A Study of Policies, Infrastructure & Community Perception
for Categorizing Slums and Managing it's Growth - A case from India

スラムの分類と成長管理を目的とした政策・都市基盤・コミュニティ意識に関する研究　－インドにおけるケーススタディ

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Abstract (本文)

Executive Summary

Current research "Categorizing Slums and Managing its Growth" was initiated with an aim to make a significant contributuion to seventh UN Millennium Development Goals in the fields of housing, poverty and development. The study focused on slums and discussed in detail the case from India. The emphasis of this research was to study the policies & programs towards slum improvement, determination of community perception & satisfaction level towards various aspects that includes infrastructure, development projects, return back to native place etc.; categorization of slums for better target mechanism and identification of major factors & strategies to manage or control the formation of slums in urban areas. The study analyzed the slum improvement and control from both demand side as well as from supply side. From a demand perspective and for sustainability and better quality of life, the study highlighted the role of communities and their choices & satisfaction level towards development projects. From a supply side, the study was able to set priorities to the decisions makers for the development purpose by categorizing slum settlements into various categories with an aim to identify the most vulnerable spaces. It also highlighted the factors for formation of slums and suggested the measures to manage/control further growth of slums in urban centers.
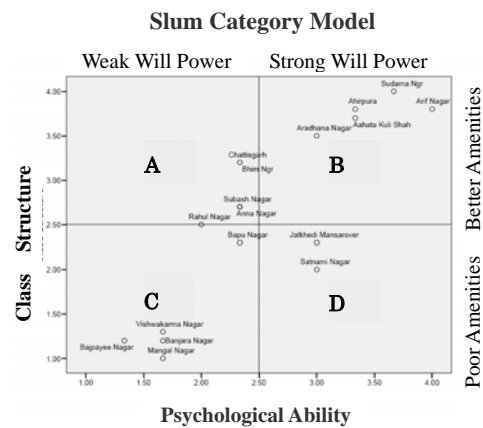
Abstract

During a policy review in global context, the research concluded that past approaches were non-sustainable, non-effective and not able to target core poor's. The major approaches towards slum point to lack short-term and 'quick-fix' measures rather than a long-term vision of the prospects of slum incidences and its reduction that resulted in continuous increase of slum population in the world and today, reached to 1 billion mark where every 3rd urban dweller is living in slums. Past approaches and policies failed to target core poor's, indeed benefited more to better-off class rather than core poor slum dwellers. The review also states that despite 'Enabling Approach' and Community Participation Approach', the community demands and needs are still not yet understood fully and need to be explored. During literature review, it was found that not only the slum definition varies but also living conditions varies across the world, indeed within the cities too. Living conditions were found worst in the slums of Africa and

South Asia region. With such scenario, research alert professionals and other researcher to recheck the criteria prior to undertaking any comparative study of slums.

With reference to India, despite of high economic growth in last decade and major efforts for improving the living conditions of poor and slum dwellers, the slum population is on continuous rise especially in million plus cities. Indeed, the continuous increase in slum improvement budget was also not able to make the contribution that was hoped for and as the targeting of programmes is poorly handled, producing both errors of inclusion and exclusion. Some of the major causes for slum growth in the nation as discussed and analyzed during this current research can be termed as existence of weak policies, non existence of national slum policy, ignorance of slum in legislation, over estimation of land for future use by development plans, weak enforcement on vacant land, low generation of revenue by local bodies, non-target mechanism, non-effectiveness & non-efficiency of program/projects, poor execution and implementation of projects, dilution of resources, lack of investment, regional disparity, biasness towards mega cities, ignorance of small and medium cities, non generation of employment in non-farm sector, weak agriculture policies, failure to control poor's migration, failure in organizing informal sector, failing to raise a housing stock as per demand, weak rent control act, lack of education promotion facilities, lack of political willingness etc. All these factors among others have driven the people to settle down in slums settlements in urban cities.

With this as a background and for the purpose of 'Better Target', 'Understanding Community Needs & Demands' and 'Managing/Control Slum Growth', the study conducted household surveys (796 sample) in 17 slum settlements in a Million plus City, Bhopal India. In addition to it more than 50 slums were visited and group discussion & interaction were held with communities. To assess the supply side, structured & designed Interviews were also held with 15 professionals, academicians, experts & decision makers.

For 'Better Target' mechanism, this research established model depicting 4 categories of slums i.e. 'Core (C)', 'Intermediate (D)', 'Transitional (A)' and 'Best slum (B)' in form of matrix between the 'Psychological Ability' and 'Class Structure'. 'Psychological Ability' is an attitude toward the possibility of success in moving up by assimilation or acculturation to full participation in the economic and social life of the community whereas 'Class Structure' is a measure of socio-economic & basic amenities handicaps and barriers to such movement. These categories assisted in identifying the most vulnerable urban spaces and were able to target the priority for improvement and recommend for a de-listing of few slums (from Category 'B') from a slum list. The research suggested that Category 'C' (Core Slums) where majority lives

Slum Category Model

below poverty line (BPL) requires a 'Poverty Reduction Approach' whereas Category 'A' & 'D' (Intermediate & Transitional Slums) requires 'Slum Improvement Approach' and Category 'B', that is already an improved area and doesn't seems anymore like a slum to a tourist needs a 'Merger Approach to City'. Indeed, the comparative study of slum settlements in 4 Indian cities (Bhopal, Indore, Gwalior and Jabalpur) reveals that less than 15% of the slum population is actually living in inhabitable, unhygienic & worst conditions and demands for urgent attention and best slums are approx. 20-30% and are located in the inner part of the city.

To understand the community in a better way, the findings suggest the existence of low satisfaction level among communities to the executed projects. Research stressed through discussion and analysis that if community needs and choices are considered while formulating the project than it leads to better community satisfaction and sustainability and concluded that the needs and priorities of dwellers changes as per the access and availability of

amenities in their settlements. For example, Core Slum dwellers priority is towards an improvement in water and toilet, whereas Best Slum inhabitants responded to a need of better drainage and electric poles in their areas. In the case of water, the majority of dwellers (specially core & intermediate) gave a priority to location and quantity as compared to quality of water. Similarly, for better use of common toilets, dwellers demands are for the toilets at convenient location as compared to the current location at periphery of slum settlements.

For Core Slums this research suggest for a measure for poverty reduction and stress on training & employment programs. Broadly such slum should be provided with subsidized common facilities like toilet, water taps etc. Granting of tenure rights along with awarding voting rights should be avoided so as to reduce the political advantage and to discourage new poor migrants to city. Such slum also needs a special program for psychological improvement. Intermediate Slums and Transitional Slums need to be assisted with low to medium subsidies, provision of common or individual facilities, promotion of rent with tenure rights, awarding voting rights and community involvement in projects. For economic benefit, the program like revolving fund along with technical assistance should be promoted. For better satisfaction level, need is for a promotion of community involvement in projects/decision making exercises. The Best Slums needs a recheck along with promotion for integration to rest of the city life by awarding rights and legalizing them. Community in these 'So-called' slums should be promoted for a financial contribution to have better facilities and services. Selling of Plots and land should also be explored.

With reference to slum formation, the study states that slum formations are product of both 'Push' and 'Pull' factors. It is a 'forced or coping phenomenon' rather than based on the choice of dwellers and its further growth can only be managed if both 'Push' & 'Pull' factors are considered and provided attention. However, the study concluded regional inequality, migration, economy & employment, urbanization rate, poverty & education and housing shortages as the major factors for slum formation.

With reference to control or to assess the perception of dweller on 'Returning Back' to their native place the study reveals that in comparison to other slum dwellers, the probability to 'Return Back' to their native place (if training and support is provided) is high among recent migrants (Category 'C' -slums dwellers), who are uneducated and leading poor quality of life. It was found that primary motives of migration and settling in slums was for 'Survival' & 'Coping' rather than any real hope to achieve high economic status and high living standards. Such motives need to be given prime attention while formulating policies or program. It was also found the probability of 'Return Back' is high within the short period of duration and diminishes as family and time period extends.

To manage slum growth or control further formation of slums in urban areas, the root causes that forces poor's to settle down in slums were diagnosed. It concluded that specific interventions are needed to provide access to key services and employment opportunities to rural poor and urban unemployed (specially in smaller urban areas). Thus, policies & measures that encourage such growth will be effective in both reductions as well as in formation of new slums. Such measures & policies include, in particular, categorization of slums for better target and effective interventions for rural-urban partnership as well as urban-urban partnership too.

For effective rural-urban partnership, need is to re-energize the agriculture sector by development of wasteland and degraded land, water resource management and equal distribution of power supply. In addition to it efforts are also required for effective land policy and administration, development of agro, khadi (textile) and village industries, up gradation of rural infrastructure, linking of rural products with urban business and political will power for rural development. For a strong urban-urban partnership, need is for equal urban growth with a reduction of biasness towards million plus cities. There is an urgent necessity to generate employment by attracting private and public sector in smaller cities and for better wages and social security & protection, valiant efforts are required to organize the informal sector that constitute more than 90% of the total employment in the nation. Thus to manage slum growth

or to control further slum formation in other big cities and avoid these smaller cities from becoming a 'Slum City' in future, concentrated effort are required to develop smaller and medium size cities too. 'A Stitch in Time Saves Nine'.

Infrastructure development can also make a considerable contribution to growth through job creation and improvement of access to economic activities and basic social services. Similarly, opportunities for Workfare programs seek to reduce 'forced or coping migration' by providing wage work as per the qualification and skill to those who need it. Such programs will be very useful especially at the time of crises during drought, floods, hails and any other disaster, when large numbers of the able-bodied poor become unemployed.

For slum improvement as well as to manage its growth rate, a good urban management and governance is must, which unfortunately lacks in majority of cities in India. Local bodies still need to learn how to manage their resources that includes physical, financial and human resources. Local bodies failed in generating enough revenue that is essential for housing, infrastructure improvement and long term sustainability. The ignorance of slums in development plans & legislation and over estimated future uses of land are some other aspect that need to be resolved. The existence of act like 'Rent Control Act' is another major reason that keeps away the private owners to invest in housing and is a prime factor for low housing supply in the Indian cities. The ignorance of non-notified or non-recognized slum under development project too needs a solution and need to be considered for improvement. Are they are not a part of a city? The land dispute among the various agencies and government often hinders the slum improvement project and demands for a better coordination and linkages among the various agencies. In addition to these aspects, the effort to control population (specially among poor's where fertility rate is high), reducing disparity between genders and improving the education level will further assist in both control as well as in improvement of slums.

As government has limited financial resources, it would always be better to generate further resources for improvement of slums. The past examples showed that market driven growth processes typically benefit richer areas, where infrastructure and human capital are already reasonably well advanced. The policies now needed is for a promotion of much more public investment along with an involvement of private sector intervention, especially in rural areas and smaller urban centers, which generally have excess labor. The conducive environment shall assist the private sector to execute the programs that may aim at increasing employment and income generating opportunities for dwellers specially women and other groups.

The current study has provided a 'Target Mechanism' that ensures, the reaching of benefits to core poor's (that are less than 15% of total in Indian cities) along with better understanding of dweller's needs and demands. The study has also clearly outlined the causes of slum formation and suggested measures to manage its growth by discussing a case from a developing nation like India. However, the findings and suggestions will also be relevant to other developing nations that are currently combating with the issue of slums in their nation. This study provides a background base that will assist them in effective utilization of the available limited resources by reaching to core poor's and understanding their needs & demands in a much better way. At the same time, the discussion as held during the determination of factors for slum formation and will provide them a direction to manage and control further growth of slum population in their respective nations.