[2012]

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When Rural Meets Urban: An Ethnographic Study

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When Rural Meets Urban

1. Introduction

The present era of economic globalization has witnessed a steady concentration of populations in urban centres. In this world of 7 billion the rural urban balance seems to be further irreversibly inclining in favour of urban areas (UNFPA, 2011). Increased pressure on urban spaces has led to pushing the urban boundaries to envelop rural spaces at their edges, creating both new economic opportunities and socio-cultural shocks and stresses. This process of urban growth, mainly in non-contiguous intermediary zones between countryside and city, is increasingly being referred to as "peri-urbanization" (UNFPA, 2007).

The tendency towards dispersal of population and employments to the fringes of metropolitan cities is also becoming a global phenomenon. The rapid growth in peri-urban areas can be attributed to several factors; need for cities to expand and take in more land to provide housing and services to people, lower land values and land availability in peri-urban areas and the policy to relocate slums to outer edges of the city.

While urban trends are not fully crystallized and different urban economies face varying kind of challenges, urbanization is contributing to peri urban growth. According to Prof Amitabh Kundu, in India 'we are sanitizing our cities' which reflects a drive towards cleaner environment, cleaning out of slums and pushing out of low income colonies. According to Kundu (2007) [1] recent efforts towards city beautification has altered the characteristic of cities and not necessarily in a better way. Metropolitan cities in India are increasingly opting for resettlement arrangements on the city periphery to create land for development projects such as road, rail, metro, highways inside the city; and/or for new and high-income housing or for city beautification.

Webster and Muller (2004)[2], flag various other driving factors leading to peri urban developments. Foreign Direct and Domestic Investments leading to setting up of industrial estates in the much attractive peri-urban region because of the availability of inexpensive land and less hindered freight transportation in these areas. Residential development is also a driving force for peri-urban development. Individuals belonging to lower and lower middle economic strata looking for bigger accommodations and greener spaces at affordable rates are renting houses or buying plots in peri-urban

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[1] Amitabh Kundu , Migration and Urbanisation in India on the context of Poverty Alleviation, Seminar on Policy Perspectives on Growth, Economic Structures and Poverty Reduction, Beijing, 2007
[2] Webster, Douglas and Larissa Muller. The Challenges of Periurban Growth: The Case of China's Hangzhou-Ningbo Corridor, in M. Freire and B.Yuen (eds), Enhancing Urban Management in East Asia, London: Ashgate, 2004

areas. Peri-urban areas are also the only spaces in which plotted lands can be purchased for independent housing.

Peri-urban development is also one of the ways by which local governments are tackling poverty alleviation and social justice alongside environmental integrity, drawing upon synergies between urban and rural relationships. This equity in a welfare oriented state is only manageable at a distance from the core.

Whatever may be the cause, Peri-urban areas are increasingly being characterized by high and growing population densities, shrinking land holdings, rich farmer families, poverty and low-income housing, unplanned conversion of farmland to housing, intensified resource exploitation, pollution, environmental problems, and a severe lack of service provision. At the same time it also represents considerable economic dynamism (Friedberg 2001[3] Simon et al 2003[4]; Briggs 1991[5]). This interface between the old and the new, the poor and the rich, the conventional and the modern, however has social impacts; the social change being both a source of positivity and of possible conflicts.

In this uncertain and highly dynamic context, improved understanding of the peri-urban situation is an essential prerequisite to addressing the current and emerging challenges. In recent years, some progress has been made in understanding the spatial, temporal and functional elements of the peri-urban interface. However, this understanding is still very elemental. In order to find approaches that could address the conflicts and implement changes which will benefit the poor and marginalized, thelearning curve on peri-urban development needs to be intensified. Approaches that will tackle poverty alleviation and social justice alongside environmental integrity can help maximise the productivity of natural resources and draw upon synergies from urban and rural relationships.

1.1 Defining Peri Urban

It has been difficult to achieve an agreement among practitioners and researchers on the definition of peri urban. However the general consensus is to include 'settlements that are marginal to the physical and regulatory boundaries of the formal city' (Hogrewe, et.al.1993)[6]. Peri urban interface is usually considered as a transitional zone between city and its periphery, often described "not [as] a discrete area, but rather [as] a diffuse territory identified by combinations of features and phenomenon, generated largely by activities within the urban zone proper" (Nottingham and Liverpool Universities,

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[3] Friedberg, S, "Gardening on the Edge; The Social Conditions of Unsustainably on an African Urban Periphery " 2001

[4] Simon, "Poverty Elimination, North South Research Collaboration and the Politics of Participatory Development" 2003

[5] Briggs, J, "The Peri-Urban Zone of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Recent Trends and Changes in Agricultural Land Use" 1991

[6] Hogrewe, W, "The Unique Challenges of Improving Peri-Urban Sanitation" 1993

1998)[7]. However according to Iaquinta and Drescher (2000) concentration on geographic location as a foundation for defining peri urban undermines a clear understanding of the 'rural-urban spectrum as dynamic, interactive and transformative.' They further reiterate that 'proximity to city' embodies an additional specification, which helps to distinguish between 'types of peri urban' and not define peri-urban. They have further used 'proximity to city' as a basis to evolve peri urban typologies.

Most literature has, gone beyond defining the peri urban as a place where a mixture of urban and rural livelihoods are being pursued, and theorize about the peri urban processes (Narain and Nishcal 2007)[8]. Friedberg has argued that the peri urban is fundamentally integrated into urban contexts. As such, peri urban areas occupy 'unique space, in that they are simultaneously sustained and imperiled by the dynamics of the urban economy' (Friedberg 2001: 353).

A place-based conceptualization of the peri urban is thus juxtaposed with, and sometimes superseded by, a 'flows-based' understanding of the peri urban which emphasizes the 'flows of produce, finance, labour and services' and the influence of 'processes of rapid economic, sociological, institutional, and environmental change' (Halkatti et al 2003)[9]. One definition is that 'the "peri-urban" is an area outside existing urban agglomeration where large changes are taking place over space and time' (Dupont 2005). Picking up on the notion of change and time, Rohilla[10] stresses the rapid trajectory of change in peri-urban areas as the critical feature (2005). Allen[11] et al provide a working definition of the peri-urban – which overcomes the need to situate the peri-urban 'beyond' the city – as instances where 'where rural and urban features co-exist, in environmental, socio-economic and institutional terms' (2006).

The peri-urban should thus be conceived as an area of complementariness out of which arise various opportunities and exclusions. The interdependence between natural resources, agriculture and urban processes in peri-urban spaces suggests that complementarities do not exist in isolation from contestation (Marshall, et.al.). This interdependence creates, as Dupont's work in India shows, a climate of competition: for example, antagonisms emerge between poor people's need for housing and a general public desire to protect environmental features; between the health and sanitation requirements of all residents and the chemical pollutants discharged by industries relocated from cities to the peripheries (Dupont 2005[12]; also see Rohilla 2005).

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[7] Nottingham and Liverpool Universities, "Literature Review on Peri-Urban National Resource Conceptualisation and Management Approaches" DFID London 1998

[8] Narain, V and Nishcal, S. The Peri-Urban Interface in Shahpur Khurd and Karnera, India, 2007

[9] Halkatti, M Participatory Planning Action in The Peri Urban Interface.The twin City Expereince Hugli-Dharwad, India, 2003

[10] Rohilla, S.K Peri Urban Dynamics- Concept and General Issues 2005

[11] Allen, A Governance of Water and Sanitation Services for The Peri-Urban Poor,A Frame Work for Understanding and Action in Metropolitan Regions. 2006

[12] Dupont, V , Peri Urban Dynamics: Population, Habitat and Environment on the peripheries of Large Indian Metropolises: An Introduction 2005

Peri-urban is thus variously understood as a place, a process or a concept. When regarded as a place, the peri urban apart from being seen as a site of expulsion from the city to make way for various aspirations of modernity can also be seen as a threatening urban fringe; where communities are engulfed in various social conflicts and are faced with health and environmental hazards, which warrant some form of control. Other researchers see peri-urban development as a contradiction of processes and environmental outcomes. According to Iaquinta and Drescher (1999[13]), such variability has trivialized, tautologized and severely compromised the understanding of peri-urbanism and the degree of ruralness and urbanness within which individuals, households, communities and institutions find themselves in this newly emerging space.

Peri-urban environments are said to be infused with dynamism wherein new social forms and arrangements get created, modified and discarded. In areas of social compression and density of social forms, the peri-urban environment foments conflict and social evolution in a discontinuous, "lumpy", and multidimensional manner (Iaquinta and Drescher, 1999) that arise from underlying social processes. The researchers concluded that peri-urbanism has three components; demographic (i.e., increasing population size and density), economic (i.e., a primarily non-agricultural labor force) and social-psychological (i.e., consciousness of what it means to be urban). A better understanding of the peri-urban space in all its plural-ness by city planners and managers - can have far reaching repercussions for poor resettled households.

1.2 Dimensions of Peri-urbanism

In the context of our present study we see the 'peri-urban' as a condition which encompasses aspects of rural and urban activities and institutions, where there is influence of rapid social, environmental and technological change that produces both opportunities and increasing marginalization. As Amitabh Kundu, points out that, described in the context of the ongoing process of exclusionary urbanisation in India, periphery is a sociological rather than a geographical term. It encompasses the following critical socio-cultural-development dimensions:

- Land: Land is a critical resource for urban development, including for peri-urban development. Land acquisition for expanding cities and industry is one of the most bitterly contentious issues in India, rife with corruption and violent protests. Yet in some areas it has created pockets of overnight wealth, especially in the outlying regions of New Delhi.

[13] Iaquinta, D. L. and Drescher, A.W. Defining Periurban: Understanding Rural-Urban Linkages and Their Connection to Institutional Contexts. Paper presented at the Tenth World Congress of the International Rural Sociology Association, Rio de Janeiro, August 1, 2000.

As peri-urban areas develop, land use patterns get changed, from largely agriculture to built-up, for commercial or residential use. As more families move into the area, they congest it/ create pressure on land and push up real estate prices, sometimes even displacing long-time settlers.

Less land is now available for /or is under food cultivation. Land holdings get increasingly fragmented. Arable land gets degraded from construction debris and or from industrial activity causing soil toxicity/ salinity. Declining and unreliable water supply or electricity for irrigation pumps threaten the continuation of agriculture and as farming becomes unproductive, more land is converted into urban use. Many farmers feel compelled to sell to the state or the private real estate developers. A typical example of this is Noida. Although part of Uttar Pradesh, it is adjoining East and South Delhi. Over the years, farmers and others have sold more than 50,000 acres of farmland as Noida has evolved into a suburb of 300,000 people with shopping malls and office parks.

Land is also a source of power, social standing and a basis for accessing credit, a hedge against inflation and an avenue for increasing net worth with increasing land prices. Disposal of land makes available excess cash that could be poorly invested in luxuries or conspicuous consumption or the need to show off social mobility, because of the low levels of education of traditional farming communities. Land acquisition and its increasing fragmentation is thus a major concern in peri-urban development also articulated by traditional farming communities.

- Natural Water Resources: Natural resources, especially water, are the next to come under increasing pressure from peri-urban development (Druijven and Singh 1994)[14]. Water is a contested resource, though often considered to be a common pool resource, its access and consumption are never equally distributed (Mehta 2003)[15]. In many parts of the world people no longer perceive water as a common good. As a result it is an issue that divides communities. Access to water, like land, reflects power asymmetries, socioeconomic inequalities, and other distribution factors, such as ownership of land (Ibid and Baviskar)[16].

There are also many political, social and economic conduits through which water flows as it becomes urban. Peri-urban sites often lack water mains. Besides physical access, there are social issues about access and control, the right to water and the right to space in the city and its environs (Heynon et al 2006). Water shortages and declining water tables are unable to sustain all the people (old and new settlers) with disastrous health and social consequences.

- Environmental Degradation: Peri-urban sites lack sewerage and waste management systems (solid and liquid). Being so far from the city, extending these systems often becomes prohibitively expensive. Besides, for generations' people here have been more dependent on natural rural systems for disposal of human and other wastes! The lack of services makes peri-urban lands usually lower-value lands, and for that reason these are mostly occupied by poor

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[14] Drujven, P.C.J and Singh, R.B. Environmental Degradation and its Socio-Economic Implications in the Rural-Urban Fringe of Delhi, 1994
[15] Mehta, L and Canal, O Financing Water for All:Behind the Border Policy Convergence in Water Management 2003
[16] Ibid and Baviskar, A Waterscapes: the Cultural Politics of a Natural Resource, Delhi: Permanent Black 2006

people or migrants to the city. These poor families are usually unable to meet the high service installation costs, in case sewerage systems are extended to these areas.

Lack of proper disposal of wastes contaminates the soil and groundwater. At the same time social conflicts arise from shrinking sites for private defecation or waste disposal. Local industrial activity (usually industrial areas are also located in the peri-urban fringe due to pollution control laws in the inner city areas) contributes to pollution and polluted work environments. The natural environments of rural areas are thus becoming degraded, placing many of those inhabiting these spaces at risk of ill health (Ompad et al 2007)[17]. The peri-urban environment which could confer some potential advantages in terms of health status from rural living and increased incomes from better productivity is compromised. The lower social status (share of marginal families is usually more among the poor) and poor education of peri-urban residents compounds an already unhealthy situation for the most marginalized.

▪ Social Conflicts: Although it is well recognized that a diverse set of economic and political barriers prevents poor people from accessing social benefits, in the peri-urban environment, where people are largely poor and struggling to survive with less money, these conflicts are easily exaggerated. The influx of new people into these peripheral areas undoubtedly means increased pressure on social services such as health and education (e.g. increase in class size makes it difficult for students to get good quality education or increase in people stresses the health service delivery system designed for a much smaller community). It also does not go down well with the indigenous community when their resources get more stretched due to the presence of 'outsiders'; fewer services of health, education, water supply etc. are potential points of tension. In the context of missing services, distances make access more difficult (Jaiswl et al 2003); travelling further to get to the school or hospital or collect water.

As peri urban neighbourhoods continue to get populated, every new wave of settlers has to contend with an earlier wave (s) besides the indigenous communities.

▪ Governance: An overlap and confusion over governance jurisdictions is also a potential source of conflict. Rural systems of governance (village panchayats) are replaced by urban councilors and urban area development officials. However, being in transition, it is unclear on who is responsible? Patterns of planning and funding are also in a flux, resulting in huge gaps in implementation.

▪ Gender Relationships: Some literature has focused on the potential of social and ethnicity practices in relation to gender in peri-urban areas. Kielmand and Bently[18] show that in Bopkhil, a

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[17] Ompad Social determinants of the health of urban populations: Methodologic considerations 2007

peri-urban setting in Pune, India, women's status can be seen to have improved if measured by conventional indices: "As compared to their mothers and grandmothers, women in Bophil have higher rates of literacy and education, delayed marriages, less manual work outside the household, less children and access to contraception (2003:529). Similar patterns are evident in Kolkata's peri-urban settlements where women have been involved in aquaculture (ornamental fish culture). These women were not found as vulnerable to food insecurity, ill health, and inadequate housing. Their living conditions, education, transport facilities and communication infrastructures were better (Bunting and Lewins 2006)[19]. Similarly improved ideas of health and awareness of health care available in urban areas can lead women to redefine their experiences of "natural women's diseases". Increased knowledge allows them to see themselves as 'at risk'. Such an acknowledgement helps define women's health as a political issue and also acts to make poor and marginalized women more aware of their exclusion from health facilities and treatment.

Kielman and Bentley however, warn against assuming a linear relationship between women's status and the peri-urban context. Instead new and unfulfilled expectations lead to new tensions and stresses between and within genders. In areas lacking toilet facilities and men and women have to share toilets and facilities or spaces for open defecation, sexual violence is more likely. Simultaneously, peri-urban populations often experience shifts from "traditional" health care systems to biomedical models of treatment (Kielman 2002[20]; also see Allen et al 2006), that could mean added expenses.

- Livelihood Strategies: Livelihood strategies of both residents and settled people change as peri-urban areas grow. Often, it is not feasible for people who have been relocated to continue working in the city. Among the indigenous farmers, because they have had to sell their land and less arable land is available for cultivation, they too need new means of employment or enterprise. Other rural based livelihoods, not linked to land, are also more difficult to sustain such as animal husbandry.

Changes in livelihood strategies can bring a set of problems of their own, besides the obvious which is a loss in incomes. The potential loss of income is the most significant issue for all peri-urban people whether in forced or voluntary relocation; from loss of job to business to loss of clients. At the same time expenses increase; people must pay more for transport because they live farther from jobs. Apart from such obvious risks such as lack of relevant skills for the new economies or capital or markets in these remote areas etc., hidden factors include overwork

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[19] Bunting, S.W and Lewins, R. Urban and Peri-Urban Aquaulture Development in Bangladesh and West Bengal, India 2006

[20] Kielman, K. Theorizing Health in the Context of Transition: The Dynamics of Perceived Morbidity among Women in a Peri Urban community of Maharashtra, India 2002

and fatigue associated with excessive hours spent in travel. A new set of occupationally-linked conditions also get associated with work if in poorly regulated industrial plants.

- Social Organization Change: Social consequences of peri-urban development can also be huge; destroying existing and well understood patterns and ways of life, affecting kinships, community organizations and networks, and threatening the cultural identity of rural communities. The complex interactions over sharing of land and natural resources and services, contribute to the tensions, decreasing social capital and accelerating a breakdown of kinship ties. As peri-urban development brings together people from various parts of the country and from various religions and socio-cultural backgrounds, the different traditions and religious view of these people need to fit in with one another. When they do not mix well and there is intolerance, they may be a cause of social tension.

On the contrary, it is also possible that such mixing may have a positive influence on people's attitudes and tolerance towards other communities/groups, which in turn can influence attitudes of both indigenous and new communities, although this change and influence may take time to show. The process of reconstituting a new community is slow, but understanding the potential for conflict and change in peri-urban development, is important for governments and civil society organizations, as it can help prepare a strategy for such development to be managed.

Despite the tremendous opportunities in peri-urban development, the peri-urban interface, is little understood, often disregarded and characterized by increasing marginalization, environmental degradation and social conflict. The challenge is to find ways to recognize the strengths of peri-urban settlement and to integrate the diverse populations in these areas for more coherent and planned development.

1.3 Delhi and Peri-Urban Development

K T Ravindran says that Delhi has many centres and many peripheries embedded in the morphology of the city. Of late, Delhi like any other metropolitan city has been experiencing/ promoting peri-urban development. Development as part of the Common Wealth Games (CWG), 2010 has resulted in large scale land reclaim from occupation under inner city slums for the development of sports infrastructure. Besides CWG, Delhi is also building a Mass Rapid Transit System or the Metro, and that too has required acquisition of lands for development mostly by way of eviction of slums and slum dwellers. Also, the beautification initiatives by the Government of Delhi have removed the streets and pavement dwellers and people along the riverfronts. Those eligible for compensation by the government based on demonstrated years of residence in the city are being moved to various resettlement sites at the state fringes. One such site is Savda Ghevra developed for over 20,000 households; of which 8500 households have been allotted to slum residents.

The present study has been designed to understand the potential opportunities and conflicts in per-urban development in the context of forced resettlement of urban slum dwellers in the capital city of Delhi.

2. Study Objectives

Specific objectives of the study were to:

- Analyse the interface between re-settlers and indigenous/long-stay rural communities in the peri urban area of Savda Ghevra in the context of the changing land and resource use patterns;

- Identify positive and negative influences that impact both indigenous communities and resettled households from peri-urban development;

- Study the patterns of socio-cultural interactions, including changes in gender perceptions, between indigenous communities and resettled households and across age groups;

- Examine the nature and diversification in economic activities both for indigenous and resettled communities and their hidden costs; and

- Make policy recommendations for planned peri-urban development.

3. Methodology and Sample

The study was undertaken in the peri-urban resettlement site of Savda Ghevra and the neighboring villages of Savda and Ghevra from where 250 acres of land was procured for the resettlement programme. Savda Ghevra (SG), the resettlement colony, gets its name from the two villages from where it has been sliced out. The new resettlement colony and its host communities are located at the north-west fringe of Delhi nearly 40kms from the city's centre, and are just about 4kms from the border of the state of Haryana. SG, initially populated in 2006, still lacks network infrastructure, continuing to receive provisional services. Till last year (2011), SG's closest transport link was about a 2km walk.

The study was designed as a sociological assessment of the process of interface in the Savda Ghevra peri urban context. Data was planned to be derived from both qualitative and quantitative measures generated through structured questionnaires, focused group discussions and interviews.

3.1 Sample

Sample for the study was identified from Savda Ghevra -the resettlement site and Savda and Ghevra; the two villages. A stratified-random method was used for identification of the sample.

3.1.1 Respondents from Resettlement Area

Designed as an ethnographic study, the sample was kept small, at 160 households. A temporal framework was used to select the final sample of resettled households in the study; the assumption being that time has assimilative implications. Time of resettlement was classified into four time zones starting from the first wave of re-settlers – pre 2007, 2007-08, 2008-09 and 2009-10. Households in SG have been settled block-wise and are easy to group by date of resettlement. The final sample of 40 households per time zone was drawn randomly from a block each. An equal number of men and women were selected for the study.

3.1.2 Respondents from Host Communities

Only 70 respondents were chosen from the twin villages of Savda and Ghevra as the population of the village was smaller than that of the resettlement colony. The sample was stratified into user /functional communities such as youth, transport users, business groups etc. Within these user groups an equal number of men and women were selected in the study to bring out the gender differentials.

The final sample in the study is presented below.

Total Sample Size	
Host Community	Resettled Community
70	160

Host Households	No. of Respondents
Transport Boys	15
Transport Girls	15
Business	10
School Going Girls	15
School Going Boys	15
Total	70

Resettled Households	No. of Respondents
Transport Male	15
Transport Female	15
General	100
School Going Girls	15
School Going Boys	15
Total	160

3.2   Data Collection

The data for the study was collected using both qualitative and quantitative instruments:

i.   In-depth ethnographic interviews of host and resettled communities to understand the processes of change – conflicts and points of harmony.

ii.   Survey of host and resettled communities on selected variable to quantify the process of peri-urban development. Survey questionnaires were designed for the purpose, field tested and used in the study.

iii.   Participatory tools (PLA) such as physical and livelihood maps, Focus Group Discussions, case studies, etc. were also used to generate qualitative information for the study.

Interview guidelines and survey formats for the study are at annex 1.

3.3   Variables in the Study

Key variables for which data was generated are described below.

- Land:
  Real estate values, holdings and fragmentation
- Resources:
  Change in water quantity/quality/ availability/ hydrology - chemical, ecological
  Access and availability of services including health and education
  Access to transport
- Environmental degradation:
  Sanitation status, defecation, pollution
- Economic opportunities:
  Diversification/change – formal, informal, vending, micro-enterprises, markets, capital and credit, opportunities, crowding, Impacts on income
- Social
  Socio cultural impacts of peri-urban interface
  Change in behaviour practices: age of marriage, institutional deliveries, education levels, aspirations

4. Peri Urban Interface: Analysis of Data

4.1 Savda Ghevra: Profile

Savda Ghevra (SG) occupying an area of 250 acres and situated near the Delhi - Haryana border in North West Delhi is designated as the Capital's largest resettlement colony. To create space for New Delhi's new infrastructure, over 8500 eligible slum families uprooted from their homes, social networks, and livelihoods have been relocated to pocket-sized plots of 12.5–18 square meters (135–94 sq. ft.). Most of these plots now have one-and two storey dwellings made of chatais (temporary sheets), chadars (corrugated roofs and exposed bricks) or lintels (stone/cement concrete roofs). When completed, SG shall accommodate an additional 12000 families from various slums across Delhi in built multi-level housing structures.

Savda Ghevra covers a large tract of land that is surrounded by agricultural fields on all sides. This land was acquired by the Government in the year 2004, from residents of the two adjacent villages, Savda and Ghevra, from where the resettlement colony draws its name. Initially the Government did not face any resistance in land acquisition as many residents required the money being offered by the Government in lieu of the land. However discrepancies in the land prices that went up from Rs 23 Lakhs to 75 Lakhs in a month's time did spark off antagonisms in the form of protest marches within the community, which have died with time. According to many villagers they were not provided with accurate information about the use of the acquired land. Some were also of the opinion that land was acquired forcefully and low rates were imposed on people.

The coming up of the resettlement colony between the existing villages while adding nearly 50000 people to the area has also led to a blooming of commercial activity here, to serve the needs of a growing population. Besides shops, the city has set up new schools, mother dairy booths, a health centre etc. and introduced government buses to enable better connectivity with the city. Thus relocating of such large chunks of people from the city core to the city periphery has resulted in large-scale infrastructural and economic changes (both from government and people's resources). In turn this has added to the urbanization process of this fringe area, changing the original semi rural area to a semi urban area.

Although SG is a sites and services scheme, it continues to lack access to basic services like water and sanitation even after nearly 4 years. This has led to tension over the share of resources among the villagers and resettled community. The village communities, who are semi conservative and governed by a traditional value system, perceive resettled colony members as a threat to their social system. This peri urban dynamic has been explored in the study. The findings of the exploratory study are presented in the next section.

The Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence (CURE) a development NGO has been working with the families resettled in Savda Ghevra since 2006 in partnership with Bhagidari (GoNCT) and with the financial support of the Jamsetji Tata Trust (JTT) on building sustainable livelihoods and enabling people to survive the resettlement shock. This study is about understanding the processes of peri-urban development and interface within the context of this resettlement.

4.2 Savda and Ghevra Villages

The villages of Savda and Ghevra came into existence in the 14th Century, when the Ranas, a Kshatriya caste moved here from Chittorgarh. The Jat community here claims their decent from Maharana Pratap. They have been engaged in farming for generations and own bulk of the agriculture land in the area. The two urban villages have been not very well connected to Delhi although they did have their own Railway station built by the British. The village has remained clean and green and has a number of attractive sites for visitors; a beautiful temple of Lord Shiva, the ISKCON temple just 4 kms away, the Mata Sherawali temple, Shirdi Sai Mandir, Shani Dev Temple, and the historical Azad Hind Gram - a memorial to the freedom fighter Subhash Chandra Bose.

Savda and Ghevra villages became part of the urban fabric of the city as Delhi enlarged its boundaries. However, they remained mostly rural in character till the Municipal Corporation of Delhi scoped the area for land for re-housing slum dwellers.

4.3 Savda Ghevra: The Pattern of Growth

Savda Ghevra, the resettlement area, has grown from a purely rural-agriculture community to an urbanized area in just 3 years (2005-2008). The relocation of large numbers of people in these three

years has brought both an urban form of development and density to the area. Since relocation started, the growth of population in the area has been unstoppable, and there is evidence of land speculation as families are consolidating (buying plots), booking profits (selling and moving back) and creating rental real estate.

2005: Agriculture Land

2006: 3500 Slum Households Resettled

2008: 8500 Households Resettled

4.4 Demographic Profile

4.4.1 Resettled Communities

Total number of households from the SG sample whose household profiles were generated was 100. The remaining 60 were interviewed only for specific issues related to youth and transport. Based on the household data the demographic profile of resettled household has been generated. The total population of the families was 560, suggesting a household size of 5.6, which is higher than that of the villagers. The sex ratio in the resettled area is less equitable; with more men (53%) than women (47%). This difference could be because of several reasons; usually more men than women migrate. It is also possible that women may have returned home to their villages, leaving the men to manage the early difficult period in relocation. The slum dwellers may also be reflecting the general sex-trend of the city, which is female adverse. One in every 5 families in SG is Muslim. Although there are other religious groups also in SG especially Christians, they are not found in our sample. Unlike in the village area, two-thirds of the households belonged to scheduled and other backward castes and tribes. This is not surprising, as there is a greater preponderance of these groups among slum dwellers.

Total HHs	Total Population
100	560

Gender Distribution	
Gender	No. Of People
Female	261
Male	299

Distribution by Religion	
Religion	No. Of HHs
Hindu	82
Muslim	18

Distribution by Caste	
Caste	No. Of HHs
General	28
SC	51
ST	8
OBC	13

Family Structure	
Family Type	No. Of HHs
Nuclear	66
Joint	18
Extended	16

Age Distribution of HH Members	
Age Group	No. Of Members
0-5	62 (11%)
6 to 18	199 (36%)
19-25	93 (17%)
26-50	169 (30%)
51 and Above	37(7%)

Family structure is mostly nuclear, which is unsurprising as migrants usually come alone. One-third households live in extended or joint families that have usually grown in the city. Percentage of nuclear families in the resettlement area is higher when compared to the villages, which is as expected.

Families seem to be young with nearly half the members below the age of 18. With 7% elderly, the remaining 47% is the working/adult population in SG.

4.4.2   Host Communities

Of all the respondents an equal percentage was between the ages of 13 and 17 years and adults, the rest were youth. Except for 1 who belonged to the Muslim community, all were Hindus and belonged to the SC (Scheduled Castes) and OBC groups. Surprisingly for a village community, fewer respondents lived in joint and extended families and more in nuclear families.

Age Group Of the Respondents					
Gender	Age Group				
	13-17	18-25	26-40	41-60	61 and above
Female	13	6	8	1	2
Male	15	8	14	3	0
Total	28	14	22	4	2
Percentage	40	20	31	6	3

Religion Distribution	
Religion	No. Of HHs
HINDU	69
MUSLIM	1

Caste Distribution	
Caste	No. Of HHs
General	12
SC	22
ST	0
OBC	36

Family Structure	
Family Type	No. Of HHs
Nuclear	38
Joint	23
Extend	9

Age Distribution of HH Members	
Age Group	No. Of Members
0-5	22
6 to 18	121
19-25	60
26-50	132
51 and Above	33
Total	368

Gender Distribution of HH Members	
Gender	No. Of Members
Male	185
Female	183

Respondent family members totaled up to 368; and the average household size was 5.3. They were well balanced in terms of sex ratio with almost an equal number of men and women in these households.

4.4.3   Educational Status

41% households in the resettled areas are educated between middle and senior secondary, 25% up to the primary level and 31% are illiterate. In comparison, nearly 64% of village households were educated up to the senior secondary level, 15% were educated up to the primary levels and 16% were illiterate. Two factors for this difference in education levels may be:

Educational Qualifications of HHs in Resettled Area		
Educational Qualification	No and Percent of HH Members	
Primary	142	25
Middle	146	26
Senior Secondary	82	15
Diploma	1	0
Graduate	12	2
Post Graduate	1	0
Illiterate	176	31

Educational Qualifications of HH in Host Communities		
Educational Qualification	No. Of HH Members	Percentage
Primary	56	15
Middle	136	37
Senior Secondary	98	27
Diploma	3	1
Graduate	16	4
Post Graduate	1	0
Illiterate	58	16

- Slum dwellers are usually the poorest and least educated households/migrants from rural areas. Their education deficit can be attributed to their low socio-economic status or their nomadic life-style that foot printing jobs in urban areas.

- Village communities have been settled for generations with greater access to schools. Being close to the capital city of India, they have better access to information and understanding of the value of education.

Having disposed off their lands, they are also wealthier and able to afford sending children to school for longer. Besides, loss of the age-old profession of agriculture, they need to start looking for alternative means of income generation.

4.4.4   Socio Economic Profile

Income levels of the two communities were assessed using the recall method and households grouped by income bars. Incomes before and after resettlement were assessed and compared across the two types of areas.

4.4.5   Resettled Communities

Gender	Income Pre Resettlement				
	1000-3000	3001-5000	5001-10000	10001-15000	15001 and above
Male	42	49	27	3	0
Female	31	16	3	0	0
Total	73	65	30	3	0
Percentage	43	38	18	2	0

Gender	Incomes after Relocation				
	1000-3000	3001-5000	5001-10000	10001-15000	15001 - 20000
Male	42	51	42	5	0
Female	25	18	3	0	0
Total	67	69	45	5	0
Percentage	36	37	24	3	0

Majority of resettled families continued to earn between Rs1000 and Rs 5000 both before and after resettlement which could be indicative of income stability. However, this data needs to be read with a caveat. In 2011, more number of family members (186) needed to earn to feed and clothe their families than in 2005 (171). Besides, number of women earners dropped possibly due to commuting challenges between SG and the city, and a lack of job opportunities in their skill areas around SG. Further, if the data is time referenced - the two data sets pertain to 2005-2007 (when the households moved into the area) and 2011, when the data for the study was collected, the situation changes drastically. Family incomes have remained stable. However, the fact that the family incomes did not rise implies that absolute poverty may have deepened – both due to inflationary pressures and had they been in the old site, these families may have maintained an income growth curve that was in tandem with the rest of the city. It is also important to measure the inter group variation to see families that may have dipped from higher to lower income categories.

Incomes of Resettled Communities by Year of Resettlement Income of resettled families were reviewed on the basis of their year of resettlement to understand, pattern of consolidation. Stabilizing of families in SG is critical for the formation of new friendships and the faster this happens, the sooner the two communities would learn to live with each other without resentment or mistrust. The tables below provide the percentage of people with reported incomes prior to resettlement and their current incomes.

Year Of Resettlement	HH Income range in earlier settlement				
	1000-3000	3001-5000	5001-10000	10001-15000	15001 - 20000
2006	10%	17%	13%	0%	0%
2007	30%	54%	25%	7%	0%
2008	50%	8%	31%	33%	33%
2009	10%	21%	31%	60%	67%

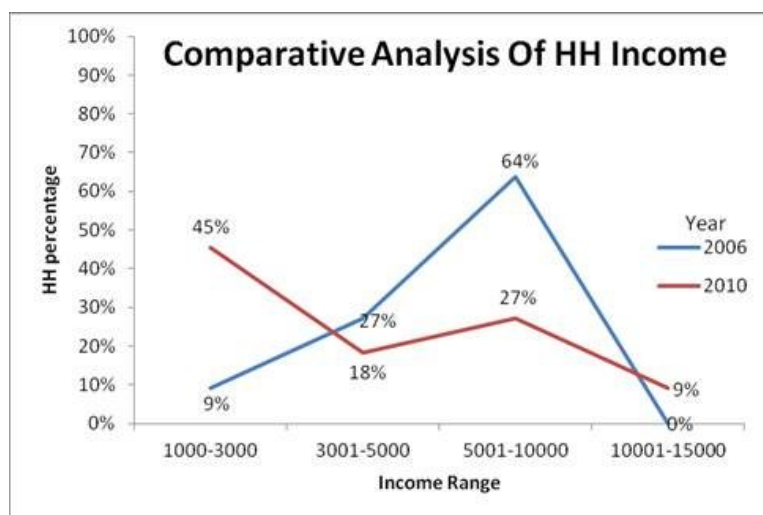| Year Of Resettlement	Income after relocating to SG				
	1000-3000	3001-5000	5001-10000	10001-15000	15001 - 20000
2006	38%	22%	12%	15%	0%
2007	25%	17%	35%	19%	0%
2008	25%	22%	30%	35%	40%
2009	13%	39%	23%	31%	60%

4.4.6   Host Communities

Incomes in the host community were significantly higher as compared with the resettled households; in 2005 62% respondents were earning over Rs. 5000. Just 10% were women with independent incomes with an equal percentage having incomes above and below Rs5000. The highest earning members had incomes above Rs15000.

Gender	Monthly Incomes of the Host Community in 2005				
	1000-3000	3001-5000	5001-10000	10001-15000	15001 and above
Male	11	19	26	15	7
Female	2	1	3	2	0
Total	13	20	29	17	7
Percentage	15	23	34	20	8

Gender	Monthly Incomes of the Host Community in 2011						
	1000-3000	3001-5000	5001-10000	10001-15000	15001 - 20000	20001-30000	30001 and above
Male	5	6	27	16	11	14	2
Female	1	1	1	3	3	0	0
Total	6	7	28	19	14	14	2
Percentage	7	8	31	21	16	16	2
	11	11	11	33	33	0	0

Comparative Analysis Of HH Income

In 2011, reported incomes of host families have increased significantly. Only 15% people were earning less than Rs5000; the highest incomes having gone over Rs 30000 per month. While some of this can be attributed to the overall growth in incomes in India, urban areas and Delhi; the rise can also be attributed to the presence of a large number of people who could be customers for goods produced. Incomes of host communities also went up by way of land sales to the government for the development of Savda Ghevra Resettlement area that has fetched families' huge capital funds followed by investments and savings.

A comparative analysis of reported HH incomes in 2006 and 2010 was undertaken. The analysis suggests that 64% families were earning between Rs.5000 and Rs.10000 at the time of relocation. Nearly five years after relocation, just 36% of families achieved this level and some more. The remaining continues to stay below the poverty line.

4.5 Peri-Urban Interface: Impact on Socio-economic-cultural practices

The objective of the study was to understand how the two diverse cultures - the traditional village and the "more urbane" city – are impacting each other; to what extent this compact is affecting respective cultures – is it diluting long-held values and beliefs or modernizing and homogenizing them.

4.5.1   Socio-Cultural Compact

4.5.1.1   Superiority – At Both Ends

The village communities consider their culture to be vastly superior to the much hybridized culture of the resettlement families – their migrational multi ethnicity compounded further by the further admixture of slum communities in this large resettlement area. The villagers are a Brahmin community – the top of the Hindu caste hierarchy– and so they look down their noses on the "low-caste, uncivilized, rude, more forward community of thieves and criminals". They are also wealthier in comparison and are landlords with huge agriculture properties that add to their sense of superiority. And so in an effort at fire walling their purity and preserving their cultural traditions, the village community has refrained from over-engaging with the new settlement dwellers and limiting it to clientele building. Over the years, attitudes of the villagers are however, changing and they are more sociable.

In turn, the SG families too bear the attitude that they come from the city and are smarter than the villagers. The families from SG find that the stigma of having been a slum family continues to dog them, and villagers consider them less than equal "not even accept us as human beings". This supremacy transcends all other relationships - "teachers who do not accept our children, making them sit on the floors; blaming all thieving, stealing and eve teasing on us, they even don't like the way we speak". Girls in both areas are teased by boys; however villagers blame SG boys for all such incidents. SG women find the long purdahs women use to screen faces from men, extremely strange not having seen anything like this in the main city. Question the young girls from SG, "if a school teacher from the village comes in purdah, how she will help us change?"

The primary sources of the conflict are; caste and income. While villagers use caste to express their supremacy, the de-castized slum community uses income classification as the power indicator.

4.5.1.2   Language: An Impervious Barrier

While both communities speak the national language Hindi (even though many slum families are actually migrants from West Bengal or Bangladesh whose primary language is Bengali), because they use different dialects, language has become a major barrier to assimilation. This is evident from our conversations with the two communities. In the early days of relocation, when the SG schools were still non-operational and children were by force going to the village schools, the dialect of the local teachers was considered rough and rude, scaring the children off. These early impressions have persisted on both sides. Villagers consider the SG children to be highly abusive (using lots of cuss words), undisciplined (tearing off their work sheets/copies) and disrespectful of both their language and their elders, "addressing the elders in the family as tu". Children from SG usually make fun of the Haryanvi dialect and the village children are beginning to lose their own language and speaking the more 'city slick' Hindi. Similar concerns prevail on the other side as SG residents feel their language is becoming less refined and children are imbibing the accent and language of Haryana village society.

4.5.1.3   Dress Patterns: Bold and Bad

According to the youth, both girls and boys, the young on the SG side are more trendily (hence inappropriately) dressed in jeans and tops. Young girls from SG, say the villagers, are more confident, fashionable, wear more make-up and adorn their fingers with rings. They usually discuss clothes and movies - signs of their boldness and modernity. Villagers frown both on the nature of dressing and its being mostly unclean. SG elders in turn find villagers dressed simply but in drab clothes.

4.5.1.4   Mixing between Sexes: Inappropriate

Girls from SG apparently are seen as overly friendly with greater freedom and daring in talking to the opposite sex (considered highly inappropriate in the overly-restrictive Jat culture) without parental supervision. The village girls hold their counterparts from SG to be arrogant and unwilling to mix with village girls. They deem themselves as better dressed, more articulate, more clever, and more modern; aggressive - ready to argue and pick fights on small matters. Both boys and girls from SG dressed differently with boys using more slick and fashionable hair styles and girls more makeup, kajal (eye makeup) and jewelry.

There are several complaints about SG boys' eve teasing the village girls. The boys, say the villagers, are ill-mannered and their girls are unable or not allowed to move around by themselves. They need to be accompanied by family members. When asked if they have tried talking to the other community to address the issue, the standard villager reply is; "Who gande log hain, chote log hain, inse muh lagayange to hum hi phasenge" (They are dirty and small minded people, if we get into any argument with them, we shall be the loosers).

This is beginning to change as young girls have started to make friends with the village girls. Such interactions have led to greater acceptance within the two communities of their new neighbourhoods and more tolerance of each other.

4.5.1.5   Inter-Marriages

Normal age of marriage for the village girls is 18 years; whereas in the SG area, villagers insist that the girls are not married off till they are 25 years of age. They also believe that their marriages are less stable with more divorces or desertions than in their village.

While marriages are usually the last in the integration ladder, a few weddings between the two communities have happened. Villagers are very clear. Jats are a closed community that must marry within its own caste and at their own socio economic levels. Marriages are usually arranged and love marriages are not accepted. As a result, they do not prefer (or there is no question of) to marry in the SG community. SG households are considered of lower class, 'below our level' and their castes are not well known. Such incidents which have been very few to begin with, the newlyweds moved out of Savda Ghevra area due to difficulties in getting accepted. While upper caste Jat communities disallow this practice and their girls are therefore closely shadowed lest they start to mix with boys from SG, a girl from the Valmiki community from the village did marry in an SG family. Since the valmikis are of a lower caste, the Jat villagers did not interfere.

4.5.1.6   Food Habits Get Healthier-Mixed

Villagers believe they have healthier food habits; growing and eating their own grains and vegetables and drinking plenty of milk produced by their own buffaloes and eating high protein milk products. They believe that they have nutritionally improved the diets of the poor families of SG by making available pure milk and cheaper vegetables. However, they have introduced into the village culture more 'urban foods' such as the Chow mein, dosas, etc. with less nutritive value. Sales of meats and fish have also gone up in the area, and carts selling non-vegetarian foods are lined side-by-side with vegetarian foods around the village market areas and sides of highways. Practicing vegetarians in the Brahmin village families feel revolted by this and fear that the habit is already beginning to infect their children. The Valmiki's (lower castes of usually the poorer families) in the village however, do buy meats from these shops – agreeing that there is more access to such foods in the area than earlier, mostly due to the influx of the Muslim community who eat a lot of non-vegetarian food.

4.5.1.7   Criminal Intent

Villagers are quite convinced that SG families comprise of petty thieves and criminals. Incidents of stealing vegetables from farms are commonplace "our carrots get stolen", and villagers must lock up their homes now, which was quite uncommon before this influx. According to school children, most SG families being poor, their children could only eat if they stole the village children's lunches. Besides, petty crimes, there has been one reported kidnapping of a child who was later recovered from the New Delhi Railway Station, that is attributed to SG residents. Children from SG openly discuss lack of sufficient money at home to meet basic needs which suggests that they may be deprived and may want to steal.

4.5.1.8   Increase in Alcoholism

The other connecting link is alcohol. Liquor shops have been set up by villagers in SG. Liquor is also supplied clandestinely through the Grameen sevas. These are owned by the villagers and rented out to the colony drivers for operational purposes. During this process, liquor is swapped and sold in SG. This has led to increased alcoholism among the resettled households.

4.5.1.9   Cultural Integration: Festivals Show the Way

More village youth (boys) come to SG as the place now buzzes with much more activity than the village. Far fewer young people from SG go to the village. Villagers have found the celebration of some festivals, particularly the Bengali festival of Saraswati Pooja very impressive and usually go over to SG to participate in the religious festivities. SG residents neither go to the village event nor get invited to their events.

4.5.1.10   Opinions: Vary by Gender

The compact has a gender dimension; men because of their commercial and business interests are more tolerant of the other half, have fewer issues with each other and temper their responses. Women on the other hand are more upset by this invasion of their spaces and are more vocal about the negative impact.

4.5.2   Economic Compact

4.5.2.1   Gains and Losses

An important impact of peri-urban interface has been on the economics of households, especially the villagers. For villagers, besides a rise in real incomes as seen in the income tables above, real estate values have shot northwards, making them wealthier. Villagers flushed with funds, have repurchased plots in SG, albeit illegally for speculation and rental incomes, adding to their landed wealth and nudging the poor resettled families back to the city and slum dwelling.

Besides, money generated from real estate growth, villagers have also seized business opportunities from the growing demand for goods and services to SG area. They have set up hardware and construction material stores in the area that are catering to the demand for housing construction in the area. Villagers have also expanded their milk business, and find a huge market for their milk and vegetables in SG. These businesses are doing well. While some of their success is attributed to the huge consumer base from the influx of families, their financial capital assets also ensured their nimbleness in investing in these businesses. While acknowledging the value of SG to their growing wealth, they still

keep the relationship at a very commercial level, only interacting for business purposes, without extending the relationship socially.

SG residents too, have derived economic benefits from the village. According to villagers, the resettled families have got jobs in neighbourhood farms during the early days of resettlement. This 'outsourcing' however, edged out the poorest village families who derived their livelihoods from wage work as farmhands. The wage differential was enormous and SG residents were willing to take Rs 80 per day for a job that village farmhands charged Rs 150. By agreeing to take lower wages for the same job, the SG families were demonstrating their desperate situation and need for survival. Over the years as families have begun to settle down and many have started looking outwards once more for employment with better connectivity, there has been a stabilization of daily wage rates that are becoming more competitive. During the period of churn however, the lower labour rates helped farmers' lower costs of production and widen their profit margins. Jobs are also found in the transport sector where villagers have hired drivers from the settlement for driving the Grameen Seva buses that link the metro to SG. Villagers have also made available rooms on rent for poorer households (P-98 households who moved with the resettlers but were not allotted a plot due to various reasons). The availability of cheap accommodation, employment, cheap food products, according to host communities, enabled these families to overcome the shock of resettlement to some extent.

Although economically linked, the SG community feels that the villagers are powerful and bossier and resent this power over them, especially as they feel that they are contributing to the high growth curve in their incomes.

4.5.3   Services: Mainstreaming with City

4.5.3.1   Public Transport: A Point of Union

Savda Ghevra, the villages and the resettled communities are both commonly affected by lack of public transport. However, while for resettled families this is the most crucial means of continuing their livelihoods, for the villagers, it is about occasionally visiting the city for marketing purposes or social events. For the study it was decided to understand what has been the impact of the influx of a large population to the area.

A key change that has happened since the relocation has been improved connectivity between SG, the villages and the rest of the city. There are now more buses in and out of SG connecting people to various parts of the city, helping them get to work or visit friends etc. The metro line comes up to Mundka, from where enterprising villagers have started the Grameen Seva, a link service of Rural Transport Vehicles to the colony. In the study, transport was recognized as a possible unifying parameter as both the communities were equally affected and benefitted by this. Because the travel timings were long, and people happened to be travelling on the same routes, usually regularly, they were asked if they ever talked to each other and what did they discuss.

According to travelers from both communities, the practice is to sit separately and avoid sharing seats as there is still a lack of trust. Villagers feel that the resettled people are envious of their wealth and every time a pocket is picked, the standard line is to blame it on the resettled people. Villagers also find the resettled slum dwellers discourteous; occupying seats reserved for women and refusing to vacate even when directly asked to do so. There have been incidents of village residents chucking luggage of SG travelers outside the bus.

According to the villagers, incidences of eve teasing and pick pocketing have increased in buses since the advent of new people in the area. Village girls complain that the boys in the bus make a lot of noise and misbehave if they are asked to keep quiet. There have been incidents when village girls have slapped these eve teasers from SG travelling on the same buses and have been supported by other villagers to beat up the boys.

In spite of increased bus services, the buses, say the villagers, are more crowded than ever before as many more people are on the move. Buses are less reliable and dirtier, making travelling an unhygienic experience. This deterioration in quality of cleanliness in buses is attributed to the poor hygienic practices of slum dwellers. According to villagers, SG residents, especially children, are very unclean and also create a lot of mess in the buses.

As more businesses are being set up by villagers in the SG area, to capitalize on growing demand, some interactions have started with people they recognize on the buses. Usual topics of conversation include the local politics, garbage, real estate prices, service improvement needs, businesses, films, etc. Resettled people are also now assisting villagers to board and de-board their luggage and also offer seats to the elderly and disabled.

4.5.3.2   Access to Services

The villagers of Nizampur feel SG residents are a pampered lot; with more facilities and supplies than the villages. They have been given access to services which were never considered for the village all this while. Only after the resettlement began that power supply, roads and transport to the area have improved. Especially, the setting up of the power substation by NDPL has bettered the supply considerably with far fewer power cuts. This has added to the power bill, which has jumped from Rs 200-300 to about Rs 1000 per month as subsidies have been withdrawn and rates for power are up. Villagers however, resent this perceived inequality in the belief that SG residents are dipping into their

share of water and services. In particular, they complain about diversion of water supply to SG from their water sources. Villages now have pipelines for piped water supply to home however, the supply is uneven and of poor quality, adding to the level of frustration. The water pipeline comes from Bawana via Kanjhawla to Ghevra. It is an old pipeline and is not extended to the resettlement area.

4.5.4   Environmental Consequences

4.5.4.1   Unmatched Hygiene Practices and Environmental Degradation

The crowd from the city slums, according to host community residents, is the principle reason for the environmental deterioration of the village areas. Besides increases in population and congestion, the poor level of hygiene of the resettled families is responsible for high levels of environmental pollution in the area. According to the villagers, SG residents are very unclean, 'their houses are dirty, they themselves remain unclean, especially their children, and it is impossible to change these habits.' Of all the unhygienic practices, the one that bothers the villagers most is open defecation. This was surprising as in villages usually all men and women practice open defecation. Women explained the reason. In villages (or at least in their village) there are separate areas for men and women to defecate. This prevents unnecessary teasing and perversion. SG women, say the village women, do not respect this segregation and would sit anywhere. Open defecation persists despite the community toilets that have been provided by the city, which people don't use properly and once these facilities start to destruct, people are forced to defecate in the open, usually in our farms. While villagers, both men and women, find this very embarrassing, they attribute this to the 'low moral quotient and lack of dignity' among the SG women. Rampant open defecation (almost 60% of households in SG may be defecating in the open), the farms, even though could have benefitted from the organic manure, have started to become dirty and impossible to walk. The high caste Brahamin families of the village feel defiled as they walk and step into shit.

4.5.5   Assimilation of the Young

4.5.5.1   Settling in: from the Children's Point of View

As parents struggle to re-establish businesses and livelihoods, children and their responses to the resettlement are often overlooked. Children from SG reported being extremely unhappy at being moved from the neon lights of the city and dumped at this far away- god forsaken place or jungle. They talk of their stay in the city with nostalgia. They openly speak about running away, heading back to the city where they feel they had a better future, even though the areas where they lived were slummy and dirty. "Our school was near the Red fort and not in a village dump", say these children with a sense of pride and place ownership. In the early days of resettlement, missing the city arc lights and in defiance, children often skipped school or behaved (in the words of village children) rudely with the teachers. The SG children exude with overconfidence (unsurprising seeing that in the city slums they may have had to struggle for a share of the resources) bordering on misbehaviour, feel the village children. Interestingly, both sides feel that the other is more abusive.

4.5.5.2   Adapting to the New School

Schools became a major sore point in the resettlement period. Relocated slum children were pushed into the village schools as those for SG were still to be operationalized. The closed village community did not accept the incursion into their areas and the resettled children found both village teachers and the villagers, hostile. The biggest point of difference came from the dialect of the teachers. According to the resettled children, the two different language styles meant that they were usually misunderstood or found it hard to understand what the teacher was saying. Teachers (and village children too) found their ability to question and answer back rude and disrespectful, and learning became the casualty. The village children would eat separately and not mix with the new comers or involve them in their

activities. SG children too found little in common with their new classmates. While they liked to discuss movies, the village children seemed quite unaware of these. Girls from SG were more willing to talk to boys from the village, which was considered adventurous. Fights would break out between the two children's groups on trivial issues and spread to the rest of the community, deepening the friction between the already polarized communities. In all fights, both the groups blamed the other for the incursion.

4.5.5.3   Resources Stretched

Early re-settlers had little choice but to go to the village schools. Parents of resettled children were usually keen - unless forced by their economic conditions - not to interrupt the education of their children. And the only options available were to attend the village schools, especially for those who were in the senior classes.

Both children and parents complained about the stress on school facilities due to overcrowding – there are fewer chairs to sit on and not enough teachers to manage the large inflow of kids. For parents, this overcrowding was the reason for a growing indiscipline in the schools. Teachers are mostly preoccupied with the procurement of additional benches, books etc. and less involved in teaching. The forced sharing of resources has led to unhealthy competitiveness between children from the two groups. Some village children dropped out of the schools and shifted to different/private schools in the area, especially in the case of girls.

Over the years though, new schools have been set up in the colony (5) and most colony children now enroll here. New furniture has been added to the village school and it has been renovated with new rooms constructed. One of the schools inside SG is a Sarvodya Vidyalaya (for the brighter students) and another has been upgraded from secondary to senior secondary school. A bus service has started that connects the village areas with SG making it easier for the children on either side to get to the other

side. While this has ensured that SG children do not need to go out of their homes into 'closed' village schools, there is great resentment among the villagers. This is because teachers continue to be shared between the village and SG schools. Staff from the two village schools is deployed for part of the week to the SG school. Which means that while the SG schools get teachers through the week (part of the week from one village school and the rest of the week for the other village school), village schools have teachers for just half the week (3 days each). Most children attend school for just half the day, they return home for lunch and usually never come back to school and because the teachers have their hands full, these children never get missed. Reduced teaching hours in the village school by an administrative decision and children's growing disinterest, can have long-term impact on the quality of learning of the village children and their employment /income earning prospects. The trend of half-day attendance seems to be infecting children of SG too. There are complaints of children walking out during the recess and never returning.

4.5.5.4   Changing Teaching Patterns

The peri-urban compact has had an interesting but unclear collateral impact, to the extent that SG children now find teaching in the village schools was /is higher quality than in the colony schools, especially for English, and the schools have better discipline. In particular, both the village children and the village teachers have switched to speaking in Hindi rather than their own dialect. The ambiguous outcome comes from the possible long-term impact of this transition. While this may help the village children to get better assimilated in the mega city as it expands to their doorsteps, it may also lead to their own language getting lost.

4.5.5.5   Learning from Each Other

Not all compact has been adverse. Children have also developed a more promising attitude; observing the better school performance of SG children, the village children have started to make greater effort in their studies. This has led to positive response from the teachers who are more attentive to student's work and focused on improving performance standards. Children are also learning to share and are more cooperative, sometimes even helping each other in school work.

4.5.5.6   Teacher-Student Relationship

Interactions between teachers and children have been difficult to start with. As discussed above, these are rooted in language asymmetries (the Haryanavi dialect is rougher sounding – 'teachers use the language of Gujjars') and caste consciousness (village teachers belonging to the same caste as the villagers). Such parochialism seemingly spilled onto teacher behavior. Teachers tended to discriminate between 'their' children and newcomers by making them sit apart with the SG children seated on the floor when furniture was insufficient, dividing resources unfairly between the two groups, being unresponsive to student questions – even scolding them for asking, prioritizing village children over SG children for participation in student /school events, and being condescending and usually blaming the newcomers for any untoward incident. Even where village children were the instigators, teachers would remain silent and not admonish them. Such partiality was resented by SG children and some were bold enough to question the teacher leading to an ugly spat between the teacher and the child, with the child being beaten. Contrary to this, the village children feel that SG children do not admit to their mistakes and when scolded, become aggressive.

SG area now has a few Anganwadis (preschools) that have been set up under the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) programme of the Government of India. Workers to manage the centres have been identified from the village. According to the workers, they are doing their job and don't really

have any emotional attachment with the new residents. Although as part of the Anganwadi Workers responsibilities, she is expected to mobilize and work with communities in the implementation of the Anganwadi centre.

However, this too seems set to change as teachers are gentler and use less harsh disciplining methods now as compared to when the resettlement happened. They are also more encouraging and unbiased, giving children from both areas, opportunities to participate and speak in the class and helping correct mistakes. This could be due to several reasons; a general increase in accountability and probity on teacher behavior, transfer of old teachers and their replacement by new ones who do not carry the early resettlement misunderstandings and baggage, greater stability in resettled households both financial and place, and reduced discrimination between the two groups by the teachers. According to the children, teachers were also making more effort to use the Hindi language, which is more easily understood by the resettled children.

4.5.5.7   Friendships

SG children are not invited to village homes – their families being referred to as jhuggi Jhopdi dwellers and unhygienic. SG children feel that they are not very much liked by the villagers and they have reservations about having them at home. From the SG end, adolescent girls are not permitted to go to the villages, because it is too far and the residents are unfriendly. Adults too don't friend each other for the same reasons. Such impressions may be beginning to change but may have left a strong negative imprint on the minds of children.

The common complaint of village elders is that their boys are becoming more vocal, going out more, answering back, and expressing their opinions. In a closed community that is dominated by tradition and respect for the elders, this translates into irreverence.

4.5.5.8   Conflicts at School: The Quantitative Assessment

Girls and boys from both villages and the resettlement colony reported cases of arguments in school. While these fights often happen over petty and mundane issues, boys and girls from the host community cited use of abusive words, tendency to call names and misbehavior towards girls by boys from the colonies as the main reasons for such fights. One of them also cited eating of non-vegetarian food by the colony boys as a reason indicating strong cultural differences.
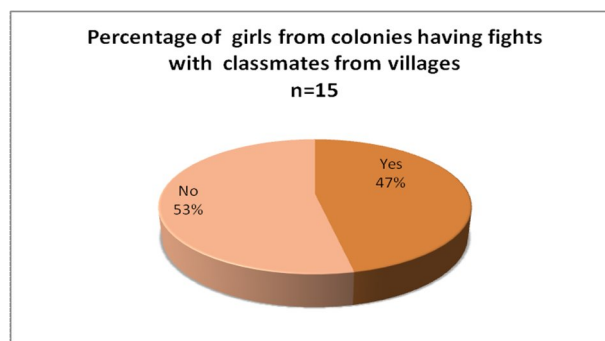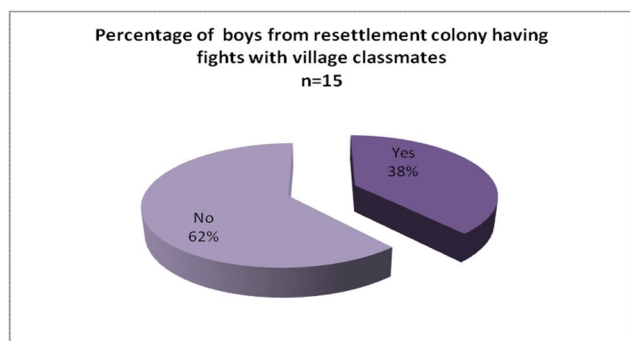
Percentage of boys from villages having fights with classmates from colony
n=15

No
20%

Yes
80%
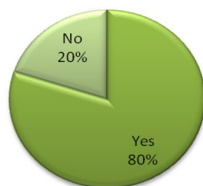
Percentage of girls from villages having fights with classmates from colony
n=15

Yes
47%

No
53%
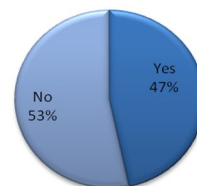
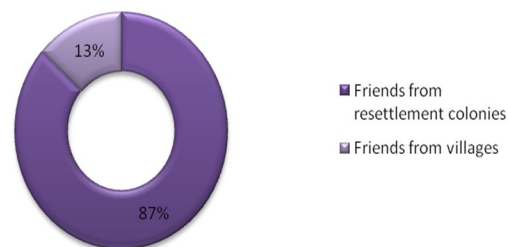**Friends of boys from Resettlement Community**
**n=15**

27%

73%

■ Friends from resettlement colonies
■ Friends from villages
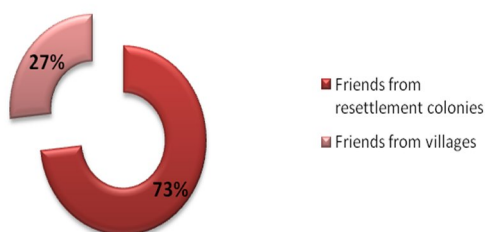
Boys and girls from resettlement colonies reported having greater number of friends from their own colony as compared to from the villages. Only 27% boys, 13% girls reported having friends from villages.
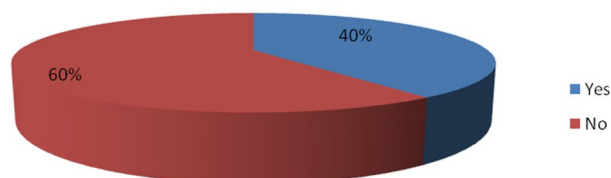
Friends of girls from Resettlement Community
n=15

13%

87%

■ Friends from resettlement colonies
■ Friends from villages

Friends of girls from Host Community
n=15

■ Friends from resettlement colonies   ■ Friends from villages

7%

93%
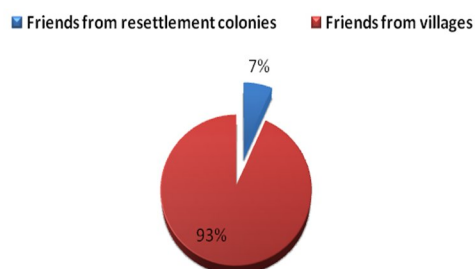
Similar trend was observed also in the case of boys and girls from the villages. While only 7% girls from the host community said they had friends from resettlement colony, none of the boys reported having friends from villages.

Percentage of Boys from Resettlement colony visiting their village batchmates
n=15

- 40% Yes
- 60% No

Percentage of girls from Resettlement colony visiting their village batchmates
n=15

- 27% Yes
- 73% No

Percentage of girls from villages visiting their batchmates in resettlement colony
n=15

- 7% Yes
- 93% No
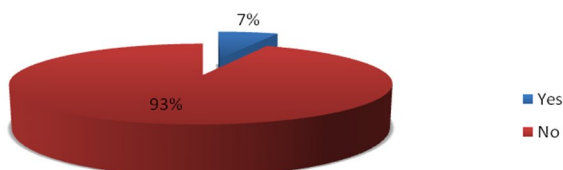
Percentage of boys from villages visiting their batchmates in resettlement colony
n=15

- 13% Yes
- 87% No
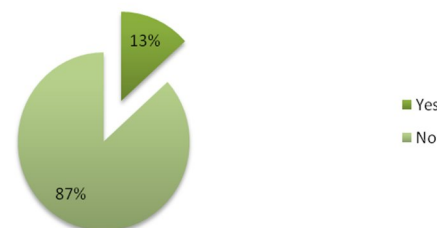
Rates of visiting each other's houses are quite low. Boys and girls from the resettlement colony cited various reasons for their village batch-mates not visiting them. One popular notion is that villagers consider the resettlement dwellers to be inferior to them in terms of economical condition and social status and hence do not like their children to associate with children of resettlement colony. Another common reason cited was that the villagers do not like them and hence don't send their children.
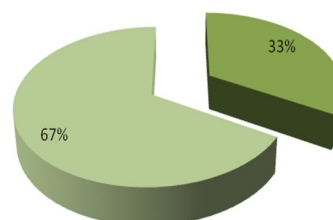
Type of relation of village boys with their colony classmates

- Indifferent
- Cordial
- Very Friendly

47% / 33% / 20%
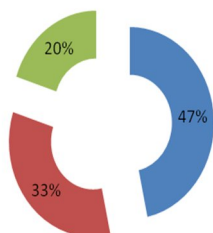
Type of relation of village girls with colony students

- Indifferent
- Unpleasent

33% / 67%

Most students from the villages described their relation with the colony students as indifferent. 33% girls from the villages also defined their relationship as unpleasant. Only 20% boys said that they shared a friendly relationship with their colony batch-mates.

4.5.6   Political Processes

4.5.6.1   Power Relations

The power among villagers also flows through the political process. It is the village pradhans or leaders who have become natural allies of the ruling parties. They also have the money and time to engage in political enterprise. With their clout with party bosses, they managed to get party tickets in the recent civil elections in the city and some have also been successful. The reason for their success can be attributed to the more stable community of the village as opposed to the multi ethnic and diverse opinions/options and hence unpredictability of the slum community.

4.6 Contentious Issues: The Sharing of Resources

Of all the nuances of integration and conflict, the three most contentious ones have related to land, access to water and schools.

4.6.1   Land

As cities continue to expand rapidly they tend to eat into resources (such as land and water) available in peri-urban areas. While, land in peri-urban villages is grabbed for housing, industrial establishments and for dumping urban wastes (both solid and liquid) very little is ploughed back by way of developing these areas.

In the case of Savda Ghevra, land use patterns have changed from being agricultural to that for housing and associated infrastructure. However the resettlement colony and its associated infrastructural developments have led to increase in value of land. In the host area, i.e. the Ghevra village, property price has shot up to Rs 13,000 to 16,000 per sq. ft. which was earlier Rs 320 to 500 per sq. ft). Land prices in Savda Ghevra have also increased. Currently land prices are: 12 sq fts- 1.30- 1.50 lakh (only plot), 12 sq ft- 7-8 lakh (constructed Ground floor), 18 sq ft- 2-2.5 lakh (only plot), 18 sq ft- above ten lakh (constructed ground floor).

Land also became a point of conflict for those that opted for early sales and those that held on to their lands. The early sellers complained that they were coerced into selling their lands. They feel cheated as old values were much lower than the new values. Besides this wide gap, development in SG led to a huge surge in demand for land that pushed land values up further. This perceived 'loss in income'

continues to embitter and the bitterness spills over to social interactions and relationships – the SG families being considered as appropriators of 'their' lands acquired by falsehoods. The early settlers also applied for reconsideration of compensation to the MCD Slum Wing however, their request has been shot down.

Overall, both communities have benefitted from the rise in real estate in the area. The host community however has suffered loss in traditional land-based occupations, and some older generations without requisite skills for new/alternate professions, have become idle.

4.6.2   Water

Water is another contested resource. Though it is often considered to be a common pool resource,   its access and consumption are not equally distributed (Mehta 2003)[21].The crisis in peri-urban areas often has less to do with actual water availability but more to do with struggles over access to and control over a finite resource (Mehta et al 2007)[22]. Poor and marginalised people usually have unequal and poor access to water resources to meet daily livelihood needs and often lack a basic level of water that is necessary for human wellbeing and functioning.

Savda Ghevra including the adjacent villages like most peri urban areas lacks water mains. This is related to the low value of the land which, as a consequence, is occupied by poor people who cannot meet the high service installation costs. The entire area is served by water tankers. While the poorest depend entirely on tankers and hand pumps, the economically better offs have installed their own bore-wells. Overall quality of water is poor and all drinking and cooking water is collected from the municipal tankers. More recently, CURE has also set up a water kiosk with an RO treatment system that enables families to purchase water at affordable prices.

Residents of Savda Ghevra reported intra community conflicts but no conflicts were reported between the resettled colony and the host community. Of the 100 surveyed respondents of the resettled colony, everybody reported conflicts at the time of resettlement over water collection citing limited supply as a primary cause. However they maintain that at present conflicts have reduced with increasing adaptability of people and frequency of tankers.

During FGD's residents of host community expressed feelings of discontent grown out of the belief that the resettled colony is better served as tankers are more frequent there as compared to the host community.

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[21] Mehta, L. Struggle Around Publicness and the Right to Access: Perspectives from the Water Domain 2003
[22] Mehta, L. Liquid Dynamics: Challenges for Sustainability in Water and Sanitation 2007

One also cannot rule out the potential for future conflicts in the face of increasing exploitation of available groundwater in an unplanned and unregulated manner which can result in ecological degradation.

4.6.3   Education

There are a total of 6 schools in SG and its adjacent areas. While the number of schools is sufficient to cater to the growing population need, they are understaffed. Teachers have been pulled out of the village schools to complete 6 days a week classes in the schools in resettled colonies. This kind of an arrangement has upset classes in the village schools which now run classes effectively 3 days a week. This has further given rise to antagonistic sentiments in the minds of the villagers against the residents of the resettled colony.

4.6.4   Quantifying Resentments

While resource scarcity triggers feelings of antagonism among the two communities, various cultural differences, feelings of encroachment in the minds of host community and a pre existing notion of dislike towards each other has also amounted to various kinds of social conflicts. Of all the conflicts, that among young people and related to schooling appeared to the most prominent in the peri-urban area. This has contributed to a lower level of interaction between the resettled and host communities.
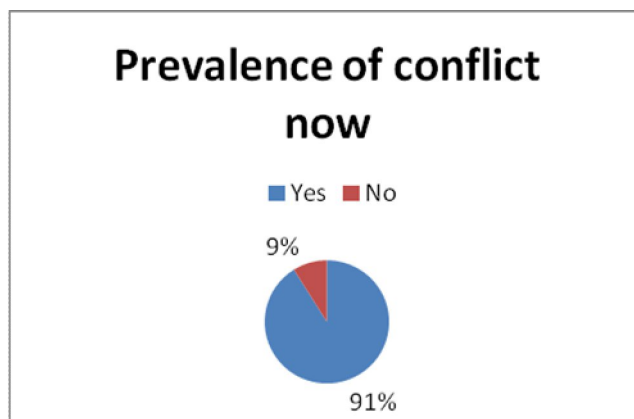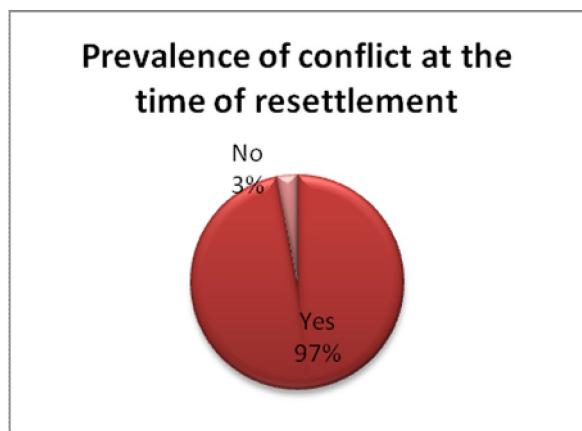

The above graphs show an insignificant decrease in conflicts among the two communities. Thus social tensions in buses continue to be a daily occurrence. Communities reported that earlier buses were over crowded leading to frequent fights among people of both communities. These fights sometimes even warranted police intervention. However at present with an increase in the number of buses and other available modes of transport, fights are less frequent. Attempts to secure seats in the bus were cited as the most common cause of conflict at present.

Peri-Urban Interface – Reasons to Cheer or Worry

4.6.5 Reduced Resilience of Host Communities

Peri-urban development is one way by which growing cities create space for new migrants to the city/manage the internal city growth. Peri-urban development is usually an attractive means of
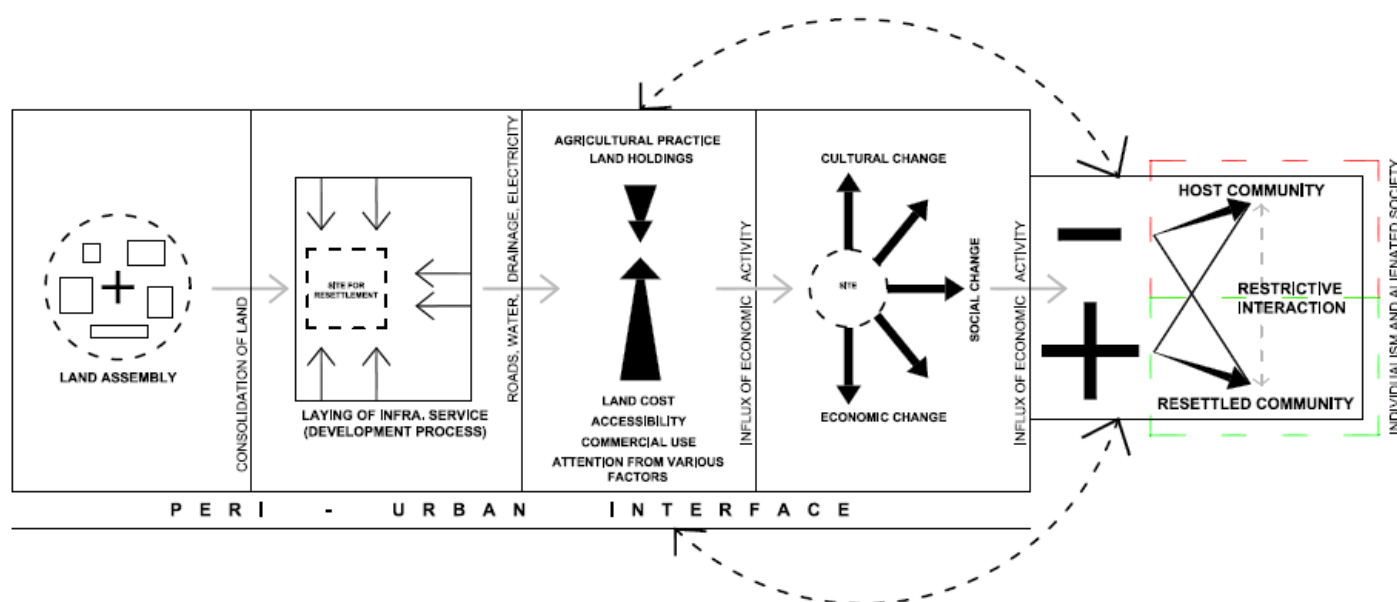
development as land in the urban edge is usually low-cost and hence reduces the cost burden on the city. Peri-urban development starts by a consolidation of land by land development agencies and over a period of time, when a decent amount of land is acquired, these agencies start putting their plans in operation. In the case of SG, this was used as an opportunity to vacate inner city lands of slums, pave the way for the development of common wealth infrastructure and the metro rail. It was however, labeled as a programme for social housing for the poor.

The impact of peri-urban development has been bipolar on the communities; both the host and the new settlers have gained and lost, the gains being skewed in favour of the host (or rich land owners) communities. Host community benefits have accrued from the rising land costs propelled by such land aggregation and development. It has also meant better access to urban services as the area gets onto the mind maps of local service providers and/or comes within the urban precincts. As these areas get urbanized, communities start to benefit from the rise in commerce and trade. New business opportunities emerge and a shift in the traditional patterns of work shape up; edging out the conventional farm-based model of development (the latter is also a forced change as land is no longer available for agro-based economic activities). Overall, this would mean growth of the city.

There is need to study the potential chain reaction of such a crush; as the agriculture base is eroded, the city shall be less resilient in meeting its own food needs and its dependence on neighbours for food shall increase unless compensated by newer technologies that enable farm-based families to produce more from less. The young farmers shall no longer find farming a profitable/worthy profession, both because there is no land to fall back on and due to an urbanization of their aspirations from greater social and physical networking with the city. This shall further grind down the human resource base for agriculture. The negative impacts visible on the host communities could deepen further as land assets begin to dwindle by way of sales for quick /early-bird profits or due to their non-profitability as very small land-holdings for farming. Unless these families are supported to consolidate their gains, this could mean a long-drawn economic down-turn for the host households that could mean a slow-down in the city growth.

The impact on the culture of the host communities is less measurable. While the compact may produce a culture of tolerance and modernization of the very traditional host communities, it is also likely to disintegrate the old cultural values and traditions that bind these communities together and create the safety nets and valves that such social networking provides. The possible outcome could be a more individualized and alienated society that is more self-centred.

This process has already started. Peri-urban development must also consider support to families in the host communities that shall be adversely affected by such transformation; to consolidate the financial assets, realign their businesses, and develop new skill sets for a more urban work context.

4.6.6   Resettled Families: Small Bandwidth for Survival and Assimilation

The economies of resettled households have nose-dived and the devastating shock abides even 6 years after the relocation for families who have chosen to stay on. Most families have lost incomes and savings (their cheese having been moved suddenly); livelihood opportunities, markets and skills brushed up and used for surviving in this metro city. The few livelihood options are in the farms and homes of the host community and there is a crowd for accessing these. The opportunities in the new site are few and far between and without any assets, savings or means of accessing these (formally or informally), these families have been left tossing in the waves.

Services to resettlement areas usually come in very slowly (may take years as in the case of SG as governments response to the relocation is excruciatingly slow and indifferent), and the interim period is full of hardship. This compounds the struggle of the poor; the hunt for services means few have the time to be productive –essential for recovery. Some survive the ordeal, while many others loose out and move back to the city, taking decisions that may be non-visionary and short term but the only foreseeable future.

Resettled households are also deprived of the social nets they have so painstakingly built up in the cultural mosaic of slum living and there is little by way of succor from the host villagers. The resentment of the host community is palpable; although the very large numbers of the resettled households does give this community an edge over. However, the very rigid networks of the host community versus the loose, almost non-existent relationships in the resettled communities means there is little by way of support to deal with the cultural assault.

The rural community while clearly benefiting from the influx of a large number of clients and economic viability for new businesses try and firewall their cultures – so while there is movement from inside out- there is very little movement from outside in. Clearly, the resettled continue to be the losers.

4.6.7   Slum Cleansing and Gated Cities

While the economic impact on the city of resettling thousands of households has been measured earlier by Khosla (2005)[23] and reconfirmed in this study, the non-tangibles are less easily measurable. They however do leave an impression on the city. This 'slum' cleansing of the city has created an inner core that comprises the rich and the powerful and an outer core of the poor and the non-influential. This gating of a city shall have disastrous economic and social consequences both in the short and long-term. The economy of the 'rich' city is affected by the rise in service and labour costs which fuel inflationary pressures and in the overall, escalate the cost of living in the core areas. The city's own finances shall plunge, as it would need to spend more to connect the new areas with an equivalent quality of urban services (more buses and metro routes with longer travelling hours and times hitherto met by walking to work and network extensions for both water supply and sanitation services and augmentation of resources in the edges of the city). As family incomes plunge in the outer rim, the spending and saving patterns nosedive as well. While this is likely to flatten the growth rate of the city (we may need to measure this fiscal impact) it shall add to the inflationary impulses.

The more horrific effect will be on the social embroidery from splitting the city down its middle. The great wall between the two shall create areas of affluence and poverty, and the social strife that this is likely to cause may be hard to decipher as of now. It is therefore important that cities 'un-default' the hardwiring that leads them to pursue the goal of resettlement of slum and low-income communities to cities' edges as the only potential development solution.

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[23] Khosla, R. Economics of Resettling Low-Income Settlements (Slums) in Urban Areas :A Case for On-site Upgrading 2005

5.Annexure 1

When Rural Meets Urban: An Ethnographic Study

	Resettlement General 1				Filled by:		
1.	Year of relocation to SG	2006	2007	2008	2009		
2.	Year of actual move to SG	2006	2007	2008	2009		
3.	(In case answer to Q1 and Q2 is different) Reasons for difference in year Note: Please put NA if not applicable						
3.1	Did all your previous household members move to SG together?	Yes			No		
3.2	If no, why? Note: Please put NA if not applicable						
4.	Name of Respondent						
5.	Age of Respondent						
6.	Address of respondent						
7.	Name of previous colony						
8.	State of Origin						
9.	Which state were most people in your previous colony from?						
10.	Religion	Hindu	Muslim	Sikh	Christian	Other	
11.	Caste	SC	ST	OBC	General	Other	
12.	Household size (those living in SG)						
13.	Household type	Nuclear		Extended		Joint	
14.	Differences in services (probe availability, access, distribution, frequency, social tensions, time taken, monthly expenditure on it) Note: If calculations are being made per day please convert into monthly and put						
		At the time of resettlement			At present		
a.	Drinking Water						
a.1.	Availability						
a.2.	Access						

a.3.	Distribution		
a.4.	Frequency		
a.5.	Social Tensions		
a.6.	Time Taken		
a.7.	Monthly Expenditure		
b.	Water for other purposes		
b.1.	Availability		
b.2.	Access		
b.3.	Distribution		
b.4.	Frequency		
b.5.	Social Tensions		
b.6.	Time Taken		

b.7.	Monthly Expenditure		
c.	Transportation		
c.1.	Availability		
c.2.	Access		
c.3.	Distribution		
c.4.	Frequency		
c.5.	Social Tensions		
c.6.	Time Taken		
c.7.	Monthly Expenditure		
d.	Ration		
d.1.	Availability		
d.2.	Access		

d.3.	Distribution		
d.4.	Frequency		
d.5.	Social Tensions		
d.6.	Time Taken		
d.7	Monthly Expenditure		
e.	Schools		
e.1.	Availability		
e.2.	Access		
e.3.	Distribution		
e.4.	Frequency		
e.5.	Social Tensions		
e.6.	Time Taken		
e.7.	Monthly Expenditure		
f.	Medical facilities		
f.1.	Availability		

f.2.	Access		
f.3.	Distribution		
f.4.	Frequency		
f.5.	Social Tensions		
f.6.	Time Taken		
f.7.	Monthly Expenditure		
g.	Electricity		
g.1.	Availability		
g.2.	Access		
g.3.	Distribution		
g.4.	Frequency		
g.5.	Social Tensions		
g.6.	Time Taken		
g.7.	Monthly Expenditure		

h.	Household items		
h.1.	Availability		
h.2.	Access		
h.3.	Distribution		
h.4.	Frequency		
h.5.	Social Tensions		
h.6.	Time Taken		
h.7.	Monthly Expenditure		
i.	White goods		
i.1.	Availability		
i.2.	Access		
i.3.	Distribution		
i.4.	Frequency		
i.5.	Social Tensions		
i.6.	Time Taken		

i.7.	Monthly Expenditure				
15.	When you first moved to SG did you meet any people from the surrounding village? Note: Please probe for entire household	Yes		No	
16.	At present, do you meet people from the villages? Note: Please probe for entire household	Yes		No	
17. H	If yes, how often do you meet them? Note: Please put NA if not applicable				
18.	What kind of help did you get from the people you met? (If yes for either Q15 or 16 or both) Note: Please probe for entire household Note: Please put NA if not applicable	When you moved		At present do you continue to	
a.	You rented their house	Yes	No	Yes	No
b.	Bought milk and groceries from them	Yes	No	Yes	No
c.	Asked for help in directions and routes	Yes	No	Yes	No
d.	Sourced construction material from them	Yes	No	Yes	No
e.	Hitched a ride from them	Yes	No	Yes	No
f.	Took loans from them	Yes	No	Yes	No
g.	Worked for them on agricultural land	Yes	No	Yes	No
h.	Other				
i.	Other				
j.	Other				
19.	Were there any unpleasant incidents between you and villagers? Note: Please probe for entire household	When you moved		At present	
a.	Looted from you	Yes	No	Yes	No
b.	Overcharged for services	Yes	No	Yes	No
c.	Eve-teased you or your family members	Yes	No	Yes	No
d.	Complicated loan re-payment norms	Yes	No	Yes	No
e.	Did not pay for contractual work/ Did not pay salary	Yes	No	Yes	No
g.	Other				
h.	Other				
i.	Other				
20.	If yes, to any of the above, how did you deal with this problem? Note: Please put NA for not applicable				

a.	
b.	
c.	
d.	
e.	
f.	
g.	

| 21. | What percentages of households in your neighborhood in Savda Ghevra are from your previous slum settlement? | More than 50% | | Less than 50% | | None | |

| 22. | Did you interact with them in your earlier settlement | Yes | | No | |

23.	How would you say your relationship with them is at present?	Same as in previous settlement		Depend on each other more for entertainment, running errands, social support, and financial support.		Interact less than before		Do not interact at all	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

| 24. | (If relationship has changed after moving in Q.22 and Q.23) Why has there been a change in the relationship? Qualitative answer (probe: time spent in settlement, festivals employment, common problems related to basic services) Note: Please put NA for not applicable | |

25.	Did you have any leaders in your previous settlement	Yes		No	
26.	Do you have any leaders from your earlier settlement in SG	Yes		No	
27.	Do you or your community members still seek them for conflict resolution/ religious purposes/ collective bargaining in new environment/ liasioning with government stakeholders	Yes		No	

| 28. | Do you or your household members continue to work at previous location/ previous jobs? | All who use to work in previous location work in previous location | Some continue to work in previous location, other have found work elsewhere | All who use to work in earlier location now work elsewhere | Some continue to work in previous location, some are jobless | All who were working earlier have lost jobs. No one is working. |

		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
29.	Have you or your household members looked for work close-by to SG?	Yes						No			

30.	If yes, Note: Please mark option which they feel is the general norm incase different household members have had different experiences	Did not find any work		Found work, but it did not pay well. Did not take it.		Found work, took it, and left for some reason.		Found work, continue to work.		Took up self employment in SG, close to SG	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

31.	Were you or your household members self-employed when you were living in your earlier settlement?	Yes		No	
32.	If yes, did you try to sell your products/ services in the village?	Yes		No	
33.	If no, Why? Note: Please put NA for not applicable				
34.	If yes, how did the product/ service sell? Note: Please put NA for not applicable				

35.	Has there been a change in time spent with household members after relocation Note: Please record general perception for all household members	Spend less time with		Spend same time with		Spend more time with	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

36.	What connections do you have with your previous slum settlement and employment?				
	Continue with previous employment	Yes		No	
	Get piece work from previous contractors	Yes		No	
	Call religious leaders to SG/ visit places of worship close to earlier settlement	Yes		No	
	Go to visit family and friends in previous area	Yes		No	
	Go to purchase goods, groceries, ration from previous	Yes		No	

	settlement		
	Sell produce of SG and close by areas in old settlement	Yes	No
	Access healthcare services close to earlier settlement	Yes	No
37.	Has any one (dealers, villagers) approached you for purchasing your plot or approached someone you know	Yes	No
38.	If yes, do you know how much were they willing to pay for it?	Yes	No
39.	If yes, how much money were they offered?		

When Rural Meets Urban: An Ethnographic Study

	Resettlement School				Filled by:			
1.	Year of relocation to SG	2006	2007	2008	2009			
2.	Year of move to SG	2006	2007	2008	2009			
3.	Name of Respondent							
4.	Age of Respondent							
5.	Sex	Male			Female			
6.	Address of respondent							
7.	Name of previous colony							
8.	State of Origin							
9.	Name of school being attended							
10.	Where do your siblings of school going age study	Same school as yourself (village school)	SG school	Open School	Madrasa	Other		Not Applicable
11.	Do others from your neighborhood study at your school?				Yes	No		
12.	Were you attending school in your previous settlement?				Yes	No		
13.	If yes, which class were you studying at Note: Please put NA if not applicable							
14.	When you moved to SG were there schools?				Yes	No		
15.	Was it possible for you to move to your next class without a break in a SG school				Yes	No		
16.	Why did your parents decide to send you to a school outside SG? Note: Please put NA if not applicable							
17.	Do you think there is a difference between the schools in SG and those in the village?				Yes	No		
18.	If yes, What do you think is the difference? Note: Please put NA if not applicable							
18.1	Quality of teaching	Yes		No				
18.1.1	If yes, Quality of teaching in SG school	Very Good	Good		Not so Good	Poor		
18.1.2	Quality of teaching in Village School	Very Good	Good		Not so Good	Poor		
18.2	Infrastructure	Yes		No				
18.2.1	Quality of	Very Good	Good		Not so Good	Poor		

	Infrastructure in SG School				
18.2.2	Quality of Infrastructure in Village School	Very Good	Good	Not so Good	Poor
18.3	Class 10th and above is offered	In SG School		In Village School	
18.4	More options in terms of subjects	In SG School		In Village School	
18.5	Teacher's attitude	Yes		No	
18.5.1	If yes then how is it different? Note: Please put NA if not applicable				
18.6	Teacher's Language	Yes		No	
18.6.1	If yes then how is it different? Note: Please put NA if not applicable				
18.7	Students	Yes		No	
18.7.1	If yes then how are they different? Note: Please put NA if not applicable				
18.8	Dressing and other habits	Yes		No	
18.8.1	If yes then what is the difference? Please put NA if not applicable				
18.9	Others (Specify)				
19.	Did you find it difficult to catch up in your new class?			Yes	No
20.	Were the students and teachers receptive to you?			Yes	No
21.	Do you think teachers behave differently with students from the village school?			Yes	No
22.	If yes, how? Note: Please put NA if not applicable				
23.	Do you think teachers are rude and often use harsh means to control student behaviour in comparison to your school in your earlier settlement?			Yes	No
24.	Are your friends in school mainly from the resettlement colony or from the village?			Resettlement colony	Village

25.	Have you had any problems/ issues/ fights with class-mates from the villages?	Yes	No
26.	Do you visit the house of your village class-mates for studying, playing, birthdays, festivities?	Yes	No
27.	If no why not? Note: Please put NA if not applicable		
28.	Do your village class-mates visit your house for studying, festivals, playing, and festivities?	Yes	No
29.	If no why not? Note: Please put NA if not applicable		
	FOR GIRLS		
30	Do you encounter any eve-teasing/ other trouble during your walk to the village school?	Yes	No
31	Do you have any security-related fear with relation to your school?	Yes	No

	Resettlement Transport				Filled by:			
29.	Name of Respondent							
30.	Age of Respondent							
31.	Address of Respondent							
32.	Year of relocation to SG	2006		2007		2008		2009
33.	Year of move to SG	2006		2007		2008		2009
34.	Name of previous colony							
35.	Do you travel to your previous colony or work place?					Yes		No
36.	If No, why not? Note: Please put NA if not applicable							
37.	How many people do you know from the villages?							

38.	What modes of transport do you use?	Buses		Metro		Grameen Seva		Private Vehicles		Auto		Cycle		Others (Specify)
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	

39.	How often do you travel out of SG?	Daily		Twice weekly		Once weekly		Once in two weeks		Once a month	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

40.	What bus routes do you use on a frequent basis?					
41.	Do you interact with residents of Savda, Ghevra, Nizampur or any other areas surrounding your resettlement colony who travel by your bus?				Yes	No
42.	If yes, what do you discuss with them? Note: Please put NA if not applicable					

		0-20		21-40		41-60		61-80		81-100	
43.	What percentage of population in the buses is from the surrounding villages?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
44.	Do you get help from fellow passengers while travelling?							Yes		No	
45.	If yes, how? Note: Please put NA if not applicable										
46.	Have you witnessed any argument, fights in the bus between people from the surrounding villages or from the colony?							Yes		No	
47.	If yes, what was the incident? Note: Please put NA if not applicable										

Host Business			Filled by:				
1.	Name of respondent						
2.	Address of respondent						
3.	Age of respondent						
4.	Religion						
5.	Caste						
6.	Family Type						
7.	Present occupation						
8.	Since when have you been pursuing this occupation?						
9.	Has there been a change in your occupation (last 4 years),			Yes		No	
10.	If yes, why did you change your occupation?						
11.	Does your change in occupation have any relation with the establishment of SG colony in the vicinity?			Yes		No	
12.	Did you have a larger market for your products with colony being set up?			Yes		No	
13.	Have you set up any business in SG or jointly with persons from SG colony?			Yes		No	

14.	If yes, what is this business?	Shop		Supplier of goods/ food/ services		Money lending		Other
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	

15.	When did you start the business?						
16.	Has setting up work in SG been more profitable for you?		Yes		No		
17.	If yes, has it become more profitable than when you started?		Yes		No		
18.	Do you like working in the colony?	Yes		No		Indifferent	

19.	Have you bought or rented any property in SG?	Bought			Rented		
		Yes	No		Yes		No

20.	If yes, how much did you pay for it, or are paying for it? Note: Please put NA if not applicable	Bought	Rented (per month)

21.	Are you aware if the land values in SG have changed since you first started working here	Yes	No	Not aware

22.	If yes then how has it changed Note: Please put NA if not available	Increased	Decreased	Other(Specify)
23.	Do you think that establishment of SG has had any effect on the economy of the surrounding villages such as yours?		Yes	No
24.	Do you think there has been a change in land value in your village due to the establishment of SG?		Yes	No
25.	If yes then how has it changed	Increased	Decreased	Other (specify)
26.	Do you think there has been a change in the availability of following services since the establishment of SG?			
27.	Drinking Water	Worse	Better	No difference
28.	Water for other purposes	Worse	Better	No difference
29.	Transportation	Worse	Better	No difference
30.	Ration	Worse	Better	No difference
31.	Schools	Worse	Better	No difference
32.	Medical facilities	Worse	Better	No difference
33.	Electricity	Worse	Better	No difference
34.	Availability of technology	Worse	Better	No difference
35.	Availability of work-force	Worse	Better	No difference
36.	Availability of jobs and other economic opportunities	Worse	Better	No difference

Host Transport							Filled by:	
1.	Name of Respondent							
2.	Age							
3.	Religion							
4.	Caste							
5.	Family Type	Nuclear		Extended			Joint	
6.	Address of respondent							
7.	Do you travel out of your village for work or other purposes?					Yes		No
8.	What mode of transport do you use	Bus	Auto	Grameen Seva	Private services	Metro	Cycle/ Motor cycle/ Scooter	Other (specify)
		Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	
9.	Do you interact with any persons living in the SG colony during your travels?					Yes		No
10.	If yes, how many persons do you know from the colony? Note: Please put NA if not applicable							
11.	How often do you travel out of your village?	Daily	Twice weekly	Once weekly	Once in two weeks	Once a month		
12.	What bus routes do you use on a frequent basis							
13.	What percentage of population in the buses is from the SG colony	0-20	21-40	41-60	61-80	81-100		
14.	Do you get help from SG persons while travelling?					Yes		No
15.	If yes, how? Note: Please put NA if not applicable							
16.	Have you witnessed any other confrontation/ argument between SG people and people from the surrounding villages during your travels?					Yes		No

17.	If yes, what was the incident? Note: Please put NA if not applicable	
18.	Has the establishment of SG services had any effect on transport services (Please tick)		

	Positive	Negative	Status Quo
	Increase in frequency of services	Decrease in frequency of services	No change
	Increase in bus routes	Decrease in bus routes required by you	No change
	Better buses	Worse buses on routes required by you	No change
	Lesser security issues	Greater security issues	No change
	More seats	Less Seats	No change
	Other	Other	
	Other	Other	

Host School						
		Filled by:				
1.	Name of respondent					
2.	Address of respondent					
3.	Age of respondent					
4.	Sex	Male		Female		
5.	Religion					
6.	Caste					
7.	Family Type	Nuclear	Extended	Joint		
8.	State of origin					
9.	Name of school being attended					
10.	Where do your siblings of school going age study?	Same school as yourself	SG school	Open school	Madrasa	Other	Not Applicable
11.	Do others from your neighborhood study at your school?				Yes	No	
12.	What percentage of your class is from the SG colony?	0-20	21-40	41-60	61-80	81-100	
13.	Do you find any difference in the way of teaching in your class since SG students have been enrolled?				Yes	No	
14.	If yes, how? Note: Please put NA if not applicable						
15.	Do you think the teachers behave differently with students from the colony?			Yes	No		
16.	If yes, how? Note: Please put NA if not applicable						
17.	Are your friends in school mainly from the resettlement colony or from the village?			Resettlement colony	Village		

18.	Are there girls from the colony in the school?			Yes		No		
19.	Do they interact with other girls from the village?			Yes		No		Not Applicable
20.	If no, why not? Note: Please put NA if not applicable							
21.	What are the main differences between girls/boys from village and colony?							
22.	Have you had any or witnessed any problems/ issues/ fights with or between class-mates from the villages?			Yes		No		
23.	If yes, why? Note: Please put NA if not applicable							
24.	Do you visit the house of your SG colony class-mates for studying, playing, birthdays, festivities?			Yes		No		
25.	Do your SG colony class-mates visit your house for studying, playing, festivities?			Yes		No		
26.	How would you say your relationship is with SG colony students?	Very friendly	Cordial	Indifferent		Unpleasant		