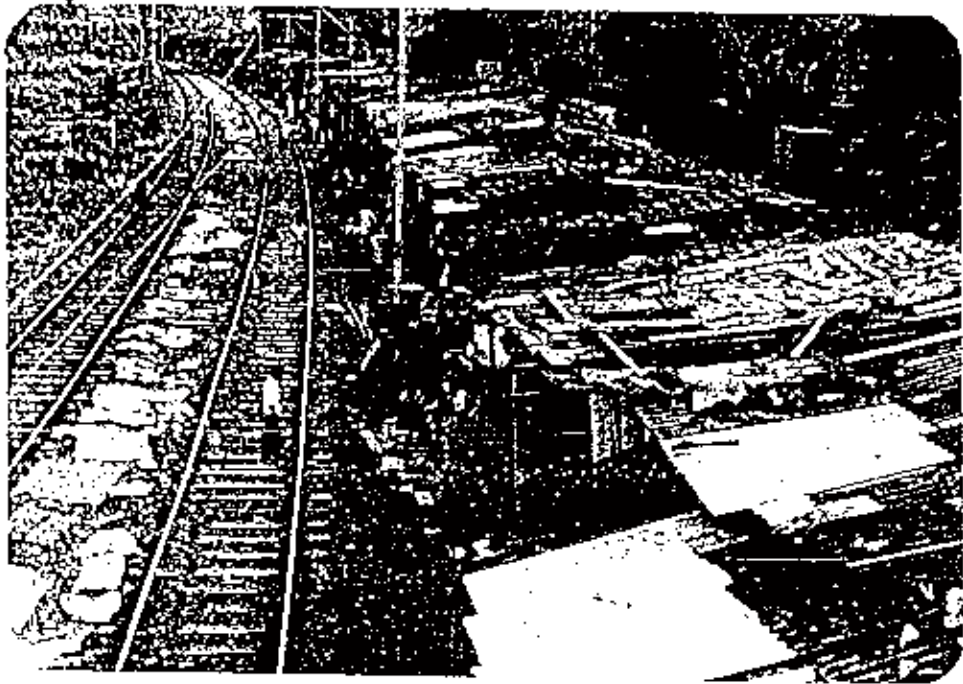


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BEYOND THE BEATEN TRACK

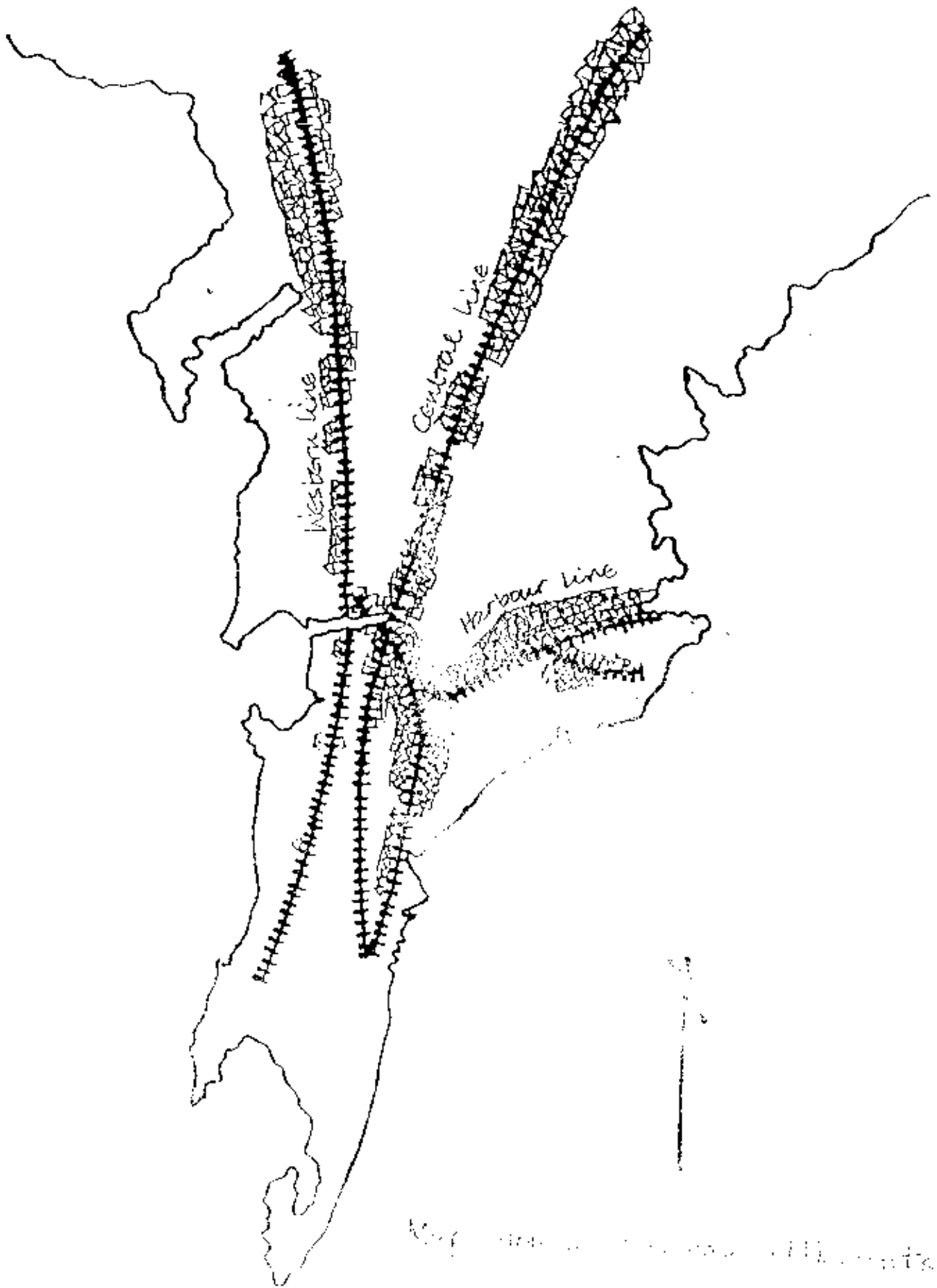


Resettlement Initiatives of people who
live along the railway tracks in Bombay

May 1988

SPARC
Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centres
Bombay.

GREATER BOMBAY



Map showing the railway lines of Greater Bombay.

INTRODUCTION:

The city of Bombay and extended suburbs is served by three major railway lines connecting the periphery to the centre in a north-south direction. Over 18,000 households have made their homes within 80 feet of these railway tracks. They lead an existence which is threatened not only by constant demolitions and attempted evictions by the local authorities, but also fatal accidents which are a direct result of their proximity to the trains. Yet, people continue to live here, as they have done for generations. Despite the greatest odds, and lives fraught with tension, this is their only home. For the urban poor, their means of survival is always closely associated with their location in the city.

Historically, the land along the railway tracks has always been perceived as "no-man's land". Human settlements have been able to proliferate here simply because no single authority has been responsible for the administration and utilisation of this land, thus leaving it barren. The only intervention by the local authorities has been sporadic and haphazard demolitions of the huts. Ironically, these demolitions conducted over the years have in fact resulted in an increase in the slum settlements. During the aftermath of every demolition, people build new structures thus adding to existing households. Hence, such interventions by the authorities contribute to further growth rather than a reduction.

The railway and government exchequers do not receive direct revenue from those who live along the railway tracks. However, it would be wrong to assume that the residents do not contribute money towards the occupation of the land. Each settlement has a history of paying unofficial rent ("hafta") to local functionaries of the railways and other government authorities, which is never recorded; thus slum lords are created, who dominate the communities.

Railway settlements have some of the following characteristics which distinguishes them from other poor settlements :

- (a) There is no encroachment wherever the railway authority has constructed a boundary fence or wall. For example, Victoria Terminus (VT) to Malunga, VT to Reay Road, Churchgate to Dadar.
- (b) Presently all slum settlements receive a fairly adequate supply of water. The source may be far away and inconvenient, BUT IT IS AVAILABLE. Although people pay for water, the Municipal Exchequer derives no benefit from this.
- (c) Every settlement, however it is placed, has access to a road, so that provision of basic amenities is feasible. For example, if toilets are to be constructed, they may be connected to nearby sewage pipes.
- (d) Each settlement has illegal electricity connections. If these are regularised, they can bring in revenue, rather than drain out resources.
- (e) According to our survey, 15% of all residents in these slums work for the BMC, Railways, Post Office, Docks and State Government.
- (f) Almost all the families are willing to invest in improved low-cost housing. Relocation within a reasonable distance is acceptable to 60% of the families.
- (g) Overflowing garbage dumps, which are either collection points of the BMC, or created by the residents, exist at several points. These could well facilitate a process of reclamation, whereby land which is uneven and uninhabitable is developed for settlements. For example, in areas of Elphinstone Road, Sion, Matunga, Kurla, Ghatkopar.

HOW THIS CENSUS CAME ABOUT:

The Railway authorities have been wanting to clear all the huts which are within 50 feet of the railway tracks. However, there was never any planning for the fate of the people who lived in these huts. Demolition of the structures is never a solution. Since all the households to be enumerated are on lands which belong to the different departments of the Railways, the resettlement issue would require a collaboration between the State Government of Maharashtra and the Railway. This implied that the State Government would have to include these settlements in their slum upgradation schemes and :

prepared to allocate resources and coordinate with the departments of the Railways to lease the land to the cooperatives. In turn, the financial institutions which will give the loans to the people to rebuild their houses have to be included in the process so as to develop loan schemes which are suitable to the people.

In order to carry out this plan, it was essential to first enumerate the number of families which lived along the tracks, determining the exact number of households within 30 feet, 30-50 feet, and 50-80 feet. The Housing Department of the Government of Maharashtra chose an exploratory path to resolve this.

The Government requested SPARC to undertake this enumeration. SPARC agreed to do so on the understanding that:

- (a) The enumeration of households and the statistics collected would be "official" and referred to thereafter by the collectorate.
- (b) The enumeration would be only part of the assignment given to SPARC. It would be followed up in planning and implementing resettlement for the slums along the railway tracks.
- (c) In SPARC's experience, the enumeration and its feedback to the community can lead to the formation of peoples' organizations. Hence we were clear that our role would be to initiate a loose federation of slum dwellers along the railway tracks, who would best represent themselves in any discussions with the government.

From SPARC's perspective, undertaking a census of this sort would have several implications. First of all, we believe that the poor must be centrally involved in planning shelter for themselves. The people living in railway settlements are yet another group of the urban poor in the city, and we saw in this an opportunity whereby they could participate in the kind of housing training which we had already initiated among the pavement dwellers (see "In Search of Shelter", Sparc 1987). One of the first things which is necessary is to bring about a change of perspective both among the city planners, as well as the poor. While the former may occur through lobbying at the different government levels, the latter is only possible through the development and sustenance of a movement among the poor themselves.

Some of the essential aspects of the strategy which SPARC has adopted may be summarised as follows:

- (i) The first important aspect is to ensure that such a movement does not become mere tokenism, but instead includes all the categories of the urban poor.
- (ii) We have found that the formation of collectives among the people is a beginning wherein the poor can come together and examine the options they wish to consider for themselves.
- (iii) Since large segments of the poor in the city are rural migrants of the past, it is essential that they understand HOW the process of urban planning presently occurs; only then can they aspire to attain a fair share of the urban resources.
- (iv) Once the collective needs of the poor have been defined, then only can mechanisms be created which ensure that the poor can lobby for their own demands and ensure their participation in the planning process.
- (v) Finally, it is this very movement which has the potential to sustain not only themselves, but also the alternative plans which they may have formulated. This must be nurtured at any cost.

The National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) have been partners with SPARC in this process. NSDF attempts to develop the organisational capability of slum dwellers, train its leadership to take up issues of the poor in communities, and link these groups at the city and national level. The leadership process provides exposure to common issues and support and solidarity for the actions which each group attempts to take up at the slum level. Hence SPARC agreed to undertake this cooperation with NSDF.

PHASE ONE : ENUMERATION OF HUTS

The enumeration of huts along the railway tracks was an attempt to enumerate the households which are located within 80 feet of the tracks of the three major railway lines within the city. It must be made clear that the total number of households does not necessarily refer to the number of physical structures along the tracks, since very often more than one household may be present in the same hut.

This enumeration was carried out along three major railway lines:

1. Western line: ie Churchgate to Borivali/Dahisar.
2. Central Line: ie V.T. to Mulund.
3. Harbour Line:
 - i. V.T. to Mankhurd.
 - ii. Wadala to Bandra.
 - iii. Kurla to Trombay.

The first phase consisted of:

1. Physically mapping settlements.
2. Enumeration of households/huts within each settlement.
3. Developing and testing the detailed questionnaire to be administered to the households in the next phase.

The objectives of this process were:

- a. After physical counting, to obtain as accurate a listing of huts as possible, as per the request of the government agencies involved.
- b. To have preliminary discussions with the people who live along the railway tracks, both to inform them of the survey to follow as well as to elicit their cooperation in the entire process.
- c. To locate the density of huts which exist between stations, and to understand the basis on which distinct settlements are defined.
- d. To plan for staff inputs and training for the household survey which was to follow.

During this phase, an analysis of secondary data was also carried out. Detailed maps of the survey previously conducted by the Collector's office were obtained on request. It was found that these maps had been prepared according to the specific settlements located between any two given stations. The number of huts were marked on the maps on the basis of whether or not they were within 50 ft or beyond the railway track. These details were checked in the field during the initial hut count.

This survey was conducted jointly with officials from the Collector's office and those from the Railways. There were four teams which went along the railway tracks. Very literally, they walked along the tracks of the railway lines each day.

Each team consisted of:

- one person from the railway track settlements
- one to two persons from the railways
- three to five persons from SPARC.

The personnel from the Collectorate brought with them the records and maps of the enumeration which was done by them in 1985. Based on the information on the maps, the counting of huts within 30 ft and 50 ft was undertaken. The maps provided approximate locations of settlements, using existing milestones (eg numbered poles) to identify the location. Only those huts which stood on railway land were to be enumerated in this phase. This distinction was possible due to the presence of railway and collectorate officials present on the site. Further, they assisted in the measurement and verification of distance of huts from the tracks.

The members of the SPARC team, in addition to measuring and counting the structures, also engaged in discussions with the people. If two members were engaged in counting, then one person would do the talking. This would be in the form of a series of small group discussions. In these

discussions, the people were told about the survey, its two phases, the various agencies involved in the survey, and the people in turn shared their recollections of past surveys, their reactions, and queries.

This aspect has been integral in any activity which SPARC undertakes. Since we have undertaken such activities in the past, (eg. the pavement dweller census), we were able to give them examples, thus dealing with the apathy, antagonism, suspicion and a host of other feelings which were exhibited by the people.

Each day, the teams would meet at the railway station which was decided upon the previous day. The counting completed thus far would be assessed, the maps which were brought by the personnel from the Collectorate would be the basis on which the area for the day would be decided. The teams would then break up for the day after deciding where to meet the next morning.

TIME FRAME

The hut counting started on July 29th, 1987 and ended on 18th August, 1987. Each team worked for five days of the week: Monday to Friday.

29th July - 10th August: Harbour Line.
11th August - 13th August: Central Line.
14th August - 18th August: Western Line.

In the initial stages, the output per day was lower. Gradually, familiarity and expertise increased and our speed accelerated.

PHASE TWO : THE CENSUS

The objective of this phase was to obtain a socio economic profile of all the families living along the railway tracks, irrespective of which land they were occupying. This would provide a deeper qualitative and quantitative data base, which could form the basis for future resettlement planning. A questionnaire was drawn up and tested out, both for testing its structure as well as to understand the possible time it would take to administer. Forty educated young boys and girls from different slums in the city were trained to collect data. Five SPARC and 10 NSDF members were coordinating this process. Prior to data collection, meetings were held in each settlement. People were informed of the objectives of the data collection and of the entire process.

Initially, every young interviewer conducted the interview under supervision of one of the coordinators. Later, every 10th interview was cross checked by the supervisors. At the end of each day, the fieldworkers sat with the coding team and checked the data sheets for incomplete and/or illegible entries. One person returned to the same settlement the next day to fill incomplete questionnaires and to interview those households who were absent the day before due to unavoidable circumstances. The data collection and coding took two and a half months from mid August to October 1987, after which the data was processed and tabulated.

The tables presented in this section are the initial tabulation of information felt necessary to plan resettlement. It is our plan to analyse the data in greater depth in the future.

THE RESULTS

THE RESULTS

SECTION I : DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS BY DISTANCE FROM RAILWAY TRACK

Distance	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Upto 30 ft.	689 (24.61%)	1153 (29.69%)	4579 (39.68%)	6421 (35.24%)
30 - 50 ft.	1711 (61.11%)	2024 (52.11%)	5450 (47.30%)	9193 (50.45%)
More than 50 ft.	352 (12.57%)	634 (16.32%)	1349 (11.69%)	2335 (12.81%)
No response	48 (1.71%)	73 (1.88%)	153 (1.33%)	274 (1.50%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 1.

1. There are totally 18,223 households/huts along the three major railway lines in Bombay. Of these, 15% are along the Western Railway, 21% along the Central Railway, and the majority 64%, along the Harbour Line.
2. About half of all households live 30 - 50ft. away from the tracks, and about 14% are more than 50 feet away. However, more than one-third live dangerously close to the tracks, within a thirty foot distance. This hazard is greatest along the Harbour Line settlements, whereas the Western and Central Railway settlements have lower percentages of huts within the danger zone.

Figure - 1

Distribution Households by Distance from the Railway Track

% HOUSEHOLDS

	Western	Central	Harbour	Total
50 FT	12	16	12	13
30 FT	61	52	47	50
	25	30	40	35

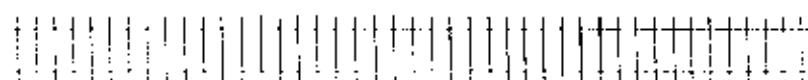


TABLE 2

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RAILWAY SLUM POPULATION

Sex	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Male	6385 (55.79%)	9198 (54.63%)	26520 (55.60%)	42103 (55.47%)
Female	5056 (44.18%)	7633 (45.34%)	21077 (44.26%)	33766 (44.49%)
Unrich	3 (0.03%)	5 (0.03%)	19 (0.042%)	27 (0.04%)
Total	11444 (100.00%)	16836 (100.00%)	47616 (100.00%)	75896 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 2 :

1. Over 75,000 people live in the railway track settlements covered by the census.
2. Approximately 55% are males and 45% are females, with an average household size of 4 members. This indicates that these are mainly nuclear families.
3. There is no significant difference in the sex ratio or household size between the three lines.

TABLE 3

AGE STRUCTURE OF RAILWAY SLUM POPULATION

Years	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Below 5 years	1945 (17.00%)	2994 (16.00%)	7655 (16.08%)	12294 (16.2%)
6-10 years	1584 (13.84%)	2349 (13.95%)	5792 (12.26%)	10725 (14.1%)
11-15 years	988 (8.63%)	1668 (9.91%)	4558 (9.57%)	7214 (9.3%)
16-20 years	1282 (12.20%)	1767 (10.50%)	5045 (10.60%)	8094 (10.6%)
21-40 years	4574 (39.97%)	6443 (38.27%)	18444 (39.73%)	29461 (38.8%)
41-60 year	688 (7.76%)	1600 (9.50%)	4415 (9.27%)	6703 (8.9%)
More than 60 years.	155 (1.35%)	249 (1.48%)	652 (1.37%)	1056 (1.3%)
Don't know/ Can't say	28 (0.24%)	66 (0.39%)	57 (0.12%)	149 (0.2%)
Total	11444 (100.00%)	16836 (100.00%)	47616 (100.00%)	75896 (100.00%)

1. The age structure of this population varies from the national structure in that the aged population (over 60 years) or those too old to work, is only around one per cent, compared to the All India figure of 6.5% (1981 census).
2. These variations are common to other migrant groups in the city since they have come to the city in search of work and survival. The population is therefore "young" (nearly half are aged 16-40 years) and capacity to work and earn reduces the number of old people.
3. We cannot rule out the possibility that family size is restricted by the acute shortage of space with which these households must contend.
4. There is no significant variation in age structure between the different railway lines

FIGURE — II

AGE STRUCTURE OF RAILWAY SLUM POPULATION

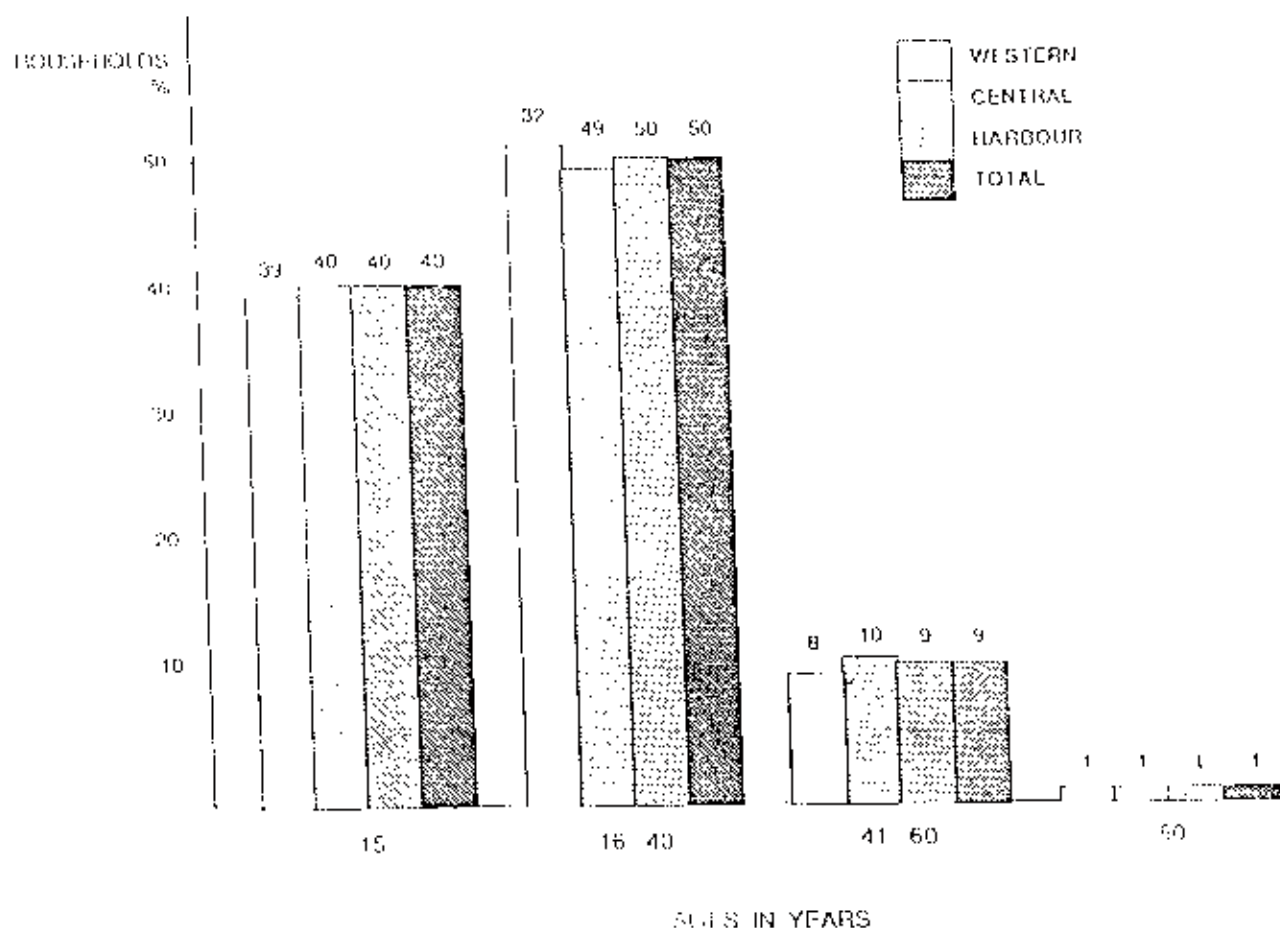


TABLE 4

MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Single	5591 (48.86%)	8389 (49.83%)	23953 (50.30%)	37933 (49.98%)
Married	5696 (49.77%)	8159 (48.46%)	23153 (48.62%)	37008 (48.76%)
Multiple spouses	9 (0.08%)	8 (0.04%)	35 (0.07%)	52 (0.07%)
Separated/ Divorced	2 (0.02%)	6 (0.04%)	17 (0.04%)	25 (0.03%)
Widowed	62 (0.54%)	166 (0.90%)	310 (0.65%)	538 (0.71%)
No response	84 (0.73%)	108 (0.64%)	148 (0.31%)	340 (0.45%)
Total	11444 (100.00%)	16836 (100.00%)	47616 (100.00%)	75896 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 4:

1. Nearly 50% of the population is married, with a tiny fraction having more than one spouse.
2. Omitting the under-15 population, only 10% of individuals are single.
3. A very low proportion are either separated, divorced or widowed. This also allows our conclusion that the overwhelming majority of these households are nuclear.

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Number of household member	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Below 3	1175 (41.96%)	1337 (34.42%)	4605 (39.91%)	7117 (39.05%)
4 - 6	1253 (44.75%)	1975 (46.65%)	5383 (47.25%)	8611 (47.25%)
7 - 9	331 (11.82%)	459 (11.82%)	1286 (11.14%)	2076 (11.39%)
More than ten	25 (0.89%)	56 (1.44%)	197 (1.71%)	278 (1.53%)
No response	16 (0.57%)	57 (1.47%)	68 (0.59%)	141 (0.77%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 5

1. The overwhelming majority of households have less than six members.
2. There are, however, a significant number of "big" households - i.e., with more than seven people.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY LANGUAGE:

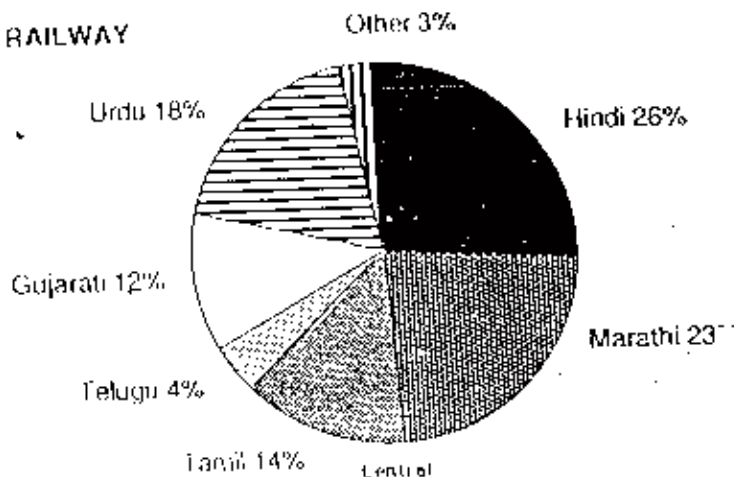
Language	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Hindi	723 (25.82%)	945 (24.33%)	3083 (26.72%)	4751 (26.07%)
Marathi	631 (22.54%)	1848 (47.58%)	4205 (36.44%)	6684 (36.68%)
Tamil	385 (13.75%)	307 (7.90%)	1379 (11.95%)	2071 (11.36%)
Telegu	116 (4.14%)	137 (3.39%)	391 (3.39%)	644 (3.53%)
Gujarati	337 (12.04%)	158 (4.07%)	179 (1.55%)	674 (3.70%)
Urdu	495 (17.71%)	202 (5.20%)	1492 (12.93%)	2190 (12.02%)
Kannada	52 (1.86%)	118 (3.04%)	252 (2.18%)	422 (2.32%)
Malayalam	11 (0.39%)	34 (0.88%)	153 (1.33%)	198 (1.09%)
Punjabi	1 (0.04%)	9 (0.23%)	27 (0.23%)	37 (0.20%)
Rajasthani	7 (0.25%)	2 (0.05%)	14 (0.12%)	23 (0.13%)
Bengali	8 (0.29%)	4 (0.10%)	101 (0.88%)	113 (0.62%)
Konkani	5 (0.18%)	21 (0.54%)	21 (0.18%)	47 (0.26%)
Nepali	3 (0.11%)	7 (0.18%)	74 (0.64%)	84 (0.45%)
No response	25 (0.89%)	92 (2.37%)	168 (1.46%)	285 (1.55%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 6 :

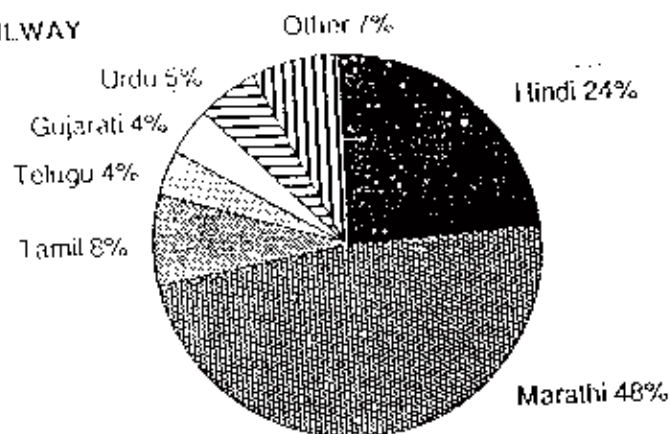
1. Clearly, people from virtually every major language group (and hence region) in the country are represented in this population. Bombay's image as a "melting pot" thus continues to be substantiated.
2. Nevertheless, Marathi-speaking households or those from Maharashtra itself are still the largest language group, unless we club Hindi and Urdu together, in which case the latter become predominant.
3. Some variation in language-group size is noticeable between the different lines. For instance, the majority of Urdu-speakers are to be found along the Harbour line and Western Railway, whereas the Central Railway tracks have more Marathi and Kannada speakers.

Figure — III Distribution of Households by Language

WESTERN RAILWAY



CENTRAL RAILWAY



HARBOUR

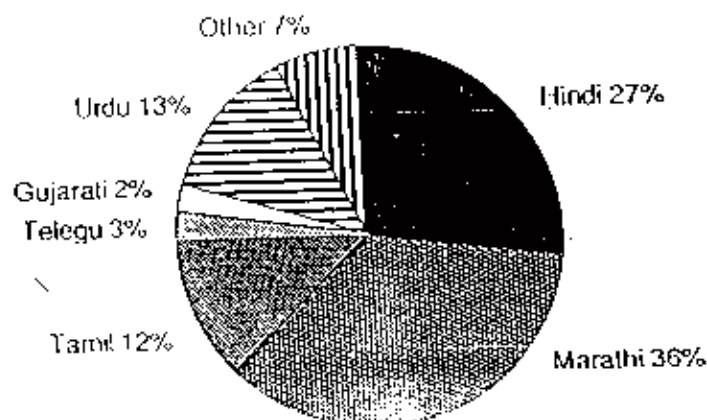


TABLE 7

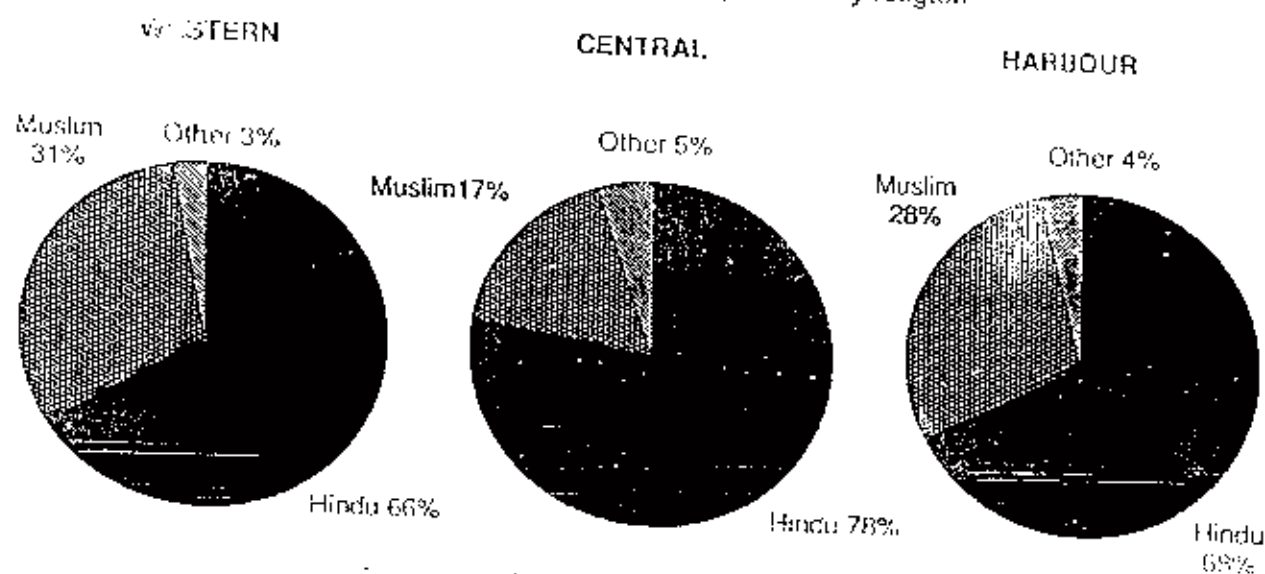
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGION

Religion	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Hindu	1838 (65.64%)	3019 (77.73%)	7842 (67.96%)	12699 (69.69%)
Muslim	870 (31.07%)	656 (16.89%)	3255 (28.21%)	4781 (26.24%)
Christian	68 (2.43%)	114 (2.94%)	108 (0.94%)	290 (1.59%)
Neo Buddhist	8 (0.29%)	44 (1.13%)	262 (2.27%)	314 (1.72%)
Others	2 (0.07%)	9 (0.23%)	15 (0.13%)	26 (0.14%)
No response	14 (0.30%)	42 (1.08%)	57 (0.49%)	113 (0.62%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 7 :

1. The percentage of Hindus (70%) and Christians (1.6%) in this population is considerably lower than the national figures (82% and 2.4% respectively)
2. The proportion of Muslims (25%) and Neo-Buddhists (1.7%) is, on the other hand, higher than the corresponding All-India figures (11% and 0.7% respectively).
3. There is some variation of religious groups between the three lines, with the Western and Harbour lines having larger numbers of Muslim besides, the Western and Central having more Christians, the Central and Harbour lines having more Neo-Buddhists. The highest concentration of Hindus is in the Central Railway settlements.

Figure — IV Distribution of population by religion



SECTION II : MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT HISTORY

TABLE 1

HOUSEHOLDS BY YEAR OF MIGRATION TO BOMBAY

Year of Migration	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
1900 - 1947	228 (8.14%)	383 (9.86%)	859 (7.44%)	1470 (8.07%)
1948 - 1957	311 (11.11%)	502 (12.92%)	1680 (14.56%)	2492 (13.68%)
1958 - 1967	703 (25.11%)	950 (24.46%)	3284 (28.46%)	4937 (27.09%)
1968 - 1977	831 (29.68%)	1108 (28.53%)	3471 (30.08%)	5410 (29.69%)
1978 - 1986	518 (18.50%)	538 (13.85%)	1149 (9.96%)	2205 (12.10%)
Upto March 1987	5 (0.18%)	13 (0.33%)	13 (0.11%)	31 (0.17%)
Don't know/Can't say	196 (7.00%)	352 (9.06%)	964 (8.35%)	1512 (8.30%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 1 :

1. It is most significant that the overwhelming majority of the households censused here - some 78.5% - have lived in Bombay for more than a decade, having come to the city before 1977.
2. A significant 20% or more have resided in Bombay for more than 30 years - though not necessarily in a railway line settlement.
3. There are some differences in migration history. However, more of the relative "newcomers" to the city (i.e. 1978 or after) have settled along the Western Railway line (18.5%) than along the Central or Harbour lines (13.9%) and (9.9%) respectively.

FIGURE - V
HOUSEHOLDS BY YEAR OF MIGRATION TO BOMBAY

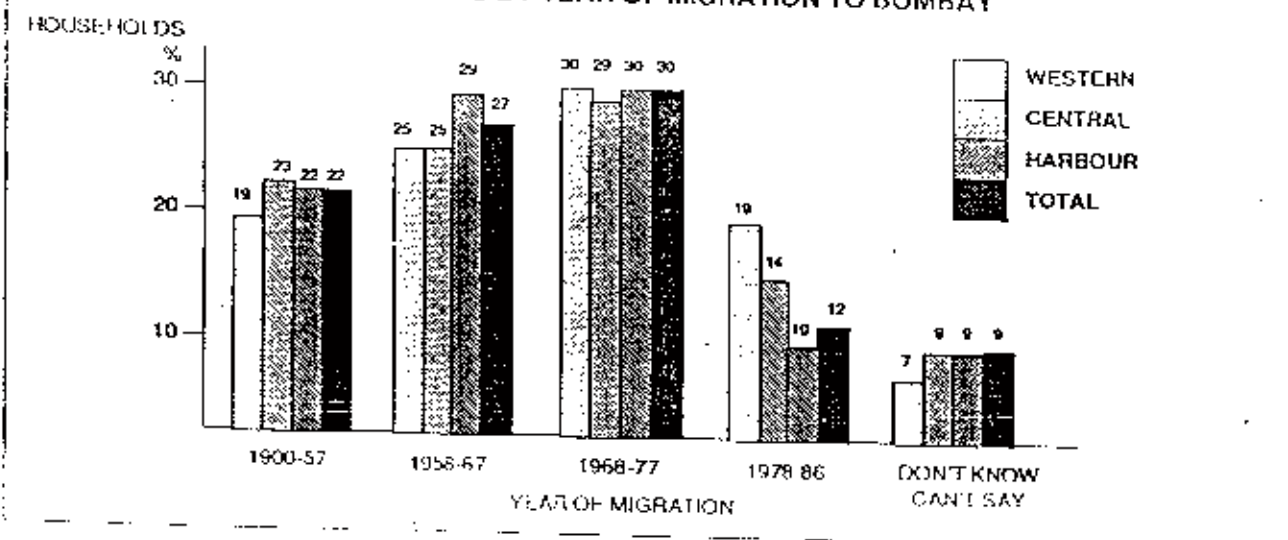


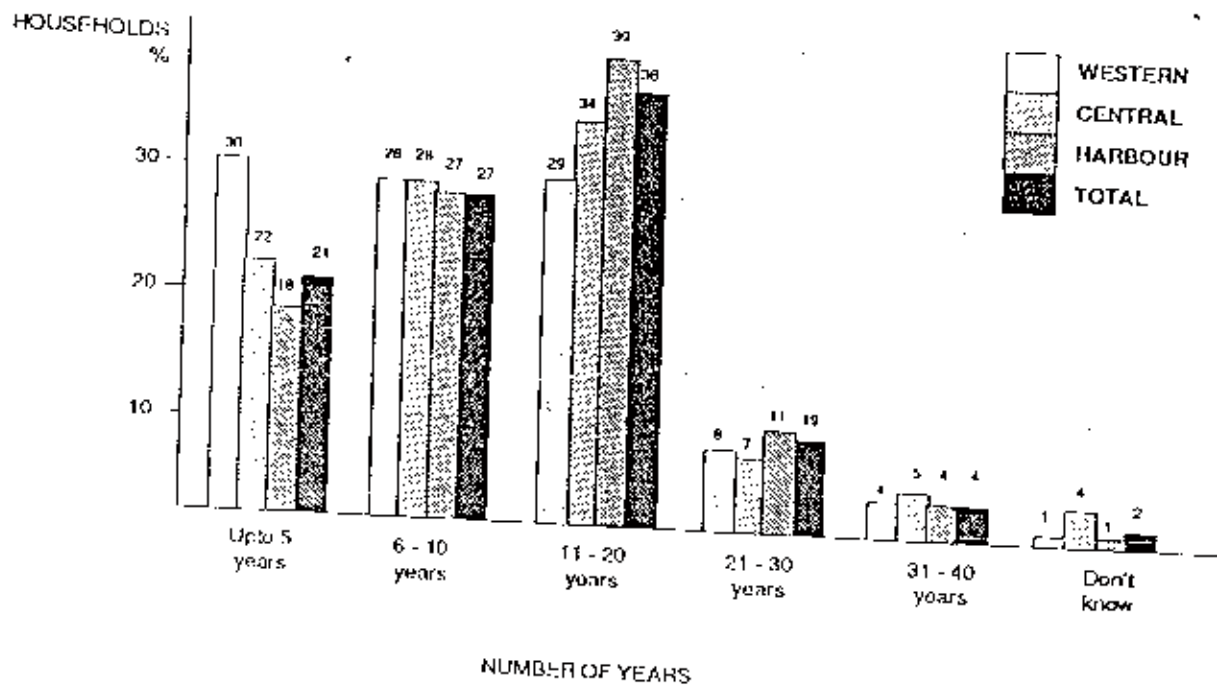
TABLE 2
HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF YEARS AT PRESENT SITE

	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Less than one year	29 (1.04%)	40 (1.03%)	67 (0.58%)	136 (0.75%)
1 - 5	821 (29.32%)	829 (21.34%)	2012 (17.44%)	3662 (20.10%)
6 - 10	772 (27.57%)	1084 (27.91%)	3153 (27.32%)	5009 (27.49%)
11 - 20	821 (29.32%)	1322 (34.04%)	4503 (39.02%)	6646 (36.47%)
21 - 30	224 (8.00%)	273 (7.03%)	1263 (10.95%)	1760 (9.65%)
31 - 40	77 (2.75%)	101 (2.60%)	234 (2.03%)	412 (2.26%)
More than 40 years	35 (1.25%)	75 (1.93%)	196 (1.80%)	306 (1.68%)
Don't know/Can't say	21 (0.75%)	160 (4.1%)	111 (0.95%)	292 (1.6%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 2 :

1. While the majority of households are not new arrivals in the city, a large proportion (approx. 48%) have been in their present location along the railway tracks for less than 10 years. This is the result of either eviction from previous sites in other slums, or marriage and growing families.
2. Nevertheless, a significant number (6646 households, or 36.5%) have occupied their present dwelling from between 11-20 years, and nearly 14% for over two decades.
3. The highest concentration of "old" settlers appears to be along the Harbour line, because the availability of open land along the tracks was greatest here. This is also the reason for the high density of households along the Harbour line (11,539) as compared to the Western (2,800) or Central (3,884) Railway line.

FIGURE — VI
 HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF YEARS AT PRESENT SITE



SECTION III : SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING POPULATION BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Casual, Unskilled Manual Labour	1127 (14.42%)	1088 (10.36%)	3882 (12.48%)	6097 (12.34%)
Vending/Trading	689 (8.82%)	650 (6.19%)	2002 (6.44%)	3341 (6.76%)
Other Self-Employed	543 (6.95%)	790 (7.52%)	2001 (6.43%)	3334 (6.75%)
Skilled Labour	1155 (14.76%)	1794 (17.08%)	4929 (15.85%)	7878 (15.94%)
Domestic Servants	224 (2.87%)	236 (2.25%)	918 (2.95%)	1378 (2.79%)
Civil/Government Railway Employees	277 (3.54%)	352 (3.35%)	1030 (3.31%)	1659 (3.36%)
White collar jobs	145 (1.86%)	390 (3.7%)	766 (2.45%)	1301 (2.63%)
Housewives	2035 (26.04%)	2959 (28.17%)	8987 (28.90%)	13981 (28.29%)
Unemployed	1436 (18.37%)	1641 (15.62%)	5134 (16.51%)	8211 (16.62%)
No response	183 (2.34%)	603 (5.74%)	1453 (4.67%)	2239 (4.53%)
Total	7814 (100.00%)	10503 (100.00%)	31102 (100.00%)	49419 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 1 :

1. As with most other groups of the urban poor, a large proportion of workers in the railway slums are in the "unorganised" sector whether skilled or unskilled or self-employed.
2. The recent National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Unorganised Women Labourers has deemed that housewives, who are engaged in unpaid but essential household labour, should also be included in the unorganised sector. As such, they form the single largest specific occupational group in this census (28.29%).
3. A large percentage (nearly 16%) of the gainfully employed are skilled workers, like weavers, electricians, tailors, carpenters, masons, fitters, garage mechanics, etc.
4. The self employed include vendors and traders (such as vegetable, meat/fish, fruit vendors, paan-bidiwalas, flowersellers, and vendors of miscellaneous goods) as well as others like barbers, tailors, handcart-operators, dhobis and scrap-collectors. This group accounts for over 12% of all workers.
5. It is not surprising that a significant number (1659 or 3.36%) of the workers are employed in the Municipal Corporation, the Railways, or by the State Government. It is well known that in the absence of housing schemes for the lower echelons, even these "Government" employees have to reside in slum colonies - housing costs being what they are in Bombay.
6. For similar reasons, we also find a surprising number of people (1301) in secure white-collar jobs like teachers, telephone operators, clerks, etc. Affordable housing is increasingly beyond the reach of white collar workers in Bombay, so that they too swell the ranks of slum dwellers.
7. A sizeable number of individuals - over 16% - are unemployed.
8. Barring the above, there is no major fluctuation in the proportion of different occupational groups present in the Western, Central and Harbour lines.
9. Most important of all, the table shows that fully one-half (or 50.6%) of the total railway slum population is gainfully employed. This is considerably higher than the national average of 33.4% overall, and 29.2% for urban areas.

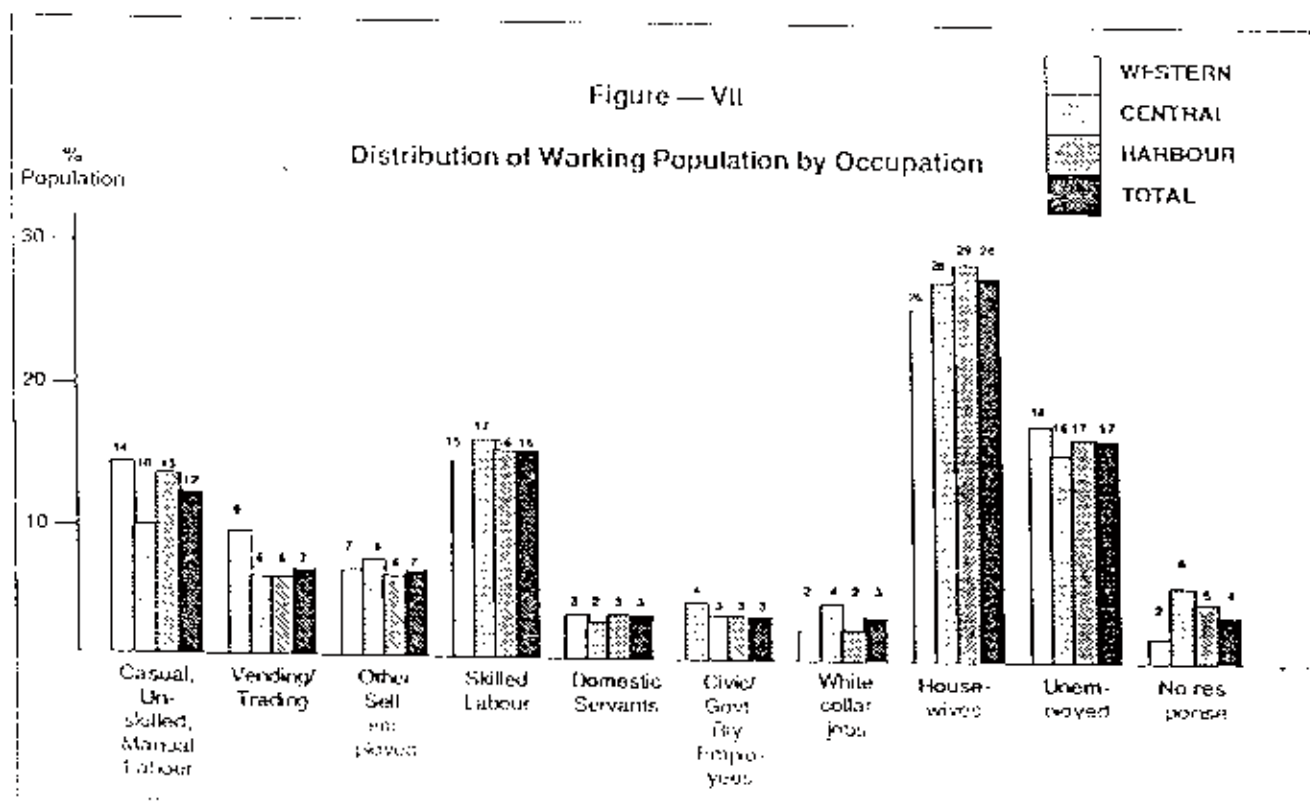


TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL EARNERS BY INCOME PER DAY

Income per day	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Less than Rs.10	176 (6.29%)	203 (5.23%)	548 (4.75%)	927 (5.09%)
Rs.11-Rs.20	749 (26.75%)	895 (23.04%)	2835 (24.57%)	4479 (24.58%)
Rs.21-Rs.30	716 (25.57%)	952 (24.57%)	2982 (25.82%)	4650 (25.52%)
Rs.31-Rs.40	447 (15.96%)	759 (19.69%)	2272 (19.69%)	3478 (19.09%)
Rs.41-Rs.60	311 (11.11%)	551 (14.19%)	1578 (13.68%)	2440 (13.39%)
Rs.61-Rs.80	115 (4.11%)	228 (5.87%)	585 (5.07%)	928 (5.09%)
Rs.81-Rs.100	85 (3.04%)	103 (2.65%)	284 (2.46%)	472 (2.59%)
More than Rs.100	87 (3.11%)	63 (1.62%)	198 (1.72%)	348 (1.91%)
No response	114 (4.07%)	130 (3.35%)	257 (2.23%)	501 (2.75%)
Total	2880 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 2 :

1. Nearly 30% of all earners receive less than Rs.20/- per day, below minimum wage for Bombay city. This roughly corresponds with the proportion of low-income occupations seen in the previous table (manual labourers, vendors and traders, domestic servants, etc.)
2. Approximately 22% earn more than Rs.1500/- per month (if they get regular work), but are nevertheless "stagnant" by the official definition. In fact, almost 10% of all workers earn over Rs.60/- per day, which is considered a very high wage, particularly in the unorganised sector.
3. The mean wage, omitting those earning less than Rs.10/-, more than Rs.100/-, and the "No response" category, is in the region of Rs.48/- per day, or Rs.1200/- per month (of 25 working days).
4. There is no remarkable variation in income pattern between households on the different Railway lines.

FIGURE — VIII
DISTRIBUTION OF ALL EARNERS BY INCOME PER DAY

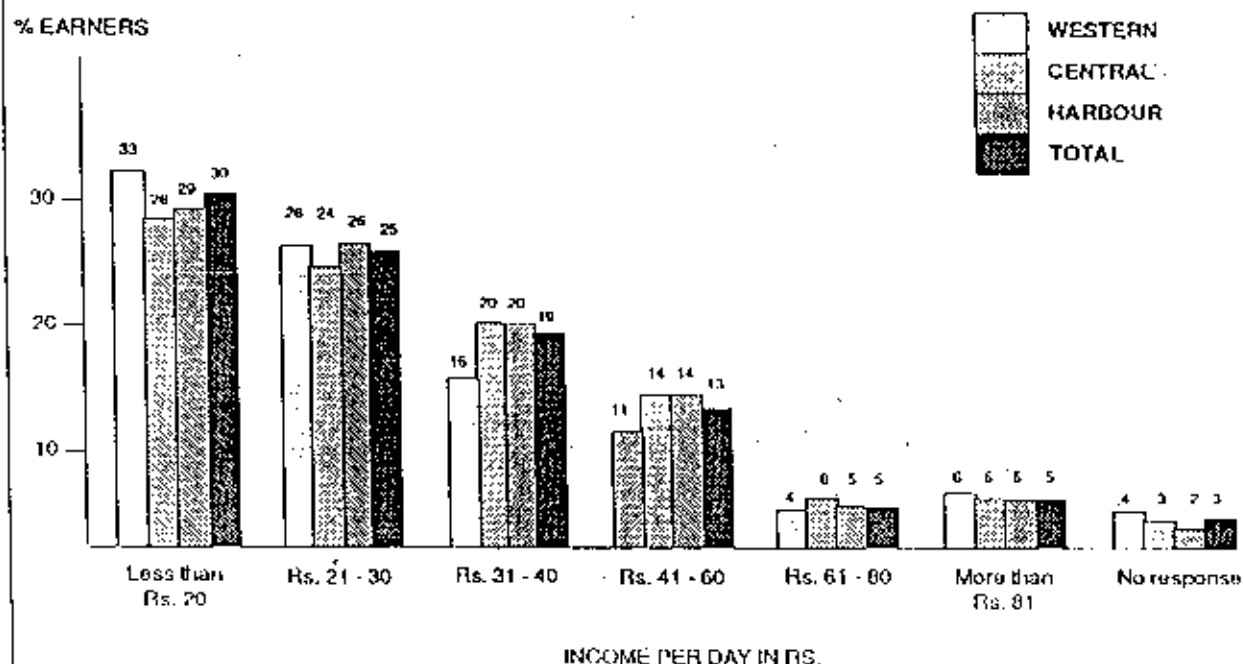


TABLE 3
NUMBER OF EARNING MEMBERS PER HOUSEHOLD

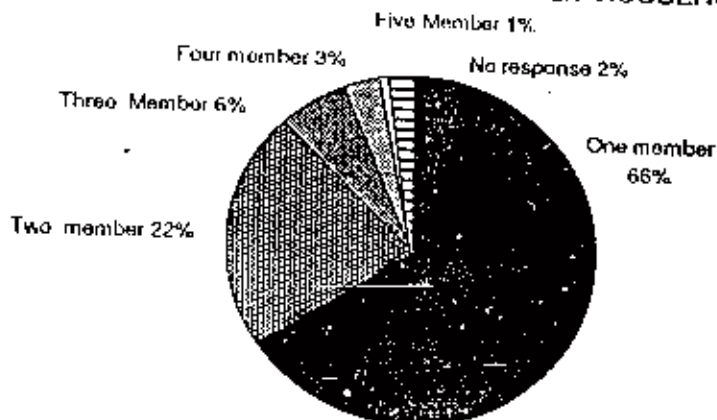
Earning Member	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
One member	1856 (66.29%)	2646 (68.13%)	8269 (71.66%)	12771 (70.08%)
Two members	601 (21.46%)	792 (20.39%)	2152 (18.65%)	3545 (19.45%)
Three members	169 (6.04%)	205 (5.28%)	612 (5.30%)	986 (5.41%)
Four members	74 (2.64%)	72 (1.85%)	163 (1.41%)	309 (1.70%)
Five members	39 (1.39%)	37 (0.95%)	167 (1.45%)	243 (1.33%)
No response	61 (2.18%)	132 (3.40%)	176 (1.53%)	369 (2.02%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 3 :

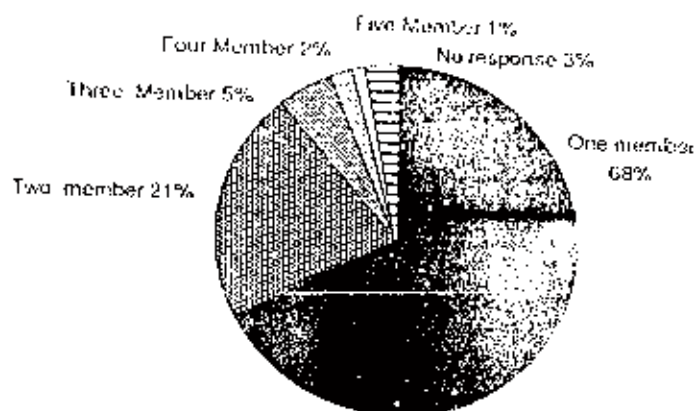
1. The overwhelming majority of the Railway Census households are dependent on one main breadwinner - 12,771 or 70.08%. This proportion is almost the same along the three lines of settlements, with only a 5% difference between the lowest (Western Railway) with 66.29% of one-earner households and (Harbour Line) the highest with 71.66% of single-earner households.
2. The second largest group of households are those with two earning members, again with little variation in pattern between the different lines of settlements.
3. Clearly, the income levels and dependency on one earner per household mean that those families cannot afford to seek better housing in Bombay's exorbitant housing market.

Figure — IX

WESTERN NUMBER OF EARNING MEMBERS PER HOUSEHOLD



HARBOUR



CENTRAL

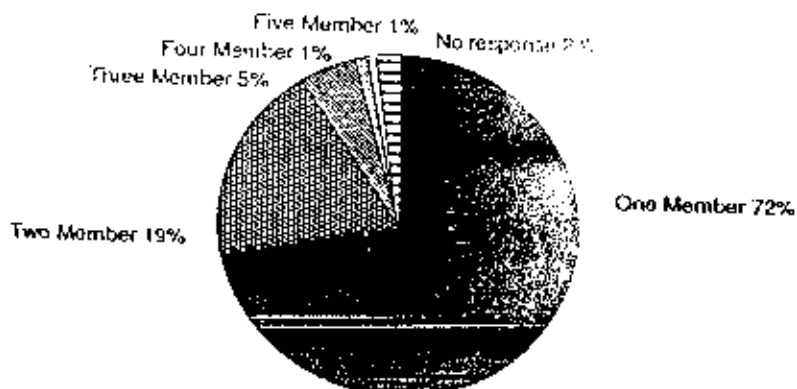


TABLE 6

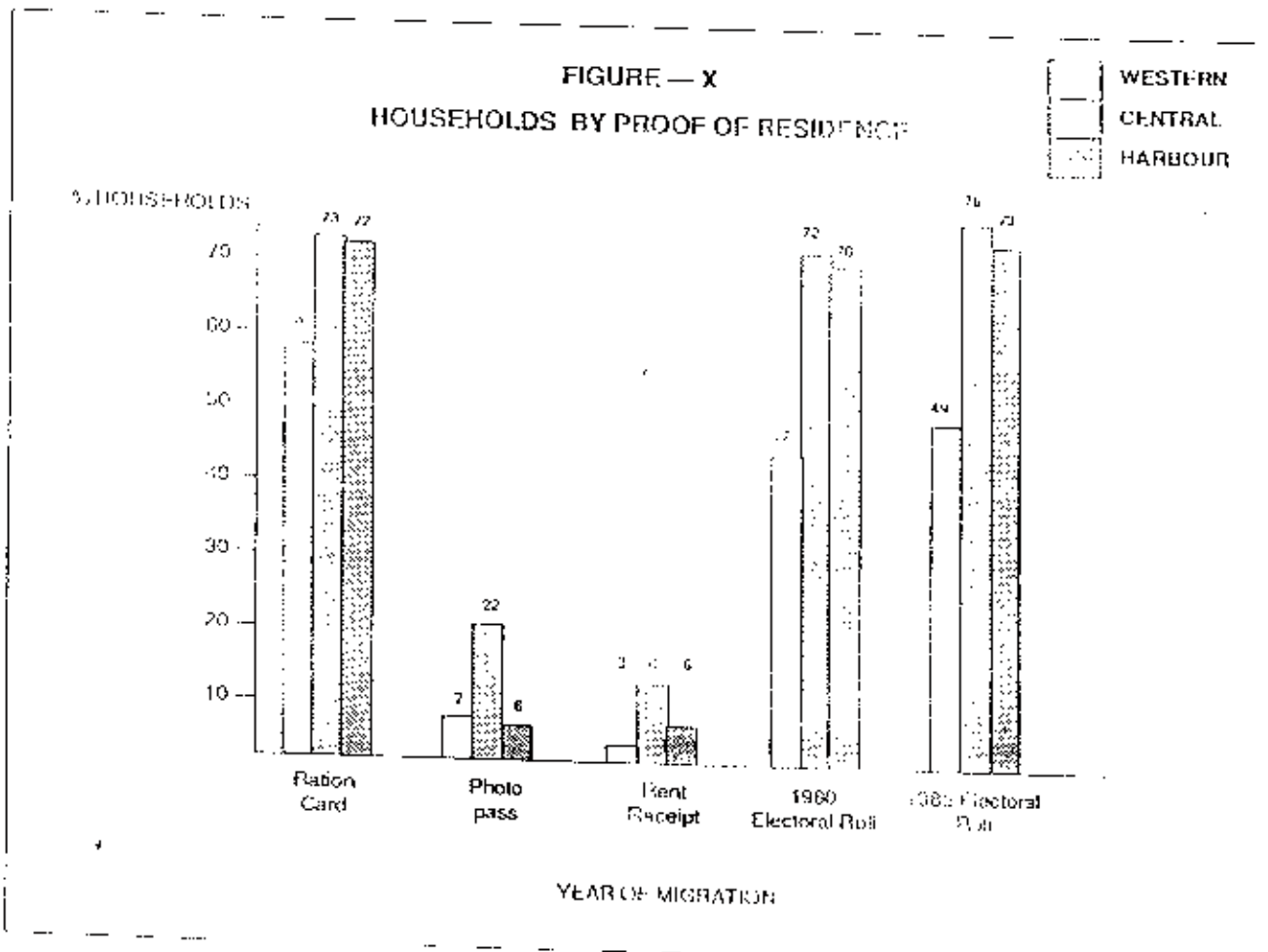
HOUSEHOLDS BY VOTER REGISTRATION

1980 ELECTORAL ROLL	Western Railway	Central Railway	Harbour Railway	Total
Yes	1302 (46.50%)	2792 (71.88%)	8053 (69.79%)	12147 (66.66%)
No	1472 (52.57%)	1018 (26.21%)	3344 (28.98%)	5834 (32.01%)
No response	26 (0.93%)	74 (1.91%)	142 (1.23%)	242 (1.33%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)
1985 ELECTORAL ROLL				
Yes	1337 (48.71%)	2959 (76.18%)	8531 (73.03%)	1889 (91.87%)
No	1408 (48.71%)	2879 (22.63%)	2853 (24.72%)	5140 (28.21%)
No response	28 (1.00%)	76 (1.96%)	155 (1.34%)	250 (1.42%)
Total	2800 (100.00%)	3884 (100.00%)	11539 (100.00%)	18223 (100.00%)

Highlights of Table 5 and 6 :

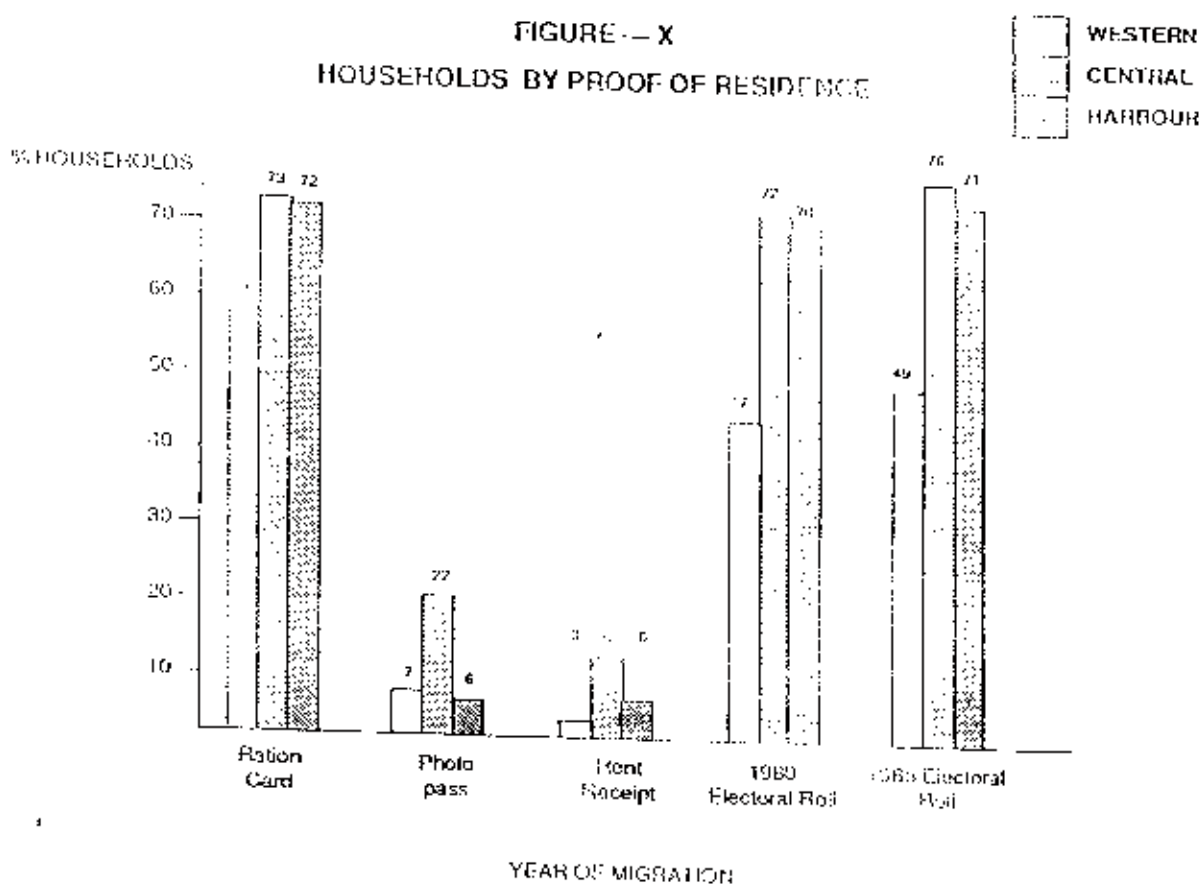
1. In order to interpret Tables 5 and 6, some background is necessary to our understanding. Over the last decade, Government and Municipal authorities have evolved various methods of establishing the length of stay of different groups of migrants in Bombay city. A "queue" system has been developed, based on the use of ration cards, rent receipts, photopasses and electoral roll registration as proof of residence in the city. Without these proofs, chances of getting access to resettlement or alternate housing are poor. The authorities tend to view these different documents as "accessible" to all citizens which may be true theoretically, but the urban poor in general and pavement and railway slum dwellers in particular do not find it easy to obtain them.
2. In reality, at least three of these proofs depend on the intervention of external authorities rather than the people themselves. Photopasses have to be issued by the concerned authority based on varied procedures. Voter registration is generally undertaken by the political parties at election times. Consequently, only those settlements seen as potential support areas are enrolled. Rent receipts are possible, only if the land-owning authority or official landlord issues them. Receipts are hardly given for "hallas" collected.
3. In the light of this, it is hardly surprising that so few households possess photopasses or rent receipts (only 9.28% and 7.25% respectively).

4. On the other hand, the substantial proportion of households (66.66%) on the 1980 electoral rolls, reflects the attempt to cultivate these vote banks, and also possibly people's own growing political awareness. Nevertheless, the fact that over 80% of these families have been in the city for over ten years (Section II, Table 1), renders this proportion less significant than it could be. This impression is reinforced when we see (Section III, Table 6) that there has been a negligible rise in registration between the 1980 and 1985 Electoral Rolls - less than 5%. It is also interesting to note that households along the Western Railway have the lowest representation on the rolls compared to the Central and Harbour line settlements.
5. In stark contrast, the ration card is recognised by the people themselves as an essential document for both identification and daily life. People have also developed a greater familiarity with how to get the card, and make more vigorous attempts to do so. Further, the ration card is relatively easy to acquire even if one resides in an "unauthorised" settlement.
6. Consequently, a larger proportion of households possess ration cards than any other proof of residence - just over 70%. The relatively newer settlements along the Western line, however, have a somewhat lower proportion - 59% - possessing cards.
7. Finally, there is considerable variation between the three lines of settlements in proofs of residence. The Western Railway households have, on the whole, the lowest proportion with ration cards, rent receipts, photopasses, or voter registration. This and other differences between the settlements must be seen in the context of their complex historical, political and legal differences, rather than in terms of their geography alone.



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FIGURE - X
HOUSEHOLDS BY PROOF OF RESIDENCE



FORMATION OF THE RAILWAY SLUM DWELLERS FEDERATION (RSDF):

Soon after the enumeration, the results were shared with the various slum communities. Within each community, a collective was formed to represent the aspirations of the people. These groups, in turn, appointed a committee to represent all the slums along the railway tracks. The committee members were responsible for assisting groups to participate in a process of training which would help them plan for resettlement, learn to understand the roles played by various government agencies, and define the role of the government in this process.

The RSDF went through a process of training which included:

Implications of the study : Since the resettlement planning took as its basis clearing upto 50 feet for the railways, it was essential to understand how many settlements would be affected by this.

Forming a stand on resettlement strategy: If the RSDF decided that no slum would be resettled beyond a certain distance from its original location, then the relocation and the range of options for the people had to be clarified.

Increasing administrative responsibilities. As the study indicates, there are over 18,000 households residing along the tracks. If all the settlements need to participate, then it is essential that the capability of the RSDF be developed to undertake this action. This would mean reducing the roles played by SPARC and NSDF, and enhancing and expanding the role of RSDF.

Learning to deal with the Government : The RSDF required training in working with the people and simultaneously coordinating with government officials. It had to develop technical capabilities in dealing with issues of land, finance and planning of new settlements. They needed to know how to form co-operatives, to locate land and seek lease, to formulate settlement and house plans, to plan for the finance and to participate in the actual construction.

PLANNING FOR RESETTLEMENT

During the census and thereafter, extensive meetings and discussions were held with the various communities and certain basic principles about resettlement planning clearly emerged :

- (a) The land along the tracks is under the jurisdiction of various government authorities, who should come to a common consensus about the amount of land available for resettlement.
- (b) The house wall could be the boundary fence which would be constructed along the railway lines in order to protect the tracks and prevent further encroachments.
- (c) The communities would form co-operative societies which would handle not only the material and financial aspects of the resettlement, but also maintain the facilities in the future.
- (d) The co-operative societies would align together in a loose federation, thus creating a communication network among one another, guarding against illegal interventions and control by slum lords.

Each individual settlement upon discussing the options available to them formulated four resettlement alternatives which were acceptable to them:

1. To relocate their huts in such a way that the entire settlement is re-accommodated in the same location, but beyond 50 feet from the tracks.
2. To relocate their huts on some other stretch of land along the tracks, but once again beyond the clearance zone of 50 feet.
3. Certain lands in the city have been earmarked for the resettlement of the economically weaker sections - including areas which are close to railway stations. Some of the railway slum communities are willing to relocate themselves on such lands.

4. Those railway slum settlements which even currently lie well beyond the 50 feet clearance zone could be regularised on their present sites, but must be provided with basic amenities such as water supply, latrines, drainage, electricity, etc.

After the census, four pilot projects have been undertaken to test the feasibility of these options :

1. Between Bhandup and Mulund : the households are willing to realign themselves beyond 50 feet.
2. Between Vikhroli and Ghatkopar and Wadala and Chunabhatti : the households are willing to move to other locations along the railway tracks which are beyond 50 feet mark.
3. Bharat Nagar, Mankhurd which exists in an area earmarked for the Mankhurd -Belapur railway line will be relocated on an adjoining plot of land.
4. Households on railway land in Mahim will be upgraded.

This approach to resettlement is advantageous to (a) the people, because it is holistic, self-determined and least disruptive to their lives; and (b) the government, because it represents an effective long-term resettlement strategy for such sections of the urban poor.

**IMPACT AND OUTCOME
OF THE RAILWAY SLUM CENSUS**

THE RAILWAY HOUSING EXHIBITION AND ITS AFTERMATH

One of the first activities of the RSDF was to organise an exhibition of life-size house models, and invite not only their own community, but also the government and other voluntary agencies to see some of the efforts made by the people.

It may be asked why life-size models were necessary. It has been our past experience while working with the pavement dwellers that it was difficult to explain the dimensions of a 10 X 15 feet (150 sq.ft.) house to a group of people who have been living in 45 sq. ft. for most of their lives. Hence, planning for a change or discussing alternative plans which are different or unfamiliar to people can cause a lot of anxiety, which may result in a resistance to change. However, life size models of houses designed by the people can be a very effective means of depicting the spatial dimensions. This enables them to arrive at a common consensus about what they want. The RSDF committee felt that such an exhibition would facilitate their outreach among the rest of the railway settlements.

There were four house models which were presented in the exhibition, three of which had been built in the past by women pavement dwellers. Not only were the models on display, but the people had worked out the approximate cost of each house, taking into account that materials would be collectively purchased. (For details of these models, see Appendix 1).

The exhibition was a tremendous experience for women who were able to share their designs and discuss whether others in the community felt they were appropriate to their needs. Large numbers of people from along the three railway tracks thronged to the site each day during the week long exhibition. There were animated discussions conducted by the RSDF committee members, who explained not only about the house models, but also the future strategy which the communities would need to adopt for their resettlement.

This was also seen as an opportunity to expose peoples' ideas to a variety of other groups such as government officials, professionals, the media and other voluntary groups concerned with issues related to shelter. For each of these groups, it was a depiction of peoples' aspirations, which could be incorporated into the process of urban planning. The uniqueness of this exhibition lay in the fact that the house models on display were not a product of professional involvement, but a process which people themselves had gone through. Perhaps the most significant aspect was that people were able to communicate their thoughts effectively to those present.

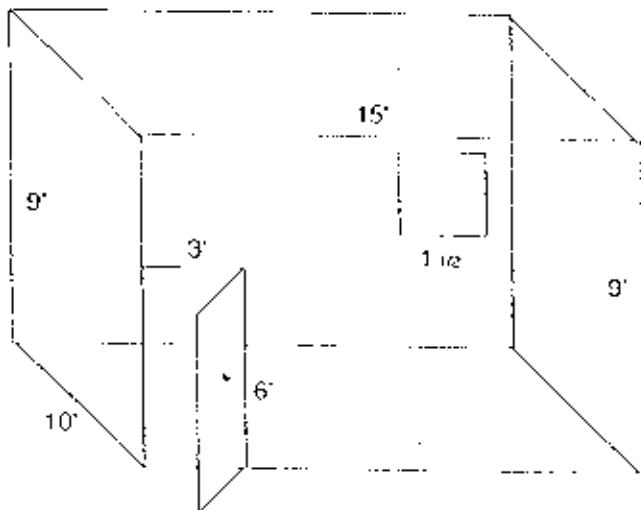
After the exhibition, the RSDF found that it had a tremendous amount of work to do with the various settlements. Local committees were formed, each of these had regular meetings among themselves to discuss individual strategies. Then they would meet together and work out an overall plan of action. The first concrete task that lay ahead was for the people to open bank accounts and start saving towards their future homes. There has been a frenzy of activity - - people have seen the vacant lands to be allotted to them, they have conducted cadastral surveys in each area. Groups meet regularly to discuss the checks and balances needed to ensure that the process of resettlement actually works for them.

The people are ready, they have been through a training process and are clear in their minds as to what they want. Now, it is up to the government authorities to sanction the land and enable them to translate their thoughts and ideas into reality!

APNA JHOPADPATI

TOTAL COST

Rs. 8,250/-

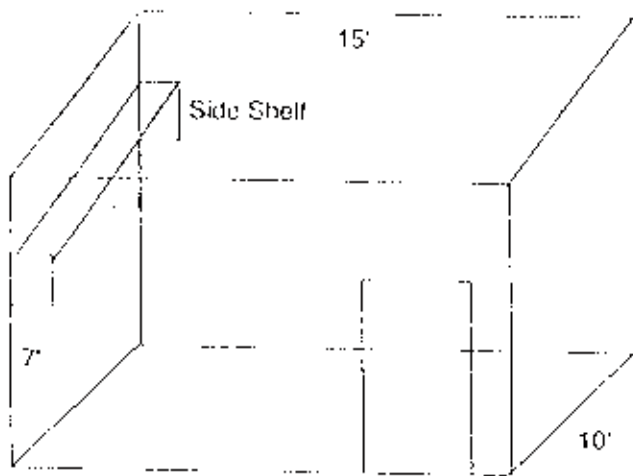


Flooring : 50 slabs	480.00
Roofing : stone	
masonry, 7 8 12' bars, 75 slabs,	
2 bags water proof cement,	
ordinary cement, sand	3,500.00
Walls - bricks	1,000.00
Cement - 15 bags	525.00
Lime - 10 bags	200.00
Sand	625.00
Door with wooden frame	450.00
Window with frame	150.00
Foundation stones	600.00
Skilled labour	650.00
Miscellaneous	70.00

SHANTINAGAR

TOTAL COST

Rs. 5,866/-

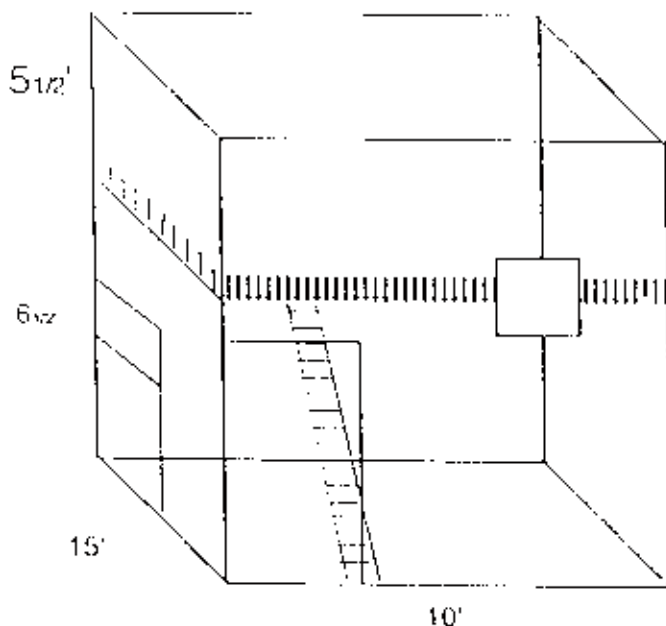


Flooring : 50 stone slabs	480.00
Roofing : Asbestos 4 Sheets	520.00
2 cross bars 1 1/2" x 15"	180.00
1 bar 11"	66.00
Walls - bricks	1,000.00
Cement - 15 bags	525.00
Lime - 10 bags	200.00
Sand : 2 1/2 bags	625.00
Door - Wooden frame	450.00
2 Wooden shelves	200.00
Foundation stones	600.00
Skilled labour - 2	
Masons : 3 days	390.00
Miscellaneous	500.00

WATER STREET

TOTAL COST

Rs. 13,000/-



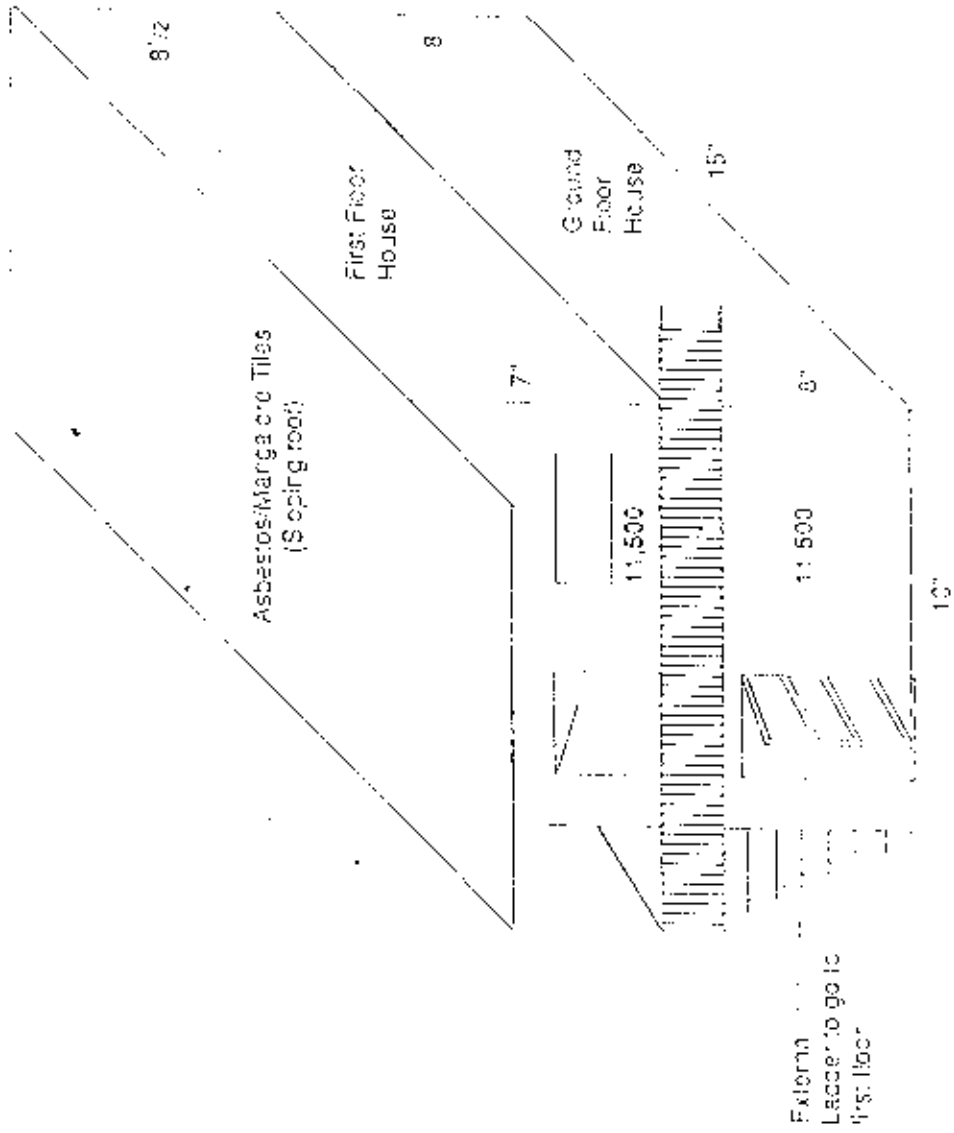
Flooring : 50 slabs	480.00
Roofing : RCC	4,500.00
Mezzanine	1,600.00
Walls - bricks	1,600.00
Cement - 18 bags	630.00
Lime - 12 bags	240.00
Sand - 4 bags	1,000.00
Door with wooden frame	450.00
Foundation stones	600.00
Window with frame	150.00
Skilled labour, 3	
labourers, 5 days	975.00
Miscellaneous	775.00

PROPOSED MODEL FOR SETTLEMENTS ALONG RAILWAY TRACKS

Budget for ground + One Structure 23,000/-

Each Unit Cost : 11,500/-

Flooring	900.00
Flooting	1,600.00
Mezanine (RCC Slab)	5,500.00
Brick Walls	3,000.00
Cement - 40 bags	2,000.00
Lime - 20 bags	350.00
Sand - 2 trucks	3,000.00
RCC Steps	1,300.00
(2) Door/Windows (2)	1,900.00
Founder/ Stone	750.00
Skilled Labour (3 masons - 10 days)	2,500.00
Miscellaneous	200.00



ROW OF 10 HOUSES
RATIO OF TO LETS : 15 FAMILIES

BRIDGE LINE

BRIDGE LINE

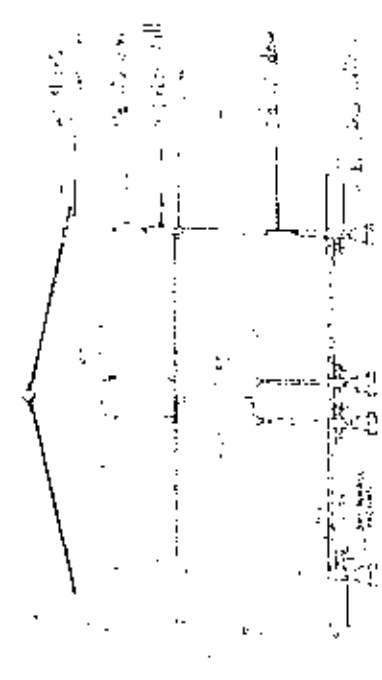
A



GROUND FLOOR PLAN



FIRST FLOOR PLAN



SECTION A-A

PROPOSED RESIDENTIAL ZONE
 NEAR GIBBUNDER RIV. STATION
 7A, CANTONMENT ROAD
 SINGAPORE
 SPARC RSDP 180F RM