.12000 to Rs.24000

Stamp size photo of the family members

![Family members](image)

Household Level Services

- Drinking Water Facility: Public
- Drainage Line: Yes
- Toilet Facility: Open Defecation
- Door To Door Collection: No
- Electric Facility: Electricity Connection
- Source of Energy for Cooking: Kerosene
Appendix 8: Gokuldham CHSG registration letter.
Appendix 9: Sample of Photo-identity card of an eligible beneficiary living in Kailashnagar.
Appendix 10: Sample of the agreement between the beneficiary and the developer.
લખાણાના નામ છે લખાણા છે, તારી લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

2. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

3. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

4. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

5. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

6. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

7. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

8. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

9. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

10. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

11. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.

12. લખાણા છે રાજયના રાજય છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે. તેઓ લખાણા પર લખાણા છે.
Appendix 11: Sample of Kailashnagar Draw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Appl. No.</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Applicant Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Scheme Name</th>
<th>Block No.</th>
<th>Floor No.</th>
<th>Flat No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2294</td>
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<td>KAILASNAGAR SABARMATI</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>2295</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 12: Copy of the allotment letter.
Appendix 13: Copy of the public notice published in the vernacular paper.
Appendix 14: Shantideep CHSG registration letter dated May 12, 2011.
Appendix 15: *Rajachitthi* (Commencement letter) by the AMC dated July 22, 2013.

### Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation

As per Gujarat Town Planning & Urban Development Act, 1976, section 29(1), 34(4), 49(1)(b) & The Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporation Act, 1948, section 263-254

#### Commencement Letter (Rajachitthi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case No.</th>
<th>BLN/7/W2/2007/13/F/R380/R65/M1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rajachitthi No.</td>
<td>34054/2007/19/EB/604/R65/M1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arch/Engg. No.</td>
<td>EN064017/04/1R1</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.D. No.</td>
<td>SDG29711091/1M1</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.W. No.</td>
<td>CW 0022720/70R2</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.D. Name</td>
<td>CONTRACTOR VIPINCHANDRA BHAI ALIBHAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.W. Name</td>
<td>CONTRACTOR VIPINCHANDRA BHAI ALIBHAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner Name</td>
<td>AHMEDABAD MUNICIPAL CORPORATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>SARDARPATEL BHAVAN, DANAIPATH, Ahmedabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>RUPESH BHARANBHATT AUTHORIZED SIGNATORY OF SAFAL CONSTRUCTION PVT. LTD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>B SAFAL HOUSE, BHAT TEI MOTORS., S.G. HIGHWAY SOLA, Ahmedabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election Ward</td>
<td>26 Ambawadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP Scheme</td>
<td>T.P.S. NO. 21(Ambawadi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Plot No.</td>
<td>422 (R.S. NO.: 642/643/1, 87 AND 68)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sub Plot No.</td>
<td>Block/Tenantment: TYPE-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site Address</td>
<td>ABUR KUVAN CHHAPRA, BH C.N. SCHOOL, S/S REILANCE PETROL PUMP, AMBAWADI, AHMEDABAD-380015</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Floor</td>
<td>Residential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Floor</td>
<td>Residential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Floor</td>
<td>Residential</td>
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<tr>
<td>Start Cabin</td>
<td>Stall Case</td>
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<td>Lift Room</td>
<td>Lift</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Note of Conditions:**

1. This Development Permission is granted with condition that Applicant and Engg./Arch. will obey as per all bonds and affidavit produced by Applicant and Engg./Arch.
2. The owner/developer shall carry out rainwater harvesting system as specified by the authority according to letter of the Urban Dev. and Urban Housing Dept. Gandhinagar DT: P/P/Y102004-19511, DT: 21/07/04 ANNA.
3. This approval is given according to Municpal Commissioner Office Order dated 02/03/05 and Office Order No. 42.DT.-13/06/06.
4. This case has been scrutinized and approved by Building Plan Scrutiny Pool on DT. 18/07/2013.
5. This Development Permission is given on the basis of Order/Approval given by Municipal Commissioner date:- 13/07/2013.
6. This development permission is granted under Slum Rehabilitation Scheme under the act for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of Slum 2012 and the developer has to obey the clause No. 14 and as under developer has to pay 5% security deposit of project cost before the construction work started as per Clause No.-14.6 (B) developer has to bind all conditions for T.D.R. F.S.I. as per clause No.-12.6 (C) developer has to obey the decision of Slum Rehabilitation Committee for construction of School, Anganwadi and Community Centre as per clause No.-8.1.1.2 and for the same developer has given under taking dated:- 22/07/2013.
7. This development permission is given on the basis of letter given by Govt. of Gujarat Urban Development and Urban Housing Department vide letter No.- ZPD/2011-33291-L-Dated-15/09/2011 and condition with annexure and for the same developer has given under taking dated: 22/07/2013.
8. This permission is given as per first varied scheme T.P.S. NO:- 21 (Ambawadi), F.P. No:- 422 is reserved for slum Upgradation Owner/Developer have to obey the execution procedure by Scheme Execution Department (W.Z).
References


List of CUE Working Papers


WP 5 Housing Options and Mobility of Urban Migrants in India and China, Darshini Mahadevia, Zhiyan Liu, Xiuming Yuan, April 2010.


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WP 23 Municipal Politics, Court Sympathy and Housing Rights: A Post-Mortem of Displacement and Resettlement under the Sabarmati Riverfront Project, Ahmedabad, Renu Desai, May 2014.

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WP 25 Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) in BSUP Sites of Ahmedabad: Experiences of Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT), Darshini Mahadevia, Neha Bhatia and Bijal Bhatt, September 2014.

WP 26 City Profile: Ahmedabad, Darshini Mahadevia, Renu Desai and Suchita Vyas, September 2014.
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