



# **Migrant Construction Naka Workers in Ahmedabad: A Study of Housing Conditions, Migrants' Perspectives, and Future Directions**

Renu Desai  
Shachi Sanghvi

**CUE Working Paper 41  
January 2019**



**Sponsored by:**

**Funded by:**



**Migrant Construction Naka Workers in Ahmedabad:  
A Study of Housing Conditions, Migrants' Perspectives,  
and Future Directions**

Renu Desai  
(Centre for Urban Equity, CEPT University)  
and  
Shachi Sanghvi  
(Centre for Urban Equity, CEPT University)

**CUE Working Paper 41  
January 2019**

**Centre for Urban Equity (CUE)**

**Study sponsored by Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action  
with financial support from Paul Hamlyn Foundation**

---

### **About Centre for Urban Equity (CUE)**

CUE was established at CEPT University in 2009, evolving from the Urban Poverty Alleviation (UPA) Cell established in 2008. CUE advocates a human-centered and equitable urban development paradigm. CUE undertakes research and advocacy; conducts training and capacity-building; imparts education; and networks with stakeholders on various aspects of human settlements. CUE is recognized as a National Resource Centre (NRC) by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA), Government of India.

#### **Contact**

Centre for Urban Equity (CUE)  
CEPT University  
Kasturbhai Lalbhai Campus  
University Road, Navrangpura  
Ahmedabad - 380009, India  
Email: [cue@cept.ac.in](mailto:cue@cept.ac.in)  
Website: [www.cept.ac.in/cue](http://www.cept.ac.in/cue)

### **About Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action (PCLRA)**

PCLRA is a NGO that promotes workers' rights in the vast informal sector economy of India. It facilitates workers to organize for decent wages and improved conditions. The focus of organizing is the migration stream encompassing both the work place at destination and the source areas from where workers come. PCLRA has so far worked across four migration streams – construction industry in and around the city of Ahmedabad and Surat; brick kilns in Central and North Gujarat, Telengana, and Rajasthan; cottonseed farms of North Gujarat; and cotton ginning industry in Central and North Gujarat.

#### **Contact**

Prayas Centre for Labor Research and Action  
19, Narayan Residency Part 2, Near Saarthi Bungalows  
Chandkheda, Ahmedabad - 382424  
Gujarat, India  
Website: [www.clra.in](http://www.clra.in)

### **About Paul Hamlyn Foundation (PHF)**

Paul Hamlyn Foundation is an independent grant-making foundation in the UK with the mission of helping people overcome disadvantage and lack of opportunity, so that they can realise their potential and enjoy fulfilling and creative lives.

#### **Contact**

Paul Hamlyn Foundation  
5-11 Leeke Street  
London WC1X 9HY, UK  
Website: [www.phf.org.uk](http://www.phf.org.uk)

#### **Disclaimer**

The comments and opinions in this report are of the authors and not of the Centre for Urban Equity or CEPT University.

## **Acknowledgments**

The research for this report was sponsored by the Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action (PCLRA) with financial support from the Paul Hamlyn Foundation. The authors thank PCLRA for their immense help in organizing the Focus Group Discussions with migrants from the bastis they work in. Our gratitude to the migrants who were willing to forgo a day's work and participate in the FGDs and meet us during our fieldvisits to show us around their basti. We also thank the migrants who patiently responded to our questions during our various other fieldvisits. Finally, we thank the government officials in the AMC who gave us their time for discussion and shared official documents to help us better understand the city's pay-and-use toilets and mobile toilets and the homeless shelters.

## **List of Abbreviations**

AMC	Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation
AUDA	Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority
EMI	Equated Monthly Instalment
EWS	Economically Weaker Section
BSUP	Basic Services for the Urban Poor
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCWWB	Gujarat Construction Workers Welfare Board
ISR	In-Situ Slum Redevelopment
LIG	Low Income Group
MHUPA	Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
MMGY	Mukhya Mantri GRUH Yojana
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
NULM	National Urban Livelihood Mission
PCI	Per Capita Income
PCLRA	Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action
PMAY	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
SUH	Shelters for the Urban Homeless

## Contents

Acknowledgments .....	i
List of Abbreviations .....	ii
Executive Summary .....	1
1. Introduction.....	13
2. Research Methodology.....	16
2.1. Questionnaire Survey .....	16
2.1.1. Profile of Survey Respondents .....	18
2.2. Focus Group Discussions.....	22
2.2.1. Profile of FGD Participants .....	24
2.3. Fieldvisits .....	26
2.4. Discussions with Government Officials and Secondary Data Collection.....	28
3. Scenario of Migrant Naka Workers' Housing in Ahmedabad .....	29
3.1. Housing Conditions: Shelter Quality, Basic Services and Tenure Security .....	29
3.2. Housing Typologies and Conditions .....	33
3.2.1. Squatter Settlements on Government and Private Lands.....	34
3.2.2. Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces .....	41
3.2.3. Rental Rooms / Units .....	45
3.2.4. Rental Spots on Lands and Building Rooftops .....	50
3.2.5. Homeless Shelters .....	54
4. Housing Affordability, Access and Preferences among Migrant Naka Workers.....	60
4.1. Housing Costs of Migrants Living in Squatter Settlements .....	60
4.1.1. Housing Costs in Squatter Settlements on Government Lands .....	61
4.1.2. Housing Costs in Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces.....	62
4.2. Relationship of Migrant Workers' Housing Location to the Naka .....	63
4.2.1. Travel Time, Mode of Travel and Travel Cost from Home to Naka .....	63
4.2.2. Importance of Proximity of Housing to the Naka.....	64
4.3. Migrants' Perspectives on Housing Affordability and their Housing Preferences .....	65
4.4. Migrants' Eligibility for Housing and Basic Services in the City.....	72
4.5. Migrants' Perspectives on the Social Composition of their Housing Spaces .....	74
5. Future Directions .....	76
References.....	79
Annexures.....	80



## Executive Summary

### I. Background

There is an increasing recognition that seasonal and circular migrants to cities are an important part of the vulnerable urban population and yet continue to be marginalized in urban policy, planning and governance. In Ahmedabad these migrants work in construction, factories, small hotels / restaurants / road-side food and tea stalls, domestic work, head-loading and load-cart-pulling, junk and scrap recycling, and vegetable vending (Aajeevika 2007). There is a need to understand the housing spaces of these migrants, across different occupational groups, as well as the dynamics of current policy, planning and governance vis-à-vis their housing and entitlements in the city. This study is undertaken for the Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action (PCLRA), a non-government organization working to promote workers' rights in the informal economy, and whose focus in Ahmedabad has been on migrant construction workers. Migrant construction workers are of two main types:

- **“Floating” migrant construction workers** migrate as labour gangs from the village to the city through labour recruiters / petty contractors, going directly to construction sites for the duration of the work. They are provided with some kind of place to stay for the duration of the work by their employer. This is as per the Building and Other Construction Workers (BOCW) Act 1996, although the provisions made by the employers are often inadequate, partly owing to the lack of clear standards in the Act and its Rules.
- **Migrant naka workers** migrate between the village and the city on their own, and go to the nakas to search of daily-wage work, generally working at different construction sites over the course of a single month. They arrange for their own housing in the city, generally in some kind of informal housing. While some may go to live on site if they get work for a considerable duration, once the work is complete, they return to their living spaces in the city and resume going to the naka. Work obtained from the naka is irregular, with workers getting anywhere between 5-25 days of work in a month depending on season, skill, experience, contacts with contractors who come to the naka to hire labour, and negotiating ability.

Building on previous studies undertaken for PCLRA on migrant construction workers' housing (Desai et al 2014; Desai 2017), the aim of this study is to expand knowledge about the housing of **migrant naka workers** in Ahmedabad in order to support PCLRA's efforts to improve their housing situation and inform policy and governance.

Our previous studies show that the settlements of the migrant naka workers are generally unrecognized by the state. Even where the settlements are recognized, the migrants are living as tenants, usually through informal rental arrangements where this rental tenure is not recognized by the state. Migrant naka workers and their families therefore face vulnerabilities due to the way the state views their housing spaces and approaches these spaces in policy and governance. Alongside this, formal housing / shelter being created for the urban poor under recent policies and programmes is not accessible to many migrant workers due to various reasons. These gaps in policy, planning and governance result in large number of migrant naka workers living in inadequate housing. These gaps are particularly striking in the context of the Government of India's "Housing for All by 2022" slogan.



## II. Research Objectives

1. To build a broad-based scenario of migrant naka workers' housing and access to basic services in Ahmedabad.
2. To build a typology of migrant naka workers' housing in Ahmedabad and better understand the housing conditions in each type, and the related policy and governance questions.
3. To develop an understanding of the experiences and perspectives of migrant naka workers in Ahmedabad vis-à-vis their current housing in the city as well as their perspectives around improving their housing in the future.

## III. Research Methods

The research was carried out mainly between February-June 2018, and involved:

- Questionnaire survey on housing among 224 naka workers across 14 labour nakas
- Focus group discussions (FGDs) with 37 residents (members from 30 households) from across 8 migrant settlements (these are squatter settlements on government lands and squatter settlements in public spaces)
- Fieldvisits to 20 housing locations of migrant naka workers. This included:
  - 8 bastis from which the FGD participants came
  - 3 settlements which are “rental spots on lands”
  - 1 public housing site where migrant naka workers have been resettled
  - 2 homeless shelters where migrant naka worker live with their families
  - 3 squatter settlements in public spaces (visited during prior research in 2014 and 2016)
  - 3 rental chalis / cluster of rental chalis (visited during prior research in 2014, 2016, 2017)
- Discussions with officials in the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) and the collection / study of relevant official documents and data.

## Profile of Survey Respondents

- Of the 224 respondents, the majority of respondents (79%) were from the tribal belt of eastern Gujarat (29% from Dahod district, 3.6% from Mahisagar district, 2.7% from Panchmahal district and 1.8% from Sabarkantha district), southern Rajasthan (19.2% from Banswara district, 13.8% from Dungarpur district and 4% from Udaipur and Jalore districts), and western Madhya Pradesh (4.9% from Jhabua and Khargone districts).
- 66% of the respondents were family migrants while 34% were single male migrants.
- 64% of the survey respondents were unskilled (*majoor*) and 36% were skilled (*karigar*). Among the family migrant respondents, 67% were unskilled and 33% were skilled whereas among the single male respondents, 58% were unskilled and 42% were skilled.
- The majority of respondents (58%) earned daily wages in the range of Rs.251-350 and were almost all unskilled. A small proportion of respondents (7%) earned in the range of Rs.351-450 per day and were almost all unskilled. Respondents who earned more than Rs.450 per day comprised 31% of the sample and were all skilled workers, with 16% earning Rs.651-750 per day. 4% of the respondents earned daily wages of Rs.250 or less, and 3% earned daily wages more than Rs.750.

- 31% of the respondents had been migrating to Ahmedabad for 5 years or less; 23% for 6-10 years; 16% for 11-15 years; 15% for 16-20 years; and 15% for more than 20 years.
- 37% of the respondents were in the city for 10 months or more of the year; 35% for 7-9 months; and 23% for 4-6 months. Only 4% of the respondents were in the city for 3 months or less – it is possible that the proportion of migrants who are in the city for such short durations is higher, but does not reflect in the survey since such short-term migrants are less willing to be surveyed by strangers.

### **Profile of FGD Participants**

- Of the 37 FGD participants from 8 bastis, 33 were migrants who were from either Dahod district of Gujarat or Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh while 4 were locals.
- 30 participants were unskilled construction workers; 6 were skilled construction workers; and 1 was a sanitation worker. The unskilled workers reported getting daily wages of Rs.300-400 while the skilled workers reported getting Rs.700-800. Two of the skilled workers also reported that they are not very experienced and do not yet have strong contacts at the naka due to which they also sometimes take up unskilled work.
- All the migrants were families, either couples, couples with children, or without spouse but with adult working children.
- 18 men and 19 women participated in the FGDs which was useful in capturing gender related issues, particularly around safety and access to sanitation.
- Significantly, 25 of the 37 participants had been living in / migrating to Ahmedabad since more than 10 years. Overall, 3 FGD participants had been living in their current basti for five years or less, 9 participants since 6-10 years, 9 participants since 11-15 years, 7 participants since 16-20 years, and 9 participants since more than 20 years.
- It is also significant that 24 of the 37 participants were living in their current basti since more than 10 years. Overall, 3 participants were living in their current basti for five years or less, 10 participants since 6-10 years, 11 participants since 11-15 years, 7 participants since 16-20 years, and 6 participants since more than 15 years. In spite of living and working in the city for such a long time, and even living in the same basti for long, their housing conditions and access to basic services are poor.
- In terms of the duration in the city during the year, 16 participants spent 9-11 months of the year in the city, 5 participants spent 6-8 months in the city, and 6 participants spent 3-5 months. Only 3 of them spent two months or less in the city, while 7 were permanent migrants, that is, they spent almost all 12 months of the year in the city. This migration pattern in terms of number of months spent in the city versus the time they are in the village for agricultural, social or personal reasons is important to note as it has some implications for their present and future decisions around housing in the city.

### **IV. Migrants' Housing Conditions**

#### **Survey Findings: Overall Scenario of Shelter Quality and Basic Services, with Comparisons between Family Migrants and Single Male Migrants**

- 32% of the survey respondents lived in kutcha shelters and 32% lived in semi-pucca shelters.

- Significantly, a larger proportion of family migrant respondents lived in kutcha shelters (43%) compared to single male migrants (12%) and a greater proportion of single male migrants were found to be living in semi-pucca shelters (45%) compared to family migrants (25%).
- FGDs revealed the vulnerability of kutcha shelters to damage by harsh weather conditions in summer and monsoon, termites and rodents, and stray animals, requiring migrants to rebuild at least once a year and sometimes more.
- 19% lived in *potla*-type arrangements, without any form of shelter, tying up their belongings in a bundle (*potla*) every morning before going to work.
- FGDs revealed the vulnerability of migrants living in *potla*-type arrangements to harsh weather conditions, and in some cases to theft of belongings and damage to them by stray animals.
- 17% lived in pucca shelters. Almost all of which were rental rooms / units. An almost equal proportion of single males (14%) and family migrants (18%) lived in pucca shelters.
  - 50% of the respondents filled water from shared water sources in their settlement; 38% filled water from outside the settlement; and 12% had an individual tap. There was not a major difference between family migrants and single male migrants with regard to source of water.
  - 38% of the respondents used shared toilets provided for them, 34% practiced open defecation, and 16% used pay-and-use toilets. Only 11% of the respondents had an individual toilet and surprisingly only 1% of the respondents used public toilets.
  - Access to toilets between family migrants and single male migrants is noteworthy. 42% of the family migrants were practicing open defecation as compared to 18% of the single males; while 30% of single males were using pay-and-use toilets versus only 9% of family migrants.
  - 55% of the respondents had access to electricity, almost all of who were living in rentals. A higher proportion of single males (62%) had access to electricity than family migrants (52%).

## **Survey Findings: Migrant Housing Typologies and Conditions**

Migrant naka workers live in four main housing typologies in Ahmedabad. The quantitative findings about the conditions in each typology are summarised below; the qualitative findings regarding migrants' experiences of these conditions are detailed in the report:

### **1. Squatter settlements on government and private lands:**

- 18% of the survey respondents lived in this housing typology.
- 85% of these respondents had made kutcha shelters. 15% were living in *potla*-type arrangements – this was mainly found among those who squat on narrow strips of railway land.
- Access to shared water sources in the settlement such as a common municipal tap or a borewell was found among 19% of these respondents. The remaining 81% filled water from outside the settlement, from surrounding buildings and government facilities.
- 81% of these respondents practiced open defecation regularly. 7% used shared toilets, 7% used pay-and-use toilets or a combination of pay-and-use toilets and open defecation, while 5% used public toilets.

- Bathing conditions of these survey respondents were not captured, however, FGD participants living in squatter settlements on government lands bathed in makeshift bathing enclosures made near their huts, generally out of cloth / plastic sheets. Often these are open-to-sky and offer little privacy to women, as a result of which they bathe in the dark.
- 90% of these respondents did not have access to electricity in their shelters.

## **2. Squatter settlements in public spaces**

- 14% of the survey respondents lived in squatter settlements in public spaces – these are under flyovers, on roadsides and footpaths, and on shop verandahs
- 90% of these respondents live in *potla*-type arrangements while the remaining 10% have been able to build kutcha shelters,
- All these respondents obtained water from surrounding buildings like residential societies, commercial establishments, and temples, or a nearby government facility like a police chowky.
- 73% of these survey respondents used pay-and-use toilets. The remaining practiced open defecation with some intermittently using pay-and-use toilets.
- None of the respondents living in this housing typology had access to electricity.

## **3. Rental rooms / units**

- 48% of the survey respondents lived in rental rooms in various kinds of settlements such as rooms in rental chalis (which are clusters of rooms informally developed by landlords), rooms given for rent in a landlord's house in a formal or semi-formal housing society, rental rooms on farmlands on the city periphery, flats in public housing taken on rent, and in rare cases rented flats in private housing.
- 63% of these respondents lived in semi-pucca shelters, 30% in pucca shelters and 7% in kutcha shelters. Fieldvisits revealed that the quality of shelter varies widely even amongst the semi-pucca shelters.
- 74% of these respondents obtained water through shared water sources in the settlement. 23% had an individual tap inside their rooms. Only 3% reported fetching water from surrounding buildings and government facilities.
- 64% of these respondents were using shared toilet facilities and 20% had individual toilets. 9% were practicing open defecation and 7% were using pay-and-use or public toilets, revealing that not all landlords have provided toilets and if they have, these are so inadequate that it forces the tenants into open defecation or using toilets outside the settlement.
- 95% of the respondents living on rent had access to electricity in their shelters. In about half of these cases, electricity cost was included in the rent.
- Most of the rentals in which the respondents lived were in the range of Rs.1000-3000 rent per month.
- 89% of the single male migrant respondents living in rental rooms / units were sharing a room with other male migrants to make the rent affordable. The room was shared between 2-6 males. 50% of the sharers were paying rent upto Rs.500 per month; 40% were paying Rs.500-1000 as rent; and about 8% were paying more than Rs.1000 per month.

- While affordability of rental rooms came up as an issue in the FGDs with those living in squatter settlements on government/private lands and squatter settlements in public spaces, the survey found many families living in rental rooms. Whereas a detailed study would be required to understand what makes the rooms affordable to them, the survey data does suggest that majority of the families in rental rooms either had at least one skilled member in the household or had more than two earning members – these could be some of the reasons for the rent being affordable to them.

#### **4. Rental spots on lands and building rooftops**

- 12% of the respondents lived in this housing typology, which refers to (i) arrangements in which a landowner or land-occupier takes rent for allowing one to live in the open or build a kutcha shelter on a plot of land; and (ii) arrangements in which migrants stay on the rooftop of a commercial building or warehouse for rent, generally in the open and sometimes by building a kutcha shelter. In some of these instances rent is charged per family and in others it is charged per adult.
- 73% of these respondents had built kutcha shelters while 7% were living in the open in *potla*-type arrangements.
- 54% of the respondents living in this housing typology got water from shared sources within the settlement itself. None had individual taps and the remaining fetched water from surrounding buildings.
- 73% of the respondents living in rental spots practiced open defecation, 15% used shared toilets and 12% used pay-and-use toilets or resorted to a combination of this and open defecation.
- Almost 89% of the respondents living in rental spots did not have access to electricity.
- 58% of these respondents were paying upto Rs.500 per month as rent for the land / rooftop; 23% were paying Rs.501-1000; and 15% were paying Rs.1001-1500. This also suggests that while many migrants cannot afford the rental rooms which cost upwards of Rs.1000, they are able to afford lower rents.

#### **Homeless Shelters**

The key findings from fieldvisits to two homeless shelters used by migrant families are:

- The caretakers allowed the migrants to live as families and did not force the men and women to reside separately in the halls. This seems to have worked well for the migrant families because they were from the same district and most were related to one another through familial ties, resulting in a good level of understanding, trust and cooperation.
- Water was a recurring issue at both shelters. In one shelter municipal water provision was sometimes inadequate, requiring water tankers 4-5 times a month which did not however always come on time. In the other shelter there was inadequate running water since the NGO/caretaker managing the shelter attempted to save on the electricity costs of pumping water from the underground to overhead tank. A conflict over land with a nearby family also resulted in them forcefully filling and using up water from the underground tank several times a month, leaving no water for the migrants who have to purchase water from nearby. There was also no separate potable water provision at the shelters.

- The management of the shelters varied depending on the caretaker's approach. In one shelter the caretaker did not allow the migrants to use the halls in the daytime and switched off the electricity, whereas in the other shelter electricity was available for 24 hours and the caretaker allowed use of the halls in the daytime too. In the former the caretaker did not even allow the migrants to keep their belongings in the shelter during the daytime, forcing them to leave their things at this house for a fee. In this shelter the caretaker also made the migrants clean the halls and toilets/bathrooms while in the latter the caretaker and his wife undertook the cleaning tasks.
- One of the shelters has a large kitchen space which was taken over by the caretaker's family, while the kitchen space in the other shelter was kept locked and in any case was too small. The caretakers allowed the migrant families to cook in the shelters' compounds on *chullahs* but cooking in the open during the rains was not possible.

## **V. Housing costs incurred by migrants living in squatter settlements on government lands and squatter settlements in public spaces**

The following are the key findings from the FGDs:

- The overall housing costs of migrants living in squatter settlements on government lands and in public spaces were explored in the FGDs by discussing the costs the migrants incurred on rebuilding and intermittently repairing their shelters, the bribes they had to pay to an official/goon to allow them to squat on these lands, costs incurred on water and sanitation, costs incurred for lighting up their shelters in the absence of electricity provision, and money spent for re-purchasing belongings lost due to theft (in the absence of secure shelters) or eviction.
- Overall housing costs for most migrant households squatting on government lands varied widely. However, for most the overall annual costs seemed to be in the range of Rs.10000-15000 (about Rs.830-1250 per month) considering that they were spending Rs.5000-10000 a year on rebuilding / intermittent repairs to their shelter and Rs.400 per month on candles/kerosene lamp and recharging their mobile phone at a shop.
- Overall housing costs of the migrant households squatting in public spaces who participated in the FGDs varied depending on what they used the pay-and-use toilets for, the number of household members using the toilet, and also how many months they spent in the city during the year. For households comprising of two adults who were in the city for most of the year (9-11 months), the overall annual costs seemed to be in the range of Rs.6000-13000 (about Rs.500-1100 per month) considering expenses of Rs.1000-2000 a year on making a tent during the monsoon, Rs.1000 per year to re-purchase belongings due to eviction/theft, Rs.300-500 per month on using the pay-and-use toilet, and Rs.100-300 for recharging their mobile phone at a shop.

## **VI. Relationship of Migrant Workers' Housing Location to the Naka**

For the urban poor, the viability of housing is intricately linked to distance and mobility vis-à-vis spaces of development opportunities which includes the naka for migrant naka workers. The distance, mode of transport and transport cost from home to the naka is therefore of significance.

- 38% of the respondents travelled 10 minutes or less to get to the naka while 32% travelled for 11-20 minutes to get to the naka. 22% of the respondents reported travel

time from home to the naka to be between 21 to 30 minutes. Only 8% took more than 30 minutes to reach the naka.

- Walking was found to be the preferred mode of travel from home to the naka for a large majority of the respondents (71%), followed by shared autos (19%).
- 71% did not incur any transport costs from their housing location to the naka; 21% spent Rs.5-10 per person to reach the naka; and only 8% spent more than Rs.10 to reach the naka.
- Migrants who participated in the FGDs explained the importance of living within walking distance to the naka and the importance of contacts developed at the naka in getting regular work. For these reasons most of them were not willing to move to a location far from their current naka or move to another naka even if it meant access to better housing options. Only a few were willing to move a distance from their current naka to live in better housing, either spending on transport to come to the same naka because they felt that it would take too long to establish contacts at another naka or going to a new nearby naka where they hoped to establish contacts soon.

## **VII. Migrants' Perspectives on Housing Affordability and their Housing Preferences**

Focus group discussions (FGDs) carried out with 37 participants across 30 households living in squatter settlements on government lands and squatter settlements in public spaces gave insight into their monthly household incomes in the city (which depended on skills and daily wage levels of earning members; number of earning members; number of days they get work at the naka which varies by season, experience and contacts at the naka; number of months they are in the city during the year), and their views on their housing affordability (percentage of income that one can spend on housing<sup>1</sup>) and their housing preferences. These findings are summarised below:

- Amongst the three short-term migrant households (working/living in the city for 2.5-4 months of the year), whose monthly earnings while in the city were in the range of Rs.10000-16000:
  - One household expressed a preference for ownership housing in a government housing scheme but the economic feasibility of this is questionable.
  - Two households were ready to live on rent, and stated their affordability as being Rs.500 per month during the time they are in the city, which was 4-5% of their monthly income in the city.
- Amongst the 27 longer-term migrant households (working/living in the city for 7 or more months of the year), whose monthly incomes in the city varied widely – mainly from Rs.7000 to Rs.20000:
  - Majority of them expressed a preference for ownership housing and a reluctance to live in rental housing. Many of them, in fact, rejected rental housing. This reluctance / rejection emerged from a feeling that spending money on housing was not desirable unless that expenditure finally resulted in owning the house. The following findings emerged from the discussions:

---

<sup>1</sup> The High Level Task Force on Affordable Housing for All, set up by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, defined housing affordability for EWS/LIG households as involving cost of house as not exceeding four times the household gross income, and EMI/Rent as not exceeding 30% of gross monthly income (MoHUPA 2008). The amount that the FGD participants stated they could afford on a monthly basis for housing was found to contrast with such official definitions.

- The preference for ownership housing was found to be so strong among most of them that 11 of them stated that they were ready to pay an initial amount (down-payment) of Rs.15000-20,000 towards an ownership house; nine of them stated that they were ready to pay an even higher down-payment, upto even Rs.50,000; and five of them stated that they could afford only Rs.5000-10000 as down-payment. Only one household stated that it was not possible for them to pay a down-payment at all.
- The discussions revealed that they would try to raise the money for a down-payment through pawning jewellery, drawing upon their savings, borrowing from relatives or a contractor they work regularly with, and/or taking a loan from a moneylender in their village. However, it was not clear how many could really afford the amounts they had stated. In fact, many of the FGD participants were already in debt in their villages – due to money borrowed for health reasons, marriages, social obligations and farming – which raises questions as to whether the stated ability of many to pay high down-payments towards ownership housing came out of their strong aspiration for this kind of housing or from actual economic viability.
- They gave varying amounts – from Rs.500 to Rs.2500 – as the monthly instalments they would be able to pay towards ownership housing. This represented, for different families, 3-25% of their average monthly income – thus revealing a wide variation in migrants' views on their housing affordability.
- Some of the variations around housing affordability were linked to each participant's specific circumstances and considerations. This included the extent of their links to their villages; whether they sent remittances to the village for farming inputs and maintenance of household members who lived in the village and how large these amounts were; whether they anticipated incurring any large expenses in the near future (such as for a wedding in the family or social obligations); repayment of debt (taken for reasons such as medical treatment, wedding expenses, etc); whether they were women-headed households, and so forth.
- A few of these longer-term migrant families, who were living in the open expressed a preference for ownership housing but also expressed an openness to living in rental housing. They also expressed an openness to living in homeless shelters as long as they were allowed to live in the shelters' halls as families or given family rooms for which they could pay some rent. The monthly rents they felt they would be able to pay varied from Rs.500 to Rs.1000.
- The discussions also raise questions about the relationship between housing affordability and housing preference. Overall, those who were open to rental housing were not necessarily earning lower incomes; and those who expressed a strong preference for ownership housing would not necessarily be able to afford it, especially in the context of current EWS housing programmes which require the beneficiaries to pay high amounts. Although these programmes include access to credit, the down-payment and EMI amounts are still too high for most of these migrants. Overall, the discussions caution us against a purely economic notion of affordability as perceptions of affordability were also tied to the participants' housing preferences.



### **VIII. Migrants' Eligibility for Housing and Basic Services in the City**

- Access to government urban housing programmes and individual basic services in their basti requires city residents to furnish certain documents as proof of their identity and residence in the city. In this context, it is significant that although almost all the 37 FGD participants had a ration card, election card and Aadhar card, 32-33 of them had this for the village and not the city. 26 participants had a bank account in the village, 2 had a bank account in the city, while 9 did not have a bank account at all.
- Only 6 of the participants had the registration booklet from the Gujarat Construction Workers Welfare Board (GCWWB) which is necessary to avail of most of the GCWWB's welfare schemes including its housing subsidy scheme.

### **IX. Migrants' Perspectives on the Social Composition of their Housing Spaces**

- Kin networks and contacts with other migrants from their village / surrounding villages were found to play an important role in housing related decisions of a migrant. In most cases, where a migrant decides to live in the city when he/she first migrates to the city depends on where his/her kin or others from their migration source area are located in the city. Often this also means that a migrant does not make a clear decision about living in a particular housing typology based on his/her affordability, but rather ends up inhabiting a particular typology and incurring certain housing costs because their kin or social contacts from their village live in a particular settlement and have aided them in accessing shelter in the same.
- Most of the migrants in the FGDs were living in the same settlement that they had entered into when they first migrated to the city. Where they had moved to live elsewhere in the city, they had usually moved as a group, along with their kin and/or social contacts from their migration source area.
- Migrants prefer living among kin and/or others from their migration source area because it forms a crucial support system in the city for them, providing them with help in taking care of children, work-related information, monetary help in the face of irregular earnings at the naka, assistance in the event of illness and medical emergency, and a sense of safety.
- Although some of the migrants in the FGDs lived in settlements also inhabited by other migrant communities and/or locals, they had limited interaction from anyone outside their community. In only one settlement, the migrants said that they shared close ties with some of the permanent migrants who were from another community.
- Most of the migrants in the FGDs thought that if the state gives them housing at another location, other members of their community should also be allotted housing at the same location so that they have each other's support.

### **X. Future Directions**

Some possibilities for improving housing for migrant naka workers include:

1. Extension of basic services like water, sanitation and electricity into the squatter settlements where the migrants are currently living. The kind of basic services to be provided may differ in the different settlements depending on their tenure.

- In settlements on AMC or State government lands or private lands, it should be possible to carry out extensive in-situ upgrading, starting with common services such as adequate municipal standposts and public, shared or non-chargeable pay-and-use toilets. Sending water tankers and setting up mobile toilets are also an option, however, these should be seen as a stopgap measure until better water and sanitation infrastructure is built on a priority basis in these settlements.
- In settlements on the land of the Railway authority, the desired step would be for the AMC and/or the State government to open a dialogue with this authority, and along with the communities living on these lands, find appropriate interventions. This could involve in-situ improvements if acceptable to the Railway authority or resettlement preferably at nearby locations but where the migrants are not burdened with the costs of resettlement.
- Where the settlements are in public spaces like roadsides / footpaths and under flyovers, provision of water through tankers is a possibility. These migrants should be linked to nearby pay-and-use toilets through user cards so that they do not have to pay or can pay nominal monthly amounts to access sanitation. The timings of these toilets also need to be set after discussions with the migrants living nearby who desire to use them. Monitoring of the agencies contracted to run these toilets also needs to be improved by the AMC so that the caretakers do not charge the migrants as they please, and the toilets are kept clean and maintained. This might also require the AMC to reconsider the financial model for some of these toilets so that running these toilets are viable for these agencies. In the settlements where there are no nearby pay-and-use toilets, mobile toilets can be placed nearby – this will also require the AMC to better monitor the agencies contracted to maintain these toilets.

2. Linking migrant naka workers to the government's ownership housing programmes, particularly in instances where these workers are in the city for a substantial number of months across all three seasons of the year (summer, monsoon and winter) and in instances where these migrants are living in bastis that cannot be upgraded in-situ easily due to tenure issues (e.g. squatter settlements on the lands of the Railway authority and squatter settlements in public spaces):

- Questions of eligibility will have to be addressed given that most of these migrants do not have documents with their residential address of the city.
- Questions of affordability will have to be addressed. In the current EWS housing programmes under MMGY-PMAY, the beneficiary contribution amounts – including both down-payment and EMI amounts if a housing loan is taken – would have to be looked into since currently these are beyond the capacity of most of these migrants.
- Questions of housing maintenance will have to be addressed as government housing projects often become vertical slums and in absence of proper maintenance can even develop structural problems which can have serious consequences for the residents. Currently, the AMC approaches maintenance issues at EWS housing sites in ad-hoc ways since it considers the residents as being responsible for the maintenance, but residents do not have the wherewithal to undertake certain kinds of necessary repairs.
- The EWS housing sites being currently developed can be used for resettlement of migrants where they are presently threatened with eviction such as the Railway lands. However, the migrants should not be burdened with the costs of resettlement. Housing

locations need to be sensitively identified for resettlement through discussion with the migrants so that their livelihoods are least impacted.

3. Developing Rental housing including Rent-to-Ownership options:

- A National Urban Rental Housing Policy should be finalized and translated into a programme with guidelines, budgetary outlay and specific modalities for providing, managing and financing rental housing, particularly “need-based rental housing” on short/mid/long term basis for migrant labour among other groups.
- The Gujarat Government could take the initiative to develop a State-level Urban Rental Housing Policy and Programme.
- Rentals need to be developed looking at the range of rents that different migrants can afford.
- Institutional structure to manage formal rental housing will have to be addressed
- Questions of land allocation at appropriate locations for rental housing will have to be addressed
- Policy discussion on whether and how to regulate the informal rental housing sector is required

4. Homeless shelters

- The total capacity of the current homeless shelters is inadequate. Building new shelters at appropriate locations and through a consideration of the available budget under SUH.
- The design of the current shelters in Ahmedabad is inappropriate for families. Design of new shelters should include accommodation for families.

5. Role of the Gujarat Construction Workers’ Welfare Board

- A policy discussion involving all the relevant stakeholders is required on whether and how a percentage of the cess can be used to provide decent housing to the migrant naka workers. This could involve collaboration between the ULB / State government and GCWWB to build rental labour colonies.

## 1. Introduction

There is an increasing recognition that seasonal and circular migrants to cities are an important part of the vulnerable urban population and yet continue to be marginalized in urban policy, planning and governance. In Ahmedabad these migrants work in construction, factories, small hotels / restaurants / road-side food and tea stalls, domestic work, head-loading and load-cart-pulling, junk and scrap recycling, and vegetable vending (Aajeevika 2007). There is a need to understand the housing spaces of these migrants, across different occupational groups, as well as the dynamics of policy, planning and governance vis-à-vis their housing and entitlements in the city. This study – which is undertaken for the Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action (PCLRA), a non-government organization working to promote workers' rights in the informal economy, and whose focus in Ahmedabad has been on migrant construction workers – examines the housing of the migrant construction workers who go to the labour nakas to obtain work. It builds and expands on previous studies undertaken for PCLRA on the housing of migrant construction workers (Desai et al 2014; Desai 2017).

Migrant construction workers are of two main types based on their path of migration and recruitment. One type consists of those who migrate as labour gangs from the village to the city through labour recruiters / petty contractors, going directly to construction sites for the duration of the work. These are the **“floating” migrant construction workers**. The work is regular for a few months or more, even few years sometimes. The employer or contractor gives these workers some kind of place to stay for the duration of the work. This is as per the Building and Other Construction Workers Act 1996, although the provisions made by the employers are often inadequate. The other type of migrant construction workers are those who migrate between the village and the city on their own and go to the nakas to search for daily-wage work. We refer to them as **migrant naka workers**.<sup>2</sup> Work obtained from the naka is irregular, with workers getting anywhere between 5-25 days of work in a month depending on season, skill, experience, contacts with contractors who come to the naka to hire labour, and negotiating ability. Naka work also generally involves working at different construction sites over the course of a single month, which makes it difficult to identify an employer who should be responsible for housing them. As a result, migrant naka workers arrange for their own housing in the city, living in various types of informal housing, such as squatter settlements on government and private lands, squatter settlements in public spaces like footpaths/roadsides and under flyovers, and rental arrangements (Desai et al 2014). There are migrant naka workers who are able to establish strong contacts with contractors or builders through the naka over time and sometimes they obtain regular work with them for a duration of time (several days to few weeks to several months) instead of taking daily-wage work with different employers over the month. If the work is at a single construction site for reasonable duration, the naka workers may go to live in employer-

---

<sup>2</sup> A 2009 study estimated that there were about 41,500 workers across Ahmedabad's nakas, and in a survey of 780 workers across 14 nakas found that 60 per cent were seasonal migrants coming to the city to work during seasons other than the monsoon, and 8.6 per cent were long-term migrants who had been working in the city for more than 10 years but were not fully settled in the city and continued to shuttle between their village and the city (BSC 2009). These migrants were found to be from other districts of Gujarat as well as other states like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

provided housing at the site, however, they return to their living spaces in the city and resume going to the naka, unlike the “floating” migrant construction workers who, after work at a site is over, either return to their village from where they were recruited, or go on to work and live at another construction site in the same city or another city.

Previous research has given insights into the conditions and experiences of shelter, basic services and tenure security amongst both types of migrant construction workers in Ahmedabad using a case-study-settlement approach (Desai et al 2014), and has also examined the related policy and governance questions (Desai 2017). It has also explored the dynamics of individual workers’ translocal and multilocal lives and their intersections with urban governance (Desai and Sanghvi forthcoming). This research reveals that although the Building and Other Construction Workers Act requires employers to provide temporary accommodation for workers at construction sites, the provisions made by the employers are often inadequate, partly owing to the lack of clear standards in the Act and its Rules. There are also other legislative, policy and governance gaps which result in inadequate housing by employers for the “floating” migrant construction workers (Desai 2017).

This research also shows that the settlements of the migrant naka workers are generally unrecognized by the state. In cases where the settlements are recognized, the migrants are generally living as tenants, usually through informal rental arrangements where this rental tenure is not recognized by the state. Migrant naka workers and their families therefore face vulnerabilities due to the way the state views their housing spaces and approaches these spaces in policy and governance (Desai 2017). Alongside this, formal housing / shelter being created for the urban poor under recent policies and programmes is not accessible to many migrant workers due to various reasons (Desai 2017). These gaps in policy, planning and governance result in large number of migrant naka workers living in inadequate housing. These gaps are particularly striking in the context of the Government of India’s “Housing for All by 2022” slogan.

While further understanding is required on the housing of both types of migrant construction workers and the related policy and governance questions, this research focuses on expanding knowledge about the housing of migrant naka workers in order to support PCLRA’s efforts to improve their housing situation and inform policy and governance. It builds upon the insights of the previous studies to undertake a more broad-based as well as more in-depth study to understand migrant naka workers’ current housing situation in Ahmedabad, as well as workers’ perspectives around improving their housing conditions. The **objectives** of this research are:

1. To build a broad-based scenario of migrant naka workers’ housing and access to basic services in Ahmedabad.
2. To build a typology of migrant naka workers’ housing in Ahmedabad and better understand the housing conditions in each type, and the related policy and governance questions.
3. To develop an understanding of the experiences and perspectives of migrant naka workers in Ahmedabad vis-à-vis their current housing in the city as well as their perspectives around improving their housing in the future.

The report is organized as follows: Chapter 2 outlines the research methodology for the study. Chapter 3 builds an overall scenario of migrant naka workers' housing and access to basic services in Ahmedabad, and gives some insight into these conditions within the two main migrant household types: family migrants and single male migrants. The chapter also builds a typology of migrant naka workers' housing in the city and discusses the conditions in each housing type and the urban policies, planning and governance dynamics impacting each type. Workers' experiences of their current housing conditions are also discussed for each typology. Chapter 4 discusses the migrants' current housing costs, their housing affordability and housing preferences, the relationship between housing location and the naka which is the primary space through which they access work, their access to government housing programmes and finally their views on the social composition of their current/future housing spaces. Chapter 5 concludes by outlining some potential future directions for policy.

## 2. Research Methodology

The study is based on a questionnaire survey, focus group discussions, fieldvisits, discussions with officials in the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) and the study of relevant official documents and data. The research was carried out between February and June 2018. The study also draws upon prior research carried out on the policy and governance context shaping migrant construction workers' entitlements in Gujarat's cities (see Desai 2017).

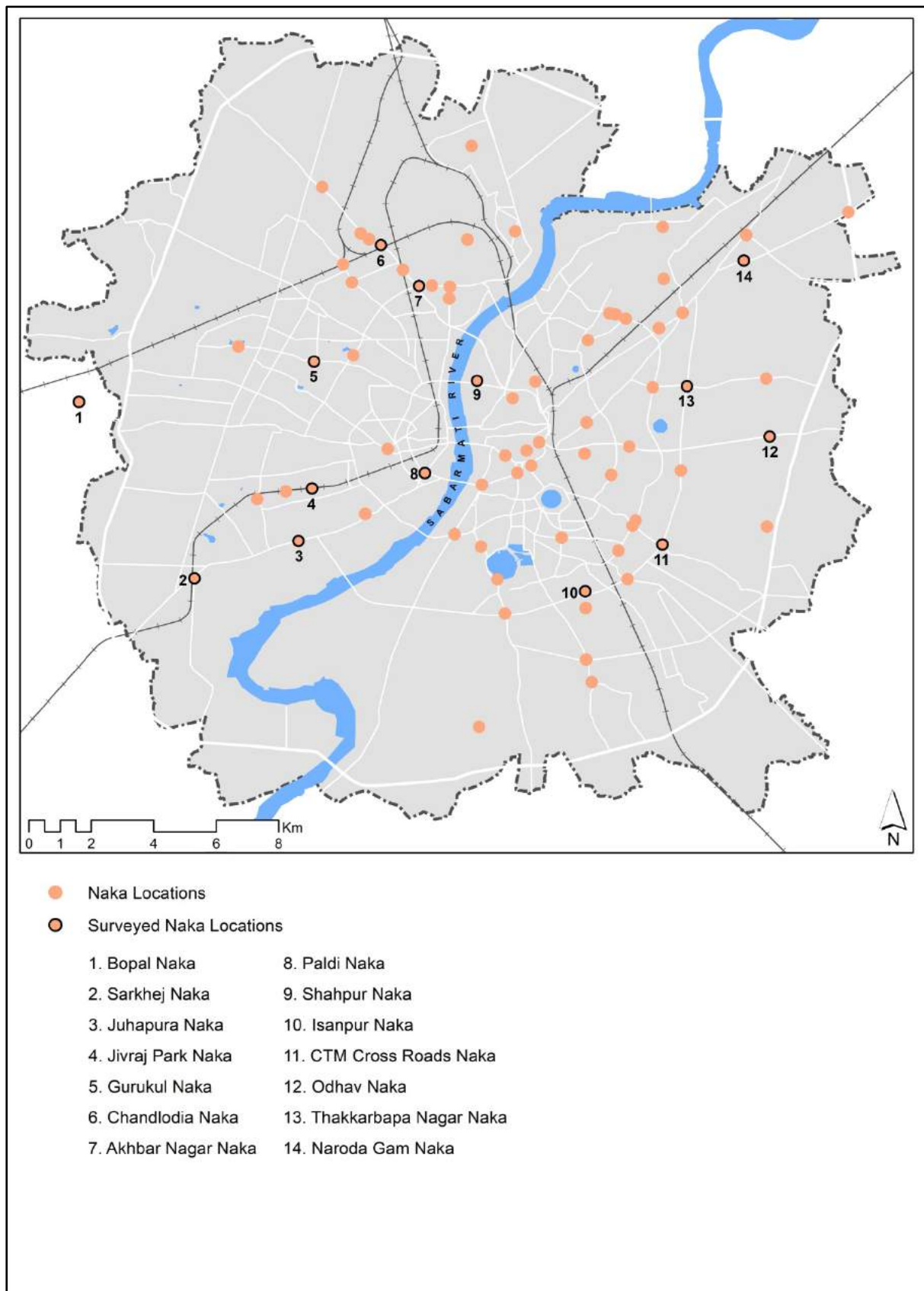
### 2.1. Questionnaire Survey

A questionnaire survey was undertaken at 14 labour nakas, and provides the base for building an overall scenario of migrant naka workers' housing conditions in Ahmedabad. 71 labour nakas were identified in Ahmedabad through secondary sources (Annexure 1), and 14 labour nakas were selected to cover different areas of the city (Map 1). The criteria for selecting the 14 nakas also included discussions with PCLRA regarding which nakas cater to substantial numbers of migrant workers. A total of 224 workers were surveyed, with approximately 20 surveys each at ten nakas and fewer surveys at the remaining four nakas (Table 1).

**Table 1: Naka Survey Locations**

No.	Labour Naka	Number of Respondents
1	Gurukul Naka	20
2	Chandlodia Naka	19
3	Akhbar Nagar Naka	19
4	Paldi Naka	21
5	Jivraj Naka	18
6	Juhapura Naka	19
7	Sarkhej Naka	23
8	Bopal Naka	19
9	Naroda Gaam Naka	17
10	Odhav Naka	17
11	ThakkarBapa Nagar Naka	8
12	CTM Cross-roads Naka	8
13	Isanpur Naka	10
14	Shahpur Naka	6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>224</b>

**Map 1: Naka Survey Locations** (map prepared by Shaurya Patel)





The workers are at the labour naka in the mornings, generally between 7-8 am and 10-11 am, in search of daily wage work from contractors who come to the naka to hire labour. The questionnaire was created based on the qualitative understanding developed through prior research by the authors (Desai et al 2014; Desai and Sanghvi forthcoming) as well as the necessity of keeping the survey with each migrant worker to a maximum of 10 minutes since the workers were engaged in obtaining work at this time. The questionnaire was piloted at one naka and necessary revisions were made. The questionnaire collected data on: (i) basic profile of the migrant respondent, (ii) migrant household and employment details, (iii) duration of migration to the city, (iv) housing typology and characteristics of the settlement such as age, size and social composition; (v) duration of stay in their current shelter; (vi) characteristics of the shelter such as size, quality and monthly rent or informal costs incurred; (vii) level of basic services such as water, sanitation and electricity, and whether costs are incurred on them; (viii) experience and perception of eviction; and (ix) distance to naka and mode and cost of transport to naka (see Annexure 2).

The sampling for the survey at each naka was based on the objective of capturing conditions in different migrant housing typologies in the city. At each naka we therefore tried to survey workers living in different typologies. We also purposively surveyed more unskilled than skilled workers since a larger section of naka workers are unskilled. Finally, since women and children are more vulnerable to health and safety risks emerging out of poor housing conditions, the survey was also conducted to purposively capture more family migrants than single male migrants.

### **2.1.1. Profile of Survey Respondents**

Of the 224 respondents, the majority of respondents (79%) were from the tribal belt of eastern Gujarat (37.1%, from the tribal districts of Dahod, Mahisagar, Panchmahal and Sabarkantha), southern Rajasthan (37%, from the tribal districts of Banswara, Dungarpur, Udaipur and Jalore), and western Madhya Pradesh (4.9%, from the tribal districts of Jhabua and Khargone) (Table 2). A small but still significant percentage of respondents were from various non-tribal districts of Gujarat (10.7%) and Rajasthan (5%). A small percentage of respondents were also from other states like Uttar Pradesh (3.6%).

66% of the respondents were family migrants while 34% were single male migrants (Table 3). 64% of the survey respondents were unskilled (*majoor*) and 36% were skilled (*karigar*). All the skilled workers were men as women are rarely ever seen in the skilled workforce category. Among the family migrant respondents, 67% were unskilled and 33% were skilled whereas among the single male respondents, 58% were unskilled and 42% were skilled (Table 4).

Wages earned by migrant construction workers depends on various factors such as skill level, experience, location of the naka and their negotiating ability. The majority of respondents (58%) earned daily wages in the range of Rs.251-350 and were almost all unskilled. A small proportion of respondents earned in the range of Rs.351-450 per day (7%) and were almost all unskilled. Respondents who earned more than Rs.450 per day comprised 31% of the sample and were all skilled workers, with 16% earning between

Rs.651 and Rs.750 per day. 4% of the respondents earned daily wages of Rs.250 or less, and 3% earned daily wages of more than Rs.750 (Table 5).

**Table 2: Migration Source Area of Respondents**

State	No. of Respondents		District	No. of Respondents	
Gujarat	107	47.8%	Dahod	65	29.0%
			Ahmedabad (outside city)	9	4.0%
			Mahisagar	8	3.6%
			Panchmahal	6	2.7%
			Sabarkantha	4	1.8%
			Kheda	4	1.8%
			Patan	2	0.9%
			Anand	2	0.9%
			Surendranagar	2	0.9%
			Other	5	2.2%
Rajasthan	94	42.0%	Banswara	43	19.2%
			Dungarpur	31	13.8%
			Udaipur	7	3.1%
			Karauli	4	1.8%
			Jalore	2	0.9%
			Pratapgarh	2	0.9%
			Other	2	0.9%
			Not Available	3	1.4%
Madhya Pradesh	13	5.8%	Jhabua	9	4.0%
			Khargone	2	0.9%
			Other	2	0.9%
Uttar Pradesh	8	3.6%	Deoria	2	0.9%
			Other	6	2.7%
Bihar	1	0.4%	Sitamarhi	1	0.4%
Maharashtra	1	0.4%	Jalgaon	1	0.4%
Total	224	100.0%	Total	224	100.0%

**Table 3: Migrant Household Type of Respondents**

Migrant Household Type	No. of Respondents	
Family	147	66%
Single Male	77	34%
Total	224	100%

**Table 4: Skill Level of Respondents**

Skill Level	Total No. of Respondents		No. of Respondents by Migrant Household Type	
			Family	Single Male
Unskilled	144	64%	99* (67%)	45 (58%)
Skilled	80	36%	48 (33%)	32 (42%)
Total	224	100%	147 (100%)	77 (100%)

\* 90 of the unskilled family migrant respondents did not have a skilled worker in their household.

**Table 5: Wages of Respondents**

Daily Wage (in rupees)	Number of Respondents		Nature of Construction Work
151-250	9	4%	Unskilled: masonry, digging, carrying load, centering
251-350	129	58%	Mostly unskilled: masonry, plastering, RCC slabwork, <i>bharai</i> , digging, carrying load, breaking structures ( <i>tod fod</i> ), painting, tiles and stone work  Very few skilled: tile polishing
351-450	16	7%	Mostly unskilled: masonry, plastering, digging, RCC slabwork, centering, polishing, tiles and stone work  Very few skilled: tile polishing
451-550	15	7%	Skilled: masonry, centering, RCC slabwork, tiles and stone work
551-650	12	5%	Skilled: masonry, plastering, tiles and stone work
651-750	35	16%	Skilled: masonry, plastering, RCC slabwork, tiles and stone work, centering, plastering, painting
More than 750	7	3%	Skilled: masonry, RCC slabwork, tiles and stone work
Not Available	1	-	
Total	224	100%	

31% of the respondents had been migrating to Ahmedabad for 5 years or less, 23% for 6-10 years, 16% for 11-15 years, 15% for 16-20 years, and 15% for more than 20 years (Table 6). Looking only at the 205 respondents who were non-permanent migrants (living in the city for 11 months or less during the year), 31% had been migrating to Ahmedabad for 5 years or less, 25% for 6-10 years, 18% for 11-15 years, 13% for 16-20 years, and 13% for more than 20 years (Table 6). It is notable that among the non-permanent migrants, 44% had thus been migrating to Ahmedabad for more than 10 years (Table 6).

**Table 6: Years in Ahmedabad**

Number of Years	No. of Respondents who are Non-Permanent Migrants		No. of Respondents who are Permanent Migrants		Total No. of Respondents	
0-5	65	31%	4	21%	69	31%
6-10	51	25%	2	10%	53	23%
11-15	36	18%	0	-	36	16%
16-20	26	13%	7	37%	33	15%
More than 20	27	13%	6	32%	33	15%
Total	205	100%	19	100%	224	100%

The migration pattern of naka workers from the tribal districts of eastern Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh can be broadly understood in relation to the three agricultural seasons – monsoon, winter and summer – as well as the festivals of Diwali (roughly falling between monsoon and winter) and Holi (roughly falling between winter and summer) for which many go to the village for 15 days to a month. How much time these migrants spend in the city versus the village during each season depends on farming activities, their contribution of labour for agricultural activities, and also marriages which are important social events in the village wherein social obligations must be fulfilled. Of the 224 respondents, 37% were in the city for 10 months or more of the year, 35% for 7-9 months, and 23% for 4-6 months (Table 7). Only 4% of the respondents were in the city for 3 months or less – it is possible that the proportion of migrants who are in the city for such short durations is higher, but does not reflect in the sample since such short-term migrants are less willing to be surveyed by strangers. This sample means that the housing conditions discussed in Chapter 2 are mainly of migrant naka workers who spend 2-3 seasons in the city.

**Table 7: Duration in Ahmedabad during the Year**

Number of Months	No. of Respondents	
1-3 months	10	4%
4-6 months	51	23%
7-9 months	78	35%
10-12 months	83	37%
Not Available	2	1%
Total	224	100%

## 2.2. Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted in order to build a deeper qualitative understanding of migrants' housing conditions, uncover their experiences and perspectives around their current housing in the city, and explore their perspectives around improving their housing. A FGD tool was developed for this purpose (Annexure 3) and inputs were taken from PCLRA before finalizing the tool. The FGD tool, after capturing the profile of the participants, included a conversation about their current housing conditions, related costs and experiences. It then captured the participants' household composition across the village and city (i.e. which household members migrated and which did not), their migration patterns, and the amount of farmland they owned in the village and their farming-related remittances.

The subsequent discussion in the FGD encouraged them to think about their housing affordability and housing preferences and aspirations in the city, and share these views with us. This involved, first, a discussion about how many days of work they get in the city in a month during different seasons (summer, winter, monsoon); they were also encouraged to share variations in work and wages obtained among different members of the household. Each participant was then asked to tell us how much they thought they could afford to pay for housing on a monthly basis, keeping in mind their household's migration patterns, their farming-related remittances and their household's earnings in the city. Following this, we explained the current government housing programmes and future possibilities (around ownership housing, rental housing and homeless shelters) to the FGD participants, inviting their thoughts on these. In-situ upgrading was discussed in terms of its viability for the particular basti(s) from where the participants for each FGD had come. The participants' housing preferences and aspirations emerged from this discussion, which was further interlinked with questions about their perspective on the link between their current/future housing location and naka location, as well as their perspectives and preferences with respect to the social composition of their current/future housing spaces. Finally, the FGD captured data about the documents that the participants had for the city, and which are necessary to access government schemes, particularly housing schemes, in the city.

This level of in-depth discussion required participants who would be willing to forgo their day's work and spend 4-5 hours for the FGD. As a result we decided to recruit participants from the bastis where PCLRA has been working on labour-related issues and urban issues regarding identity, access to education and health, and basic services and tenure security. The FGDs were organized at PCLRA's office to provide a comfortable space for such a long discussion as well as ensure that the participants' committed to stay for the entire duration of the discussion (Figure 1 & 2). Six FGDs were conducted which included a total of 37 residents (members from 30 households) from 8 bastis (see Table 8). The FGDs covered two different housing typologies:

1. Squatter settlements on government lands.
2. Squatter settlements in public spaces, by which we refer to communities living in the open, generally without any shelter, on roadsides / footpaths and under flyovers.

**Table 8: Focus Group Discussions**

FGD	Housing Typology	Name of Basti	No. of Participants
1	Squatter settlement on government land (Railway land)	Sundarvan Basti, Ranip	6
		Amul Garden Basti, Ranip	2
2	Squatter settlement on government land (Railway land)	Arjun Ashram Basti, Ranip	6
		Niranaynagar, Ranip	2
3	Squatter settlement on government land (State govt. land)	Sewage Basti, Juhapura	9
4	Squatter settlement on government land (reported as municipal land)	Baraf ni Factory, Juhapura	3
5	Squatter settlement on government land, spilling into public space (roadside)	Basti opp. Paragi Flats, Vasna	2
6	Squatter settlement on government land, spilling into public space (roadside)	Basti opp. Paragi Flats, Vasna	3
	Squatter settlement in public spaces (roadside and footpath)	Basti opp. Jivraj Hospital, Vasna	4
Total			37

**Figure 1: Focus Group Discussion**



**Figure 2: Focus Group Discussion**



Two other important typologies in which migrant naka workers live are rental rooms and what we call “rental spots on lands and building rooftops,” the latter being where they pay rent to a landowner or land-occupier to live on the land/rooftop, either in the open or by erecting a *kutchra* shelter. FGDs were not carried out in these typologies because PCLRA’s work does not include migrants living in these typologies which meant that considerable time would have had to be spent in building the rapport required to persuade them to come to PCLRA’s office for FGDs, which the research timeline did not allow for. However, other research methods were used to build a qualitative understanding of migrants’ housing in these two typologies, albeit in lesser depth than in the FGDs (see below section on Fieldvisits).

### **2.2.1. Profile of FGD Participants**

Of the 37 FGD participants from 8 bastis, 33 were migrants who were from either Dahod district of Gujarat or Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh while four were locals who had come to the FGD along with their migrant neighbours to discuss their shared housing conditions in the basti. 30 participants were unskilled construction workers; 6 were skilled construction workers; and 1 was a sanitation worker. The unskilled workers were involved in activities like carrying construction material, digging, disposing construction waste and/or assisting the skilled workers in masonry, plastering or RCC slab work. Two of the unskilled workers had been involved in vegetable vending in the past and stated that in the future they might return to this occupation. The skilled workers were employed in masonry, plastering and RCC slabwork. The unskilled workers reported getting daily wages of Rs.300-400 while the skilled workers reported getting Rs.700-800. Two of the skilled workers also reported that they are not very experienced and do not yet have strong contacts at the naka due to which they also sometimes take up unskilled work.

All the migrants were families, either couples, couples with children, or without spouse but with adult working children. An almost equal number of men (18) and women (19) participated in the FGDs which was useful in capturing gender related issues, particularly

around safety and access to sanitation. In some of the FGDs, the women were accompanied by their husbands and in others they came by themselves.

Significantly, 25 of the 37 participants had been living in / migrating to Ahmedabad since more than 10 years. Overall, 3 FGD participants had been living in their current basti for five years or less, 9 participants since 6-10 years, 9 participants since 11-15 years, 7 participants since 16-20 years, and 9 participants since more than 20 years (Table 9). Many were second generation migrants to Ahmedabad. It is also significant that 24 of the 37 participants were living in their current basti since more than 10 years. Overall, 3 participants had been living in their current basti for five years or less, 10 participants since 6-10 years, 11 participants since 11-15 years, 7 participants since 16-20 years, and 6 participants since more than 15 years (see Table 10). As the discussion in Chapter 3 shows, in spite of living and working in the city for such a long time, and even living in the same basti for long, their housing conditions and access to basic services are poor.

**Table 9: Years in Ahmedabad**

<b>Number of Years in the City</b>	<b>No. of Participants</b>
Upto 5	3
6-10	9
11-15	9
16-20	7
More than 20	9
Total	37

**Table 10: Years in Current Basti**

<b>Number of Years in Current Shelter</b>	<b>No. of Participants</b>
Upto 5	3
6-10	10
11-15	11
16-20	7
More than 20	6
Total	37

**Table 11: Duration in Ahmedabad during the Year**

<b>Number of Months</b>	<b>No. of Participants</b>
0-2	3
3-5	6
6-8	5
9-11	16
12 (permanent migrants)	7
Total	37



In terms of the duration in the city during the year, 16 participants spent 9-11 months of the year in the city, 5 participants spent 6-8 months in the city, and 6 participants spent 3-5 months (Table 11). Only 3 of them spent two months or less in the city. 7 participants were permanent migrants, that is, they spent almost all 12 months of the year in the city, visiting the village only for a few days now and again to attend social obligations. This migration pattern in terms of number of months spent in the city versus the time they are in the village for agricultural, social or personal reasons is important to note as it has implications for their present and future decisions around housing in the city.

### **2.3. Fieldvisits**

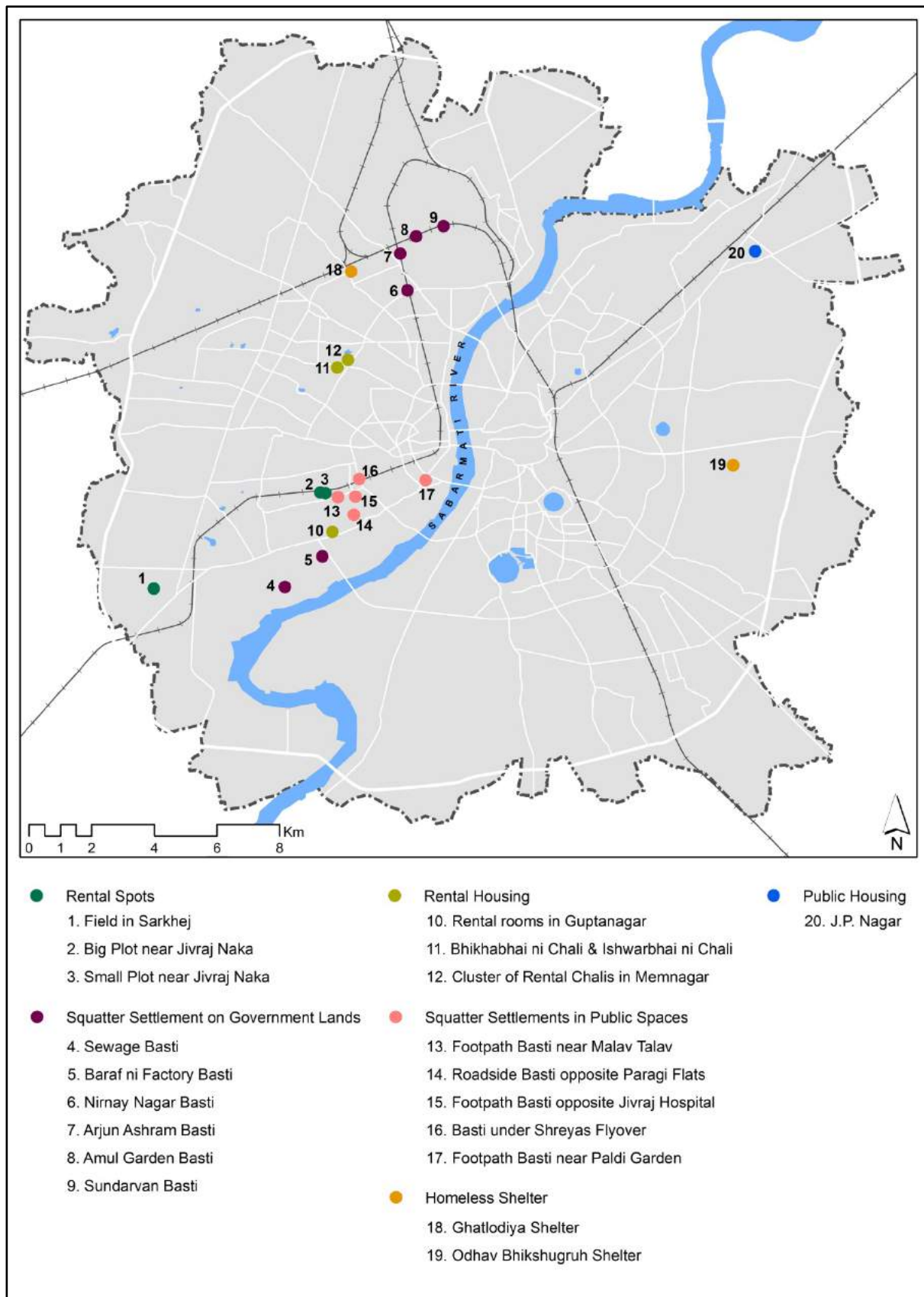
Fieldvisits to migrant naka workers' settlements are important for building a qualitative understanding of migrant naka workers' housing. This report is based on fieldvisits to a total of 20 housing locations of migrant naka workers (Map 2).

This includes fieldvisits to the 8 bastis, covering two housing typologies – squatter settlements on government lands and squatter settlements in public spaces – from which the FGD participants came in order to better understand the housing conditions and experiences they had shared during the FGD. The report also draws upon fieldvisits to 3 other squatter settlements in public spaces: this includes exploratory fieldvisits to two roadside bastis (one inhabited solely by single male migrants and another predominantly by migrant families); and a fieldvisit to a basti under a flyover (inhabited by migrant families and single males) during prior research in 2014 and 2016 (Desai et al 2014; Desai and Sanghvi, forthcoming).

“Rental spots on lands and building rooftops” emerged as a major housing typology from the questionnaire survey, however, since FGDs could not be organized with such basti residents given the study's time constraints and lack of any prior relationship with these kind of bastis, fieldvisits were made to three bastis identified from the survey. This included two adjacent bastis in Vasna, a relatively central area of the city, and one basti in Sarkhej on the urban periphery. Two tools were developed to guide the fieldvisit. The first tool was a “settlement profile” to capture the size of the settlement, shelter quality, rents, basic services, and issues faced (Annexure 4). The second tool was a “migrant profile” to be used with 2-4 migrants in each basti to try and capture their duration in the city, migration pattern, household characteristics, duration in this housing location and how they came to come to live at this location, previous places of residence in the city and reasons for moving from there, income in the city, and kin relations in the basti (Annexure 5).

Two fieldvisits were made to Jay Prakash Nagar (JP Nagar), a BSUP housing site where about 40 migrant families were resettled in mid-2016 after they were displaced under the Metro project from a squatter settlement on government land. This entailed a shift from the Juhapura naka to the Naroda naka for work. This is the first time that seasonal migrants have been given resettlement housing in Ahmedabad. A structured FGD was carried out with 8 residents (5 men and 3 women) and semi-structured conversations were carried out with 4 other residents (2 men and 2 women) to understand their housing conditions, household composition, migration patterns and livelihood, including the changes after resettlement.

**Map 2: Location of Fieldvisits (map prepared by Shaurya Patel)**



There are about 45 homeless shelters in Ahmedabad. Although the questionnaire survey did not capture any migrants living in them, discussions with PCLRA revealed that some of the shelters were used by migrant naka workers, including families. Since the shelters pose a challenge for use by families because of their separate halls for men and women, fieldvisits were made to a homeless shelter in Odhav (behind Bhikshugruh) and another in Ghatlodia which are inhabited by migrant families. A tool was developed on the basis of which we had an informal conversation with the shelter's caretaker; conducted a rapid survey of the migrant households living at the shelter to understand various aspects related to their household, migration, income in the city, and housing; and carried out informal conversations with them about their experiences of living at the shelter (Annexure 6).

**Figure 3: Discussion with migrants at the Ghatlodia homeless shelter**



The study's time constraints did not allow for any fieldvisits to rental rooms, a major type of housing inhabited by migrants. However, this report draws upon fieldvisits made to one rental *chali* (cluster of rental rooms) and two clusters of rental *chalis* during prior research in 2014, 2016 and 2017 (Desai 2017; Desai et al 2014; Desai and Sanghvi, forthcoming).

#### **2.4. Discussions with Government Officials and Secondary Data Collection**

Many migrant naka workers and their families were found to use pay-and-use toilets or mobile toilets at the nakas or near their bastis, while many others were found to live near these toilets but did not use them. In order to understand these toilets from a policy and governance perspective, discussions were carried out with officials in the AMC's Health, Engineering and Central Workshop departments to understand the pay-and-use toilet scheme and the mobile toilet scheme and the management of these toilets. Data on these toilets in West Zone and New West Zone, and official documents pertaining to these schemes were also collected and studied. Discussions were carried out with officials in the AMC's two housing departments – Housing Project and Housing Cell – and relevant documents collected on the current EWS housing schemes in order to understand their relevance for migrant naka workers. Discussions were also carried out with officials in the AMC's Urban Community Development department and relevant documents collected to take stock of the current status of homeless shelters and the Shelter for the Urban Homeless (SUH) scheme in Ahmedabad.

### 3. Scenario of Migrant Naka Workers' Housing in Ahmedabad

This chapter builds a scenario of migrant naka workers' housing conditions in Ahmedabad based on a questionnaire survey with 224 naka workers across 14 nakas in the city (See Table 1 and Map 1) and qualitative research through focus group discussions and fieldvisits. The first section gives an overall scenario of these conditions. The subsequent section develops a typology of migrant naka workers' housing in Ahmedabad, discusses the conditions in each housing type, and briefly outlines the dynamics of urban policies, planning and governance impacting each housing type.

#### 3.1. Housing Conditions: Shelter Quality, Basic Services and Tenure Security

Migrant naka workers in Ahmedabad live in varying levels of shelter quality, and have varying levels of access to basic services and tenure security. 32% lived in kutcha shelters and an equal percentage lived in semi-pucca shelters (Table 12). FGDs and fieldvisits revealed that kutcha shelters were put together using plastic, cloth, wood and bamboo sticks. Wood was used as columns, the roof out of bamboo sticks covered with plastic, and the walls also made of plastic, cloth or other such material. These shelters are vulnerable to damage from harsh weather conditions in summer and monsoon, termites and rodents that eat away at the wooden columns, and stray animals that enter the shelters and damage it. They are required to be rebuilt at least once a year and sometimes more (see section 4.1).

Semi-pucca shelters are relatively less vulnerable and made of brick walls, sometimes RCC columns, and a tin-sheet roof. The heating up of the inside space in the summers due to the tin-sheet roofs is a major issue. Significantly, a larger proportion of family migrant respondents were living in kutcha shelters (43%) compared to single male migrants (12%) and a greater proportion of single male migrants were found to be living in semi-pucca shelters (45%) compared to family migrants (25%). This can be attributed to a greater proportion of the single male migrant respondents living in rental chalis (many of which have semi-pucca rooms) than family migrant respondents (see Table 17) – this could be because family migrants are less likely to be able to afford these rents since they cannot split the rent amongst many earners like groups of single male migrants do.

**Table 12: Quality of Shelter**

Shelter Quality	Total No. of Respondents		No. of Respondents by Migrant Household Type	
			Family	Single Male
<i>Potla</i>	43	19%	21 (14%)	22 (29%)
Kutcha	72	32%	63 (43%)	9 (12%)
Semi-pucca	72	32%	37 (25%)	35 (45%)
Pucca	37	17%	26 (18%)	11 (14%)
Total	224	100%	147 (100%)	77 (100%)

19% of the respondents lived in the open without any form of shelter, tying up their belongings in a bundle (*potla*) every morning before going to work (Table 12). Migrants who live in such arrangements occupy public spaces such as land under flyovers, on footpaths

and roadsides, and on shop verandahs, as well as squatter settlements on narrow strips of land belonging to the Railway authority next to the railway tracks. A larger proportion of single males were found to be living in *potla-type* arrangements (29%) than family migrants (14%). However, this finding should be interpreted cautiously since many of the respondents at the Paldi naka were single males and lived in *potla-type* arrangements on nearby roadsides and footpaths – it is possible that a larger survey of only *potla-type* shelters in the city would reveal many more family migrants. FGDs and fieldvisits revealed that those who lived in these *potla-type* arrangements on roadsides and footpaths were vulnerable to extreme weather conditions and in some cases to theft of belongings and damage to them by stray animals.

17% of the respondents lived in pucca shelters (brick walls, sometimes RCC columns, and a RCC roof) (Table 12). This included shelters in better quality rental chalis, rental rooms in houses in formal/semi-formal housing societies and public housing (on rent or in their own house). An almost equal proportion of single males (14%) and family migrants (18%) lived in pucca shelters.

50% of the respondents filled water from shared water sources in their settlement (Table 13). This could be a common tap provided by the municipal authority, or a bore-well (run by a motor or operated with a hand-pump) provided either by the migrants by pooling money or by a landlord in case of rentals. In a few cases where migrants lived in employer-provided accommodation, the employer called a water tanker into the settlement. 38% of the respondents filled water from outside their settlement, relying on surrounding buildings and government facilities. A few respondents who fill water from a shared water source in the settlement reported that sometimes they also have to fill water from surrounding buildings. 12% of the respondents had an individual tap. There was not a major difference between family migrants and single male migrants with regard to source of water.

**Table 13: Source of Water**

Water Source	Total No. of Respondents		No. of Respondents by Migrant Household Type	
			Family	Single Male
Shared water source(s) in settlement (common municipal tap, borewell with handpump or motor)	111	50%	67 (46%)	44 (57%)
Surrounding buildings (residential, commercial, industrial, temple, school)	77	34%	53 (36%)	24 (31%)
Individual tap (municipal connection or supplied through borewell)	28	12%	20 (13%)	8 (11%)
Surrounding government facilities (water distribution station, sewage treatment plant, police chowky, homeless shelter)	8	4%	7 (5%)	1(1%)
Total	224	100%	147 (100%)	77 (100%)

Most of the respondents reported that they did not spend money on purchasing water. This was also the case with most of the FGD participants who obtained water from surrounding buildings or government facilities but they also described how obtaining water was a time-consuming process and often filled with uncertainty. Access to toilets is a key concern for migrants. 38% of the respondents reported using shared toilets provided for them, 34% reported practicing open defecation, and 16% reported using pay-and-use toilets (Table 14). This use of pay-and-use toilets is likely to be due to number of reasons: lack of toilets in some settlements, inadequate toilets in others, and perhaps also lack of space nearby that can be safely used for open defecation. While the municipal scheme for pay-and-use toilet blocks in the city includes the possibility of instructing the private organization contracted with O&M to not charge for use,<sup>3</sup> and AMC has also made the use of certain pay-and-use toilets free,<sup>4</sup> almost all the survey respondents, FGD participants and migrants we met during fieldvisits who were using pay-and-use toilets said they were incurring costs. Moreover, in most cases they reported paying more than the AMC-specified charges, such as Rs.5 instead of Rs.3 for toilet use and Rs.10 instead of Rs.5 for bathing, and also Rs.5 for washing one pair of clothes. This made daily sanitation access an expensive affair. For a migrant unskilled couple getting 20 days of work in the month, a minimum of 6-8% of their monthly earnings would be spent on sanitation if they have to use a pay-and-use toilet.

11% of the respondents had an individual toilet and hardly any of the respondents used public toilets. The comparison of toilet access between family migrants and single male migrants is noteworthy. 42% of all family migrant respondents practised open defecation as compared to 18% of the single male respondents; while 30% of the single male respondents used pay-and-use toilets versus only 9% of family migrant respondents.

**Table 14: Access to Toilets**

Type of Toilet Use	Total No. of Respondents		No. of Respondents by Migrant Household Type	
			Family	Single Male
Shared toilet	85	38%	51 (35%)	34 (44%)
Open defecation	75	34%	61 (42%)	14 (18%)
Pay & Use toilet*	37	16%	14 (9%)	23 (30%)
Individual toilet	24	11%	19 (13%)	5 (7%)
Public toilet	3	1%	2 (1%)	1 (1%)
Total	224	100%	147 (100%)	77 (100%)

\* 5 of the respondents using pay-and-use toilets also reported resorting to open defecation sometimes.

The proportion of respondents with access to electricity in the shelter was marginally higher than those without access. Almost all who had electricity access were living in rentals. A greater proportion of single male migrants (62%) compared to family migrants had access to electricity (52%) (Table 15).

<sup>3</sup> Circular no. 75 dated 19.2.2014 from the Municipal Commissioner's Central Office based on AMC's Standing Committee resolution no. 1441 dated 23.11.2013 about "Pay-and-use Toilet Blocks."

<sup>4</sup> Data collected in June 2018 from AMC West Zone and New West Zone offices of the chargeable and free pay-and-use toilets in their wards.

**Table 15: Access to Electricity**

Access to Electricity	Total No. of Respondents		No. of Respondents by Migrant Household Type	
			Family	Single Male
Yes	124	55%	76 (52%)	48 (62%)
No	100	45%	71 (48%)	29 (38%)
Total	224	100%	147 (100%)	77 (100%)

Tenure security is a central issue for migrants given that they are generally without any identity for the city and thus an unrecognized group in the city. The survey revealed that 13% of the respondents had faced eviction, either in their current housing location or a previous housing location, while 29% of the respondents currently perceived a threat of eviction (Table 16).

**Table 16: Experience and Perception of Eviction**

Eviction	No. of Respondents	
Has experienced eviction in current or previous housing location		
Yes	28	13%
No	196	87%
Total	224	100%
Perceives threat of eviction currently		
Yes	66	29%
No	158	71%
Total	224	100%

FGDs and interactions during the fieldvisits gave more insights into tenure security of the migrant naka workers. Some of the squatter settlements on Railway lands were found to be susceptible to frequent evictions since the Railway authority did not want pucca structures to come up on their lands. This was the case with Arjun Ashram Basti which has seen eviction almost every year since some time, while Sundarvan Basti and Amul Garden Basti have faced eviction once in recent years. Migrants who live in squatter settlements in public spaces also face frequent harassment from the state that looks upon settlements on the road as eyesores. FGD participants from one footpath basti (opposite Jivraj hospital) stated that the municipal authority took away their belongings, forcing them to move away temporarily, every time a VIP comes to the area. They also face harassment due to nearby middle-class residential societies who complain against them to the municipal authority. This was the case with the Basti opposite Paragi flats in Vasna. The migrants who live in rental arrangements, either in chalis or on a rental spot of land, do not face as frequent evictions as some of those living in squatter settlements on government/private lands or squatter settlements in public spaces. However, during the survey and in fieldvisits they reported that the landlord could ask them to leave anytime if they are unable to pay rent or if the landlord wants to improve the rooms a bit and increase the rent. Many did not perceive this as eviction, feeling that the landlord had the right to do so. A group of migrants who live on rental spots on land in Sarkhej explained that they may not be able to live here

for much longer since a town planning scheme had recently begun to be implemented in the area and this might result in the landowner not allowing them to occupy that land.

### 3.2. Housing Typologies and Conditions

Migrant naka workers live in four main housing typologies in Ahmedabad (Table 13). 18% of the survey respondents lived in squatter settlements on government and private lands, generally by building kutcha shelters. 14% lived in squatter settlements in public spaces – these bastis are under flyovers, on roadsides and footpaths, and on shop verandahs. 48% of the survey respondents were living in rental rooms in various kinds of settlements such as rooms in rental chalis (which are clusters of rooms informally developed by landlords), rooms given for rent in a landlord’s house in a formal or semi-formal housing society, rental rooms on farmlands on the city periphery, flats in public housing taken on rent, and in rare cases rented flats in private housing. 12% of the survey respondents were found to be living on what we call “rental spots on lands and building rooftops.” This refers to (i) arrangements in which a landowner or land-occupier takes rent for allowing one to live in the open or build a kutcha shelter on a plot of land; and (ii) arrangements in which migrants stay on the rooftop of a commercial building or warehouse for rent, generally in the open but sometimes by building a kutcha shelter. In some of these instances rent is charged per family and in others it is charged per adult.

**Table 17: Housing Typologies**

Housing Typology	Total No. of Respondents		No. of Respondents by Migrant Household Type	
			Family	Single Male
Rental rooms / units	108	48%	63 (42.9%)	45 (58.5%)
Squatter Settlements on Government and Private lands	41	18%	38 (25.9%)	3 (4%)
Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces	30	14%	13 (8.8%)	17 (22%)
Rental Spots on Lands and Building Rooftops	26	12%	23 (15.6%)	3 (4%)
Other (relatives, employer-provided housing, resettlement housing, etc)	19	8%	10 (6.8%)	9 (11.5%)
Total	224	100%	147 (100%)	77 (100%)

A relatively small number of the respondents (8%) were also found to live in other housing arrangements like living with relatives, in employer-provided housing, and state-provided resettlement housing. In case of respondents living in employer-provided housing, some were regularly working at the employer’s construction site but came to the naka when they were not needed or on holidays while some were no longer working at the employer’s site but due to good relations with the employer continued to be able to live in housing provided by him.

One observation from prior research is worth mentioning here, which is that some of these housing typologies are also inhabited by migrant construction workers who are not naka workers but are “floating” migrant construction workers. Their employers sometimes



accommodate them in informal rental rooms by paying the rent, or on government / private lands giving them some basic materials to erect their shelters. It is possible that some employers have also simply encouraged their workers to squat in public spaces, shirking away entirely from their responsibility to provide them with housing.

The below sub-sections discuss each of the four main housing typologies based on the survey data as well as the FGDs and fieldvisits. This gives insights into the scale of the conditions of basic services to be found in each typology as well as the qualitative experiences faced by the migrants. Although none of the survey respondents were found to be living in homeless shelters, since communities of migrant naka workers live in some of the shelters, homeless shelters are also discussed based on fieldvisits.

### 3.2.1. Squatter Settlements on Government and Private Lands

85% of the respondents living in squatter settlements on government and private lands were living in kutcha shelters while 15% of the respondents – especially those living on narrow strips of land belonging to the Railway authority – were living in the open, tying their belongings into a bundle (*potla*) everyday (Table 18). The FGD participants from the five squatter settlements on government lands were all living in kutcha shelters. They reported that these shelters, constructed from plastic, cloth, wood and bamboo sticks, had to be rebuilt at least once a year (Figures 4 & 5). This was generally after the monsoon during which there is waterlogging in many of the settlements and even inside the hut in case of heavy rain or if the floor of the hut is not adequately raised. The wooden columns rot away, and sometimes the hut is blown away in case of strong wind and rain. Moreover, the plastic tears easily in the summers because of the heat and has to be replaced before the monsoons. The wood and bamboo also have to be replaced at other times if there is damage by termites or by mice who dig up the earth around the columns, thereby weakening the structure (also see section 4.1).

In heavy rain, the shelters offer little protection to belongings like blankets, flour etc. which become wet and unusable and may have to be thrown away. FGD participants from Baraf ni Factory Basti reported that when there is very heavy rain it results in 1-2 feet of waterlogging inside the hut, and then they have to find shelter on shop verandahs. FGD participants living across the five squatter settlements on government lands reported that during the rains they often cannot cook due to waterlogging or damp firewood, and have to sleep hungry or purchase food from outside.

**Table 18: Quality of Shelter in Squatter Settlements on Government and Private Lands**

Shelter Quality	No. of Respondents	
<i>Potla</i>	6	15%
Kutcha	35	85%
Semi-pucca	-	-
Pucca	-	-
Total	41	100%

**Figure 4: Kutcha Shelters in Sewage Basti**



**Figure 5: Kutcha Shelter in Nirnaynagar**



The survey as well as the FGDs and fieldvisits revealed that migrant naka workers living in squatter settlements on government / private lands generally lack municipal water provision. None of the survey respondents living in these squatter settlements had access to an individual tap (Table 19). Access to shared water sources in the settlement was found among 19% of the respondents; while there were some cases of access to common

municipal taps, most accessed borewells dug by the residents or an informal water supplier. The remaining 81% of respondents filled water from outside their basti, from surrounding buildings and government facilities (Table 19).

**Table 19: Source of Water in Squatter Settlements on Government and Private Lands**

Water Source	No. of Respondents	
Surrounding buildings (residential, commercial, industrial, temples, school)	29	71%
Shared water source(s) in basti (common municipal tap, borewell with handpump or motor)	8	19%
Surrounding government facilities (water distribution station, sewage treatment plant, police chowky)	4	10%
Individual tap	-	-
Total	41	100%

The FGDs with participants from five squatter settlements on government lands revealed that only one of the settlements (Sundarvan Basti) had common municipal taps, but these were very few in number and were accessible to only the permanent migrants and locals and not to the seasonal migrants. It was found that in four of the five settlements, one or two members from each migrant family wake up at an early hour, around 5 am, and set out to look for water. The majority obtain a few cans of water through informal arrangements with security guards / caretakers at government facilities like a water distribution station (Sundarvan Basti and Amul Garden Basti), sewage treatment plant (Sewage Basti) or police chowky (Nirnaynagar) as well as with residents / owners of nearby residential and commercial complexes. Water is available for only a few hours every morning and at some places in the evening too, and often involve long queues. Some of the settlements are also at a considerable distance from these water sources which makes water collection a time-consuming process. While permanent migrants and locals live in some of these settlements and face these water issues as well, whereas pedal rickshaws are found among some of them making it possible to carry several cans of water in a single trip, this is not the case among the seasonal migrants who generally walk, making multiple rounds in order to fetch sufficient water for bathing, washing, drinking and cooking. Some walk with cycles on which they can hang 2-4 cans of water.

Majority of the migrants do not have to pay to get water from surrounding buildings and government facilities, but establishing informal arrangements to get water is not an easy process and does not guarantee reliable access to water. FGD participants mentioned that residents of residential localities turn them away on some days. Informal arrangements may also involve conditions by the owner of the water source. For instance, migrant families living at the Baraf ni Factory Basti in Juhapura are able to fill water twice a day from a tap belonging to a nearby tea-shop (Figure 6) but this involves an agreement with the shopowner that they will purchase tea and snacks from him. Sometimes conflicts erupt at the water collection sources. For instance, FGD participants from Amul Garden Basti explained that at the water distribution station from where they fill water, if somebody fills more than two cans of water at a time this can result in fights. In fact, the fights had recently led the caretaker to stop allowing anyone to fill water from there. He allowed only

one migrant family to continue to fill water from there as the male migrant had obtained his goodwill by regularly sweeping the area around the water tap.

In some squatter settlements like Sewage Basti, 15-20 migrant families had organized 24-hour water access for themselves by pooling money (approx. Rs.700 each) to dig a shallow bore-well and install a handpump (Figure 7). New migrants to the settlement who were related to these families were allowed to fill water from the handpump despite not having contributed any money towards its installation. The FGD participants from this basti reported that the handpump broke down every few years, requiring them to invest in a new bore-well and handpump until which time they turn to the nearby sewage treatment plant for water like many of the other migrants (Figure 8).

**Table 20: Access to Toilets in Squatter Settlements on Government and Private Lands**

Type of Toilet Use	No. of Respondents	
Open defecation	33	81%
Shared toilet	3	7%
Pay-and-use toilet / Pay-and-use toilet + Open defecation	3	7%
Public toilet	2	5%
Total	41	100%

81% of survey respondents living in these squatter settlements practiced open defecation (Table 20). FGD participants from four squatter settlements on government land said they practised open defecation. Some of the women from Sundarvan Basti reported that it was getting increasingly difficult to do so because of the construction of multi-storey buildings along the railway tracks used for defecation. Over the past one year, AMC has placed one or more mobile toilets at three of these settlements, including Sundarvan Basti, but none of the FGD participants were using them, for which they pointed to one or more of the following reasons: inadequate number of toilets, distance from their hut, lack of cleanliness, and/or not having water.<sup>5</sup> As per the AMC's mobile toilet scheme, the toilets have been contracted out to a private organization for management, which involves assigning one caretaker for each toilet who is responsible for maintenance and cleanliness.<sup>6</sup> The AMC is to send water tankers to regularly fill the toilet's watertank and make provisions for the regular emptying of the sewage tank. It is not clear if these scheme provisions are being properly followed to ensure adequate cleanliness and water.

<sup>5</sup> Open defecation is commonly practiced in the villages and some male FGD participants said that they feel more comfortable relieving themselves in the open than using a toilet. This view seems to stem partly from their experiences of the toilets constructed in their villages under the Swachh Bharat Mission. Some participants said that many of these toilets were too small, with one participant remarking that in their village even a vessel would not fit inside the miniscule toilets that were entirely built using just two bags of cement. As a result, they continue to practice open defecation in their villages.

<sup>6</sup> Discussion with Mr. Vijay Mistry, Joint Director (Mechanical), Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, on June 11, 2018.



**Figure 6 (left): Tap outside a tea-shop from which Baraf ni Factory Basti residents fill water**  
**Figure 7 (right): Handpump installed by some migrants in Sewage Basti**



**Figure 8: Migrants queuing for water at the sewage treatment plant near Sewage Basti**



**Figure 9: Mobile toilets (right) and Public toilet (left) near Baraf ni Factory Basti**



**Figure 10 (left): Mobile toilet at Baraf ni Factory Basti with washbasin without a drain-pipe**  
**Figure 11 (right): Public toilet at Baraf ni Factory Basti with a small open tank of water**



**Figure 12: Bathing enclosure in Sewage Basti**



**Figure 13: Bathing enclosure in Amul Garden Basti**



At Baraf ni Factory Basti, the FGD participants and the residents we met during the fieldvisit said they had stopped practising open defecation since a year or two due to the construction of a transport depot on the land used for open defecation and the construction of a public toilet and placement of four mobile toilets at the edge of the basti (Figure 9). The queues outside the public toilets in the morning are long and residents reported having to wait 15-30 minutes for their turn. During our late afternoon fieldvisit, only one caretaker was found for all the four mobile toilets, and he explained that the caretakers of the other three toilets had left earlier in the day. The washbasins of the toilets had water but there was no pipe to drain the water from the basin, making it unusable as the water after washing one's hands would fall on one's feet (Figure 10). The caretaker explained that he had temporarily removed the pipes to prevent their theft, and that he attaches them during the mornings. These practices of management raise questions about how conducive the mobile toilets are for use. Women expressed a preference to use the public toilet because although there is no washbasin, water is always available in the tank outside them and there is some modicum of privacy afforded by its placement unlike the mobile toilets (see Figures 9 & 11).

The FGD participants from the five squatter settlements on government land all reported bathing in cloth/plastic-sheet enclosures made by them near their hut (Figures 12 & 13). In many instances these are open-to-sky enclosures with little privacy, in which case women generally take a bath only in the dark. In some settlements like Sewage Basti, households who were part of a kin group were also observed to be sharing a bathing enclosure. As water is mainly filled from sources outside the settlements, the residents are not able to take a bath when they are unable to fill enough water. Even in settlements where public toilets and/or mobile toilets have been provided, bathing is done in enclosures as these toilet infrastructures do not generally include bathing stalls. Access to water and bathing spaces are of particular importance to migrant construction workers because of the nature of their jobs. A long day at work involves exposure to dust, cement, paint and mud along with sweat and therefore, water and a place to take a bath is crucial to maintain hygiene and health.

**Table 21: Access to Electricity in Squatter Settlements on Government and Private Lands**

Access to Electricity	No. of Respondents	
No	37	90%
Yes	4	10%
Total	41	100%

90% of the survey respondents living in squatter settlements on government and private lands did not have access to electricity in their shelters (Table 21). None of the FGD participants living in the five squatter settlements on government land had electricity. Some participants used the torchlight on their mobile phones for light. Some used candles and reported that they needed two candles per day/night in the summer and three in the winter. This would mean an expenditure of Rs.10 per day/night in the summers and Rs.15 per day/night in the winters, that is, Rs.300-450 a month. Others used kerosene lamps, and reported that they purchased 0.5 litres for Rs.50, which lasted for 15-20 days. This would

entail a monthly expenditure of Rs.75-100. A few participants also reported paying Rs.20 per day to rent a rechargeable battery to power 1-2 light-bulbs in their hut, entailing an expense of Rs.600 per month. Besides this, many participants spent Rs.5-10 per day to charge their mobile phones at a nearby shop, although they also reported that where possible they charged their phones for free at their worksites. Electricity-related expenses thus varied widely, from almost nil (generally charging their mobile phones at the worksite and using its torchlight at night) to Rs.200-250 (often charging their mobile phone in a shop and using a kerosene lamp) to as high as Rs.700 per month (often charging their mobile phone in a shop and using a rechargeable battery at home for light-bulbs).

The lack of provision of basic services like water, sanitation (toilets and drainage) and electricity to the squatter settlements on government and private lands which are inhabited by migrant naka workers is a consequence of the AMC's approach to the settlements of seasonal migrants. This approach can be summed up as comprising of: (i) an absence of recognition with the AMC viewing the migrants as being temporary in the city, (ii) landownership issues with many of the settlements being on land owned by the Railway authority and the Irrigation department, (iii) improperly done city-wide slum surveys like the survey for Rajiv Awas Yojana in 2009 which does not map these settlements (see Desai 2017), and (iv) migrants having no political voice in the city with current governance processes giving political voice only to those who are voters in the city, which these migrants are not. This also results in tenure insecurity, especially on the Railway lands, which is also one reason why the migrants do not / cannot build better shelters. FGD participants from three settlements on Railway lands pointed to evictions they had faced in the past few years, with one settlement facing eviction every year (Arjun Ashram Basti).

### **3.2.2. Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces**

The migrant naka workers living in squatter settlements in public spaces are found under flyovers, on the roadsides and footpaths and on shop verandahs. They are rarely allowed to construct any form of a shelter, even a temporary one made out of wood or plastic. Thus, 90% of survey respondents living in this manner had no shelters and tied up their belongings into a bundle (*potla*) every morning before they left for the naka and unfolded the bundle on their return from work (Figures 14 & 15; Table 22). If not living under a flyover, those who stay on in the city during the monsoons are allowed to put up tent-like plastic sheet structures supported by bamboo sticks or a compound wall, but have to dismantle these when the season ends. During rains, the tents provide minimal shelter but cooking is impossible. While they may get food from people passing by or purchase food, several of the FGD participants reported that every year, they spend at least a few nights sleeping on a hungry stomach during the monsoons. The tent structures are totally inadequate in very heavy rain and in cases of roadside waterlogging, preventing the migrants from having a peaceful night's rest in which case some take shelter at nearby shop verandahs, tea-stalls with covered areas, and even bus-stands.

The FGDs and fieldvisits revealed that the migrants who live on busy roadsides / footpaths and shop verandahs, when unable to find work at the naka, cannot even return to these spaces. Some of them reported that they spend the day in a nearby public garden. In case



the public garden is shut in the afternoon for a few hours they may have to spend the day in the open under the sweltering sun.

**Table 22: Quality of Shelter in Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces**

Shelter Quality	No. of Respondents	
<i>Potla</i>	27	90%
Kutcha	3	10%
Total	30	100%

**Figure 14: Squatter settlement opposite Paragi flats, occupying part of a government plot of land and the roadside**



**Figure 15: Bundles (*potlas*) of the migrants' belongings at the footpath squatter settlement opposite Jivraj hospital**



The migrants squatting in public spaces face the most amount of harassment from civic authorities. The traffic police or the AMC evict them by taking away all their belongings: clothes, blankets, utensils and foodstuffs. Both the roadside/footpath bastis from where residents participated in the FGDs reported an eviction over the past year. One of them, Basti opposite Paragi Flats, actually occupies part of a plot of government land owned by the District Collector as well as the adjacent roadside (Figure 14). In 2018 AMC evicted them from both the government land and the roadside even though it does not have authority over the District Collector land. The participants from the other settlement, Basti opposite Jivraj Hospital, stated that they usually face eviction twice a year, and believed that this is due to complaints by residents from surrounding middle-class societies and when some VIPs visited events organized at a nearby party-plot. They explained that with each eviction they must buy all these necessities all over again, which would cost them at least Rs.2000 for a set of utensils, a blanket and one pair of clothes. The FGD participants from both the bastis also reported being subject to frequent thefts of money and mobile phones while they were asleep and theft of utensils when they were away at work in the day.

All of the survey respondents who lived in squatter settlements in public spaces obtained water from surrounding buildings like residential societies, commercial establishments, and temples and surrounding government facilities like a police chowky (Table 23). While there is generally no cost associated with getting water from these sources, the FGD participants from one of the settlements, Basti opposite Paragi Flats, and our fieldvisit to this settlement revealed it to be a laborious, time-consuming and uncertain process. The migrants fill water from nearby residential areas, but in many societies the middle-class residents turn them away. For two hours every morning from 6-8 am, the locality around this basti is full of migrants walking about in different directions with yellow or black water cans and utensils searching for water (Figure 16). In one instance, a young girl was physically assaulted when a tap in a nearby temple from where they used to fill water was broken. After this the temple also discontinued supplying water to the migrants completely. FGD participants from the other basti, the footpath opposite Jivraj Hospital, get water from an underground tank inside the adjoining public garden. However, sometimes the water in the tank is not sufficient for the 80 odd families, and then some of them call for a private water tanker. There are drinking water taps that have been installed inside the garden for visitors, and while this could have been a good potable water source for the migrants, they are not functional. At both these settlements, water was available only in the mornings. Vessels that are used at night for cooking are usually washed in the morning because there is little water left for them to use in the evenings.

**Table 23: Source of Water in Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces**

<b>Water Source</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	
Surrounding buildings (residential, commercial, temples)	28	93%
Surrounding government facilities (police chowky)	2	7%
Shared water source in basti	-	-
Individual tap	-	-
Total	30	100%

The built environment surrounding these bastis make it difficult for the migrants to defecate in the open. Mobile toilets are also not placed by AMC at these bastis in public spaces, making sanitation an expensive and challenging affair for the migrants. 73% of the survey respondents who lived in bastis in public spaces used pay-and-use toilets. The remaining resorted to open defecation with some intermittently using pay-and-use toilets (Table 24). The FGD participants from two roadside/footpath bastis and those we interacted with during fieldvisits to three other bastis in public spaces also reported using pay-and-use toilets. For a migrant family, using these toilets is a large, everyday expense that they have little choice but to incur. Thus, many of the migrants from the footpath basti outside the Malav Talav garden use the pay-and-use toilet that is located right next to them (Figure 17) but some also resort to open defecation on some nearby vacant lands to save money. Bathing poses a major difficulty, especially for the women, as most migrants do not use the pay-and-use toilet for bathing in order to save money. The migrant families in the footpath basti outside the Malav Talav garden and the roadside basti opposite Paragi flats bathed in open-to-sky enclosures made of cloth and plastic sheets with the women bathing mainly when it was dark to maintain privacy. As there is not enough space to make bathing enclosures some women also bathed in the open, finding a pitch-dark spot on a nearby footpath. At the footpath basti opposite Jivraj hospital, some migrants especially men reported bathing in a pay-and-use toilet block that is located at the nearby Vasna naka.

**Figure 16: Migrants from a roadside settlement in search of water**



**Table 24: Access to Toilets in Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces**

Type of Toilet Access	No. of Respondents	
Pay-and-use toilet	22	73%
Open defecation / Pay-and-use toilet + Open Defecation	8	27%
Total	30	100%

**Figure 17: A Pay-and-use Toilet next to the Malav Talav garden that is used by some of the migrants living on the adjacent footpath with their *potlas***



**Table 25: Access to Electricity in Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces**

Access to Electricity	No. of Respondents	
No	34	100%
Yes	-	-
Total	34	100%

None of the migrants who live in the squatter settlements in public spaces have access to electricity (Table 25). Some of them benefit from streetlights that may be located near the spot occupied by them. The FGD participants from the roadside/footpath bastis stated that they charge their phones at nearby shops for Rs.5-10 per day and when possible for free at their worksites, thus spending Rs.100-300 per month on phone charging.

### 3.2.3. Rental Rooms / Units

The rental housing market provides low-cost accommodation to a large number of migrant workers, including those who go to the nakas to get work. The survey revealed a wide range of such rentals. Majority were in informal rental chalis, which are clusters of rental rooms built without following development and planning regulations, and where the land occupation could be informal with the landlord having occupied it by squatting, or it could be semi-formal with the government having allotted this land to an individual for a certain use (like cattlesheds) who has then violated this use and converted the land into rentals, or it could be formal with the landlord being the legal landowner. A chali can comprise of a few rooms to over 50 rental rooms; it can be a cluster of ground-floor rooms or it can be a 2-3 storey pucca building comprising of rooms (Figure 18). In some cases, the landlord and his family also lives here, and either he has built semi-pucca ground-floor rooms next to his house, or has expanded his house into a 2-3 storey structure to include rental rooms, or both. The survey revealed that some migrant naka workers also lived in rental rooms in low-



income housing societies, most likely semi-formal,<sup>7</sup> as well as urban villages where some of the house-owners rent out a few rooms of their house. The landlord's family may be living in the house or they may have converted the entire property into a rental rooms. Informal rental chalis can also be found on the periphery of the urban villages on gram/nagar panchayat lands and former farmlands. In some cases the rental comprises of two rooms, or a room and a kitchen-like space: we refer to this as a rental unit.

The survey also revealed that some migrant naka workers were living in rental rooms built on open farmland in the urban periphery. Most of the farmland is still undeveloped and may even be farmed in some seasons, but the farmers have also built several rooms to rent out. A few of the survey respondents were renting a one or two-bedroom flat in public housing or in a private building. The rent of a room/unit would depend on location in the city; shelter quality; the level of services like water, toilets and electricity; and other factors. 63% of the respondents living in rental rooms / units were in semi-pucca shelters, 30% in pucca shelters and 7% in kutcha shelters (Table 26). Fieldvisits revealed that the quality of shelter varies widely even amongst the semi-pucca shelters.

**Figure 18: Adjacent rental chalis in Memnagar area**



**Table 26: Quality of Shelter in Rental Rooms / Units**

Shelter Quality	No. of Respondents	
<i>Potla</i>	-	-
Kutcha	8	7%
Semi-pucca	68	63%
Pucca	32	30%
Total	108	100%

<sup>7</sup> This would mean that a builder may have planned and developed the housing society without following all the development and planning regulations, while landownership may be formal (with registered sales agreements) or semi-formal (without registered sales agreements but the sale and transfer of property documented through other kinds of legal documents such stamp papers). This semi-formality is also what would have made these housing societies affordable to the low-income groups.

**Figure 19: Entrance to a rental chali in Memnagar area with two shared toilets (right of the entrance)**



74% of the respondents living in rentals rooms / units obtained water through shared water sources in the settlement (Table 27). In most cases, the landlords provide a common tap/taps for their tenants, and the water source could either be a municipal connection or a bore-well operated by a motor or handpump. The landlords do not charge additionally for water, however, in the case of the bore-well having a motor, tenants may be expected to contribute towards the electricity costs of running it, and in case of a handpump they may be expected to contribute to repair costs. 23% of the respondents had an individual tap inside their rooms. Only 3% of the respondents reported not having access to water in their settlement and fetching water from surrounding buildings and government facilities. A few of the respondents who got water from shared sources also mentioned that the water was not always adequate in which case they had to get water from surrounding buildings.

**Table 27: Source of Water in Rental Rooms / Units**

Water Source	No. of Respondents	
Shared water source(s) in the settlement (common municipal tap, borewell with handpump or motor)	80	74%
Individual tap (municipal connection or connected to borewell)	25	23%
Surrounding buildings (residential, commercial, industrial)	2	2%
Surrounding government facilities (water distribution station, sewage treatment plant)	1	1%
Total	108	100%

64% of the respondents living in rental rooms / units reported that they were using shared toilet facilities (Table 28). The landlords provide these shared toilets, however, the level of adequacy in terms of number of toilets varies, with a toilet shared between a few rooms to being shared by large number of rooms (Figure 19). 20% of the respondents had individual toilets. 9% of the respondents were defecating in the open and 7% were using pay-and-use or public toilets, revealing that not all landlords have provided toilets and if they have these are so inadequate that it forces the tenants into open defecation or using toilets outside the settlement.

**Table 28: Access to Toilets in Rental Rooms / Units**

Type of Toilet Access	No. of Respondents	
Shared toilet	69	64%
Individual toilet	22	20%
Open defecation	10	9%
Pay-and-use toilet	6	6%
Public toilet	1	1%
Total	108	100%

Access to electricity in the rental rooms / units is better than in the other housing typologies. 95% of the respondents had access to electricity in their shelters. For 46% the electricity cost was included in the rent while 49% had to pay additionally for electricity. 5% of the respondents did not have access to electricity (Table 29).

**Table 29: Access to Electricity in Rental Rooms / Units**

Access to Electricity	No. of Respondents	
No	5	5%
Yes, with cost included in rent	50	46%
Yes, with cost additional to rent	53	49%
Total	108	100%

Experiences and perceptions of tenure security amongst the survey respondents living in rental rooms / units was not as straightforward as in the squatter settlements since many of them did not report being evicted or feeling threatened with eviction, but mentioned moving rooms frequently. They explained that landlords did not want a migrant to occupy the same room for a long time, and that sometimes the landlord increased the rent suddenly to force the tenant out. However, there were also respondents who mentioned having very good relations with their landlord and renting the same room since several years. Almost none of the respondents had a written rental agreement.

Table 30, based on the respondents living in rental rooms / units, shows that most of rentals they live in are in the range of Rs.1000-3000 rent per month. Of the 108 respondents living in rental rooms / units, 63 were family migrants and 45 were single male migrants. Of the single male migrants, the majority (89%) were sharing a room with other male migrants to make the rent affordable to them. The room was shared between 2-6 males. 50% of the

sharers were paying rent upto Rs.500 per month; 40% were paying Rs.500-1000 as rent; and about 8% were paying more than Rs.1000 per month (Table 31). The number of males amongst whom the room is shared does not always remain constant as males come and go from the village for different durations in different seasons, as male relatives of the long-term male migrants may come to live in the room for awhile, etc.

**Table 30: Rent Levels for the Rooms / Units**

Monthly Rent of the Room / Unit (in rupees)	Family Migrants	Single Males (living alone)	Single Males (sharing)	Total No. of Respondents
Upto 500	0 (-)	0	0	0 (-)
501-1000	0 (-)	0	1	1 (1%)
1001-1500	10 (16%)	1	8	19 (18%)
1501-2000	14 (22%)	1	10	25 (23%)
2001-2500	14 (22%)	1	12	27 (25%)
2501-3000	17 (27%)	1	6	24 (22%)
More than 3000	8 (13%)	1	2	11 (10%)
Not available	-	-	1	1 (1%)
Total	63 (100%)	5	40	108 (100%)

**Table 31: Rental Costs incurred by Single Males living in Shared Rooms**

Monthly Rent incurred (in rupees)	No. of Respondents (single males sharing)
Upto 500	20 (50%)
501-1000	16 (40%)
1001-1500	3 (7.5%)
1501-2000	0
2001-2500	0
2501-3000	0
More than 3000	0
Not available	1 (2.5%)
Total	40 (100%)

While affordability of rental rooms came up as an issue in the FGDs with those living in squatter settlements on government/private lands and squatter settlements in public spaces, the survey found many families living in rental rooms. The survey data reveals that among the 63 family migrants living in rental rooms / units, 31 had at least one family member who was skilled (which means higher wages, and therefore higher household earnings) while 7 were part of families with only unskilled workers but with more than two earning members (which also means higher household earnings). This would suggest that families in rental rooms may be able to afford living in them when they have at least one skilled member in the household or they have more earning members. Moreover, discussions during the FGDs also suggested that some family migrants may be able to afford renting a room due to one or more of the following factors: the presence of a skilled member in the household, the presence of more earning members in the family, better



economic status in the village which means relatively less dependence on remittances from their city earnings, giving a greater priority in household spending to better-quality shelter and basic services, and a willingness to spend money on better-quality housing even if it is rental and not ownership housing. However, one would need to do a study of the family migrants living in rental rooms to better understand how they are able to afford these rents while the family migrants from squatter settlements on government/private lands and squatter settlements in public spaces who took part in the FGDs said they cannot afford these rents.

It should also be noted here that there are family migrants in Ahmedabad who feel they cannot afford the rents of these rooms but are willing and able to pay lower rents of Rs.300-900, as evidenced by the family migrants we found living in the open or in self-built kutcha shelters in “rental spots on land/building rooftops” (see section 3.2.4). This suggests that rooms of such lower rent levels are not available in Ahmedabad even though there is a demand for them.

The rental arrangements described above, especially the informal and semi-formal rental chalis, are a totally unregulated sector, and thus level of services and tenure security provided is entirely upto each landlord. In semi-formal settlements where the landlords are the legal landowners but have developed the land without following the planning and development regulations, the municipal authority seems to only provide a water and drainage connection to the landowner’s plot, without concern for how many people reside within the plot and through what arrangements and whether they have adequate access to water and sanitation. In informal settlements recognized by the municipal authority as slums, the authority views all the residents as illegal and therefore does not recognize the right of anyone to be a landlord. Therefore those who are practicing landlordism and have developed rental rooms are not recognized, but this also means that there is no policy and governance process to ensure that the residents of the rental rooms have access to adequate services or are protected from exploitative landlords. The non-recognition of landlordism and tenancy in these slums also means that if In-Situ Slum Redevelopment (ISR, which is a major component of the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojna / PMAY) is implemented in them, or the slum faces eviction and resettlement, it will lead to a loss of the informal rental stock which is more affordable to these migrants (see Desai 2017).

#### **3.2.4. Rental Spots on Lands and Building Rooftops**

Migrant naka workers also live in the city by renting a spot on land or a building rooftop. 26 respondents from the survey were found to be living in such arrangements. Rental spots on lands were found in the peripheral areas of the city such as Sarkhej and Odhav where farmlands are still available as well as some central areas like Jivraj which still have some undeveloped lands. Fieldvisits were made to one such farmland in Sarkhej which was a long walk from any main road, and two lands next to each other within easy walking distance to the Jivraj naka (Map 2). The farmland in Sarkhej is home to anywhere from 100 migrants in the period just before the monsoon to 500 migrants in the peak summer season. All these migrants are from Kushalgarh tehsil in Rajasthan’s Banswara district. The landowner who lives in Mumbai lets them live here, and has placed a caretaker on the land to collect rent from them. In the monsoon the migrants are not allowed to live here as the land is farmed.

In any case many reported going back to their villages for the monsoon for agriculture, while others who stayed on in the city spent money (Rs.1500-2000 per month) on rental rooms in the monsoon. The two lands in the Jivraj area are inhabited all year around, although the number of residents living on them reduces in the monsoon. One of the lands had an extended kin group from Dahod district of Gujarat while the other land had permanent migrants as well as seasonal migrants from different parts of Gujarat. For both these lands it was not clear if the landlord is the landowner or an informal land occupier. Rental spots on building rooftops were also found in both central industrial areas like Isanpur and peripheral areas like Sarkhej.

At one of the Jivraj lands, rent of Rs.700 was taken per family in one pocket of the land. However, most of the rental spots involve a monthly rent of Rs.200-300 per adult. This means that on the same land a family with three adults would pay more rent than a family with two adults. 58% of the respondents living on rental spots, almost all families, were paying upto Rs.500 rent per month in this manner, 23% were paying Rs.501-1000 per month and 15% were paying Rs.1001-1500 (Table 32). However, it is possible that the migrants sometimes pay more – for instance, at the Sarkhej field, some migrants reported that if they go to the village and return after a week or two the caretaker takes the rent from them again. In most of these rental arrangements, the migrants live in the open, tying up their belongings into a bundle (*potla*) before leaving for work in the morning, leaving this on the land/rooftop. This was the case at a field in Sarkhej (Figure 20). However in some cases, the landlord allows the migrants to build kutcha shelters. This was seen at the two plots of lands in the Jivraj area (Figure 21). Among the survey respondents living in rental spots, 73% had built kutcha shelters while 7% were living in the open in *potla*-type arrangements (Table 33).

**Table 32: Rental Costs incurred in Rental Spots on Land/Rooftop**

Monthly Rent incurred (in rupees)	No. of Respondents	
Upto 500	15	58%
501-1000	6	23%
1001-1500	4	15%
1501-2000	1	4%
Total	26	100%

**Table 33: Quality of Shelter in Rental Spots on Land/Rooftop**

Shelter Quality	No. of Respondents	
<i>Potla</i>	7	7%
Kutcha	19	73%
Total	26	100%

54% of the survey respondents living on rental spots got water from shared sources within the settlement itself – these would most likely to set up by the landlord – while 46% had to fetch water from surrounding buildings (Table 34). At the field in Sarkhej, the landowner had installed a large Sintex plastic tank that was filled twice a day from a borewell. Water was generally available 24 hours, occasionally interrupted when the borewell motor needed repairs. Water supply in one of plots near the Jivraj naka was through varied arrangements.

In one pocket, the migrants filled their cans twice a day from pipes connected to the landlord's bore-well while in another pocket they filled water from a Sintex plastic tank filled twice a day from an adjacent borewell (Figure 22). In the other plot near Jivraj naka, the migrants got water from a handpump installed by the landlord, and they had to contribute money if it needed repairs.

**Table 34: Source of Water in Rental Spots on Land/Rooftop**

Water Source	No. of Respondents	
Shared water source(s) in basti (common municipal tap, borewell with handpump or motor)	14	54%
Surrounding buildings (residential, commercial, industrial, temples)	12	46%
Surrounding government facilities	-	-
Individual tap	-	-
Total	26	100%

Open defecation is common among the migrants living in rental spots. 73% of the respondents living in rental spots practiced open defecation, 15% used shared toilets and 12% used pay-and-use toilets or resorted to a combination of this and open defecation (Table 35). At the field in Sarkhej, there were a few shared toilets provided but the migrants did not use these, expressing their comfort with defecating in the open probably because there was ample open land around. Some migrants living on the plots in Jivraj reported using the toilets at their construction worksites. The others either defecated in the open on the nearby railway tracks or used the pay-and-use toilet near Jivraj naka. This pay-and-use toilet was open from 4 am to midnight, and between 12-4 am if they needed to use a toilet they had to defecate in the open. Bathing at both the field in Sarkhej and the plots in Jivraj was done in the open. Some had erected open-to-sky make-shift bathing enclosures using plastic sheets and cloth. While most women bathe in the darkness, we observed one woman taking a bath in an open area in broad daylight with all her clothes on. This raises several questions on privacy, hygiene and safety of the female migrants.

**Table 35: Access to Toilets in Rental Spots on Land/Rooftop**

Type of Toilet Access	No. of Respondents	
Open defecation	19	73%
Shared toilet	4	15%
Pay-and-use toilet	2	8%
Pay-and-use toilet + Open defecation	1	4%
Individual toilet	-	-
Public toilet	-	-
Total	26	100%

**Figure 20: A migrant family living in the field in Sarkhej**



**Figure 21: A migrant family's self-built hut on a rented spot on land in the Jivraj area**



**Figure 22: Water provision for the migrants renting a spot on land in the Jivraj area**



Almost 89% of the survey respondents living on rental spots did not have access to electricity (Table 36). The migrants living in the field in Sarkhej and the plots in Jivraj charged their phones at their construction worksites or at nearby shops. Most shopkeepers charged Rs.5-10 while some did not charge. The migrants used candles or the torchlight on their mobile phones in the dark. Where the farmlands are located at quite a distance from the main roads like the field in Sarkhej, they do not get any benefit from streetlights either.

**Table 36: Access to Electricity in Rental Spots on Land/Rooftop**

<b>Access to Electricity</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	
No	23	88.5%
Yes	3	11.5%
Total	26	100.0%

This housing typology emerges because, on the one hand the rents of rooms are unaffordable to these workers given their daily wages, uncertainty of obtaining daily work, and seasonal variations in finding work at the nakas, while on the other hand living in a squatter settlement on government/private land or in public space is not possible or desirable. Many of the migrants living on the two lands near the Jivraj naka reported having lived in other nearby areas before moving to these lands on rent after being evicted. One kin group living here had been evicted from a squatter settlement in the Manek Baug area where they had lived for several years. Another kin group had lived on the roadside near Malav Talav and when a garden was inaugurated on the adjacent plot of land, they were evicted after which they went on to occupy some nearby railway land from which they were evicted after the railway official who had allowed them to live there retired – this is when they moved to live on a rental spot after looking around the area for housing options. At the Sarkhej field some migrants mentioned living in another field in the area where the landlord did not supply water, and moving to this field because of better water provision. The caretaker at the field reported that the implementation of a town planning scheme had recently begun in the area and there was a high possibility that the migrants would not be allowed to live on this field for much longer. This shows that while the migrants living in these arrangements do not face the kind of regular harassment or sudden eviction faced by those living in squatter settlements on government/private land and in public spaces, tenure is still fragile.

### **3.2.5. Homeless Shelters**

Around 45 homeless shelters have been constructed in Ahmedabad by the AMC in response to Supreme Court orders. The shelters, initially conceived as night shelters for the city's homeless population, are being converted by the AMC into 24-hour shelters as per the guidelines of the Shelter for the Urban Homeless (SUH) scheme, a programme launched by the central government in 2014 under the National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM). According to official data from August 2018, 28 shelters were open while the remaining shelters were closed for renovation and other reasons.<sup>8</sup> Fieldvisits were made to two

<sup>8</sup> Data obtained from UCD department, AMC, August 18, 2018.

shelters in Odhav and Ghatlodia that were being used by migrant naka workers who were in the city as families.

Migrant families were allowed to live as families in both these shelters unlike many of the other shelters where men and women were forced to live in separate halls. The fieldvisits suggest that the reason this worked well was that all the migrant families came from the same district and most were related to one another through familial ties, resulting in a good level of understanding, trust and cooperation. The families thus slept together inside the halls. During the summers many of them brought out the mattresses to the compound or terrace to sleep in the open. Both the shelters are described below to show their use by the migrant families, their management by the NGOs and the caretakers employed by them, and the ways in which this met or did not meet the needs of the families living there.

### ***Ghatlodiya homeless shelter***

This shelter is a 20-minute walk from the Ghatlodiya naka. The building comprises of two halls, each with two toilets and one bathroom. There is also a small kitchen space. During the fieldvisit in June 2018, there were approximately 50 migrant workers, all from Jhalod taluka in Dahod district of Gujarat, living in the shelter. This was already above the shelter's official capacity of 40 persons, and some migrants who were part of the same kin network could not be accommodated here when they had returned from the village. During the monsoons there are only 10-15 migrants who live here as most of the others return to their villages for agriculture.

The NGO contracted to manage the shelter hired a person who lived across the street as the caretaker. This caretaker was managing the shelter since 10 years. The shelter is still run as a night shelter, which means it is to be kept open from 7 pm to 7 am. However, the caretaker leaves one of the halls open in the daytime so that those who have stayed behind (because they have not got work at the naka or are unwell) can use the toilets. Using the halls during the day is prohibited and the caretaker switches off the electricity from 7 am to 7 pm. The caretaker is required to keep an attendance register to record the number of people occupying the shelter every night. As both the caretaker and his wife are illiterate, their school-going children have been maintaining these attendance records every night. The caretaker reported that he got a meagre monthly salary of Rs.2000 from the NGO as a result of which he also worked as a sanitation worker cleaning gutters in surrounding housing societies, rode a pedal rickshaw to transport goods and was hired to play drums at weddings. While the NGO and caretakers are not permitted to take any money from those who come to live in the shelters, the migrants at this shelter reported that the caretaker did not allow them to keep their belongings in the halls or the compound during the daytime, forcing them to leave their valued belongings at his house for safekeeping. For this he charged Rs.200 per month from each adult. Migrants kept their less valued possessions such as their bags of fuel-wood in a narrow fenced space between the shelter's compound wall and the road. They sometimes hung their clothes on this fence but these were stolen at times.

The water infrastructure comprises of a large Sintex plastic tank installed below ground in the compound of the shelter (Figure 23). This is filled with water from a municipal pipeline

every morning which is to be pumped up to an overhead tank and supplied to the toilets and bathroom. However, the caretaker does not fill the overhead tank adequately, citing high electricity costs required to run the motor. As a result, the toilets and bathroom in only one of the halls gets water, that too for only two hours in the morning. Therefore, when the migrants return in the evening from working on construction sites, they are forced to fill water for bathing by dropping a bucket into the underground tank (Figure 23). Water for washing clothes and utensils also has to be filled in this way. This situation can be partly attributed to the fact that the NGOs contracted to manage the shelters are paid Rs.20 per night for each person using the shelter, and have to use these funds to cover caretaker salary, day-to-day cleanliness and management, and even electricity costs. As the funding is not much, the NGOs attempt to make savings, and thus some profit, by compromising on the services provided.

The shelters do not have separate provision for potable water, and the migrants use the water pulled up in buckets from the Sintex tank for drinking and cooking. Besides these difficulties around water, there are several days every month when there is almost no water left in the tank when the migrants return from work in the evenings because a family living adjacent to the shelter forcefully fills water from the tank for their cattle. The caretaker reported that he was unable to do anything about this, had complained about the family to the NGO and the AMC but to no effect. He attributed the situation to the fact that the land on which the shelter has been built was acquired by the AMC from some members of the cattle rearing community of Ahmedabad, all of whom did not receive compensation and thus purposefully created trouble for the shelter. On evenings when there is no water left, the migrants purchase water at a cost of Rs.10 for one can from a private taker called for by other residents in the area. At the time of the fieldvisit, the drainage in the bathroom of one of the halls was blocked and the migrants were bathing in the toilets. Although the NGO and caretaker is responsible for cleaning the shelter, the caretaker requires the migrants to clean the halls, bathrooms, toilets and compound area of the shelter themselves with cleaning supplies provided by him.

The shelter has a room for a kitchen, however, it remains locked and unused. In any case, it is too small for more than two people to use at a time. Each migrant family has made a *chullah*, a stove that uses firewood as cooking fuel, from bricks in the shelter's compound (Figure 24). During the monsoons, they cannot use these *chullahs* as they are in the open, and have to purchase food from nearby food-stalls. There is no space provided for washing utensils and the migrants wash these near a manhole in the compound so that the water drains away. Clothes are also washed in this manner since the bathrooms don't get adequate running water.

As mentioned earlier, most of the families living at this shelter belong to the same kin network. Several have been living at the shelter for the last 5-6 years prior to which they lived in a basti under the Ghatlodiya flyover. They were brought to the shelter by the NGO that manages the shelter. New migrants from their kin networks also began to come to stay at the shelter. The migrants who had moved to the shelter from under the flyover felt that this was an improvement from their earlier basti where they had had to fill water from nearby buildings and did not have access to toilets and had to defecate in the open. They also sometimes had to pay Rs.200 to a goon so that he would allow them to live under the



flyover. One migrant at the shelter also said that he had lived in a shared room in a rental chali for two months but could afford to live in a rental room now that he has a family since the rents of Rs.3000 are too high. Adequate running water supply in the toilets and bathrooms, potable water for drinking and cooking, a place within the shelter to keep their belongings safely and a place to cook during the monsoons were some of the immediate requirements of the migrants at the shelter.

**Figure 23: Migrant drawing water with a bucket from the underground Sintex tank**



**Figure 24: Migrants cooking on *chullahs* in the compound of the Ghatlodia shelter**





### ***Odhav Bhikshuhgruh Homeless Shelter***

The shelter is located at a 30-minute walk to the Rajendra Park naka. The shelter had been recently renovated at the time of the fieldvisit in June 2018, and the migrants had been living there since 2-3 months. Many of them had previously lived at another shelter nearby for several years and were shifted to this one because of an increase in the number of inhabitants at that shelter and the conversion of one of the halls there for some government work. While the shelter has a capacity of 80 adults, there were about 55 adults and 7-8 young children living at the shelter at the time of the fieldvisit. All of them belonged to villages around Limdi and Jhalod towns in Dahod district, and were either related to each other through kin networks or had known each other through the naka for some years.

Unlike the Ghatlodiya shelter, the caretaker at the Odhav shelter only locks the halls if none of the migrants are there in the daytime. If somebody is ill or has not found work at the naka and returns to the shelter, he unlocks the halls and allows them to rest and use the toilets inside. Electricity is available for use 24 hours a day. The NGO contracted to run and operate this shelter was paying the caretaker a monthly salary of Rs.9000. He diligently maintained a register of all the migrants living at the shelter, and we saw migrants returning from work and putting their signature or thumb-impression in the register. The caretaker explained that the new migrants who were coming to live at the shelter were related to the migrants already living there and hence he did not ask them for any documents (such as a copy of their Aadhar or ration card). He collected such documents only if the new migrant was unknown to the migrants already living at the shelter so as to verify their background for safety reasons.

Municipal water is supplied to a large cement underground water tank built in the shelter's compound. This is pumped up by a motor to an overhead tank and provides running water in the toilets in the mornings and evenings. On days when there is adequate water in the overhead tanks, people can wash their clothes in the bathroom. However, the caretaker has to call a water tanker through a municipal official or his employer 4-5 times in a month to fill the underground tank because of the inadequacy of water supplied from the municipal pipeline. When the tanker does not arrive on time, the water level in the underground tank is insufficient to run the motor and then the migrants have to lower a bucket into the tank to get water. At the time of the fieldvisit the water level in the tank was so low that we observed a woman descending into the tank and scraping water into a bucket from the tank's muddy floor. Some of the male migrants were returning from work and walking to the other shelter 15 minutes away to take a bath. However, the women returning from work were immediately occupied in preparing the evening meal and did not have the time to go to the other shelter to bathe. The migrants were mostly satisfied with the shelter's cleanliness. They stored their belonging in racks provided inside the halls and reported no fear of their theft or loss (Figure 25). On returning from work, they brought out their vessels and cooking provisions into the compound near their *chullahs*. The shelter has a large room meant for a kitchen, however, the caretaker and his family have occupied this space.

Previously some of the migrant families had lived in a plot of land near the Rajendra Park naka for three years. This was a rental spot where they paid Rs.100 per month per adult to

the landlord. They lived in the open without any shelter, tying up their belongings in a bundle every morning before going to work. They had no access to sanitation and practised open defecation, and filled water from a nearby temple or from the landlord's municipal tap. There had faced continuous harassment from local goons, frequent thefts, and damage to their belongings by stray animals. Some policemen had escorted them to see a nearby shelter, and they had moved in soon after since they liked it and could appropriately accommodate their families.

**Figure 25: A hall in the Odhav shelter with the migrants' belongings**



## **4. Housing Affordability, Access and Preferences among Migrant Naka Workers**

Seasonal and circular migrants who work in construction sector and go to find work at the nakas live in different housing typologies as described in Chapter 3. This chapter focuses on the migrants living in two of these typologies, squatter settlements on government/private lands and squatter settlements in public spaces, and discusses five aspects: (1) the housing costs currently incurred by them; (2) the relationship between housing location and the naka; (3) their housing affordability, focusing specifically on their perceptions of affordability and the relation of this to their housing preferences; (4) their eligibility for government housing programmes in the city; and (5) their perspectives and preferences with respect to the social composition of their housing spaces. The discussion of all five aspects is based mainly on the six FGDs carried out with 37 participants from 30 households living in these two typologies. The discussion on the relationship between housing location and the naka is also based on the survey.

### **4.1. Housing Costs of Migrants Living in Squatter Settlements**

The housing costs of migrants living in squatter settlements on government lands and squatter settlements in public spaces were explored in the FGDs by discussing the costs the migrants incurred on their shelters, the bribes they had to pay to an official/goon to allow them to squat on these lands, costs incurred on water and sanitation, costs incurred for lighting up their shelters in the absence of electricity provision, and money spent for re-purchasing belongings lost due to theft (in the absence of secure shelters) or eviction. We discuss the housing costs for these two typologies separately since the FGD participants who lived in squatter settlements on government lands spent considerable amounts on their shelter unlike the FGD participants who lived in squatter settlements in public spaces; on the other hand, many amongst the latter spent considerable amounts on pay-and-use toilets while the former did not. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the typology-based discussion below is not representative of all settlements within a typology, and migrants may be incurring different expenses in settlements other than the ones the FGD participants came from. For instance, in some settlements migrants may be regularly paying for water. While none of the FGD participants reported informal housing costs in the form of bribes, migrants might be incurring these costs in other settlements.

Understanding these costs in the migrants' current housing situation is not to make a simple argument that this is the amount that they can afford for improved housing – for some, the amounts they currently spend might be affordable while for some it might involve making trade-offs on other basic needs. Some may even be willing and able to spend more, as evidenced by the discussions with some of the migrants in the FGDs (see section 4.2). However, understanding their current costs – and also recognizing the variation one sees in these costs depending on each housing situation – is an important aspect to think about as we proceed with think about how to improve housing for these groups.

#### **4.1.1. Housing Costs in Squatter Settlements on Government Lands**

The kutcha huts of migrants living in squatter settlements on government lands were made out of wood, bamboo and plastic. Most of the migrants who participated in the FGDs mentioned that they spent a total of Rs.3000-5000 when they had to build the hut from scratch, which was usually after a particularly heavy monsoon or an eviction resulting in demolition of their huts. A few of them stated higher costs of Rs.7000-8000 for building a hut from scratch. The costs incurred were mainly on construction materials: wooden columns which cost Rs.150 apiece, bamboo which is used for columns and the roof and costs Rs.300 apiece, and plastic sheets which are used for the roof and cost at least Rs.1000-2000. The migrants also salvaged whatever materials they could from their damaged huts and re-used them to keep costs low. Besides this, the migrants also spent money on more intermittent repairs during the year. The plastic sheet roofing generally sees wear and tear, especially due to the harsh summers, and Rs.1000-2000 is spent on purchasing new plastic sheets before the monsoon. A few buy heavy duty plastic sheets which can cost Rs.3000-4000. Even those migrants who do not stay in the city for the monsoon and are in the village for farming have to incur these expenses after they return as the huts get damaged in the rains and in their absence. Rodents tearing away at the plastic can also sometimes force the migrants to buy plastic sheets more than once a year. Some of the migrants reported that termites and rodents ate away at their wooden columns once and sometimes even twice a year, and each time Rs.2000-3000 had to be spent to replace the columns. One migrant mentioned that his employer who knew of his poor living conditions had given him some wood once for columns. For such intermittent repairs to their shelters, most migrants thus seemed to spend anywhere from Rs.2000 (on plastic sheets before the monsoon and some column repairs/replacements) to Rs.8000 (on plastic sheets and new columns).

The migrants who participated in the FGDs from squatter settlements on government lands thus spent anywhere between Rs. 5000 to Rs.16000 in the year on rebuilding and intermittently repairing their kutcha shelters. How much each of them spends in a particular year depends on the extent of damage to their huts in the monsoon, whether their huts were demolished in an eviction, and the extent of damage by rodents and termites. It should be noted here that some of the migrants also try to upgrade their shelters bit by bit – for instance, by raising the mud plinth of the hut and buying waste ceramic tiles to make the flooring for the hut – but the huts themselves still remain kutcha structures, built mainly out of wood, bamboo and plastic. An observation of these kutcha shelters during fieldvisits also revealed that this rebuilding and intermittent repairing may involve the use of construction waste materials – plywood, gunny sacks, drainage pipes, etc – picked up or purchased by the migrants. These costs are not captured here.

None of the FGD participants reported paying bribes to squat on the lands they lived on, and none of them incurred expenses on water or sanitation except at rare times. In one settlement some of the migrants reported having spent Rs.700 some years ago towards installing a community hand-pump, however, we have not included this in our calculation of housing costs because not everyone incurs them, and for a cost incurred once every few years it is not a very large amount.

Monthly expenses for lighting their shelters varied widely, from a few spending almost nothing (using the torchlight from their mobile phones) to most migrants spending Rs.100 (using a kerosene lamp) to Rs.300-400 (using candles) to a few spending Rs.600 (renting a rechargeable battery to power a light-bulb in their hut). An additional Rs.100-300 was spent monthly for charging their mobile phones at nearby shops in case they were unable to charge them at their worksite.

Overall housing costs that migrant households squatting on government lands who participated in the FGDs varied widely, as outlined in the above discussion. However, for most of them, the overall annual costs seemed to be in the range of Rs.10000-15000 (about Rs.830-1250 per month) considering expenses of Rs.5000-10000 a year on rebuilding / intermittent repairs to their shelter and about Rs.400 per month on candles/kerosene lamp and recharging their mobile phone at a shop.

#### **4.1.2. Housing Costs in Squatter Settlements in Public Spaces**

Migrants living in squatter settlements in public spaces generally live in the open, tying up their belongings into a bundle (*potla*) during the day. Therefore, they do not incur expenses on building shelters. However, those who remain in the city during the monsoon erect plastic tent-like structures, spending Rs.1000-2000 on this. The migrants from these settlements who participated in the FGDs did not spend any money on water generally but many of them spent a substantial amount to access pay-and-use toilets since open defecation was not easily possible nearby. The AMC-specified charges at the pay-and-use toilet blocks are Rs.2 for using the toilet and Rs.3 for bathing, however, the caretakers charge Rs.5 for using the toilet, Rs.10 for bathing and Rs.10 for washing a pair of clothes. The migrant household for most of the FGD participants living in public spaces comprised of two adults – if they used a pay-and-use toilet block on a daily basis for all three purposes (toilet, bathing and washing clothes), they would spend at least Rs.25 per person per day, resulting in a minimum of Rs.1500 expense per month. Where both are unskilled construction workers, this would mean they would have to spend about 10% of their monthly earnings on sanitation.<sup>9</sup> Most of them felt this was unaffordable, and therefore, they used the pay-and-use toilet only for defecation, spending around Rs.300 per month on this. Some of them used the pay-and-use toilet for bathing also, on a daily basis or intermittently, spending upto Rs.900 per month on sanitation.

The migrants from these settlements who participated in the FGDs were found to make do with the light from nearby streetlights, the light from their mobile phones and their cooking fires. Their main expense in the absence of electricity provision was for charging their mobile phones for which they spent Rs.100-300 per month. Besides these housing costs, the migrants living in these settlements also have to re-purchase necessities like utensils and even blankets and clothes, in case of loss of belongings due to eviction by the municipal authority or theft. FGD participants reported spending Rs.1000 in case of such loss of belongings, which can happen once a year and sometimes more.

---

<sup>9</sup> An unskilled couple would earn about Rs.14000 per month considering that they get 20 days of work in the month at the naka and a daily wage of Rs.350. During some seasons like monsoon and during a slump in the construction industry, they would get fewer days of work.

Overall housing costs of the migrant households squatting in public spaces who participated in the FGDs varied depending on what they used the pay-and-use toilets for, the number of household members using the toilet, and also how many months they spent in the city during the year. For households comprising of two adults who were in the city for most of the year (9-11 months), the overall annual costs seemed to be in the range of Rs.6000-12000 (Rs.500-1000 per month) considering expenses of Rs.1000-2000 a year on making a tent during the monsoon, Rs.1000 per year to re-purchase belongings on due to eviction/theft, Rs.300-500 per month on using the pay-and-use toilet, and Rs.100-300 for recharging their mobile phone at a shop. Those who did not use pay-and-use toilets at all spent much less, with annual costs in the range of Rs.3000-6500 (Rs.250-550 per month).

## 4.2. Relationship of Migrant Workers' Housing Location to the Naka

For the urban poor, the viability of housing is intricately linked to distance and mobility vis-à-vis spaces of development opportunities which includes the naka for migrant naka workers. This chapter first presents the findings of the survey with regard to the relationship between housing location and the naka. Then, drawing upon the focus group discussions, the chapter discusses how workers view the relationship between housing location and the naka.

### 4.2.1. Travel Time, Mode of Travel and Travel Cost from Home to Naka

The survey examines the relationship between housing location and the naka by looking at the time that the respondents took to reach the naka from home, their mode of travel to the naka and the costs incurred on travel to the naka. 38% of the survey respondents lived in locations from where they can get to the naka in 10 minutes or less while 32% travelled for 11-20 minutes to get to the naka (Table 37). 22% of the respondents reported travel time from home to the naka to be between 21 to 30 minutes. Only 8% of the respondents took more than 30 minutes to reach the naka.

**Table 37: Travel Time from Home to Naka**

Travel Time	No. of Respondents	
10 min and less	85	38%
11-20 minutes	72	32%
21-30 minutes	50	22%
More than 30 minutes	17	8%
Total	224	100%

Walking was found to be the preferred mode of travel from home to the naka for a large majority of the respondents (71%), followed by shared autos (19%) (Table 38). A small percentage of the respondents (3%) had to first walk some distance to a main road and then get a shared auto to reach the naka. A small percentage (3%) used a motorcycle. An even smaller percentage of respondents (2%) used buses which might be due to poor connectivity and frequency of the bus routes and in case of the BRTS, could also have to do with lack of affordability.

**Table 38: Travel Mode from Home to Naka**

Travel Mode	No. of Respondents	
Walk	158	71%
Shared Auto	43	19%
Walk + Shared Auto	7	3%
Motorcycle	6	3%
Bus (AMTS / BRTS)	5	2%
Cycle	3	1%
Other	2	1%
Total	224	100%

Since 71% of the survey respondents were coming to the nakas on foot (Table 39), they did not incur any transport costs. 21% of the respondents reported spending upto Rs.10 per person to reach the naka. Only 4% of the respondents spent more than Rs.10 one-way. This shows that migrant naka workers mostly live in locations from where they can walk to the naka so that they do not have to incur transport costs at all, and do not live in locations from where they have to spend more than Rs.10 per person on transport to the naka.

**Table 39: Cost of Travel from Home to Naka**

Travel Cost (one-way, in rupees)	No. of Respondents	
No cost	160	71%
1-5	21	9%
6-10	26	12%
11-15	4	2%
16-20	5	2%
NA / unknown petrol cost for those using motorcycles	8	4%
Total	224	100%

#### 4.2.2. Importance of Proximity of Housing to the Naka

Naka locations play a critical role in housing related decisions taken by migrant naka workers. Migrants who participated in the FGDs explained the importance of living within walking distance to the naka. They stated that they could not afford to live in a basti very far away from the naka for multiple reasons. The nakas are morning labour markets because of which the migrants must be there at an early hour if they are to get work on any given day. They may lose out on prospective jobs if they reach the naka late. Secondly, because of the uncertain nature of employment, the migrants cannot afford high travel costs. If on a certain day they do not get work, it would mean incurring expenses on travel despite no earnings. The FGD participants also explained the importance of contacts developed at the naka in getting regular work. Contractors who come to the naka to hire labour always try to look for workers they have worked with before and who they know are good workers. Moreover, these contacts are not easily developed, and it can take a migrant a few years to build a rapport with the contractors and establish contacts which would given them reasonable amount of work. Migrants are therefore reluctant to move to another naka.

This explains why most migrants who participated in the FGDs were not willing to move to a housing location far from their current naka and near another new naka even if it meant access to better housing options. Only a few of the FGD participants were, for the sake of better housing, willing to move a distance from their current naka to live in better housing. Amongst them, some explained that there should be another naka nearby where they would begin to go in the hope of establishing some contacts within a few weeks. Others felt that getting work at a new naka would take too long and they would rather spend money on transport to continue going to their current nakas. Since better housing options would mean higher housing costs, particularly given the current government housing programmes, it seems unlikely that most migrants would be able to afford incurring transport costs above these housing costs.

### 4.3. Migrants' Perspectives on Housing Affordability and their Housing Preferences

The 2008 report of the High Level Task Force on Affordable Housing for All, set up by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA), defined housing affordability for EWS/LIG households as involving house cost not exceeding four times the household gross income, and EMI/Rent as not exceeding 30% of gross monthly income (MHUPA 2008). Based on this definition, a household with monthly income of Rs.10000 would be considered as having the ability to pay upto Rs.3000 as EMI (Table 40). However, as per the 2016 ICE 360 survey, households with monthly income of Rs.10000 fall in the second-lowest quintile group in terms of per capita income (PCI), and according to the NSSO 68<sup>th</sup> Round the monthly expenditure on rent (shelter) for this quintile group is Rs.1195 (Kumar and Shukla 2018), that is, 10-11% of their monthly income. Scholars have argued that those who fall in the lower PCI quintiles cannot afford spending a higher percentage of their income on housing than they are currently spending as captured by NSSO surveys (Kumar and Shukla 2018). It is therefore important to understand housing affordability from the perspective of the migrants. This section, based on the FGDs with 36 participants covering 29 households, discusses the migrants' views on their housing affordability.<sup>10</sup> The FGDs also revealed that just because migrants felt they were able to afford a certain amount for housing did not mean they were willing to spend this on any type of improved housing/shelter given to them, and that willingness was linked to their housing preferences.

**Table 40: Housing Affordability**

Monthly Household Income (in rupees)	Housing Affordability (in rupees)	
	30% of monthly income	10% of monthly earnings
5000-10000	1500-3000	500-1000
10000-15000	3000-4500	1000-1500
15000-20000	4500-6000	1500-2000
20000-25000	6000-7500	2000-2500

<sup>10</sup> One FGD participant, a permanent migrant whose family was working in sanitation and not in construction, reported very low household earnings during the FGD, however, the discussion with her during the fieldvisit suggested a much higher income which we were not able to gauge. We have therefore not considered her in this discussion which is based on 36 of the 37 FGD participants.



**Box 1: Work-related vulnerabilities amongst migrant construction workers**

Finding work at the naka is a daily affair, and there is no guarantee that one will get work on a particular day. This is irregular work, does not involve a fixed employer, and the chances of getting work also vary by season, as well as depend on other factors as discussed below.

Summer is generally the peak period with maximum days of finding work. A significant number of FGD participants reported getting work for 20-25 days in the month during the summer; a few said they got work for 25-28 days; while several also said that they get work for 15-20 days. Those who get less than 20 days of work in the summer months are generally those who have still not been able to establish good contacts at the naka, or where a woman is the main earning member and cannot look for work as a *jodi* (pair) along with her husband. This was the case with one FGD participant who was a widow and another participant who had an alcoholic husband; neither had an adult son with whom they could get work as a pair.

Winter is also a busy season, and most FGD participants reported getting only a little less work than in the summer. For instance, most of the participants who said they got 20-25 days of work in the summer reported getting 15-20 or 18-22 days of work in the winter. However, some participants did say that in the winter they got almost the same number of days of work as in the summer or even less. Monsoon is the most difficult season for getting work at the naka for those who do not return to their villages for the entire farming season. Not only does work come to a stop during heavy rains but less construction work is undertaken in the monsoon in anticipation of rains. Most of the FGD participants thus reported getting 10-12 days of work in the month, while some said they got only 5-10 days of work in the month.

There can be variations within a household in how much work different earning members get. For instance, a few middle-aged married couples, working as construction labour since many years, reported getting 20-25 days of work in the month, adding that their son and daughter-in-law who lived with them, got less work for 15-20 days because the former still did not have good contacts at the naka and could not always get work through their contacts. Two of the FGD participants who were skilled workers also take up work as unskilled labour at times because they still do not have good enough contacts at the naka. Several FGD participants also reported instances of being cheated by contractors which impacted their earnings. This vulnerability to exploitation by employers comes out of the nature of informal unorganized labour that is construction labour. The vulnerability is more acute amongst migrants because they have access to few networks in the city to counter this exploitation.

As explained in the research methodology (section 2.2), the FGDs included asking each participant to tell us the amount they thought they could afford to pay for housing on a monthly basis, keeping in mind the previous discussions on their household's migration patterns, their remittances to the village and their household's earnings in the city. These amounts have to be understood in relation to their income in the city, which has been calculated based on discussions about:

- (i) The daily wages that each household's earning members get at the naka: This is based on each member's skill level, but it was also found that in some households, some members got more or less wages depending on their level of experience and contacts at the naka.
- (ii) The number of days the household's earning members get work for in the month over different seasons (summer, monsoon and winter): It was found that in some households, the younger earning members got less work in the month due to lesser experience and fewer contacts at the naka (see Box 1).
- (iii) The number of months in a year that the household stays in the city: This was discussed for the past one year, but variations across different years were also explored (see Box 2). Three households were found to be short-term migrants, that is, spending 2.5-4 months in the city; and five households spent almost all 12 months of the year in the city. The remaining 22 households were in the city for 7.5-11.5 months of the year. It was also found that in several households, some members were in the city for 1-2 months more or less than the other members.

#### **Box 2: Migration cycles and village-based agricultural livelihoods**

The number of months that the migrants spend in the city depends on various factors such as their agricultural landholdings in the village, fertility of the land, access to water for irrigation, presence of elders in the family to look after agriculture in their absence, as well as outstanding and anticipated expenses and debts that have to be paid through city earnings (for farming, marriages, social obligations and health).

The amount of farmland owned by the FGD participants was captured and used as one of the foundations for discussing and understanding migration cycles and livelihoods. Only 8 of the 30 households that participated in the FGDs reported landholdings of 3.5-6 bigha, however, in all these cases this land was shared amongst three or more brothers, pointing to each ultimately inheriting 1-2 bigha (women are excluded from having a share in inheriting farmland). 14 FGD participants reported having inherited 1-3 bigha of land which is farmed by them and/or the older generation (parents / in-laws) who are part of their village household. Only one FGD participant reported owning more land. Seven of the 30 FGD participants did not own any land in the village – this included three non-tribal local or permanent migrant households and two tribal permanent migrant households, all of who are in the city for almost all 12 months of the year, as well as two tribal seasonal migrant households who spend 1-1.5 months in their village each year despite not having land.

All of the participants who had some farmland spent some of their city earnings on cultivating the land. These remittances for securing village-based agricultural livelihoods was an important expense for them. The remittances varied, with some spending Rs.3000-4000 in the year while others spending more, upto Rs.15000 in the year. Their remittance amounts depended on how much land they were farming, whether the remittances were shared between brothers, etc. Majority of them also spent time in farming, although the amount of time spent varied considerably, from all the months of monsoon and winter, to a full month in each of these two seasons, to a few week-long trips in one or two of these seasons.

Below we outline and discuss the findings with regard to the FGD participants' household incomes in the city and their views on housing affordability and housing preferences.

### ***Short-term migrant households***

Three of the households who participated in the FGDs were short-term migrant households, that is, working/living in the city for 2.5-4 months of the year. All three households were in the city during the summer months; two of the households were in the city for 15 days to a month in the winter also; none of them were in the city during the monsoon. All the earning members of these three households were unskilled and mainly comprised of a husband-wife couple. The annual income of these three households was in the range of Rs.26,000-66,000 and their monthly income while they were in the city was in the range of Rs.10000-16000. Averaged over the 12 months of the year, their monthly income would be in the much lower range of Rs.2000-6000. For such short-term migrant households, paying for housing in the city all year round is thus not feasible which explains their preference for housing options where they would have to pay only for the period that they are in the city.

One household which was in the city for 4 months of the year and earned Rs.16000 per month during this period did express a preference for ownership housing in a government housing scheme but the economic feasibility of this is questionable as it is unclear if they have any cash income while they are in the village and even if they do, whether they would be able to use any of this on paying the monthly instalments over the entire year. The FGD participants from the other two households – who were earning Rs.10500 per month and Rs.13000 per month during their few months in the city – preferred living on rent, and stated their affordability was Rs.500 per month during the time they are in the city – this is 4-5% of their monthly income during this period.

### ***Long-term migrant households***

26 households who participated in the FGDs were long-term migrant households, that is, they were working/living in the city for 7 months to 12 months of the year. Their annual incomes varied widely, depending on number of earning members; skills and daily wage levels of earning members; number of days they get work at the naka which varies by season, experience and contacts at the naka; and number of months they are in the city during the year. Three households earned between Rs.50,000-1 lakh, 11 households earned between Rs.1-1.5 lakh, five households earned between Rs.1.5-2 lakh, five households earned between Rs.2-2.5 lakh, and two households earned more than Rs.3 lakh. Their average monthly income across the 12 months of the year varies widely from Rs.7000-33000, with nine of the 26 households earning in the range of Rs.7000-10000 per month, eight households earning in the range of Rs.10000-15000, and seven of them earning in the range of Rs.15000-20000 per month (Table 41).

Almost all of them expressed a preference for ownership housing and a reluctance to live in rental housing. Many of them, in fact, emphatically rejected rental housing. This reluctance / rejection emerged from a feeling that spending money on housing was not desirable unless that expenditure finally resulted in owning the house. The preference for ownership

housing was found to be so strong among most of the participants that 11 of them stated that they were ready to pay an initial amount (down-payment) of Rs.15000-20,000 towards an ownership house; nine of them stated that they were ready to pay an even higher down-payment; and five of them stated that they could afford only Rs.5000-10000 as down-payment. Only one household stated that it was not possible for them to pay a down-payment at all.

**Table 41: Monthly Household Income of Long Term Migrants**

<b>Monthly Household Income (in rupees)</b>	<b>Number of FGD Participants</b>
6000-10000	9
10000-15000	8
15000-20000	7
More than 20000	2
	26

The discussions revealed that the participants would try to raise the money for a down-payment through pawning jewellery, drawing upon their savings, borrowing from relatives or a contractor they work regularly with, and/or taking a loan from a moneylender in their village. However, it was not clear how many could really afford the amounts they had stated, especially if it meant taking on debt that involved high interest rates. Even using their savings and pawning jewellery to raise money could be risky for many as these sources of cash are important to tide over times of crisis such as drought or heavy rainfall resulting in destruction of the crop, health-related emergencies, etc. In fact, many of the FGD participants were already in debt in their villages – due to money borrowed for health reasons, marriages, social obligations and farming – which raises questions as to whether the stated ability of many to pay high down-payments towards ownership housing came out of their strong aspiration for this kind of housing or from actual economic viability.

The households gave varying amounts – from Rs.500 to Rs.2500 – as the monthly instalments they would be able to pay towards ownership housing. This represented, for different families, 3-25% of their average monthly income – thus revealing a wide variation in migrants’ views on their housing affordability.

Some of these variations around housing affordability were linked to each participant’s specific circumstances and considerations. This included the extent of their links to their villages; whether they sent remittances to the village for farming inputs and maintenance of household members who lived in the village and how large these amounts were; whether they anticipated incurring any large expenses in the near future (such as for a wedding in the family or social obligations); repayment of debt (taken for reasons such as medical treatment, wedding expenses, etc); and so forth. Two of the FGD participants had adult unmarried sons who contributed to the household income (their household income was thus more than Rs.2 lakh), however, they expected their sons to stop contributing once they got married in a few years. Therefore, they decided to exclude their son’s earnings when determining the monthly instalment amount they could pay for ownership housing. This

also came out of the fact that the government's EWS houses are 1 BHK flats (that is, they comprise of one bedroom, a living room, and a kitchen), which they thought would not properly accommodate a joint family requiring their son to move out once he gets married. Two other FGD participants were very vulnerable women-headed households and since both are in the city for 11.5-12 months of the year, thus being almost permanent migrants, they expressed a strong preference for ownership housing. They were among the nine households with income in the range of Rs.7000-10000 per month, however, they were particularly apprehensive about whether and how they would be able to raise money for a down-payment. One of them felt that she may be able to borrow from some relatives, while the other asserted that she would not be able to raise any money although she could pay Rs.1000 per month. These discussions thus illuminated the different participants' circumstances and the considerations behind their stated housing affordability. However, as already mentioned, despite these discussions, it was still unclear whether the participants' stated affordability was a function of their high aspiration for ownership housing in the city or their actual ability to afford these amounts.

Three of the 26 long-term migrant households, who were living in the open and had expressed a preference for ownership housing, also expressed an openness to living in rental housing if it meant improved shelter and access to basic services. They also expressed an openness to living in homeless shelters as long as they were allowed to live in the shelters' halls as families or given family rooms for which they could pay some rent. The monthly rents they felt they would be able to pay varied from Rs.500 to Rs.1000.

These discussions also raise questions about the relationship between housing affordability and housing preference. Overall, those who were open to rental housing were not necessarily earning lower incomes; and those who expressed a strong preference for ownership housing would not necessarily be able to afford it, at least in the context of current EWS housing programmes which require the beneficiaries to pay high amounts as down-payment and EMI (see Box 3; also see Box 4). The Shri Nanaji Deshmukh Awas Yojana, a welfare scheme of the Gujarat Construction Workers Welfare Board (GCWWB), could substantially lower this amount for migrant naka workers. The scheme gives financial aid of Rs.1,60,000 to male construction workers and Rs.1,70,000 to female construction workers who are allotted a EWS house in a government housing scheme. However, large numbers of seasonal migrant naka workers not yet registered with the GCWWB (see section 4.4), and this is an issue that would have to be addressed first. Even if they are registered, the scheme's criteria currently requires the construction worker to have been registered with the GCWWB for two years continuously before he/she can avail of the scheme (Desai 2017).

Overall, the discussions on affordability caution us against a purely economic notion of affordability as perceptions of affordability were also tied to the participants' housing preferences. One participant felt that if she were to live in rental housing she could be asked to vacate anytime; this sense of tenure insecurity led her to reject rental housing. Many of the FGD participants referred to "AUDA Awas" (a popular term used to refer to the four-storey EWS housing constructed by both AUDA and AMC in Ahmedabad) and expressed an interest in knowing how they could apply for such a house. The state's discourse and practice that has emphasized housing ownership over the past decade is likely to also be playing a significant role in shaping the housing preferences and aspirations of the poor.

### **Box 3: Brief Note on EWS Housing Programmes in Ahmedabad**

The AMC's current EWS housing programme, which has merged the Gujarat government's Mukhya Mantri GRUH Yojana (MMGY) with PMAY, seems to be less accessible to the urban poor than its previous EWS housing under the BSUP programme. Under BSUP, the total beneficiary contribution was less than Rs.1 lakh, the beneficiary was required to pay a relatively low upfront contribution (approximately Rs.7000) before getting possession of the house, and had to then pay monthly installments for a period of several years until the total contribution was paid off. Under the current EWS housing programme under MMGY-PMAY, the total beneficiary contribution is Rs.3 lakh and the beneficiaries have to finish paying the entire beneficiary contribution to the AMC before getting possession of the house. This is to be made possible through housing loans from banks and microfinance institutions (MFIs) (BSUP did not include access to credit). However, while PMAY subsidizes the interest rates, the down-payment is high and the EMI is also high.

SEWA Bank is one of the empanelled MFIs, and a discussion with a SEWA Bank official revealed that the beneficiary can apply for a loan for a EWS house only after he/she has paid Rs.52500 to the AMC over the first three months after allotment of the house.<sup>11</sup> The maximum loan is therefore of Rs.2.4 lakh. The loan is generally for 10-15 years at an interest rate of 11%. EMI was thus Rs.3300 for a 10-year loan and Rs.2700 for a 15-year loan. For a migrant naka worker with monthly household income of Rs.10000, this EMI amount would be 27-33% of their monthly income. For a migrant naka worker with monthly household income of Rs.15000, this EMI amount would be 18-22% of their monthly income. These EMI amounts are also higher than the monthly affordability of Rs.500-2500 expressed by any of our FGD participants. Interestingly, SEWA Bank has also given loans to some women for the down-payment of Rs.52500 – part of this amount is given by taking jewellery as collateral while part of the amount is given as an unsecured loan. However, since PMAY's interest subsidy does not apply to this, SEWA bank gives this loan at a higher interest rate.

For migrant naka workers – given lack of documented proof of income, irregular work and variation in getting work in different seasons, not to speak of the fact that many may be in the city for less than 9-10 months of the year – getting a loan from a bank is an impossibility, but it is not clear if even microfinance institutions will lend to them. The discussion at the SEWA Bank revealed that as part of the loan application it requires one document that would be proof of residence in the city. All these aspects point to the current EWS housing programme being unaffordable and inaccessible to migrant naka workers.

A final point worth noting here is that discussions at SEWA Bank, ICICI Bank and Micro Housing Finance Corporation revealed that those who had taken loans for a EWS house were regularly paying their EMIs, but an officer at ICICI Bank explained that defaults generally start 3-4 years after the loan is taken. He anticipated defaulting on loans as one of the challenges they would encounter. This raises questions about what would happen were a beneficiary to default on the loan repayment taken from a private-sector bank or micro-finance institution for a EWS house, the role of the government in this regard, and whether this could put poor households at risk.

---

<sup>11</sup> Discussion at SEWA Bank, June 18, 2018.

**Box 4: Relocation of Migrant Naka Workers in EWS Housing in Ahmedabad**

About 40 families of migrant naka workers were given ownership housing at Jay Prakash Nagar, a BSUP site in Ahmedabad in mid-2016. This was resettlement housing given under the Metro project which led to the demolition of their squatter settlement. The Metro project has a relatively liberal R&R policy under which the evicted families did not have to pay any beneficiary contribution towards the EWS houses they were given. In fact, they were also given monetary compensation of Rs.85000 to help them cope with the displacement and establish themselves at their new housing sites. This is unlike other projects involving resettlement in Ahmedabad wherein the evicted families who have been given resettlement have been required to pay a beneficiary contribution of Rs.70,000 towards the EWS house allotted to them.

The migrant workers and their families who were resettled at Jay Prakash Nagar were glad to have received a EWS house but they also pointed out issues with water potability (an issue that was finally addressed in 2018 by the installation of a municipal standpost for each building) and maintenance, especially of leaking water and drainage pipes in the buildings. AMC considers the maintenance of these building pipes as the people's responsibility but the migrants said that they did not have the wherewithal to finance the necessary repairs. This raises questions of the extent to which this is, in fact, improved housing, especially as such maintenance issues related to water leakages can result in serious structural issues in the buildings.

The migrant workers used to live in a squatter settlement in Juhapura, and used to walk to the Juhapura naka to get work. After being resettled at Jay Prakash Nagar, many shifted over time to go to the nearby naka, Naroda naka, but even two years after resettlement many said that they were unable to get the amount of work they used to get at Juhapura naka. Building contacts at the new naka had proved to be more challenging than they had anticipated (see section 4.2). Women in particular faced far less days of work than earlier, explaining that this was also due to the large number of men at the Naroda naka. It is possible that the monetary compensation has helped the migrants to cope with these livelihood impacts, although research would be required to understand how the migrants spent the compensation money.

Overall, the question raised by this relocation under the Metro project is whether migrant naka workers would be able to cope with moving to a EWS site that is at a considerable distance from their current nakas and that requires them to incur expenses on maintenance, especially if they have to pay a beneficiary contribution for the housing (as outlined in Box 3, these beneficiary contributions have also increased under the current EWS housing programme).

**4.4. Migrants' Eligibility for Housing and Basic Services in the City**

Government housing programmes in the city generally require the potential beneficiary to furnish certain documents as proof of their identity and residence in the city. They also often require these documents to prove that the person has been living in the city since a particular number of years. Without such documents, a potential beneficiary is unable to

prove their eligibility for the housing programme and gets excluded from its benefits. The absence of such documents for the city among seasonal and circular migrants has frequently excluded them for getting resettlement housing in case of eviction as well as prevented them from applying for a EWS house under government housing programmes. Local governments also require city residents to furnish some of these documents for getting basic services such as an individual water or sewerage connection in their basti. Absence of such documents among seasonal and circular migrants means that they cannot realize their entitlements to basic services in the city. This section presents the findings from the FGDs with regard to the documents that the participants had in order to gauge whether they would be eligible for basic services in their basti and urban housing programmes.

Almost all the 37 FGD participants had documents such as a ration card, election card and Aadhar card but in most cases these documents recorded their village address and not their housing location in the city (Table 42). Thus, 32 participants had a ration card in the village, 33 participants had election cards for the village and went back during elections to exercise their voting rights, and 33 participants had Aadhar cards for the village. Significantly, in the case of ration cards, several participants were not the primary card-holder but had their name included in the card. For instance, the card was in the name of their father, and despite being married and even having children they had not got a separate ration card made. Only three participants had a ration card for the city, two participants had an election card for the city and four has an Aadhar card for the city – those who had these city documents were permanent migrants with few ties to their village anymore.

For construction workers to be eligible for most of the GCWWB's welfare programmes, including its housing subsidy scheme, they must be registered with the GCWWB. Only 6 of the 37 participants had this registration booklet. Among those who did not have the GCWWB booklet, most were not aware of the booklet or vaguely knew about it but did not know its purpose. 28 participants reported having a bank account in their name or in their spouse's name or joint accounts while 9 participants did not have a bank account. Significantly, among these 28 participants, only two had a bank account in the city. A few of them had opened an account in the village just to avail of a government scheme such as the Indira Awas Yojana, but were not using the account anymore. Only a few participants had other official documents that could possibly serve as some kind of proof of being in the city, such as a Mamta card (maternity health benefit card issued by the government).

**Table 42: Documents for identity proof and residential address among FGD participants**

Documents of identity proof and residential address	No. of Participants having the document		No. of Participants without document	Total
	In the village	In the city		
Ration Card	32	3	2	37
Election Card	33	2	2	37
Aadhar Card	33	4	0	37
GCWWB registration booklet	NA	6	31	37
Bank Account	26	2	9	37



In the absence of having documents to prove their presence in the city for a particular number of years we also explored whether the participants had an employer who would be willing to provide them with a document that states that they have worked under him in Ahmedabad since a specific number of years. Although naka workers do not have a fixed employer, some have worked repeatedly with a particular contractor or may have worked with a particular contractor in the past for a long time and still retain contact with him. About 50% of the participants said they had good relationships with one or two contractors who have employed them and were confident that they would provide them with such a document if there was ever a need. Some of them also stated that their relationships were so good with the contractor that he would also give a document like this to their close kin who work as construction workers. It is, however, noteworthy that about half of the FGD participants also said that they would find it difficult or even impossible to get such a document from a contractor.

#### **4.5. Migrants' Perspectives on the Social Composition of their Housing Spaces**

Many of the migrants live in settlements consisting of their kin and/or others from their migration source areas, while some also live in mixed communities of locals and migrants from other regions. Since housing is not only a physical space but also a social space with important implications for well-being and even access to urban opportunities, this section explores the migrants' perspectives on the social composition of their current housing spaces as well as of any future housing space they may inhabit.

Kin networks and contacts with other migrants from their village / surrounding villages were found to play an important role in housing related decisions of a migrant. In most cases, where a migrant decides to live in the city when he/she first migrates to the city depends on where his/her kin or others from their migration source area are located in the city. Often this also means that a migrant does not make a clear decision about living in a particular housing typology based on his/her affordability, but rather ends up inhabiting a particular typology and incurring certain housing costs because their kin or social contacts from their village live in a particular settlement and have aided them in accessing shelter in the same (also see Desai and Sanghvi 2019). Most of the migrants in the FGDs were living in the same settlement that they had entered into when they first migrated to the city. Where they had moved to live elsewhere in the city, they had rarely moved on their own but had moved as a group, along with their kin and/or social contacts from their migration source area.

Migrants prefer living among kin and/or others from their migration source area because it forms a crucial support system in the city for them. After they return from work, they enjoy talking to each other which is important to them because they have no other source of recreation in the city. They look after each other's children when required. They also share work-related information with each other. If a contractor has approached one of them for work which they cannot take up they would pass on the opportunity to their kin. Several migrants reported that they received work in this manner from one another. Irregularity in finding work at the naka means irregularly of earnings, and migrants often borrow or lend small amounts of money to each other to tide over periods of less work. Money is borrowed in this manner to purchase basic necessities, repay loans back in the village, travel back to the village or for any sudden unforeseen expense that comes up in the city. Depending on

their own financial capacity, the migrants reported that they can lend amounts of upto Rs.3000-6000 to other migrants. The migrants also have poor access to healthcare in the city and reported that they assist each other in times of illness and medical emergency.

Although some of the migrants in the FGDs lived in settlements also inhabited by other migrant communities and/or locals, they had limited interaction from anyone outside their community. In only one settlement, the migrants said that they shared close ties with some of the permanent migrants who were from another community, and even helped each other out with small loans. Living around kin and contacts from their migration source areas also made most of them feel safer. Given that their vulnerable housing conditions leads to a greater vulnerability to theft of their belongings and harassment, many felt they can raise a voice and gather people around them easily because they are living among their own community.

Most of the migrants in the FGDs stated that if the state gives them housing at another location, other members of their community should also be allotted housing at the same location so that they have each other's support. They felt that if they were separated from their kin and did not know anyone else, they would have problems in adjusting to the new location and would be concerned about their safety. As discussed in section 4.3, most of the FGD participants who were long-term migrants and living in squatter settlements expressed a preference for ownership housing over rental housing. Some of the more economically vulnerable migrants living in the same settlements felt they could not afford ownership housing and were therefore open to living in rental housing, but at the same time they expressed concerns about being separated from their kin who had expressed a preference and affordability for ownership housing. This suggests that migrants want to continue to live among kin and other migration-source-area-based community despite differences in economic status amongst them because of their close social ties and the various kinds of social support this provides to them. However, in case their present bastis are demolished and they succeed in getting relocation (a possibility in some of the Railway land bastis since nearby metre-gauge lines are being converted to broad-gauge), differences in affordability within these migrant communities may not allow all of them to transition to ownership housing unless housing programmes recognize these differences and address them – some possibilities for doing so include creating different packages of assistance and payment, providing a mix of ownership and rental housing within the same relocation sites, etc.

A final point of significance that came up in the FGDs was that migrants often open up their homes to their relatives who migrate to the city for the first time. In one migrant's case, he regularly opened up his home to extended family members who spent only a few months of the year in the city; they would keep their belongings at his hut while cooking and sleeping in the open nearby. The migrants do not take any rent or money from such extended family members. These flexible housing arrangements in squatter settlements offer important support to many new migrants to the city as it allows them to find a secure place to stay without immediately spending much money.

## 5. Future Directions

Housing improvements for the migrant naka workers in Ahmedabad will have to adopt a multi-pronged approach. Below we outline some possibilities for consideration to take forward the discussion on how to improve housing for migrant naka workers:

1. Extension of basic services like water, sanitation and electricity into the squatter settlements where the migrants are currently living. The kind of basic services to be provided may differ in the different settlements depending on their tenure.

- In settlements on AMC or State government lands or private lands, it should be possible to carry out extensive in-situ upgrading, starting with common services such as adequate municipal standposts and public, shared or non-chargeable pay-and-use toilets. Sending water tankers and setting up mobile toilets are also an option, however, these should be seen as a stopgap measure until better water and sanitation infrastructure is built on a priority basis in these settlements.
- In settlements on the land of the Railway authority, the desired step would be for the AMC and/or the State government to open a dialogue with this authority, and along with the communities living on these lands, find appropriate interventions. This could involve in-situ improvements if acceptable to the Railway authority or resettlement preferably at nearby locations but where the migrants are not burdened with the costs of resettlement.
- Where the settlements are in public spaces like roadsides / footpaths and under flyovers, provision of water through tankers is a possibility. These migrants should be linked to nearby pay-and-use toilets through user cards so that they do not have to pay or can pay nominal monthly amounts to access sanitation. The timings of these toilets also need to be set after discussions with the migrants living nearby who desire to use them. Monitoring of the agencies contracted to run these toilets also needs to be improved by the AMC so that the caretakers do not charge the migrants as they please, and the toilets are kept clean and maintained. This might also require the AMC to reconsider the financial model for some of these toilets so that running these toilets are viable for these agencies. In the settlements where there are no nearby pay-and-use toilets, mobile toilets can be placed nearby – this will also require the AMC to better monitor the agencies contracted to maintain these toilets.

2. Linking migrant naka workers to the government's ownership housing programmes, particularly in instances where these workers are in the city for a substantial number of months across all three seasons of the year (summer, monsoon and winter) and in instances where these migrants are living in bastis that cannot be upgraded in-situ easily due to tenure issues (e.g. squatter settlements on the lands of the Railway authority and squatter settlements in public spaces):

- Questions of eligibility will have to be addressed given that most of these migrants do not have documents with their residential address of the city.
- Questions of affordability will have to be addressed. In the current EWS housing programmes under MMGY-PMAY, the beneficiary contribution amounts – including both down-payment and EMI amounts if a housing loan is taken – would have to be looked into since currently these are beyond the capacity of most of these migrants.

- Questions of housing maintenance will have to be addressed as government housing projects often become vertical slums and in absence of proper maintenance can even develop structural problems which can have serious consequences for the residents. Currently, the AMC approaches maintenance issues at EWS housing sites in ad-hoc ways since it considers the residents as being responsible for the maintenance, but residents do not have the wherewithal to undertake certain kinds of necessary repairs.
- The EWS housing sites being currently developed can be used for resettlement of migrants where they are presently threatened with eviction such as the Railway lands. However, as mentioned earlier, the migrants should not be burdened with the costs of resettlement. Housing locations need to be sensitively identified for resettlement through discussion with the migrants so that their livelihoods are least impacted.

### 3. Developing Rental housing including Rent-to-Ownership options:

- The Draft National Urban Rental Housing Policy 2015, which came out of the 2013 report by MHUPA's Task Force on Rental Housing, sees rental housing as "a catalytic force to achieve the overall goal of Housing for All." It mentions promoting PPPs to promote rental housing, and also mentions "need-based rental housing" on short/mid/long term basis for migrant labour among other groups.
- A National Urban Rental Housing Policy should be finalized and translated into a programme with guidelines, budgetary outlay and specific modalities for providing, managing and financing rental housing.
- The Gujarat Government could take the initiative to develop a State-level Urban Rental Housing Policy and Programme. The Gujarat Housing Board could play an important role in this regard.
- Rentals need to be developed looking into the range of rents that different migrants may be able to afford.
- The institutional structure to manage formal rental housing will be important. One possibility is for the State Housing Board or even the ULB to float a non-profit or limited profit rental management company with the required technical, social, financial and tenure management capacities (IIHS 2015). In case of PPPs, there would need to be instruments for the regulation of the private-sector actors.
- Questions of land allocation for rental housing, and sensitivity to questions of rental housing location, will have to be addressed.
- A policy discussion on whether and how to regulate the informal rental housing sector is overdue and necessary because in many cases the present lack of regulation leads to inadequate basic services and ad-hoc rent increases faced by tenants, especially the more vulnerable migrant workers.

### 4. Homeless shelters

- The total capacity of the homeless shelters in Ahmedabad is currently not adequate – many more shelters are required, at appropriate locations. It will be important to look into the available budget under SUH for Ahmedabad to gauge the number and type of shelters that can be built.
- The design of the current shelters in Ahmedabad is inappropriate for families. Nonetheless some shelters have migrant families living in them, but it is not clear if they will be able to continue living in them under the recent, new set of guidelines for the NGOs managing the shelters. If the guidelines force men and women to sleep in the

different halls then the families currently using these shelters may even move out of the shelters. Design of new shelters should include accommodation for families.

#### 5. Role of the Gujarat Construction Workers' Welfare Board

- The GCWWB's temporary housing scheme, the Pandit Deendayal Hungami Awas Yojana, does not benefit the naka workers. A policy discussion involving all the relevant stakeholders is required on whether and how a percentage of the cess can be used to provide decent housing to the migrant naka workers. This could involve collaboration with the ULBs and State government providing the land and GCWWB providing the finances for building rental labour colonies. Developers without the space resources to provide decent accommodation to their on-site workers could also pay the rent to accommodate these workers in these labour colonies. Institutional structures to manage these labour colonies would have to be discussed.

## References

Aajeevika Bureau (2007). "Migrant Construction Workers in Ahmedabad: A Profile," Shramik Sahayata Evam Sandarbha Kendra, Aajeevika Bureau, Ahmedabad, December.

Aajeevika Bureau (2016). "Survey of Nakas in Ahmedabad," Aajeevika Bureau, Ahmedabad.

BSC (2009). "Situational Analysis of Construction Labour Market in Ahmedabad City," Report by Behavioural Science Center, Ahmedabad, March.

Desai, R., S. Soni, U. Vaid and M. Mevada (2014). "Housing Conditions of Construction Workers in Ahmedabad." Research report, Centre for Urban Equity, CEPT University, Ahmedabad.

Desai, R. (2017). "Entitlements of Seasonal Migrant Construction Workers to Housing, Basic Services and Social Infrastructure in Gujarat's Cities: A Background Policy Paper." Working paper 35, Centre for Urban Equity, CEPT University, Ahmedabad. <https://cept.ac.in/center-for-urban-equity-cue/working-papers>

Desai, R. and S. Sanghvi (forthcoming 2019). "Migrant Construction Workers' Housing in Ahmedabad: Seasonal Construction Labour, Translocal Lives and Urban Governance." Report prepared for the Building Inclusive Urban Communities (BInUCom) project, funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union. <http://moodle.donau-uni.ac.at/binucom/>

IIHS (2015). "Instituting Rental Housing," Policy brief 5, Indian Institute for Human Settlements, Bangalore.

Kumar, A. and S.K. Shukla (2018). "Is Affordable Housing Really Affordable for the Urban Poor," Working Paper 9, Chetna Kasyap Foundation, New Delhi.

Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA) (2008). Report of the High Level Task Force on Affordable Housing for All. New Delhi: Government of India.

## **Annexures**

**Annexure 1: List of Nakas in Ahmedabad (2018)**

1	N.R. Patel Park naka, Wadaj	37	Meghani Nagar Last Bus stand
2	Akhbar Nagar Circle	38	Memco cross-roads
3	Ambawadi naka	39	Memnagar Valinath Chowk
4	Amraiwadi naka	40	Naroda Gaam
5	Astodiya naka	41	Naroda Sutar Na Karkhana
6	Bapunagar Char rasta	42	Narol naka
7	Bhaipura naka	43	Nikol Gaam naka
8	Bibi Talav naka	44	Nirnay Nagar (Garnala) naka
9	Bopal naka	45	Odhav naka
10	Chamunda Nagar naka	46	Paldi naka
11	Chanakyapuri naka (below railway bridge)	47	Prakash Nagar naka, Chandlodia
12	Chandkheda Jantanagar	48	Rabari Vasahat naka, Wadaj
13	Chandlodia naka (below railway bridge)	49	Raipur Chakla
14	Chandola Talav naka	50	Raipur naka (Big Bazaar)
15	CTM cross roads	51	Rajendra Park naka
16	Dani Limda naka	52	Rakhial naka
17	Dariyapur naka	53	Rameshwar Mahadev, Meghaninagar
18	Dehgaam naka	54	Rameshwar Naka, Meghaninagar
19	Ghatlodia naka	55	Ranip naka (near Ranip bus stand)
20	Ghodasar Smruti Mandir	56	Sabarmati Ramnagar naka
21	Gomtipur Darwaja	57	Saraspur naka (near Amruta mill)
22	Gota Gaam naka	58	Sardar Nagar naka
23	Gurukul naka	59	Sarkhej naka
24	Hatkeshwar naka	60	Shahpur naka
25	Idgah chowk	61	Silver Star naka, Chandlodia
26	Isanpur naka	62	Sukhram Nagar naka
27	Jamalpur naka	63	Thakkarbapa Nagar naka
28	Jashoda Chowkdi	64	Thaltej naka
29	Jawahar Chowk, Maninagar	65	Umiya Nagar Bhaitak
30	Jivraj Park naka	66	Vasna naka
31	Juhapura naka	67	Vastral naka
32	Khadia naka	68	Vatwa Gaam naka
33	Khodiyarnagar naka	69	Vejalpur naka (Bhoot Bhawani)
34	Kuber Nagar naka	70	Vejalpur Railway Crossing
35	Lambha Gaam naka	71	Vyasvadi naka
36	Majur gaam, Gita Mandir		



**Annexure 2: Questionnaire Survey**  
(prepared and conducted using Kobo Toolbox)

**Name of Naka:** \_\_\_\_\_

**A. Basic information**

1. Name of Migrant worker: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Gender: \_\_\_\_\_
4. State:           (i) Gujarat  
                     (ii) Rajasthan  
                     (iii) Madhya Pradesh  
                     (iv) Maharashtra  
                     (v) Bihar  
                     (vii) Other: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
5. District: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Taluka / Tehsil: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Village: specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**B. Migrant Household and Employment Details**

1. Migrant Household Status:   Single Migrant / Family Migrant
2. Number of Household Members in the city: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Number of Earning Members in the city: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Skill Level of respondent:     Skilled / Unskilled
5. Presence of skilled worker in the household: Yes / No
6. Type of Work (select all applicable):   (i) Masonry (kadiya kaam)  
                                                     (ii) Plastering (chantar)  
                                                     (iii) Slabwork  
                                                     (iv) Digging  
                                                     (v) Carrying load  
                                                     (vi) Centering  
                                                     (vii) Tiles and Stone work  
                                                     (viii) Painting  
                                                     (ix) Other: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Daily wage: \_\_\_\_\_
8. Additional notes, if any, on migrant household and employment: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**C. Migration Duration and Cycle**

1. Duration of coming to Ahmedabad (in years): \_\_\_\_\_
2. Duration in Ahmedabad during the year (in months): \_\_\_\_\_

## D. Housing

1. Name of Settlement and nearby landmarks: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Housing Typology: (select appropriate answer after asking the respondent necessary questions regarding the settlement he/she lives in):
  - (i) Squatter Settlement
  - (ii) Rental Room in Chali
  - (iii) Rental Room in Public Housing
  - (iv) Renting a Spot on Land
  - (v) Public Space (footpath, roadside, under flyover)
  - (vi) Homeless shelter
  - (vii) Own house in public housing
  - (viii) Other: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Quality of Shelter (select answer after asking respondent about the material of roof, wall, etc):
  - (i) Kutcha
  - (ii) Semi-pucca
  - (iii) Pucca
  - (iv) *Potla*
4. Size of shelter (in terms of number of rooms): \_\_\_\_\_
5. Since how many years have you been living in this particular shelter?: \_\_\_\_\_
6. If rental, then how much monthly rent? \_\_\_\_\_
7. If squatter settlement or public space, informal costs of occupying the land, if any: \_\_\_\_\_
8. If single male migrant, do you share the room: Yes / No
9. If single male migrant sharing a room, how many men share the room: \_\_\_\_\_
10. Number of households in the settlement: \_\_\_\_\_
11. Social composition of the settlement: The other residents are: (select all applicable):
  - (i) Locals
  - (ii) People from their community (their village / nearby villages / relatives)
  - (iii) People from other migrant communities
  - (iv) Other: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
12. Additional notes, if any, on housing: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## E. Transport from Shelter to Naka

1. Mode of travel (select all applicable):
  - (i) Walk
  - (ii) Cycle
  - (iii) Private Auto
  - (iv) Shared Auto
  - (v) AMTS bus
  - (vi) BRTS bus
  - (vii) Motorcycle
  - (viii) Other: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Cost of travel from shelter to naka (one-way): \_\_\_\_\_
3. Time taken to get to the naka (in minutes): \_\_\_\_\_

4. Additional notes, if any, on transport: \_\_\_\_\_

## F. Basic Services

1. Toilets (select all applicable):
  - (i) Individual
  - (ii) Shared
  - (iii) Public toilet block
  - (iv) Pay-and-use toilet block
  - (v) Open defecation
  - (vi) Other: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Electricity in the shelter: Yes / No
3. Electricity Cost (select one):
  - (i) Included in rent
  - (ii) Have to pay monthly / once in two months
  - (iii) No cost
4. Water sources (select all applicable):
  - (i) Individual tap
  - (ii) Shared municipal taps in the settlement
  - (iii) Borewell with motor in the settlement
  - (iv) Handpump in the settlement
  - (v) Municipal water tankers
  - (vi) Residential / commercial / industrial buildings outside settlement
  - (vii) Government facilities (water distribution station / sewage treatment plant / police station / homeless shelter / etc)
  - (viii) Other: specify: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you pay for water: Yes / No
6. If you pay, how much: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Additional notes, if any, on services (if using pay & use toilet, ask about costs): \_\_\_\_\_

## G. Tenure Security

1. Have you faced eviction?      At your current location: Yes / No  
                                                 In any previous location: Yes / No
2. Do you feel a fear of eviction at your current location?: Yes / No
3. Additional notes, if any, on evictions / harassment: \_\_\_\_\_

**H. Respondent's Mobile Number (optional):**

**Annexure 3: Tool Developed for Focus Group Discussions**  
(prepared and conducted using A1 sheets)

**I. FGD Profile**

Date of FGD	
Time of FGD	
Venue of FGD	
Name of Basti(s)*	
Housing Typology	
Number of Participants	

\* Each FGD includes participants from no more than two bastis

**II. Participant Profile**

	Participants					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Name						
Age						
State						
District						
Naka						
Skill Level						
Nature of Work						
No. of Years in the City						
Name of Basti						
No. of Years in the Basti						
Other Remarks						
Mobile Number						

**III. Discussion on Housing Conditions and Experiences in their Basti(s)**

**Status of Basic Services and Related Costs**

Basic services	Status of provision and access; related experiences	Costs
Water		
Toilets		
Bathing		
Drainage / Waterlogging issues		
Electricity / Other means of lighting		

**Shelter Conditions and Related Costs**

Materials used by participants to construct their shelter	
Costs incurred annually for (re)building the shelter / repairs	

### Cooking

Fuel used for cooking and related costs	
Any issues faced around cooking due to housing conditions	

### Eviction faced in their Current / Previous Bastis

Frequency of eviction, Recent eviction	
Damage caused to shelter / belongings, Costs incurred as a result of such damage	

### Informal Costs (Bribes) they have to incur to squat on the land

Amount and frequency	
----------------------	--

### Safety and Security in their Basti(s)

Theft	
Harassment by non-state actors ( <i>gundagardi</i> )	
Women's safety	
Children's safety	
Other	

## IV. Discussion on their Household Composition across the City and the Village

	Participants					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Household members in the city						
Household members in the village						

## V. Discussion on their Migration Pattern (time spent in the city/village during different seasons and festival times) and Remittances

Migration Pattern	Participants					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Monsoon season						
Diwali festival						
Winter season						
Holi festival (and season for marriages)						
Summer season						

<b>Remittances</b> (amount of farmland and farming related remittances, remittances for the maintenance of household members living in the village)						
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--

## VI. Discussion on their Housing Affordability, Preferences, Aspirations

(Discussion to begin with how much work they get / their earnings, followed by a discussion on their housing preferences and what they think is their housing affordability)

		Participants					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>No. of days they get work in a month*</b>	Summer						
	Winter						
	Monsoon						
<b>Housing preferences</b> (ownership, rental, homeless shelters, in-situ upgrading)							
<b>Affordability</b>							
Amount of monthly rent / instalments, amount of down-payment in case preference is for ownership housing							
How would they raise this money?							

\* Capture any significant variations amongst the earning members of the household

Additional notes for open-ended discussion on their housing affordability and preferences:

## VII. Discussion on the Relationship of their Housing Location to the Naka

(probes: how far is the naka from their basti, how do they go to the naka and any costs incurred for transport, whether they would be able to incur transport costs if ever given housing at a distant site, whether they would continue to go to the same naka by incurring transport costs or start going to a new nearby naka and why)

### VIII. Discussion on the Social Composition and Social Relations in their Basti

(probes: the role of kin and other migrants from their village / surrounding villages who live in their basti, their thoughts on government housing programmes which randomly allot houses across different sites to members of the same basti)

### IX. Documents in the City and the Village

	Participants					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ration card						
Election card						
Aadhar card						
BPL card						
GCWWB registration booklet						
Bank account						
Other (Mamta card etc)						
Could they get a letter from a contractor / developer about the number of years they have been living in the city?						

#### **Annexure 4: “Settlement Profile” Tool for Fieldvisit to Rental Spot on Land**

Name of Settlement and Location: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Fieldvisit: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Information on Landowner / Landlord / Caretaker for landowner:
2. Number of families / individuals living in the settlement:
3. Their migration source area:
4. Name of naka and time to get to naka:
5. Rent:
6. Housing and Basic Services:
  - a. Materials used to construct shelters:
  - b. Water access (source, costs, supply times, etc):
  - c. Toilet access:
  - d. Bathrooms / Bathing spaces:
  - e. Drainage conditions (if waterlogging, impact on shelter, cooking):
  - f. Electricity access:
  - g. Nature of Cooking spaces, fuel used and costs:
7. Experiences with regard to:
  - a. Thefts:
  - b. Goondagardi:
  - c. Women’s safety:
  - d. Children’s safety:
  - e. Relationship with landlord:
  - f. Eviction (including at any previous location):
8. Other notes:



### **Annexure 5: “Migrant Profile” Tool for Fieldvisit to Rental Spot on Land**

Name of Settlement: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Fieldvisit: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Migrant’s name: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Number of years they have been coming to Ahmedabad: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Details of Family members in the city (including skill & wages):

5. Number of days they get work at naka (discuss in terms of summer, monsoon, winter):

6. Details of Family members in the village:

7. Migration pattern over the last one year and number of months in the city during the year (discuss in terms of summer, monsoon and winter seasons; festivals like Diwali, Holi etc; landholding and farming in the village)

8. How did they find out about this settlement and why did they come to live here?

9. Where did they live previously in the city, conditions there, and reasons for moving from there?

10. Their perspectives on rental rooms and homeless shelters:

11. Their perspectives on the relationship of housing location and naka (would they consider moving to another naka, why / why not, etc)

12. Social relationships within the settlement and their perspectives on this (presence of kin, support systems in the settlement / city, etc)

## **Annexure 6: Tool for Discussion with Residents and Caretaker at Homeless Shelter and Rapid Survey of the Shelter's Residents**

Name of Shelter: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Fieldvisit: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Discussion with caretaker:**

1. Information about the shelter's current residents
  - a. Number of persons / families living here at present and in peak periods:
  - b. Origin of the persons / families living at the shelter at present and at other times:
  - c. Since when have they been living here:
  - d. Naka they go to:
  - e. Other notes:
2. Information about the shelter
  - a. Capacity of persons:
  - b. Timings:
3. Basic services available at the shelter and management (water, toilets & baths, electricity, cleanliness, maintenance, repairs)
4. Any challenges in running and managing the shelter?

### **Discussion with residents of the shelter:**

1. Water (quantity, quality, timing) (access at prior place of residence in the city)
2. Toilets/baths (water, cleanliness, drying clothes) (access at prior place of residence)
3. Electricity
4. Storage of belongings (adequacy of space for storage, storing cooking vessels and food, security of belongings)
5. Sleeping arrangements (Men and women? Fixed spots for sleeping? Different seasons)
6. Cooking arrangements (washing utensils, upcoming monsoon, cooking fuel and costs)
7. Daytime use of shelter in case they have not got work, not feeling well, etc:
8. Improvements compared to prior place of residence
9. What can be improved at the shelter?
10. When they return from their villages, do they always get a place to stay at the shelter?

### Rapid survey of residents living at the shelter:

[illegible]

Centre for Urban Equity (CUE) advocates a human-centered and equitable urban development paradigm. The activities of CUE are research, policy advocacy, training and capacity building and data documentation and dissemination. The centre is a National Resource Centre of Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation,



**CEPT**  
**UNIVERSITY**  
| CENTRE  
FOR URBAN EQUITY

Kasturbhai Lalbhai Campus,  
University Road, Navrangpura,  
Ahmedabad - 380009. INDIA  
Phone: (0) 91-79-26302470, 26302452 Ext: 149  
Fax: (0) 91-79-26302075  
E-mail : [cue@cept.ac.in](mailto:cue@cept.ac.in)

CEPT University  
Kasturbhai Lalbhai Campus, University Road, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad -380009