



From Collection of Comrade G.L. Reddy

The Lost Century: How the Textile Workers of Mumbai Got Short Shift

Neera Adarkar

The images accompanying this piece are taken from the photo-essay "One Hundred Years One Hundred Voices" The Millworkers of Girangaon: An Oral History by Meena Menon and Neera Adarkar.

Background: after the 1982 strike

The Eighteen-month-long 1982-83 textile strike is seen as the turning point in the history of the textile industry of Mumbai. In the collective memory of citizens, issues relating to textile workers have a close connection to this strike, one of the largest and longest in the history of the world. It not only affected the 250,000 strong workforce but the entire neighbourhood popularly known as Girangaon (The textile village), located in the heart of the island city. When the textile industry was the economic back bone of the city, two thirds of the adult working population in the city were working in the mills. Girangaon was the home for most of these workers and soon developed into a closely knit neighbourhood. The mixed zoning of Girangaon which evolved over a century led to an integrated and sustainable development. The balance between livelihoods, housing, environment, social and cultural institutions, active political participation, all imparted an unique quality of life to this working class district. However, the last two decades have seen a systematic closure of the industry leading to a wide scale unemployment of the labour.

It is widely believed that the strike was the main cause for the decline of the industry and that its charismatic leader, Dr. Datta Samant, was responsible for the defeat and the subsequent sufferings of the workers. However, this is a gross over-simplification. There is a complex set of factors beyond the '82 strike that led to both the decline of the industry and the defeat of the workers. It is also interesting to note that the mill workers do not hold Dr. Samant's leadership responsible for the defeat. It is interesting to note that Dr. Samant himself was extremely reluctant to take up the leadership of the union in the textile industry. The workers were let down by Shiv Sena leader Bal Thackeray who, at the last minute, withdrew a strike he was to lead and announced his faith in the Congress government. This led the workers to gherao Dr. Samant to lead the strike who himself admitted that he was not familiar with the industry. For over 5 decades the textile workers were organised under by the formidable communist led Girni Kamgar Union (GKU), established in 1927. In fact the GKU was the showcase for the international trade union movement. But by the mid-seventies, the GKU had lost its hold over the textile workers. Under Com. Dange, the GKU had always planned strategies for industrial actions only after carefully considering the sustaining capacity of the workers. Instead of carrying on a long-drawn-out battle, the strategy that had worked over decades was to withdraw at the right juncture in order to fight another day. But by the mid-seventies, the GKU had lost its hold over the textile workers.



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It is not so well known that the demands of the strike were not limited only to the wage hike. In fact, the most important demand was for the ballot voting to choose the representative union. Under Bombay Industrial Relations (BIR) Act, the workers were saddled with the compliant Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh (RMMS), the Congress affiliated union, which had always sided with mill owners during a dispute ever since it was established in 1946. The combined efforts of RMMS and the Congress government, along with the mill owners and the newly emerging mafia, broke the strike. Dr Samant never actually called off the strike officially after a year, even though due to various factors, including the internal politics within the Congress, it was heading for a defeat. It is also important to note that the decision making process during the strike was not totally left to Dr. Samant. The mill committees and the zonal committees constituted by the workers in the mills and in the neighbourhood planned many militant actions on their own often without the knowledge of Dr. Samant.

After the strike failed, the militant workers who had sacrificed everything and yet had retained their dignity were faced with a cruel choice: either to stay back or rejoin. 100,000 workers lost their jobs and the remaining workers had to resume work with the burden of their defeat. During this time, the mill owners had increasingly started



From Collection of Comrade G.L. Reddy:
Women activists during freedom struggle

outsourcing the cheaper weaving production to the internal powerloom sectors of Bhiwandi and Malegaon to save on costs. Labour in these towns was available at half the wage, for much longer shifts, without any legal protection. To minimise their labour force, some mills like Modern closed an entire shift.

Towards closure:

In 1984, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi appointed an expert committee to look into sick mills. One of its recommendations was to make a budget provision of Rs. 400 crores for owners to modernise their mills. These funds were made available to the owners at very low interest rates. But they were reluctant to run the mills and to take advantage of the benefit offered by the central government. They were already eyeing the real estate potential of their land. They made a demand for the sale of land on the justification that it would create interest-free capital for modernisation.

Workers' organisations of all persuasions were against the sale of land. They organised protest marches under the leadership of the left parties, as well as under Dr. Samant. The

government stalled the issue and when mill owners felt that the government was not obliging them by permitting the sale of land, the owners took a unilateral decision to close down the mills.

"It was as if that now the mill owners wanted to go on strike!

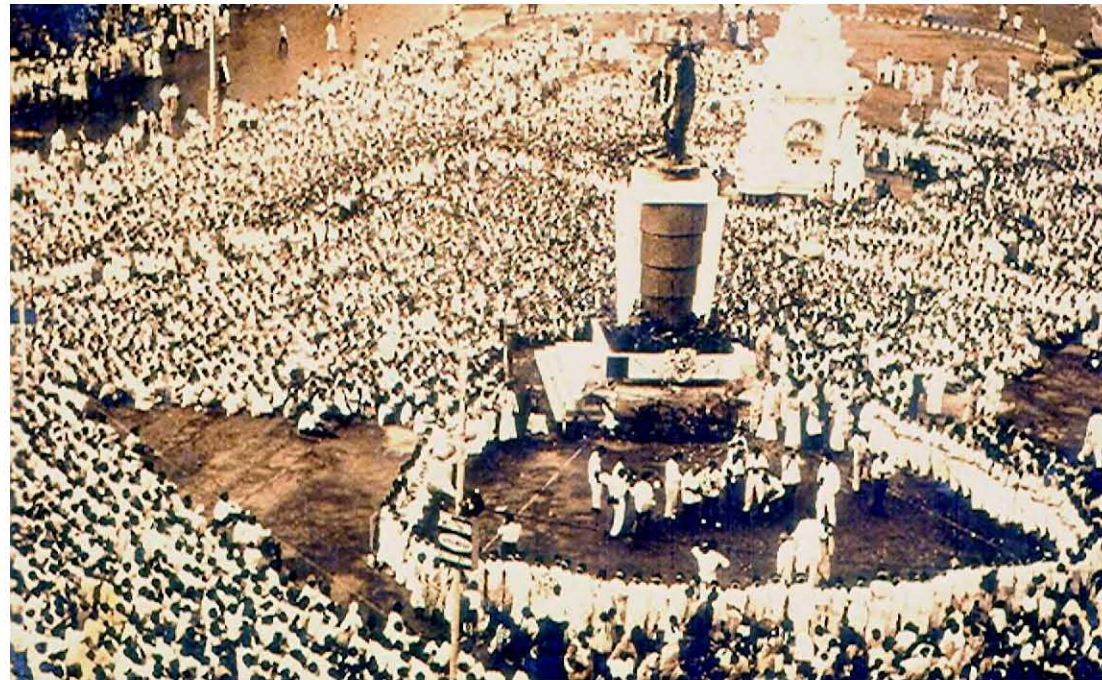
I clearly remember that on 17th March 87, I saw the notice put up by the management on the gate of our mill, the Modern mill. It read as follows, 'This mill is in a bad financial state and can bear no further losses. The management is compelled to close down the mill because the government has refused the sale of land.' We were shocked. Our management had already closed down one entire working shift after the 82 strike. The number of workers before the strike was 3300 but after the strike fizzled out; the management employed only 2200 workers. Yes, they were paid the compensation but it was meagre. For e.g. after working for 5 years, a worker got only around Rs. 20,000.00 as compensation for losing the job."

Datta Iswalkar (General Secretary, Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti -GKSS, retired from Modern Mill. Lives in the low rise chawls in the compound of Modern Mill)

Towards struggle:

The same pattern of closure was followed by many other mills. Identical notices were put up in the mills. New Great Eastern Mill, Swan Mill, Kamla and Raghuvanshi all these mills closed down during 1987-89. This illegal closure, without the sanction of the government was going to affect the future of thousands of workers.

"Every day the workers gathered at the gate. They were helpless. I couldn't take this



From Collection of Comrade G.L. Reddy:
Celebration of formation of State of Maharashtra at Flora Fountain, renamed as Hutatma Chowk

any more. My colleague Bal Nar and I decided to visit some other mills, which were also closing down. We first went to the gate of Swan Mill. Vitthal Ghag, an employee from Swan mill joined us and with him we visited the New Great Eastern Mill. Vasant Mahadik joined us from there and so did Desai from Raghuvanshi. We put our heads together and decided to meet the leaders of the established trade unions of the Left parties, with a hope that they will take our issue to the state government. They did not seem very much keen. We met Dr. Samant in his office at Ghatkopar. He sounded totally dejected. 'Nothing will happen,' he said, 'there is no use'. Then we met George Fernandes at the Janata Kendra in Tardeo. George also felt that it would be a futile attempt given the background of '82. We finally also met Datta Salvi of Shivsena. Nobody wanted to lead a battle they thought was a losing one.

"Here we were, a bunch of workers determined to fight against the closure and against the sale of land. We could not trust the mill owners to run the mills after the sale were permitted. We were left with no choice but to go ahead on our own. After all we were the ones who were the ultimate sufferers. This feeling gave us the impetus.

On 2nd October, Gandhi Jayanti day, we decided to call a larger meeting in Nare Park, (Nare Park Ground has seen innumerable public meetings addressed by prominent leader over the last 100 years), We were not sure if the workers would trust us -a motley group of six workers from the ten closed mills, with no backing from political party or from any established union. To our surprise 150 workers turned up



Collection of Comrade G.L. Reddy: Communist led Girni Kamgar Union Activist

at Nare Park. It was really assuring. In that meeting, we resolved to set up an independent committee. We named it Band Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti (BKSS, Closed Mills Workers Action Committee)". Datta Iswalkar

BGKSS had an interesting composition. The core group came from conflicting backgrounds like socialist, congress, CPI (ML) and also Shivsena. However, they shared a common immediate objective. They were all determined to get the mills opened and would ensure that the 25,000 workers languishing without jobs or their dues got justice. Despite the scepticism expressed by a large part of city's political community, the rainbow coalition not only lasted but even won a large part of its struggle. It built a union which had a diverse character and worked on different fronts beyond protest actions.

One of the first activities, apart from the regular protests, was to organise an All India Textile Conference on the Textile Policy in Podar College at Matunga in Mumbai in April 1990. The objective was to analyse the textile policy, to identify the 'root causes for the industry's sickness and to restore it to reasonable health'. The base paper was drafted by the veteran textile expert, Bagaram Tulpule, who was one of the members of the Expert Committee on textile industries, constituted by the Central Government in 1984.

The conference addressed the issue of the mill machinery and the capital getting tied down unproductively due to outsourcing, which was possible only due to the rampant exploitation of powerloom workers.

Girangaon was waking up and showing its militancy after a gap of nearly eight years. Committees began taking morchas to the mill gates every day. Finally on the ninth day, Chief Minister Sudhakar Rao Naik visited the site. He assured the workers that he would resolve the issue within a month. However, it turned out to be a futile assurance.

"We then decided on a daring action. Taking over New Great Eastern Mill! We decided to climb the 20-ft-high wall and enter the mill and start the machines. It wasn't easy.



From Collection of Comrade G.L. Reddy: Public meeting of millworkers in Girangaon (Old Photo)

At 4 am, we went inside a chawl that is located on the rear side of the mill. We placed a ladder in the W.C. block of the chawl (which have common toilets) and climbed on the boundary wall, one by one -- we were two men and two women. The chawl residents helped us. Jumping from the top of the wall inside the compound was risky but we did it! We quietly sat in the eerie darkness till dawn and then jumped on to the water tank. A large crowd of anxious workers had gathered outside the mill gate. They were waiting for us to open the gate from inside. We waved at them and as soon as we opened the gate, the cheering workers barged in! All under the nose of the security guards and the police! The workers first took over the task of cleaning all the machines that had gathered dust and cobwebs. It was a great feeling to be back at work on the weaving machines. We got many visitors from all over the city. One of them was filmmaker Anand Patwardhan. He made a short film on this 'takeover by the workers'.

We remained inside for four days before the police finally entered the mill in full strength to arrest us." Datta Iswalkar

The BGKSS carried out many actions that were novel and imaginative. The Sangharsh Samiti made conscious efforts to invite the city's middle class to participate in their protest actions. This way many professionals, artists, academics, architects, got associated with the struggle. After a series of more actions like morchas and gheraos, the government finally enacted a legislation to revive the closed mills but it was with a rider.

DCR 58 of 1991:

The closure of the textile mills in the late 80's and 90 coincided with the change in the government policy towards liberalisation. The globalisation period since the 1990s witnessed the city's industrial sector which has been the backbone of the working class economy steadily closing down. In 1991 the government made legislation under Development Control Regulation (DCR) 58 which allowed the mill owners to sale the land. For the first time the mill owners were allowed the "change of user" from 'industrial' to 'commercial/residential' through the DCR 58 on the condition that they

could use the funds for revival of the mills. They were allowed to sell only 15% of the land and use the resources to modernise the mills.

However, the workers were apprehensive about the intentions both of the owners and of the government. The BGKSS feared that the mill owners would not necessarily modernise the mills if they were allowed the sale of land. Given their track record they were more likely to shift the mills outside the city instead of running them. Secondly, it was quite clear that mere modernisation could not revive the mills. Instead of such ad hoc measures such as allowing the mills to sell their assets, the government should have reviewed the textile policy to encourage its revival, thereby securing the livelihood of the workers. Their fears were to come true. The nexus of the politicians, bureaucrats and the owners was working on devious ways to see how to exploit the real estate, under the garb of benefitting the workers.

After 1991, five to six mills like Hindustan, Mafatlal and Morarji sold 15% of their land for commercial exploitation. 'Kalpataru' a 27-storey-high residential tower was built by Hindustan Mill and a 'state of art' hospital stood on the land of Morarji Mill. Some like Phoenix, Raghuvanshi and Matulya created extra space by digging further into the existing plinth and constructing extra floors within the large volumes of the industrial structures, to be leased out to commercial establishments. All this was done under the pretext of retaining the existing structures. Even the smallest warehouses were leased out to fancy showrooms. Not a single of these mills undertook any kind of modernisation. A delegation of workers had met BMC Commissioner Mr K. Nalinakshan who ordered the Corporation's Chief Engineer to accompany them to the mills. The BMC's team was shown how the land was illegally converted to commercial use. It was very clear that the owners wanted to exploit the 'change of user' benefit in the DCR 58 but were not ready to fulfil the commitment in the same DCR to run the mill. All this was in connivance with the BMC and state government.

The workers felt cheated. The government did not own up to the responsibility to monitor the misuse of the DCR. In fact there was no provision in the DCR for monitoring the process. The government had invested full trust in the mill owners. However, most closed mills did start and the workers started receiving their dues.

Launching a new union:

BGKSS then launched a formal union registered under Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti (GKSS) with advocate Gayatri Singh as the President and Datta Iswalkar as the Secretary. This was a unique union because for the first time a textile union was formed as well as led by the workers themselves who did not necessarily have a common political affiliation.

9th August 1992 was the golden jubilee year of the Quit India Movement. The government had planned an elaborate event at the historical August Kranti Maidan. In order to highlight their plight, the workers decided to march towards Gandhi's statue at the venue, clad only in their under garments. This march became famous as the chaddi baniyan morcha (shorts and vests march).

"As people stared at us, we were preparing ourselves for the march. It was exciting to plan such an action but when we had to get undressed, we became quite self-conscious. The police said they will allow us to garland the statue only if we are fully dressed. We argued that Gandhiji himself had refused to be formally dressed. This is



From Collection of Comrade G.L. Reddy:

our way of Satyagraha. We started to march forward defying the police. That is when they started beating us furiously. It was really cruel. All the workers were badly beaten up.” Datta Iswalkar

The mill owners were using different techniques to get rid of the workers in order to create a green field situation. The wages would not be paid for years. 5000 workers of the Khatau mill are not paid wages for the last nine years. Unable to bear the sufferings two of the workers committed suicides. The Mafatlal mill owners are holding the wages of 25 crores as ransom because the government is not de reserving their land which is



Mrinal Desai

part of the main Zoo of the city. The dues of Srinivas Mill workers are still held back because of the fight between the two builders, Lodha and Hiranandani! The mill owners in general exploited such situations to create insecurity amongst the workers who would succumb to accept minimal compensations under the VRS scheme. The VRS offers were as low as 350 thousands on an average for 25 years of service. There were many instances where cheques given to the workers were post dated and/or bounced back. The financial uncertainty looming large over Girangaon started rupturing the social fabric. The youths were lured by the underworld and a large number of teenage girls took up jobs as bar girls.

In the mid 1990s, the skyline of Girangaon began to change steadily. The high-rise luxury towers like Phoenix towers, Kalpataru towers in Hindustan Mills, Belvedere Court in Modern Mill and the tower of Matulya, all were constructed in then. When Phoenix converted one of its structures into a Bowling Alley (the permission for this was obtained under the pretext of building a recreation centre for workers), Girangaon was really shaken. The issue of mill lands no longer was limited to mill workers alone. It was

becoming an urban development issue. The closure of the textile mills in the late 80's and 90 does coincide with the change in the government policy towards liberalisation. The globalisation period since the 1990s witnessed the city's industrial sector which has been the backbone of the working class economy steadily closing down. In 1991 the government made legislation under Development Control Regulation (DCR) 58 which allowed the closure and change the user form industrial to commercial / residential.



Neera Adarkar: A female worker activist G.K.S.S. (Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti) meeting outside Khatau Mill

“Please note that the objective of DCR 58 was not supposed to be the real estate development, it was meant to protect the jobs of the workers, by allowing only a partial sale. This was the way it was presented to us. If the development of the mill lands was the main objective, then the government should have worked on a

Comprehensive Development plan to include all the mill lands, in fact the entire Girangaon. It should have been addressed as an urban planning issue instead. The actual outcome as can be seen by all is a piecemeal, ad hoc and often surreptitious exploitation of real estate for immediate gains. So let us get this straight. The reality is that both the government and the owners were not intending to run the textile mills. This was the same game they had been playing several times earlier as well. Why do you think the textile workers had to resort to industrial actions like strikes over and over again for over a century?” Datta Iswalkar

GKSS appealed to all of Girangaon to join a dharna outside Phoenix. Pamphlets were distributed in the surrounding chawls, which explained how the new development would

adversely affect the economic and cultural fabric of the neighbourhood. The dharna received very good response not only from the local residents, but from the community of the performing artists (mainly the shahirs or bards) from Girangaon.

Beyond the mill gates:

Soon after this protest, activists felt the need to address the future development of the entire neighbourhood. The Girangaon Bachao Andolan was launched in 2000. A huge musical event was organised in the well-known Kamgar Maidan at Parel for its launch. Many artists from Girangaon participated in the event. All of them spoke against the new real estate development in which the needs of the neighbourhood were totally ignored. The poet Narayan Surve announced in his speech that this platform would signify a cultural protest of the working class neighbourhood. "What we need is Shramapur (city of labour) and not Singapore!" he exclaimed.

Along with the GKSS and GBA, Girni Bhadekaru Sangharsh Samiti (Association of Tenants on Mill Lands) was also formed to protect the rights of the residents living in the chawls built on the mill lands by some owners nearly 100 years ago, in order to lure the workers from the hinterland of Maharashtra. In the late '90s private owners as well as the NTC started evicting the tenants residing in these for over 50 to 70 years. NTC had also sent a notice to the owner of Bharatmata Theatre (situated in the compound of India United Mills and owned by NTC), which is the most popular and affordable cinema hall screening Marathi films in Girangaon. (The ticket rates as of date are as low as Rs. 20). The Mill Land Tenants Association organised an indefinite fast and dharna outside Bharatmata which has witnessed many star studded premiere shows of several Marathi films. Hundreds of women sat on the pavement till late at nights. This also became an emotional issue for all the big stars in the Marathi cinema world because it symbolised their links with the Marathi-speaking working class audience. They also participated and spoke vehemently turning it into an important media event. These actions brought various dimensions of the mill land into the public domain and into the mainstream electronic and print media.

"We were fighting on many fronts simultaneously. First, to oppose the closure of the mills, second to expose the surreptitious land dealings by the mill owners, third to demand protection to the tenants on the mill land and fourth to negotiate with the mill management for fair compensation to the workers. Yes, it seemed some what

contradictory to oppose the closure and at the same time to negotiate for a better deal for the workers. We however, continued to fight court cases for obtaining the dues of the workers and whenever the closure was seen as inevitable, to fight for better VRS. This was a sensible decision on the part of GKSS to prioritise the future of the workers over the conventional concept of political correctness of the trade unions.

RMMS as the authorised union should have seen that workers are justly compensated. But isn't it an open secret that RMMS has always sided with the mill owners? And yet all our deals had to be officially proposed by the RMMS. But our settlements were so transparent that we did not mind the RMMS taking credit for our efforts as long as the workers were benefited." **Datta Iswalkar**

Worker's proposal for Mill Land:

When the Charles Correa Committee report was published, GKSS arranged a daylong workshop for mill activists. Architect / planners of the city were invited to participate. While the Correa Committee's proposal for a comprehensive plan was welcomed in principle, workers strongly felt that they should have been consulted in the process. After a series of discussions, they came up with a revised proposal, which incorporated the sharing of land considering the economic and cultural needs of the neighbourhood. Some of the suggestions were as follows:

For creating an alternative means of livelihood, the mill owner should use half his share of built-up area to establish light industries in which the skilled youth of the neighbourhood could be employed.

To compensate workers for their long-term involvement with the textile industry, they should be given 25% of the land to build their own tenements.

An Escrow account should be created under the control of a retired judge to ensure that the payments of the workers dues and to check the misuse of DCR 58.

The residential tenants on the mill lands should be protected before or after the development.

The GKSS sent this proposal to the state government, first during the Shiv Sena's regime and later during the Congress'. It was also sent to all the established, party affiliated existing unions for discussions. However, although unions approved it, they did not

Neera Adarkar: BDD Chawls, Lower Parel



want to support it openly lest this could mean that they were supporting closures. Ironically, for the same reason, these unions did not come forward to negotiate for better VRS compensation for their own workers.

"We were keen that government considers our modification to the Correa Committee plan. Basically we wanted them to acknowledge the right of workers on the mill lands. For the first time in the history of textile industry that such a demand was made by a union. We were a small union but we fought for that right. The established trade unions could have made such demands when the other industries were closing down. After all the lands were given on lease to the mill owners to specifically run the textile industry. (Recently in the High Court, they admitted in writing that on an average, 13% of the land is leased). How can they claim rights to the land that never belonged to them? And how can the government policy on the public land be formulated without a public debate?" Datta Iswalkar

After a considerable follow up with the ministers, the government finally decided to take note of the demands put across by GKSS. A series of meetings spread over the year 2000 were held with the Secretaries of UD, Housing, and Labour departments.

"In the several meetings we attended with the ministers and the secretaries of the various departments, I could see that a new nexus was emerging. Earlier we would club the politicians and the mill owners together but now the bureaucrats too were an important part of the nexus. In fact they used to provide the loopholes for the owners and a workers friendly garb to the legislation. If the ministers agreed with any of our demand or suggestions, the Legal or the Urban Development officials would bring out a whole lot of hurdles and unlike the decades of 60s and 70s the ministers instead of using their political power would pretend to succumb to the secretaries. Slowly we also realised that these negotiations were monitored by the builder's lobby as well." Datta Iswalkar

GKSS was assured by the UDD (Urban Development Department) that DCR 58 was being



Neera adarkar: A bird's Eye View of Girangaon. BDD chawls worli in foreground, 1998

modified to include their demands. When the 2001 modifications were published, the demands did exist but in a diluted form. The monitoring committee under Justice Chavan was constituted and the protection for the tenants on the mill land was guaranteed. However, only 50% of MHADA housing was reserved for textile workers. (It was inadequate because the number of workers on the payroll of January 2001 far exceeded the number of tenements that would be made available even if the entire land of 200 acres -- constituting 1/3 of the total land under the

mills -- was made available to them). Thirdly, the demand for creating alternative jobs was replaced by a weak and paternalistic provision to employ a family member of the textile worker in the new activity undertaken by mill owners.

The major blow, however, was the drastic reduction in the overall land reserved for public housing and public open space by deducting the area of the structures existing on the mill lands from the tripartite division of the entire land. This 'minor' modification rendered all the efforts of the GKSS over 18 months totally futile. In 2003, the actual repercussions of this amendment was brought to the attention of the public. GKSS arranged a meeting with the then Municipal Commissioner, Mr Karun Srivastav and the MBC Chief Engineer. However, they openly admitted that the UDD ultimately took all the decisions and therefore they were helpless about losing 200 acres of open space, which could actually have been under the control of the BMC.

The Legal Battle :

In May 2005, the Bombay Environmental Action Group (BEAG) filed a PIL in the High Court to stop all construction on Mill lands pending investigation of issues such as ownership and the validity of the 2001 DCR. While the recognised textile union - RMMS, headed by Sachin Ahir - supported the 2001 amendment along with the mill owners and the government, the GKSS chose to support the PIL filed by BEAG but through a separate intervention.

"When the mill owners went to the SC after the defeat in the High Court it was clear that the main issue from now on was the course of development the city is going to

adopt. It was a conspiracy not only against the mill workers but against the citizens of the city as a whole. As workers we realised the need at this stage was to locate the mill lands issue in the context of the future of the entire city". Datta Iswalkar

The workers had already lost their main battle for livelihood and have now been forced to take casual jobs in the so-called informal sector. A sample study by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences shows that former textile workers form a substantial percentage of hawkers in the city. The legal victory would have ensured their right to housing over the mill land but the SC judgement has snatched away this hope too. They will now be forced into makeshift housing – a sad epitaph for those who, along with port workers, helped to make Mumbai “urbs prima in Indis”.

The state government on its part is promoting 'Vision Mumbai' based on a sketchy report prepared by McKinsey, the consultancy firm. The vision of a 'global city' is, however, synonymous with real estate exploitation, to creating high-rises based on the imagery of glittering commercial towers of metal and glass, fancy shopping malls, sprawling IT business parks and a maze of fly-overs. Since this vision so totally divorced from the city's specific history, its economy, its culture and its climate, the model of such global cities promoted by the urban elite flits from New York and London to Singapore and Shanghai.

Urban development policies relating to the reconstruction of old residential buildings (most exist in and around Girangaon) has resulted in development where the new rich buyers will have to co-habit with working class residents in the same building. This type of gentrification is leading to the displacement on both economic and cultural grounds. For example, the new aggressive and exclusivist vegetarianism, which forces “the other” out of vegetarians-only precincts, has violently threatened the culture of tolerance which evolved over a century. Facing the loss of jobs, loss of their history and ripped of their social identity, workers face forced displacement as their own neighbourhood turns into prime property. In this entire process, workers have been reduced to mere spectators, while commercial forces take charge of the city.

“When the mill land issue compelled different organisations of the city to come together against the SC judgement, they began to think beyond their immediate discourse. The fight for the open spaces was primarily a middle class demand. The mill workers had already lost their battle for employment. Yet we decided to support the middle class in the fight for the open spaces. At the same time we expected the citizens groups to mobilise the middle class for a joint struggle. However, these organisations failed to inform the citizens at large that the fight of the mill lands is no more an issue of the mill workers, and therefore it should be now fought primarily by the middle class. Unfortunately, they expected only the workers to fight on the streets.

Today you can see that the real estate hawks will not spare even the traditional middle class areas of the city. The Kohinoor Mill located in the higher middle class Shivaji Park is bought by the ex Chief minister for Rs. 15,000 a sq ft. It is clear that the sale price will have to be 25000 a sq ft. I am very sure that the middle classes of the city will meet the same fate as the Girangaon sooner or later if city does not learn a lesson from the case study of the mill land.” Datta Iswalkar



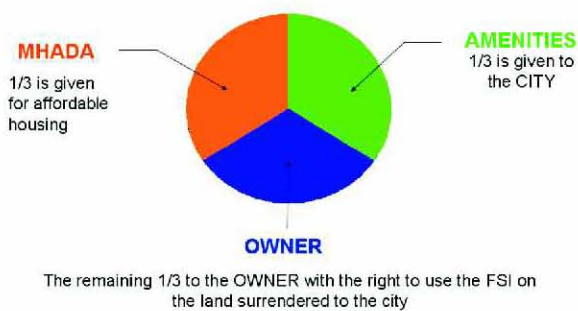
M.C.G.B. Photorama

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MILL LAND PUBLIC INTEREST LITIGATION - UDRI

1. Ever since the 19th century, textile mill land has been zoned as Industrial – allowing construction equivalent to an FSI of 0.5
2. In 1991, Section 58 was enacted which decreed that the land-use could be changed, and the property developed at an FSI of 1.33, provided that:



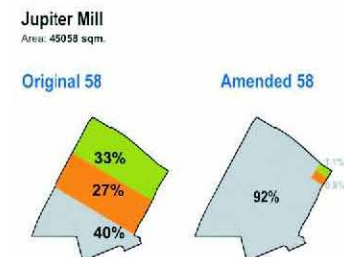
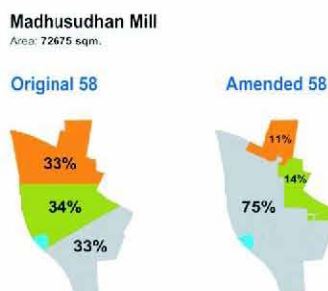
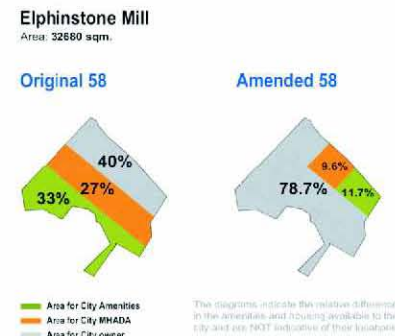
3. POPULATION:

Thus for an area of 10,000 sqm, the population will be as under:

MHADA: area: 3333 sqm FSI: 1.33
Therefore total builtup area: $3333 \times 1.33 = 4429$ sqm
At 30 sqm per tenement = 147 households
At 4.75 persons per household = 701 persons

OWNER: area: 3333 sqm FSI: 2.66
Therefore total builtup area: $3333 \times 2.66^* = 8858$ sqm
At 60 sqm per tenement = 147 households
At 4.75 persons per household = 701 persons

Therefore total population: 1402 persons



4. AMENITIES

For this population of 1402 persons, the facilities to be provided as per Planning Standards for revised development plan will be:

Facilities required for population of 1402 persons:

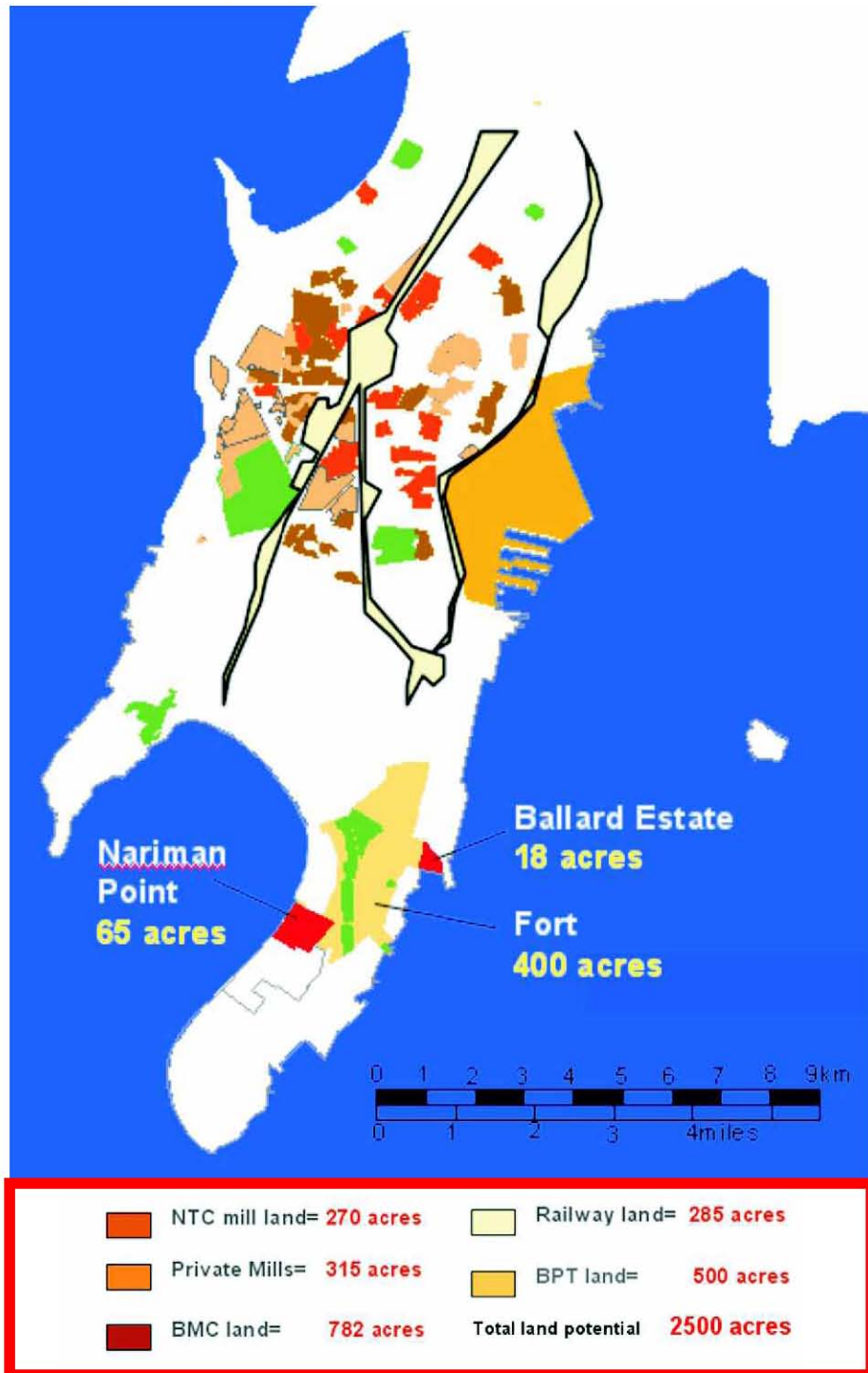
a	Primary school	351.40 sqm
b	Secondary school	351.40 sqm
c	Dispensary	18.60 sqm
d	Maternity Home	57.47 sqm
e	Hospital	456.36 sqm
f	Market	140.20 sqm
g	Library	27 sq.m
h	Fire station	443.30 sqm
Total = (A)		1855 sqm

Total area available for CITY AMENITIES	3330 sqm
Less Area for Hospitals, Schools, Markets etc.	1855 sqm
Balance Open Space	1475* sqm
This works out to 1.05 sqm per person	

GREEN AREA: Note that the open space in the original 58 of 1.05 sqm per person is less than the 3.0 sqm specified in the planning standards so surrendering 1/3 to the city, far from being overly generous, was in actual fact, barely adequate.

6. Despite this, in 2001 and without sufficient public discussion and awareness, Section 58 was amended and the owner allowed to deduct ALL existing structures - thus drastically reducing the area to be handed over to the city for Amenities and to MHADA for affordable housing.

The Location of these lands is central not only to the Island, but to the whole of the Metropolitan Region – from the Fort area on the South to the Suburbs on the North and Via the new bridge at Sewri to Navi Mumbai and the rest of the State.



Dadar a major growth point: generated by the only interchange available between the Central and Western railways

Elphinstone road and Parel Station potential growth points generated by a new interchange integrating the two stations to one.

Acharya Donde Marg: an existing east-west road, through the new interchange, through **Sewri** and across to New Bombay becomes a new artery.

Wardi-Sewri Road: from Wardi through Lalbaug to **Sewri**-Generating new growth centres

Haji Ali to Hay Bunder: a third East-west link from Haji Ali, through **Saat Rasta** to the Eastern water front.

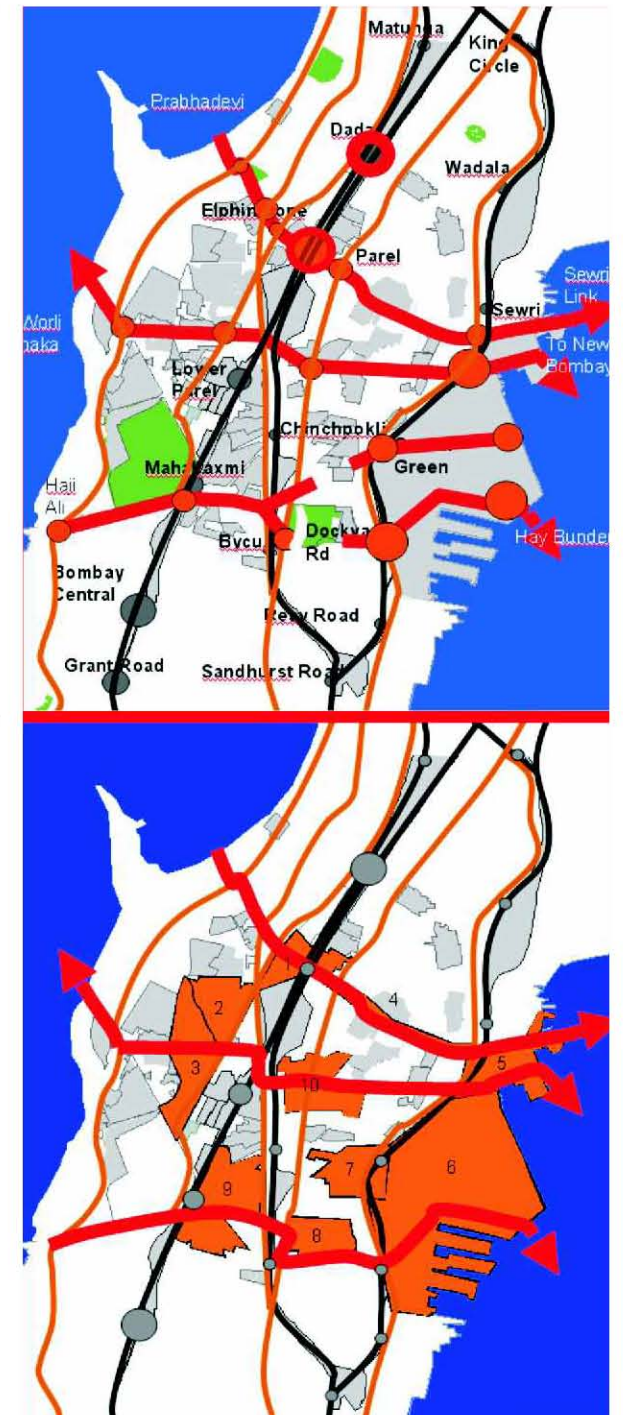
All three East-West roads already exist and can be reinforced with Public transport. The intersection of the N-S Arteries and augmented East-West roads sets up potential **New Growth Centres**.

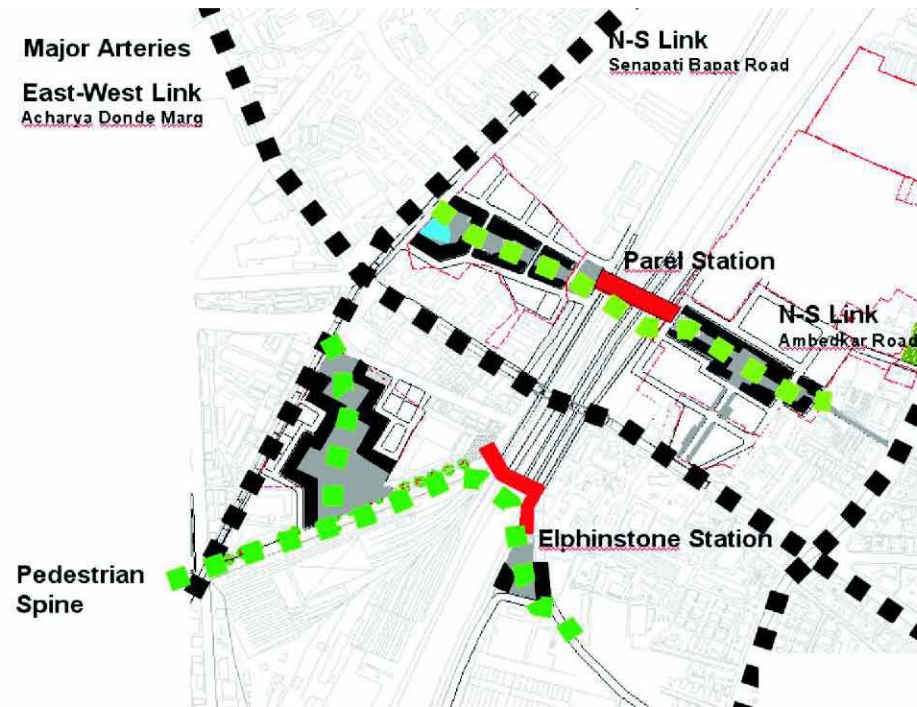
Railway Stations East-West Links

Using this ten major nodes have been identified

- 1 Elphinstone-Parel Station
- 2 Golden Triangle
- 3 Extended Triangle
- 4 Acharya Donde Marg
- 5 Sewri Node
- 6 Mumbai Port Trust
- 7 Cotton Green
- 8 Jijamata Udhyan
- 9 Saat Rasta
- 10 Lower Parel- Curry Road

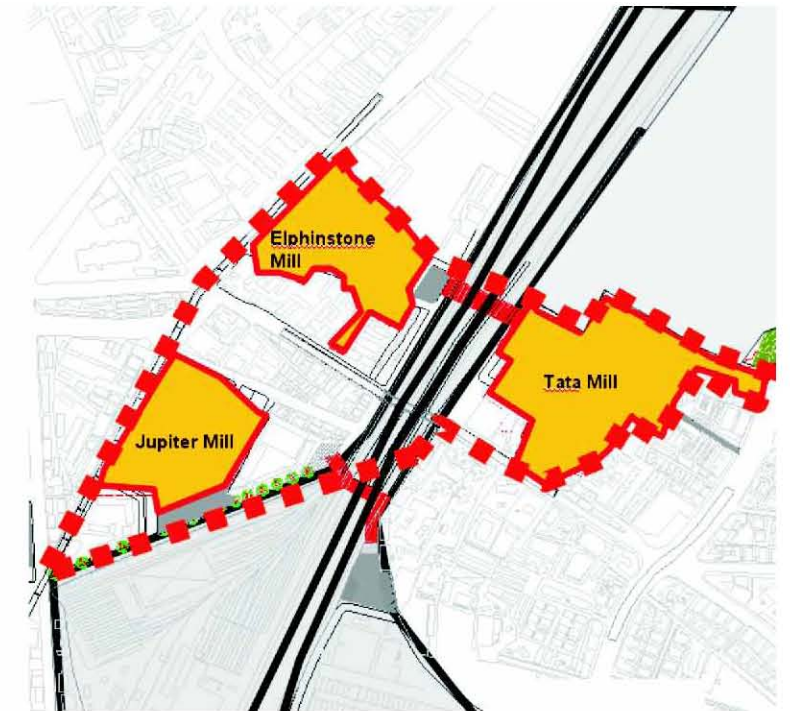
New Growth Nodes





Total Mill area
 in the node
 = **34.5 acres**

Ballard Estate
 = **18 acres**



1. Elphinstone Mill

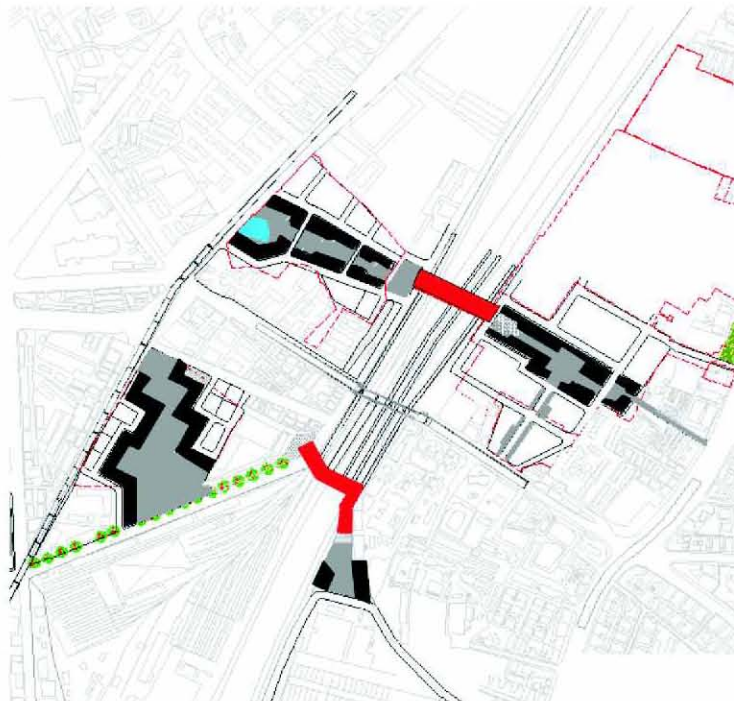
Plot area = 32679 sq.m
 FSI consumed = **1.33**
 Built up Area = 43464.4 sq.m
 No. of storeys = **G+4**

2. Jupiter Mill

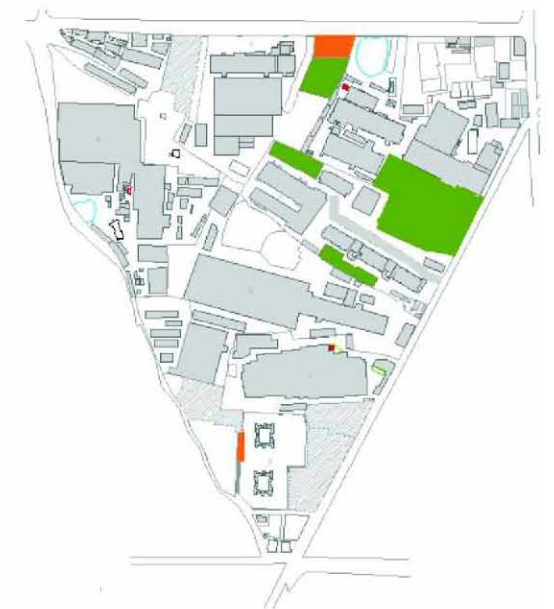
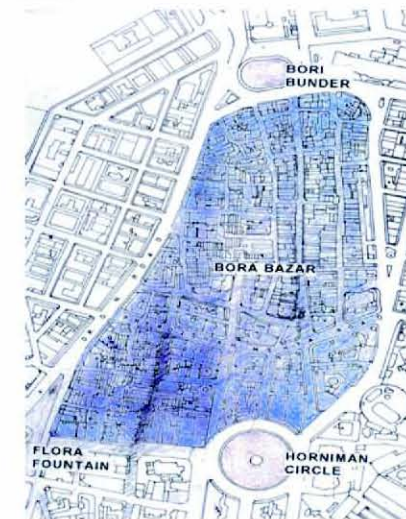
Plot area = 45750.92 sq. m
 F S I. consumed = **1.33**
 Built up Area = 59927 sq.m
 No. of storeys = **G+5**

3. Tata Mill

Plot area = 32679 sq.m
 FSI consumed = **1.33**
 Built up Area = 43464.4 sq.m
 No. of storeys = **G+4**



The fort area to the same
 scale



The Golden Triangle
 Over 97 acres belonging to 6 owners