Paradigm of Relocation of Urban Poor Habitats (Slums): Case Study of Nagpur City

Vijay Kapse, Arun Pofale, and Mayank Mathur

Abstract—Developing countries are facing a problem of slums and there appears to be no fool proof solution to eradicate them. For improving the quality of life there are three approaches of slum development and In-situ up-gradation approach is found to be the best one, while the relocation approach has proved to be failure. Factors responsible for failure of relocation projects are needed to be assessed, which is the basic aim of the paper. Factors responsible for failure of relocation projects are loss of livelihood, security of tenure and inefficiency of the Government. These factors are traced out & mapped from the examples of Western & Indian cities. National habitat, Resettlement policy emphasized relationship between shelter and work place. SRA has identified 55 slums for relocation due reservation of land uses, security of tenure and non- notified status of slums. The policy guidelines have been suggested for successful relocation projects.

Keywords—Livelihood, Relocation, Slums, Urban poor.

I. INTRODUCTION

MAJORITY of the developed countries, developing countries and less developed countries are facing the problems of slum and there is no solution to eradicate the same from the surface of the earth. Slums are universal in character and no country is able to get rid of them. Unplanned urbanization with the associated evils of negating the fundamental purpose of human society- a secure, rewarding and happy life- is a matter of great concern. Infrastructure facilities like housing, safe drinking water supply, transport, health care, educational institutions for children, parks, etc, have become woefully inadequate and will soon reach a critical stage threatening the civilized existence itself. As per the latest information more than one fifth of urban population lives in slum and squatter settlements.

At this rate the future can only be that of a still larger population living in such conditions if the public neglect continues. The overcrowding population, poverty, ignorance, diseases, mal nutrition, etc, should be eliminated and the society should seek improvement of living standards and quality of life of the Urban Poor [12].

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For improving living standards and quality of life of the urban poor, the slum development programs has been initiated by the Government and implemented in various cities. These slum development programs are in three distinct approaches viz; A. In-situ up-gradation, B. Extension to minimum basic civic amenities and C. Relocation [11].

A. In-situ Up-gradation

A process of redevelopment of slum areas by providing dwelling space and other basic civic and infrastructural services to the slum dwellers, on the existing land on which the slum is based.

In the present scenario, it is considered to be one of the best approaches because of its advantages. Study of In-situ slum up-gradation projects at Mumbai showed the positive impacts viz; Per capita and average household income increased, Number of earning members rose, full time employment increased by 40 percent and daily wage employment dropped, as a result increased ownership of assets & increased wealth of households, Households spent more on education and entertainment, Savings was found to have increased to 28.2 %, Remarkable change in housing conditions with all households having permanent structures with basic amenities, All households had piped supply in the households, toilets inside their premises, metered electricity supply, School children dropout rates lower down to 6 %, The social capital not only remained intact, but also improved when communities were organized into cooperatives. Reduced inequality between the rich and the poor, Poverty declined significantly, moving closer to zero (0.0644), Option of In situ up-gradation is economically viable [10].

B. Extension to Minimum Basic Civic Amenities

In-site development approach, under the scheme of Environmental Improvement. The component of this scheme is construction of Pay & Use Jan Suvidha Complexes containing of toilet and baths and also of Mobile Toilet Vans in the clusters irrespective of status of the encroached land. Because of its limitation this scheme has been implemented at very lower rate & rare places [11].

C. Relocation

A process of relocation and settlement of slum dwellers from the existing untenable slums to an alternative site with dwelling space, basic civic and social infrastructural services.

At global level it is commonly believed that the relocation of urban poor habitats (slums) are due to the forceful evictions, reservation of land uses and security of tenure. In eviction

process mostly the urban poor are affected because these are only peoples who are settled illegally on land which is reserved for specific use. As per the law of human right, it is a duty of authority to relocate these people on new site with basic infrastructure so that the livelihood should not be disturbed [6]. But in relocation project the degree of satisfaction in terms of improved living conditions & quality of life of urban poor is not satisfactory, this is due to certain factors which are not taken in consideration during relocation process. Most of the urban poor returned to their original places or settled nearby work place and created new slums. This means that the degree of failure of relocation project is high.

This paper is intended to assess the factors responsible for failure of relocation slum development approach and suggest policy guidelines for all future actions to be addressed for successful relocation projects in Nagpur city. Otherwise all sorts of future efforts would bring about backward effects on development of Nagpur city.

II. RELOCATION OF SLUMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

A. Brazil

Many communities including unban poor in RIO DE JANEIRO find themselves in the direct path of development projects meant for the Olympics and World Cup.



Fig. 1 Slum near play ground at Rio

The representative of community said "Everyone understands perfectly well that some level of movement is inevitable with such an important project, but it is expected that the process to be followed should be known to the community and it should be fair." He also demanded having an effective participation of the community residents in deciding their own fate. Yet the authority has ended up with houses located 50 kilometers from where they make a living with negligible compensation though the Municipal Law required that all relocations take place within a 7 kilometers radius [29].

B. Philippines

In the southern Philippines, specifically, in Davao City and General Santos in the island of Mindanao which is part of the East Asia Growth Area, the UPA said that 43,000 families were evicted. These eviction were for cleanup the river systems, railroad tracks and other blighted areas for metropolitan beauty. For these evicted families, government

has provided relocation. The sites for relocation were far from their workplace. The effects of these relocations were paying of additional transportation cost, ill-manage to pay for expenses incurred in setting up a new home. Since they did not find alternative work in the relocation site, they returned to the city to squat again in living conditions poorer than ever before. Urban poor faced the relocation the most disruptive issue because it literally moves them from a bad to a worse situation [1], [16].

C. South Asia

World Bank criticizes slum clearance program at Dhaka: Forcible eviction without relocation simply shifted poor people from one set of slums to another. Slum relocation programme only offered alternative accommodation to some slum dwellers. The experience of other countries indicates that it is not possible, or affordable, for cities with large areas of slums to relocate the inhabitants [30].



Fig. 2 Slum at Dhaka

D.Kenya

Kenya is often seen as one of the emerging economies on the African continent with a vibrant financial and business environment. In this country nearly 40 million people live in the slums. The biggest of these is the Kibera Slum, located in Nairobi, and houses almost 1.2 million people, all enclosed in a 2.50 km-square area, at an estimated density of 2000 people per hectare. Because of population explosion, weaker strength of construction, inaccessibility to slum, lack of sanitation (Flying toilets where plastic bags with human waste are thrown out of windows and into the pathways), land ownership, increased of crime rate & fire risk, government had started relocating all inhabitants of Kibera to newly built homes. This project had taken 9 years to complete. The newly built flats had some problems like nonfunctional activity area, inefficient services, shared bathroom & toilets, unavailability of power and change in income pattern due to far location [17].

III. RELOCATION OF SLUMS IN INDIA

A. Delhi

1. Yamuna Pushta slum

Government authorities displaced 27,000 families from Yamuna Pushta to area known as Bawana which is 35 Km from their original residence site. Livelihoods destroyed due to relocation from their work place and basic facilities [13].

2. Netaji Nagar Slum

More than 2000 slum dwellers of Netaji Nagar adjacent to

the new five-star hotel in Delhi were displaced. Their housed were demolished two weeks before the city hosts the Commonwealth Games. Authorities had given them the notice to slum dwellers mentioning that this slum is due for demolition but slum dwellers claimed that they were not given enough time to vacate. Commonwealth Games Chief promised to provide the "alternative accommodation" for those displaced in the lead-up to the Games. But only 68 out of the 450 families had been allocated plots [22].



Fig. 3 Homeless urban poor at Delhi

3. Sanjay Camp And Nehru Camp Slums

In February 2007 Sanjay camp and Nehru camp slums were removed in the name of construction of an underpass in Okhla phase-I and for widening of National Highway-24 respectively. But authority had not provided alternate site for them that is why slum dwellers filed petition in Delhi High Court challenging the drive of MCD to demolish without providing the alternate site. In this context, the Delhi High Court has directed the Government to relocate them with basic amenities within four months. A Division Bench of Chief Justices said "the relocation policy will be granted an alternative site as per the Master Plan Delhi 2021. "The state agencies will ensure that basic amenities, consistent with the rights to life and dignity of each of the citizens in the jhuggies are available at the site of relocation,". The court also directed to authority to hold regular camps in slum clusters and in relocated sites to make aware of their rights [23].

4. Janta 952 Plot In Vasant Kunj

This area was earmarked for resettling the slum population. The locality has about 1,000 slum dwellings. These could easily have been accommodated in the area. The land use has been changed and shopping malls were set to sprout at the site [23].

5. Slum-Dwellers 2001

In-situ development is nothing but a facade behind which the government is hiding its inefficiency. For example - In 1962 master plan of Delhi, the government had to provide four lakh plots of 25 square metres each to slum-dwellers by 2001. Instead, land is being given away to private contractors for high-rise buildings and entertainment plazas, and slums are not being shifted on the pretext of in-situ development [23].

B. Mumbai

In new apartments of Kurla shifted slum dwellers from few

kilometres away from this place. The process of relocation was very slow. The slum dwellers were relocated phase wise. Eventually, 85,000 families found in place. Though the area is connected to the urban grid; a post office, a police station, and medical infrastructure still it is not completed. Because of phase wise shifting and non completion of social & physical infrastructure slum dwellers mistrust on the authority [18].

1. Santa Cruz Slum

In 2004, about 35,000 slum dwellers were removed from Mumbai's Santa Cruz area and relocated on reclaimed Saltpan land in Kanjur village on the outskirts of the city. This land was ecologically fragile tracts. It was the buffer protects inhabited areas from the impact of the sea and falls under the Coastal Regulation Zone, which means it was no-development belt. An alternative site in central Mumbai, from where textile mills were shifted out, would have proved ideal for the purpose. But that land has been given to private builders for constructing shopping malls. The Mumbai relocation plan highlights the confusion prevailing within government circles [23].



Fig. 4 Slum at Mumbai

2. Mumbai's Main Airport Slum

It is the biggest aviation hub in India and the whole of South Asia. But plans for its much-needed expansion are being hampered as it is surrounded by slums. Around 100,000 families sharing their walls with the International Airport, the resulting slums are an eyesore.



Fig. 5 Sketch by Viadimir Kremlev

The government hopes to clear the 300 acres of airport land the slum has encroached upon. But attempts to relocate the slum dwellers have met with stiff opposition. Slum dwellers are insecure about their livelihood; they know it will be disrupted if they move. Slum dwellers are demanding that "the government either give us compensation money, or provide a replacement flat in this area".

The slum dwellers know it is an important source of votes; the Government will hesitate to force them out. As a result, their demands have become even more ambitious [24].

C. Kolkata

1. Hatquadhia Bustee

After the public protest over land acquisition, the Kolkata Municipal Corporation planned to replace the slums in eastern Kolkata with five-storied housing complexes had run into roadblock. The civic body had failed to acquire land to set up 9000 dwelling units spread over six sites along the EM Bypass. Since complexes are to be constructed at the site of present slums, the slum dwellers are demanding an alternate site before they give up their land [21].

2. Canal-side Slum Dwellers

To arrest environmental degradation and improve the quality of life in Kolkata; authority has plans of relocating and resettling about 3,468 families living along these canal banks to places like Nonadanga, Kasba, Purba Putiary, Sampa Mirzanagar, and east Barisha. Before shifting to the new site of relocation, the canal side slum dwellers expressed their feelings - stay should be near the work places because they know they will lose their economic independence. They raised certain questions -"How do you think the seven of us will live in that box? Will our children walk 4 kms to their schools? How will a rickshaw puller make an earning if he travels 5 kms everyday? At the time of the relocation process, the authority had promised the slum dwellers that the eastern side of Bypass from Baghajatin to Science City would be for the poor so that they could work here and stay there but this land is allocated for commercial activities and the Urban Poor are being forced to go to Nonandanga which is far away from their work place [27].



Fig. 6 Canal-side slum at Kolkatta

D. Chennai

1. Kannagi Nagar Slum

More than 15000 families, with an estimated population of over 100,000 on a 40 hectare land, Kannagi Nagar is a colony raised for the rehabilitated and relocated people from different slums of Chennai Corporation. Without considering their needs and aspirations the slum dwellers were relocated. Livelihood of slum dwellers disturbed due to change in job in a new area. A family of five or a family with grown children is forced to cram into the 162 sq.ft. One-room apartment. Due to less number of primary and secondary schools the right to education of children is the concern of this project. Bad health and lack of healthcare facilities lead to poor attendance in schools and hinders the learning process of children. The absence of an effective garbage disposal system leads to major diseases and poor health which adversely affects the infant mortality rates [25], [26].

E. Ahmadabad

Ahmadabad Municipal Corporation about 10,000 households evicted and relocated through 11 town planning scheme which are 40-70 km away from their original residence sites. Result in non-sustain a safe and secure home and community into line in security, peace and dignity [6].

1. Slum Relocation Affected 4000 School Kids.

The relocation of slums from the riverfront development area - spanning from Subhash Bridge to Sardar Bridge in Ahmadabad - was expected to adversely impact attendance in 10 municipal schools. Around 4000 school kids were affected due to untimely relocated slum dwellers [20].

2. Research Conducted by IIM Ahmadabad

The research revealed that the people living in slums tend to work in nearby areas as they could not afford to travel to distant localities for work. They often lost their source of livelihood. The study also states that the civic bodies implemented relocation without any prior research into its socio-economic impact on the slum dwellers. Also, families which had been staying together like joint families in the slums had been forced to live apart because they were allotted residences in different localities and were very unhappy with such forced arrangements [15].

F. Hyderabad

1. Bhimraobada Slum

On 27th Dec. 2008 this slum was evicted under the direction of the state government for construction of Indira Bhavan (City office of the Indian National Congress Party). The slum dwellers were rehabilitated to alternate site which is three kilometre from evicted site without asking the preferences/choices to the evicted slum dwellers. They have poor access to basic services, especially drinking water. No authentic documents were provided for newly allotted houses, this has increased their insecurity [1].

2. Chanderghat Darwaza Slum

Slum dwellers of the Southern bank of river Musi were rehabilitated to Namangan colony near Karmanghat, Dilsukhnagar. They were deprived of their livelihood by relocating them from their original place. Not able to make a living in the new place [1].

3. Ranga Reddy District

Over 4,000 underprivileged persons living within the city limits have been allotted houses in Ranga Reddy district. While majority of them are daily wage labourers and those employed for a pittance, relocation to the city's 'outskirts' spelled to them loss of all livelihood opportunities. "We cannot afford the transport charges to come here every day, nor can we find new jobs there," said Slum a dweller. Nearly



Fig. 7 Apartment scheme at Hyderabad

19,000 houses in Ranga Reddy have been ready for occupation but only 6,650 have been occupied. More than 3,000 families are resisting the relocation and continuing to live in slums within the city [28].

IV. NATIONAL POLICIES

A. National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy- 2007

Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India framed the policies. The policy intends to promote the sustainable development of habitat (Adequate housing) in the country with a view to ensuring equitable supply of land, shelter and services at affordable prices to society in general and urban poor in particular. The core focus of this policy is the provision of "Affordable Housing for all with special emphasis on vulnerable sections of society. The policy has emphasized the shelter to the urban poor at their present location or near their work place [8].

B. National Rehabilitation & Resettlement Policy 2007

This national policy is for all projects where involuntary displacement takes place permanently due to any reason. It is framed by Department of Land Resource, Ministry of Rural Development, and Government of India with respect to involuntary displacement of the people depriving them of their land, livelihood and shelter, restricting their access to traditional resource base and uprooting them from their sociocultural environment which leads to traumatic, psychological and socio-cultural consequences.

This policy has emphasized on: Minimizing displacement and promotion, as far as possible, non-displacing or least-displacing alternatives, Participatory & transparent assessment of economic, environmental, social & cultural needs. Adequate rehabilitation package and expeditious implementation of the rehabilitation process with the active participation of the affected families, Provision of all required infrastructural facilities and amenities in the resettlement area, Efforts toward a better standard of living and sustainable income to the affected families, Special care for protecting their rights, Suitable institutional mechanism, Effective monitoring and grievance redressal mechanism, Clear time frame for implementation, Clear perception through a careful quantification of the costs and benefits [9].

V. UNHABITAT

President of the National Slum Dwellers Federation - India introduced the problems of poor maintenance and sustainability of relocation sites. He emphasized the need for specific guidelines for enabling people's participation and of annual reviews to assess progress made in meeting the housing, water and sanitation needs of the poor [19].

VI. BACKGROUND OF STUDY AREA: NAGPUR

Nagpur City, the second capital of Maharashtra state, attained the status of a capital city for the first time in 1702 AD. Different rulers such as the Gond King Bakht Buland in 17th century, Tribal King in 18th century and the British in the end of 18th century ruled Nagpur. But the major development in Nagpur had taken place during the British period. The British understood the importance of Nagpur as a geographic centre of India and surrounding are rich in cotton production and thus established railway line in 1867 connecting Nagpur to Bombay. The total area of city is 217.56 Sq.km. of which about 90 sq.km. is developed area. The population of city is about 20.5 lakh with an average density of 95 persons per hectare [2].

A. Profile of Slums

In early 19th century, the people from western part of Vidarbha & Chhattisgarh migrated in search of job and started settling in old city area of Nagpur i.e. near Empress Mill (Cotton Industry). The squatting in Nagpur has taken place in proximity to the place of work and open land or low lying unused areas. The development plan of Nagpur in 1971 for the first time identified 45 slum pockets. Now, there are a total of 439 slums in city, out of which 421 are recognized in NMC official data. Out of the 439 slums, there are 279 notified (Slum has legal status) and 142 non notified (Slums do not have any legal or administrative status) and 18 newly identified slums. The number of households in slums is 2, 09,001 and the average size is about 6 per family. The land ownership of slum is 18% slums on the private land, 34% slums on mix which includes government, industrial and private ownership and remaining 48% slums on government land. The securities of tenure or tenure right are not allocated to any of the slums situated in Government land. Three main types of Settlements are identified in Nagpur in terms of settlement development processes, land tenure and settlement characteristics [3], [4]:

1. Organic Settlements

These settlements are traditional old areas which have grown and are shaped by changing socio-political and economic forces. They include both urban (inner city slums) and rural settlements (villages). These slums are located in thickly built-up high density traditional/organic old areas in central city. Since the settlements are old, occupants have fairly secure tenure. With the growth of city many rural settlements have been included within the urban area. Some

such organic rural settlement has been declared as slums. Thirty four villages have been identified / notified as slum [2].

2. Unauthorized Housing Layouts

In Nagpur the settlements where land is subdivided without prior approvals and sold are termed as 'unauthorized housing layouts'. The land ownership of buyers is legal but land subdivision regulations, zoning and building codes are violated. Municipal services are, therefore, not provided by local bodies. Such developments are also found on lands earmarked for facilities and "green belt" in the Development Plan. The infrastructure standards are poor but the community generally belongs to the middle and lower middle income group. Densities vary between low to medium [2].

3. Squatters (Zopadpattis)

These Settlements have come up by illegal occupation of public or private land mostly by low income population. Generally the shelter conditions are poor with "kaccha' and "semi-pucca' structures and dwelling sizes are small. These settlements do not have a secure legal tenure and as such are vulnerable for clearance [2].

B. Recommendations of GTZ

Nagpur Municipal Corporation has been appointed to German Technical Committee (GTZ) as a consultant for detailed study of slums in Nagpur City. Committee has suggested the following recommendations [5].

- 1. Slums on lands earmarked for non-residential use may need relocation.
- 2. Settlement with poor soil conditioned and drainage should be considered for relocation.
- 3. Relocation proposal should be formulated with the consent and cooperation of community and concerned corporators (Elected representatives)
- 4. Slums for relocation to be prioritized on the basis of extent to which communities face hazards of flooding, willingness of community to shift and availability of relocation of site.
- 5. Proposal to be formulated in close cooperation with authority.
- 6. Availability of serviced sites for relocation to be examined in terms of available area, distance from existing settlement and cost of development.

C. Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA)

SRA has identified 55 slums in Nagpur city for relocation due to the reservation of land uses, ownership of land (security of tenure) and un-notified status of slums [9].

VII. CONCLUSION

As per the provisions in National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy and National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy the development schemes for slums have been designed and implemented in various cities in India. The main objective of these schemes was improvement of socio-cultural, economical & environmental needs of the slum dwellers which directly lead to their livelihood, but in above study it is found that relocation of slums which is one of the approaches of slum development have high degree of negative impact on livelihood of the slum dwellers. They are forced down to a shoddier situations instead of enhanced. Following factors are mapped from above studies which are responsible for creating worse situation of slum dwellers:

A. Loss of Livelihood

Difficulties in living in joint family, because of less space, Disturbances in children education because of provision of lesser number of schools, long distance and untimely relocation, Less job opportunity because of not availability of industry, commercial area, residential area near to new location, Paying extra cost on transportation due to long distance of work place, school, hospital etc., Financial burden due to paying installment of housing loan availed from microfinance institutions, Unhygienic conditions due to poor garbage disposal system, and irregular and insufficient water supply.

B. Security of Tenure

Improper allocation, of legal security of tenure, to slum dwellers.

C. Govt. Inefficiency

Slum dwellers have been relocated on no-development zone, Site suitable for relocation allotted to other purpose, Allotted less number of dwelling, Inadequate provision of physical and social infrastructure, Not giving enough time to vacate the existing slum, Untimely relocation, Mistrust of people due to fewer participation in relocation process, Least considerations of the needs and aspirations of users, poor maintenance and sustainability, Time lag in modification of slum resettlement policy, Non conduct of regular camp for awareness of their rights and no provision of compensations.

From the above facts the slum dwellers are also forced to rent out their dwelling units allocated in relocated site and return to original place or squat near their work place i.e failure of scheme of relocation of slums.

- D. For making Relocation Successful Scheme, the Civic Authority may Adopt the Following Policy Guidelines;
- In order to maintain the economic sustainability of urban poor the relocation site should be nearer to the original place or near by area where job opportunity is substantial.
- Concept of incremental housing program should be encouraged to solve the problem of urban poor living in joint family.
- Adequate & technically viable physical infrastructure like water supply, sanitation, garbage disposal and legal electricity should be provided so as to maintain a healthy environment in the neighborhood.
- Provision of adequate social infrastructure like school, hospital, community centre, bus stop, post office so that they

can send their child to school and the money spends on transportation shall be minimum.

- More attention to be paid toward s the allocation of security of tenure to the slum dwellers, it should be properly negotiated with government before allocation.
- Participation of slum dwellers in the process of new site selection and implementation of project should be stressed.
- Specialized community activities like training need to be introduced and supported through a partnership mechanism involving community based organizations, housing professionals and also the local authority so that the inhabitants of these area shall be recognized as a valuable human resource.
 - Slum resettlement policy should be modify in given time frame and adequate laws need to be framed and implemented for ensuring low cost housing and service sector housing.
- Land identified for slum relocation should not be allotted for any other purpose;
- Time management and Scheduling of shift shall be properly worked out so that the academic calendar of school going children is not disturbed.
- In case the existing squatting land is need to be used immediately, and then the relocation shall be done in two stages i.e transitional camp & permanent shift.
- Project should not end when beneficiary families are firmly relocated in a new place with secured tenure.
- It should continue with a new set of objectives targeting social welfare and community development (awareness camp), until the activity systems of the beneficiaries are firmly integrated with those of their surroundings and the next generation takes over the community leadership.
- Continued support and technical assistance from housing professionals and local authority is needed in order to facilitate the consolidation of beneficiaries.
- Improve the land management system so that persons who have been given land under this program are not able to sell it off, so that vested interests are not allowed to develop either by encouraging encroachment on government land or by purchasing land from these persons.
- In a democratic and developing economy like India, rural migration to cities cannot be controlled. Hence a kind of holding zone in different areas can be considered.
- For long term sustainability of the project, community empowerment, sense of togetherness and belongingness need to be fostered through community activities.
- Stress should be on technically sound maintenance and sustainability.
- While doing the relocation, the urban poor are spending the money on the shifting and during the period of searching for a new job in new location their earning is almost zero therefore government should make the provision for award of compensation.
- The authority should not implement relocation scheme without a prior research on the socio- economic impact on the

slum dwellers.

• In order to make projects financially viable, demand the contribution in the form of cash from land owning agencies or/and auction the currently squatters occupied land and the contribution or resources generated from it should be used for development of project along with provision of efficient infrastructure.

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- · Fellow of Institute of Town Planners India, New Delhi
- · Fellow of Indian Institute of Architects, Mumbai
- Life member of Indian Society of Technical Education, New Delhi