REVIEW OF SLUM DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

3.1 HISTORY OF SLUM DEVELOPMENT

No systemic studies of government policies towards the Urban slums and squatters have appeared for the period before independence perhaps because there were not systemic policies, either nationally or at the local level. The occasional, often conflicting observations of historians, reflect an erratic quality in policy. For Bombay, for example, James Masselos argues that squatters were usually allowed to remain. But Frank Conlon, basing his conclusions, on studies of Police Reports, argues that the Bombay police were evicting squatters throughout the early 20th century. Both Susan Neild and Susan Lewandoski who have separately studied the history of Madras City, report an alternation in policy, sometimes allowing squatters to stay, sometimes evicting them.¹

Governments so erratic in their policies on the very existence of illegal settlements could not fashion consistent policies on supplying them with services. Sometimes roads, water supply, public toilet facilities and electrification would be provided, but more often they would not, since the slum dwellers
lacked the security of tenure, which might protect those investments of public capital. Even after independence, Central, State and city policies continue to vary widely, to lack continuity of purpose, and to be implemented only erratically, although an overall attitude more sympathetic to the felt needs of slum dwellers seems to be emerging. Each of the Five Year Plans of the Central Government included plans for subsidized housing yet they recognized the very limited role which public sector intervention can play. Pyne in the context of the government's policy with regard to slums and squatters says that the government itself does not have a clear sense of action-its desire to provide at least a minimum level of necessities-water, electricity, roads and facilities for sewerage and drains-is constrained by the knowledge of the illegality of the settlement. Unable to commit clearly to either policy - neither clearly forbidding slums and squatters and driving them out on the one hand, nor facilitating their use of plots on the other- the government until 1976 provided limited assistance in fits and starts. The longevity of settlement seemed to offer some protection, but only with limits. The government, nevertheless, did provide some amenities, but lack of secure tenure inhibits
private investment. The Working Group on Urban Poverty appointed by the National Commission on Urbanisation observed that "the most demanding of the urban challenges unquestionably is the challenge posed by urban poverty; the challenge of reducing exploitation, relieving misery a creating more humane conditions for working, living and growth for the disadvantaged people who have made the city their home already or are in the process of doing so. The task of adequately feeding, educating, housing and employing a large and rapidly growing number of undernourished, semi-literate, semi-skilled underemployed and impoverished city dwellers who are living on pavements and other forms of degraded and inadequate settlements and who are struggling to make a living from low paying and unstable occupations in a reasonable time span is the essence of development challenge facing the Indian Planners today. The problem of slums will remain, unless steps are taken (a) to prevent formation of new slums, (b) to enforce municipal bye-laws with strictness with the support of the enlightened citizenry, (c) to promote master plans for large towns with the help of requisite powers to execute zoning schemes, control of land use and check ribbon developments. Secondly the plan
emphasized that it is also essential to tackle the problems of existing slums by eschewing demolition as far as feasible and by employing measures for improvement where local situation permits. Three difficulties were also noted in the Second Plan which come in the way of implementing Slum Clearance and Improvement programmes, namely (1) high cess of acquisition of slums (2) unwillingness of the slum dwellers to shift to distant places to avoid disruption in their social and economic fabric and (3) to devise methods to produce suitable slum tenements within certain construction costs which would be within the paying capacity of the slum dwellers. Keeping the foregoing aspects in view, a provision of Rs. 200 millions for Slum Clearance and sweeper's housing was made. To facilitate slum land acquisition, in the Second Plan Report suggestions were (1) to take the advantage of the article 31 of the Constitution, (2) to create proper climate for slum dwellers, by conducting socio-economic surveys of the worst slum areas in the larger towns and draw phased programmes for slum clearance and (3) to emphasize on the providing of minimum standards of environmental hygiene and essential services rather than construction of elaborate structures. The scheme for financing provided for 25 per cent
central capital subsidy, 50 per cent central loan finance-repayable over 30 years and 25 per cent capital subsidy by the state governments from their own resources. However, the slum problem not only remained as it was but grew in proportion and more slums were coming into the larger towns- and more so in large industrial towns. Though it is true that during the First Plan, various schemes created a sizeable housing stock, namely, (a) housing for the workers in the coal industry- financed from the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund, (b) substantial housing programmes undertaken by the Ministries of Rehabilitation, Defense, Railways, Iron and Steel; Production, Communication, Workers and Housing; State. Governments numbering 5,23,000 unit houses or tenements in urban areas by the Ministry of Rehabilitation, 3,00,000 by other Ministries (other than Works and Housing).

For the first time in the Second Plan (1955-56 to 1960-61) programmes for 1,28,000 tenements under Subsidized Industrial Housing Scheme (SIHS), 1,10,000 for ‘Re-housing were initiated. Modus operandi for implementing the programmes was suggested that state governments and local bodies should provide slum dwellers developed and demarcated plots of land
of 1000-1200 sq. ft. as also certain limited quantity of building materials to the slum dwellers to build, as far as possible, on the principle of 'self help' and 'mutual self help'. It was also hoped that as a large proportion of slum dwellers were scheduled caste and ex-untouchables, they would be able to shift to new dwellings from the present habitations. Two industrial housing schemes were tried out before the introduction of SIHS under the First Plan; one scheme was formulated in 1949 under which centre agreed to grant interest-free loans to state governments/private employers sponsored by the state governments, to the extent of 66.6 per cent of the cost of housing schemes on the condition that the rent charged did not exceed 2.5 per cent of the capital cost subject to a maximum of 10 percent of the cost of construction and land and the balance of the cost was to be met by the employers to whom the houses were to belong and the houses were to be leased to genuine workers on the same terms as in the 1949 scheme. None of these schemes received substantial results. Accordingly SIHS was inaugurated in 1954 in which 50 per cent of the cost was given as capital subsidy and another 50 per cent as loan at 4.5 per cent for which centre offered the funds to the states; however for the employers’
houses the capital subsidy was 25 per cent and loan 37.5 per cent. Out of the 68,200 SIHS houses to be built, only 43,834 were built in the country: 37,217 by state governments. Among the shelters related programmes slum eradication had featured as a key approaches during the I and II plan. In view of resource crunch, resistance of local population to shifting and maintenance failures, this approach was abandoned.

There is a legislative dimension also related with the overall scheme of things regarding slums. The Slum areas (clearance and improvement) Act of 1956 was promulgated to provide for the improvement and clearance of slum areas in certain union territories and for the protection of tenements in such areas from eviction. According to section 3(1) of the Act, a slum area has been defined as any area where the buildings are in any respect unfit for human habitation or are by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morals. The provisions under the Act and its effectiveness have been discussed in the next section.
In the context of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.), the Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) Housing and Development Board was established at Lucknow in 1966 under the provisions of U.P. Housing and Development Act of 1965. Initially it started work in the 5 KAVAL (Kanpur, Agra, Varanasi, Allahabad and Lucknow) cities of the State. However, with the enactment of the Urban Planning and Development Act, 1973, the KAVAL cities were taken out of the purview of the Board. At present, the jurisdiction of the board embraces 130 towns and cities, out of which schemes are in progress in 78 towns. The functions of the board included framing and executing housing and improvement schemes and other projects, providing technical advice and scrutinising various projects under housing and improvement schemes sponsored or assisted by central govt. or the state govt. for improving and clearing slums.

The Third Plan Report (1960-61 to 1965-66) noted that during the Second Plan, out of a provision of Rs. 200 millions only Rs. 99 millions were spent but provided for more funds amounting to Rs. 286 millions for the 3rd Plan on “Slum Clearance, Slum Improvement and Construction of Night Shelters”- in addition to an allocation of Rs. 298 millions for
Chapter Three: Review of Slum Development Schemes

Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme (SIHS) (as compared to Rs. 212 millions spent in the Second Plan), Rs. 352 millions for 'low income housing' (as compared to Rs. 378 millions in the II Plan), Rs. 54 millions for "Town Planning and Preparation of Master Plans (as compared to Rs. 11 millions in the II Plan) Rs. 123 millions for Urban Development Schemes. The physical targets fixed for the Third Plan under Slum Clearance, SIHS, Low Income Group (LIG) and coal and mica workers in terms of houses/tenements to be raised were 100,000, 73,000, 75,000 and 60,000 respectively. In the Third Plan, a scheme supplementing slum clearance scheme was also started, it was that of providing of 'skeletal housing' and open developed plots with separate washing platform and latrine for each family - however, leaving it to the slum dwellers to build huts/houses of a prescribed pattern themselves on 'self-help' basis in accordance with the technical directives of the state government. The Skeletal Housing Scheme is, in some way, a precursor to the "Site and Service Scheme" launched by the World Bank in a lot of developing countries, including India during 1970s. This was an important landmark in the development of strategies for the housing for low income groups including squatter settlement
rehabilitation. Under this scheme 32 sq. mts. developed plots/or including a skeleton house were made available (with on-site infrastructure like water supply, electricity, drainage, sewerage etc.) on hire purchase basis. This concept was based on the objective of utilizing the self-help capabilities of the residents. The dwelling unit could gradually be developed through various stages, depending upon the affordability of the people. Vacant plots with water connection could be extended to one room set and finally to additional one room on first floor along with varandah. The covered area was, gradually, to be increased from 10.47 sq. mts. to 38 sq. mts. in incremental steps. An evaluative study conducted by National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA) revealed that the land use distribution, under the sites and services scheme, seemed to be aiming at higher standards. The scale of provisions for circulation, open spaces, community and social facilities attracted the higher income groups and in the process threw the target groups out from the area as soon as these facilities were provided. As a result of accelerated urbanization and consequent pressure on land, rents and land prices in these areas may increase rapidly, thus making the project financially non-viable for low income housing.
Now reverting back to our analysis of the Slum Clearance Scheme during the Third Plan, another aspect which was rather ‘enabling’ in nature was the enactment of legislations by a number of states during the Second Plan itself for speedier acquisition of slum areas and scaling down of the rate of compensation. Slum Clearance Scheme was reviewed by two committees (i) Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance (ii) Study Team set up by the committee on Plan Projects.

The committees noted that while long term plans are necessary, it was more essential to think of short term plans to relieve acute distress in the slums about environmental hygiene and essential services and recommended for taking immediate measures to provide sanitary latrines, proper drainage, uncontaminated water, good approach roads, paved streets and proper lighting and this led to the renaming of the scheme as Slum Clearance and Slum Improvement Scheme. Larger resources were also provided for dealing with slum problems in six major cities namely, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur and Ahmedabad. In these cities, total subsidy levels were raised from 50 per cent capital subsidy to 62.5 per cent and the share of the central government was raised from 25 per cent to
37.5 per cent. It was also suggested to State Governments to arrange surveys of slum areas-classifying them into two categories- one which may have to be cleared and the other which can be made habitable by improving the environmental conditions. To implement the programme more successfully, it was suggested in the Third Plan Report to enlist the cooperation of voluntary organizations and social workers.

Another variant of slum-clearance and improvement scheme is Jhuggi and Jhomparies Scheme confined to Delhi. Expenditure under this scheme is the responsibility directly of the Central Government. The scheme is for the eradication of unauthorized constructions (prior to July, 1960) as well as for halting the growth of slums. The unauthorized occupants of urban land are classified under this scheme into three classes.

1. All employees of the government and local bodies, in the first instance, should live at camping sites till their ultimate movement to accommodations in the general pool.

2. Providing of camping plots of 25 sq. m. only to migrant labour; and

3. Providing of 25 sq. m. developed plots to eligible squatters from the earlier plot size of 80 sq. yards recognizing the
situations of land scarcity and the involvement of sizeable expenditure.

In the Fourth Plan 1966-67 to 1970-71 (which had a plan holiday for some period) a provision of Rs. 600 millions was made for slum clearance and slum improvement scheme, besides Rs. 450 millions for "SIHS" and Rs. 300 millions for 'low income housing'. The scope of the slum clearance and slum improvement scheme was enlarged to take up schemes of 'urban renewal' as well. It was also noted that the slum clearance in central areas could prove all the potentiality of self financing in case sufficient areas are provided in the redevelopment design for commercial and other remunerative uses and in this regard using of the provisions of Central Slum Clearance Act by including them in the state legislation so that the necessary authority and powers are devolved to the local authorities to undertake redevelopment and protect the rights of tenants in the redeveloped premises.

The Draft Fifth Plan (1974-1979) incorporated the slum improvement scheme under the Minimum Needs Programme, and provided plan allocation of Rs. 946.3 to Rs. 1055 millions as compared to a mere expenditure of Rs. 691 millions in the Fourth Plan Period. The emphasis was laid on
clearing out environment of the slums by giving the minimum conditions for health to various sections of urban population. The scheme provided for financial assistance to the states for expansion of water supply, sewerage paving of streets, and the provision of community latrines etc. in slum areas which were not likely to be cleared in the next ten years but were otherwise amenable to improvements. The scheme was extended to 11 cities with a population of 8 lakhs and more (which included Kanpur also) later 9 more cities were added to the list. In the Final Fifth Plan, for the new schemes for the development of metropolitan towns, the provision of Rs. 2,500 millions had been reduced to Rs. 2300 millions but for Calcutta and Delhi Capital Region Plan, the provision had been seperately provided of Rs. 1756.6 millions and Rs. 200 millions respectively. Actually investment in housing declined from one plan to the other. It was during this plan period that the “Sites and Services” scheme narrated earlier was introduced to make serviced urban land in small lot size accessible and the beneficiaries were expected to construct their houses primarily through ‘self help’ as also explained earlier. The programme was introduced initially for the Economically Weaker Section (EWS) population but had
subsequently been extended in all income groups under the name "Plotted Development".

Another scheme by the name of Slum Upgradation Programme was also started during this period for the purpose of provision of shelter and basic services at the instance of the World Bank. The detailed account of the scheme is given in the next section. Looking at the problem of the slums and interpreting it within the perspective of its chief and apparently, all pervading characteristic of poverty, misery and economic deprivation, we find that poverty removal as a dominant objective in India's development strategy appeared initially in this Plan Period (Vth Plan Period). However, it made no distinction between Urban and Rural poverty. It was the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-1985) which mark in a sense the commencement of a more definite approach to poverty issue in the country. The Sixth Plan however, provided for moving nearly 6.1 millions of the total urban poor above the poverty line. The Seventh Five Year Plan constitutes the first conscious attempt to address urban poverty issues directly. It took explicit note of growing incidence of poverty in urban areas. Urban poverty alleviation has been thought of as an indispensable strategy towards slum
development. Numerous research studies have emphasized the inalienable and intimate linkage between urban poverty and emergence of slums or slum like degraded living conditions. This, indeed, does not mean that all those residing in slums are poor or conversely, all the urban poor are inhabiting one or the other slum.

From a perusal of the above description, it can be concluded that initially the strategy to deal with slum development was to simply remove the slum dwellers, demolish their dwellings without any serious thought given to their rehabilitation. Though the nomenclature "Slum Clearance and Improvement" would suggest that both clearance and improvement were carried out simultaneously but it was the clearance part that had an overwhelming dominance. Also specific locational characteristics of the slums were not taken into consideration as they, in fact, differ considerably from each other, being area specific. Till 1988, the slum specific housing development strategies/programmes were pursued without a pronounced framework which could have given the needed direction to the government and other stake holders including the
slum dwellers themselves for taking up dwelling development activities.
### 3.2 Major Schemes: Basic Focus

Since independence, the schemes and programmes launched by the government in the field of slum improvement can be depicted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programmes</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Funding and Executing Agencies</th>
<th>Mode of Finance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Central Sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Basic Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums</td>
<td>i) Water Supply</td>
<td>i) Central Government</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Urban Basic Services</td>
<td>i) Sanitation</td>
<td>i) State Government</td>
<td>Grant-cum-loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) Urban Community Development</td>
<td>i) Water Supply</td>
<td>i) Central Government</td>
<td>Grant-cum-loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv) Education</td>
<td>i) Sanitation</td>
<td>i) State Government</td>
<td>Grant-cum-loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v) Health</td>
<td>i) Water Supply</td>
<td>i) Local Authority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi) Education</td>
<td>i) Sanitation</td>
<td>iv) Overseas Development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii) Health</td>
<td>i) Water Supply</td>
<td>v) Shelter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii) Education</td>
<td>i) Sanitation</td>
<td>vi) Employment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Special Schemes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Water Supply</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns</td>
<td>i) Water Supply</td>
<td>i) Central Government</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td>i) State Government</td>
<td>Grant-cum-loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Shelter</td>
<td></td>
<td>ii) State Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) Industrial Development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv) Commercial Development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Outside Central Sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Low-Cost Sanitation</td>
<td>i) Sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Shelter-Cum-Basic Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Three: Review of Slum Development Schemes

1. Sites and Services
   - i) Water Supply
   - ii) Sanitation
   - iii) Shelter

2. Slum Improvement and Upgradation
   - i) Slum Improvement Programme-I
     - i) Water Supply
     - ii) Sanitation
     - iii) Health
     - iv) Employment
   - ii) Slum Improvement Programme -II
     - i) Water Supply
     - ii) Sanitation
     - iii) Shelter
   - i) State Government
   - ii) Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO)
   - iii) World Bank

The above depiction makes clear the areas of concern in the perception of the Government in the perspective of slum development and improvement programmes. However, despite these multifaceted efforts, slum dwellers and squatter settlements people continue to face deprivation of basic needs mainly because of exorbitant cost of services, sectoral nature of earlier programmes and neglect of people’s participation. While examining the impact of these programmes the National Commission on Urbanisation concluded that “the reach of the programmes is limited, there is a high degree of inflexibility, there is lack of convergence of programmes even the main targets are often missed, the programmes are still working on a
One fact which needs emphasis here is that in most of the programmes mentioned above, the involvement of NGOs operational in the targeted localities (if any) was only symbolic and no special efforts were made in this regard. Infact, as would be clear later on, in a number of cases it was rather discouraged.

One of the most important slum development programmes of the initial years was the Urban Community Development programme launched in 1966 as a centrally sponsored scheme. But in 1969 it was transferred to the state sector. Owing to the paucity of funds, this scheme has discontinued in most of the states. It has been observed that because of the very design and method of implementation of the scheme, the UCD could be implemented only in 20% of the slums, those that were on government and quasi-government land. The major objectives of the project were as follows:

(i) Creating a sense of social coherence on a neighbourhood basis through corporate civic action and promoting national integration.

(ii) Developing in the slum dwellers a sense of belongingness to the urban fabric through increased participation of people in community affairs by a problem solving
approach with their own initiative, organization, self help and mutual aid.

(iii) Bringing about change towards betterment by creating civic consciousness and by motivating people to improve the conditions of their life particularly those affecting their social and physical environment.

(iv) Developing local initiative, identifying and training local leadership talents and

(v) Ensuring fuller utilization of the technical and welfare services with the help of an external agency.

The projects were to be implemented with the help of NGOs. In the areas where voluntary agencies were operational, the project activities were to be handed over to them. Various dimensions of the circumstances of living of the slum dwellers were thought to be touched and appropriate solutions devised in order to bring about an amelioration in the conditions of living of slum people. It included adequate arrangements for providing water supply, sanitation facilities, health set up including women and children’s health, educational facilities, shelter related upgradations and provision of employment opportunities. It took into its purview the provision of income generating and income enhancing activities and assets to the slum dwellers so that they
could effect an economic improvement on a self help basis. It was realized that urban poverty is less a poverty of income and more a lack of basic services, shelter, opportunities and choices. Illegal nature of stay of poor in settlements on the land to which poor are not entitled defines the nature of living in squatter areas and the type and quality of services provided by the city managers. It was keeping in mind this realization that programmes for creating basic minimum services, which should be qualitative also were launched with the approach of participatory involvement at the various stages of the programme's execution. A marked transformation in terms of improvement in the quantity as well as quality of the fundamental infrastructural provisions, facilities and amenities was planned to be attained through the Urban Community Development Programme. Development of co-operative and collaborative attitudes amongst the slum dwellers with the help of which they could identify their community needs and mobilize their indigenous resources to meet their needs was put in as one of the expectations.

A Kanpur specific Urban Community Development Project was launched in 1981. Among it's objectives were the environmental improvement / provision of basic services i.e., water supply drainage, sewerage, electricity, sanitation,
accessibility etc. at acceptable levels of affordable cost; conservation of existing housing stocks and effective utilization of land; provision of home improvement loans for the target group at affordable cost to facilitating effective implementation through community participation and self help. Kanpur Development Authority envisaged the removal of environmental deficiencies by providing only minimum basic services whereas this is only one component of the overall environmental improvement of Ahatas. However, the results left much to be desired as a number of objectives were either not fulfilled at all or were realized partially. The home improvement component didn’t take off as not a single individual could be provided this assistance which was attributed to shortage of funds. As a result, consolidation of housing could not take place. Community participation and self help were not put into practice at all. The role assumed by Kanpur Development Authority was that of provider and did not attempt to make the residents self-reliant.

Another Urban Community Development Project was taken up in Kanpur in pursuance of the recommendation of the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee of the Government of India. Implementation of the project was sought through voluntary organizations. Those slum localities where any NGO was operational, the project activities were to be handed over to them
which were required to raise their own funds and a matching assistance was to be provided by the Kanpur Nagar Mahapalika. In those wards where no voluntary agency was active, Mandals were to be constituted by project functionaries which were subsequently to be registered under the Societies Registration Act.

The outcome was in terms of formation of 22 Vikas Mandals, 30 Balwadis, 18 Craft centers, 23 adult literacy classes, 5 crèches, 15 libraries and reading rooms and 50 nutrition centers. About 5000 children received supplementary nutrition daily who were also provided the facility of medical checkups and vaccination. Supplementary nutrition, however, could not be maintained on a regular basis as the organizers depended on the supplies of nutrients on external agencies. The project authorities also insisted in organization of training of women in food preservation, doll making, etc. Some citizens were also trained in civil defense and first-aid.

Another scheme initiated during those initial years was the Slum Clearance and Relocation Scheme. This was in consequence to the realisation on the part of the government that government and public lands were to be cleared of slums and squatter settlements so that they could be utilized according to
the requirements of the planned development. The scheme was thought to serve twin objectives of clearing the lands occupied by slum dwellers and controlling further squatting and helping the squatters by providing them alternative accommodation in an organized manner. The scheme was started in 1960 which basically involved construction of new tenements with better amenities required for healthy living and the shifting of the slum dwellers into those newly built tenements or rental basis at subsidized rates. In the early stages of the scheme 80 sq. yard plots were given with a built plinth and toilet and tap but it was found too costly to accommodation all the eligible slum and squatter families. In the revised scheme, each squatter family cleared from squatter bastees was given a plot of 25 sq. yards on which they were allowed to put up hut or shack. However, this facility was restricted to eligible squatters only, the ineligible ones were not provided any plots. Later on, though, the policy of allotment of land was revised and even those ineligible squatter families were also considered for allotment of alternative accommodation in the form of 25 sq. yards plots depending upon the availability of plots after giving priority to eligible families. Allottees of the 35 sq. yards plots were permitted to build their own structures but not of permanent nature. Rent recovery aspect, however, proved to be haphazard and 50 per cent
defaulting rate was reported. The reasons attributed were (i) that squatter families had developed a negative attitude towards the authorities on the ground that they (the families) had been uprooted from their homes. (ii) The relocation resulted in loss of employment for some and increased the transportation costs for most of them. There were cases of misuse of the plots by the allotees in terms of sale of plots to other persons, use of plots for non-residential purpose such as petty shops etc. and even illegal trades such as illicit liquor distillation. Illegal occupation of plots by ineligible squatters was also observed. Abuse of open spaces earmarked for parks etc. was also prevalent in some cases.

In due course of time a new thinking emerged in the minds of the policy planners that emphasized the abandonment of slum clearance and relocation strategy on the basis of the fact that it was not a viable option as it resulted in uprooting thousands of families without providing them any meaningful rehabilitation. Often the relocated sites would be far away from the places of work and even no consideration was given to the community ties of the families.

Thus a new scheme of improving the conditions of existing slum itself was devised to Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) came into being in 1972. The scheme was to be
defaulting rate was reported. The reasons attributed were (i) that squatter families had developed a negative attitude towards the authorities on the ground that they (the families) had been uprooted from their homes. (ii) The relocation resulted in loss of employment for some and increased the transportation costs for most of them. There were cases of misuse of the plots by the allottees in terms of sale of plots to other persons, use of plots for non-residential purpose such as petty shops etc. and even illegal trades such as illicit liquor distillation. Illegal occupation of plots by ineligible squatters was also observed. Abuse of open spaces earmarked for parks etc. was also prevalent in some cases.

In due course of time a new thinking emerged in the minds of the policy planners that emphasized the abandonment of slum clearance and relocation strategy on the basis of the fact that it was not a viable option as it resulted in uprooting thousands of families without providing them any meaningful rehabilitation. Often the relocated sites would be far away from the places of work and even no consideration was given to the community ties of the families.

Thus a new scheme of improving the conditions of existing slum itself was devised to Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) came into being in 1972. The scheme was to be
implemented in cities with a population of 3 lakh or above with the provision that in states where there was no city of this size, at least one city would be selected. In 1974, the scope of the scheme was enlarged and it was made applicable to all urban areas in the country. Further the scheme was made an integral part of the Minimum Needs Programme and was transferred to the state sector in April 1974. The programme gained popularity over the years, it achieved a high coverage in 1983-84 and 1984-85. In 1984 it was also included in the Twenty Point Programme of the Govt.

The EIUS programme envisages the provision of a package of amenities as per the following norms:

1. Latrines: One seat for 20-50 persons.
2. Water taps: One tap for 150 persons.
3. Sewer open drains with normal outflow avoiding accumulation of stagnant waste water.
4. Storm water drains for quickly draining out storm water.
6. Widening and paving of existing lanes to make room for easy flow of pedestrians, bicycles and handcarts on paved paths.
7. Street lighting: One pole at 30 meters distance.

The EIUS scheme is financed on a per capita basis for the population of selected slum areas. Initially in 1972 the amount was fixed at Rs.120.00. In 1974, it was raised to Rs.150.00. The government of India issued new guidelines in the beginning of VIII Five Year Plan in which it retained all the existing components of the scheme besides adding other facilities like community centers, crèches, dispensaries, non-formal educational centers, parks etc. In view of the revised guidelines and escalated cost, the per capita amount was also raised and now since 1995, it stands at Rs.800/-

In Uttar Pradesh the EIUS was introduced in the year 1972-73 in Lucknow and Kanpur. In 1974-75 the scheme was extended to cities having a population of three lakhs and more there by extending its coverage to other cities. The seven cities covered by the scheme were: Agra, Kanpur, Varanasi, Allahabad, Lucknow, Meerut and Barielly. A proposal to extend this scheme to cities with a population of one lakh was considered in 1951 and 51 cities were covered during the period 1980-81 to 1984-85. The EIUS programme covered more cities during 1985-86 to 1991-92. However, in spite of the increase in number of cities from 7 in 1974-75 to 51 in 1980-81, the number of slum
pockets actually covered increased only from 205 to 406. Correspondingly the total slum population covered under the programme was just twice previous period. During the years 1990-91 and 1991-92, the programme remained extensive in terms of the number of cities covered. However the number of slum pockets covered has been declining every year. The EIUS programme in Uttar Pradesh is administered by the State’s Town and Country Planning Department. This department is expected to monitor the scheme to provide technical guidance to the municipal bodies that are required to implement the programme. The municipal bodies were required to undertake a survey of slums within their jurisdiction and identify slum pockets to be taken up under the EIUS programme on a priority basis. The state government in 1962 had enacted the Slum Clearance and Improvement Act. As a consequence of this legislation, the state government had initiated a shelter construction programme for the slum dwellers.

However, when the EIUS scheme was launched in 1972-73 through the central assistance, the Uttar Pradesh government also changed the focus of its slum clearance programme to concentrate largely on slum improvements as per the EIUS guidelines. Thus since 1972, there were two programmes going on simultaneously in Uttar Pradesh for slum improvement. There
was, however, a major difference in the pattern of financing between the two schemes. Under the Slum Clearance and Improvement programme, the pattern of financing was 50 per cent grant, 37.5 per cent loan and 12.5 per cent own contribution, while under the EIUS programme, the municipalities were given 100 per cent grant. As a result, no municipality in the state was interested in slum clearance and improvement programme and the expenditure under the programme has been declining since 1974.

There have been many positive fallouts of the EIUS Programme though shortcomings are also there. Firstly, it is through such a programme that municipal governments have, de facto, granted security of tenure to the slum dwellers. The provision of services by a municipal government is perceived as an act of recognition of the poor. Many slum dwellers have upgraded their shelter in the wake of improved access to services and the reduced fear of eviction. Secondly, the city governments, which were required to implement the EIUS Programme have become more aware of the needs of the poor settlements. In many states despite the lack of budgetary support from the state governments for EIUS the city governments have continued to support provision of community level infrastructure in slum settlements.
Here, mention may be made of almost a similar slum development programme namely, Slum Improvement programme (SIM). Both EIUS and SIM are concerned with the physical improvement of slums through provision of a standard package of community facilities, such as provision of water taps, open drains for outflow of waste water, storm water drains, community bath and latrines, widening and paving of existing lanes and street lighting.

However, under the SIP, in some cases, the slum dwellers have to pay back the total cost of improvement whereas EIUS, as already stated, has been implemented solely through grants from the central government. The SIP implemented so far is of two types: Under the first type, like EIUS, the facilities provided are free of charge. For example, the Accelerated Slum Improvement Scheme taken up in Chennai. The second type is one where the cost of improvement, as mentioned above, is recovered. The World Bank financed urban development projects which have SIP as a component such as the Calcutta Urban Development Project, (CUDP) and Tamil Nadu Urban Development Project (TNUUDP) belong to this category. The loans and grants provided by the World Bank are passed on to the beneficiaries at a 12 percent rate of interest repayable in 20 years.
Regarding any preventive oriented scheme, it was the integrated development of small and medium towns (IDSMT) that was launched with the intention of exploring the relatively favourable potentialities (physical as well as economic) of some towns in order to build them up as growth centers, which would not only stop the migration of the rural poor to large cities, but also provide certain services to their hinterland. This would ensure the balanced development of the whole district and region. The under mentioned components were eligible for central assistance on matching basis:

1. Land acquisition and development of residential scheme including sites and services with or without core housing.

2. Low cost latrines.

The under mentioned components were to be funded by the state government.

(i) Slum improvement and upgradation, sewerage, drainage and sanitation.

(ii) Preventive medical facilities and health care.

As to the implementation of the programme, the state government was made responsible to identify the agencies for materializing the purpose. This agency could be the municipality or City Improvement Trust. The work was coordinated by the
Urban Development Department of state government, which controlled State Town Planning Department, Housing Board, Slum Improvement Board, PWD etc. The local bodies of the town were encouraged and assisted to participate in the preparation and implementation of the integrated programme. The implementing agencies were to have adequate power, delegated to them for sanction of estimates and for prompt implementation of the programme. Also, the State Governments / Union Territory administrations were required to formulate State Urban Development Strategy Paper and identify growth centers (priority town) for funding under IDSMT scheme with comprehensive justification. In ‘A’ category towns having population less than 20,000 the distribution of financial contribution were as follows – 48 per cent in the form of central assistance (grants) ; 32 percent state share and the rest 20 percent loan from Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) / other institutions. The corresponding figures for ‘B’ category towns having population between 20 to 50 thousand were 45 percent, 30 percent and 25 per cent. For towns of ‘C’ category having population between 50 thousand to 1 lack, the corresponding figures were 40 percent, 29 percent and 29 percent. For ‘D’ category towns having population between 1 lack to 3 lacks, the corresponding figures were 38, 26 and 36 (in percentages). For ‘E’ category
towns having population between 3 to 5 lacks the central assistance share was 36 per cent the states share was 24 per cent and loan from HUDCO / other institutions was 40 percent.

From the feedback available, it seems that programme was successful in those towns where land acquisition was satisfactory. Also most local bodies of the selected IDSMT towns have accorded high priority to the remunerative and economically viable sectors such as the development of markets, mandees, commercial complexes as well as traffic and transportation schemes. It appears that central sector component (where ever implemented) have made a significant impact on the socio economic base of the towns. By contrast, those in the state sector have not made any significant impact. This is because in most cases, the implementing agencies did not take up the execution of such projects.

One more scheme almost on the same lines but for cities having population of 4 millions or above was introduced by the name of Mega City Project (MCP) in August 1992, following the recommendation of National Commission on Urbanisation. It was a centrally sponsored scheme to be implemented in five cities namely, Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai, Hyderabad and
Bangalore. The projects to be included under the scheme are classified under the following three categories:

A. Projects which are remunerative.

B. Projects for which user charges could be levied as also other essential (but not amenable to user charges) projects where cost recovery in the sense of meeting the operation and the maintenance costs and a part of the capital cost is expected through direct indirect / revenue generation.

C. Projects for basic services where very low or nil returns are expected projects which are absolutely essential for upgradation of the quality of living in a metro city where user charges can not be recovered.

On a perusal of the programme, following critical conclusions can be drawn.

a) the amount being invested is too little and the scheme itself has come too late.

b) The programme targets wrong cities.

c) Elite continue to be the beneficiaries and the poor shall be neglected.
It fails to address the income distribution concern. Investment in slum improvement is conspicuously absent or relegated to an after thought in the individual MCP spending.

Apart from these two special programmes - IDSMT and MCS, there were few other programmes which can be categorized as shelter-cum-services programmes. Among this category are included Sites and Services Programme, Slum Upgradation Programme and giving of Pattas.

The “Sites and Services” (S/S) projects have been one of the most widely applied tools to facilitate the low-income urban population in terms of incremental rather than the conventional housing. These projects have been replicated on a large scale in all type of towns. However, most of these projects form a part of composite housing schemes. This is mainly a programme to make serviced urban land in small lot size accessible to the houseless, slum dwellers and squatter settlers. The beneficiaries are expected to construct their houses primarily through self help. It was introduced during the Fifth Five Year Plan. This scheme has been funded by the central government under the Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT), the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) and the World Bank. Although HUDCO was the first financing
agency to introduce this scheme in the country, impetus to it has been given by the involvement of the world bank in Madras Urban Development Project (MUDP). Subsequently, the Bank took up several other Sites and Services Schemes in different cities, mainly Kanpur in 1981-82, Indore in 1982-83 and a number of cities in Gujarat in 1985-86. The programme was introduced initially for the Economically Weaker Sections of the population but has subsequently been extended in all income groups under the name ‘plotted development’.

The review of some ‘Sites and Services’ projects implemented in different cities indicate broad trend of transfer of allotted plots to slightly better off house holds. This process is called ‘gentrification’. The dangers of gentrification rest upon two related considerations:

a) the attractiveness of the upgraded (or new ) settlements to relatively well off and

b) the affordability of the project to the original low income dwellers. In case of Sites and Services, the third consideration is the location of the project. If it is closer to the city center – in most cases it is not – then its attractiveness to better off increases and if it is far off from city center – in most cases they are – then the poor
can not afford to travel daily to the city for work. In both the cases the poor are displaced. One review study of two projects after six years of their implementation in Greater Bombay at Dindoshi and Sector 21, New Bombay revealed that at the very onset of the project the targeted households did not gain entry. The more important criticism of Sites and Services Scheme is that the lands available for the schemes are at very distant and inconvenient locations. In Mumbai, Sites and Services scheme were located beyond 30 KM from the city center.

Another scheme by the name of Slum Upgradation Programme (SUP) was started in the Fifth Plan for the provision of shelter and basic services at the instance of the World Bank. Currently HUDCO also finances SUP under its Repairs and Additions Schemes for EWS and LIG categories and inner city areas. Giving of land patta on leasehold or freehold bases is a requirement that distinguishes it from the SIP. Another distinguishing feature is the availability of Home Improvement Loan (HIL) to the beneficiary on an optional basis. This loan is for shelter upgradation. The SUP is of two types – one where pattas are given to individual households on a freehold basis as in the case of Chennai. The second type is a programme under
which land is leased out to the community on a collective basis, as in the case of Mumbai. For the success of the latter, a higher level of community participation as compared to the former is required. HUDCO and world bank loans have been made available for the scheme. Upgradation programmes are taken up only in slums that are compatible with the zoning and land use restrictions in the Development Plan of the city. Major areas of improvement include provision or augmentation of water supply, toilet, bath, drainage, footpaths, roads, street lighting and community facilities. With regard to the level of these facilities generally, two extreme approaches are taken. In some cases all the households are provided with individual facilities and in some all the households are provided with public toilets. However, given the facts that even within a single slum, affordability of households vary, it is necessary to link these facilities with the affordability and priorities of the intended beneficiaries.

One more reason for limited coverage is the financial constraints faced by the local bodies in implementing the programme. As far as possible, Slum Upgradation Schemes will have to be self-financing. The cost of the schemes can be recovered from the existing slum localities by linking it with provision of land tenure. An other very important aspect relates with the requirement of external technical assistance by urban
local body or development agency planning to undertake the upgradation programmes in the preparation of the schemes as one of the major objectives of the programme is to develop the institutional capacity of the urban centers. Selection of appropriate slums for carrying out the programme is also an important issue, as successful implementation of the scheme requires the readiness of the slum community towards assimilation within the programme. Providing land tenure is also one of the most critical activity of this programme as it is often believe that such an entitlement induces the slum dwellers to carry out dwelling upgradation works as the fear of eviction / demolition no longer remains. Also, as slum upgradation programme is dependent upon the people’s participation, it demands their genuine involvement. For making the programme successful, critical activities would involve provision of land tenure, maintenance and cost recovery. But, as is being observed, the existing staff of urban local bodies is increasingly finding it difficult to operationalize these activities because these are not problems of routine physical construction or tax collection. As is obvious from a very brief critical analysis of the implementation and outcome of the various schemes and programmes mentioned above, policy interventions to improve the living conditions of urban poor proved to be almost
unsuccessful, a composite macro level policy to improve the degree and quality of survival and development of the children and women of low income families living in small and medium towns was introduced by the name of Urban Basic Services Programme in the year 1985. It was an amalgam of three programmes – Urban Community Development (UCD), Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) and Low Cost Sanitation Programme (LCSP). It was a centrally sponsored scheme implemented with the involvement of the UNICEF, the state governments, and municipalities. Subsequently the UNICEF and the Central Government have withdrawn from the programme, the former in 1990 and the latter in 1992.

The basic aim of the programme is to improve and upgrade the quality of life of urban poor, especially the most vulnerable sections- the women and children. To achieve this all important goal, the following specific objectives are pursued:

1. to promote and inculcate group spirit and self-help among the slum communities through education and awareness campaigns.
2. to provide pre-school education to the children and adult education to illiterate slum women by organizing balwadi and adult education centers.
3. to extend mother and child health care services, with special emphasis on preventive health care by providing for immunisation, nutritious food, Oral Rehydration, etc.,

4. to provide basic amenities like water, sanitation, etc.,

5. to provide means of income supplementation for the low income slum women by providing petty loans and vocational training and

6. to enhance and strengthen the capacity of municipal bodies to effectively meet the service needs of urban poor.

The programme implementation is guided by three important principles, namely, community participation, convergence and cost effectiveness. Community Participation is the basic underlying theme of the UBS. The target groups involve themselves at every stage of the programme process viz., pre-planning, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The people determine their own needs, priorities them, and also decide inputs including contributions from the community (in the form of cash or kind or labour) necessary for the fulfillment of the needs. Further, management and sustainability of the services provided and physical assets created rest on the shoulders of the slum communities. In view of its multi-sectoral dimension, the
UBS scheme was conceived as a focal point for convergence of services or inputs of various development departments and programmes. Lastly, the whole approach of the UBS programme is based on simple and low cost interventions. The services that are to be provided should be affordable, and generally maintainable by the slum communities.

Another programme purported to meet one of the most pressing basic needs of the slum dwellers was the Low-Cost Sanitation Programme in the 1980s whose objective was to provide sanitation to 80 percent of the urban dwellers by the end of the UN Decade for Water Supply and Sanitation. HUDCO came forth with assistance to cover the slum areas and old city areas with LCS programmes. In the Eighth Plan, the scheme was strengthened.

Slum improvement and upgradation and urban poverty alleviation are considered as legitimate functions of urban local bodies. As far as slum improvement and upgradation is concerned, central support has been negligible. In the light of the constitution 74th (Amendment) Act and the extremely poor and unsatisfactory conditions of slum dwellers, government of India introduced a centrally sponsored scheme for upgradation of urban slums in 1996-97 with the following elements:
1. All India applicability.

2. Funding would be in the 30-20 ration between the centre and the state.

3. Efforts will be made to ensure tenurial rights / land security.

4. The components include.
   i) Physical amenities.
   ii) Community Infrastructure
   iii) Community Primary Health Care Centre Building.
   iv) Social Amenities
   v) Provision of assistance for construction of new houses in slum areas.
   vi) Adequate provision for convergence between different sectoral and departmental programmes relating to achieving social sector goals.

5. Funds from the State Slum Development Fund shall be routed directly to the Town Slum Development Fund.

6. As a part of systemic reform, every urban body must create a separate head in the budget for slum development and urban poverty eradication. In addition, a slum development Committee shall also be instituted.
7. Exact Target Group shall be identified.

8. At the national level, Department of Urban Employment and Poverty Eradication is the nodal dept.

The scheme is based on the UBSP philosophy of creating sustainable community structures which ultimately will be able to take over and maintain systems which are set up as a result of the slum initiative.

Regarding the enactment of legislation purported towards improving the conditions of slum dwellers the slum Areas (Clearence and Improvement) Act of 1956 was promulgated to provide for the improvement and clearence of slum areas in certain Union Territories and for the protection of tenants in such areas from eviction. According to section 3 (1) of this Act, a slum area has been defined as any area where the buildings are in any respect unfit for human habitation or are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of a ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors are detrimental to safety health or morals. The salient provisions of the Act cover the following areas:

i) power to declare areas as slums.

ii) improvement of slum areas.
iii) restriction on building in slum areas and powers to demolish.

iv) clearance and redevelopment.

v) acquisition of land for improvement redevelopment.

vi) protection of tenants in slum areas from eviction.

The effectiveness of the provision of the Act are as under:

i) Lack of specific criteria and methodology for declaring an area as a slum area.

ii) Difficulty in recovery of improvement expenses.

iii) Lack of provision in the Act for judging the adequacy or quality of improvement.

iv) Difficulty in demolition of buildings.

v) Lack of specific criteria and methodology for declaring an area as a clearance area.

vi) Unrealistic and inequitous basis for determination of compensation of land acquisition.

vii) Difficulty in eviction of tenants.

viii) No provision for denotification of slums notified under the Act.
The above factors have substantially impeded the successful implementation of the act. Although certain provisions have been made, they have anomalies and are vague or inadequate. Further in the absence of adequate funding of slum improvement works by the government along with reliance for funds on the owners, mostly low income, to carry out repairs, the Act has yielded little result. In most of the cities, the Act does not go beyond notification of slums.

A perusal of the above mentioned schemes programmes and projects would reveal that a multi-dimensional approach was taken to tackle the phenomenon of slums and squatter settlements. Such an approach is in fact, suggestible and recommendable keeping in view the range of deficiencies difficulties and deprivations slum inhabitants face. However, main focus of almost all the programmes was to improve the living conditions of the slum dwellers whether through land tenure, provisions of physical facilities, educational, health, recreational facilities, employment opportunities, dwelling related upgradation etc. It’s not that the focussed areas did not ever face the fate of being defocussed or the hitherto unfocussed areas never got the opportunity of being brought into the main agenda. It actually depended upon the respective policy perspectives, thinking and availability of resources. There is no denying that numerous
serious and genuine endeavours us were made by the government to involve the beneficiaries in the whole process of slum development. However, the outcome is neither qualitatively nor quantitatively as expected which was attributed not to any one factor but it was a complex of many trends, traditions and practices. Lastly, we can say that keeping in view the magnitude of the problem government needs to do much more than it is attempting now before the menace becomes unwieldy.
3.3 POINT OF DEPARTURE

In the overall context of the schemes and the programmes initiated for effecting amelioration and improvements in the deplorable, deprived and deficient circumstances of living of the slum dwellers, some significant departures with regard to the focus of the earlier programmes could be observed on an analysis and perusal. The broad differences in the focused areas, problems, objectives, methodology etc. of the different schemes and the programmes can be easily deciphered. Though the major goal of improving the conditions of slum people remained same, notwithstanding the various schemes and programmes, their specific objectives to attain the all important and fundamental goal of slum improvement did exhibit differences.

An overview of the programmes and schemes undertaken by the Central, State and local governments in the nineties, for providing urban basic services reveals that the major concerns and areas of emphasis have changed significantly with the changing policy perspective at the macro level. It may be seen that basic services were financed primarily by central government during the seventies and earlier. However, now, there is a distinct shift of responsibility from the Central to state governments and local bodies. The Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums...
(EIUS) and Urban Community Development (UCD) were started with the central grant of 100 per cent and 50 per cent respectively.

The state and local governments are presently financing these totally. The Urban Basic Services (UBS) and Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) are comparatively new schemes that still enjoy certain amount of central assistance as loans. However, these are much less than that provided in the earlier programmes. All these changes have affected and are likely to affect the availability of basic services to urban population, particularly the poor adversely. In fact many of the state governments have closed down the programmes with the discontinuation of central assistance. A few others have opted for institutional funds for the projects at a high rate of interest, instead of making budgetary provision for it, which would dilute the pro-poor bias. The weak financial position of the state government and local bodies have, thus, seriously hampered the implementation of basic services schemes. Furthermore, the international agencies and Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) that finance the state sector schemes mostly insist on cost recovery under the urban slum improvement scheme by increasing water rates, property taxes and so on. It appears that many local bodies are finding it difficult to comply
with this requirement, given that their overall financial position in the country is very weak.

One of the most revolutionary changes that took place during the 1990s regarding urban development which envisaged decentralization and representative governance at the local level was in terms of the promulgation of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act regarding urban local bodies. In the context of the people's participation, this CA has been hailed as a key to obtain a wholehearted and representative involvement of the beneficiaries at all stages of development. The Constitution (74th Amendment) Act, 1992 relating to Municipalities (Known as the Nagarpalika Act) was passed by parliament in the winter session of 1992 and it received the assent of the president on 20.4.1993. This act seeks to provide a common framework for the structure and mandate of urban local bodies to enable them to function as effective democratic units of local self-government.

The salient features of the constitution (74th) Amendment Act cover the following:

- Constitution of Municipalities
- Composition of Municipalities.
- Constitution of Wards Committees
- Reservation of Seats for SCs, STs and Women.
Chapter Three: Review of Slum Development Schemes

- Fixed duration of Municipalities-Power, Authority and Responsibilities of Municipalities.
- Appointment of State Election Commission.
- Appointment of State Finance Commission.
- Constitution of Metropolitan and District Planning

The provisions of the Act stipulate that all the seats in the Municipality are to be filled by direct elections. The territorial constituencies in a municipal area for the purpose of elections are divided into wards. Each seat represents a ward in the Municipality. In large cities such as Kanpur, the average ward size is fairly large ranging from a population of 30,000 to even 2 lakhs. This has led to a situation where the common citizen does not have ready access to his elected representative. Such a situation is, in fact, prevailing in the sampled slums studied where, as the data reveal, the people don't seem to be satisfied with the conduct of their local representative.

Regarding the reservation of seats, provision is that the proportion of seats to be reserved for SC/ST to the total number of seats shall be the same as the proportion of the population of the SC/ST in the municipal area to the total population of that area. Not less than one third of the total number of seats reserved for SC/ST have been reserved for women belonging to
SC/ST. This is a mandatory provision. In respect of women, the seats shall be reserved to the extent of not less than one third of the total number of seats.

As regarding powers and functions of Municipalities, their traditional civic functions are well known. However, the constitutional amendment envisages that Municipalities would go beyond the provision of civic amenities. They are now expected to play a crucial role in the preparation of plans for local development and in the implementation of development projects and programmes including those specially designed for urban poverty alleviation. The 12th schedule lists the following functions among others of the Municipalities:

- Urban planning including town planning.
- Regulation of land-use and construction of buildings.
- Planning for economic and social development.
- Water supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purposes.
- Public health, sanitation and solid waste management.
- Slum improvement and degradation.
- Urban poverty alleviation.
Seeing the aforementioned provisions and functions in the context of the ground realities existing in the Kanpur slums, it can safely be assumed that till now the full potential of the amendment has not been realised. It's rather too early to pass judgements as the structural and inherent factors of the Indian society which have traditionally denied any worth while role to the marginalized and excluded segment are still to be done away with. The slum dwellers hardly appear to be enthusiastic in the context of the reforms that have been introduced. Now they seem to have developed the same kind of disenchantment with their ward members as they used to have about local MLAs and MPs. Until and unless, the attitudes and outlook of the people who have been entrusted developmental responsibilities changes it's difficult to effect intended changes at the grassroot level. Before the 74th Constitutional Amendment it's not that people's participation, their role in planning, their potential to contribute constructively and substantially in the programmes which were intended to benefit them had not been recognized or realized but the main difference lies in the provision of the suitable mechanism through which such a substantial role of the beneficiaries has been sought to be institutionalized and constitutionalized in the sense that now the beneficiaries derive their powers, role and duties in the context of their own
development from the constitution itself. Earlier, emphasis used to be on the problem and the bureaucracy but now a people centered orientation is provided to the programmes.

However, the real situation, as said earlier, does not reflect any striking transformation towards serving any of the objectives of the reforms. The interaction between the community representative and the bureaucratic functionaries has, of course, increased both quantitatively and qualitatively, former in the sense that now more frequent meetings take place between the ward member and the municipal officials and latter in the sense that this interaction has resulted in apprising the officials of the problems regarding the locality in a short time as compared to the period before the Act. The officials now seem to exhibit a more concerned behaviour as was concluded through few interactions that took place between the officials and the researcher.

All the components of this Constitutional Amendment are intended towards achieving the objectives like community empowerment, participation and enabling environment towards the larger goal of urban development, urban poverty alleviation and slum development and improvement. Much reliance is now a day being placed upon participation and empowerment and in
participatory governance which includes specific attention for structures and relationships to make participation possible. The whole process involves the requirements to be effected by local governments to create conditions under which communities, NGOs or private sector organizations are enable to participate in the production and or delivery of services and in meeting the basic needs of the targeted slum and poverty stricken people. This has been termed enablement or an enabling type of government by Helmsing (2000). It is about the conditions for a "facilitating" rather than "providing" type of governance, where efficiency and effectiveness are achieved by delegating tasks to communities, NGOs or commercial organizations, and where communities can identify and prioritise their needs leading to a better match between what people need and what they actually obtain. This requires partnerships, a working relationship with a shared objective and vision. Involving people in policy formulations and implementation was not an option that was altogether missing from the governments whole agenda of doing things but the vigour and strength that this concept assumed became possible only after the promulgation of the 74th C.A. When we analyse the schemes and programmes initiated for slum development, from the aspect of focus on beneficiary's involvement we see that such schemes like Urban Community
Development Programme did emphasize community participation. The Urban Basis Services, National Slum Development Programme emphasized community participation, but as far as the actual practice is concerned this aspect never seemed to get adequate and desired concentration. This leads to the importance of creating conditions under which poor, illiterate, and socially excluded men and women are aware of opportunities, able to organise themselves, to be ready to challenge opposition, or put differently, are empowered. Interpreting the amendment in the context of slum improvement, what this intends to accomplish is to create enabling framework to stimulate bottom-up community planning and cooperation between local government agencies, NGOs and CBOs in slum improvement strategies. It will help create new slum organisations and empowerment of slum inhabitants. The policy planner’s thinking now reflects their reliance upon the empowerment of the poor in the slums in order to effect slum improvement and development. At the same time, the need is to recognize the social and political aspects of Indian urban poverty and slums for example, the importance of patronage relationships, the functioning of vote banks and the existence of vested interests in slums and slum improvement schemes. Now, bringing about close cooperation between governmental and non-governmental organizations and slum communities, which can lead to convergence or the linking or
merging of various slum improvement and poverty reduction programmes and resources, is attempted. The objective of convergence in the context of close government-NGO-CBO cooperation will lead to the creation of an enabling environment for slum improvement.

However, review of a number of very innovative programmes launched for slum improvement whether city specific, state specific or at the national level conveys the fact that, though in the beginning, the government staff participates faithfully with other stakeholders but later on it generally tapers off. One problem relating to the participation of the government officials is the Indian administrative practice of rather frequently transferring the officials. Partnerships need continuity, a long term perspective and the related opportunity to establish personal relationships based on trust and mutual support. Another reason has been a certain reluctance on the part of the government agencies to channel funds, resources and programmes to the slum dwellers' own community structures. Also not enough unity of purpose is normally ensured, partly due to the fact that government agencies, NGOs, and CBOs have quite different perceptions and interests, apart from a tradition of some mistrust and competition. Especially where any public-
community relationship is concerned, there is a clear and large power difference and a lack of shared intentions.

However, it was hoped that the Act's provisions will help in dismantling such tendencies and ushering in a real people's government at all levels of governance. It is, indeed, a first step in the process of devolution of powers to the people at the grass root level. It was expected that this would form the basis for improving the financial health of the municipalities, rationalise their structure and functions and ensure a greater degree of meaningful involvement of the people in the process of planning and development at local levels. Also, the constitution of ward committees was intended to make possible for the community itself to prepare its development and improvement plans, implement, monitor and evaluate them.

Ward representatives are now allotted the sanctioned locality development and improvement funds and it's they who are now entrusted the responsibility to decide the most pressing needs of their locality, prioritize them, make programmes to meet the needs, implement them and thus obtain the desired outcome and get the whole process completed in an accountable and transparent fashion.
However, when this whole seemingly ideal system’s extent and quality of application in the context of Kanpur slums is examined, the results in terms of outcome of various community initiatives are not very heartening. Beneficiaries’ participation and empowerment has been mostly applied in scattered, isolated instances and has therefore been too fragmented and rarely sustainable. It is also does not seem to be easy for slum communities, divided as they are to hold on to the gains after projects are complete. One of the impediments that seem to be diluting the whole philosophy and effort of the thinktanks and planners behind decentralisation and democratization is the stratified structural configuration of the Indian society in terms of caste and community. As will become clear from an analysis of the gathered data, such factors act against the whole spirit of peoples participation and inhibiting the involvement of those very people, the traditionally oppressed and marginalised segment, whose participation is intended the most. It’s not that the Government has not done any thing to attack the problem from this aspect but still the results are not very optimistic. The reason may be that certain elements and trends work within the community itself which do not want these people to be empowered. Also in the larger context of the new economic policy’s structural adjustment programme, it appears that this
most alienated segment among the general depressed class has hardly been able to derive any benefit from such new economic system. Even if people's participation is achieved, the handicaps like skewed income and resource distribution vulnerability and illiteracy etc. will require some very drastic policies on the part of the government to redress them.

In the context of the Kanpur slums, it can be postulated that a large number of people are hardly satisfied with their elected ward representatives as they see them as corrupt manipulators who seek to further their vested interests at the cost of locality's development. It is because of this as also due to the fact that the people don't approve of the way the development and improvement works have been done, the quantity and quality of the facilities and services created, the almost lukewarm solicitation of people's participation that was invited, the concentrated nature of the facilities and amenities created, that there is skepticism about the potential of the decentralization reforms effected through the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992.

However, at the same time, this fact can not be easily relegated that there are some vested interests who keep on efforting to cripple the system of governance. These vested
interests, sometimes, happen to be the local community representative/ward member himself/herself. They would generally refrain from divulging and explaining the various components of the slum development and improvement programmes that are launched by the Government.

Though now, these representatives/ward member/corporators etc. themselves who are required to express their locality's need, make the proposals, discuss their viability, feasibility and relevance with the municipal officials and get the improvement/development work implemented, of course with the participation of the community at all stages, still the results obtained, during the field visit and after the analysis and interpretation of data gathered from respondents, were not very encouraging and optimistic. The data picturise an indifferent and callous attitude on the part of not only the agency officials and the slum dwellers' political elected representative only but the larger community itself. This is revealed by the extent of awareness about the various programmes exhibited by the respondents, their complete lack of faith in the "dedication" and "commitment" expressed by the agency officials, their women's almost insignificant roles in the whole process of slum improvement.
Ideally, the slum improvement programmes should be a people’s movement with maximum support from the national and state governments but with their least intervention. When we talk about any role played by the voluntary and non-governmental sector, we can easily make out that in comparison to earlier times, when such a phenomenon of NGO’s participation in the process of development, amelioration of the circumstances of living of crores of our country men belonging to the depressed classes and community empowerment was very limited scattered and discreet, now-a-days they have entered into the arena of development in a very vigorous manner, rather the NGO’s arrival into the field of development has assumed a revolutionary proportion. It’s is one of the most marked and striking departure from the past. You name the field of development and you will be able to locate any NGO. Though a good majority of them are Indian and recent in origin, there is no dearth of multinational non-governmental organizations working in the fields of development.

When we try to look into the factors which ushered in such a landmark development, we find a number of them. One of the most important factors concerns with the fruits of development not reaching out to the intended beneficiaries. A plethora of developmental programmes run by government could not benefit
the poor due to various reasons. A close examination of the views expressed by think-tanks, developmental experts and policy planners themselves reveals that adoption of alien developmental paradigm incompatible with socio-cultural ethos, ossified bureaucratic set-up, corruption, pilferage, nepotism, lack of dedication and commitment on the part of the implementing agency, incapability of the agency officials to identify and locate local resources, indifferent attitude of the prospective beneficiaries themselves due again to the indifferent and callous attitude of the bureaucratic and implementing officials, non-parallelism in the views between the beneficiaries and the agency officials regarding the whole agenda of development and improvement, mismatching in priority fixation between the community and the agency personnel, the typical nature of Indian officers class, their stereotyped and coloured perceptions of the masses whom they profess to serve, are among numerous other factors accountable for such a failure of the developmental programmes to obtain its objectives. Even though the concept of development these days has been passing through a transitional stage, where in a shift in its approach and content is being witnessed from language of ‘policy’ to language of ‘rights’. The late seventies and early eighties brought to the fore the concept of alternatives development alternatives and even alternatives to
development. Development economists realized that unique problems of India could not be overcome by blindly following models being utilized in foreign countries. This change in discourse of development emphasized distribution and mobilization of material resources for 'growth with equity' Many factors are responsible for this change in perspective. These include persistent failure of the political and permanent executives in reaching policy benefits to the citizens, leading to erosion of their confidence, changing perceptions of the United Nations and other specialized international agencies towards development with a human face and world wide recognition of NGOs for championing the cause of people’s empowerment, environment and sustainable social development.

The widely acknowledged role of NGOs in such numerous field as socio-economic change, welfare, mass mobilization, empowerment and development, has generated an idea that these organizations are capable of creating enabling conditions. Thus, this needy section of the society can secure influence and leverage through the intervention of NGOs. These organizations commonly known as the Third Sector (the government and business are considered as the two other sectors) and their success as reported in the media these days regardless of criticism received appreciation for their strong community ties,
social capital, authority and resources at the disposal of their members or participants.

A case can, therefore, be made that decentralized urban development and devolution of powers to the people can be accomplished, if close and collaborative relationship between NGOs and ULBs is explored. In almost all the requirements for an effective implementation of the projects of development and improvement, the NGOs have an upper hand in comparison to the Governmental sector. Be it committed and dedicated personnel who seriously and sincerely want to effect development and improvement in case of marginalized segments of people rather than perpetuating their wretchedness and deprivation which has now come to be associated with governmental officials or seeking beneficiaries' participation at the various stages of programmes, the NGOs normally secure a respectable marks. Their comparative advantages lie in being able to easily assimilate with the prospective beneficiaries community, able to establish a good relationship and rapport with the community and thus able to command a goodwill in the targeted community.

Now talking in the context of the Kanpur slums, it appears that there are some glaring deficiencies which are hindering the smooth cooperative and collaborative relationship between NGOs :
and ULBs. Also, the outcome concluded from the gathered data reveals not a very healthy and sound relationship between the NGOs and the community itself. Community members don't seem to place much trust and reliance upon these NGOs.

It was during the early 1980s that some NGOs, a number of them being Kanpur based, started their activities in the slums of this metropolis. Initially their activities were limited to non-formal education, some discreet efforts towards community empowerment, sometimes even assuming the role of advocates and community representatives pleading with the municipal authorities to do the needful in case of any problems in the particular slums where they were operating. Community's disenchantment with the NGOs arises from the nature of activities that they usually undertake which, sometimes, appears to be incomprehensible and irrelevant to the slum dwellers. They (NGOs) would focus, normally, on intangible objectives like community empowerment while the slum dwellers being generally poverty-stricken and deprived, want some tangible gains in terms of quick and forthwith amelioration in their living conditions. Also, the efforts of the NGOs in soliciting people's active participation in the activities that they would carry out in the slum localities have hardly met with adequate success. In a number of localities, they would carry out activities like running
of vocational centres, distribution of old books, clothes etc. formation of project committees, youth clubs, self-help groups of women and a host of other such activities.

Today, Kanpur boasts of numerous NGOs working in a number of fields such as formation and operation of micro credit bodies, slums physical improvement activities, acting as advocate, pressure groups, making representations to governmental departments on behalf of the community for which they are working etc. Solicitation of active and wholehearted, meaningful and purposeful participation on the part of the slum dwellers would require capacity building of these people particularly the more neglected and distressed segment of the society. It appears that these people normally hesitate to participate at the phase where it matters the most at the planning stage. This fact could be attributed to two factors-lack of requisite skills and the prevalent common phobia about the planning. No practical and concrete decisions seem to have been made by the municipal authorities to redress these deficiencies on the part of the slum dwellers. However, the NGOs in a number of cases have been found to be striving for this. They are making sustained efforts not only to impart skills of planning and implementation to the people but are also motivating them to give special attention to indigenous resource mobilization. This is in view of the fact that
community contribution has not been significant and in stray cases where it has been done, it is confined to contribution in kind only.

Organization of community in the form of formation of small groups, viz. project committees, youth clubs, children's army etc. has been attempted in a number of cases but their efficacy seems to be in doubtful. It appears that the formation of such groups has become an end in itself without realizing that they are only the means towards the attainment of larger objective of bringing about an amelioration and improvement in the wretched conditions of living of the slum dwellers. There appears to be a lack voluntary spirit among the people. This is the most fundamental requirement for soliciting and obtaining the active and dedicated support and participation of the prospective beneficiaries. The success or failure of the programmes, as has been derived from the experiences gained in the implementation of the projects over the last number of years point towards the people's participation or lack of it. NGOs require to make great efforts to develop a culture of voluntary participation/contribution among the people. NGOs comparative advantage also lies in the fact they are normally known in the area, speak the local language and have a good rapport with the people.
The performance of the agency officials in identifying genuine beneficiary is not very satisfactory. Even the elected representative has hardly been very effective. Similar is the case with the community Development Society (C.D.S). This is so because the local politicians has some reservations. He has to please the voters and the factional groups that support him. Hence, they resort to political expediency in selecting the beneficiaries rather than measuring the extent of poverty and exclusion. The NGOs, however, barring some exceptions, as outsiders, are free from such inhibitions and work with independence, autonomy, flexibility, innovativeness and participatory outlook. They also have developed novel techniques and strategies to identity the poorest among the poor because of long experience in this field. These NGOs could impart lessons in practical methods they employ to identify and select beneficiaries. In few programmes of such nature, it was found that rather than resorting to such fixed criteria as monthly or annual income, the NGOs selection procedure reflected reasonable flexibility and they employed methods such as personal contacts, advertising, household field surveys, propaganda and distribution of useful materials. They were thus able to select some very genuine and deserving candidates. This, however, in itself generated heart burning and jealousy among a
number of slum dwellers who, inspite of being comparatively better, resented the exclusion of themselves or some of their family member or friend. The passing of the 74th constitutional amendment could not transform the archaic attitude of the local officials engaged in implementing improvement programmes as expected. They lack planning skills to identify the needs, resources and priorities necessary for preparing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating projects. The NGOs-ULBs interface can enhance the capabilities of these officials by providing the inputs that are lacking. They can educate these personnel about what they should do and how they should go about doing it. They have, in fact, done this in a number of cases. They have provided data and information about slum problem. They have assisted the officials by carrying out household surveys, preparing inventory of the amenities and identifying the developmental problems. The informations collected by NGOs can be relied upon by the government and the latter can thus, accordingly, formulate programmes aimed at developing an enabling environment in the slum localities for effectively implementing the programmes of improvement. The government, utilizing the feedback, provided by the NGOs can modify slum development policies in accordance with the aspirations of the local people and the availability of the resources and the prevailing circumstances.
However, there are some really important issues with regard to the NGO movement on the national basis. Firstly, the growth of the NGOs in the different states and territories of the country is uneven, particularly in the context of its size and population. The findings of a number of studies have revealed that the growth of the NGOs in Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and the Union Territory of Delhi, has shown a downward trend, while it has accelerated in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala. There is a sharp contrast in the voluntary culture between northern and southern India. Hence, there is an urgent need to strengthen and ensure uniformity in voluntary efforts in the country as a whole. The working of some giant NGOs is reported to be steered by remote control by smart bureaucrats and political leaders sitting in air conditioned rooms away from the field, without any knowledge or understanding of the sorry plight of slum dwellers.

Secondly, over the years, the credibility and image of the NGOs in the minds of common people have deteriorated. Hence, transparency, openness, responsiveness, social audit and self-imposed codes of conduct among the NGOs are urgently needed for boosting public confidence.
Thirdly, the emerging area of networking and collaboration throws up challenges for the NGOs. They have to reorient and restructure their organizational, functional and managerial abilities in the following areas.

- leadership development;
- policy research and advocacy;
- information access, use and dissemination;
- building alliances, coalitions, networks; and
- financial sustainability.

Thus we can see that these NGOs, using the assets have contributed significantly to the cause of development but as we have observed, they have still not been able to realize their full potential due to a number of factors mentioned above. These factors sometimes have to do with the attitude of the community, bureaucracy, Urban Local body officials and NGO people themselves. Therefore, all the three main partners, viz; community, ULB and NGO have to evolve a common strategy with a common agenda to address the causes for which they are endeavoring.
Chapter Three: Review of Slum Development Schemes

References:

1. Dilip, K. Basu (ed.) The Colonial Port City in Asia; Centre for South Pacific Studies; University of California, Santa Cruz; 1979.


Chapter Three: Review of Slum Development Schemes

8. R.S.N. Hart and E.L. Walson-Displacement in Sites and Services Projects-Two Case Studies in the bombay Metropolitan Region.

