



**Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg**

Fakultät für Geistes-, Sozial- und Erziehungswissenschaften

Institut für Soziologie

---

Denis Gruber, Andrea Kirschner, Sandra Mill, Manuela  
Schach, Steffen Schmekel, and Hardo Seligman

**Living and Working in  
Slums of Mumbai**

**Arbeitsbericht Nr. 36**

**Internet-Fassung**

April, 2005

ISSN-1615-8229

## **Zur Reihe der Arbeitsberichte**

Die „Arbeitsberichte“ des Instituts für Soziologie versammeln theoretische und empirische Beiträge, die im Rahmen von Forschungsprojekten und Qualifikationsvorhaben entstanden sind. Präsentiert werden Überlegungen sowohl zu einschlägigen soziologischen Bereichen als auch aus angrenzenden Fachgebieten.

Die Reihe verfolgt drei Absichten: Erstens soll die Möglichkeit der unverzüglichen Vorabveröffentlichung von theoretischen Beiträgen, empirischen Forschungsarbeiten, Reviews und Überblicksarbeiten geschaffen werden, die für eine Publikation in Zeitschriften oder Herausgeberzwecken gedacht sind, dort aber erst mit zeitlicher Verzögerung erscheinen können. Zweitens soll ein Informations- und Diskussionsforum für jene Arbeiten geschaffen werden, die sich für eine Publikation in einer Zeitschrift oder Edition weniger eignen, z. B. Forschungsberichte und –dokumentationen, Thesen- und Diskussionspapiere sowie hochwertige Arbeiten von Studierenden, die in forschungsorientierten Vertiefungen oder im Rahmen von Beobachtungs- und Empiriepraktika entstanden. Drittens soll diese Reihe die Vielfältigkeit der Arbeit am Institut für Soziologie dokumentieren.

### **Impressum:**

#### **Magdeburg: Otto-von-Guericke-Universität**

*Herausgeber:*

Die Lehrstühle für Soziologie der Fakultät für Geistes-, Sozial- und Erziehungswissenschaften an der Otto-von-Guericke-Universität  
Magdeburg

*Anschrift:*

Institut für Soziologie der Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg  
„Arbeitsberichte des Instituts“  
Postfach 41 20  
39016 Magdeburg

Sämtliche Rechte verbleiben bei den Autoren und Autorinnen.

*Auflage: 150*

*Redaktion: Prof. Dr. Barbara Dippelhofer-Stiem  
PD Dr. Heiko Schrader*

*Anmerkung:*

Ein Teil der Publikation ist im Internet abgelegt unter <http://www.uni-magdeburg.de/isoz/publ/Arb.htm>

*Schutzgebühr: 2,50 €*

*Herstellung: Dezernat Allgemeine Angelegenheiten  
Sachgebiet Reproduktion*

# Living and Working in Slums of Mumbai

## Contents

<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>2. SLUMS</b> .....	<b>3</b>
2.1 WHAT ARE SLUMS AND WHY DO THEY EXIST?.....	3
2.2 'INSECURE TENURE' AND 'PROPERTY RIGHTS'.....	5
2.3 PORTRAYAL OF SLUMS.....	6
2.3.1 <i>Dharavi</i> .....	8
2.3.1.1 <i>Leather Production Unit</i> .....	9
2.3.1.2 <i>Industrial Gloves Production</i> .....	10
2.3.1.3 <i>Jeans Production</i> .....	10
2.3.2 <i>Settlement Unit 'Bharantinga Nagar Ekta' (Kurla)</i> .....	10
2.3.2.1 <i>A Sewing Unit</i> .....	11
2.3.2.2 <i>A Glass Engraving and Embroidery Workshop</i> .....	11
2.3.3 <i>Slum in Kalina</i> .....	12
2.3.3.1 <i>Interview with the Oldest Member of the Slum Community</i> .....	12
2.3.3.2 <i>B.G.s Sister</i> .....	12
2.3.3.3 <i>A Middle-Class Family</i> .....	12
2.3.4 <i>Matfalan, a Slum Close to Thane</i> .....	13
2.4 CONCLUSION TO SLUMS.....	14
<b>3. BOMBAY IN TRANSITION – POPULATION GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN A MEGACITY</b> .....	<b>16</b>
3.1 MIGRATION.....	17
3.2 CONTINUOUS GROWTH OF THE MEGACITY AND THE DREAM OF A 'NEW BOMBAY'.....	19
3.3 ISSUES OF URBANISATION, PROPERTY RIGHTS, AND TENURE.....	21
3.4 CONCLUSION.....	22
<b>4. THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR</b> .....	<b>24</b>
4.1 THE FORMAL AND THE INFORMAL SECTORS: THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.....	24
4.2 TYPES OF INFORMAL ENTERPRISES AND OPTIONS FOR EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE.....	25
4.3 LINKAGES AND INTERDEPENDENCIES BETWEEN THE INFORMAL AND THE FORMAL SECTOR.....	25
4.4 THE UNORGANISED SECTOR IN INDIA.....	26
4.5 CASE STUDY: LEATHERWORK IN INDIA.....	27
4.5.1 <i>Thick Description of a Dhor Tannery in Dharavi</i> .....	27
4.5.2 <i>From the Finished Leather Piece to the Wallet</i> .....	27
4.6 THE SELF-HELP POTENTIAL OF THE POOR.....	29
<b>5. FORMS OF CAPITAL AND ETHNIC ISSUES</b> .....	<b>30</b>
5.1 THE ROLE OF ECONOMIC, HUMAN AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR.....	30
5.1.1 <i>Economic Capital</i> .....	30
5.1.2 <i>Human Capital</i> .....	31
5.1.3 <i>Social Capital</i> .....	31
5.1.4 <i>The Role of Social Capital in Slums</i> .....	34
<b>6. SOCIAL SECURITY MECHANISMS IN INDIA</b> .....	<b>35</b>
6.1 FAMILY VS. INDIVIDUAL LIFE PLANNING.....	35
6.2 CATEGORISATION OF INVESTIGATED FAMILIES.....	37
6.3 THE SITUATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN FAMILIES.....	40
6.4 INDIVIDUAL LIFE PLANNING AS SOCIAL SECURITY.....	40
6.5 CONCLUSION.....	42
<b>7. REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>43</b>
List of charts	
<i>Chart 1: Product Circulation and Market Bonds</i> .....	28
<i>Chart 2: From Raw Material to the Final Product</i> .....	29
List of maps	
<i>Map 1: Location of Investigated Slum Areas</i> .....	8
<i>Map 2: New Bombay I</i> .....	20
List of tables	
<i>Tab 1: Investigated Slum Areas 1</i> .....	15

# 1. Introduction

This study<sup>1</sup> attempts to highlight aspects of everyday life and work situations of slum dwellers in Mumbai (former Bombay) with special consideration of various sources of insecurity and vulnerability. Although there is a great lack of accurate data about slum population, we can follow some estimates on which there is a general consensus. About 40 per cent of the population live in the slum-areas of Mumbai and another 5 up to 10 per cent as pavement dwellers<sup>2</sup>. That means about 6 million people in Mumbai live in very poor conditions and degraded forms of housing. They lack basic standards of livelihood, such as sanitary facilities, hygienic conditions, and medical care. In addition to these problems, things get even worse during monsoon times when people have to face destruction of their huts by water and mud. Mostly there are no education facilities in the slums and people cannot afford to send their children to school farther away. To put it another way, poor people in Mumbai often lack basic civil rights. Instead of this, their lives are dominated by vulnerability in all facets of life.

Sure, from the 1970s onward there have been a number of housing and resettlement programmes in Mumbai that were, however, not very successful for a number of reasons. Therefore we follow Schrader (2004) assuming that slum-dwellers have the capacity to help themselves, i.e. to make their living more comfortable with even slightest means, do joint community investment, develop their own self-help networks, etc. – provided that the government will give them a certain right to stay, even if this right is limited in time. Due to the failure of formal approaches of improvement, the poor have to fall back upon their own solutions and survival strategies, sometimes with more and sometimes with less success. With this stance, we do not favour a neoliberal approach that wants to release government and city administration from its duties, because we believe that the government has a certain responsibility towards the poor and transfers top down are necessary. However, we are quite realistic believing that the housing problem in Mumbai can be resolved neither by state planning nor by international housing programs alone, but requires participation of as well as efforts by the people concerned.

After a short description of the four slums under investigation (part 2), we will focus on a conflict Mumbai has to face especially in these days. On the one hand, more and more people migrate from the rural areas to the Megacity in order to find a place of living and getting work in the informal sector of the city. On the other hand there are ambitious plans of the central government and the city administration to make Mumbai a ‘world class city’ or a ‘new Shanghai’, which requires enormous infrastructural measures, wide roads, modern highways, gardens, more office space, a larger airport, etc. – precariously very often on former dump land that was drained by squatters (part 3). The following four parts are written with the intention to provide an understanding of insecurity and vulnerability the poor have to face in their everyday life. In this context, we will focus on three main aspects: the working situation in the informal slum economy (part 4), the forms of capital and ethnic issues in slums (part 5), the fear of slum demolition (part 6) and the far-reaching vulnerability of women and children (part 7). Our main argument, that the highest pressure on the people is their lack of security, is based on both own research findings in different slums of Mumbai and a detailed literature review.

Unfortunately, we have to state that the focus of this study has even become more crucial in late 2004 and early 2005 when a massive clean-up drive of the metropolis was launched,

---

<sup>1</sup> Research took place in February, 2004 in Mumbai. It was supervised by Heiko Schrader, in cooperation with the University of Mumbai (India), Department of Sociology. We are grateful to Prof. Dr. S. Bhowmik, Dr. B.V. Bhosale, Prof. Dr. R. Kamble, and Prof. Dr. P. Jogdand.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Appadurai 2002:27

putting shelter, and livelihood at stake for thousands of slum-dwellers. Approximately 84,000 families lost their homes (Times of India, 14 February 2005). According to Maharashtra state government, all slums built after 1995 will be demolished. Under national and international pressures, however it can be expected that a new deadline will be set to January 2000<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. Slums

### 2.1 What are Slums and Why do they Exist?

The term 'slum' has many nuances and meanings. It often refers to settlements lacking basic human needs and services. We can note that there is a wide range of characteristics which gives every slum a different structure, because slums vary with regards to high density, unclean central city tenements and flat apartments to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights. The UN-Habitat study 'The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003' asserts that much can and must be done to improve the lives of the nearly one billion slum dwellers alive today. UN-Habitat predicts that governments, international aid agencies, and NGOs have to find combinable strategies to solve the problem of slums. The slum challenge must first come to grips with what slums really are, why they exist, and in fact, why the number of people living in such places is projected to double by 2030.

The first problem to solve the bad situation is to recognise what we really understand when we use the term 'slum'. First appeared in the 1820s, the term 'slum' has been used to identify the poorest quality housing, and the most unsanitary conditions; 'vice' and drug abuse; a refuge for marginal activities including crime; a likely source for many epidemics that devastated urban areas; a place apart from all that was decent and wholesome. According to Un-Habitat 2003, the catchall term 'slum' is loose and deprecatory, because it has many connotations and meanings and is rarely used by the more sensitive, politically correct, and academically rigorous. But in developing countries, the word 'slums' lacks the negative and divisive original connotation, and simply refers to lower quality or informal housing. Following UN-Habitat we use the term 'slum' in this paper to describe a wide range of low-income settlements and poor human living conditions. Before we explore our findings of slums case studies we simply define slums as "a heavily populated urban area characterised by substandard housing and squalor" (Un-Habitat 2003).

Of course, this straightforward description reflects the essential physical and social features of slums, but we also have a look on several other features of contemporary slums. We will describe slums as important living and working areas, which are not isolated from the urban contexts and of both national and international policies and economies. Slums are an important feature and category of the contemporary urban situation and of the global age, because they offer living rooms and their inhabitants as well as the millions of migrants who daily search for a job in slums, produce commodities and social networks, which play an significant role in both the world economy and in survival strategies.

Schrader (2004) refers to the informal character of slums which "results from an illegal, but very often tolerated, status of the squatters". Squatters in most cases have no legal and documented right to stay. Local and international development intervention has neither achieved success with regard to a decrease of migration flows nor to scarcity of living space in cities<sup>4</sup>. Squatting can be understood as the appropriation of another person's land for one's

---

<sup>3</sup> cf. Chandran 2005: Thousand homeless as Bombay razes slums for roads, 05.01.05

<sup>4</sup> "During the 1960s and 1970s different cities (e.g. Jakarta, Manila) tried to block immigration with a policy of 'closed city'. Even in China such steering mechanisms remained without success. Approaches that are more recent have tried to channel migration flows to secondary cities. Meanwhile urban planners in developing

own use without title or rights<sup>5</sup>. It may occur on either public or private property. Due to this illegal status, the squatter will use materials of little or no value and recycled material in the construction of his shelter, or he may move into inhabited buildings owned by others. Schrader notes with regard to slum building processes that “the state and the urban administration often take a legal stance according to legal property rights and cleanse / demolish slums with often greatest brutality against people and their property.”

Despite of the informal character of slums, we conclude that there are strong linkages between the formal and the informal sector, and we cannot examine the role of the informal sector, and its embedded slum economy, without referring to that obvious linkage. On the one hand, we can describe slums as under-industrialised, un-modern, and regressive. On the other hand, just these features, make it possible that billions of people can live there and find work in slums. People in slums are ‘vulnerable’. There are far two reasons: first of all due to their socio-structural conditions, and secondly, because they live in slums. At the same times, slums open up an opportunity to make a living. The possibility to live in slums and to get a job in the informal sector, and in the embedded slum economies, for a big proportion of people is an opportunity to survive under conditions that are considered inhuman by Western observers.

Slums in the traditional sense are housing areas that were once respectable, even desirable, but which deteriorated after the original dwellers moved on to new and better parts of the city<sup>6</sup>. The condition of the old homes declined as they were progressively subdivided and rented out to lower-income people. Slums, in contemporary times, have come to contain the vast informal settlements that are becoming the most visible expression of urban poverty in developing world and major cities. Such settlements are described by a variety of tenure arrangements. The research group found that slum structures vary from tent settlements, the simplest huts with plants and rubbishes, and asbestos, to permanent well-maintained structures. Despite of that, what most slums share in common, is a lack of basic human needs, like sanitation, clean water, electricity, and other basic services. On the other hand, slums often offer the only possibility for people to secure life and family.

According to UN-Habitat, we can distinguish between two broad types of slums: ‘slums of hope’ and ‘slums of despair’. ‘Slums of hope’ can be described as settlements on an upward trend, largely made up of newer, usually self-built structures, and those are in or have recently been through a process of development, consolidation and improvement. ‘Slums of despair’ comprise declining neighbourhoods in which environmental conditions and services are in a process of seemingly inevitable decay. Recently an UN-expert-group recommended to policy makers and international bodies what they consider to be a more ‘operational definition’ of a slum, one that is intended to enable better targeting of improvement programmes aimed primarily at resolving the physical and legal problems faced by slum dwellers. The expert group defines slums as follows: “A slum is an area that combines the characteristics, of a) inadequate access to safe water; b) inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; c) poor structural quality of housing; d) overcrowding; and e) insecure residential status”<sup>7</sup>.

On the other hand, the research group argues that such a one-way category in ‘slums of hope’ and ‘despair’ is a relatively simple attempt to examine slums. Therefore, on the other hand, we also have to turn to the legal situation, property rights, and laws. We are interested in the question, why slums exist, and why slums offer possibilities for survival. For UN-Habitat 2003, slums come about because of, and are perpetuated by, a number of forces, which are: a) a rapid rural-to-urban migration; b) an increasing urban poverty; c) an increasing inequality;

---

countries have accepted that these flows cannot be dammed. On the contrary, they started to understand that mega cities are a means to absorb rural poverty” (Schrader 2004 quoting Brennan 1999).

<sup>5</sup> cf. Singh 2003

<sup>6</sup> cf. UN-Habitat 2003

<sup>7</sup> cf. UN-Habitat 2003

and d) insecure tenure. These are of course not all tendencies, which contribute to the creation and continuation of slums.

If we focus on the rapid increase in rural-urban migration, we find out that since 1950, the proportion of people working in the primary sector of developing countries has declined by 20 to 30 per cent. A large percentage of urban poor voluntarily migrated from the rural to the urban areas, in order to exploit actual or perceived economic opportunities. These manifest largely in the growing urban informal sector, which most visible in the growing and large-sale informal squatter settlements in urban centres.

In many cities in India, the informal sector accounts for as much as 60 per cent of employment of the urban population and may well serve the needs of an equally high proportion of inhabitants through the provision of goods and services<sup>8</sup>. In Asia, which inhabits 80 per cent of humanity, we see rapidly urbanising processes, and today already 36 per cent of Asians live in cities<sup>9</sup>. Mumbai as one of the largest Asian and world metropolises has a population of almost 18 million people and between one-third and one-half of them live in slums. The rapidity and massive volume of this rural-to-urban migration intensifies slum formation. People who have lost their capabilities to survive in rural areas escape to the cities and settle in slums. City planning and management systems are often unable to adequately coping with the massive population influx.

In a strong relation to the rural-urban-migration-process is the increase in urban poverty. Un-Habitat argues that while there are no regular global estimates of urban poverty, it is generally presumed, that there is currently less poverty in urban areas than in rural areas. Urban poverty has been increasing in most developing countries subjected to structural ‘adjustment programmes’ – programmes that often have had a negative impact on urban economic growth and formal employment opportunities. One tendency of that development is that the absolute number of poor and undernourished in urban areas is increasing, as is the share of urban areas in overall poverty and malnutrition. In general, the locus of poverty is moving to cities, a process now recognised as the ‘urbanisation of poverty’.

## 2.2 ‘Insecure Tenure’ and ‘Property Rights’

Our focus on ‘insecure tenure’ is related to Schrader’s (2004) discussion about ‘property rights’. He argues that free access to resources is opposed to property rights, which is used as a theoretical construct in New Institutional Economics to prove superiority of a society with property rights to one without such. He criticises the position of the Neo-Liberalists who reject free access to land, because argue that “in this hypothetical condition” the aspects of equality and justice are not fulfilled in so far as the ones, who come first, are favoured compared to those who come later and for whom nothing remains”<sup>10</sup>. For him property rights may concern communal and individual private rights. The former imply common rights of use without third parties from the communality being able to be excluded from similar use, and the latter can only be defended, if there are binding shared rules and sanctions against violations so that the free-rider-problem does not occur.

The research group agrees with Schrader’s assessment that the theoretical discussion about the aspects of distribution and justice also implies social duties of ownership<sup>11</sup>. If we examine

---

<sup>8</sup> cf. UN-Habitat 2003

<sup>9</sup> cf. UN-Habitat 2003

<sup>10</sup> From Schrader’s point of view such a hypothetical discussion would have to apply the justice and equality premise to the question how real property was acquired in the past and how it should be redistributed in the present (Schrader 2004).

<sup>11</sup> cf. Schrader 2004

the role and function of property rights and ‘insecure tenure’, then we have to take a non-Western view on the topic<sup>12</sup>. He focuses on the squatters’ perspective. They are faced with population pressure and land scarcity and can certainly not understand that scarce land is kept vacant. He concludes that in Mumbai the paradox is that in spite of a severe land scarcity there is a lot of vacant land available, belonging to the state, city administration, the railway companies, or private owners and secured by property rights, because also in Indian law property rights are valued higher than property duties. Squatters might argue that it is legitimate to squat such land and make it fertile / productive in order to make a living, independent from the question who is the legal owner. Schrader notes: “Squatter settlements emerge in particular on such unused space (for instance along the railroad railway tracks, on land of deactivated factories, or in the flight corridors of the airport), not, however, on private land, used for living or commercial purposes (with my moral argumentation I would like to lead the look away from property rights to use rights). A moral claim of the squatters can be derived from the non-use of the land for ‘productive’ purposes to himself use this land for ‘productive’ purposes activity – without even touching the question of property rights.”

The lack of secure tenure is a primary reason why slums persist. Without secure tenure, slum and pavement dwellers have few ways and little incentive to improve their environs. Secure tenure is a basic condition for access to other economic and social opportunities, including livelihood opportunities, public services, and credit. Our hypothesis is that in slums where residents enjoy secure tenure to land and housing, formal or informal, community-led slum improvement initiatives are much more likely to be undertaken. Often the informal character of slum settlements is associated with the quasi-legal or illegal residential tenure-status of the slum population. Slum and pavement dwellers lack a legal certificate or formal agreement with the authorities that gives them the right to stay in the urban settlement<sup>13</sup>. This legal document would be the precondition to have the right to the city, to stay in the town, and to habit. Where legal authorities do not recognise the informal settlements, slum dwellers are denied access to urban basic services, human needs and financial services. We argue that slum dwellers are innovative and often adapt highly creative survival mechanisms. Because of that, insecurity of residential tenure has many negative connotations and consequences. Large proportions of Mumbai’s urban population are not entitled to both basic human rights and housing rights. They are excluded from public resources, legal rights to settlement, the right to organise, to make claims, the right to vote and to participate in decision-making processes. The absence of those rights is directly linked with the absence of investment by people living and working in slums.

## 2.3 Portrayal of Slums

Our portrayal of slums is based on active observations and interviews with slum-dwellers and representatives of local NGOs during fieldwork in Mumbai in February 2004 (see Map 1). The following slum areas were investigated: (1)<sup>14</sup> Asia’s largest Slum, ‘Dharavi’, (2) the

---

<sup>12</sup> Here, Schrader argues that in many non-western societies real property rights relations, however, are ‘fuzzy’ (Alchian and Demsetz 1973; Verdery 1999). He distinguishes between the rights to control, regulate, supervise, represent, and allocate property on one hand, and rights to exploit economically property objects on the other (following Schlager and Ostrom 1992, quoted by Benda-Beckmann 2000). The first reason for ‘fuzziness’, Schrader argues, is “that people may have conflicting claims of ownership to an object, which causes ownership to be ambiguous. The second reason is that people may hold overlapping claims such as a use right and a collective property, which is ‘fuzzy’ from the perspective of neoclassical property rights theory. A third reason emerges when one takes into account that property constitutes a ‘bundle of powers’ crystallizing into practices of inclusion and exclusion within experienced rules. A fourth reason for fuzziness lies in the ‘constraints on exercising bundles of power’” (Schrader 2004, following Sturgeon and Sikor 2004).

<sup>13</sup> cf. Schrader 2004

<sup>14</sup> see Map 1



settlement unit 'Bharantinga Nagar Ekta' (close to Kurla train station), (3) a slum area in Kalina (close to the University of Mumbai), and (4) 'Matfalan' (close to the train station Thane). Before we take a special focus on the four slums, we want to emphasise that poor living conditions in Mumbai historically have always existed. At the time when the fort was build, the native villages were very poor. Slums can be understood as an outcome of the industrialisation process and urban growth. Slums, in previous times, never underwent any planning, infrastructure construction or implementation of facilities such as drainage, sewage, and water. These tendencies led to many problems with Mumbai's poor inhabitants. The rise of Bombay is related to the industrialisation under colonial rule. The first cotton textile mill was founded in Bombay in 1854 and it started production in 1856. Bombay remained the major centre of Indian textile industry; by 1913, it had only 31 per cent of all Indian cotton textile mills, but 44 per cent of all spindles, and 47 per cent of all looms. Bombay employed 42 per cent of the 250,000 millhalls in the Indian cotton industry. Rothermund is using the term 'India's dilemma' to describe the relationship between industrialisation and development. He argues that "independent India's economic policy was based on the hope that a dynamic industrialisation would help to trigger off an equally dynamic development" (Rothermund 1985:130)." There were marked differences in the progress of various branches of industry (heavy industries, steel production units, cotton industries)<sup>15</sup>. The stagnation of the cotton industry was related to the stagnation of per-capita income of the great mass of population<sup>16</sup>.

Nevertheless, Mumbai's population was rising continuously. Metropolisation could be noticed in India at an early stage, and from the very beginning, it was concentrated on a few major centres<sup>17</sup>. Bombay belongs to those types of Indian cities, in which workers in industry and construction make up 20 per cent or more of the population. Rothermund refers to the fact that not only the rural-urban migration is an important issue for Mumbai's continuous growth, but also the urban-urban migration, that kind of migration which implies a shrinkage of the smaller towns and cities without such an industrial potential<sup>18</sup>.

The increase of urban slum areas began from the 1950s onwards<sup>19</sup>. Most of this is because Mumbai has tripled since India's independence in 1947. The island of Bombay is only 12 miles long, and Greater Mumbai occupies an area of 240 square miles and it has a density of nearly 16500 people per square mile. Before 1950, slums were predominantly found around the mills, on the western part of the island, in an area called *byculla*. Mostly workers lived there who had a job in the big urban industries and often lived in *chawls*. Provisions and health in these areas were issues that were ignored by the head policy makers. City planners and politicians hoped that slums would later disappear, but they just grow in number and size. From 1950 to 1968, the amount of slums increased 18 %; in the 1970s, they had a huge surge. By 1980, slum dwellers were half of the entire city's inhabitants. The first attempt of Maharashtra government and city politicians was the 'Municipal Corporation' in 1954.

Another important key date in urban slum policy of Mumbai took place in 1956, where the Indian Parliament enacted the 'Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act'. The 1956 Act notify that an area can be defined as a slum area, where the buildings: "(a) are in any respect unfit for human habitation; or (b) are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangements of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors detrimental to

---

<sup>15</sup> cf. Rothermund 1985:136

<sup>16</sup> According to Rothermund (1985:170), per-capita income is accepted as the most general measurement of economic development. It takes into account the effect of population growth and shows to what extent the growth rate of the economy is depressed by the population growth rate.

<sup>17</sup> cf. Rothermund 1985:177

<sup>18</sup> cf. Rothermund 1985:177-9

<sup>19</sup> cf. Patel 2001

safety, health or morals” (Section 3 of 1956 Act). By the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) on ‘Condition of Slum Areas in Cities’, ‘undeclared’ slums were defined as a real unit having 25 or more *katcha structures* mostly of temporary nature, or 50 or more households residing mostly in *katcha structures*, huddled together, or inhabited by persons with practically no private latrine and inadequate public latrine and water facilities<sup>20</sup>.

Map 1: Location of Investigated Slum Areas



### 2.3.1 Dharavi

With a population of about 800,000 people who live in more than 2,000 huts Dharavi is supposed to be the largest slum in Asia<sup>21</sup>. When it was founded by the Koli fisherfolk in the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was located outside Bombay and integrated into the urban area not until 1872. After the first tannery was founded in 1887, many tanners began to settle close to the slaughterhouse in Bandra. At the end of the 1890s, migrants from Tamil Nadu followed. The following decades mainly potters from Gujarat and Saurashtra as well as people from the rural areas of Maharashtra, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh came to Dharavi in search for work. Later it was mostly ‘garbage collectors’ or ‘recycling firms’ that moved to Dharavi. Pratima Panwalker considers the fact that more and more settlers took the chance to build up their own business and provide services and goods in the following years to be the reason for an economic flourishing of Dharavi<sup>22</sup>.

Today Dharavi consists of 67 single slum areas and some additional settlements between Mumbai’s two main suburban railway lines, the Western and the Central Railway. However, according to Sharma (2000) “the real dividing lines” are based on migration patterns, the State policies of dealing with the urban poor and of village industries that have translocated into an urban setting<sup>23</sup>. Social exclusion is obvious when one takes into account that the overwhelming majority of the Dharavi population consists of Dalits and only less than one per

<sup>20</sup> NSSO, Department of Statistics, Condition of Slum areas in Cities, no.290, 31<sup>st</sup> Round, September 1980 Delhi

<sup>21</sup> Data Survey (YUVA 2001)

<sup>22</sup> cf. Panwalker 1998:2640

<sup>23</sup> cf. Sharma 2000:

cent are Brahmins. Both from the religious and ethnic perspectives, the social composition is very heterogeneous: Muslims, Christians, Neobuddhists, Melangs, Dhars and Tamilians form an “amazing mosaic of villages and townships from all over India” (Sharma 2000). However, sharing the same space of living and working does not cause intermix of people; they still segregate themselves in quarters according to religions, castes and sub-castes, places of origin and occupations.

The social polarisation between Hindus and Muslims, which led to the dramatic 1993 riots, has continued to exist until now and, according to Panwalker, is to some extent fuelled by the segregated settlement pattern<sup>24</sup>. Since this important issue would go beyond the scope of our study it has to remain an open question whether the settlement structures might have contributed to a mutual alienation and thus jointly caused the so-called ‘ethnic conflict’ or if the separation of social groups has been a consequence of the riots, as some of our informants held.

The living conditions in Dharavi vary more than in the other areas investigated. From the main road leading through Dharavi, the place makes a desperate impression. This is also due to the contrast to some high-rise buildings and the most recent Bandra-Kurla business and shopping complex adjacent to Dharavi. However, once having entered the narrow lanes Dharavi proves that the prejudice of slums as dirty, underdeveloped, and criminal places does not fit real living conditions. Sure, communal sanitation blocks that are mostly in a miserable condition and overcrowded space do not comfort the living. Inside the huts, it is, however, very clean, and some huts share some elements of beauty. Nice curtains at the windows and balconies covered by flowers and plants indicate that people try to arrange their homes as cosy and comfortable as possible. The various production units and stores of Dharavi could also exist in other parts of the city, but here for sure most of them are informal-sector enterprises. Observations like these suggest that the term ‘slum’ should be redefined in order to provide a more differentiating description of the life world in slums. We agree with Schrader (2004) that the understanding of the socio-economic structure and the functioning of slums is still deficient. Schrader argues that a slum can not only be seen as a geographic space, “in which a large size of people is living in inappropriate conditions, and which city planners have to cleanse or shift; it is also a highly complex space of living and working, with socioeconomic connections to formal and informal economy, the world market, and the place of origin of the migrants. Aspects of ethnicity, religion and social structure cut across this space” (Schrader 2004). We would like to describe three production units.

### 2.3.1.1 Leather Production Unit

The leather production unit of B. was founded about 15 years ago. It is representative for the various family-networks found in the informal sector. The owner of the production unit is the son in law of A., the owner of a showroom at one of Dharavis’ main streets. All people involved belong to the same *Charmakar* family.<sup>25</sup> In terms of the size of their population, *Charmakars* rank third in the state among the other two major scheduled castes in Maharashtra, viz. *Buddhists* (formerly *Mahars*) and *Matangs*<sup>26</sup>. Due to cultural heritage the passing of knowledge from one family member to another, and a policy of monopolisation of the traditional caste occupation, leatherwork still seems to be attached to the caste. Another reason could simply be that leatherwork guarantees minimum subsistence in the absence of any other source of livelihood<sup>27</sup>.

---

<sup>24</sup> cf. Panwalker 1998: 2644

<sup>25</sup> *Charmakars*, leather workers belong to the dalits, due to their traditional occupation that is considered to be impure and polluting in Brahmanism. In spite of their social exclusion, they adhere to Hinduism.

<sup>26</sup> cf. Kamble 2000:55

<sup>27</sup> cf. Kamble 2000:61

The unit is located in a backyard. The working process contains the processing of the raw material bought from the tanneries that were formerly also located in Bombay and then shifted to Madras (now Chennai), up to the final products like leather wallets, belts or hand bags. Since B. himself works at this place and supervises, his employees the labourers are not paid per piece but per working time. They hardly leave the working place during working hours, which often exceed 75 hours per week. There is a break of one and a half hours at noon, and Sundays are off-days. The people are sitting on *chatais* (straw mats from Gujarat) on the floor. The room in the ground floor might have 3 times 5 metres in size and has ventilation.

#### *2.3.1.2 Industrial Gloves Production*

In contrast to the leather production unit a visited production unit of industrial gloves consists of five labourers from different castes and religions living outside of Dharavi for the most part and coming to work. Although the employees have worked in the unit for the last three or four years, they have no stable contracts, what is typical for the informal sector: the employer does not consent fixed contracts because the risk is too high as he is also dependent on orders from the local industry. 300 gloves per day are produced for the Mumbai industry. The working time is usually twelve hours a day but depends on the availability of work. The room right under the roof is very hot and stuffy with bad ventilation. The light conditions are inappropriate as well.

#### *2.3.1.3 Jeans Production*

Three men and four women, the youngest perhaps 16 or 17 years old, produce between 100 to 200 jeans per day. According to the production manager H. there is a brotherly / sisterly relationship among the labourers, even though the workers belong to different castes and religions. They all live in Mumbai but not necessarily in Dharavi. The production process includes every step from the purchase of the raw material from Mumbai markets to the final packed product, which is sold in the Indian market. The jeans production takes place in a room that is about 50 square metres in size. Working time varies between eight and ten hours per day. Working conditions (ventilation, light) are good. H's business depends largely on an intermediary or 'middleman'. The latter, with whom H. has a sort of contract, brings him orders to produce a certain amount of jeans depending on the local demand. His sales price is 90 Rupees per piece whereas it is sold for 150 to 250 Rupee. in the Mumbai markets.

To sum up, there is a great variation in the fields of economic activity in Dharavi. In some cases activities are directly related to caste, as shown with the example of the *Charmakars*, in other cases we found a mixture of workers from different castes, religions, and places of origin. Some occupations (e.g. leather production) again are typically male, others typically female (e.g. production of *papads*). Mostly there is no use of higher technology; handwork and simple tools seem to be more important. The production units employ a more or less regular number of people; most of them have already been working for long in the same place. Nevertheless, the labourers merely have the status of daily labourers, because they have no contracts and can be fired immediately. According to European standards, working hours are long, and working conditions are hard. On the other hand, some workshops have appropriate working conditions what concerns ventilation and light. Finally, a distinction of work can be done from the perspective of the final products. Some units produce for the local market, some for the Indian market, and some for the world market.

### **2.3.2 Settlement Unit 'Bharantinga Nagar Ekta' (Kurla)**

The settlement unit 'Bharantinga Nagar Ekta' close to Kurla station was founded about 65 years ago. Like Dharavi, it is located close to a railway line and station, which guarantees

access to transport and work in more distant places of Bombay (Desai 1995:149). The slum is surrounded by apartment blocks (so-called shawls) of the former workers' class. Outside the slum are huge heaps of rubbish and a ditch that replace a sewerage system. A gangplank crossing the main ditch allows reaching the huts and houses. Here only Muslims live. Therefore, this slum reflects a very homogenous social composition. As the slum population has no legal right to stay although many of them settled before 1995, and there are administrative plans for building a huge bridge in this area, the people are afraid of eviction and demolition of their houses and working places, what is very common in India and has recently (late 2004, early 2005) in Maharashtra experienced a new height that has even caused international protest. According to our question, concerning political activities in order to attain a legal sanction people regretted that there is no time for a political engagement, since they are mainly concerned with making their survival.

### *2.3.2.1 A Sewing Unit*

The sewing unit of S. A. was founded in 1990. In the main building, he employs ten men at the age of 26 up to 40 years and three youngsters ranging from 11 to 16.<sup>28</sup> The house is rented for 3,000 Rupees per month and the working space is in the ground floor. All labourers are Muslims originating from West Bengal. They have no fixed contracts but are recruited every day anew. The working time covers ten hours a day. The salary is 100 Rupees a day. The workers are using sewing machines, but beside this, they do not use any higher technology. The labourers are sitting on chairs. Indian posters cover the walls. There is a radio and neon lights on the ceiling, as well as ventilation under the roof. One of the workers tells us in a quite fluently English that he has been working for A. for five years. He originally comes from Calcutta and nowadays lives in the neighbourhood. He is neither married nor he has children.

In an adjoining room, A. employs another six boys at the age from 15 to 16 years. Every day they have to work from 9 a.m. until 10 p.m. with a lunch break of two hours. The room looks sparse and less comfortable but at least there is drinking water offered and ventilation available. As in the other units, we do not find permanent staff over here. The labourers merely have the status of daily labourers. This fact leads us to the problem Awahia faces like most slum-entrepreneurs: There is a high uncertainty concerning the daily orders. There are usually no continuous orders, since they are depending on the demand in the local market (in number and design).

### *2.3.2.2 A Glass Engraving and Embroidery Workshop*

N. S. who comes from Bihar runs a glass engraving and embroidery workshop. Young boys, some of them below the age of fourteen, are working here under miserable conditions for 14 hours, seven days a week. They earn 30 Rupees a day, and the salary is paid every second week. The boys are sitting on the bare floor. There are neon lights, two ventilators, a radio, and drinking water available. Adjacent to the working room there is a dark lunchroom without windows. Despite one ventilator, it is stuffy. Posters of Sydney and London cover the walls. Working conditions are even worse in the embroidery workshop where the glass pearls are stitched on 'sarees'. Fifteen boys are working in a little sticky attic room under the roof, which can be reached by a narrow ladder only. The children are sitting on the bare tiles around a big working sheet. There are four little windows. A man supervises their work. In contradiction to other workshops where workers were interested in our coming and joked at us, here sad children's eyes were staring at us. In Muslim communities, only boys work in such units while girls are kept at home and sent to school. Ironically, this causes girls getting a much better school education, which may cause marriage problems in the longer run.

---

<sup>28</sup> Child labour is considered to be below the age of 14 years.

### 2.3.3 Slum in Kalina

The slum in Kalina was founded in 1910. Five to six persons live in each of the 3,000 to 4,000 houses. The main population consists of Dalits from the coastal regions of Maharashtra. There are no working units in the slum region and people have to find work outside the slum. People are often employed in the fields of house keeping, painting, construction, or catering via informal networking within the slum community. Forty years ago, most people had jobs in the formal sector where they earned higher loans. However, since then many changes occurred. First of all, most cotton mills closed down, the heart of Bombay's colonial industries. Secondly, in more recent times a massive outsourcing of formal labour into the informal sector occurred. Today there are merely thirty or forty people in the slum with an average age of about 40 to 50 years still working in the formal sector. Thus, global processes like downsizing and deregulation get obvious in that local context. There is a striking sense of community in Kalina: If somebody gets sick, the others collect money to care for the family or they inform the relatives when somebody has died. Social support within the community is also documented in that younger people pay 10 Rupees/every month in a cashbox for communal acquisitions. Regarding the educational possibilities, Kalina was the only place where school education was almost usual and more and more children even graduate due to the educational awareness of the Dalits. Following Dr. Ambedkar's call for mass conversion in the 1950s many Dalit families converted from Hinduism to Buddhism and are thus called Neo-Buddhists.

#### 2.3.3.1 Interview with the Oldest Member of the Slum Community

95 years old, B.G. settled at Kalina with his family in 1920. He came from the coastal region closed to Mumbai. His self-made house has no solid foundation and the roof consists of corrugated iron what leads to a great heat inside. Fifteen years ago, there was no electricity in this poor area. Meanwhile electricity has replaced kerosene. Water is available three hours in the morning. Thirteen houses share one tap and pay 5 Rupees per month. If they did not have this access, they even had to pay 100 Rupees a day. The stone-made houses were built more recently. Ten or fifteen years ago, people lived in hutments made of woods and timber sticks. G. went to school in 1935 but he did not graduate. He wonders why the students from the close Mumbai University never come to investigate their living conditions. Somehow aghast he states: "Nobody understands. Nobody is interested...."

#### 2.3.3.2 B.G.s Sister

The stone-made house of the 85-year woman looks a little more comfortable than the one of her brother. Although it has no stable foundation as well, it possesses a proper roof and a separate washing and cooking place. There is also a glass cabinet with a small collection of 'western stuff'. The old woman tells us that females mostly contribute to the family income by working as 'maids' (house cleaner) in other households, doing the laundry and preparing food. When we ask her whether she still has to work, she did not give an answer, although obviously there still exists a strong 'generation contract' in that children have to care for their old-aged parents

#### 2.3.3.3 A Middle-Class Family

The house of a family of three persons with a higher economic status considerably differs from the other hutments in Kalina. There is one large living room, a separate bedroom and a washing room. The house has a solid foundation, a proper roof and the floor is tiled. There are chairs and a table but the family prefers to sit on one of the typical chatais. The man has a well-paid job at the national airlines whereas his wife, who is also well educated, works at home. She stresses that women should not work in other people's households in order to avoid the risk of being oppressed and maltreated what happens frequently. She tells us that young women working in other people's households often get victims of violence and sexual

harassment and mostly do not experience any respect. She suggests women to work in their home community as seamstresses or in the field of food preparing. She is certain that this might also have a positive impact on the stability of the family since women have more time to spend in the education of their children for example. However, of course, the household sector of the middle class is one of the most important occupational fields of women.

#### **2.3.4 Matfalan, a Slum Close to Thane**

About 25,000 migrants, mainly from Maharashtra, had settled in Matfalan more than twenty-five years ago close to the railway line to Pune. The reason was a large factory that offered work for migrants, and the migrant labours encroached land next to the enterprise where they worked and were tolerated by the authorities. By means of migration networks other people followed, first of all family members. However, in 1984 the company was closed down. In spite of lack of work the squatters remained on the land that was owned by the Maharashtra government, since there were no job opportunities in their home regions either. Nowadays there are still 7,500 people left. But in spite of their long staying they have not been acknowledged by the government as a legalised slum, due to the fact that although the slum is older than 1995 people could not give accepted proves that they had already settled there before this date.

Because of this, the municipality demolished their homes and even a school for the fourth time, the last time shortly before we came. Now the people have almost given up. Before they had rebuilt their huts repeatedly, but now a governmental 'security guard' watches that no permanent structures be rebuilt again. Almost everything takes place in open air. There are merely bamboo and plastic hut constructions where people find shelter. The next water tap is about four kilometres away. People and children with severe diseases show that there is no medical care available at all. An indicator of poverty is also obvious that many people walk barefooted. While most slum-dwellers can afford shoes, for most people in this place even such basics seem to be not affordable. Almost everyone is jobless, since there are no labour opportunities at all. Although there are occasionally so-called 'jobbers' on whom the young men are almost totally dependent, it remains difficult to find work on a daily basis.

S. K., the activist and spokesperson of the community, tells us about political activities to gain a legal status. They organised a demonstration in Delhi that remained without any success. K., who votes for the Republican Party of India (yellow flags) also, sent a petition to the Home Ministry of Maharashtra in order to achieve a title on the land for his community. The petition was also rejected. When we ask K. if this was a final decision, he tells us that the community will keep fighting for a legal sanction with the support of local NGOs.

#### **The Legal Situation**

The Maharashtra Slum Area Improvement, Clearance, and Redevelopment Act that came into force in 1971 empower the government to declare certain slum areas as unsuitable for living if they are dangerous or injurious to public health. Thus, land that is needed for public purposes can easily be defined in the above-mentioned way. The Improvement Scheme that includes for example the laying of water taps, provision of community baths and latrines, construction of roads and street lightening is only applied to slums that have already existed before a specified *cut-off date*<sup>29</sup>. Initially this date was 1976, later it was extended to 1980, and now it has been set to 1995. On the one hand, this means that only a certain percentage of slum areas will acquire legal notice and improvement measures and therefore a higher degree of security.

---

<sup>29</sup>cf. Ramachandran 1995:140

On the other hand, it implies that an increasing number of hutments, those that have been constructed *after* the continuously extended cut-off date, can be removed without notice.

In fact the Maharashtra Slum Area Improvement Board Act from 1973, led to a reduction of slum improvement. Following this legislation improvement is provided only for squatter colonies which are *declared as a slum* and which are located on state government or municipal land. The same cut-off date goes for it likewise. From the Indian legal perspective, a slum is therefore a legalised squatter settlement only.

In case of *private land*, demolition of hutments and eviction without providing alternative accommodation got a *legal sanction* independent from any cut-off date. As Desai works out in her study of 'Community Participation and Slum Housing', around 542 out of 780 slum pockets have been declared as a slum. Up to 1980 only 23 out of these slum pockets have been improved by provision of water, electricity, and toilet facilities (Desai 1995, p.121). However, even in 'improved' slum areas, residents get no legal right to stay on that piece of land; the land-ownership remains with the original owners.

In case of *central government lands* the reason for omitting improvement works results from the Central Government Properties Act of 1948. Accordingly, state laws do not apply to central government land. Thus, the various central government authorities will not improve existing slums, especially those located on *prime land* that can be used for other commercial purposes.

Urban restructuring policies can be held responsible for the above-mentioned situation of vulnerability and insecurity of the poor. Banarjee-Guha (University of Mumbai) argues that the Regional Development Plan, published in 1995 by the Mumbai Metropolitan Region and Regional Development Authority (MMRDA) led to a crucial shift in the official metropolitan planning strategy in comparison with the previous plan of 1973-74<sup>30</sup>. Instead of improving the living conditions of the poor population, the liberalisation policy after 1991 only aimed on Mumbai's integration into the world economy. The MMRDA emphasises Mumbai's status as the country's financial primary city, its leadership in India's international trade, its potential of developing financial and business services and high-tech export oriented industries, and its strategic location with respect to the global market centres<sup>31</sup>. The vision of making Mumbai a global city raises the need to create space for international functions and headquarter operations of transnational capital as well as the establishment and improvement of infrastructure for transport and information networks<sup>32</sup>.

## 2.4 Conclusion to Slums

Contemporary Indian slums are known by different names in different cities – *katras or jhuggi jhompri* in Delhi, *jhompadpatti or chawls* in Mumbai, *basti* in Calcutta, etc. "Their basic characteristics remain the same i.e. dilapidated and infirm housing structures, acute overcrowding, faulty alignment of streets, poor ventilation, inadequate lighting, paucity of drinking water, water-logging during rains, absence of toilet facilities and non-availability of basic physical and social services." (Ramanathan 2004:2)

According to Ramanathan (2004:2), we can distinguish three kinds of slums that may be identified:

- declared slums, where a competent authority under the 1956 Act has notified an area to be a slum

---

<sup>30</sup> cf. Banerjee-Guha 1997:13

<sup>31</sup> MMRDA 1995, quoted by Banerjee-Guha 1997:14

<sup>32</sup> cf. Banerjee-Guha 1997:14f



- undeclared slums, where they are de facto recognised as slums, but, not having been notified, the benign provision of the 1956 Act, particularly those that relate to provision of services and improvements in situ, may not be extended to them
- planned slums, the replicating of high density and poor, or non-existent, services at the resettlement site, and the impoverishment that results from demolition and de-housing most often makes slums, within the definition, of resettlement sites.

The extent of city populations resident in slums is inordinately large. In Mumbai, nearly half of population live in urban slums. The conditions in the slums are terrible from a Western perspective. Infant mortality is as high in rural India where there are no amenities. In 1985, the government tried to rectify the problem by starting a slum upgrading policy. It offered secure long-term legal plot tenure to slum households on the basis that they would invest in their housing. By giving people an interest in their housing and by guaranteeing home ownership, they hoped to obliterate slums. Unfortunately, the program reached only 10-12 per cent of the slum inhabitants. It disregarded those who did not have homes at all. Thus, this and some other programmes aiming at improving, the slum problem in Mumbai failed. Slums are still growing, which is not only caused by the pressure of migration, but also by natural aspects. The slum growth rate is actually greater than the general urban growth rate.

The research groups find that the term ‘slum’ has to be redefined. As there are no general agreements on the definition of a slum, they may be characterised as areas of substandard housing conditions within a city. That is the first important issue. A slum is always an area that is different to its surrounding. Moreover, the second issue, which is a typical pattern for slum definition, is that the slum should be understood as a complex pattern of living and working. Common among different slums is that poverty is the foremost cause for this existence. On the other hand, we have to distinguish that the several types of slums vary from place to place. They include metropolitan (Dharavi and Kalina), rural slums (Matfalan, because of its peripheral location), new slums (Kurla), and hand-made slums (Matfalan)<sup>33</sup>. We emphasise that we have to find key issues in the linkage of the terms: migration, squatting, building up a slum, stabilisation, urbanisation, tenure, property rights, development, trust, and security. All these terms are important to describe how people live in different slums, how they can find work, and how people can get security in the informal sector and everyday life strategies.

Tab 1: Investigated Slum Areas 1

Settlement Criteria	Dharavi	Settlement Unit 'Bharantinga Na- gar Ekta' (Kurla)	Slum in Kalina	Matfalan, a Slum Close to Thane
<b>Population</b>	800,000 – 1,000,000	15,000	2,500	25,000
<b>Slum since</b>	> 20 years	16 years	1910	> 20 years
<b>Religious structure</b>	All religious groups, but mostly in segregated settlements	Ethnically homogeneous structure, Muslims	Ethnically homogeneous structure, Neobuddhist	All religious groups, no ethnic heterogenization
<b>Settlement structure</b>	Originally encourages an intermix of religious groups, but after the 1993 riots religious segregation, settlement patterns,	Community plays an important role, but no political engagement due to a 'lack of time'	Community plays a key role for the inhabitants; community collects money for inhabi-	Community plays a key role; protest by petitions against decisions by government;

<sup>33</sup> see Tab.1

	access to place of origin and linguistic criteria		tants; very directly informal network-ing community	community struggles for tenure and property rights, very bad living conditions
<b>Property Relations</b>	Different property relations for inhabitants, dwellers, squatters as well as for organisations, reconstruction and development associations	Property rights and legal status	Property rights development plays an important role for the community	No tenure and no property rights for settlers; land is owned by Maharashtra government, slum was demolished four times
<b>Housing conditions</b>	Made of bricks; roofs with tiles, sheet metal; one or two tenements	Bricks, awning, roofs; huge heaps of rubbish and a ditch that replace a sewerage system; a gangplank is crossing the main ditch allows reaching the huts and houses	Made of bricks; roofs with tiles; sheet metal	Bamboo cane; awning; no roofs, because of demolition
<b>Infrastructure</b>	Schools, pharmacies, police station, trainingcentre, water and electricity is available for households, canalisation, toilets	Bad canalisation system; pollution; waste; dump; ditches; and bad air	For 13 households exists one water connection; water supply for 3 hrs. daily; one or two tenements	Former school and fabric was demolished; everything is done outside; no medical care and water supply
<b>Life and work</b>	70 per cent of inhabitants work in Dharavi; fixed staff workers; daily wagers and daily workers; many jobless people	No information available	30 per cent of population have a job in the organised sector, mostly the elder generation; 70 per cent of inhabitants work in the unorganised sector, mostly younger people; daily workers	Most of inhabitants are jobless; they are dependent on jobbers
<b>Assessment</b>	Can be described as a consolidated slum; separate cosmopolitan city in Mumbai	New development plans in the following years	Impact of Community is responsible for the slum consolidation	No consolidated slum; no property rights and tenure; no legal status

### **3. Bombay in Transition – Population Growth and Economic Development in a Megacity**

#### **3.1 Migration**

In line with Jonathan Friedman (2004), we do not understand migration as an extraneous factor to the question of urban developments of major components. For Friedman, migration cannot be separated from the political debates concerning integration, multiculturalism, and the future of democratic institutions. Migration, Friedman argues, is not simply a demographic phenomenon, it is a socially constituted process in which cultural identity, economic, and political strategies play a definitive role<sup>34</sup>. The research group holds that the characteristics of migration are expressions of the larger context, which defines its nature and conditions of operation.

Every year hundred thousands of migrants come to Mumbai to escape from the absolute poverty of the rural areas and look for a new space to live. Many of them fail and either return to their land of origin or become part of the growing numbers of homeless dwellers and street people. Others manage to get one of the low-paid jobs in the informal sector in town and join the ranks of the so-called ‘Urban Poor’. “In the course of the years they adapt to the urban environment and tap more of its resources and opportunities, thereby further alleviating their own poverty” (Berner 2000:3).

According to Schrader (2004) cities, and particularly metropolises, are magnets that cause hundred thousands of landless people to migrate, trying to improve their living conditions. Schrader draws attention to the fact of ‘push-pull factors’. He argues that both this factor and natural growth rates cause Megacities to continuously increasing in size<sup>35</sup>, “and a large percentage of the urban population belongs to the poor” (Schrader 2004). One of his main arguments is that migrants can survive in the urban context because they can make their living by incomes from the informal sector.

Some of the Megacities in the world have meanwhile reached a size exceeding 20 million people<sup>36</sup>. The enormous population growth is accompanied by an uncontrolled mushrooming and growth of squatter settlements at every vacant place<sup>37</sup>. Mumbai is not a single case, because the whole world appears to be on the move<sup>38</sup>. There are about 100 million people living and often working outside their countries of citizenship, making this ‘nation of migrants’ equivalent in size to the world’s tenth most populous country.

The research groups also emphasises that there are three basic migration facts, which can be observed worldwide and seem to be important. These are: a) most people never cross national borders to live or to work in another country; b) at least half of all migrant workers move

---

<sup>34</sup> cf. Friedman 2004:66.

<sup>35</sup> “Nowadays more than half of the world population is urbanised, with growing tendency. In some parts of the world, the urban poor exceed the number of non-poor. Economic crisis and structural adjustment policies had severe impacts on the urban poor concerning rising food prices, declining real wages, outsourcing of formal jobs, and reduction of public expenditure for social policy (Wratten 1995:11). For mega cities Brennan (1999) estimates that on global average 50% of their growth are caused by natural growth and 50% by migration. While at the turn to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there were 16 mega cities with more than 10 million inhabitants, the UN prognosticate 22 for 2015, 18 of which will be found in Asia. These mega cities will absorb 10% of the world population (United Nations 1998)” (Schrader 2004).

<sup>36</sup> While during the 1950s less than 30% of the world population were living in cities, for 2006 their number is estimated to amount to 50%. For 2030 the prognosis amounts to three fifths. While in Africa the urbanisation grade is comparatively low, it is particularly high in South Asia. It is estimated that during the years 1995-2039 India will have to absorb 385 million, Pakistan 113 million and Bangladesh 55 million new urban inhabitants (cf. United Nations 1998).

<sup>37</sup> cf. Schrader 2004

<sup>38</sup> cf. Friedman 2004:63

from one developing country to another; and most of those who cross borders do not enter industrial democracies (in Western sense); and c) many states have successfully made the transition from exporting to importing labour, and the migration transition process seem to be speeding up. How can we describe contemporary developments of migration in relation to India? The Indian cities, especially Mumbai, with its dwellers have undergone several changes in the past two decades. Perceptions about the legality and legitimacy of squatters, the pavement dwellers, occupiers of unauthorised structures, holders of land beyond the ceiling limit, and the permitted and surreptitious commercial and industrial users of properties and land have undergone significant change.

According to Goetze (2000), the following types of migrants can be distinguished: (1) short-term working migrants; (2) qualified technicians and business migrants; (3) irregular and illegal migrants; (4) family-bounded migrants; (5) re-migrants; and (6) forced migrants (refugees, persons concerned with natural disasters or pursuits, etc.).

Migrants have several reasons to come into the urban areas. A first reason constitutes the bad living conditions in the rural areas, poverty and malnutrition, and often insufficient infrastructural means such as education facilities and medical treatment. Migrants try to escape from there in hope to find a job in the overcrowded cities to secure their life and that of their families. The gender distribution of Mumbai is similar to other Indian Megacities. We find a higher degree of male population, because many migrants leave their families behind. This characteristic has a socio-cultural consequence, in so far that there is an intensive linkage between urban and rural areas, in the sense, that males live and work in the city, but they have strong ties to their places of origin. In many cases, informal sector labourers subsidise their families in their home region. At the same time relatives or village fellows in the urban setting may be the first anchor for later coming migrants, and a source of trust networks. Slum settlement patterns do therefore not only correspond to religion and caste, but also strongly to place of origin and local vernacular. There is a spatial and social separation in the settled areas. The consequences of spatial and social separation is polarisation, a mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, in the sense that particular hierarchies and informal power structures developed in the city context independent from pre-migration structures. If we summarise the reasons for migrants to change their residence, we conclude that most migrants make their decision to migrate in response to a complex set of external constraints and predisposing events. On the one hand, those constraints and events vary in their significance, salience, and impact, on the other hand, there are elements of both choice and compulsion, it seems, in the decision making of most migrants<sup>39</sup>.

The research group examines several reasons for migration, which were mentioned in the interviews with people who had a migration background. According to Bhosale (2003) who focuses on the migration background of *Charmakers*, we distinguish between the following five types of reasons for migration<sup>40</sup>:

1. **Escape from social, political, religious, and economic discrimination:** one reason is that the traditional caste structures in rural areas is still very rigid and has enormous consequences on people's everyday-life. Caste and landed property titles are often related to each other. To be a dalit, another believer, or to belong to a tribe means to be socially excluded and to be landless. At the same time, migration is related to hope of socio-economic rise, search for a better life. Other reasons mentioned were building up a new existence, earning money for supporting family members who stay in the places of origin, debts to be repaid, and lack of economic success.

---

<sup>39</sup> Turton 2003:8

<sup>40</sup> cf. Bhosale 2003

2. **Lack of employment opportunities:** in rural areas, people have no job opportunities. Most of them work as landless agricultural labourers with low daily wages, practise subsistence agriculture, or are engaged in traditional occupation
3. **Changes in climate:** related to global changes of climate there are certain villages that are now situated in the rain shadow of the mountains, so that monsoon rain can no longer provide a basis for rain-fed agriculture.
4. **Lack of finance for own-manufactured products:** traditional occupation are difficult to be practised without a credit line to banks and cooperative banks what created a situation of unemployment and therefore, migrants look for survival in the urban setting.
5. **Lack of good educational facilities:** in rural areas is a lack of schools and other educational institutions. In addition, the migrants realise for their children more and more the value of education and consider it a strong source of social change. They hope to find it in urban areas

In Matfalan the research group talked to a social activist, who supports the rights of the squatters and, although so far being unsuccessful in achieving legal recognition of the slum was able to catch a certain public recognition. On the other hand, there are often politicians who only aim at the clientele as voters and promise to engage themselves against an exchange of the vote. Nevertheless, the engagement and the articulation of interests in the public is an important pre-condition to give the poor people a right to stay and live in the city. The research group investigated four slums. Each of them has its own history and the people living there have their own background. Of course, not every slum dweller is a migrant himself, many of them have already been living in slums for the second or third generation. However, among those slums that are affected by demolition due to lack of long-term existence, the number of first-generation migrants is much higher. Interviewees mentioned the following reasons for migration.

### **3.2 Continuous Growth of the Megacity and the Dream of a ‘New Bombay’**

Every day thousands of migrants come to the global city of Mumbai, and every day the city experiences natural growth due to birth rates exceeding death rates. The city is overcrowded and there is hardly any more space for new migrants. They settle along the railway lines, highways and airport corridors, as well as in the suburbs of Mumbai, where more vacant space is available. This vacant space mostly belongs to the central government, the Maharashtra government, or the city authorities.

Illegal settlement by dwellers is defined as ‘squattling’. The ‘squatters’ live in a continuous physic and psychic uncertainty to be expelled, their hutments being bulldozed down. With their modest means of social activism (petitioning, unionising, public opinion, etc.) they try to defend their interests. The contemporary situation is ambivalent. On the one hand the present governor aims at defending the legal stance, on the other hand the Maharashtra government and city administration are under pressure, because obviously public housing policy failed. Therefore, the question of housing policy concerns a large action field with national representatives, administration, politicians, railway and airport authorities, social activists and INGOs, international advice, and many other agents.

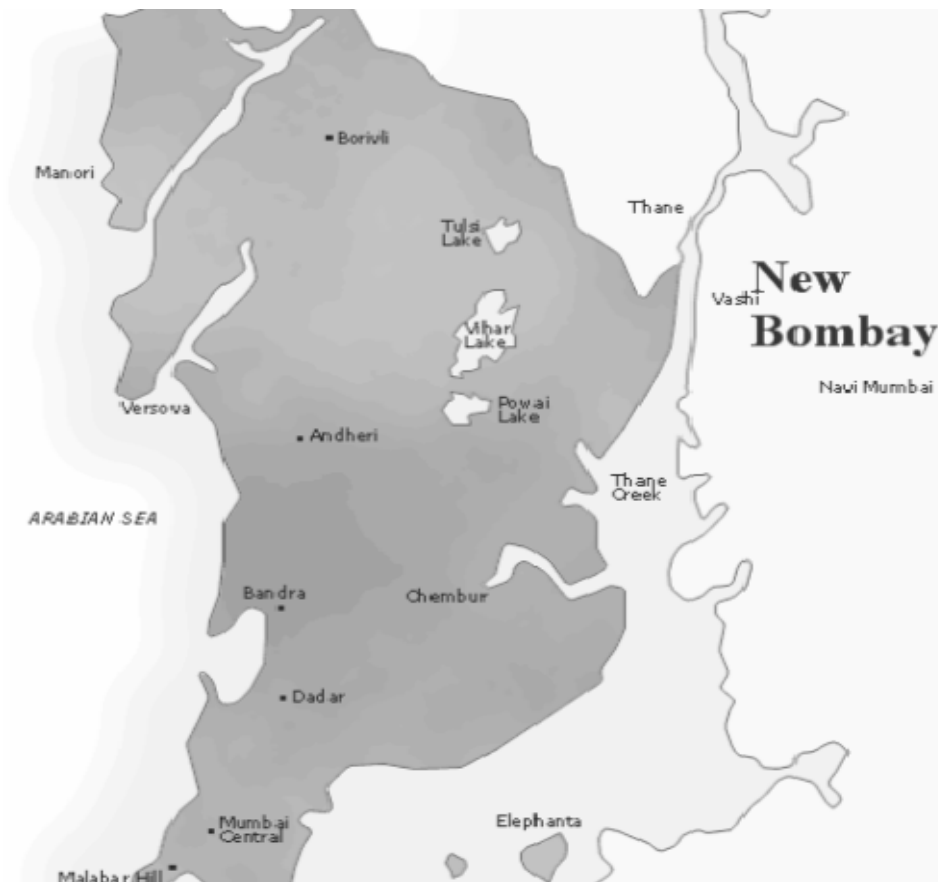
Due to population pressure on the city the municipal polity of Mumbai is to attempt decentralisation by building the twin city of ‘New Bombay’. A previous peripheral area east of Mumbai, located already on the main land, should be transformed into a booming secondary Mumbai with a duplication of infrastructure and integration into the world market. This policy resulted in an industrialisation, a new economy with technical and information

industries, and the construction of new flats and apartments, but the ambitious goal to build a twin city has so far not been achieved. Of course, squatters in this region do not fit into the urban plans.

### **‘New Bombay’ Project<sup>41</sup>**

The New Bombay project was begun by the Bombay Development Department as a satellite, or New Town in the district of Bombay (Mumbai). It was then handed over to the City and Industrial Development Corporation, which was developed in 1970 strictly for the purpose of developing New Towns. New Bombay was originally intended for middle class and to alleviate congestion around the central business district. Ironically, it was proposed and developed at the same time as the Back Bay Reclamation Project, which had exactly the opposite effect. Virtually they worked against each other in their intentions. The main problem of New Bombay is the fact, that it is highly underdeveloped. It had envisioned a balanced urban development through a nodal pattern along the rapid transit rail line. Each of these cities was to be independent and self-sufficient. The centre of the development was supposed to be Belapur, the geographical centre. Nevertheless, New Bombay has turned out completely different from plans, much like everything else. The centre of commerce and industry in New Bombay has become Vashi, which is the closest city to the main island of Bombay. The New Town has a population of approximately 200,000 and few public facilities, no hospital or health centre, no state school and no developed park or recreation space. The project has not had high demand for residents and all it has accomplished has been pushing the native population further towards the periphery by taking their old settlements and land.<sup>42</sup>

**Map 2: New Bombay 1**



<sup>41</sup> These references are taken from: [www.macalester.edu/courses/geog61/espencer/newbombay.html](http://www.macalester.edu/courses/geog61/espencer/newbombay.html) (7/04)

<sup>42</sup> Source: [www.macalester.edu/courses/geog61/espencer/newbombay.html](http://www.macalester.edu/courses/geog61/espencer/newbombay.html) (7/04)

### 3.3 Issues of Urbanisation, Property Rights, and Tenure

We can conclude that the priorities of policy, and as dictated by the different courts, have determined the status, the handling, and the rights, of the city's residents. Access to land, and therefore the concession for titles and properties, for the migrants and dwellers, who settle on the fallow land, is one of the most fundamental demands not only by a few academics but by representatives of the stakeholders, too. The pictures of the metropolises in the 'Third World' is dominated by a crucial dividing line which separates those who have legitimate and reasonably secure access to urban land and other facilities, and those who have not<sup>43</sup>. In this sense, Evers emphasises the importance to have access to land: „A precondition for subsisting in urban environment is access to the use of urban land to build a house, to put up a hut, or at least to find a temporary space for sleeping, eating and defecating. Property rights regulate this access to urban land and thereby the chance to subsist, or at least to be physically present. From this point of view access to urban land becomes the most basic human need in an urban area.” (Evers 1984:481)

We will consider the lack of 'habitat-rights' and/or 'right to tenure' to be directly connected with the economical situation of the slum dwellers. Proceeding from our hypothesis that 'rights to habitat' rather than formal property rights are essential conditions for the emerge of self-help activities we attempt to highlight how the above-mentioned patterns of restructuring the urban area of Mumbai relate to the (im)possibility for establishing economic activities. It will be shown how migration patterns contribute to the formation of several communities within slum areas and under which conditions ethnic and religious categories therefore become important.

Following Schrader (2004),<sup>44</sup> our hypothesis is to make a living in slums and find employment in the informal sector means to have access to the city and to have the 'right to stay', the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1972, 1974, 1976, 1991) the 'right to habitat'. This access not only refers to economic capital, which is used to take means of transport, to invest in the huts, flats or houses, to make possible education for children. In the first way, people who settle on the urban land need these 'rights' on their chosen place to experience a feeling of security in their daily actions. With such a feeling of security, we will argue, people will take initiative to improve their living conditions, invest in their huts and perhaps in community activities. Moreover, people who have such a feeling of security, have better economic chances in that they become entrepreneurial themselves, starting a small business in the immediate neighbourhood. Nevertheless, so long as these basic human rights to habitat are absent, they are always afraid to be expelled and therefore behave passive.

The term 'urbanisation'<sup>45</sup> refers to the growth of cities compared to people living in rural areas. However, also the migrants themselves become 'urbanized'. The city becomes the core-centre of their life<sup>46</sup>. In his pioneer work in the field of 'Migration, Urbanization, and Stabilization', Mitchell argues that the 'process of stabilisation' is the necessary consequence of the 'process of urbanisation'<sup>47</sup>. He uses the term 'stabilisation' to show that a person has settled for long-term in the city. Demographic issues play an important role in the 'process of

---

<sup>43</sup> cf. Berner 2000:3

<sup>44</sup> “The key for a better future in the cities is to find space that has not (yet) been occupied. Access to a means of survival in the city presupposes access to space. The “search of security” in the cities – to refer to a paper from Elwert et al. (1983) – implies the right of staying in the city<sup>44</sup> – or more tersely with Lefebvre (1974): the right to the city” (Schrader 2004).

<sup>45</sup> cf. Mitchell 1956:693

<sup>46</sup> cf. Singh 2003

<sup>47</sup> cf. Mitchell 1956

stabilisation'. Mitchell notes that a person is stabilised in the city, if there are no long-term stays of an individual in the area of origin<sup>48</sup>. From our perspective, such stabilization requires certain issues of security, transfers of rights and duties, conceptions of strategies, and preconditions for economic action. Stabilization can only occur, when the dweller achieve a level of 'relatively security' at least. 'Relatively security' is the basic condition for securing the own life and that of families. Stability also means that the slum inhabitants get a bundle of rights, which is a precondition to give them a certain security and stability.

We cannot examine the topics of 'urbanisation' and 'stabilisation' without the discussion about the industrialisation process of Mumbai, to which we have briefly referred above. According to Lefebvre (1972, 1976, 1991) we argue that industrialisation and urbanisation are two sides of the same process. On the one hand, industrialisation characterises the instrumental aspect, the incredible development of technologies, to transform and dominate nature. On the other hand, urbanisation is linked to the social component, giving industrialisation its reason and thereby relativating social relations and domination. Lefebvre argues that urbanisation has been subjugated under the constraints of industrial production<sup>49</sup>. The overall increase of urban population, i.e. persons residing in cities, is one of the most stunning characteristic of the rise of urbanised society. We can distinguish two main forms. Firstly the rise of Megacities or Metropolis<sup>50</sup>, and secondly, the development of large urbanised agglomerations consisting of several different and often independent cities.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Many slum dwellers are migrants of the first or second generation. Migration from rural to urban areas means, to start from the beginning. Reasons for migration are often economic push factors, first of all landlessness, indebtedness, and lack of rural employment opportunities, in addition to ethnicity problems. This means that when migrants arrive they are usually poor already. They often have no means to rent, not to say buy, property, particularly not in a city such as Mumbai, where housing is extremely costly due to lack of adequate supply. Squatting a piece of land or using migrants' networks to find support by fellow people who already arrived earlier, is the option most migrants choose. On the other hand, the government has to cope with the problem of continuous city growth, caused by both migrants and natural growth. Taking a squatter-friendly policy (e.g. to provide them space free of costs) might cause a chain reaction, in the sense that other rural people follow due to pull-factor reasons ('attractivity of the city').

We have to take into consideration that the slum inhabitants, dwellers, and squatters are not a marginalised class or minority; they constitute 60 per cent of the whole population of Mumbai, which is almost 10 million people<sup>51</sup>. Many of these do not achieve sustainable livelihoods. There have to be identified ways to empower citizens to act to create new resource-use trajectories, those that will contribute to sustainable livelihoods. According to the principles by the 'World Conservation Strategy', the following targets have to be achieved: (1) the integration of conservation and development, (2) the saturation of basic human needs, (3) the achievement of equity and social justice, (4) the provision of social self-determination and cultural diversity and (5) the maintenance of ecological integrity. However, sustainable development is more encompassing than 'ecologically sustainable development'.

---

<sup>48</sup> cf. Mitchell 1956

<sup>49</sup> cf. Lefebvre 1972:188

<sup>50</sup> „The Metropolis is indisputably a global settlement, an international phenomenon, a nodal point in the international division of labour. It serves multiple social, economic and cultural functions across national and international borders. It is the urban expression of a new interconnected and diverse world“ (Angotti 1993:3).

<sup>51</sup> cf. Bhowmik 2004



Sustainable development posits an intimate interconnectedness of social, economic, and environmental processes<sup>52</sup>.

To plan the further development of Mumbai and the future of the poor also means to improve the position of the urban informal sector, because slum housing and informal-sector activities are very much interconnected with each other. And, what has often been overlooked is the fact that formal and informal sector do not just exist independently from one another but are closely intertwined in that the latter forms a reserve army for the former and an 'extended workbench' for the world market. Following Bhowmik (2004) economic activities that formerly belonged to the formal sector, are now outsourced into the informal sector, due to cost advantages. The other way around it can be argued that the housing in slums subsidises the (both national and international) economy, because low living expenses can keep the wages low. Because of the low level of wages in the informal sector, the lack of regular employment and permanent uncertainty it is hardly likely that this population can afford to buy or rent better accommodation in the private market, while public housing is insufficiently available. The upper middle class and upper class, however, target these people as scapegoats being made responsible for the growing urban crises. Slums are projected as the causes of most, if not all, urban problems and evils, places of criminality, epidemics, and now: HIV. Slum dwellers usurp budgets and spaces that should have rightfully gone to the 'tax paying' citizens. Interestingly, slums only occupy 10% of the Mumbai land area, and middle and upper class households depend on informal labour of this target group, particularly in household services.

The solution to the problem is very complex and discussed very controversially. Those who take a 'property rights' stance (e.g. the local government) take a harsh course of action against squatters to protect the property rights of the legal owners by demolishing encroached space. Those who take up a human rights stance (right to habitat) either propose an appropriate relocation of slums or to give vacant land to the slum dwellers<sup>53</sup>. Both propositions cannot solve the problem as such, because it does not come to the roots of migration and urban growth. For many people the situation in rural areas is hopeless for various reasons. Urban poverty is more visible than rural poverty, and a Western perspective always draws attention to the inhuman living conditions in urban slums. However, rural poor would often prefer a living in cities, as they can make their living in the informal sector, while income opportunities in rural regions and education facilities are meagre.

Where relocation of slums occurred, this often took place at the periphery of the city, where also employment opportunities are absent. Long and costly ways of transportation have to be taken. In addition, opportunities to get a job in other areas of the city restricted due to lack of social networks and information. An appropriate relocation policy has to take into account that the living and working space of the people should be the same; social networks have to be kept intact so that not only an individual self-help potential, but also a collective one may apply. The currently ongoing discussion about the former mill land in Mumbai shows that appropriate space is available also in the inner city, but the government again has valued the interests of the former mill owners higher than the public interest to socialise part of this space for resettlement and other occasions.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> cf. Almas, Lawrence 2003

<sup>53</sup> cf. Schrader 2004

<sup>54</sup> During the colonial and early post-colonial period the mills provided the key industries in Bombay. With the collapse of the mill industries, this land has become unused. Old mill buildings are ruins in the now inner city. Mill owners who acquired this land very cheaply during the colonial period want to use this land for speculative purposes and building of middle- and upper-class apartments, while the interest of NGOs is to use part of this land for the former mill workers, many of them now living in slums (cf. Schrader 2004).

## 4. The Search for Security in the Informal Sector

Before we turn our attention towards aspects and dimensions of lack of security in the lives of the urban poor and their informal survival strategies, we will clarify the economic background of our informants. Since we focused on small entrepreneurs and employees in the so-called 'informal sector', the information obtained relates to this group. Since the terminology of 'formal sector' and 'informal sector' implies that both economic sectors are rather independent from each other, scholars have emphasised the close relatedness of both sectors within the world<sup>55</sup>.

### 4.1 The Formal and the Informal Sector Characteristics

After the term 'informal sector' was introduced in an official report by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1972, referring to the employment situation in Kenya, a considerable data collection and research has been undertaken to investigate what the informal sector is and how it operates<sup>56</sup>. Whereas earlier studies made a clear-cut distinction between the informal and the formal sector, recent studies suggest that both sectors cannot be dealt with as two separate and independent categories<sup>57</sup>. There are a number of linkages and interdependencies between the two sectors, to which we will refer later.

Nevertheless, it is possible and necessary to make an analytical distinction between the formal and the informal sector in order to highlight different characteristics while being aware that such a distinction can only be artificial. What, then, is the informal sector? Numerous studies ascribe the following characteristics to it, as opposed to the formal sector. These characteristics are: a smaller scale of enterprises and production units (self-employed individuals, household enterprises, enterprises with a few employees); a lower complexity of the production process using simpler technology; less division of labour; and a lower capital intensity and higher labour intensity; lower wages that are often not related to working time but to quantities (piece rates) and that are paid in smaller amounts than in the formal sector (e.g. weekly); a high fluctuation of employees; the reduction of production costs by keeping fixed capital low; a production that is located in or next to the housing/ living space or in the streets; and above all a high degree of social and economic insecurity<sup>58</sup>. The ILO World Employment Programme Report gave the following characteristics: ease entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operation, labour-intensive and adapted technology, skill acquired outside the formal school system and unregulated and competitive markets<sup>59</sup>. However, Kumar and Jena (2001) argue that many of the above-mentioned characteristics lack validity and neither considers rural and urban nor regional and international differences concerning the varying size and composition of informal sectors.

The question of security we consider to be crucial for living in the informal sector. We have to distinguish between formal rights regulating action and informal ones. Formal rights refer to a bundle of property rights, which arrange certain relations between people and matters of inclusion and exclusion. In contradiction, informal rights consist of interpersonal relationships, conventions, social sanctions, generally accepted norms, and thus reduce options of possible behaviour. Singh argues that people in the informal sector are hardly protected by legal rights but try to substitute the lack of formal rights by informal ones<sup>60</sup>.

---

<sup>55</sup> cf. Singh 1996; Bhowmik 2004; Kulshreshta 1998; Kumar, Ramakant 2001; Panwalker 1998

<sup>56</sup> cf. Kulshreshta 1998:450; Singh 2001:48

<sup>57</sup> cf. Ramakant 2001; Panwalker 1998

<sup>58</sup> cf. Breman 1999, Elwert, Evers, Wilkens 1983

<sup>59</sup> cf. Kumar/Jena 2001

<sup>60</sup> cf. Singh 1996: 19

According to Breman (1999), the lack of formal protection is no result of a lack of laws but of insufficient law enforcement. For example, many workers in the informal sector do not get the minimum wages even though the government fixes them<sup>61</sup>.

## 4.2 Types of Informal Enterprises and Options for External Assistance

Despite various similarities the informal sector is by no means a homogenous phenomenon, it appears useful to classify informal enterprises. The PISCES (,Program for Investment in the Small Capital Enterprises Sector') study differentiates between three levels of informal enterprises. Following Kumar and Ramakant (2001a), the first sub-group consists of so-called 'marginal enterprises' which operate on a daily basis, supply services, or goods and aim at subsistence of the self-employed person. The PISCES study reveals that this type of enterprise can be best reached by collective borrowing schemes combined with non-formal education. The 'very small enterprises' constitute the second sub-group. Their managers have a fundamental understanding of business practices and they possess limited possibilities for diversification and growth.

The 'very small enterprises' can be assisted successfully by means of group programmes aimed at setting up collective guarantee loans or forming co-operatives, for example. The means of assistance for both of the mentioned types of enterprises can be best arranged by NGOs. The third level contains 'small enterprises' the managers of which have better business skills, planning capability, entrepreneurial drive, and flexibility to expand when the opportunity arises. According to the PISCES study, this more sophisticated level of informal economy responds best to individual programmes in training, finance, and technology provided by governmental institutions.

## 4.3 Linkages and Interdependencies between the Informal and the Formal Sector

As we have already indicated, there exist several dependencies and connection lines between both sectors. According to Singh (1996), these dependencies and connection lines can be described as 'upward' and 'downward vertical linkages'<sup>62</sup>. 'Downward vertical linkages' refer to the flow of goods and services from the formal to the informal sector whereas 'upward vertical linkages' stand for the opposite direction of transfer. Singh argues that the informal sector cannot exist autonomously due to its dependence on the formal sector. In addition, the informal sector is exploited by the formal economy<sup>63</sup>. The so-called 'subcontracting'<sup>64</sup> can be regarded as one aspect of the mentioned dependencies. Subcontracting requires cheap and flexible employees, i.e. workers who are not bound to stable working contracts and social insurances; it leads to price cuts of the informal produced goods and the low status of the respective employees<sup>65</sup>. The fact that many informal enterprises nevertheless work on a subcontracting basis for the formal economy indicates that the informal sector is largely dependent on 'external' orders. Besides, the small-scale enterprises often function as suppliers and buffers against market fluctuations.

Most of the debates concerning the term 'informal sector' refer to a dual concept that relates to neoclassic economists<sup>66</sup>. These neoclassical approaches consider the capital-intensive industrial sector to be the fundament for economic development, arguing that its growth

---

<sup>61</sup> cf. Homstrom 1985

<sup>62</sup> cf. Singh 1996:53

<sup>63</sup> cf. Singh 1996:53

<sup>64</sup> Bhowmik (2004) describes this „subcontracting“ as „outsourcing“ of production from the formal to the informal sector.

<sup>65</sup> cf. Singh 1996:50

<sup>66</sup> We refer to the conceptions of Boeke (1953), and Fei, Ranis (1964).

automatically leads to an increasing demand of labour in the longer run whereas the traditional subsistence economy is recognised to be stagnating and an impediment for development. Kumar and Jena instead argue that the so-called 'trickle-down' development strategy turns out to be „a mere armchair speculation“ (Kumar/Jena 201:372f). In their opinion, the modern industry only possesses a limited range of additional jobs, and capital-intensive production remains predominant in this sector. Due to this fact, the extension of the modern industry to the informal sector is limited and the latter remains, first of all, an economic space for trade and services. It is true branches like manufacturing, construction, transport and trade are booming but „this development often takes the form of an increase in number rather than an increase in productivity“ (Kumar/Jena 2001:13). Considering the enormous population growth there is an increasing competition for jobs in the urban centres. In this regard, it is not the economic growth of a country itself but rather the development of the informal sector that could lead to an improvement for the poor.

#### **4.4 The Unorganised Sector in India**

We now consider some of the above-mentioned aspects of the informal economy in concrete terms with regard to India. At first we have to emphasise that Indian researchers do not use the terms 'formal' or 'informal' sector but rather the terms 'organised' and 'unorganised' sector<sup>67</sup>. Correspondingly, neither the official statistics nor the National Account Statistics (NAS) use the term 'informal' sector. In the NAS, the unorganised segment of the economy refers to all operating units the activities of which are not regulated under any statutory act or legal provision and/ or those that do not maintain any regular accounts. Since the organised segment refers to regularly available statistics (budget documents, annual reports or results of the Annual Survey of Industries), all remaining operating units under various economic activities are assigned to the unorganised segment<sup>68</sup>. Thus, the classification of enterprises greatly depends on the availability of data. However, it can be estimated that more than 60 per cent of the national income of India is generated in the unorganised (informal) segment, and it is the unorganised sector that grows much faster than the organised sector<sup>69</sup>. This aptly shows that this segment is not just a reminder of an 'undeveloped' part of the economy, but obviously an integral part of the world market. Nevertheless, the extent to what the unorganised sector contributes to the national income appears quite low regard the enormous size of the informal segment of Indian economy. Singh presumes that the stake of production in the GDP might be recorded/ registered insufficiently and has to be estimated higher than official statistics suggest, because the unorganised sector has been neglected<sup>70</sup>. In addition, gender segmentation applies to the informal sector. Compared to their male colleagues female workers mostly obtain much lower wages; according to Kundu (1993) amounting to between 56% and 83% of the male wages. In spite of a ban on child labour, children and adolescents obtain even lower wages. It is thus characteristic for the informal segment of economies that children who become the most vulnerable in this regard can simply replace women. On the other hand, a replacement of men by women seems not to be so frequent. In spite of this relation, the number of males is proportionately higher in Mumbai, but there are typical male and female occupations.

---

<sup>67</sup> cf. Kulshrestha 1998

<sup>68</sup> cf. Kulshreshtra 1998, Singh 2002:52

<sup>69</sup> cf. Kulshreshtra 1998, Singh 2002:52

<sup>70</sup> cf. Singh 1996:99

## 4.5 Case Study: Leatherwork in India

The work with leather is, based on the belief of physical and spiritual purity, looked down upon as dirty work. The bags are sold at high prices and the work with leather as such as in production is left to some distinct castes. In Dharavi, there are the DHOR. These do the tanning of the leather as well as a cutting and colouring of the material. Connected to the work are certain images of the branch in Dharavi as such... So the work of the Dhor is explained as a semi finished leather with low quality and there is a current competition between tanneries in Madras who are said to produce finished leather with higher quality and Dharavi tanneries going on. The leather that they take is goat, sheep, buffalo, elephant and cow as well as pig but the reputation of this caste is not very high so there are rumours that no Dhor could effort other leather than the cheapest of the cheap. In the following we want to give an inside view of the working conditions in Dharavi. Afterwards we will have insight to the production of a leather wallet by members of the *Charmakars* community with so-called finished leather from Madras<sup>71</sup>. Our assumption is now that the work in Dharavi with a certain image of the area as well as the shops, which are situated very near to the production units, do suffer an inflation of prices and wages by the locality factor; Dharavi shops are known as the “cheapest in the city”. The same is up with the wages – the locality as a dumping factor for wages and prices.

### 4.5.1 Thick Description of a Dhor Tannery in Dharavi

It is a big dark looking dirty hall in which a pungent stench is permanent, many cats running around probably because of the rotten meat on the floor. Five men are working in the hall each of them separately. A big cutting machine is standing next to the entrance. A room which is half closed on the left side with some dirty tables and chairs in front of it, is probably used for storing the chemicals, one can see canisters of chemicals for bleaching and tanning the leather. In the rear front of the hall, one can see pools of round about 2x2 meters this is used for soaking the leather in a chemical compound, which has substituted the three-day lasting water bath. Three cutting machines are existing in the hall in almost every corner one. During a demonstration, three layers of fine leather are cut out of the 4mm thick buffalo leather piece. One worker tells us that even four layers are possible with elephant leather. In the centre of the hall, which is alighted only by one tube light, one can see a small stall, which is standing very near to a kind of gigantic washing drum. In this machine, the leather gets coloured. After the colour is on it the leather is printed sometimes with natural looking finish in a separate machine. The stall shall help preventing accidents because for the printing, an electrical heater is used and the electricity is dangerous. Therefore, the leather comes as a raw material into the tannery. The leather has still old meat on it and hairs. Therefore, they take it and at a machine with a teethed waltz, the rest meat is being scratched off. Then the leather goes into the chemical compound-bath for round about nine hours after this the leather is taken out and waltzed again then it is dried. After that, the leather is cut either length-wise or breadth-wise and diametric. Sometimes one worker cuts 4-5 layers out of one raw piece. Then it is coloured and after this is done, the layers, which have no natural surface, are printed one on it. Again, a waltz is used to imitate the natural finish. Then this is sold on the market.

### 4.5.2 From the Finished Leather Piece to the Wallet

We would like to give a dense description of a production of a leather wallet (The production unit belongs to one of the businesses the owner of which we interviewed.) The raw material can be sheep, buffalo, elephant, cow or map. 3 square meter of the raw material they use at

---

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Bhosale 2003

that day comes about 65 Rupees. It is good quality finished leather from madras. It has a smooth velour-like inside and a finished and polished outside with a natural texture on it. The raw material comes in pieces of ca. 60x60 centimetres and is cut into appropriate pieces. Hereafter the leather is taken and made thinner at the edges and rims with a knife, which has a rounded blade. Then a stinking paste is brought on the leather from the inside. The paste contains gummy Arabica and benzyl along with other chemicals that shall make the leather more flexible and elastic to be worked upon. It is applied with the fingers then they let it two to three minutes dry out and then they rub it off with their fingers. Now the leather is smooth enough to be worked with further. Glue is applied. It is fast drying glue with lots of chemicals inside. The air inside the production unit is very much smelling of the chemicals. I suspect the chemicals to be harmful when inhaled all day. A piece of cloth is attached to the leather from the inside and also two plastic foils are put, here the document or the money fits in. Now the edges and rims are hammered towards the inside, because they are made thinner it is fitting without that the folds get too big – then you cannot close the wallet properly. After that, it is hammered round; a man takes the wallets and stitches them. It is always a rotating disc of work. One worker is cutting the leather pieces and makes the rim thinner; another applies the glue and applies the cloth and the plastic from inside. The next worker hammers the rims round, then the stitching is done, finally one man controls the wallets and burns with a glowing rope the stitching string ends and folds the ready-made wallet with a small hammer. It takes about 14-15 min from the raw material to the final product. There are always 40 to 50 pieces in one working step being processed. 4-5 people work in a room of 25-30 square meters. The room is alighted by a tube light and one window, which is half closed.

Chart1: Product Circulation and Market Bonds

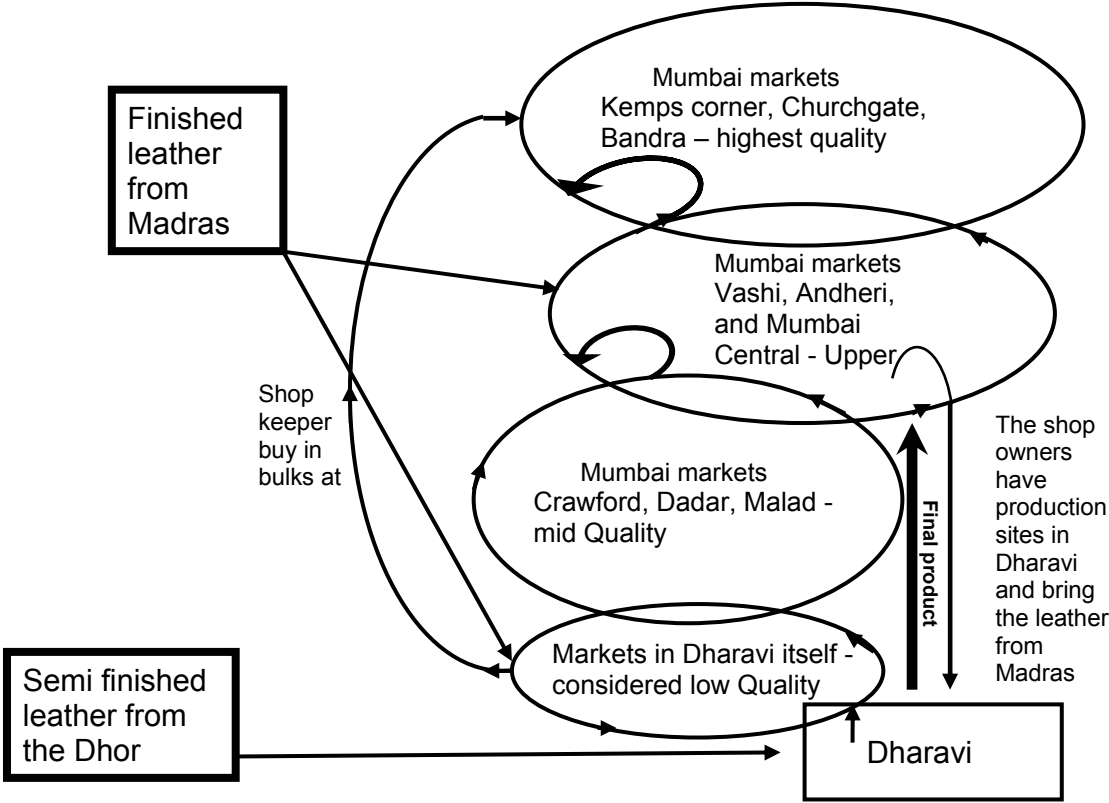
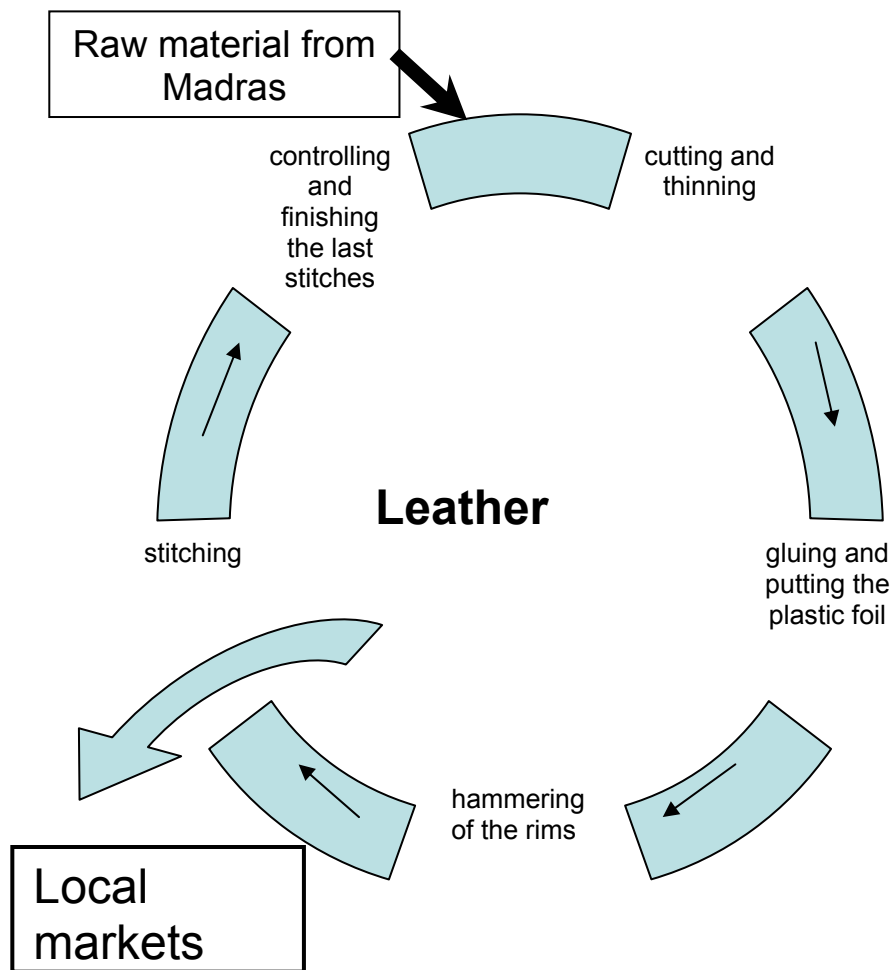


Chart 2: From Raw Material to the Final Product



#### 4.6 The Self-Help Potential of the Poor

In this section, we will focus on strategies of the poor to organise their survival in the informal sector. Because the state does not provide public security by means of regulations, the latter have to organise security in a private manner<sup>72</sup>. Elwert, Evers, and Wilkens (1983) emphasise that the poor try to combine various economic activities in order to gain a kind of stability that a European proletarian takes for granted. They assume that for this class of people the search for security has an ultimate priority over the maximisation of income; they therefore rightly call them the ‘class of the insecure’. For their survival, both informal production and subsistence production are very important<sup>73</sup>. While conceding that a certain income is necessary for the survival in the informal sector, Singh argues that ‘survival’ furthermore must be understood as a complex phenomenon that is influenced by social correlations as well as individual capabilities<sup>74</sup>. Therefore, socio-cultural as well as economic conditions are constitutive for the survival strategies of the poor. A number of skills can be acquired in the family or in social communities, for example informal ‘apprenticeships training’ in small enterprises, ‘learning by doing’ or ‘on-the-job-training’.

<sup>72</sup> cf. Lock 2003

<sup>73</sup> cf. Elwert, Evers, Wilkens 1983:1-2

<sup>74</sup> cf. Singh 1996:22

Since there is a lack of formal representation of labour in the informal sector such as workers' committees or trade unions, informal organisations and cooperations provide an essential means for people in the informal sector. These are the only possibility for the poor to express and defend their interests and needs against the building lobby, the middle class and the city authorities, to claim assistance by the state, and to extent their access to the market. Additionally, the lobby provided by informal cooperation is not limited to an economic impact but also has a social, political, and pedagogical effect on the people, their personality, and self-confidence<sup>75</sup>.

To sum up, the informal sector constitutes an enormous reserve army for the formal sector and the world market. In spite of the hierarchical organisation between world market, formal sector, and informal sector, it provides nevertheless an enormous labour absorption capacity, giving many people their means of survival and incorporating large numbers of migrants who come to Mumbai in search for work opportunities. Within the informal sector, the urban poor households develop survival strategies on their own. However, to achieve this, they need a right to stay in the city. To improve the living conditions in slums and the labour conditions in the informal sector requires changes in government policies. We therefore argue that squatters have to be legalised. As the government is not able to provide sufficient housing, it has to tolerate squatter settlements and immediately stop slum demolition. If people are constantly threatened that their houses might be destroyed the next day, stable economic strategies, and activities become almost impossible for them.

## **5. Forms of Capital and Ethnic Issues**

### **5.1 The Role of Economic, Human and Social Capital in the Urban Informal Sector**

Following the broadened terms of capital by Bourdieu (1983, 1985), Coleman (1987, 1988, 1990), Putnam (1993, Putnam/Goss 2001), Fukuyama (2000) following forms of capital, which in combination are strategic resources and are substitutable, can be distinguished: economic, human, and social capital. The accent in this section is supposed to lie on the latter mentioned, social capital. In economic sociology scholars discuss that lack of economic capital can be substituted by social capital. This discussion, however, overlooks that any capital investment only occurs, when risk involved is not too high. Therefore, we argue that the potentiality of social capital and social creativity can only unfold among slum dwellers (self-help), if a certain minimum of social security exists. Otherwise, they remain crippled. Any planning horizon is destroyed. People, who have no rights and security act passively. They only improve their living situation on their own, if they have secured their lives and that of their families.

#### **5.1.1 Economic Capital**

For the slum inhabitants, economic capital represents a very scarce resource. Economic capital constitutes money and is especially necessary for the institutionalisation in the form of owner permission. Economic capital in the small enterprises sector is generally limited and consists of privately owned capital and access to credits. Often the financial resources of the whole family, relatives, and friends are bundled to start economic activities. The use of those informal contacts to found, stabilise and enlarge economic activities belong to social capital, being important in 'survival strategies' of the households, because the embeddedness in the social network 'family' (or friends) may to some extent substitute the limit of economic capital and provides access to family based jobs. In slum economies, where we can find a lack of financial resources, informal possibilities of financing the business have to be bundled to

---

<sup>75</sup> cf. Singh 1996:20



secure the daily existence. In comparison to the formal sector in the informal sector, informal networks play a considerably more important role for the realisation of economic strategies, because people in the informal sector and in the embedded slum economies are much more strongly dependent on kinship and friendship aid. One result of the investigation in Mumbai's slums was that small enterprises often are started and founded from the outside. Some persons achieved a better social and economic status and attempt to consolidate and stabilise their business from other regions. On the other hand Indian or foreign entrepreneurs practice 'outsourcing' and in this way use the informal networks to decrease the costs of production and to save taxes. We distinguish between following forms of economic capital: the availability of means of production; a functioning infrastructure; the access to raw materials, the access to internal financing credits; and various possibilities of marketing.

### **5.1.2 Human Capital**

According to Bourdieu (1985) cultural capital can exist in three forms: in embodied state, that is, in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (i.e. pictures, instruments, and machines); and in institutionalised state, a form of objectification. It is a mistake to underestimate the role of cultural capital in the sphere of the informal sector. Cultural capital is an important issue, if one individual has a certain cultural competence (i.e. the capability to read among illiterates) or to have access to politicians. Out of this, extra-profits can result, i.e. by the possibilities to write petitions or get access to information.

Although in general, the level of education in the informal sector is low, we believe that a variety of cultural competencies among slum inhabitants exists. On the one hand, this is true if we recognise that the family and the family network in India fulfil comprehensive functions. Those take benefits from human or cultural capital, who got education in schools and jobs. Our interviews showed that families in slums are well aware of human capital. They are saving money to facilitate their children school education. That is one precondition to acquire knowledge in general and to have better chances in future, and this includes 'insurance' for the parents, when they get older and / or rich. Education in schools continues by non-formal training possibilities in the small firm sector, often in form of learning by practice and self-activity. People acquire informal knowledge by learning a job in the slum economies. Another possibility is that in certain firms, many employees have no informal knowledge, and necessary competences have to be learned even through unskilled labour. We conclude that people acquire competences in the informal sector by 'learning by doing', 'on-the-job-training,' and 'apprenticeship training'.

### **5.1.3 Social Capital**

In this context, we can only discuss of social capital in brief and refer to the so-called 'sociological classics' of social capital literature, Bourdieu, Coleman, and Fukuyama. We also focus on the American political scientist Robert Putnam. Nevertheless, before we draw attention on these four adherents of the discussion about social capital, we would like to stress that the term 'social capital' has already a long background history. Alexis de Tocqueville did not directly use the notion 'social capital', but he considered the role of social relationships, sympathy, community, and mutual benefit within the American society. In 1916, the progressive pedagogue and society reformer Lyda Hudson Hanifan mentioned the term 'social capital' for the first time. He used the term to describe "those tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people" (Hanifan 1916:130). Hanifan was particularly concerned with the cultivation of good wants, fellowship, sympathy, and social interaction among those that "make up a social unit" (Hanifan 1916:130). He underlines both the private and public benefit of social capital, the whole community takes profits of both the cooperation and mutual aid of their members and the individual has advantages in the form of help, sympathy

and the 'esprit de corps' through the others. Thus, skilful leadership to the general improvement of the community's welfare can use social capital. In the 1950th, the Canadian sociologist John Seeley used the notion of social capital to describe the career-based behaviour of inhabitants of suburbs. For Seeley their affiliation in clubs and associations represents a kind of 'negotiation mass' which they demand, transfer, or use as an additional potential.

The term social capital attained newer relevance through the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1983, 1985)<sup>76</sup>. Social capital can always arise and exist only due to social relationships. With that definition, Bourdieu refers, rather latently, to the ambivalent character of social capital, because social capital has not only positive aspects.

Coleman and Putnam point out that social capital can lead to both exclusion and delimitation and can have the character of a private and of a public good. In this sense, social capital can also be described as a delimitation feature between single groups of societies, because it can be both institutionalised and guaranteed, by the incorporation of a common name, the affiliation to a distinctive family, and a class. In other words: That social capital is a matter of 'relationships' implies the logic of inclusion and exclusion. For any given social network, some individuals are included while others are excluded. On the one hand, the structure of inclusion/exclusion is a prerequisite for a powerful and simple form of governance based on self-enforcing contracts. On the other hand, if entry into a social network is of constrained either because inclusion is conditional on the possession of a non-acquirable social attribute or because inclusion requires costly activities (excluding social capital), then the scale and scope of possible exchanges are reduced.

Both exclusion and delimitation of the 'others' is also meaning that the members of a group who use forms of social capital have stabilised functions for contacts among each other in order to maintain social capital. Thus, the benefits, which result from an affiliation to a group, are at the same time the basis for the solidarity, which these profits facilitate. The precondition of social capital is the interaction of individuals, who establish a connection network in certain time and appoint themselves on this<sup>77</sup>. According to Putnam and Goss (2000) in that definition we can find a basic distinction to physical capital, because "physical capital exists, when material is changed and tools are created which facilitates the production, so human capital is created when persons are changed so that they attain skills and abilities that allow them to act" (Putnam/Goss 2000:341).

Thus social capital arises, if the relationships between persons change in that manner, that certain actions are facilitated and become less concrete, because it is embodied through the relationships between persons.

James Coleman defines 'social capital' by its functions<sup>78</sup>. For Coleman social capital is not completely fungible, but may be specific to certain activities. On the one hand, a given form

---

<sup>76</sup> Bourdieu defines social capital as follows: "Social Capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition-or in other words, to membership in a group-which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' that entitles them to credit in the various senses of the word (...) These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges that help to maintain them." (Bourdieu 1985:55)

<sup>77</sup> "The existence of a network of connections is not a natural given, or even a social given, constituted once and for all by an initial act of institution, represented, in the case of the family group, by the genealogical definition of kinship relations, which is the characteristic of a social formation. It is the product of an endless effort of institutions, of which institutions rites - often wrongly described as rites of package- mark the essential moments, and is necessary in order to produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits." (Bourdieu 1985:56)

<sup>78</sup> "It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspects of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors, whether persons or corporate

of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or harmful for others. In contradiction to other forms of capital, Coleman mentions that social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors; it is not lodged either in the actors themselves or in physical implements of production (Coleman 1988:98).

Coleman's understanding of social capital is similar to Francis Fukuyama's (2000), because both include the aspect of trust in their theoretical considerations. One person does something for another and in this way trust in this person, that this person will produce a special service in future. Therefore, an obligation is created, which should be justified in future. Two central elements are important in Coleman's social capital theory. On the one hand, the measure of the trustworthiness in the social environment, which means that obligations will be redeemed; and on the other hand a system of the mutual confidence or trust.

Exactly here is the starting point for Fukuyama's considerations of social capital. He defines social capital as an important part of "informal values and norms which share all members of the group and which make possible the cooperation between the members of the group. If the members of the group assume that the 'others' behave honestly and dependably, then they will trust in each other. Trust works as a lubricant, which makes efficiently the work of every group or organisation" (Fukuyama 2000:32). Fukuyama notes that only the fact that common values and norms exist, yet not produce any social capital, because it can be also wrong values. For Fukuyama, norms which 'social capital' produce, are such virtues, which follow the Weberian argumentation of 'Puritanism'. Nevertheless, also these virtues are in a relationship to the notion of trust, because „all societies have a certain existence at social capital, the relevant differences are in the ‚radius of trust“" (Fukuyama 2000:33). Here we are not in line with Fukuyama. We suggest that social capital, as much is nether good or bad. It can be and in both ways and is not limited to any ethical considerations.

The last important adherent to the social capital theory is the American political scientist Robert D. Putnam. His studies are subjected to theoretical political concepts and methods; however, he is also focusing on the role of trust in political systems, if a certain degree of social capital is available. „Trust is the 'lubricant' of the social life. Putnam argues that if economical and political actions are embedded into dense networks of social communication, the stimuli for opportunism and 'wrong behaviour' are reduced." (Putnam/Goss 2002:22) In Putnam's social capital theory is central that social networks cause effects, because they produce external effects. „Social networks and the mutuality contiguous norms can be designate as 'social capital', because they - as like physical and human capital (outfit and training) - draw both individual and collective value and it is possible to invest in these networks" (Putnam/Goss 2002:22). Like Fukuyama, Putnam refers to the importance of networking to generate and reproduce social capital. Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the capacities of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals, social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that, sense social capital is closely related to what some have called 'civic virtue'. The difference is that 'social capital calls attention to the fact that 'civic virtue' is most powerful when it is embedded in a network of reciprocal social relations. Putnam notes that a society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital. For Putnam two empirical presumptions underlie the concept of social capital: networks and norms are empirically related to each other. Social capital facilitates coordination and cooperation for the mutual benefit of the members of the association.

---

actors, within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible." (Coleman 1988:98)

Of course, it is not possible to get deep into the contemporary sociological debate on 'ethnic identity' or 'ethnicity' (since Frederic Barth 1964). But, we should shortly outline the identity/ethnicity-category we underlying this project. For us, identity refers to the affiliation to groups, which is determined, of the respective members of the ethnic group are characterised as relevantly and/or significantly interpreted qualities. In this context, the term 'ethnicity' in this framework plays a central role to clarify the legal, social, and economic conditions of slum inhabitants. Schlee and Werner (1996) understand ethnicity as a complex set of differences that includes the practice of its reproduction by different actors and target of strategic aspects. Barth notes that ethnicity does not express itself in the centre of an ethnic area, in the ethnically most homogeneous area, but at the boundary, in the quarrel with other ethnicities. Ethnicity is an outcome of difference. Linguistic boundaries play an important role and they work according to the emphasised features of ethnicity. We agree with Koeßler and Schiel (1994:2) that ethnicity is not an essential part of a group (the primordial view), but in a process of corresponding development of consciousness. Such an approach of ethnicity is described as 'constructivist'. The consequence is, that the bases of ethnicity are special cultural features, which are under the given circumstances ethnomethodologically insignificant (Koeßler/Schiel 1994:4). Another result is that only in situations, in which 'communality' and / or special feature in delimitation to 'others' are described as meaningfully that they can be made usable as socially relevant markers and distinction features. Only then can 'ethnicity' arise. Thus, identity necessitates an avowal to a group, and at the same time the delimitation from another group. Ethnicity therefore seems to be simultaneously an identifying and differentiating factor and can effect both inclusion and exclusion. Thus, ethnicity has an ambivalent character. Constructivist approaches of ethnicity emphasise that ethnicity only is relevant and conscious, if difference exists and people struggle for resources.

#### **5.1.4 The Role of Social Capital in Slums**

In the examined slums of Mumbai, research brought different results related to the aspects of ethnic segmentation. Dharavi, in spite of some religious and ethnic conflicts during the last 15 years, is a perfect example for a multi-ethnic slum, because here people of different ethnic origin have settled. However, because of the riots ethnic separation occurred along the streets<sup>79</sup>. Economic activities are very often shaped by ethnic factors. In Dharavi, small enterprises in the informal sector consisting of persons of different ethnic origin. This shows that pure ethnic and / or religious patterns may to some extent cripple economic activity, although this is no general rule. Ethnicity, religion, same place of origin or language groups are all identity makers that may support but also cripple economic activities, depending on situation and framework.

We also presume an approach, which is related to the topic of 'social security'. We argue that such homogeneous structures and networks constitute a 'self created security'. Slum economies are mostly recruiting people from the same ethnic and / or religious origin, and defend their interests against the outside through a self-created 'protective coat'. Religious organisation in slums through which both religious practices and social interlacing are increasing, support this mechanism. We argue that we can find a social divide and a spatial separation between those ethnic groups, where social polarisations and conflicts cross with transnational and local cultural reference points.

If we consider our findings with regard to social capital, we come to the following conclusions. With the notion of social capital those resources are meant, which are based on the affiliation to a group. In this affiliation, we can find the mechanisms of inclusion and

---

<sup>79</sup> The riots were the product of the smouldering Hindu-Muslim conflict.

exclusion, because to be included, means access to the capital, which individual group members have. Inclusion therefore means a certain kind of security, for an individual, but also for the whole group. According to Bourdieu, social capital relationships in practice can only exist because of physical and/or symbolic exchange relationships to whose stabilisation and consolidation they are contributing. The extent of social capital of an individual depends on both, the extension of his network relationships, and on the extent of economic, cultural or symbolic capital, which can be raised via the network. Profits, which result from the affiliation to a group, are at the same time the basis for the solidarity that facilitates these profits. The most important basis to stabilise and consolidate social capital in slum economies are the F-connections (Yoram Ben-Porath 1986) (family- and friends-connections)<sup>80</sup>. These are characterised by a high degree of trust and solidarity. Slum inhabitants often know each other and produce an 'organic solidarity' (Durkheim).

According to Bourdieu (1983, 1985) the existence of such a relationship network is neither a natural or social fact, but the product of individual or collective corporate strategies of investments (in a social sense), which manifest or latent focus on the creation and consolidation of social relationships and later promise benefits. Through mutual recognition and aid, solidarity, and group membership the network is reproduced continuously and is confirmed in its boundaries. Networks are a result of action, which makes it possible for the actors to reach certain aims or purposes (Coleman 1988). According to Goetze (2002:183f.) we distinguish between the following networks:

1. Networks of social protection: (family, kinship systems, family alliances, localised neighbourhoods, generation and age classes, friendship relationships, and their role to establish and consolidate of obligations referring to mutual aid and the social functions
2. Associations with a 'new character' that have their task on a regional, religious, or ethnic level, to guarantee the obligations to mutual aid
3. Private educational and societal associations, which guarantee security in exchange with locality
4. Saving-associations
5. Self-help groups, in connection with development projects that make possible the access to social infrastructure services or credits.

## **6. Social Security Mechanisms in India**

### **6.1 Family vs. Individual Life Planning**

We put our general interest to the question of how women and children live and survive in Dharavi. Furthermore, we concentrated on the problem of social protection of women and children in this area. Because of the fact that the majority of the Indian population both lives in a traditional way and by farming as well as by agriculture in urban areas, the first question is how this traditional social structure is constituted. The answer to this lies in the caste system from which the people adopt their rules of behaviour or norms<sup>81</sup>.

We put our emphases on families and their everyday lives in slums. We know that the topic of caste cross-cuts our issue because in general social and economical disadvantages correlated

---

<sup>80</sup> Ben-Porath calls also firms as one part of the F-connections.

<sup>81</sup> Belonging to a special caste is predicted by birth and caste endogamy. Linked to each caste are caste occupations. Caste hierarchy is closely related to ritual purity and therefore the forms and possibilities of interaction between castes are underlying rules. Caste therefore characterises certain rules of conduct, a place in a hierarchy, and a complex division of labour in India. Every caste is underlying norms and rules to stabilise, and to manifest the identity of each group and to integrate each group as a unit. Besides the family, caste is the major identity marker in rural life and in social structure, and it affects the urban life as well.

to each other. Many families in slums make their living by self-employment. Traditionally the children of a family at a very young age are integrated into the work life of their own family or doing service jobs or salaried employment to support the family income. These children lose their innocent childhood very soon.

Although these children are often abused and paid very little for their work, they nevertheless support the family even in such a way that they get the nutrition from another household. As a result, children get only basic education and learn to work for survival at a very young age. That means the economic circumstances force children to work in whatever way but these children have no chance to choose any alternative option<sup>82</sup>.

Many other children live in the streets because they have left their homes and parents for a number of reasons. These children have to make a living on their own because otherwise they would not survive. Though suffering from the health situation of the street life they learn to arrange with it and master their situation somehow. Typical jobs they do are cleaning of cars and motorbikes, selling water, sweets, newspapers, clothes, or flowers, collecting rubbish, begging and stealing. Because these children are getting along without any security, some dubious men or dealer who put them into children's work camps, under inhuman conditions and for their own profit, often catches them. It is very difficult for the children to get out of this vicious circle. These children grow up in a physically, mentally, and sexually violent environment. They have no rights at all and experience harassment by their employer. No one cares about them and no one feels responsible for them. As a result, children who are affected by any kind of violence have no trust in police or court and therefore they cannot develop respect to any authority of the state<sup>83</sup>.

Apart from children, Indian women have an economically and socially inferior position although they are to be treated equal to men by law. Actually, they do not have the right for equal education or equal payment. Both caste and religion reproduce gender inequality. Manu code says that a woman has to serve a man a lifetime. At first, a woman has to serve her father, then when she marries her husband and his family and after that his son. Furthermore, when getting married the father of the girl dowry to the family of the groom.

Very often, the women's family runs into financial ruin when arranging marriages for their daughters. Abortion of female babies is nowadays a way of coping with marriage rules. Divorces are legally possible but socially not acceptable. While a girl is seen as a bad fortune, a boy on the other hand is something that every married couple wants to achieve. It is not only prestigious but economically advantageous. If a family has boys or daughters this may result in unequal nourishment or in case of marriage, of daughter in law<sup>84</sup>. Therefore, that is what is meant with serving the man. Compared to men women die at a younger age because in addition to giving birth to as many children as possible she has to do the whole housework that means a higher level of stress for them. All of these reasons lead to an enormous social and economic pressure, which sometimes forces such women to commit suicide, if wives do not function as they are supposed to they will be banned by their husband and his family<sup>85</sup>. For such women there is a lack of security, once they left their families or families-in-law.

Referring to this social background, we argue that in India the family network is a guarantor for social security. To the social network of a family also belong the neighbourhood and relatives. If there is a collapse of this family network, women and children are particularly vulnerable in making a living. What is already hard for men is much work for women and children. In a society lacking public social security systems the social network of a family

---

<sup>82</sup> cf. Source in: <http://www.kamat.com/jyotsna/blog/blog.php?date=10/12/2002>

<sup>83</sup> cf. <http://www.skcv.com/street%20children%20in%20india.htm>

<sup>84</sup> cf. Sen 1999; Chambers 1995

<sup>85</sup> (see: <http://www.hope-international.org/Entwicklunghilfe/Spende/projektindia/benacht1.html>, <http://destination-asien.de/indien/frauen.htm>, 07.09.2004)

provides the bases for security in addition to neighbours, relatives and patron – client relationship. Our main issue was how social security of women and children once looks like and what will happen to women and children the social network collapses. We took qualitative interviews from women and made observations.

## **6.2 Categorisation of Investigated Families**

We investigated three families in slums of Mumbai. We consider to the following issues: family members, living situation, budget (income, expense, and savings), upbringing, and education of children members.

The members of the first interviewed family are Samanti, Chandort and Aisha X. Chandort is Aisha's husband and they have seven children. Samanti is the unmarried sister of Aisha. The flat of this family has a separate living room, a separate kitchen, an extra bathroom, and a private toilet that is rather an exception for people in Dharavi. The walls of the living room are decorated with photographs of family members. This family has been living in this area for about 16 years. They are living on the ground floor of an apartment building that consists of three stores. This house is an outcome of a "slum rebuilding program". All members of the family participate in making the money that is needed for living. Samanti works as a cleaner in a hospital. It is the same hospital where Aisha works as a nurse. The husband works in a cabin crew. Because of his job he is often absent from home and Samanti helps Aisha taking care of the children. One child has finished school while another one is still at school. The other children are too young to go to school. The average income of this family is about 5,000 Rupees a month. These are about 100 Euro. They have to spend 800 Rupees a month for the rent. The mother is able to save 1,500 Rupees for retirement. Furthermore, the mother pays 2,500 Rupees a month for the school education of her eldest son. Therefore, she has taken a bank loan and now she has to pay back the amount of 2500 Rupees a month. All in all the costs concerning the education of her eldest son are about 100,000 Rupees. Besides, in addition to this, these monthly expenditure she signed a live insurance. After all expenses, the family is able to spend 200 Rupees. Because of the financial situation and the kinds of expenditures of this family, we can assume that this family is very much willing to give their children the best education they can afford. They consider their children as their financial supporters in the future. Therefore, children are a very important figure in their family system.

Furthermore, the husband educates the children who are too young to go to school. Having himself been educated a fundamental education of the children is the primary task in this family. This family is aware of the importance of a good education of their children because they are able to get a better job and to earn money. In Dharavi, it is very hard to get a well paid job without an education.

The second interviewed family lives about 100 meters away across the street in a non-rehabilitated area of Dharavi. We chose this to have a direct comparison between the living conditions of families living in a rehabilitated area and a non – rehabilitated one in an immedicable neighbourhood. The social and interior family differences between the first and the second family can't be greater.

The second family consists of the mother Sevana, her husband, and their three children. Two of them are boys at the age of eight and ten, and a baby girl. The father's parents live next to them in an extra accommodation, but they depend on the income of their son. The living situation is different from that of the first family. They live in a kind of hut made of stone and corrugated steel. The hut is built on bare ground and in this area; one hut is built next to other to accommodate as many people as possible. The basic size is about 3 x 3 meters and it is

about 2,50 meters in height. The kitchen, bathroom, and living room are integrated in this small area of the hut. The public toilets are to be found outside within a ten minutes walk. Therefore, the rest of the everyday life happens within about nine square meters. The kitchen is nothing more than a cooking place, which consists of two separate kerosene filled burners. If they need water, the mother has to go to a public tap where water is available between 4.00 and 8.00 in the morning only. Therefore, the mother has to calculate the amount of water she needs for cooking and washing. To avoid illness she has to boil the water for drinking.

The hut itself contains many things like cups, plates, textiles and a TV set, which is out of order. It is all placed around the bed that is about 90 x 200 cm in size. People sleep in and under the bed. In the evening and early morning they switch on the neon light. The monthly income is about 2500 Rupees per month and is earned only who works by the father as a delivery assistant. The mother takes care of raising children. This is a typical way of family organisation. In this family, the expenses are decided and paid by the father only and are distributed in a different way compared to the first family. The monthly rent is about 30 Rupees. The expenses for school education for the children amount to 350 Rupees a month. They attend a private school and learn English. Furthermore, the father spends about 200- 250 Rupees per month for the electricity bill. The kerosene is rationed and provided by the state. That means that every family gets about 10 litres a month for free. 30-40 Rupees the husband needs for work. The mother gets the money from her husband that she needs for the care taking of the children.

As it is obvious there is not enough money left for saving because it is all spent for the education of the children, the needs of the grandparents and all the bills the father has to pay. Whenever there is money needed for medical care or school material a credit has to be taken and repaid later on. The largest portion of money is spent for education that constitutes again the most important aim? From 7.00 to 12.00 in the morning the children attend school that is about a 14 minutes walk away. Therefore, they have to get up very early and go to school on their own because their father is at work and their mother has to fetch the water portion. During the interview, the mother emphasised that education has a high priority. Without the father earning the money and her care, taking the education of their children would be impossible. If it were necessary, she would starve away to save money and to give her children a fundamental education. This situation of scarcity of money really demonstrates where the family puts the emphasis and we argue that in this case study education is almost a more important task than in the first family because the second family has very limited financial resource.

We argue that the children in this family are a kind of life insurance for the parents of all age. One day the father will be too old to do a job. If the children do not find a job and earn money then the parents will have to go begging or starve of hunger. Therefore, in this case the children are almost more important than in the family before. The generations depend on each other. As mentioned at the beginning of this family portrait the father provides money and food for three generations. In addition, his children supposed to provide money and food for the older and younger generation in the family one day. The family is not just a small social unit; it is the easiest insurance mechanism when a public social security system is absent.

The third case study is an interview with a woman who is working in a food-manufacturing unit. The food is called 'Masala' and sold in the Indian market. This production unit is situated in a courtyard which consists of about 10 – 15 huts built in a square. The women we interviewed were the only one who was willing to give us detailed information about her family and the financial situation they have to cope with. The manufacturing itself takes place outside the huts. The women kneel down on the ground making Masala and preparing it for sale. There are other manufacturing units in the courtyard to which access to information did not work. There were several men surrounding us being curious about what we ask the



women. Therefore, the situation was not very relaxed. Our Indian counterpart advised us to be careful about what to ask. Because of the tensed interview situation, we decided not to try to inspect the huts so that we cannot describe the living conditions. We therefore concentrate on the working place instead.

The first woman, Shindra, is at the age of 25, married and mother of two children a boy and a girl. She earns about 50-80 Rupees a day depending on the quality produced. Later on, she said that every woman in the workplace earns about the same amount of money. The work they do is to roll out dough very flat and then pack it. They get about 16 Rupees per kilogram. One piece of this rolled out dough is about one or two millimetres thin. So one piece weighs not very much and they have to prepare a lot of this food to make a living. She told us that she makes about 3-5 kilograms of this flat dough to get her money. Her husband works in a leather-manufacturing unit but we did not get further information about her husband. The girl is five years old and goes to a kind of nursery school for poor working people. The 10-year-old son attends the school. The mother sometimes is able to save about 10 Rupees a day that she spends in case of illness or puts aside for crises. She works from 9.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. and after finishing work, she has to do the entire housework. When we ask her about her attitude towards education, she said that she considers education as not important for their children. She rather sends them to work. She also said that the community supports such decisions and helps the children to get work. She sees no connection between education and employment. This attitude is opposite to the families before.

They have the same aim to find employment for their children but they have different opinions about the kind of jobs and how to achieve this. This woman considers her family as part of the community and has no intention the change the living conditions of the children. As every member in this courtyard, they will later do the same job. Not only the family but also the neighbourhood in this courtyard seem to provide security for each other. This attitude of the woman provides a typical vicious cycle of poverty. There is no intention to change their living conditions. We where, however, glad to hear that there are people in the courtyard who think differently as the following interview with a woman demonstrates. Our information is limited because the woman was very shy.

That woman is married, too. She is also a mother of a girl and a boy at the age of eight and seven. Her husband earns money by making shoes. The man earns about 3,000 Rupees a month. She herself earns about 50-80 Rupees a month as explained before. This family is able to save about 200-300 Rupees a month. They send their children to a school. We found out that this family saves and spends most of the money for the education of their children. The woman considers education as very important because she feels that she and her husband may depend on their children's income some day. It is like the case we have investigated in the second family.

The size and the material of a house are the main indications for a family's social situation<sup>86</sup>. There is of course a social difference between families living in a habilitated area to families living in habilitated areas. It depends on the family budget. It is necessary to look at the budget firmly and then compare with the living situation. Like Neelson we experienced the situation described above when doing the interviews in this families<sup>87</sup>.

---

<sup>86</sup> cf. Neelsen 1976:168f.

<sup>87</sup> The budget is the income of the whole family no matter if it is agriculture, selling or from a contract-based working ship (cf. Neelson 1976:173f.)

### **6.3 The Situation of Women and Children in Families**

The family is the smallest social unit, so without the functioning of the family the older and younger generations would be without shelter and money. The suppression of women and the emancipation of women are two oppositions, which form the everyday life of women in India. Within these two contexts, women appear as both “victims” and “fighters” (Wicherich 1986, 8). Besides caring for the family and doing, the duties in their household women are involved in earning money. Women often work with their bare hands and for a very small amount of money. Although there is modernisation in production, the invisible gap between men and women concerning their duties, incomes, and burdens, and rights to decide increases.

In addition, the exploitation of this manpower, women also experience violence and sexual harassment. The phenomenon of pressure on women is not only found in work life. If women do not just bear the situation, they might find help in residences for women in distress. When arriving in such residence many of them are suffering from diseases, being raped, abused or being pregnant. The residence that we visited was lead by nurses. They care about these women by giving those medical and psychological help or just something to eat and a secure place to sleep. If those women are pregnant, they may give birth to their child in these hospitals. The residences also look after the children when these women go to work again.

Unfortunately, such organisations have to manage their own surviving. They do not get any support from the state. This situation forces the nurses to live from donations or asking the women to pay some money for staying. The following paragraph will contain a detailed story of a woman who has to deal with such situation.

### **6.4 Individual Life Planning as Social Security**

*„To stay alone in Bombay is difficult. “*

In this paragraph we provide results of an expert interview with a sister who is working in a women’s residence or, in her own words, a “home for women in distress”. We consider this interview as an interview with an expert because this sister has been working in this organisation for quite long time. She shared her experiences with us. The following life story outlines the problems and circumstances the women and children have experienced when coming to this place. The women’s residence was founded in 1994. The sister has been working there for a couple of months on a voluntary basis and does not get any payment. Four sisters are working in this place. Two sisters already came two years ago. The home is a kind of island of hope and security for the women and children to escape their problems at home or in their working place: problems with the husband, physical problems, suffering from diseases like AIDS or pregnancy without being married, rape and abuse. Their families do not provide them a backing anymore, and they can no longer manage the situation on their own. In addition, the neighbourhood does not give them support.

Unfortunately, the capacity of the residence is limited and it is very hard to enlarge it due to financial restrictions. Donations are limited. For this reason, the sisters are able to give temporary shelter only. This means a maximum stay is three months. Sometimes women may stay longer if their situation is too difficult to provide help within three months. During their stay the women get psychological and medical help and are encouraged to find jobs. They shall find their own identity again and make it through life without help. Therefore, the sisters do not only offer psychological and medical help but also support women in organising their

lives and counselling them in any situation even in the question of women rights or bureaucracy.

Fortunately, a sister is a lawyer and offers legal help when needed. However, most women are afraid to take such stays and talk about their problems because they feel ashamed being in such a life situation. Sometimes when women come to this place, they do not tell the truth about what happened because they are afraid of not being accepted by the sisters. Often these women start talking about their real situation when already living in the residence and when having got trust to the sisters. The majority of the women have neither money nor enough clothes to wear when arriving at the residence.

In addition, for women and older girls, the sisters support eighteen children below the age of six, who are too young to attend school. A sister teaches them how to read and write. She spends about one to two hours a day preparing the children for school. Women who found employment and left the residence sometimes come to visit the sisters and talk about their new lives, give them at least a little bit of money, celebrate Christmas with them or have hours of praying together. Unfortunately, there are problems that are not solved. Demand for shelter in the residence is higher than the places available. For that reason, the sisters have to decide whom take. Those women who are rejected are going to be sent to another residence or to hospital depending on the situation. The sisters often provide women a stay when there are no relatives to look after them, when women are mentally ill and are endangered of suicide.

Therefore, the meaning of such a residence for women in distress is obvious. It is an anchor in a rough sea – a place where they went to take rest, get them strength again, and find a new will to live. They know about the residence from other residences, from police or court. Sometimes the sisters who go around collecting donation for those who are in need of help and they take them to the residence. After finding a job, the women are willing to pay at least some money because they are very thankful. Money is needed for buying food or clothes. With the help of the sisters the women are able to rest for a while, find shelter and help, get self confidence and power to organise their lives on their own, find a job, settle somewhere outside the residence and start an independent life.

The most important aim is to build a connection to the women, to reach their minds and souls to make them trust her and her colleagues. That is the key of being successful in this charitable job. What sounds easy is very hard work and needs patience because the women who come have lost trust in anyone and even in themselves. So breaking this barrier is the most difficult thing. It is the balance between giving shelter and pushing the women slightly to change their lives what makes the work difficult.

*„I would like to go back home, but I don't have anything in my hand.”*

We met the girl in the residence and were allowed to interview her assisted by the sister. We transcribed that interview, but here a summary should be enough. The girl's destiny is very moving. It reflects life of young women in poor conditions in Mumbai. The sister chose the girl to be interviewed and she helped us by translating the girl's utterances and answers to our questions. When the girl entered the room, we were a bit shocked seeing a very thin little girl with empty looking eyes and a very shy behaviour. Both hands were bandaged which indicates that this girl must have gone through very hard times. The sister explained that the girl is a victim of domestic service. Her family who consists of her father, mother, three younger sisters and one brother lives in Assam which is located a four day trip away from Mumbai. The girl said that her family is very poor and that is why they were forced to sell her to another family to make a living as a domestic worker. That means that she does the entire housework like cooking, ironing, cleaning and preparing meals for this family. So she came to Mumbai because she thought it is easier to find a job in a big city. We asked the girl for what reason she came to the residence. She talked in a very quite voice.

One day, she said, after finishing housework she decided to wash her and go to bed. The woman she worked for said that she had not finished the whole work. The girl was much tired and told her that she would rather go to sleep because she was working the whole day. For this reason, the women began to beat her up every day. One night the girl decided to escape from this family because she could not handle the situation any more. She tried to climb from the balcony. Unfortunately, a security guard who considered her to be a thief and put the alarm on caught her. She got very afraid, slipped, and fell off the balcony. Because of that she broke both of her hands. She came to hospital where she got both hands in plaster and was sent back to this family. The woman she worked for forced her to put the plaster off and to continue working with broken hands. The girl did so because she was afraid to get beaten up again. She worked with pain.

Of course, the girl could not handle this situation and asked another woman for help. Therefore, she got the address of this residence. The sisters immediately took her to hospital where she got her hands in plaster again. Still today, the girl suffers from this accident. She is not able to carry heavy things and work properly. So her new job is to baby-sit for families where both parents work and do not manage to look after their children.

When asking about her situation today the girl nodded to answer because she felt ashamed about what she just told us. She thought it was her mistake. So the sister continued reporting. She said that the girl feels very happy to be in this place.

The girl never attended a school, which means that her future perspectives are very low. The girl said she has no money that she needs to build on her future. The only thing she wants is to go back to her family and therefore she needs money to pay the ticket for the train to Assam. She also said that she has to work for at least one year to earn the amount of money. She has no idea what to do in the future then. So for her the residence is a place to think over her situation, a secure home to get self confidence again.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

Within the social system of a functionary, family having a sufficient income for survival wives and their children are safe and secure. However, it is getting very difficult for them if for any reason the social network of the family does not protect them anymore. In many cases, even relatives and neighbours are not people to support them when being self – responsible because they do not accept a lonely adult woman and she is made responsible for her destiny. As long as they fit into the role of women, wives, and moms, they deserve the security of the family. If they do not then they are forced to leave their homes on their own because they experience violence. In whatever case the women have no one to turn to but organisations like homes for women in distress.

It is similar to what happens to children in this situation. They have to deal with abuse when living on the streets. Some of them were sold by their poor families to work in other families or just sent away. The only place for them to stay is other families where they do domestic work. Sure, in many cases they find some security in their places. In other cases, they are treated like slaves so that they run away. If they are lucky they might be taken to an organisation where they are helped. If the social network of a family or the security network in a household as a servant collapses such organisation as residences may at least temporarily provide some security. It is very hard for divorced women or single mothers to manage life on their own. There is only a very small chance to re – organise their lives as an individual. Additionally there is no help from government at all.

Therefore, for those who are not getting help by charity organisations there is no other way than trying to survive in the streets without any protection and many of them prefer suicide or

they only can stand it by taking drugs or they prostitute themselves to make a living. Charity organisations like the one we visited are a helping hand in such situation but cannot guarantee a successful integration into life. Nevertheless, most of the women and children are mentally weak when arriving. Therefore, it often takes more than three months to help and release them. Because of the financial dependence from donations, this organisation is not able to reach out for the masses of vulnerable women and children. That is why the sisters provide temporary shelter only. They want to help as many women as possible.

Another problem is that woman and children are often not able to manage their lives. They often have to go back to these organisations because they have no other place to go. Also in such cases, the vicious cycle is closed. They come from a microsocial environment like their families (where they cannot live any more or are not accepted any more) to a place where help and support are provided, and when leaving they enter a macrosocial environment in which it is even harder to be accepted. Therefore, the caste system and traditional family system do not allow single or divorced women to be independent both economically and socially. Laws and a public security system may help to overcome rigid tradition, norms and expectations to make a living without being an appendix to their families.

## 7. References

- Alchian, A. and Demsetz, H.** 1973 'The Property Rights Paradigm', *Journal of Economic History* XXXIII(1): 16-27.
- Almas, R., Lawrence, G.** 2003 'Introduction: The Global/Local Problematic', in: Almas, Reidar / Lawrence, Geoffrey (ed.): *Globalization, localization and sustainable livelihoods*, Ashgate: Wiltshire, pp. 3-24
- Angotti, T.** 1991 'Metropolis 2000. Planning, Poverty and Politics', London: Routledge
- Appadurai, A.** 2002 'Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics', *Public Culture* 14(1): 21-48.
- Banerjee-Guha, S.** 1997 'Spatial Dynamics of International Capital', Hyderabad: Orient Longman.
- 1998 'Ideology of Urban Restructuring in Mumbai: Serving the International Capitalist Agenda', Vol. 2004.
- Bank, W.** 1993 'Housing: Enabling Markets to Work. A World Bank Policy Paper', Washington D.C.
- Barth, F.** 1964 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries', New York: Monthly
- Ben-Porath, Y.** 1986 'The F-Connection': Families, Friends, and Firms and the Organization of Exchange, *Population Development Review* 6, pp. 1-30
- Benda-Beckmann, F. a. K. v.** 2000 'Coping with insecurity', in F. a. K. v. Benda-Beckmann (ed) *Coping with Insecurity: An "underall" perspective on social security in the Third World* (2nd ed.), Celeban Timur: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Benda-Beckmann, F. v.** 1995 'Anthropological Approaches to Property Law and Economics', *European Journal of Law and Economics* 2: 309-336.
- Berner, E.** 1995 'A Place to Live in the City of Man'. Localities and the Struggle for urban Land in Metro Manila. Ph.D. - Dissertation, Faculty of Sociology, University of Bielefeld
- Berner, E.** 1996 'Legalizing Squatters, Excluding the Poorest Urban Land Transfer Programs in the Philippines' Working Paper No. 257, University of Bielefeld: Sociology of Development Research Centre
- Berner, E.** 2000 'Poverty Alleviation and the Eviction of the Poorest': Towards Urban Land Reform in the Philippines, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24 (2000), 3.

- Berner, E., Korff, R. 1995** 'Globalisation and Local Resistance', in: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 18, No. 2
- Bhosale, B. V. 2003** 'Charmakers in Transition', Mumbai
- Bhowmik, S. K. 2001** 'Street vendors in the Urban Informal Sector': A Study of Street Vendors in Six Cities, National Alliance of Street Vendors of India (mimeo). Available on the websites: [www.nasvi.com](http://www.nasvi.com) and [www.streetnet.com.za](http://www.streetnet.com.za)
- Bhowmik, S. K., Nitin, M. 2001** 'Coping with Urban Poverty': Ex-textile Mill Workers in Central Mumbai, Economic and Political Weekly (Review of Labour), 36(52), December.
- Bhowmik, S. K. 2004** 'Politics of Urban Space in Mumbai: 'Citizens' Versus the Urban Poor. Working Paper No. 27', Magdeburg: ISOZ.
- Boeke 1953** 'Economics and Economic policy of Dual Societies as Exemplified in Indonesia', New York: Institute of Pacific Relations
- Bourdieu, P. 1983** 'Sozialer Sinn' Kritik der theoretischen Vernunft, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp
- Bourdieu, P. 1985** 'The Forms of Capital', in: Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education, (1986), p. 241-260
- Breman, J. (ed) 1999** 'The Study of Labor in Post-Colonial India'. The informal sector: A concluding review, Vol. Contributions to Indian Sociology. Occasional Studies 9, New Delhi: Sage.
- Brennan, E. 1999** 'Population, Urbanization, Environment and Security: A Summary of the Issues. USAID, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Paper No. 22, Washington D.C.' Vol. 2004.
- Burne, S. 2001** 'How can the informal sector liberate the poor?', in: Kumar, Basanta et. Al. (Hg.): The informal sector in developing countries, Jaipur, S.1-7
- Carpenter, J. P., Daniere, A. G. and Takhasi, L. M. 2003** 'Cooperation, Trust and Social Capital in Southeast Asian Urban Slums. Preprint Submitted to Elsevier Science'.
- Castells, M. 1991** 'The Informational City'. Information Technologies, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process, Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
- Chambers, R. 1986** 'Rural Development. Putting the Last First' (repr), Harlow, Essex: Longman.
- **1995** 'Poverty and Livelihoods: Whose Reality Counts', Environment and Urbanisation 7(1): 173-204.
- Chandran 2005**: 'Thousand homeless as Bombay razes slums for roads', Mumbai-Times, 05.01.05
- Chatterji, R. n.d.** 'Plans, Habitation and Slum-Redevelopment: The Production of Community in Dharavi, Mumbai. Unpublished Paper'.
- Coleman, J. 1987** 'Norms as Social Capital', in G. Radnitzky and P. Bernhold (eds) Economic Imperialism - The Economic Method Applied Outside the Field of Economics, New York: Peragon.
- Coleman, J. 1988** 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', American Journal of Sociology 4, pp. 95-120
- Coleman, J. 1990** 'Foundations of Social Theory', The Belknap Press, Cambridge, Mass. und London
- Clemens, J. 1997** 'Wirtschaftskraft und Slums. Bombay'. Polarisierung in Indiens größter Stadt, in: Der Bürger im Staat, H. 2/97 (Großstädte), in [http://www.lpb.bwue.de/aktuell/bis/2\\_97/bis972j.htm](http://www.lpb.bwue.de/aktuell/bis/2_97/bis972j.htm)
- CRD 1997** 'Socio-Economic Review of Brihan Mumbai 1996-1997', Mumbai: Centre for Research and Development (Commissioned by Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Maharashtra).
- Dalton, G. (ed) 1967** Tribal and Peasant Economies, Austin, London: Texas University Press.
- Desai, V. 1995** 'Community Participation and Slum Housing': A Study of Bombay, Delhi: Sage.

- Duraisamy, P. and Narasimham, S. 1997** 'Wage Differentials between Migrants and Non-Migrants and Discrimination in Urban Informal Sector in India', *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 40(2): 223-235.
- Eger, T. 1998** 'Private und öffentliche Eigentumsrechte aus ökonomischer Sicht', in G. Nutzinger (ed) *Eigentumsrechte verpflichten: Individuum, Gesellschaft und die Institution Eigentum*, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp.
- Elwert, G., Evers, H.-D. and Wilkens, W. 1983** 'Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Kombinierte Produktionsformen im sogenannten informellen Sektor', *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 12(4): 281-296.
- Evers, H.-D. 1984** 'Population, Urbanisation, Ethnicity and Class in Southeast Asian Cities', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 8: 481-496.
- Evers, H.-D. 1997** 'Entwicklungssoziologie: Aufstieg und Fall des informellen Sektors. Indonesien im Vergleich', in: Komlosy, Anrea/ Parnreiter, Christof/ Stacher, Irene/ Zimmermann, Susan (ed.): *Ungeregelt und Unterbezahlt. Der informelle Sektor in der Weltwirtschaft*, Frankfurt a. M., S. 133-148
- Fei, J., Ranis, G. 1964** 'Development of the labor surplus economy. Theory and policy.' Homewood/Ill. 1964 / R. G. Penner, in: *The Canadian journal of economics and political science : the journal of the Canadian Political Science Association*, Vol. 31 (1965), No. 2, p. 383-384
- Field, R. 1960** 'Search for Security: An ethno-psychiatric study of rural Ghana', New York: Norton.
- Friedman, J. 2004** 'Worlds on the Move: globalization, migration, and cultural security' / ed. by Jonathan Friedman & Shalini Randeria
- Fukuyama, F. 2000** 'The great disruption: human nature and the reconstitution of social order', New York : Free Press, 1999
- Goetze, D. 2000** 'Entwicklungssoziologie. Eine Einführung', München: Juventa
- Hanifan, L. J. 1916** 'The Rural School Community Center', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 67: 130-138
- Kamble, R. 2000** 'Images of Servility'. Everyday Occupational and social experience of Charmakars in Mumbai, in: Muricken, Ajit (Hg.): *Social Movements, Cade & Gender*, S. 53-69
- Koebler, R. / Schiel, T. 1994** 'Nationalstaat und Ethnizität', Frankfurt a. Main:IKO
- Kulshreshtha, A. C. 1998** 'Informal Sector in India: Conceptual and Estimational Issues in the Context of the U.N. System of National Accounts', *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 41(3): 449-458.
- Kumar, B., Ramakant, J. 2001a** 'Informal sector in developing countries': A constituency for economic change, in: Kumar, Basanta et. Al. (Hg.): *The informal sector in developing countries*, Jaipur, S.372-382
- Kumar, B., Ramakant, J. 2001b** 'Summary and conclusion', in: Kumar, Basanta et. Al. (Hg.): *The informal sector in developing countries*, Jaipur, S.372-382
- Kundu, A. and Lalitha, N. 1998** 'Informal Manufacturing Sector in Urban India: Sectoral Trends and Interdependencies', *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 41(3): 483-499.
- Kundu, A. and Sharma, A. N. 2001** *Informal Sector in India. Perspectives and Policies*, Delhi: Manohar.
- Lefebvre, H., 1968** *Le droit à la ville*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Lefebvre, H., 1972** *Das Alltagsleben in der modernen Welt*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Lefebvre, H. 1974** *Le droit à la ville suivi de Espace et politique*, Paris: Anthropos.
- Lefebvre, H., 1976** *Die Revolution der Städte*. Frankfurt: Syndikat.
- Lefebvre, H., 1991** *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lock, P. 2003** 'Kriegsökonomien und Schattenglobalisierung', in: Ruf, Werner (Hg.): *Politische Ökonomie der Gewalt*, Opladen, pp.271-186
- Lyotard, J.F., 1986:** *Das postmoderne Wissen: Ein Bericht*. Graz, Wien: Böhlau.

[www.macalester.edu/courses/geog61/espencer/newbombay.html](http://www.macalester.edu/courses/geog61/espencer/newbombay.html) (7/04)

**Mitchell, J. C. 1956** 'Urbanization, Detribalization and Stabilization in Southern Africa: A Problem of Definition and Measurement'. In: *Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara*. London: UNESCO. pp. 693-711

**MMRDA (Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority) 1994** 'Draft Regional Plan' 1994-2010

**Neelsen, J. P., 1976** 'Schichtungsmodelle, Schichtungstheorien und die Sozial-Strukturelle Rolle von Erziehung, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag

**NSSO 1980** Department of Statistics, Condition of Slum areas in Cities, no. 290, 31<sup>st</sup> Round, September 1980, Delhi

**Panwalker, P. 1998** Slum-Ökonomie in Dharavi, in: *Stadtbauwelt: Beitrag zur Neuordnung von Stadt und Land*, vol. 48/1998, Berlin

**Patel, S. 2001** 'Squatting on the global highway : community exchanges for urban transformation, in: *Global citizen action*, (2001), Mumbai, pp.231-246

**Patel, S. and Mitlin, D. 2001** 'The Work of SPARC, the National Slum Dwellers Federation and Mahila Milan. Working Paper No. 5' Working Paper Series on Poverty Reduction in Urban Areas: IIED Human Settlements Programme.

**Patel, S. and Sharma, K. 1997** 'One David and Three Goliaths: Resettling and rehabilitating Mumbai's Railway Slumdwellers. Paper Presented to the Conference on Urban Poverty, Florence, Italy, November'.

**Payne, G. 2000** 'Urban Land Tenure Policy Options: Titles or Rights?' Paper Presented At the World Bank Urban Forum, Westfields Marriott, Virginia, 03-05 April.

**Piachaud, D. 1993** 'The Definition and Measurement of Poverty and Inequality', in N. Barr and D. Whynes (eds) *Current Issues in the Economics of Welfare*, Basingstoke London: Mcmillan.

**Putnam, R. 1993** 'Making Democracy Work'. *Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

**Putnam, R. Goss 2001** 'Sozialkapital' Einleitung, in: Putnam, Robert (ed.): *Gemeinschaftssinn und Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt. a. M.: Rohwolt, pp.13-50

**Ramachandran 1995**: ,in: Desai, V. (ed.) *Community Participation and Slum Housing: A Study of Bombay*, Delhi: Sage.

**Ramanthan, U. 2004** 'Illegality and Exclusion'. *Law in the Lives of Slum Dwellers*, in: [www.ielrc.org/content/w0402.pdf](http://www.ielrc.org/content/w0402.pdf) (04.04.2005)

**Rothermund, D. 1985** 'An Economic History of **India** from Pre-colonial Times', **Heidelberg: Rohwolt**

**Sanyal, B. and Mukhija, V. 2000** 'Institutional Pluralism and Housing Delivery: A Case of Unforeseen Conflicts in Mumbai, India', Massachusetts: Institute of Technology.

**Schlager, E. and Ostrom, E. 1992** 'Property Rights Regimes and Natural Resources: A Conceptual Analysis', *Land Economics* 68(3): 249-269.

**Schlee, G., Werner, K. 1996** 'Inklusion und Exklusion'. *Die Dynamik von Grenzziehungen im Spannungsfeld von Markt, Staat und Ethnizität*, in: Schlee, Günther/Werner, Karin (ed.): *Die Dynamik von Grenzziehungen im Spannungsfeld von Markt, Staat und Ethnizität*, Köln: pp. 9-36

**Schrader, H. 2004**: 'Land Tenure Rights as a Development Opportunity': Reflections on a pre-study of urban poverty policy in Mumbai (Bombay), Unpublished Document Sharma (2000)

**Sen, A. K. 1987** 'Reply', in G. Hawthorn (ed) *The Standard of Living*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— **1999** *Development as Freedom*, New York: Knopf.

**Sharma, S. 2000** 'Rediscovering Dharavi', in:

[www.hinduonnet.com/2000/09/17/stories/13170632.htm](http://www.hinduonnet.com/2000/09/17/stories/13170632.htm) - 19k, 03.04. 2005



- Singh, M. 1996** 'Überlebenssicherung und Kompetenzerwerb im städtischen informellen Sektor in Indien'. Untersucht am Beispiel von Kleinproduzenten in Neu-Delhi, Frankfurt am Main: IKO
- Singh 2003** 'Urbanization in India', New Delhi: Allied Publ.
- UN-Habitat 2003** 'Housing Rights and Secure Tenure: A Prerequisite for Housing the Poor'.
- United Nations 1998** 'World Urbanisation Prospects: The 1996 Revision', New York: UN Dpt. of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division.
- Verdery, K. 1999** 'Fuzzy Property: Rights, power and identity in Transylvania's decollectivisation', in M. Burawoy and K. Verdery (eds) *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Changes in the Post-Socialist World*, Lanham: Rowlan and Littlefields.
- Walzer, M. 1995** 'The Concept of Civil Society', in M. Walzer (ed) *Toward a Global Civil Society*, Oxford: Berghahn.
- Wichterich, Ch. 1986** 'Sree Shakti – Frauen in Indien: Von der Stärke der Schwachen, Bornheim-Merten, Lamuv Verlag,
- Wratten, E. 1995** 'Conceptualizing Urban Poverty', *Environment and Urbanisation* 7(1): 11-36.
- YUVA 2001** 'Slum Sanitation Project', Mumbai: (Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action, commissioned by Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation).

# ISOZ Arbeitsberichte/Working Papers

Erhältlich über das Sekretariat Makrosoziologie (Preis: je 2,50 €) oder kostenfrei als

Download über die Homepage des Instituts: <http://www.uni-magdeburg.de/isoz/>

Nr. 1	Schrader, Heiko and Agliaya Toporova 2000: Dealing with Pawnshop Services in Saint Petersburg/Russia: The Customers' Perspective . 18 p.
Nr. 2	Dittrich, Eckhard 2000: Ungleich vereint - die deutsche Wiedervereinigung als sozialstrukturelles Projekt. 14 S.
Nr. 3	Angermüller, Johannes 2000: Narrative Analyse und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in der struktural-marxistischen Diskursanalyse am Beispiel von narrativen Interviews mit ArmenierInnen aus St. Petersburg. 20 S.
Nr. 4	Angermüller, Johannes 2000: Constructing National Identity among Ethnic Minorities in the Russian Federation - A Bourdieuean Perspective on Biographical Accounts of Armenians in Saint Petersburg. 18 p.
Nr. 5	Schrader, Heiko 2000: "Geld sofort" - Pfandkredit als Strategie der Lebensbewältigung im russischen Alltag. 27 S.
Nr. 6	Köhler, Georg 2001: Zur Tätigkeit der K1. Ein soziologischer Rekonstruktionsversuch zur Rolle und Stellung der Arbeitsrichtung I der Kriminalpolizei der DDR. 54 S.
Nr. 7	Dippelhofer-Stiem, Barbara und Jörg Jopp- Nakath 2001: Lehrveranstaltungen im Urteil von Studierenden. Ein empirischer Beitrag zur Qualitätsmessung. 148 S.
Nr. 8	Stojanov, Christo 2001: Zur Situation der Transformationsforschung. 15 S.
Nr. 9	Kollmorgen, Raj 2001: Postsozialismus im 21. Jahrhundert oder: Wozu heute noch Transformationsforschung? 44 S.
Nr. 10	Schrader, Heiko 2001: Akteurtheoretische Modifikationen für die kulturvergleichende Soziologie am Beispiel Russlands. 18 S.
Nr. 11	Dippelhofer-Stiem, Barbara 2001: Erzieherinnen im Vorschulbereich. Soziale Bedeutung und Professionalität im Spiegel sozialwissenschaftlicher Forschung. 41 S.
Nr. 12	Angermüller, Johannes 2001: Zur Methodologie einer textpragmatischen Diskursanalyse. Felder symbolischer Produktion von französischen Intellektuellen 1960 bis 1984. 21 S.
Nr. 13	Schrader, Heiko 2001: Vertrauen, Sozialkapital, Kapitalismen. Überlegungen zur Pfadabhängigkeit des Wirtschaftshandelns in Osteuropa. 30S.
Nr. 14	Hessinger, Philipp 2002: Mafia und Mafiakapitalismus als totales soziales Phänomen: Ein Versuch über die Beziehungen von Moral und Sozialstruktur in zivilen und nicht-zivilen Gesellschaften. 24 S.
Nr. 15	Schmidt, Melanie 2002: Wie gewaltbreit sind Jugendliche in Sachsen-Anhalt? 24 S.
Nr. 16	Dippelhofer-Stiem, Barbara 2002: Die Bevölkerung Sachsen-Anhalts im Portrait. Sekundäranalytische Auswertung amtsstatistischer Daten. 36 S.
Nr. 17	Schrader, Heiko, Nikolai Skvortzov, Boris Wiener 2003: The Islamic and Turkic Factors in Identity Formation Processes and Discourses on Separatism: Dagestan and Tatarstan Compared. 19p.
Nr. 18	Schrader, Heiko 2003: Globalization, Fragmentation and Modernity. 24p.
Nr. 19	Hellmann, Kai-Uwe 2003: Fremdheit als soziale Konstruktion. Vortrag an der FGSE im Juni 2003 im Rahmen des Habilitationsverfahrens. 19 S.
Nr. 20	Schrader, Heiko, Jyothi K.K, and Kamini Prakash 2003: Thrift and Credit Groups in the Formation of a Women's Cooperative. 12 p.
Nr. 21	Kollmorgen, Raj 2003: Analytische Perspektiven, soziologische Paradigmata und Theorien sozialen Wandels - Eine metatheoretische Skizze. 37 S.
Nr. 22	Köbler, Reinhart 2004: Transformation oder Modernisierung? Zur Konzeptionalisierung

	gesellschaftlicher Umbrüche, nicht nur in Osteuropa. 15 S.
Nr. 23	Schrader, Heiko, Ivaylo Dimitrov, Eckhard Dittrich, Christo Stojanov 2004: Zur Situation von Kleinunternehmen in Bulgarien: Ergebnisse einer quantitativen Studie. 15 S.
Nr. 24	Schrader, Heiko, Ivaylo Dimitrov, Eckhard Dittrich, Christo Stojanov 2004: Zur Situation von Kleinunternehmen in Tschechien: Ergebnisse einer quantitativen Studie. 15 S.
Nr. 25	Schrader, Heiko, Ivaylo Dimitrov, Eckhard Dittrich, Christo Stojanov 2004: Zur Situation von Kleinunternehmen in Russland: Ergebnisse einer quantitativen Studie. 15 S.
Nr. 26	Schrader, Heiko, Ivaylo Dimitrov, Eckhard Dittrich, Christo Stojanov 2004: Kleinunternehmen im Vergleich: Bulgarien, Tschechien, Russland. 26 S.
Nr. 27	Bhowmik, Sharit K. 2004: Politics of Urban Space in Mumbai: 'Citizens' Versus the Urban Poor. 11p.
Nr. 28	Schrader, Heiko 2004: Landnutzungsrechte als Entwicklungschance: Überlegungen zur städtischen Armutspolitik am Beispiel Mumbais. 20 S.
Nr. 29	Dischinger, Norbert/Mögel, Nicole A. 2004: Wer besucht ein Pfandhaus? Nutzer gewerblicher Mikrokredite in Deutschland. 22 S.
Nr. 30	Ivleva, Irina 2004: Aufstieg und Transformation der Straßenökonomie in Russland: Sozioökonomische Erfahrungen im Zuge der postsozialistischen Entwicklung. 15 S.
Nr. 31	Döll, Patricia 2005: Studieren trotz Krankheit? Zur psychosozialen Lage von kranken und behinderten Studierenden. 20S.
Nr. 32	Lehrforschungsgruppe Türkei 2005: Ist die Türkei reif für Europa? Orientierungshilfen zur Frage eines Beitritts der Türkei zu Europa. 64 S.
Nr. 33	Gruber, Denis 2005: Revision und Aktualität des Konzepts der strategischen Gruppen. 20 S.
Nr. 34	Bhowmik, Sharit K. 2005: Globalisation, Governance and Labour: A Perspective from India. 10 p.
Nr. 35	Dippelhofer-Stiem, Barbara 2005: Wie gesund sind die Menschen in Sachsen-Anhalt? Befunde des repräsentativen Bevölkerungssurveys „Gesundheit und Wohlbefinden 2003“ im Überblick. 34 S.