

Industrial spaces and women's work: Reflections from Delhi

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1. Introduction

This report reflects on work undertaken at the Centre for Policy Research (CPR) and Indian Statistical Institute (ISI), Delhi as part of the 'Initiative for What Works to Advance Women and Girls in the Economy' (IWWAGE). Eesha Kunduri of CPR collaborated with Farzana Afridi of ISI, Delhi to understand about women's employment experiences in industrial work in Delhi, and factors that enable or constrain women's participation in industrial work. The project commenced in August 2018. Beginning mid-August 2018, Eesha Kunduri of CPR worked closely with Ritika Gupta of IFMR (based out of ISI, Delhi) to conduct field visits and interviews. Additionally, Sunil Kumar Singh, Research Associate, CPR also been involved with the fieldwork.

The study was interested in the following research questions:

- 1.1. What kinds of industrial work opportunities are available to women? What is the profile and nature (formal/informal) of these jobs, and are there specific concentrations of women in specific jobs?
- 1.2. How do women get drawn into particular kinds of industrial work? What kind of information avenues and networks facilitate this? What considerations do women take into account in taking up industrial work?
- 1.3. What constrains women from taking up industrial work? What experiences at the level of the shop-floor and of the urban neighbourhood factor into this?
- 1.4. What does the policy and regulatory climate imply for women in industrial work? What policies enable and what constrain women's participation in industrial work?

2. Research Context: Industrial Delhi

Unlike cities like Bombay or Calcutta, Delhi has never been an industrial city. Industrialisation in Delhi has been predominantly driven by small-scale industries (Damodaran, 2016), attracting large numbers of 'low-skilled' migrants to the city (GNCTD, 2010). Garment and footwear manufacturers command the largest share of the city's industrial profile, followed by electrical machinery production and repair services (ibid.).

Industrialisation in Delhi has been a contentious issue on account of concerns over "aspects of pollution and negative environmental impact of industries, the existence and continued growth of industries in non-conforming areas and the issue of classification and permissibility with reference to household industries" (DDA 2010, p. 67). There are 28 planned industrial estates, 4 flatted factory complexes, and 22 areas 'notified for regularisation'. "The areas 'notified for regularisation' or 'non-conforming' industrial areas as they are otherwise known are spaces of manufacturing activity that have emerged in residential areas, particularly around urban and rural villages in response to a range of market demands. Many of these unplanned industrial areas could be said to have emerged on village lands earmarked for residential (*abadi*) and/or agricultural use" (Mukhopadhyay and Kunduri 2019).

In 1996, the Supreme Court ordered the relocation of 'hazardous and noxious industries', 'large and heavy industries', and 'non-conforming industries' to peripheral estates in the city (*M.C. Mehta vs Union Of India & Ors., 08/07/1996*). Large numbers of urban poor and migrant workers were rendered unemployed in its aftermath. This tension with planning and zoning regulations continues till date, and as we find in our current fieldwork, creates an employment landscape that is in flux. Overtime, surrounding areas such as Noida and Gurgaon which are now part of the National Capital Region have emerged as key manufacturing

hubs, particularly for a number of export-oriented industries like garments. Several of these were relocated from Delhi following regulations on the operation of industrial units in ‘non-conforming areas’.

It is in this wider context of urban planning and zoning regulations that the study is situated, and seeks to understand enabling and constraining conditions for women in manufacturing.

3. Data, Fieldwork Process and Methodology

3.1. Phase I: August to October

We decided to take up the footwear manufacturing hubs of Udyog Nagar and Mangolpuri as our case studies. Our selection of these sites was driven by the presence of a large share of working women in this industry, as suggested by data from the Annual Survey of Industries. Another factor in consideration was familiarity with Mangolpuri, owing to CPR’s ongoing research work on citizenship and service provision in Mangolpuri resettlement colony.

From August to October, we conducted a series of scoping visits, qualitative interviews and focus groups in residential hubs around these industrial estates. In this phase of fieldwork, over 60 women and about 25 men participated in the interviews and focus groups conducted. Additionally, we interacted with 10 key informants including contractors, factory supervisors, and factory owners in Peeragarhi and Sultanpur Mazra (industrial areas ‘notified for regularisation’).

On field, we introduced ourselves as researchers seeking to understand about the employment opportunities for women in the area. An interview guide having several open-ended questions was formulated which had questions pertaining to work history, factors influencing decision to work, gender relations in the household, relationship to the city and the neighbourhood, and to the village (in case of migrants), and on future plans and aspirations. In case of male informants, further to enquiring about household gender relations, questions on men’s attitude to women’s work were also probed. The interviews and focus groups have been systematically recorded in the form of field notes and vignettes.

The study’s qualitative orientation drew upon what Kabeer (2000) calls “‘testimony-based’ hypothesis testing”. In her path-breaking account of the labour market decisions of Bangladeshi women in two different spatial/ geographical contexts of the global garment industry- factory workers in Bangladesh and home-based workers in London, Kabeer undertakes a work/life history approach to unpack the diverse range of factors that drive women’s employment in these two varied forms and contexts of work. Describing her methodology, she writes:

...rather than relying on statistical correlations to support or reject the hypothesis about women’s labour market behaviour thrown up by the social science literature, I focused on asking women for their own accounts of how their labour market decisions were made and the impact it had on their lives. I used these explanations to establish the extent to which the considerations which influenced women’s decision to work, and the type of work they opted for, echoed those put forward in different social science theories. (Kabeer 2000: 405)

Given the focus on eliciting detailed qualitative accounts of women’s experiences of work (particularly industrial work and home-based work/industrial outwork) in the city, we located our fieldwork predominantly in residential hubs around the industrial areas of Mangolpuri (Phases I and II) and Udyog Nagar. These areas were: i) Mangolpuri resettlement colony; ii) *bastis*¹ in C-3 Udyog Nagar and near Udyog Nagar Water Tank, and iii) Hans Raj Mulk Raj Bhatta *basti*, Jwalapuri, and iv) Jwalapuri resettlement colony

¹ These settlements are officially referred to as *Jhuggi-Jhopri Clusters* (JJC)s which are typically considered ‘squatter settlements’ on public land (CPR 2015). Following Bhan (2013), we use the term ‘*basti*’ (literally translating as settlement) in our notes and in our field interactions (unless informants themselves use term ‘*jhuggi*’ or where we draw on secondary data on JJC)s). This is to steer clear of value judgements about squatting, and to give primacy to a term that has typically been used in a colloquial and/or everyday sense to refer to such settlements by the inhabitants themselves.

(See Annexure). The location of the residential areas and the industrial areas is shown in Figure 1 below. In addition, we also visited the industrial hubs to get a better sense of their layout and spatial organisation, and also spoke to some male workers who could be visibly located around spaces like tea stalls and food stalls.

3.2. Phase II: November to January

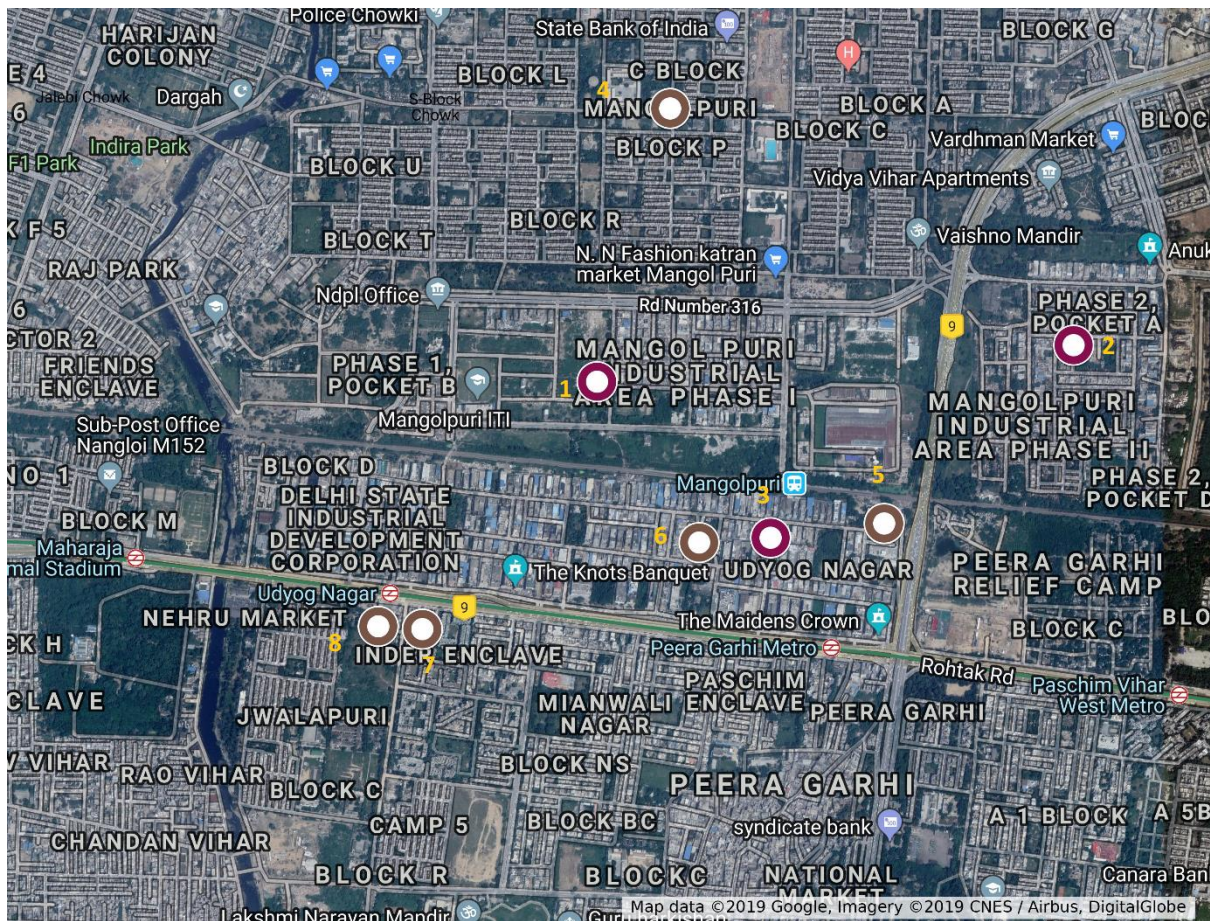
Given the research interests on policy and regulation, this phase focussed on interviews to better understand the policy landscape for industrial work in Delhi. To that end, we interacted with officials of the Delhi State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation (DSIIDC) and the North Delhi Municipal Corporation. A cursory review of the *Industrial Policy for Delhi: 2010–2021* and the *Master Plan for Delhi 2021* was also undertaken to foreground the information obtained through the interviews. The interviews revealed the complex landscape for industries in Delhi, marked by tension with planning and zoning regulations.

In this phase, we also interviewed ten factory owners in the industrial areas of Mangolpuri Phase I and Phase II. The interviews were facilitated by field engineers/officials of the DSIIDC. An interview guide for enterprises was prepared which addressed questions of firms' production process, hiring practices (contractor-driven/firm-driven), availability of workers and about the general industrial climate in Delhi.

3.3. Final Phase: February 2019 to April 2019

Based on insights gathered from the qualitative fieldwork undertaken in both the phases, this phase focussed on pilot surveys and training of survey enumerators. A total of 8 pilot visits were undertaken in the areas of Jahangirpuri, Bhalswa Dairy and Khichripur, based on which the questionnaire was continually revised. This was followed by training of survey enumerators in April, which included detailed discussions over the questionnaires and experiences from the pilot. Ritika Gupta, Sunil Kumar and Eesha Kunduri participated at these discussions that were facilitated by Prasenjit Samata of IFMR. At these training sessions, Eesha Kunduri also presented on the spatial profile, planning landscape and categories of settlements in Delhi to orient field surveyors to the typologies of field areas chosen for the survey. The qualitative fieldwork as also CPR's large body of work on urbanisation informed the execution of this phase.

Figure 1: Industrial areas and residential hubs covered in the fieldwork



Source: Google MyMaps

Note: 1-Mangolpuri Industrial Area Phase I, 2-Mangolpuri Industrial Area Phase II, 3-Udyog Nagar Industrial Area, 4-Mangolpuri resettlement colony, 5- C-3 Udyog Nagar basti, 6-Basti near Water Tank, Udyog Nagar, 7- Hans Raj Mulk Raj Bhatta basti, Jwalapuri, 8- Jwalapuri resettlement colony.

4. Key Findings

In this report, the key findings from qualitative fieldwork undertaken in phases 1 and 2 are being presented.

4.1. Concentration of women in low-end factory work and associated stigmas

In the factories, women were found to be concentrated in low-end tasks like packing, packaging, labelling and cutting of excess thread from the manufactured products (shoes, sandals, etc.), and pasting glue on footwear. Women are not assigned to operate machines, only cleaning of the machines is undertaken by them. Due to their concentration in low-end jobs, women typically earn far less than male workers, thus, occupational segregation and gender pay gaps go together. Interactions with factory owners reinforced that either tasks on the low-end are relegated to women or that owners do not prefer to employ women at all. The latter preference arises on account of many owners considering it inappropriate for men and women to work together, out of fear that cases of sexual harassment and misbehavior may arise. As one factory owner told us, “*Aap jaisa marji samajh lo, humein ucbit nabi lagta auraton ka kaam karna*” (“Think as you might, we do not consider it appropriate for women to work in the factories”).

We did visit a particular factory though wherein large numbers of women were employed, attaching brooches to sandals, reminiscent of accounts of ‘feminisation’ and ‘nimble fingers’ (Elson and Pearson 1981). A handful of men were operating machines in the factory. Yet, such factories were more of an

exception, as one key informant told us. Another interesting account in line with the ‘nimble fingers’ thesis was offered to us by a factory worker living in one of the *bastis* in Udyog Nagar, who works as a tailor on a piece-rated basis in footwear factories in Mangolpuri (switches depending on availability of work). He mentioned that if there is too much work for a single person, he keeps a helper at a wage usually given to a helper for stitching. The interesting thing he pointed out was that in case he needs a helper, he prefers a female helper as women are more efficient: *“Ladies rakh leta hoon. Gutka nahi khayegi, bahar ghoomne nahi jayegi”* (“I hire a woman helper. She won’t go to consume tobacco, neither would she go outside to roam”). Further, he could manage to pay a lower salary for a female helper. He remarked: *“Nayi lady ho toh 4500 – 5000 rupaiye mein bhi rakh lete hain. Keh dete hain ki kaam seekh lo phir badha denge agla mahina. Aadmi ho toh 6000 hi dena padega”* (“In case a woman is new to this job, you can manage to give even lower – 4500-5000 rupees by saying that you learn the task first and then your salary will be increased. For a man, you will have to pay 6000 rupees only”).

Notwithstanding few accounts like the above, the perception that women work in the factories solely out of ‘*majboori*’ (compulsion) was widespread, and held by both factory owners as well several male and female informants. We also found considerable stigma attached to women working in the factories, and informants expressed discomfort at the idea of the factory as a space where men and women work together and interact closely. That factory women are vulnerable to harassment and eve-teasing was commonly reiterated, but also recurrent was the notion of factory work as stigmatized and lacking respectability.

Consider the narrative of Mahesh², a young factory worker who had recently quit work when we interviewed him in September 2018. In the factory where he worked, he mentioned the presence of about 30% women in packing work. He reported that women earn in the range of rupees 4,500 and 6,000. According to him, women are unsafe in the factories. Despite cameras being installed, one could find men teasing women if they wanted to. Moreover, such teasing and stalking reportedly happen also on the way to factories and to homes. When asked about his perception of working women, he said *“factory ka kaam sabi nahi hai. Koi achha kaam ho toh kare nahi toh ghar par hi rahein. Yahaan pe hum labour ki koi izzat nahi hai”* (“Factory work isn’t good. If there is some good work somewhere, women can take that otherwise it is better to stay at home. There is no respect for labour”). He further said, *“Hum ghar mein mabilayon ko gaon bhej denge lekin kaam nahi karwayenge”* (“We will send our women to the village but won’t make them undertake paid work”). While Mahesh was undermining the role of women to work, a friend of his present at the discussion responded *“Aisa nahi hai. Meri beben karti hai job. Pehle Bank mein thi, ab kabin aur hai”* (“There is nothing like that, my sister works. She was in a bank earlier but now she is working somewhere else”). To which Mahesh responded, *“Hum apni beben ko factory toh nahi bhejenge. Log tokenge ki tum apni beben se factory mein kaam karwaate ho”* (“I will never make my sister work in a factory – people will taunt that I make my sister work in a factory”).

Mahesh’s narrative foregrounds control over women’s mobility (in this case his sister) that were seen in attitudes of male informants towards women’s work. For instance, another roadside vendor reported that though his wife works in a factory out of compulsion to supplement the family income, she returns home before 6 p.m as he is not comfortable with her working overtime. The most telling contrast is revealed by the tailor himself who prefers to employ women helpers, who upon being asked whether his wife works or not, remarked: *“Patni kaam nahi karti. Bahar ka mahaul theek nahi hai. Kaam karte raho toh mazdoor ‘hello Bhabhi, hi Bhabhi’ karte rehte hain”* (“My wife doesn’t work. The environment outside is not conducive to work. When you are working, labour keeps coming and wishing ‘hi, Hello sister-in-law’ to the ladies”). Talking about the women he employs, he said *“Humaare paas koi mahila kaam karti hai toh use pehle hi bol deta hoon ki jis tarah se jo bole use usi tarah se jawaab dena”* (“When I hire a woman helper, I tell her beforehand to respond to people the same way they talk to you”). We further asked if his wife would work in case it is safe and viable for her to work to which he said *“Nahi, tab bhi nahi bhejenge. Humaare ghar parampara hai ki ghar ki aurat kaam pe nahi jaati. Agar phir bhi jaana chahegi toh jaaye par hum toh mana hi karenge”* (“No, we won’t send her out to work

² All names are pseudonyms.

even then. Our family's custom doesn't allow women to go outside and work. Despite that if she wants to go then she can but I would always tell her not to").

4.2. Spatial networks and home-based work for women

While there is considerable stigma attached to women working in the factories, there is an explicit preference for home-based work outsourced from the factories as 'suitable' work for women. In one of the *bastis* in Udyog Nagar, which is located right next to the Udyog Nagar industrial area, one finds the presence of a large number of home-based women workers. The women are mostly involved in fixing together insoles and upper parts of sandals (usually straps), and are typically paid about 50 *paise* for a pair. The work is routed via three contractors who locally reside in the *basti*, indicating the presence of strong spatial and social networks for women's work.

In Mangolpuri resettlement colony, women workers were found to be engaged in work making buffs that are used in machines polishing steel. The buffs are reported to be sold to industries in Wazirpur and Bawana. The buffs are made through circular shaped cloth pieces that women make in their homes. Leftover pieces of garments are joined in a circular fashion and pasted using white flour (*maida*) which is further sold to shops who stitch these together in a cylindrical shaped pack (the whole pack is referred to as buff). The women reported receiving 125 rupees for 100 pieces, and spending 75 rupees on procuring the *maida* (flour) and preparing the gum-like paste out of it. Walking through blocks in the resettlement colony, one can spot these buffs on the exterior of houses left out to dry. Work outsourced from footwear factories is also common in Mangolpuri, though we did not conduct detailed interviews like in the case of Udyog Nagar. However, such home-based work was seen to be conspicuous by its absence in other field areas like Jwalapuri and H.M.Bhatta *basti*, reinforcing the significance of local networks.

We managed the opportunity to speak to one of the contractors Mohsin around noon on a Friday afternoon in August of 2018. Mohsin shared that he brings this work in the *basti* from factories in the industrial area for women who may feel ashamed ("*sharm*") going out to work. "*Factory se hum laatee hain, jo auratein factory mein nahi jaa sakti, jinhe sharm lagti hain, un logon ke liye... kaam karwaata hoon, piece rate pe... lagaane (upper) ka kaam hota hain...banke factory jaata hain*" ("I bring work from the factories for those women who cannot go out to the factories to work, or those who may experience shame in going out...I get the work done on a piece-rated basis...the work is of fixing the upper...rest is made in the factories"), he told us, adding further that the soles are finally fixed in the factories.

As we spoke in a small house in a corner lane of the *basti*, women came and went, handing over sacks of pieces for which they had fixed the insoles and upper together. Mohsin duly made notes in a register. Mohsin shared that he has been in the "*silai* line" for about 10 years now, and has been working as a contractor for about 7-8 years. During the time he and his brother Salman, whom I met on a visit later in September 2018, were working in the factories, they learnt about the possibilities of taking this work to women in the *bastis* and started with 200 pairs of work for women in their home. "*Apne ghar par chaalu kiya sabse pehle, phir do-chaar jane bolne lag gaye, us tareeke se poore basti mein kaam phail gaya.*" ("We first started this at our own home, then couple of others came and enquired, and gradually, the work spread around the *basti*").

We asked further if he functioned in other *bastis* as well, to which he gave a very articulate response emphasizing the finesse the task required, and on "knowledge" the women in his *basti* had acquired over the years. In his words:

"Yahan pe toh shuruat se yehi kaam chala hain.. bahar bhi hum lekar gaye lekin uss tareeke se, finishing tareekein se kaam nai huan hain..factory mein finishing maangte hain, badhiya bana huan chahiye, itna professional chahiye, itne pe yeh lagna chhaiye...yahan basti mein shuru se banate rabe, toh woh cheez knowledge mein aa gayee, nayi nayi jagah denge toh wahan pe time lagta hain, iss wajah se malik log dete nahi hain."

("Here [in the *basti*], this work has been there since the start...we took this work outside the *basti* as well but the work has not been done the way it should be, with the finishing it should have...they ask for finishing in the factories, the work should be excellent and professional...here in the *basti*, this work has been ongoing

from the very beginning, so there is knowledge of how it should be done, if we give it in new areas then it will take time for it to be picked up, that's why owners don't prefer outsourcing to new places").

Mohsin's views are later echoed by Salman in a later interaction, who told me that "*abhh yahan ki labour perfect ho gayee, doosro ko samjhane mein time lagega, bharose aur maal sabi bhejne ki baat hain.*" ("now the labour in Udyog Nagar *basti* has become perfect, it will take time to explain to the others [outside the *basti*], it is a matter of trust and delivering the goods in the correct manner").

The gendered nature of home-based work (or industrial outwork) is well known. Typically outsourced to women in low-income residential hubs around industrial estates like the Udyog Nagar *basti*, home-based work is on the lowest rungs of the supply chain. Much has been written on this, and the work of organisations like WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing), HomeNet South Asia and SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) have forcefully brought the conditions of home-based work into policy debates. But does the spatial organisation of home-based work have an underlying logic beyond the obvious that is not explicitly articulated, but only gestured? How are the articulations of "knowledge" and the description of perfecting standards of women in the *basti* to be read? Are they tropes through which Mohsin and Salman express their own precarity in a larger network of abysmally low-paying, precarious work regimes? Is it an expression of the *basti* as their territory? Or do they make a larger point about the inherent, unacknowledged, and undervalued skill of the women workers?

Despite its precarity, home-based work is preferred by women as it allows them to manage household responsibilities (including childcare) alongside undertaking some form of paid work. Infact, on several field visits, we were asked by women informants if we had any work to offer them from their homes, or if we were aware of any such opportunities. A group of women in Jwalapuri remarked to us that they were desperately looking for work that they could do from their homes. "*Hum pareshaan ho rahe hain kaam ke liye*" ("We are troubled looking for work"), they told us. Rationalising their desire to work from home, they spoke of pressures to take care of their households, and of the *mabaul* (social environment) being bad that necessitates them being at home to look after young children. Notwithstanding the oft heard articulation of this work as "*timepass*" (something women undertake to kill time at home), home-based work can be enabling in some respects, given gender norms around women's paid work, and the gender division of labour within homes. As I have argued elsewhere, "by undertaking work within the sphere of one's own home, in a situation wherein other forms of work such as factory work are seen as undesirable and lacking respect, women legitimise their participation in the labour market, and through that, negotiate the gender relations in their own homes" (Sharma and Kunduri 2015). It is also important to note that much of this work is outsourced from factories in planned as well as unplanned industrial areas (particularly small workshops operating in urban villages and unauthorised colonies).

4.3. *Shifting and contentious industrial landscape of Delhi*³

Industrial activity in Delhi is in a constant state of tension with planning and zoning regulations, creating an employment landscape that is in flux. After the M.C. Mehta case, all industries in non-conforming areas were asked to apply for a license based on which they were supposed to get a plot allotted in the planned estate. 51,835 industrial units had applied out of which around 27,000 were found eligible and given an alternative plot in the planned estate. Till 2005, sealing was conducted by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate (SDM) after which the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) took charge. When sealing first took place in 2005 and factories were promised relocation, Delhi Development Authority (DDA) could not provide sufficient plots. Following this, it was permitted to run a business only on the ground floor of the house for specific areas (or *galis*) where there was at least 80% industrial or commercial activity. It was also made mandatory to get a license for any kind of business – licenses for manufacturing activity could be obtained

³ This section is based on interactions with officials at the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (Civic Centre Office) and Delhi State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation Ltd. (DSIIDC), conducted by Eesha Kunduri and Ritika Gupta.

from the Factories Licensing Department of the MCD whereas those for commercial activity could be obtained from the Central Licensing and Enforcement Department.

At the time of fieldwork for this project, factories were in a process of being gradually sealed on the orders of the Supreme Court. The first phase required the sealing of the factories which applied and were given alternative plot(s) but did not use them and continued their operations in the non-conforming areas; or were involved in some kind of misuse in the planned areas. In the first phase, a list of 21,960 factories was provided by the DSIIDC to the MCD to be investigated and sealed in case of any misuse or non-relocation to the planned plot. This sealing phase is now reportedly over. In the second phase, sealing is underway of the factories which applied but were not given an alternative plot and have been still functioning in the non-conforming areas in violation of industrial regulations. In this phase, North MCD has a list of 17,231 industries from the DSIIDC which do not have an alternative plot and operate in non-conforming areas of North Delhi. These factories will be/are sealed in case of any non-compliance with conditions specified for these industries. The deadline reported was January 25, 2019 at the time of interviews in late December. The third phase will look at the rest of the factories which did not apply for an alternative plot or are relatively new.

A factory can be sealed for various reasons such as misuse of the plot (using the industrial plot for an activity other than industrial activity without approval in the planned area, violating the layout plan or premise use), not following pollution norms (sealing in this case is done by DPCC), encroachment (expanding the factory farther than what is allowed), operating out of the boundaries defined as a planned area or area notified for regularisation, unauthorised construction (operating without approval/license), and for operating in non-conforming areas despite having a plot allotted for the same purpose in a planned area. In case of sealing, a factory is given a notice of 48 hours in which it is supposed to show papers or remove the misuse it is doing. If it fails to do so, it is sealed in the next 48 hours which is also video graphed. As far as areas 'notified for regularisation' are concerned, they are currently not being sealed on the pretext of running a business there unless they operate out of the boundaries or have plots allotted in planned areas already. Since layout and building regulations are not in place for these areas, factories are not currently being sealed for that.

The field interviews point towards an approach entirely focussed on sealing and/or relocation, instead of regularisation and/or redevelopment. This, despite the Master Plan for Delhi (MPD) 2021 laying out guidelines for redevelopment of unauthorised industrial areas. The MPD 2021 states: "Non-conforming clusters of industrial concentration of minimum 4 hectare contiguous area, having more than 70% plots within the cluster under industrial activity / use may be considered for redevelopment of area identified on the basis of actual surveys (p. 72)." The guidelines for redevelopment of such areas require a registered society of landowners in the industrial area to work closely with local authorities towards a redevelopment scheme. The guidelines stipulate, among various other planning aspects, minimum space reservations for 'circulation / roads / service lanes', for 'parking and loading / unloading areas', for infrastructure such as pump house, fire station and police post; and for 'parks / green buffer'. The guidelines also require statutory clearances, separate electricity connections, and adherence to pollution control regulations (see Box 1).

Box 4.1.: Norms for redevelopment of unplanned industrial areas

- i) The cluster should have direct approach from a road of at least 18 m R/W.
- ii) Formation of Society shall be mandatory to facilitate preparation of redevelopment plan, pollution control and environmental management, development of services and parking and maintenance.
- iii) Only permissible industries having clearance from DPCC shall be permitted.
- iv) Amalgamation and reconstitution of plots shall be permissible for redevelopment.
- v) All the units shall have to obtain the statutory clearances. The industrial units shall have separate electric connections.
- vi) Other stipulations shall include-
 - a) Minimum 10% area is to be reserved for circulation / roads / service lanes.
 - b) Minimum 10% of semi-permeable surface for parking and loading / unloading areas.

- c) Minimum 10% of total area to be reserved for infrastructure requirements like CETP, Sub-Stations, Pump House, Fire Station, Police post, etc. as per the norms.
- d) Preparation of:
 - Plan for water supply from DJB / Central Ground Water Authority (wherever required) along with requirement for pumping stations, storage tanks, ground water recharging / rainwater harvesting.
 - Drainage plan as per norms.
- e) 8% of the cluster area shall be reserved for parks / green buffer.
- f) Plots measuring more than 100 sqm to have minimum 9.0 m. ROW.
- g) Plots measuring less than 100 sqm to have minimum 7.5 m. ROW.
- h) Common parking to be provided for plots below 60 sqm, whereas for plots above 60 sqm front set back (min. 3 m) shall be provided
- vii) Other provisions / development control norms shall be applicable as prescribed. Depending upon ground conditions, the Technical Committee of DDA may relax the norms up to 10%.

Source: Reproduced from Master Plan for Delhi 2021, pp. 72-73 (DDA 2010)

We conducted our field interviews at a time when the sealing drives were vigorously underway, and we were advised in unplanned areas like Peeragarhi and Sultanpur Mazra to keep away from undertaking ‘survey’ work. In the planned areas, industrialists we spoke to highlighted linkages between planned and unplanned areas in the sense of flow of intermediate products as well as labour circulation, and stressed on the unfriendly industrial climate in Delhi (limited space for factories, planning and zoning regulations, and high minimum wage regulations). Several factories in Mangolpuri themselves shifted after sealing in Tri Nagar and are now reportedly moving further to Bahadurgarh (Haryana), where a large footwear park is also coming up. Benefits of agglomeration and a relatively large space for manufacturing in relation to Delhi, tax benefits and Delhi’s high minimum wages in comparison to Haryana were cited as prime reasons for this shift. The footwear park in Bahadurgarh also has a training centre set up by the Confederation of Indian Footwear Industries, with part funding from the government. The aim is to improve quality and efficiency levels of the workers in the non-leather footwear industry.

5. Concluding thoughts and policy recommendations

The Economic Survey 2015-16 underscored the challenge of “good jobs” and “suitable jobs” as one among the most pressing issues for labour markets in India. Going by the example of the Indian apparel industry ceding market share to Bangladesh and Vietnam, the document noted that there was a “spatial mismatch” between firms and workers, and highlighted the potentialities of a business model that involves the relocation of apparel firms to smaller cities. It stated:

“The “relocation” model addresses this concern by offering precisely the kind of suitable jobs—located in small cities, utilizing women’s comparative advantage in garments, flexible working hours and childcare on site—that women in rapidly urbanizing areas are looking for but often do not have. Thus the “relocation” model could be termed a win-win-win: commercially advantageous for the manufacturer, bringing women into the labor market, and boosting growth” (GoI 2016, p. 148)

Three years on, the challenges of “good, suitable jobs” and that of bolstering women’s labour force participation remain as does the question of what and where “suitable jobs” are. Can “suitable jobs” only be created through relocating industries, and subsequently creating clusters that generate manufacturing employment?

The findings of this project speak to this complex question in policy circles. On the one hand, the industrial landscape of Delhi is moving out towards designated manufacturing zones, like the footwear park in Bahadurgarh as industrialists have indicated in interviews. Whether existing labour force will commute there, or will the industry draw on a fresh pool of labour from nearby areas is an open question. What percentage of this workforce will be women also remains to be seen. On the other hand, where factories continue to operate in the city, they employ few women in low-end tasks and with low pay. There is a

general stigma surrounding women's employment in factories, and the factory as site of work is not seen as respectable for women. In this landscape, home-based work emerges as a locally concentrated, and socially acceptable source of work for women, albeit precarious. It also allows women flexibility to manage paid work opportunities and domestic responsibilities. Yet, the reach of this work is contingent on spatial networks in the residential settlements.

5.1. *Neighbourhood interventions for home-based workers*

Given the strong preference for home-based work over factory work (see also Sharma and Kunduri 2015), the findings of this project firstly suggest that "suitable jobs" cannot be created elsewhere, they indeed exist in the existing industrial spaces and *bastis* of our cities. Interventions to encourage and regulate home-based work, therefore, are critical to boost women's work force participation. We need to recognise the multi-faceted nature of urban neighbourhoods which goes far beyond residential uses, and develop neighbourhood amenities for home-based workers (Mukhopadhyay and Kunduri 2019). Most *bastis* in Delhi have *Basti Vikas Kendras* (development centres) which are typically run by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) from where they conduct projects like language training programmes, creches for children, and tailoring and stitching courses for women. The multi-use design of these spaces could incorporate a shared space for home-based workers with facilities like water, toilets, electricity and ventilation. This could be a critical step in improving the nature of workspaces for home-based workers who either have to work out of constrained spaces at their homes, or work in groups in courtyards of tenements or in outdoor spaces of *bastis* on cots. Portions of community halls like *Baraat Ghars* can also be redeveloped for this purpose. It is essential to sensitise and empower local bodies about the need for such redevelopment.

5.2. *Wage regulations and social protections for home-based workers*

Alongside space and planning interventions, regulations to ensure minimum wages and social protections for home-based workers are key to ensure that their contributions to supply chains do not remain unacknowledged. The calculation of minimum wages for piece-rated workers is not so straightforward and calls for a different approach than the usual time-rated notion of minimum wage. In this, one can draw upon SEWA's experiences of working closely with government authorities, workers' representatives and employers to facilitate time-motion studies as the basis of minimum wage calculations for *agarbatti* (incense sticks) workers (see Sinha 2013). The negotiations and collective bargaining in this case were juxtaposed with forms of mobilisation and pressure through peaceful sit-ins (*ibid.*).

Alongside wage regulations, social protections like "life insurance; disability benefits; maternity benefits; old age pension; health insurance/health care, housing and child care" for home-based workers are also critical (HNSA 2017). Currently, home-based workers are not covered under any social security scheme. While the proposed Code on Social Security (one among the four codes being introduced by the government to consolidate multiple labour laws in the country) recognises home-based workers as a category of unorganised workers, concerns remain about coverage, outreach and implementation. The Code defines a home-based worker as "a person engaged in the production of goods or services for an employer in his or her home or other premises of his or her choice other than the workplace of the employer, for remuneration, irrespective of whether or not the employer provides the equipment, materials or other inputs." While this definition of home-based workers caters well to those working for contractors as in our study, it excludes the self-employed home-based workers, and hence the Code needs to consider expansion of the definition to also include the self-employed home-based workers (Mehrotra 2018). Further, the Code requires workers to be registered, and the onus of registration is on employers, however, there are no penalties for failure to do so (*ibid.*). As our fieldwork shows, home-based work is organised through contractors, and employers may abdicate direct responsibility. As Mehrotra (2018) has observed, "this problem is further compounded because, in the case of home-based workers, it is often difficult to identify the employer, as multiple contractors are usually involved. Identifying the employer is important also because the employer has to make a contribution towards the social security benefits."

5.3. Gender sensitisation to bolster women's presence on the shop-floor

Notwithstanding the stigma associated with factory work, it has been seen that going out for work can have meaning beyond the economic significance of paid work and can enable a range of freedoms for women, within certain contexts (Sharma & Kunduri 2016). It is also important to note here that these stigmas are rooted, and in turn shaped by patriarchal controls over women's mobility, and on what is deemed as 'suitable' and 'unsuitable' work for women. The concentration in low-end work is in turn linked to wage gaps, perpetuating occupational segregation and wage discrimination. While social stigmas cannot easily disappear, implementation and strengthening of laws and legal redress mechanisms for women factory workers can at the least enable a process of change and counterbalance. Firstly, it is imperative that all factories have an Internal Complaints Committee as mandated by the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. Gender sensitisation programmes are required not only for factory workers, but also for owners and industry associations which seem to have a resistance to hiring women workers. There is a strong need for workers' associations and NGOs to actively engage in this space.

Secondly, while the recently passed Code on Wages Bill, 2019 upholds principles of equal remuneration for equal work, such measures stand no good if women continue to be concentrated in low-end occupations. Upskilling and an expansion of work opportunities for women on the shop-floor are critical to bolster their workforce participation as also counter stigmas associated with low-paid factory jobs. Gender sensitive training is again critical in this respect to counter negative stereotypes pertaining to women's work.

5.4. Redevelopment of unplanned industrial areas

Lastly, it is important to recognise the linkages between planned and unplanned industrial spaces in the context of Delhi's complex industrial landscape, and move away from sealing the latter as the predominant mode of practice. As argued in an accompanying policy document:

“Instead of pushing industries to city peripheries and industrial parks with poor transport connectivity, we need measures to regulate existing industrial areas in the city, while ensuring their conformity to environmental, safety and labour regulations... Industrial planning norms, thus, need to be modified to allow more flexibility in redevelopment of unplanned areas... Like [regularisation of] residential and commercial areas, the regularisation of industrial areas too needs to become a part of our urban planning discourse.” (Mukhopadhyay and Kunduri 2019)

Regularisation of unplanned industrial areas is also critical from a gender perspective: these factories provide flexible work opportunities for women (see Sharma and Kunduri 2015, De Neve 2012), and also create significant home-based work alongside having connections to planned manufacturing spaces.

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ANNEXURE 1: POLICY BRIEF

Regularising Unauthorised Urban Industrial Areas

Partha Mukhopadhyay and Eesha Kunduri

This policy brief was written as a contribution to *Policy Challenges- 2019-2024: The big policy questions for the new government and possible pathways*, published by the Centre for Policy Research. The brief is accessible on the [CPR website](#). A shorter version has been published as an op-ed in *The Print* and is accessible at [this link](#). We draw upon Eesha Kunduri's research engagements in Delhi's industrial areas to illustrate issues in this note. Some of the examples here draw upon field interactions over August 2018 to January 2019, conducted with Ritika Gupta, as part of the [IWWAGE-IFMR](#) initiative at ISI, Delhi led by Farzana Afridi.

Informality and functionality are intricately interlinked in our cities, for “the informal city is very much the functioning city” (Mukhopadhyay 2011). Policymakers, urban local bodies and government agencies need to move beyond dichotomies such as formal and informal, planned and unplanned, and recognise the interconnections among these. The relationship between manufacturing and urban planning needs to be redefined. More attention to informal manufacturing in our cities, where women constitute a visible segment of the workforce, and facilitating its connections to the formal segment will bear rich dividends, not just in supporting manufacturing, but also in raising female labour force participation, another critical policy goal.

Beyond Slums and Vendors - Factories

Two strands of discussion appear to dominate the discourse about cities and informality. First, the auto-constructed nature of most urban neighbourhoods⁴, and the need for regularisation and in-situ upgradation of informal settlements. Second, promoting and supporting informal livelihoods like street trading and hawking. There is, however, another form of informal activity that is central to our cities – informal manufacturing and informally employed workers in formal manufacturing. Even when regularisation is initiated, the focus in cities across the country – whether in Delhi, Bengaluru or even the smaller towns of Maharashtra – has been on residential and commercial activity, and rarely on industrial activity. Importantly, these enterprises constitute a significant source of urban employment, particularly for women, and as such, call for policy attention.

The question of informal manufacturing is not only a question of registration and tax status of an enterprise – indeed it may well be registered – it is also about the tenuous relationship between manufacturing and urban planning and needs to be understood in this context.

Industry and the city: The case of Delhi

Delhi's industrial landscape is dotted with several small-scale industries, wherein garment and footwear manufacturers comprise the largest share, followed by electrical machinery production and repair services (GNCTD 2010). Industrialisation in Delhi has been marked by contestations over space, and the relocation of 'hazardous and noxious industries', 'large and heavy industries', and 'non-conforming industries' to peripheral areas of the city. This relocation was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1996, and in its immediate aftermath, resulted in unemployment for the urban poor and migrant workers who had come to depend on these industries for their livelihoods.

Currently, Delhi has industrial activity spread over 28 planned estates, 4 flatted factory complexes, and 22 industrial areas 'notified for regularisation'. The areas 'notified for regularisation' or 'non-conforming' industrial areas as they are otherwise known are spaces of manufacturing activity that have emerged in residential areas, particularly around urban and rural villages in response to a range of market demands.

⁴ Auto-construction refers to the process by which residents access resources, materials, “permissions”, lay out settlements and construct houses on their own. It is not necessarily “self-built”, in that it may involve the use of masons and contractors for construction of houses as well as common infrastructure, like drains, etc.

Many of these unplanned industrial areas could be said to have emerged on village lands earmarked for residential (*abadi*) and/or agricultural use. While there are some planning exemptions within village boundaries – *lal dora areas* – these do not extend to industrial activity. Thus, these areas are unplanned, unauthorised and ‘non-conforming’ in the sense of being located in areas not zoned for industrial use.

The Master Plan for Delhi (MPD) 2021 states that unplanned industrial areas are eligible for regularisation if more than 70 % of the plots in the area are engaged in industrial activity and subject to fulfilment of other stipulated conditions. It lays down guidelines for the redevelopment of these areas; pertaining to aspects like road widening, provision of services, adherence to pollution control norms, and development of open spaces and parking facilities, among others. The redevelopment plan is required to be formulated by the local body or land owning agency in consultation with a society of land owners in the industrial area, which should be mandatorily formed (DDA 2010).

In practice, however, most non-conforming industries have been subject to sealing drives to close them down, and there has not been a push for their redevelopment: neither from the owners of small-scale enterprises in these areas nor from the local bodies or concerned government agencies. Industrial activity is seen as largely operating in violation of Master Plan provisions, as a source of pollution and therefore, as an aberration to a larger vision of the city. When the Supreme Court first ordered industrial relocation, units in non-conforming areas were asked to apply for plots in the new industrial areas that were developed (mostly on the fringes): a little over 50% of the applications were found eligible and allotted plots. The approach to regularisation has entirely been on relocation; units that were allotted plots but continue to function from the non-conforming areas (and did not shift for a variety of reasons), those that were found ineligible for an alternative plot, and those that function in violation of various industrial planning regulations are all subject to being closed down.⁵

In the push to create world-class, clean and green cities, the focus often seems to be on the knowledge economy – IT and IT-enabled services – with manufacturing activity relegated to the fringes of cities. The Delhi case illustrates this starkly. Further, in interviews, industrialists argued that Delhi is an unfriendly space for industrial growth, and emphasised the gradual shift of manufacturing hubs to the neighbouring state of Haryana, alluding to agglomeration benefits and tax incentives, among other reasons.

But relocations are disruptive processes: they adversely affect both factory and home-based work for those engaged in them, particularly disadvantaging women, disrupt local work networks, and increase search, time and distance costs for new jobs. In Chennai’s Kannagi Nagar resettlement colony, located along the city’s IT corridor, Coelho, et. al. (2013) found that: “*Industrial relocations increase the costs for workers to access their jobs, and depress real wages due to the fall in demand for certain kinds of work.*” As nearby factories shifted further away, they found it adversely limited work and livelihoods.

Planned and unplanned industrial areas: Co-located and Inter-linked?

While the Master Plan for Delhi (MPD) 2021 and the Industrial Policy for Delhi 2010-2021 distinguish between planned and unplanned industrial areas, narratives from the field stress the linkages between these two typologies of areas. In both these areas, industries are engaged in a range of manufacturing activities spanning, inter alia, footwear, auto-parts, garments, plastics, steel, etc. and are typically described as ‘business-to-business’ (B2B) enterprises that supply raw material and intermediate products to bigger firms in the vicinity. In interviews in an industrial area in North-West Delhi, factory owners in both the planned as well as surrounding unplanned areas spoke about interlinked activity chains: footwear straps manufactured in an unplanned areas, for instance, supplied to factories manufacturing soles in the planned areas; sorting of residual cloth received from textile hubs like Jaipur and Gurgaon, which is sold in a ‘*kattar*’ (residual clothes) market. Owners in the planned areas also spoke of a ‘broken chain’ due to ongoing action in the city to close down the unplanned factories, at the time of field research.

The two kinds of industrial areas are also linked in the sense of labour circulation. Being located close to each other, they draw upon the same pool of workers residing in nearby *bastis*, urban villages, resettlement colonies and unauthorised colonies (see Sharma and Kunduri 2015). Workers typically access work through

⁵ Interactions with officials at Municipal Corporation of Delhi (Civic Centre Office) and Delhi State Industrial and Infrastructure Development Corporation Ltd. (DSIIDC), as part of the [IWWAGE-IFMR](#) study (at ISI, Delhi) referred to earlier.

local networks of contractors and neighbours and move between planned and unplanned areas based on availability of work.

Women's work and unplanned industrial areas

Unplanned industrial areas also provide relatively flexible work arrangements that some women may prefer. In earlier fieldwork in East Delhi for instance, some women reported preference for work in workshops on the periphery of an urban village on account of spatial proximity, and the ability to return home during breaks, particularly to attend to children (Sharma and Kunduri 2015). Geert De Neve (2012) makes a similar observation in his distinction between large apparel firms and smaller workshops in Tiruppur in Tamil Nadu. In more recent fieldwork in Delhi, a female worker, who works on daily wages in an unplanned area and looks for work every day, stated she preferred this arrangement over earning a meagre wage in the authorised industrial units, where they are often expected to work overtime.

Co-located planned and unplanned industrial areas also create home-based work opportunities for women, which is localised and driven by spatial networks of "*jaan-pehchaan*" (familiarity)., Though it can be low-paying and precarious, home-based work may be preferred by women for reasons of flexibility and legitimacy. It enables women to manage housework and childcare responsibilities along with undertaking paid work from home. It is seen as a legitimate work choice for many women, for whom going out to work in factories is often accompanied by notions of stigma and shame (Sharma and Kunduri 2015). In the areas studied, home-based workers were involved in a whole spectrum of work, such as putting threads into bookmarks, taping of speaker components, making decorative pieces, making buffs for machines polishing steel, making *bindis*, fixing insoles and upper parts for footwear, etc. Most of this work is outsourced from factories in planned as well as unplanned industrial areas, many of which are small workshops operating within urban villages and unauthorised colonies. Women are remunerated at piece-rates. In the absence of designated work spaces, work is undertaken in groups using shared spaces – in common courtyards of tenements, and on cots outside their homes in *bastis*. Contractors and sub-contractors (often female) who bring the work to the women are often embedded as residents, thereby leveraging their connections and building relationships of trust.

Key Policy Takeaways

Regulate and regularise existing industrial areas

Instead of pushing industries to city peripheries and industrial parks with poor transport connectivity, we need measures to regulate existing industrial areas in the city, while ensuring their conformity to environmental, safety and labour regulations. The latter two are particularly important in light of several cases of factory collapses and blatant violations of labour safety and welfare; but should not be used as an excuse to drive away factories themselves. It should also be noted that when it comes to regularisation/redevelopment of unplanned industrial areas, 'unrealistic planning norms' continue to hinder.⁶ Industrial planning norms, thus, need to be modified to allow more flexibility in redevelopment of unplanned areas. In this, planners can draw upon instances of regularisation of residential areas like unauthorised colonies in Delhi and *gunthavaris* in Maharashtra (Bhide 2014). Like residential and commercial areas, the regularisation of industrial areas too needs to become a part of our urban planning discourse.

Redevelop and redesign neighbourhood amenities to encourage female labour force participation

A key benefit of regularising these industrial clusters is the retention of a number of female jobs. Redevelopment of industrial areas must thus be accompanied by interventions in the nearby residential settlements in a manner that encourages more women to participate in the labour market. In the case of home-based workers, workspaces are intertwined with living spaces, creating constraints on space. Women make do with whatever little community spaces they can manage to access. It is essential for cities to recognise that urban neighbourhoods are beyond residential, and develop amenities from the perspective of both work and living. This would involve redesigning neighbourhood amenities like community halls for multiple uses, including common workspaces – in the fashion of the co-working spaces that have emerged

⁶ For instance, the MPD 2021 guidelines for redevelopment of unplanned areas stipulate a minimum reservation of space: 10 % for 'circulation / roads / service lanes', 'parking and loading / unloading areas', infrastructure like Pump House, Fire Station and Police Post; and 8% for 'parks / green buffer'. Given the density of most unplanned industrial areas, such norms render redevelopment infeasible.

to support modern start-up and innovation ecosystems -- for home-based workers with amenities like toilets, lighting and ventilation.⁷ Urban local bodies should be sensitised and empowered to do this.

Conclusion

In line with unauthorised residential and commercial areas, the regularisation of unauthorised industrial areas needs policy attention, not only because they are deeply imbricated with authorised industry and are essential to the growth of manufacturing, but also because they provide flexible work options to many women, who would otherwise not be in the workforce. This can be done, in many instances, without harming the environment. Indeed, the planning philosophies that underpin the guidelines that render them illegal may no longer be appropriate, given the technical progress and the imperative of compact, mixed use cities. This entire approach to excluding industry, particularly the informal sector, from our cities needs to be discarded.

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⁷ Discussions with Shalini Sinha of WIEGO and Firoza Mehrotra of HomeNet South Asia.

ANNEXURE 2: DESCRIPTION OF FIELD AREAS

Mangolpuri resettlement colony

Mangolpuri is a resettlement colony in North-West Delhi, spread over an area of 448.56 Acres, and divided into three phases- I, II, and III.⁸ It came up in the mid-1970s in the wake of large-scale eviction drives in the run-up to the Asian Games and in the backdrop of the Emergency. On the north-west, the colony is surrounded by the Sultanpuri resettlement colony, which was established around the same time, and the Sultanpur Majra village. Mangolpur Kalan and Mangolpur Khurd, both urban villages⁹, are located respectively in the northern and north-eastern neighbourhood of the resettlement colony. To the south of the settlement is the Mangolpuri Industrial Area. The settlement is marked by the Outer Ring Road, and the Mangolpuri Flyover on its south-eastern side, and is accessed via Road No. 316, which is situated to the West of the Outer Ring Road, right beneath the Mangolpuri flyover. The road separates the Mangolpuri resettlement colony from the Mangolpuri Industrial Area, Phase I.

It is reported that at the time of resettlement, people were allotted plots of 25 square yards, though effectively they were 22.5 square yards in size. Beginning 1979, each household was given a lease of 99 years for the plot of land allocated to them, and formally, no payment was required to be made by the households for getting possession of the plots. The City Development Plan for Delhi, 2006 estimated a total number of 28,478 plots in the settlement, and a population of 1, 23,220. A more recent study by micro Home Solutions estimated the population of the resettlement colony to be about 3,50,000 in 2011, and the number of plots around 27,800.¹⁰ Another estimate by representatives of Dr. A.V Baliga Memorial Trust suggests that the overall population of Mangolpuri is approximately 3, 00,000, spread across 23 blocks in the settlement. Each block is reported to have about 1300-1400 plots, with Block Y being the largest having 2500 plots.¹¹ Most houses in the settlement are *pucca* and well-cemented, and several of them are adorned by designer ceramic tiles at the entrances.

There are also eight JJs within the Mangolpuri resettlement colony, as per records of the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB). The largest of these JJs is estimated to have 400 households, while the smallest one has 34 households.

Bastis of Udyog Nagar: C-3 Udyog Nagar and Udyog Nagar Water Tank No. 2 basti

Going leftward from Rohtak Road near the Peeragarhi metro station, on one side we see multistoreyed flatted complexes and factories as part of the Udyog Nagar industrial area, while on the other side, a small road leads us to a *basti*. We walk past a banquet hall and a showroom on our left as we make our way into the *basti*. To the right is a DUSIB (Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board) Community Toilet Complex (CTC) with a board that reads C-3, Udyog Nagar, Peeragarhi. According to the DUSIB's list of Jhuggi-Jhopri Clusters (JJs) in Delhi, there are 282 households in the JJ listed as "C-3 Udyog Nagar Near Pira Garhi Fly Over". The JJ is on land owned by the DDA and has a total area of 2887 sq. metres. One side of the JJ leads to the Mangolpuri Railway Station. Further down into the Udyog Nagar industrial area is Udyog Nagar Water Tank No. 2 *basti*. The *basti* has a total of 950 households and a total area of 10415 sq. metres, as per the DUSIB list. The *basti* is on land owned by the DDA.

Hans Raj Mulk Raj Bhatta, Jwalapuri and Jwalapuri resettlement colony

As we exit from gate no. 1 of the Udyog Nagar metro station (on the green line of the Delhi metro), we find an expanse of brick and mortar structures resembling a typical *basti*, and of vertically built up, well-tiled

⁸ City Development Plan 2006 for Delhi.

⁹ Both received notifications in 1982 for inclusion in Delhi's urban area.

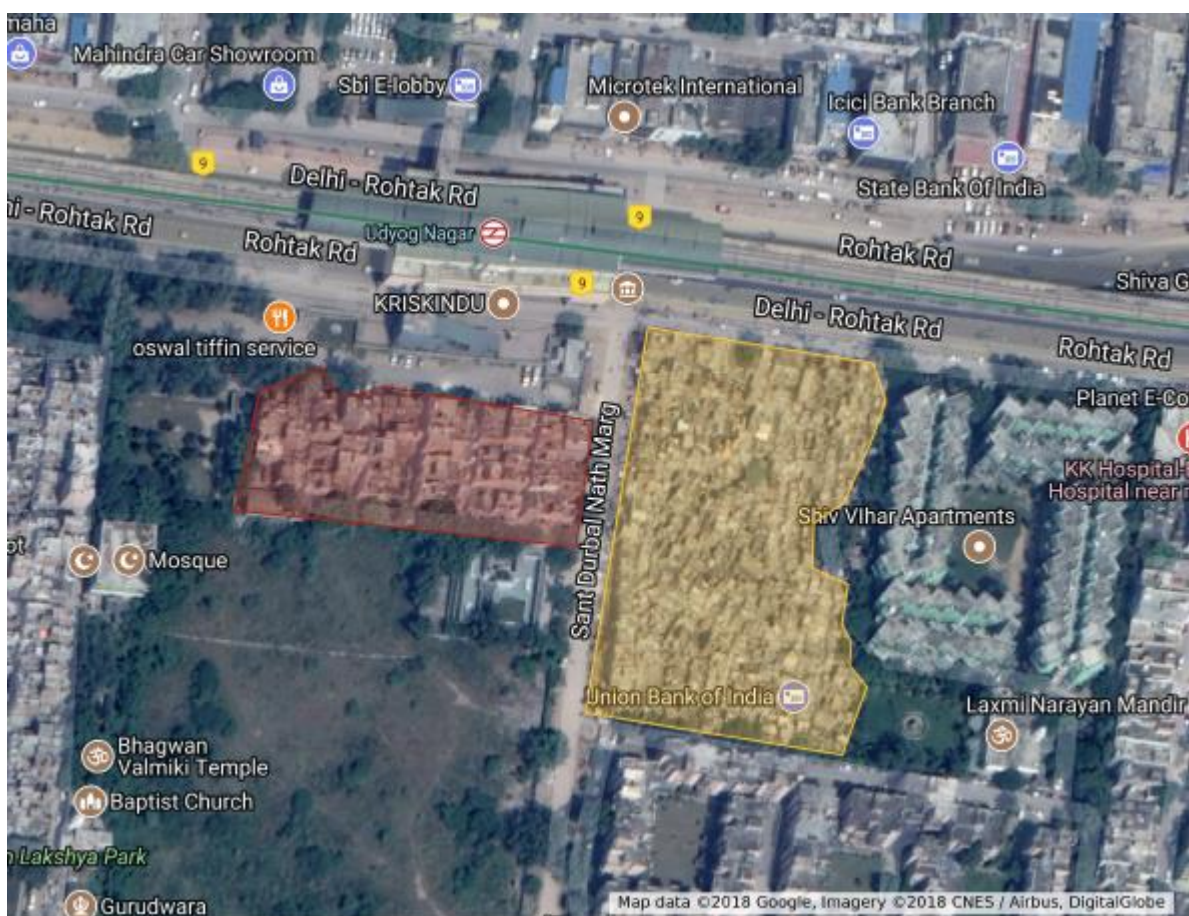
¹⁰ micro Housing Solutions (mHS), 'Report on Self-construction: Enabling safe and affordable housing in India' (October 2011).

¹¹ Interview at the office of Dr.A.V. Baliga Memorial Trust, April 12, 2013. The Baliga Trust is an NGO that has been active in Mangolpuri since resettlement in the mid-1970s.

housing structures built over more or less uniform plot sizes. The two areas are separated by a narrow road. This is shown in the map (Figure 2) below—the Jhuggi-Jhopri Cluster (JJC) called Hans Raj Mulk Raj Bhatta on the right in yellow, and the Jwalapuri resettlement colony on the left marked in red. The two areas are to the south of the Delhi-Rohtak Road as the map shows, and are located right across the Udyog Nagar Industrial Area.

As per records of the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB), Hans Raj Mulk Raj Bhatta has a population of 627 households and is spread over an area of 11,827 sq metres. Visually, one can tell that the *basti* is an old one, where people have invested in their homes—for example the housing structures are built upto a floor or two (G+1/ G+2), and unlike other *bastis* where floors are accessed by means of ladders, one sees pukka staircases constructed here. Some of the houses are well-built as an independent house in an urban village, and are not ramshackle residences. Some houses are smaller but look relatively better off to a typical JJC house.

Figure 2: Hans Raj Mulk Raj Bhatta *basti*, and Jwalapuri resettlement colony



Source: Google MyMaps

Note: Hans Raj Mulk Raj Bhatta basti is marked in yellow, and the Jwalapuri resettlement colony is marked in red.

As one walks past a park-area that serves as parking grounds for the Udyog Nagar metro station, one arrives at the Jwalapuri resettlement colony. Jwalapuri resettlement colony was reportedly established in the 1970s. Plot sizes here are of 25 square yards (*gaz*). The built up is dense, as houses have expanded vertically upto three floors (G+3) and in a lot of places, plots have been merged horizontally resulting in houses built over 50 square yards or even 75 square yards. Exteriors are well-tiled and well-built, and the toilets are built right outside the houses (similar to what one sees in Mangolpuri).