CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The housing problem, especially in developing countries are of prime concern to policy makers, administrators, planners and the developers. For instance, housing problem in India continues to be daunting in terms of the large number of slums and unauthorised colonies, spiraling prices and rents, besides lack of sanitation and basic services to the bulk of the population. The rapid increase of population in urban areas coupled with the struggle of the poor and vulnerable sections, to secure affordable and adequate shelter, make the housing problem in India all the more complex. The housing shortage is estimated by the National Buildings Organisations (NBO 1991) in 1991 at 31 millions units comprising of 20.6 million in rural areas and 10.4 million in urban areas, with the bulk of backlog consisting of poor quality (kutcha) unserviceable units. During the Eighth Five Year Plan (Government of India 1990a) period, it had been calculated that over and above the backlog as on 1991, the shelter requirement by way of upgradations and construction would be 12.22 million units in rural areas and 9.55 million units in urban areas. Some 6-7 million houses will have to be added every year. These will call for an investment of Rs.15 million over the period of five years. This means the annual amount required will be equivalent to the total plan outlay of the seventh or eighth plan (The Hindu 1997).
While many shelter programmes in post independent India were implemented by various Government agencies, Sites and Services Schemes (SSS) is found to be the single largest programme which addressed specifically the urban poor. There has been mixed responses to SSS. Inspite of such experience, sites and services concept has become a panacea for answering the shelter needs of EWS. While many studies have been conducted on sites and services, no comprehensive study on the land use changes and the impact of transfer process on shelter units, had been undertaken so far in Chennai. It will be very valuable, if the policy makers and others involved in shelter projects get to know, not only the context and reasons for transfer, but also the physical manifestation of such moves on the scheme area and other parts of the metropolitan city for making future policy decisions for providing shelter to the urban poor.

1.2 HOUSING POLICY

The global shelter strategy adopted by the UN in 1988, calls upon the different governments to take steps for the formulation of a National Housing Policy to achieve the targets of housing. The rapid growth of urban population and its concentration in 300 cities with a population exceeding one lakh, has led to increasing congestion and overcrowding in small houses, steady growth of slums in the context of inadequate supply of affordable housing, institutional differences of housing agencies and local bodies and insufficient attention to shelter the poor, compels the formulation of a housing policy (UNCHS 1994).

The Government of India initially spelt out the National Housing Policy in 1988 later, reiterated it in 1990 and 1992 respectively. The bottom line of all the policies was to make appropriate investment and create conditions where all and especially the poor may gain and secure adequate
housing rather than supplying built houses. The latest National Housing Policies (Government of India 1990b, 1992) has the following objectives:

- to assist all people, particularly the houseless, the inadequate and vulnerable sections to secure for themselves shelter through access to developed land, building materials and technology.

- to create an enabling environment for housing activity through various agencies, by eliminating constraints and by developing an efficient and co-ordinated system for the delivery of housing inputs.

- to expand the provision of infrastructure facilities in rural and urban areas in order to improve the environment of human settlements, increase the access of poorer households to basic services and to increase the supply of developed land for housing.

- to undertake, within the overall context of policies for poverty alleviation and employment, steps for improving the housing situation of the poorest sections and vulnerable groups by direct initiatives and financial support of the state.

- to help mobilise resources and facilitate the expansion of investment in housing, in order to meet the needs of housing construction, upgradation and augmentation of infrastructure.

- to promote a more equitable distribution of land and houses in urban and rural areas and to curb speculation in land across housing in consonance with macro-economic policies for effective and equitable growth.
• to promote vernacular architecture and to preserve the nation’s rich heritage in the field of human settlements.

1.2.1 The Goals of the policies are

• Reduce houselessness

• Provide large supply of developed land and finance to different income groups.

• Promote use of appropriate and energy saving building materials and cost effective construction technologies.

• Assist in the upgradation of unserviceable houses in rural and urban areas with a view to particularly improve the housing condition of the rural houseless, the inadequate household, slum dwellers, SC & ST and other vulnerable sections.

• Provide the minimum levels of basic services and members to ensure a healthy environment within the framework of integrated development of rural and urban settlement.

1.3 HOUSING PROGRAMMES IN CHENNAI*

The City Improvement Trust (CIT) was formed in 1946, as a statutory body to undertake the task of housing and improvement scheme in the city. The CIT took about 20 schemes for execution mainly to provide house sites and houses for the high, middle and lower income groups

* Recently, the name of the city of Madras was changed to Chennai by a government order, therefore MADRAS may hereafter be read as CHENNAI throughout the text.
including the houses for policemen and industrial workers. Housing in the peripheral locations of such developments, attracted only the well-to-do households and the standards of plots accordingly were extravagant with an area of 0.1 hectare for the smallest plot.

The CIT concentrated its activities on the peripheral areas with scattered development to provide housing sites for various income groups. Due to lack of proper public transportation facilities, the colonies did attract only the highly paid Government servants. But some of the colonies grew up soon due to their nearness to the existing residential and commercial areas and with a good number of high, middle and low income group households. The Pillur scheme came into prominence after the construction of Kodambakkam Railway bridge, the absence of which, acted as a barrier to reach the scheme area. Compared to the magnitude of the housing problem the number of colonies developed and the total extent are inadequate as all of this put together provided houses only to 4,317 families. In addition to the slum improvement schemes, CIT had attracted 7,000 families.

The Madras Provincial Housing Committee formed in 1948 and recommended some minimum standards to be adopted in the housing design, with due regard to rural housing standards proposed by the Health Survey and Development Committee known as the Bhore Committee. The Industrial Housing sub-committee of Government of India, recommended that minimum floor space required for a dwelling house of 6 inmates should be 340 sq.ft with the mean floor area per adult at 75 sqft and 40 sq.ft. The Bhore committee recommended a minimum of two living rooms, a separate kitchen, bath room and latrine for each family. The Housing committee had also identified the amenities to be provided in each house such as built in cup-boards, raised platform for cooking and shelves in kitchen besides the provision of independent bathrooms and latrines connected to the
underground drains or septic tanks and dispersion trenches. The committee endorsed the recommendations of the Bhore committee that it was the responsibility of the provincial government to deal with the problem of housing, slum clearance, town and village planning and execute housing schemes.

The Bhore committee also observed that the slum people could not be expected to construct their own houses, and therefore the housing of this community should not be calculated on a strict accounting basis. Hence it recommended that the provincial and state govt. should come forward to provide grants, besides activating private developers in slum housing. The other recommendations include a) providing loans at low interest rates, b) monitoring of developments undertaken privately in this regard, c) control of land value, d) zoning of land for various uses and, e) disposal of land and preferably thereafter lease it instead of sale (Sachithanandan 1987).

The recommendation made by the Provincial Housing committee were reiterated at the meeting organised by the Ministry of Industries and Housing, Govt. of India in 1957. Consequently Madras State Housing Board was established in 1961 with the main objective of providing technical advice and scrutinising projects for ensuring efficient implementation of schemes sponsored or assisted by the state and co-operative housing units.

So far the Board had taken up (a) Anna Nagar, the largest of such scheme comprising 1300 acres for 13000 families. (b) South Madras neighbourhood scheme Indira Nagar, Sastri Nagar and Besant Nagar, comprising 420 acres intended to accommodate 5000 families (c) K.K. Nagar comprising 650 acres for 7500 families (d) Korattur neighbourhood scheme comprising 148 acres for 1500 families. (e) Korattur neighbourhood scheme comprising 146 acres for 3500 families. (f) Ashok Nagar comprising 325 acres for 3500 families and (g) Tiruvanmiyur neighbourhood scheme, the
smallest of the slums, comprising 90 acres for 1036 families. In addition to this, a number of schemes like the Police Housing, Tamilnadu Government Rental Housing Scheme, Houses for Artisans, Fishermen, House sites for houseless workers have been undertaken by the housing board.

Though the government agencies were making attempts to fulfil the housing requirements since 1970 onwards, is still very difficult. As far as the SSS is concerned they were implemented under World Bank assisted MUDP-1 and MUDP -II ( MUDP 1975). In these schemes, open developed plots’ with basic services and other physical infrastructure and community facilities are allotted to eligible beneficiaries. For the allottees who belong to the economically weaker sections, some units are provided with toilets, bath, core shelter and houses are also provided for facilitating immediate construction of houses. Cash loans and building materials are also made available to the allottees belonging to the lower income group. These schemes are extended to the towns in Tamil Nadu in the name of TNUDP (1986) schemes under the World Bank housing programmes as in towns like Vellore, Madurai, Tiruchi, Salem, Erode, etc.

1.4 NEED FOR THE STUDY

Continuous research programmes, however, is a vital element in the formulation of policies. In order to maximise the potential contribution, the research should ideally be integrated with small projects for testing alternative approaches. In this way micro level research can serve to explore the salient features as well as the deficiencies of the project and to suggest alternative methods of generating improved solutions without committing large investment of scarce resources at the disposal of the government. Studies are undertaken by different national level agencies like NBO, HUDCO, NIUA, School of Architecture and Planning and other sectoral agencies like Housing Boards, Slum Clearance Boards and Development
authorities and consultants on status of the SSS. The system of providing housing and the future impact of schemes on individual families have not formed a unique and integrated segment of the development process. These are the product of the complex linkages throughout the entire socio-economic and spatial field. Despite the obvious relationships, most examinations of housing problems have pursued the development process in isolation. The most urgent need of any research at present therefore is to find out answers to the issues like who is selling the plots? Why are they selling it? Whether selling benefits them? Why the plots intended for EWS have been taken over by the non-target group? What happened to the people who had sold the plots? Whether they are back to the original place or have moved to some other better place?

1.5 ISSUES FOR ANALYSIS

* SSS offered by the government agencies with the maximum subsidy have not been retained by the households as their priorities are different from that of housing.

* The allottees are not those in need of shelter, rather they considered this as a commodity for trade.

* The sellers of SSS plots have benefitted in terms of shelter and economic status.

* The SSS has encouraged additional investment in housing leading to additional housing.
1.6 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.6.1 Aim

The aim of the research is to understand the settlement status of SSS and to identify the transfer process of the property and their implications on the future shelter policy of CMA.

1.6.2 Objectives

To examine the settlement status in the SSS projects operating in CMA.

To analyse the transfer process and to assess the changes taking place in the scheme area and on housing stock.

To study the quality of housing among the movers, buyers, original allottees and allottee non-occupant.

To examine the efficacy of the SSS and to redefine if need be, SSS to serve the future target population.

1.7 STUDY AREA

Chennai is the fourth largest metropolitan city in India with a population of 5.76 millions out of which 3.8 millions (Census of India 1991) account for the city, and the rest in Chennai Metropolitan Area outside the city. There were 8 projects in MUDP I and II. Three projects selected for the research study are Arumbakkam, Kodungaiyur II, and Mogappair East (Table 1.1) and are shown in Figure 1.1.
Table 1.1 Basic Details of Study Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Scheme</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Extent (in hect)</th>
<th>No.of Plots</th>
<th>Cost Rs. in million</th>
<th>Distance in km and direction from the city centre</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arumbakkam</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>34.20</td>
<td>2334</td>
<td>0.539 ($0.634)</td>
<td>8 (west)</td>
<td>Nearer to national highways contiguous development surrounded by low and middle income groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodungaiyur-II</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>54.04</td>
<td>4026</td>
<td>1.086 ($0.128)</td>
<td>10 (North west)</td>
<td>Closer to Calcutta trunk road, low income colonies, social disturbance plays an important role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mogappair East</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>73.14</td>
<td>5062</td>
<td>76.53 ($8.1)</td>
<td>16 west</td>
<td>Outside the city, gaining access to link road to inner ring road. Nearer to Ambattur Industrial Estate. Surrounded by high class residential area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compilation from the records of CMDA, 1996.
IMPLICATIONS OF SETTLEMENT STATUS AND HOUSING MOVES IN SITES AND SERVICES SCHEMES IN CHENNAI
1.8 METHODOLOGY

During the late 70s, the public sector agencies were involved in meeting the housing needs of different sections of population, with the assistance received from International agencies. The SSS are the direct outcome of such efforts by the Government. While there was good response in certain scheme areas, in some areas, plots were not occupied immediately. At the same time, varying degree of transfer of plots were also taking place. Hence review of literature on site and services schemes as a phenomena for providing shelter for the urban poor and their performance has been undertaken to get a feel of the global situation. To assess the overall status of the SSS in CMA, six schemes were considered and census of households was conducted. Status of the plots were collected from the TNHB records for the years between 1978-1996. Details of MUDP I-II including reports and detailed layout maps were collected from CMDA. Secondary data has been collected from the public agencies like Tamil Nadu Housing Board (TNHB), Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) and Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB). A hundred per cent census was carried out in order to assess the transfer process in six schemes except Maduravoyal and Manali. Maduravoyal and Manali in MUDP-I & II and Madhavaram, Ambattur, Velacherry and Avadi in TNUDP being recent developments were considered as the assessment of transfer process at this early stage would be premature.

In order to understand the settlement status, and transfer of plot in SSS, a detailed study is called for. The study is restricted to 3 selected scheme areas, taking into consideration, temporal variation, magnitude of occupancy and rate of transfer.
From the eight schemes, three of the following schemes were selected for further study.

(i) Arumbakkam (1977), located nearer to the city boundary towards the south west from the city centre was considered, as it represents the first and oldest SSS with 99 per cent occupancy and 87 per cent transfer rate.

(ii) Mogappair East (1981) represents the moderate occupancy of 71.44 per cent and 49 per cent of transfer, and located on the fringe of the city towards west.

(iii) Kodungaiyur II (1981) was selected as it represents the low occupancy rate of 55.6 per cent and 12.6 per cent of transfer. It is located nearer to the city on the North West side of the city.

At the second stage of sampling all the households of the three schemes were stratified as follows:

(i) Movers: Those who had sold out the plots and moved away from the scheme area. (ii) Buyers: Those who bought the plots in the scheme area. (iii) Original Allottees: Those allottees living in the allotted plots at the time of survey (iv) Allottee non-occupant: Allottees who have neither sold nor occupied. The sample size among the same category of different case study areas varies, since the rate of transfer differs. Overall sample size of the case study areas is 5 per cent.

Movers: (out movers) Correct address of those who could be located were taken as samples. Arumbakkam: 49 (3 per cent), Kodungaiyur II: 21 (8 per cent) and Mogappair East: 29 (1 per cent).
Buyers: (in movers) Arumbakkam: 101 (5 per cent), Kodungaiyur II: 12 (5 per cent) and Mogappair East: 124 (5 per cent).

Original Allottees: Arumbakkam: 12 (5 per cent), Kodungaiyur II 87 (5 per cent) and Mogappair East: 121 (5 per cent).

Allottee Non Occupant: Arumbakkam:20 (50 per cent), Kodungaiyur II: 25 (50 per cent) and Mogappair East 23 (50 per cent).

All the four categories of samples representing the respective schemes were interviewed through a questionnaire. The major points addressed in the questionnaire include reasons for selling and buying, with the parameters like availability of facilities, transport network, nearness to workspot, friends and relatives, increase in the land values and nearness to the city centre. Movement of the buyers and sellers from city or fringe areas of CMA were also analysed. Changes in the income level, source of investment and investment made after selling were also analysed to understand the implications of the housing moves.

Studies were conducted to identify the current land use of all the three case study areas to assess the variations that have taken place from that of land use originally proposed in the schemes. Information gathered through household surveys were analysed by applying appropriate statistical tools. The result of the analysis was matched with that of the objectives, and the conclusions were drawn.

1.9 LIMITATIONS

The study is restricted to the selected three project areas only, though there are other projects as well. The household survey also pertains to these schemes only. The inferences and outcome of the study are
compared with the other schemes of the projects in the MUDP-I and II. Apart from this, the research aims to know about the original allottees and allottee non-occupants and their socio-economic conditions. To locating the original allottees who had sold the plots and collecting their address in Chennai Metropolitan Area require more patience and difficulty. As such, great care has been taken to find out the original allottees. The study is the first of its kind and the number of samples is also limited depending upon the number of addresses to locate the allottees. Only EWS and LIG households were considered for field survey, since the rate of transfer, account more for this group than the MIG & HIG income groups.

1.10 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The study has been organised into eight chapters. The first chapter confines itself to the introduction, problems, methodology and the approach to the thesis. Second chapter deals with the review of relevant literature on SSS. Third chapter discusses the profile of SSS in Chennai Metropolitan Area. Fourth Chapter analyses the settlement status of all the SSS in CMA from their inception. Fifth chapter covers the mover's socio-economic and housing condition, besides detailing the reasons for moving and the type of investment made after selling. Sixth chapter analyses the housing and investment characteristics of the buyers, original allottees and allottee non-occupants. Seventh chapter discusses the implications of housing moves on sites and services schemes.