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IDRC –TTI Working Paper
The Liminality of a Housing Colony in Kanpur
Nagar
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The Liminality of a Housing Colony in Kanpur Nagar

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Introduction

Urbanisation in India is mainly unplanned. Planning is a minuscule component of the overall process of urbanization. The process is mostly fragmentary and emerges as an aggregation of mostly institutionally unregulated acts of individuals who are choosing to be city or town dwellers under certain economic and socio-cultural influences. The changes in the Indian society are so wide and sweeping that individual is giving in to the demands of urbanization. Unplanned form of urbanization is a low-cost variant while the planned one is a high-cost version. This paper is an attempt to understand the former form of urbanization. The main objective is to understand the processes through which housing colonies sprout, take shape and then over a period of time negotiate recognition in the institutional landscape of urbanisation. In this paper I focus on the emergence of a colony in Kanpur Nagar on the land of the erstwhile Ahirwan village. This paper is based on fieldwork done over last eight months in this village. The names of colonies and people are changed to protect identity of people.

Ahirwan is a village situated near national highway no. 2. Chakeri airport is located partly on the land of this village. Towards the east of Ahirwan, village Chakeri is located while towards the north village Mawaiaah is located. In south village Sajari is located while in west there are two villages Daheli Sujampur and Tatia Jhanaku are located. Ahirwan is located at a distance of 3 kms from Rama Devi chuaraha in Kanpur city. Highway and railway lines also pass through the village. In 1960 in Ahirwan village there were approximately seven hundred households. People of yadav caste whose main occupation was animal husbandry were the main inhabitants of the village. They used to keep buffaloes in good numbers. As the village was close to the city they sold milk there or in nearby Indian Airforce colonies. Earlier cultivation was also done in the

¹ The study was conceived and coordinated by me. I express my gratitude to Sukhmidhan Singh for contributing to research by data collection in the capacity of a Research Assistant.

entire village. But in last twenty years agriculture has declined in its vigour and reach and only two hamlets- Lodhan Purwa and Mathura Purwa of the village now engage in cultivation in some limited ways. These hamlets are located across the railway line connecting Kanpur and Allahabad. There were four ponds in the village before urbanization started. These ponds gradually got filled up because most houses became pucca and they did not need mud for housing purposes anymore. People started keeping animals on that land and then houses have been constructed on these ponds. Ahirwan was made part of Kanpur Municipal Board in 1958. Nobody had opposed inclusion of the village as part of the Board at that stage. People in fact welcomed it because they thought that it would lead to the development of the village. At that stage even electricity connection was not available in the village. Electrification in Ahirwan happened after around thirty years of being incorporated in urban areas. Drainage and roads (kharanjas) were developed around the same time. Sewerline in Ahirwan is currently being laid up in the abadi area of the old village and in new colonies that have come up on the land of the village. In last thirty years 17 colonies have come up on the land of this village. This includes 16 colonies that are recorded with the registration department of the state government. Apart from these 16 colonies there is another colony which is located near ICDC road. It is not listed in the registration department records. A significant part of village land was sold for housing purpose over last five decades. Even some Gaon Samaj (GS) lands have been sold by property dealers and some other GS lands have been encroached by people in the village, a few villagers shared.

Most of these colonies have been raised by the efforts of colonizers who procured some land and then developed plots for sale to individual buyers. These have been done either individually or through some housing society formed for this purpose. These colonies have been named by these colonizers only. The registrations of plots have happened with the concerned department. The change of ownership is however not automatically registered with the land revenue department. Mutation in ownership mostly happens with the initiative of any new buyer. Not much change however has happened with regard to the status of the revenue record of the village Ahirwan. Owners might have changed in record where mutation has happened but land has by and large remained classified 'for agriculture purpose only.' According to section 143 of UP Zamindari

Abolition and Land Reforms Act 1950 land use change should happen from agriculture to housing before the sale of land for housing purpose or construction of building. This should happen in the office of SDM in tehsil. With the notification of agricultural land converted for housing purposes people have usually the following benefits:

- once an area is classified for housing purpose then government agencies acquire such land only in exceptional circumstances
- the rate of the land increases and also attracts more compensation in case of forcible acquisition by the government
- it helps owners/property dealers in securing bank loan for purchase/construction and owners can also keep the constructed house for mortgage

The Making of Vikas Nagar (VN)

Vikas Nagar (VN)-I and II on Ahirwan land started developing in early 1980s. Two to three bighas land each were initially taken up for plotting by different societies. Year 2000 onwards people have started selling land directly to individual buyers. The plotting of VN was done in the beginning by Vikas Nagar Griha Nirman Samiti Secretary and other colonizers. The plotting was not done in an organized manner and VN was developed by sale of plots by different property dealers. This led to a lack of uniformity in plan of VN. It was actually a product of merging of different housing plans offered by different property dealers who did not do it adequately in coordination with one another. The main road of the colony is owned by a public sector undertaking (PSU). It is alleged that part of the land owned by this PSU was also sold by property dealers. In this area the property dealers have also sold ceiling land acquired by the government. These must have been sold without araji numbers. Vikas Nagar has residents who are mostly government service people, small-time businessmen, residents of erstwhile Ahirwan village and some settlers from nearby villages. In Vikas Nagar people from different castes have purchased their plots. These castes are mainly yadavs, pals, thakurs and brahmans. Colonisers have tried to sell their land to their caste-men first. It was tried in the beginning but when sufficient number of people from their castes did not turn up then it was made open to other caste

men. In case of Yadava Nagar, a nearby colony, most of the plots are owned by yadavs. There are colonies in the area which attempt to keep out people from other religious groups and dalits from owning any plot. Even in Vikas Nagar there would hardly be a few families from dalit castes and similarly a few followers of Christianity. In some parts of Vikas Nagar thakur families are in good numbers. As Ahirwan is a village of yadavs, thakurs wanted some security and hence they brought in their own caste members to the emerging colony. L. K. Yadav who has done plotting in VN had tried to give more land to yadavs and pals and then to other lower castes. Other property dealers also preferred doing it for their caste first before making it open for others. People who work with Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL)/Indian Airforce have also purchased many plots of land in the colony. This has gradually led to a more diversified composition of people in VN. Gajendra Singh who is an inhabitant of VN said that he also wanted people from his caste to live around him. Someone in his neighbourhood is selling a plot and he is interested in someone from his caste to purchase that land.

In early 1940s the airforce station/airport of Chakeri started being constructed. Significant portions of the lands of villages Ahirwan and Mawaiaah were acquired for this purpose. In Ahirwan brick kilns were laid for this purpose and manufactured bricks were used for construction of airport. The land used for kilns was not acquired. When kilns were finally removed then also airforce did not vacate the land of the people, people in Ahirwan alleged. Farmers engaged airforce in a legal battle. This case reached up to the Supreme Court. The decision finally went in favour of farmers. Some farmers have taken possession of land and some have still not been able to do that. According to Bhagwan Singh in 1977-78, 900 villages were served notices for acquiring any surplus land over approximately 1000 square meter available with a farmer. In view of this impending threat of acquisition by the government at throwaway prices farmers sold their lands in haste to societies formed for housing purposes. This hastened the process of unplanned form of urbanization. When the new government came in power then this notification was removed. Society members and promoters who had purchased land from farmers became very rich overnight as they purchased land at cheap rates in this uncertain period and sold it to individual buyers at high rates.

According to a rough estimate by residents, Vikas Nagar is now based on approximately 100 acre lands and there are 2500 plots. 60% plots are of different societies while 40 % of plots are sold directly by farmers. There was no coordination between them. The names of different societies are different but they adopted the name of the colony as Vikas Nagar because this name had become popular and it was also written on a big board on the highway by the Vikas Nagar Griha Nirman Samiti. Approximately sixty percent of people who had purchased land in the colony have constructed their houses and have started living there since then. On the other side of the highway, another colony by the name Vikas Nagar-II has been established and hence the original Vikas Nagar has started calling itself Vikas Nagar-I.

The society had originally seven members, one president and one secretary and its registration was done in the office of Uttar Pradesh Cooperative Housing Ltd., Govt. of UP. This constituted the executive committee of the society. L. K. Yadav, a property dealer who did plotting in the original Vikas Nagar said that societies developed membership of people who contributed membership charge of Rs.110/- each. This constituted the general body. The society was authorized to do plotting. Societies were exempted from stamp duties at the time of registration. Later on 2 per cent development charges on the registration amount is deposited with the municipal corporation. The society is not responsible for any development activities in the colony, he said. It needs to be handled by Municipal Corporation but little work has been done by them so far. But according to bye-laws, societies are expected to plan for basic infrastructure and utilities for residents. As societies are no longer exempted from stamp duties now they do not get formed anymore, land is now mostly sold by an owner to a buyer directly.

While constructing their houses, many house owners face difficulties. Raghubir Singh is an original inhabitant of Ahirwan village. He constructed his house on his farmland in 1990. While constructing his house the municipal corporation served a notice to him as he was constructing a pucca house without the map approved by Kanpur Development Authority and hence he claimed had to pay a bribe of Rs. 1000/-. This approval is done by KDA when a copy of the suggested

map of the house is sent by the owner of the house to KDA. KDA before approving any map requires No-objection Certificates (NOCs) from many departments such as fire, water resources, electricity etc. He is now paying house tax since 1990. The purpose behind payment of house taxes is that in scenarios when KDA/KMC poses any difficulties for houses which are not approved, the house-owners can claim some legitimacy by producing proofs of house taxes payment. House owners also attempt to get house numbers from municipalities as early as possible. Allotted house number is also used to add legitimacy to the ownership title to a constructed house. Ahirwan inhabitant Mohan Kumar Yadav was constructing a four storied building in VN with two lower floors to be used for commercial purpose while the two upper floors would be used for residential purpose. Mohan Kumarji's house was sealed by KDA and the construction work was delayed for some time. For political reason the sealing was done selectively, he claimed. Later, with payment of bribe construction work started again, he added. He had got the map for construction approved by KDA but had not followed the approved map in constructing the house. He told that if one followed the map then a lot of land would go waste. Very few people in any case follow the map for construction even if they have an approved map with them.

As discussed earlier plotting has been done irregularly in VN without any common plan agreed upon by different developers and property dealers. The roads are not broad and in many cases not linked to one another. There are plots of different sizes and roads of different breadths. Many people have encroached on the land left to be used for roads to be constructed. Biseshwar Mishra, a resident of VN pointed out, it is only for namesake we live in a city but the condition is bad and poorer than village. Mr. Mishra had purchased two plots of 300 sq. yards from Vikas Nagar Griha Nirman Samiti more than two decades back. They are living in the colony since 1998 after having constructed their house. When he had constructed his house there were not many houses in the colony. They are paying house tax since 2000 which is currently Rs. 500/- per year. Mishraji told that before purchasing land in Vikas Nagar he had deposited money in KDA approved colonies in Ratanlal Nagar, Indira Nagar in Kalyanpur Awas Vikas but his name did not appear in the lottery.

Basic Civic Services in Vikas Nagar

One Mr. Awasthi, who had purchased some land in VN and had been living in the colony for the last fifteen years did not see any significant development work happening. An unregistered organization by the name Vikas Nagar Vikas Samiti was formed by the inhabitants of VN to undertake socio-cultural and civic activities. It has not done anything concrete there for availability of basic services so far. Brahman Jagruti Manch is another forum that exists in the colony but it has also not done anything concrete there. VN is an underdeveloped and haphazard colony. One reason of the lack of development of VN is that the colony is not adequately populated and hence there is little pressure on political leaders to get work done in this locality as it has fewer votes. Besides that the colony is not KDA approved. There is no park in the colony. There is no municipal water supply in the colony. Now water pipes are being laid up but supply has not started. The mainline of water pipe is of 4 inches only. Water supply to house would be made available by even thinner pipes. One would require booster pumps for getting water in houses through pipes of smaller diameter.

Electric poles have been there for around ten years. During election this year street lights have been put up. Some work has been done as part of MLC fund. MLC has sanctioned money for electricity transformer and installing five pillars for electricity supply. Corporation ward member has only recently got streetlight installed in the colony. People in past had installed five pillars by contributing to the electricity department. Electricity connection comes to the colony to six poles and through one transformer. From there onwards supply wires are fitted with bamboo sticks which are managed by people only. If there is any fault in electricity supplies, then Rs. 150/- is paid to any electric mechanic for repairs and no help comes from the electricity department. A2Z is a private contractor which collects wastes from door to door. This is done on behalf of Municipal Corporation. Waste is used for electricity generation, for construction of bricks as well as manufacturing organic fertilizer. Waste collection is happening in VN since January 2012. Big waste-bins are now kept on the main highway road. This is part of public private partnership arrangement between municipal corporation and a private company.

Municipal Corporation hardly does any development work in these colonies. The current ward councillor Gopi Yadav who lives near Rama Devi had helped the earlier MLC win election expecting that Vikas Nagar would be developed through his support. The MLC did not do anything significant for six years but gave assurances all this while, he said. Only thing he did contribute to was the installation of electric pillars. In the last Lok Sabha election this area came under Bilhaur parliamentary constituency. Residents of VN also met the current MP many times. Junior Engineer (JE) was sent to the colony for surveying for the construction of RCC road. The proposal had reached upto CDO office. After that nothing concrete happened for around three years. When the residents met the MP recently he said that let first sewerline be constructed only then CC road would be taken up. Drainage and sewerline are still not constructed in VN-1 though it has started in Ahirwan abadi area and VN-II. Wastewater spills over to streets thereby making approach roads slushy and wet in different parts of the colony.

Property Dealing, Pelf, Power and Urbanisation

A property dealer from a nearby village said that in converting land for residential purpose a property dealer has to pay so much bribe that the cost of the project almost gets doubled. People from lower-middle or lower class would not be ready to purchase that costly plot or any apartment constructed on that plot. Hence the property dealers do not usually take NOC from KDA nor get it converted into residential plots, he added. Banks do not finance costs incurred on purchasing such plots or constructing house. The property dealers carry out their work by taking money from private financiers. A substantial of it is black money. The real estate is a very good place for investment of black money. This form of urbanization thrives on it. The property dealer usually sells land by entering into an agreement with farmers. The agreement is usually such that farmer would agree to sell all his land for the dealer over a period. This agreement is entered by a property dealer and a farmer on the promise of payment of an agreed per unit price of land. Some initial advance is made by the dealer. This is used as a mechanism by property dealers to retain land with them without having paid the entire promised sum at one go. Besides that the cost of the land is also frozen by the dealer while market price for the land increases. This usually works

against the farmers and suits property dealers earn huge profit on land. Sometime a few farmers ask for upward revision in rates for land. Another property dealer and builder from Sumedha Constructions told that land use change from agriculture to housing should be done prior to plotting of land. But it does not happen usually. The main objective before property dealer is to earn profit. One wants to sell land as early as possible so that he can reinvest the earned money in new land. He said that some property dealers sell even government and GS land at the time of plotting. Occasionally, same plots are sold to two buyers as well. He said that 98% people purchasing land do not know about map. People usually do not know the location of their plots (part of some araji number) they have purchased. And therefore such mishaps are reported occasionally. Registrar is only interested in stamp duties and many times registration is done without araji numbers. On some occasions, land is sold by mentioning boundary (chouhaddi) of the plot.

Property dealers and real estate players get inside information from development authorities such as KDA, UPSIDC, National Highway Authority of India, CPWD and PWD about new projects to be taken up by them; one of them shared it with us. They purchase land for plotting around these projects at cheaper rates from farmers. They purchase these through three methods. These are informal agreement, formal agreement and power of attorney. First, is an informal agreement in which case the farmer receives some money from property dealer in advance and the latter arranges to sell all his land to different buyers. Farmer gets compensation for his land as and when his plots are sold. In this case farmer himself sells land directly to buyers. Property dealer has three advantages from such a deal:

- Since he is not directly involved in the sale he does not incur stamp fees
- Whatever the property dealer earns from the sale of land he does not have to pay any tax on it as he is not formally involved in sale and purchase
- If the land is disputed then farmer would be involved and property dealer would not have any role in that

Farmers now want better prices for their land and therefore want to decide price of land with the help of property dealers at the point of sale and only brokerage is given by them to property dealers. Bigger property dealers mostly get registered agreements done. Informal arrangements are getting less frequent in number. In the second case agreement is formally done either through notary or registrar when the property dealer promises to purchase all land of a farmer in usually three years' period at a mutually agreed rate. Usually, property dealer is the beneficiary of any appreciation of the rate of land. Sometime, entire land of farmer is purchased by the property dealer through registration (sale deed). Power of Attorney is also used for the sale and purchase of land. This is mostly done in scenarios when owner is either physically not available or kept out of the process of sale. It is also used to get exemptions from stamp duties. This is done for both agriculture and housing land. According to current laws in the state power of attorney can now be given to any blood relative only as it aims to restrict ways to escape payment of stamp duties to the state government.

A lot of misinformation is also done by property dealers at the time of selling plots. Harinam Singh who is a retired person from airforce and is an inhabitant of the colony VN told that when property dealers sold the plot to him he had said that there would be a park in front of his house. He had also told him that there is space left for marketing complex. When he started living on his land, the land delineated for park and complex both were sold to individual buyers. When property dealer was reminded about the park and marketing complex he said that he was facing loss and hence was selling land.

Unplanned development, black money, property dealer and mafia all work together in construction of the city. Pratap Singh who works as a clerk some outfit of GOI told that on araji number 705 he had a 300 sq. yard plot which he had purchased from Ms. Riddhi. He is living on 704 araji number which is ceiling land. Water and wastes were deposited there on his plot. When he got his plot cleaned and started constructing house on his plot, Richhpal Singh, a local mafia threatened him that the plot was owned by him. He asked for money to let Pratap Singh continue with construction work. Mr. Pratap refused paying him. He intimidated the police and MLA. At

the site of construction Richhpal Singh turned up with fifteen rifle holders. He put revolver on Pratap's head and asked him to leave. On being released he ran away from there and reached a friend's house from where he called up the police. When police reached the construction site all freshly constructed walls were razed to the ground. Two people had come to the police station at the same time with registration papers of some other land but with the same araji number. On being verified it was found to be a different plot of 100 sq yard. It was occupied by some other fellow who had also done registration in his name and had already constructed a house. Richhpal Singh was arbitrating on somebody's behalf. It was an instance of double registration of the same property. SHO wanted an FIR to be filed by Pratap against Richhpal but the former requested to find a middle path as Richhpal is a criminal. Two people who were arrested were later released on his request. He could get his house constructed without any difficulty afterwards.

Trinity of KDA, KMC and Land Revenue Department: Institutional Landscape of Urbanisation

Three institutions that have most important roles in formation, maintenance and wholistic development of Kanpur city are Kanpur Development Authority (KDA), Kanpur Municipal Corporation (KMC) and land revenue department. In addition to these three institutions there are many other departments of government which have important roles to play in provision of important services in the city such as electricity and water. There is however lack of adequate coordination between the three agencies. KDA's jurisdiction is approximately upto 25 kms from its office located in the centre of the city. It was formed in 1973. In east it goes upto Sarsaul, in north it goes upto Gangaganj and Shuklaganj in Unnao district and in west it goes upto Choubepur and in south it goes upto Bhaunti and Bidhnoo. The head of KDA is a commissioner rank officer and upadhyaksha is another senior IAS officer. Secretary is a senior PCS officer. There are four other joint secretaries who are also PCS officers. KDA is divided in four zones. The office of KDA in Kanpur is located in Motijheel. KDA acquires land from farmers and develops land and houses for housing, commercial and industrial purposes. It is also the regulatory body for urban development. Any new construction or plotting within its jurisdiction needs to be approved by KDA. People have to deposit eight copies of the proposed plan to it. It

approves map after taking No-Objection Certificates (NOC) from different departments. It imposes penalty if construction is not done according to the approved map. It tries to ensure that roads of housing colonies should be broad enough so that fire vehicle can reach there. There should be some space left in the front and backyard of each construction. KDA seals houses which have either not taken approval or have violated rules of KDA. In distribution of constructed houses and plots there is a very high reservation and after that rest are available for common citizens. A lot of irregularities exist in allocation of plots and penalties are also used selectively, people in VN allege. In corporation there are officials who take care of environment, road and traffic, engineering, health and medical, horticulture related activities. It also manages parks & crematoriums. The Nagar Nigham regulation had come to Kanpur in 1959. In 2000 MSW (Municipal Solid Waste) act was passed. It was passed to manage solid waste under JNURM. A contract was signed between corporation and a private company known as A2Z. Corporation's sanitation employees take care of drains and road only. A2Z employees take care of collection of wastes from house and transport waste from dump place to their plants. They take user charge from people. From houses in slums they charge Rs. 10/- per month and from the middle class Rs. 30/- per month while from flats it is Rs. 50/- per month. From commercial units they charge more. They sort the waste in their plant at Bhaunti and useful waste is recycled. They have a 12 MW plant there. They have entered into a contract with Power Grid Corporation of India. They deposit user charges with corporation and collect their share from the corporation. They take care of their cost from it. 2011 Swachhta Puraskar by Government of India was given to the Commissioner of Corporation for better handling of solid wastes. User charges have been made compulsory and if anyone does not pay that it would collect additional charges from them. Corporation has a whole lot of other responsibilities with regard to treatment of routine diseases and control of communicable diseases, registration of death and birth, arrangement of primary education, making traffic orderly, managing libraries and museums etc. The financial condition of Nagar Nigham is usually not good. It gets some support from 12th State Finance Commission. Chungi tax which was an important source of revenue had been removed over two decades back and this had led to substantial loss of revenue to corporation. This was compensated to some extent by user charges. Despite these changes the capacity of municipal corporations to deliver

services is generally inadequate and not keeping pace with the increasing pace of urbanization. Urban local self-government institutions face resource constraints all over India. This is just a preliminary observation about Kanpur Nagar Nigham and would require further desk research.

The role of revenue department is in classification, recording and granting approval for change of land use from agriculture to housing or industrial purpose and collection of land revenue. But this is not automatically tied up with the processes of sale. First sale happens thereby leading to the establishment of colonies which are unplanned and raised on agricultural land. This leads to a whole lot of complications in urban development.

The Welter of Claims and Titles

In development of new colonies the way plotting is done, a lot of confusion is caused. Informal relationships are, on many occasions, honoured alongwith formal procedures of transfer of land and ownership. People adhere to informal arrangements for a long time but when legal entitlements are claimed it leads to contesting claims and conflict. This was found to be happening in Vikas Nagar. Following are two cases of this welter of claims in the process of urbanization.

Case of Raghbir Singh

Raghbir Singh in Ahirwan told that his father had sold a sale deed to a cooperative housing society in 1989. This society was mainly operated by one person who was not the office bearer of the society. When Jairaj Singh, the father of Raghbir Singh got to know that the land which he had sold was araji number 612 on which he wanted his sons to settle down and which was along the roadside he made complaint to the property dealer. The property dealer suggested to him that 612 should be left open for his sons and plotting be done by the society on araji number 613. This was an oral understanding and no documentary changes were done. Jairaj Singh allotted two plots each to every son on araji numbers 611 and 612. All his sons, except one who has sold his land to someone else from another village, have taken possession of the land. The

person from another village has got mutation done in his name and possessing the land currently. Later the same plot was converted in the name of society through a process of mutation.

The society had purchased 612 but in revenue records it had continued in name of Jairaj Singh because the mutation was not done by the society. Mutation should automatically get done but in majority of cases it does not happen. In the meanwhile the land was transferred to the sons through inheritance after the death of his father. This was an instance of double ownership. One plot on araji number 612 is covered with a boundary wall and is of 400 square yard. This is possessed by Raghubir Singh. Alongwith sale of 612 two other araji numbers such as 705/1 and 705/3 had also been sold to the society. The mutation of this portion was also not done. A significant part of 705/3 was lying vacant and hence one son of Jairaj Singh wanted to do plotting and sell them. On this property dealer got the mutation of all sold plots (612, 705/1 and 705/3) done. Two of his brothers testified in favour of the property dealer and hence mutation was done by the society. In araji no.613 society had done plotting and people have constructed their houses while on araji no. 612 Raghubir Singh and his brothers have plots and constructed houses but are owned by the society. They can not receive loan on that land, can not do mortgage nor can they get good price on the sale of land. Had brothers not interfered with the affair of the plots 705/1 and 705/3 the society would not have gone for mutation. Raghubir Singh has been suggested by a lawyer to get the house number from corporation so that his position gets legitimised. The lawyer suggested this on the ground that identification and measurement of araji number would be difficult as a good number of houses have been constructed in neighbourhood.

Case of Mahesh Yadav

Mahesh Yadav from Kanpur Dehat had purchased a plot of land in name of his mother-in-law. His father-in-law had retired from railways and they wanted a plot of land after retirement to construct a house. He had purchased this land from someone who worked with HAL. This plot of land was 125 sq yard in area and was part of araji number 704/3 which is a government acquired land under ceiling. He was asked why did he purchase this land knowing fully well that mutation can not be done in her mother-in-laws' name. He said that he got the record of 12 years of that

land checked. Though it was entered as ceiling land in revenue record he was convinced that no action would be taken against all those who are occupying this land. Gopikrishna Inter College, a church and twenty other houses are also on this araji number. He told that registrar does registration of ceiling land because araji number is mostly not enclosed in case of registration for housing purpose and hence there remains confusion regarding title of the land.

Concluding Observations

Many inhabitants of VN refer to living in VN worse off than nearby villages as till recently there were no municipal services available there. Still, they have continued to live there and majority of the inhabitants attribute the following reasons for settling in this colony. First, it could have been difficult for them to settle in any KDA approved colony as they could not afford the cost there. Second, they hope that sooner or later KDA would have to approve it and all municipal services would be available to them. Third, those who have relocated from rural areas in VN did that either for accessing better quality education for their children or daily commuting from the village to Kanpur was arduous for them.

The village Ahirwan was incorporated in urban area very early. It however did not benefit much from urban services as planned form of urbanization hardly happened there. Hence some people in nearby villages are skeptical of urban services reaching to the people due to becoming part of corporation. In Chhatmara, a nearby urban village, many villagers said that Corporation has not been good for them. In villages electricity comes at a cheaper rate though available for lesser number of hours. Drainage and roads are there in the village and are managed by the gram panchayat. In colonies such as VN one has to wait for 20 to 30 years before such facilities reach them. The governance system in village is such that people can easily talk to the pradhan over their complaints. In case of an urban ward, Councillor is people's representative for a bigger area and hence less accessible to common people. In case of an important need landless people can be granted free land both for housing and cultivation purposes in a village. The work of MANREGA is available only in rural areas and not for urban areas. Kisan Credit Cards is not available in urbanized villages. People do not require approval from KDA for construction of

their houses, nor have they to pay any house tax in villages. In Chhatmara, water is available through handpumps which are installed by the government. Everyone pays house tax which ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 1000/- per household. As part of Kanshiram Samagr Vikas Yojana and sewer lines have been laid up and houses have been constructed for the poor and SCs in Chhatmara. Electricity is available from KESCO for the last two years only. They have waited for almost 40 years for these services to reach them. It is understood by many that it will still take a generation for the village to be completely urbanized with good quality attendant services available to them.

Government agencies take substantial time to make available urban services to newly incorporated areas. There is also a lack of coordination between the three main institutions of urbanization i.e. KDA, KMC and revenue department. This is most evident from the revenue map of the village Ahirwan which does not show any housing colony that has come up on the land of Ahirwan village. Of the three agencies the most updated about the field scenario is municipal corporation as people report to corporation about their houses, seek out their house numbers & services and pay house tax for legitimating their claim. People from this colony depend substantially, for being formally recognized as a housing colony and securing certain basic services, on peoples' representatives ranging from corporator, MLC and MP. In democracy peoples' representatives can not turn a deaf year to their most fundamental requirements of living in the new colony even while the colony straddles the liminal space between rurality and urbanity.