Integrating the Urban Poor in Planning and Governance Systems, India

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1. The Urban Planning Challenge

Deficiencies with regards to access to housing and basic services among the bottom half of the urban population continuing in India despite the high economic growth rates and the cities being Economic Growth Engines, indicates that there is a need to understand the urban development processes in general and processes of exclusions in particular in Indian cities. One of the reasons frequently cited for deficiencies in the urban basic services is very poor revenue base of the Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) and dependency of the ULBs on the financial transfers from higher levels of government (Mohanty et al 2007). However, an important aspect that has played a key role in institutionalizing urban exclusions is the urban planning systems in the India, which is a legacy of pre-modern approaches to organizing city spaces on one hand and it being influenced by the dictates of real estate speculations and rent seeking behaviour of the local bureaucracy on the other. In other words, land use planning has become over regulatory, rigid, static and influenced by vested interests when it should have been facilitative, flexible, dynamic and participatory in nature. The absurdity comes to be noticed when, for example, the Supreme Court of India orders sealing and demolition of large parts of Delhi in its effort to implement the Delhi Master Plan in letter! The stories across all other cities would be the same if the Master Plan/ Development Plan were to be implemented in its full letter. While it is true that there are massive violations of Master Plan/ Development Plan, it is equally true that these plans are prepared in a way and have a structure that would lead to its violation on large-scale. In all these, the urban poor, who do not have bargaining power and negotiating the corrupt spaces, end up taking the brunt of the system or being excluded from the urban spaces. In fact, the poor find space in the cities through non-implementation of the existing Master Plan than the implementation of the Master Plan! This brings to fore a need to seriously look into the urban planning practices and mechanisms, as well as find ways to bring inclusiveness in the urban planning practices in India.

The term ‘inclusion’ is very widely used in India today, with the 11th Five Year Plan setting the tone of debate under the rubric ‘Inclusive Growth’. In urban settings term ‘inclusive’ can take number of meanings, namely: (i) inclusive of the informal sector in general and informal settlements in particular, (ii) inclusive of the urban poor (whichever way the poor are defined), (iii) inclusive of the new migrants, (iv) inclusive of the communities on the margins, (v) inclusive of all the religious groups, (vi) inclusive of all the disadvantaged (the old, the young, the disabled, etc.) and (vii) gender equality. In other words, cities and hence city planning mechanisms should address the inequalities emanating from the class, caste, religion, age and gender inequalities, widespread in the current urban milieu of India. A lot has been written on these inequalities. The challenge is can the urban planning profession rise upto the challenge of addressing these inequalities?

Urban Planning traditionally has been viewed as land use planning through either Master Plan approach or Development Plan approach, which believes that it is comprehensive and neutral to all the sections of urban population, irrespective of their class, caste, religious and regional

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affiliations and their gender. That is not the case. On the contrary, land use planning and following from there the zoning laws, the development control regulations and bye-laws are all legal tools of intervention in city spaces to modulate city structures in a certain way, creating exclusions of the informal spaces, informal residences and informal working places, certainly of the poor but also to an extent of the non-poor. By such planning interventions the socially generated inequalities are aggravated and the emergent patterns are, segmented cities; each segment having a concentration of particular caste or religion and some segments having better levels of development than others. It is not a coincidence that the socially marginal communities inhabit less developed segments of the city.

To give some statistics of urban exclusions\(^6\): (i) only 37% of the households in the bottom half of the urban population had access to all three basic facilities, water supply, sanitation and electricity and this figure for the top half was 80%; (ii) 69% of the households in the bottom half use community water supply and this figure for the top half is 35%; (iii) As high as 46% of the households in the top half have access to individual water supply and in the bottom-half this figure is only 22%; (iv) 33% of the bottom half of the urban households do not have access to any latrine when this figure for the top half is only 4%; (v) 44% of the bottom half of urban households have their own or shared latrines connected to sewerage or septic tanks and for the top half it is 83%. (vi) 29% of the bottom half of urban households do not have drainage connection and 46% are connected to open drains; (vii) there is 26.7 million housing deficit in urban India\(^7\) and of this 90 per cent deficit is among the urban poor.

Low availability of work for the males in a household is the primary reason for poverty and hence access to work is very important for bringing households out of poverty. The National Sample Survey (NSS) data (of 2004-05) shows that work participation rates of the bottom half of the urban population are very low compared to the top half groups. It is only 44% of the males for the lowest category and 18% of the females for the same category. It is about 12-14% less than the top half for males, but the work participation rates for women do not vary much. The type of employment mostly available to the poor is casual labour, with the proportion of casual labour increasing with the decrease in Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) class. For example the poorest section has about 37% males and 34% women employed as casual labour\(^8\).

This means, that they get their work on daily basis and hence have to go to work every day. Thus, the casual labour have to live close to their work place or alternatively need affordable transport to reach their work place. Some casual labour work is not spatially fixed and the labour moves from one work site to another requiring affordable transport options. The work-home relationships are diverse and complex, to be accomplished within severe budget constraints. Urban planning practices do not accommodate these diverse needs of the urban poor. Poor


therefore tend to live near their place of work if the housing market or the city’s politics permits them to squat or colonize lands at suitable locations.

Gender inequalities are cross-cutting and emanate from the fact that women are burdened with dual responsibilities, of taking care of the household work (social reproduction) and earning bread for the household (production for the economy), especially in the low income households. Besides these, women are also care givers in the family and they take care of the old, the sick and the disabled in the family. For multi-tasking possibilities, women like to get work in close proximity of their homes. If that is not possible then they need support, either from the social system or the public policies, for supporting their household responsibilities. Public policies could be for taking care of the children and caring for the aged, sick and disabled. Public policies could also drive the appropriate location choices for such facilities. Urban planning has never reflected on these gendered requirements for example. Urban planning has also not carefully addressed the question of work-home relationship and in many instances laid excessive emphasis on zoning that segregates work and living places. Many women work from home; they are home-based workers. They need housing security so that their productivity increases. Housing therefore is extremely important for women than men and shelter security issue is not addressed adequately by the urban planning practices.

Thus, on the whole, the formal planning systems tend to create unjust spaces through exclusions of the poor in the name of legality, by setting high planning standards, bureaucratic controls and above all by biases of the planners and ideology of control embedded within the planning philosophy. The urban planning as practiced in India today overlooks the complex web of inequalities within the cities. It also has no mechanism of representing the aspirations of the city population. It does not concur with the existing systems of urban governance. And to add to this, after the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), which requires preparation of a City Development Plan – essentially a city’s capital investment plan – there is very little effort to link the investment plans with the existing Master Plan/ Development Plan.

One of the reasons for this disjuncture between the Master Plan/ Development Plan, investments plans and governance structures is that the first one is a very long term plan. Its making takes long time. After the plan is made, it takes a long time to approve it. All these while, the new people come to the city, new economic activities come up, new housing come up, new commercial areas develop, new schools and health facilities come up and so on. The Master Plan/ Development Plan is more often than not oblivious of these real changes ongoing in the city. The city’s boundaries are extended, new wards are created but the Master Plan/ Development Plan is fixed in the past. In general, one could argue that the Master Plan/ Development Plan is not dynamic enough to accommodate dynamic processes of change in a developing economy on one hand and is so inefficiently administered that the plan becomes redundant as soon as it is approved. In short, the city’s development takes place without the Master Plan/ Development Plan and more often than not inspite of it. It is therefore not a surprise that most important infrastructure projects are planned and implemented without them being in the Master Plan/ Development Plan. Examples are: metro in Delhi, Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) in Ahmedabad, number of flyovers in a city, and so on.
Including the poor, means including their aspirations within the cities. It would mean, creating spaces within the city for them to live, creating spaces within the city for them to work, increasing their mobility through improving accessibility options for the poor, and above all, ensuring their participation for setting city level development priorities, not in just ritualistic manner, as it is happening now, but, in a dynamic way through creation of participatory structures. This means that the urban planning systems have to respond and relate to the available structures of decentralized urban governance and if not so then create such structures to do so.

The workshop on ‘Integrating the Urban Poor in Urban Planning and Governance’, held by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation with the National Resource Centre (NRC) on Urban Poverty Alleviation, at CEPTUniversity, addressed these multiple issues of Urban Planning and Governance. The workshop had two sets of presentations, (i) a strong critique on the present planning and urban governance systems from the perspective of the poor and (ii) presentations of small efforts made to include the concerns of the poor within the cities. The latter set of presentations included efforts to include the hawkers within city planning in a suburb of Mumbai, efforts on BSUP component in a few cities in India, use of citizen’s report card for increasing access of poor to basic services, principals for increasing water and sanitation access of the urban poor and idea of Urban Resource Centres (URC) to increase the participation of the urban poor in local level governance.

2. Urban Planning Systems in India

In India, Town Planning is a State function and is not included in the concurrent list of the Central Government. Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD), Government of India (GoI) provides national level policy guidelines and legislations for urban planning and development in the country. The MoUD also provides financial support to the state and local level agencies nationwide through various urban development programmes like Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM), Urban Infrastructure Development in Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT), Urban Reforms Incentive Fund (URIF), Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme (AUWSP) etc.

Post independence, in 1955 Government of India formed Town Planning Organization (TPO) to prepare the master plan of Delhi. In 1957, Central Urban and Regional Planning Organization (CRUPO) was created. The two organizations (TPO and CRUPO) were merged in 1962 to form Town and Country Planning Organization in 1962 (TCPO). Since then, Town and Country Planning Office (TCPO) is working as the technical advisory agency to the Ministry of Urban Development on various issues related to urban and regional planning in the country. The Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO) is an apex body in the field of urban and regional planning in India and it works as a subordinate office to the central Ministry of Urban Development. The Model Town Planning and Regional Development Law was prepared by the TCPO in 1970s. This law has formed the basis for several state-level Town and Country Planning Acts in the country. TCPO also coordinates various urban development missions and programmes formulated by the Ministry of Urban Development, GoI. Other than the TCPO, Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), Central Public Health Engineering and Environment Organisation (CPHEEO) play advisory role to the central government ministries on specific issues related to urban and regional planning in the country.
2.1 Role of the State Level and Local Level Agencies

Town planning at state level is looked after by state level Town and Country Planning offices. The state level town planning agencies in India follow different Acts, thus Town Planning guidelines across the country may vary from state to state. In general, major function of the state level town planning agencies is the preparation of Development Plans, Master Plans, Regional Plans, Zonal Plans, Town Planning Schemes, Urban Estates’ Plans, Sector Plans etc. The plans are prepared time to time for specific areas and towns in the respective states based on local needs of the area. In general, state level agencies are responsible for setting up General Development and Control Regulations (GDCR), preparing landuse plans and providing basic infrastructure in an area notified as urban area in the Master Plan or Development Plan. The state level planning agencies are actually operating at local level across the state and do not provide any comprehensive landuse plan at state level or district level. In recent past state level landuse boards were set up in some states but there has not been any comprehensive state level or district level plan reported by such agencies so far. The state level town planning agencies also coordinate and facilitate various programmes of the central government.

In bigger metropolitan cities, usually a separate city metropolitan area development authority is formed which is responsible for the preparation and implementation of Development Plan, Master Plan, Zonal Plans and Block Level Plans (Town Planning Schemes or Sectors) in the city. The jurisdiction of an area development authority is called as the conurbation area and is generally much bigger than the existing city. These authorities are formed under State Town Planning Act or Development Authorities Act. In some cities, even the municipalities have been delegated powers to prepare area development plans. Other than area development authorities, there are agencies like Improvement Trusts and Housing Boards which are involved in planning and development of specific housing colonies in parts of the city. Improvement Trusts and Housing Boards develop land pockets which are earmarked in the city’s Development Plan for such uses.

2.2 Different Mechanisms for Urban Land Development in India

After development plans for a local area are prepared and approved, the town planning agencies has to initiate implementation of plans and construction of basic infrastructure in the area. Since different town planning agencies in different states follow their own Act, there are different mechanisms adopted for urban land development in the country. In general, urban land development mechanisms followed by government planning agencies may be divided into two categories viz. (1) based on land acquisition mechanism, and (2) land pooling mechanism.

Land acquisition mechanism is followed in most of the states in the country including Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, and many more. It is based on the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 which enables a government agency to acquire any land in the country for public purpose against some fixed compensation to the owner as per government rules. Under such mechanism of urban land development, usually land from original land owner is taken by the government planning agency at low prices. The acquired land is then developed and provided with basic infrastructure as per approved plan. The developed land is then auctioned or disseminated through lottery system as
per government rules. The land acquisition mechanism faces strong resistance by original land owners and sometimes leads to serious legal challenges and delays in implementation.

Figure 1: Different Mechanisms for Urban Land Development followed in India
Having experienced several problems in implementation of the plan by government planning agencies where land acquisition mechanism is followed, a new approach for urban land development has been evolved by involving private agencies. These private agencies are termed as licensed colonizer in Punjab and Haryana. The licensed colonizers negotiate and purchase notified land from original plot owners and then develop the land as per rules of the local planning agency. This approach helps government to avoid complexities involved in land acquisition mechanism as well as original land owners may realize better value of the property. The concept of colonizer is popularly adopted in the states of Punjab and Haryana.

In Gujarat and Maharashtra, land pooling mechanism is adopted for urban land development. Under land pooling mechanism, Town Planning Schemes (TPS) are prepared in which land is not acquired by the government agency. It is reshaped, readjusted and returned to the original owner. Generally when a TPS is laid in an area about 40% of land is consumed in providing common infrastructure and facilities like roads, gardens, play grounds etc. This proportion of land area is deducted from each of the individual land owners’ original amount of land falling within the boundaries of the particular Town Planning Scheme. In such mechanism, land area of a land owner decreases but overall value of the land increases several times. In Maharashtra, the TPSs are prepared and implemented under Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966; and in Gujarat, Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1976 is followed. Major difference between land pooling mechanism (YPS) and land acquisition mechanism is that under the latter, benefit of urban development is realized by the original owner of the land, whereas in the former, the planning agency benefits and not the original owner. Figure 1 gives a comparison between three different mechanisms for urban land development followed in India.

3. Disjuncture between Planning, Governance and Poverty Alleviation

The disjuncture between urban planning mechanisms, governance mechanisms and poverty alleviation came up in number of ways in the discussions at the workshop. The CEPT team discussed the reasons why the urban poor are not integrated in the Master Plan/ Development Plan and then presented their study of the slum dwellers, taken as proxy of the urban poor, in Ahmedabad City to illustrate their choices for the planners. On why the Development Plan (DP) of Ahmedabad City did not integrate concerns of the poor, the team state that: (i) the Development Plan preparation a lengthy process, which was unable to cope with the dynamics of change, as discussed at length in the first section; (ii) the DP does not integrate socio-economic factors into either the overall plan or the TPSs prepared then on, as the full emphasis is only on land use allocations without looking into socio-economic realities, (iii) the DP and TPSs do not envisage well the workplace and residence relationships, (iv) the DP and TPSs do not have any provision for informal sector activities, which then take place on ‘encroached lands’, (v) the DP and TPSs have no linkage with the institutional structures and hence when these plans are prepared, planners do not know whether institutions exist for providing uses for which they have allocated lands – for example, the planners do not know whether there are suppliers (in the public and private sector) of low-income or Economically Weaker Section (EWS) housing and thus whether such housing would be constructed on the land plots allotted by them, (vi) conversely, when lands are required for low-income housing, as the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP)
component under the JnNURM requires, there are no lands available, (vii) in absence of local level plans, which would integrate the socio-economic realities with the land use plans, slums do not get plugged into the plans prepared, and (viii) lastly, the plans once made are revised after 20 years and there is no mechanism to take note of any changes that take place between one plan and the other – in fact, the TPSs are prepared once and then not revisited.

The CEPT team illustrated the disjuncture between the ward boundaries and TPS boundaries in Ahmedabad (See Figure 2).

Based on these observations, the team suggested that a Ward Level Physical Plans that would represent the ward realities in greater details and reflect the aspirations of the ward’s population be prepared in a participatory manner and at repeated frequency through the ward committees. The local level organizations could take part in the same. The participatory processes were further elaborated by other presenters.

The CEPT team also presented the planning and governance hierarchy, which is as follows:

**City level Plan** (Structure Plan & City Level Facilities’ & Activities Location Plan) – City level investment plan for projects - City level budget, City level infrastructure (e.g. transport networks), land allocation

**Zone level Plan** (Zonal level networks & Zonal level Facilities Location Plan) – Zonal level investment plan for projects - Zonal level budgets, land allocation

**Ward level** (Ward level networks, Housing for the poor, Ward level facilities) – Ward level identification & allocation of lands – Ward level investment plans – ward level budgets, land allocation

![Figure 2: Disjunction between the Ward and T.P. boundaries in Amraiwadi area of Ahmedabad city](image-url)
The Gujarat Urban Development Mission (GUDM) represented by Ms. Mamta Verma and Mr. Vijay Anandkat raised very pertinent questions, emerging from their practical experience in implementing the BSUP component. The GUDM presentation argued that: (i) the CDPs had three components – long term vision, an action plan and an investment plan – of which the long term visions stated were very vague and required elucidation in very specific terms, (ii) There was no linkage of the city master plan with the CDP, (iii) there was poor linkage between the CDP and then the subsequent Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) prepared for individual projects, (iv) the term poverty was also very difficult to interpret and hence identifying the poor for BSUP component was becoming very difficult, inspite of Below Poverty Line (BPL) cards available with the households, (v) the CDPs and hence the project proposals did not clearly state the linkages between strategies for poverty alleviation, socio-economic development, environment management and physical development – in essence arguing that the general practice of dealing with each of these separately continued even in the CDP (vi) lack of mainstreaming of investment projects in the overall poverty alleviation goals and strategies of a city, (vii) lack of consideration of institutional and managerial capacity required for implementation of JNNURM projects in general and for BSUP component in particular, (viii) large number of consultants being engaged for the preparation of the DPRs brought in a chaos because of lack of coordination between individual project proposals, and lastly (ix) the CDPs had no legal support and hence if there was a mismatch between the CDPs and the DPRs there was no way of overcoming that. Remember, that in contrast to the CDP, the Development Plan is a legal document. GUDM presentation also made a point about lack of capacities, financial as well as managerial, with regards to implementing the projects under the JNNURM. In short, the GUDM presentation also highlighted the fact that there was such a chaos in the urban areas with regards to instruments of planning and project implementation that funds were being spent without a larger city level picture emerging.

Lastly, lack of participation in urban planning in general and in the context of the JnNURM’s CDP preparation was also made emphatically at the workshop. This aspect was highlighted by Mr. Binoy Acharya of Unnati, stating that inspite of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, the ward committees were recently set up in the cities of Gujarat. But these ward committees had no role in contributing to the decisions about the projects identified by the CDPs. In the first round of CDP preparation, there was almost no participation of the civil society groups and wherever the participation was solicited, it was cursory. In other words, the CDPs identified respective city’s priorities without consultation with the city population. Worse still, the city’s priorities were set by the consultants who prepared the CDPs and who did not have any or very little knowledge about the city. The CDPs were prepared in such haste that the consultants did not have any time to gain knowledge about the city.

4. Aspirations of the Urban Poor in Ahmedabad

The CEPT University’s presentation, based on the research undertaken in partnership Uday Resource Centre (URC) of Saath presented the status of services in slums within Ahmedabad City and priorities of the slum dwellers with regards to local area development. The study also presented why the TPSs did not work in favour of the slum dwellers in the city.

To understand the concerns and aspirations of urban poor, selected slum pockets in Ahmedabad were studied. A household questionnaire survey in slums was conducted, focused group
discussions (FGDs) were organized, and visual observation surveys were carried out in these selected slum areas. In general, it may be concluded that the main factors affecting quality of life in slums are – tenure, NGO interventions, location of the slum, peoples’ participation and level of education. It is clearly evident from the survey findings that the living conditions were better in the slums that with reported NGO intervention than those where no NGO was working.

Most of the slum dwellers migrated to Ahmedabad for better occupational opportunities. Slum settlements are mainly organized along community groups, with people of one community living together. Most of the slum dwellers are engaged in informal occupational activities. Female work participation rate is low. The survey surprisingly brought out the fact that females had shown higher willingness to study than the males and many young males had dropped out of the education system than the females. Lack of motivation to study, less job opportunities and peer pressure were found to be the main reason for male children dropping out school.

Many slum pockets were found to be more than 20 years old and the second generation of slum dwellers continued to live in such poor conditions. Average household size is 5.9. Average size of a dwelling unit is less than 40sqm. There is hardly any open space attached with housing units. The slum settlements are overcrowded, streets are narrow and housing units are haphazardly arranged. There is no settlement level plan for slum areas and status of tenure is unclear in most cases. Chances of eviction are high.

Services infrastructure in slum settlements is inadequate and poor. In some slum areas, there is no individual water connection and slum dwellers purchase water from the vendors, which is costly. In some of the slums women have to stand in long queues for using public stand posts that leads to wastage of time and sometimes quarrels. Incidents of mixing of waste water with drinking water due to leakage of sewers were also reported. Wastewater collection and disposal system in slums is highly inadequate and people manage with soak pits. Soak pits often gets choked leading to extremely unhygienic environment in crowded slum areas. During monsoons, large amount water logging occurs in these areas. Majority of internal roads in some slums are earthen and un-engineered. There is hardly any street lighting facility available in slum areas.

In terms of social amenities, there is practically no infrastructure provided in the slums. There is no common open space, no play ground or activity centre for children. The slum areas are highly vulnerable to disasters especially floods and incidents of fire. Chances of disease outbreaks are also high in these slum areas due to constant exposure to unhygienic conditions. There is no action taken or infrastructure provided in slums for disaster risk reduction or disaster impact mitigation.

There are certain very prominent issues pertaining to ward level planning associated with slum areas such as:

- Slum dwellers are deprived of open spaces.
- Due to lack of good government facilities for education, children need to go to private schools where they pay higher price for education and drop out school early.
Due to inadequate public health facilities, poor people have to pay higher price for necessary medication. Recently ward level public health centers have been set by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation.

There is no ward level participatory structure involving poor and slum dwellers.

There is little awareness amongst slum dwellers about ongoing and proposed developmental projects in the city.

Tertiary roads in the wards are not constructed making access to slums areas difficult. Haphazard slum layouts are the major cause of higher risk of accidents to bicycles users and pedestrians.

Ward boundaries do not match with TPS boundaries, making it difficult to identify land for activities prioritized by the community.

In case of resettlement or relocation of slums, people prefer to settle in the same ward mainly due linkages with their place of work, there has been no mechanism established to address this issue.

About 75 per cent of the dwellers preferred to upgrade their house in-situ. They were willing to incur reasonable expenditure for it. But, at the same time, they wanted land tenure to be formalized so that they can take a housing loan. About 80 per cent preferred the housing type they were living in so that they could upgrade according to their requirements and convenience. For those who wanted to shift to a new house, preferred a location in the same ward or within 5 km distance of the existing house.

5. Examples of Mainstreaming Participatory Processes in City Planning

Two examples were presented at the workshop on the aspect of mainstreaming people’s participation in city planning as well as CDP preparation. Presentation by Dr. Khatibullah Sheikh of Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), on ‘Promoting Inclusive Governance and Citizen Centric Planning’ gave examples of their work in Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Bihar states.

Dr. Sheikh stated that participation can be at various levels: (i) Master Plan Preparation, as they have carried out in Arang and Akaltara towns in Chhattisgarh; (ii) Zoning Plan Preparation, as they have carried out in Rajnandgaon and Janjgir towns in Chhattisgarh and (iii) CDP preparation in Dumka (in Jharkhand) and Chhapra (in Bihar).

Dr. Sheikh illustrated in details one participatory exercise of preparation of a City Development Strategy (see methodology in Figure 4). He said that it starts with identification of stakeholders, which would include people from the slums up to the level of policy makers. Then the stakeholder consultations are held in small groups and individuals are encouraged to send in their letters of suggestions. Consultations are also held in the colleges and institutions, where the young people are asked to articulate their vision of their own city besides asking them the problems and probable solutions to these problems. PRIA’s experience is that the people indeed came up with identification of problems and concrete suggestions that could materialize into plan. While the consultations are ongoing, capacity building of the decision-makers, in particular that of the elected representatives is carried out. The cluster level meetings are also held to identify problems
and discuss salutations. Simultaneous exercise of data collection at secondary level and primary level is held while preparing the base map of the city. Meetings of thematic groups are also held from which sectoral strategies are developed. Finally, a SWOT analysis, identifying Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats is carried out, which then leads to set of proposals, which are discussed and finalized at the City Level Workshop for City Development Strategy. The set of proposals include an activity plan at the city level, which could become a landuse map, a road network map and social infrastructure map, all prepared through the process discussed above so that these reflect the aspirations of the population. For specific issues, concerned stakeholders’ consultations are held and then the suggestions integrated within the city plan. The processes are long and require the planning team to work closely with the local communities.

Figure 3: Methodology of Participatory Exercise, PRIA
The PRIA team has also prepared sectoral plans through participatory mechanism. Dr. Sheikh illustrated preparation of Solid Waste Management (SWM) Plans for five small and medium towns in north India. The methodology of preparing such plans is laid out in Figure 4. Through participatory process, a SWM Plan for the whole city is prepared. It includes drawing the map of the city, dividing the city into zones for SWM and then detailing out the entire collection and transportation system. A monitoring plan is also prepared for the same. The planning activity is carried out with the ULB so that non-degradable waste ends in a dumpsite. Participatory slum development was also illustrated by PRIA, where Dr. Sheikh showed how the final layout plan was prepared by the community for a particular slum. In short, PRIA’s presentation illustrated that the do-ables in a participatory planning. Also, PRIA’s experiments in small and medium towns illustrated that it was possible to plan in a participatory manner for large majority of the urban centres in India.

PRIA involves the local media in all its activities. Media is also used for inviting participation for various workshops and also for spreading awareness about the process and plans. Dr. Sheikh concluded by saying that the JnNURM has provided a platform for participation and can be effectively used. But, there is a long way to go for building effective participation. And for this, the challenges to be faced are: (i) up-scaling and mainstreaming of methodologies related to citizen centric planning, (ii) favourable legislative framework for inclusiveness and participation, (iii) promotion of partnership model between community and service provider, (iv) linkage between planners and implementers and (v) promotion to decentralized planning and management.

Another interesting exercise of participatory planning titled ‘Integration of Street Vendors in the City development plan of Nallasopara was presented by MecanzyDabre of Youth for Voluntary Action (YUVA), Mumbai. YUVA presentation argues that existence of informal sector has become ubiquitous in Indian cities. In particular, vending activities or hawkers on the streets is a part of city’s economy, with a large proportion of population making a living out of vending and a
large population dependent upon the cheap goods and services available from the hawkers at convenient locations. In planning terms, one could argue that availability of cheap goods and services nearby homes reduces the necessity of trips required for these goods and services. In other words, informal activities at convenient locations not only create livelihoods for a large section of population but also add to environmental sustainability. But, hawking also creates problems; it is encroachment on city spaces and creates hindrances for city management. If unlicensed, hawking leads to loss of city revenues. Since, the hawkers begin their business without permission (license) from the city authorities, their activities are considered illegal and attract punitive actions - such as penalties or confiscation of goods - from the city authorities. Hawkers also face harassment from the city authorities and often have to pay bribes to the police and local officials for continuing their activities. Efforts to put hawkers in formally planned markets have not been successful because the rents/ price of such formal markets are unaffordable for the hawkers. They continue with their activities through some form of political patronage. Under the court directions, the city authorities declare no-hawking zones from time to time. The city authorities in Mumbai also issue hawkers a daily license to hawk in no-hawking zones. The struggle of the hawkers against the city authorities and police go on.

Given that a large population of Mumbai depend on hawkers and there are large numbers of hawkers, YUVA decided to assist a group of hawkers in Nallasopare. These group had approached the collector with their demands and had expressed desire to find a planning solution to their problem. The process that was followed was: (i) taking up the Development Plan review (Aug-Sept 2003), (ii) taking up site survey and study (Oct 2003-Jan 2004), (iii) undertaking preliminary zoning plan (Feb-May 2004), (iv) undertaking street vendors’ survey (June-Aug 2004), (v) undertaking streetwise consultations (Sept – Dec 2004) and (vi) preparing draft plan and report (Jan – Mar 2005). The stakeholders’ consultations included representatives of the municipal authorities, street vendors themselves, local people and people’s representatives. Consultations were towards finding a middle path for the conflicting interests over public space. Also, prior to the consultations, the local population and the street vendors were given an understanding of the Development Plan of Nallasopare.

At the planning stage, the locations of the hawkers and the pedestrian movement in the town were mapped. An idea of ‘Natural Market’ was floated; which means a place where street vending and commercial activities develop naturally. Such places are where there is public congregation – schools, hospitals, temples, railway station, bus stand, office complexes and residential colonies. Such places of public congregation and also routes of maximum pedestrian movements were identified. Then through consultations, best locations for the street vendors were identified. Reservations for commercial land use marked in the Development Plan were identified and then these along with other convenient locations were marked on a map as areas designated for hawking. Short term and long term solutions were discussed. The short term solution included street-wise solution till a relocation site is earmarked. The long term solution included identifying land reservations for commercial use and developing these as relocation sites for the hawkers in a way that the economics of hawking would work. Other supportive activities planned were: (i) solid waste disposal system, (ii) storage spaces, (iii) public toilets and (iv) parking. Once plans were prepared, they were put forward to the local authority for approval.
This exercise by YUVA illustrated that the relationship of the hawkers and planning authorities need not always be of conflict and there was a possibility of meeting a middle ground. For this, three essential conditions need to be met: (i) organization of the hawkers that will not only represent them in the planning process but also regulate the members and membership (ii) flexible local planning system and (iii) presence of a technical mediator, who could be a planner or planning firm – in this case that was YUVA.

6. Participatory Governance

6.1 Citizens’ Report Cards

Two models of Participatory Governance were discussed at the workshop. The first model discussed was of Citizen’s Report Cards (CRC) by Dr. Sita Sekhar of Public Action Centre (PAC) Bangalore. PAC has been using Report Cards for monitoring service delivery in Bangalore city and also assisting NGOs in other cities to carry out similar exercises in their own cities. PAC has undertaken three exercises of CRCs till now in Bangalore.

It all begun in 1993, when the public services in Bangalore were inadequate and inefficient, there was wide corruption and abuse of discretion by the providing authorities and complacency of media and citizens. A way out was required and impetus to change had to come from active members of the civil society. The way out was ‘Strengthening citizen’s / consumer’s “voice” to raise the demand for change and reforms’ on one hand and ‘Strengthening agency / provider’s “responsiveness” to facilitate citizens participation and involvement. The CRC concept evolved from this reality. Like any Report Card, which is a simple evaluation tool, structured for simple communication, providing summative feedback on performance, scope for comparison with other students, and a starting point for reflection and corrective action, CRC carries out the same functions for public services.

The CRCs provide: (i) credible user feedback on public services, (ii) opportunities to communities to demand more access, responsiveness and accountability from the service providers, (iii) an effective diagnostic tool for service providers and encourage them to introduce citizen friendly practices, (iv) an environment to facilitate demand mobilization and ‘Rights-Based’ strategies, and (v) a continuous benchmarking of public services.
There are six stages in preparing Citizens’ Report Cards (CRCs). These are:

- Assessing situation & defining scope of action
- Preparations and collecting citizen feedback
- Rating of services
- Dialogue and response of agencies
- Citizen engagement in reform
- Periodic benchmarking and public review

The CRCs take feedback from actual users of services regarding:
1. Availability, access and usage of services,
2. Quality and reliability of services,
3. Incidence of problems and response to the problems by the service providers,
4. Hidden costs if any of provision of services, in other words information on corruption of all kinds,
5. Satisfaction with the service,
6. Reasons for dissatisfaction, and
7. Suggestions for improvements.

In case of Bangalore, the data compiled from the CRCs indicate that:

i) The percentage of people giving bribes is much higher among the slum households than among the general households. Incidence of reported corruption had gone down over the CRCs.

ii) There was reduction in reporting of problems with regards to service delivery in the 2003 CRC (the third one) compared to 1999 CRC (the second one), among general households as well as among the slum households.

iii) The reporting of problems with regards to accessing services was higher among the slum households than among general households.

iv) There was reported improvement in behaviour of the service provider staff over time over the three CRCs. This was reported by the general households as well as slum households for all the service providers covered in the city.

In Bangalore, similar exercise was carried out in two slums in peri-urban areas for assessing the quality of water and sanitation services. The survey assessed the quality of water and sanitation services in the two slums; assessed extent and sources of corruption in provision of these services; possibility of participation of slum dwellers in managing these services and the slum dwellers’
willingness to pay for these services. Based on the study, recommendations were prepared and shared with the service providers for action.

6.2 Urban Resource Centres

The second participatory model proposal was by Saath, an NGO that has set up Urban Resource Centres (URCs) in Ahmedabad city. The URC of Vasna ward had participated with CEPT team to carry out survey in this ward. Mr. Rajendra Joshi of Saath stated that the concept of an URC came from the fact that there was a need for a platform, which could effectively link the service users at the Bottom of the Pyramid (BoP) with the service providers. At the same time, there was also a need for a platform where various city stakeholders could come together for sustainable growth and development. This platform can be termed as a URC, where even the slum residents participate in raising effective demand for services from the appropriate service providers. In other words, the URC could work as a platform for the potential consumers and producers of services come in contact with each other in a market context. Figures 6 and 7 explain the rationale for and functioning of an URC.

![URC as a Change Agent, SAATH](image)

**Figure 5 URC as a Change Agent, SAATH**
URC is a member-based organization. Each URC has an executive committee consisting of representative from each slum, elected ward member, member from a government department, a member of private sector/ institution among others. Each URC is expected to provide linkages with the existing government programmes, monitors service delivery, facilitates individual households to access services, keeps data base of the communities, provides training to especially youth and women and assists communities to develop local development programmes. The idea is to create structures of local governance and development through NGO facilitation so that the NGO can eventually withdraw from the scene and let communities manage local area development. Saath has assisted in setting up of 4 URCs in Ahmedabad City. Other six are going to be set up in near future. There is idea to take up ward level planning activity through the URC in near future.

7. Sectoral Proposals

7.1 Transport and the Urban Poor

Deficient mobility and inadequate transport infrastructure affect the urban poor disproportionately. Transport needs play a crucial role in the life of the poor as it determines their level of access to the city. Lack of adequate transport may be one of the reasons that would force them to squat in slum quarters near the job centres in the city, as already argued earlier.

In Indian cities, the urban poor form a large group of people who are dependent on public transport and human-powered transport modes to access their livelihood and other needs in the city. The National Urban Transport Policy (NUTP 2006) clearly mentions that the cost of travel, especially for the poor, has increased considerably. This is largely because the use of cheaper non-motorised modes like cycling and walking has become extremely risky, as these modes have to share the same right of way with motorized modes. Further, with population growth, cities have
tended to sprawl and increased travel distances have made non-motorized modes impossible to use. This has made access to livelihood, particularly for the poor, far more difficult.

Inefficient or unaffordable public transport service gives rise to the functioning of the informal, unregulated and polluting transport market like shared auto rickshaws. This informal transport market is dynamic and relocates itself from time-to-time as per changing demand and changing regulations. The poor in the city heavily rely on these modes as they have more competitive fares than the public bus service and at times, more accessibility and flexibility.

The concerns raised by the NUTP can be unequivocally backed up by the studies done by the CEPT team: (i) 78% of the total trips in the slum pockets studied (in Amraiwadi and Vasna area) were less than 4.5 kms across modes. (ii) The urban poor prefer to stay closer to their work and amenities. (iii) 86% of education trips are walk trips which means that the school-going children from slums in the study area walk to near-by municipal schools where they study. (iv) 57% of work trips are dependent on non-motorized modes (cycle and walk). These are ‘no-choice’ users where they did not have a good public transport connection or they could not afford it on regular basis so they preferred walking or cycling to their work place. (v) The group of cyclist within the slum areas studied had lower monthly average household income (Rs. 2,806) compared to the overall average (Rs. 4500). They were cycling on an average for more than 10 years and about 77% of them had purchased a second hand cycle.

These studies conclude that deficient transport facilities in a city left the poor with fewer choices of modes, longest distances to commute with worst air to breathe. In order to get better access of the city the urban poor need better and cheaper options of the public transport facilities. They also need dedicated infrastructure for non-motorized modes to ensure their safety. With NUTP in place and with JnNURM initiatives, number of cities are relooking at their transport sector and working on the transport plans. These cities will have to take in account the concerns of the poor to create socially inclusive transit systems in the cities. The following principles promote sustainable mobility of the poor.

**Principle 1:** Land use planning (Development plan/Master plans or zonal development plan) should be coordinated with the transportation planning and the projected growth of vehicles, residential locations and job centres. CMPs (Comprehensive Mobility Plan) of a city should not end up becoming a cosmetic surgery on development plans. Development plans should have possibilities of promoting residential growth along the major public transit corridor (transit oriented development) and timely revisions for more coherent land use-transport integration. Development plans also should have provisions for public transport and space for non-motorised transport in the overall transit network of the city and also as part of the road space in urban areas.

**Principle 2:** Supply of transport infrastructure is not always the ultimate solution. Traffic congestion is not always the local problem but it is just a reflection of a larger problem in the overall network. It is advisable to plan better facilities for all modes rather than building wider roads (or flyovers). Transport is a dynamic sector and it relies on integration of multiple solutions.
Principle 3: Public transport of a city should have low-cost components as well. Public transport routes should integrate low-income settlements. It is often assumed that transport planning of a city plans for everyone and caters to everyone, but sometimes the poor might not benefit from the proposals as their needs might be different from rest of the city. If such planning initiatives integrate the concerns of the poor well, then this group can become a dedicated clientele resulting into mutually beneficial situation.

Principle 4: Public transport of any city should not only be planned as one but it should be ‘marketed’ as one system. (Fare, tickets, maps etc.) There is a great of scope in the Indian cities to create integration amongst various modes of public transport systems operated by various agencies like suburban rail, buses – both intercity and regional networks with ‘park and ride’ facilities. These systems not only should have integrated networks and fare collection but they should also be marketed as one system.

Principle 5: Non-motorised transport is as important as motorised transport yet much cheaper and cleaner. They should get their legitimate share of on urban roads for non-motorised transport.

7.2 Water Supply and Sanitation

Bijal Bhatt of Mahila Housing Trust (MHT), of Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA), Ahmedabad presented key features of the policy submitted to MoHUPA, named ‘National Urban Water and Sanitation Policyfor the Poor - An Entitlements Approach’. This policy has been prepared jointly by MHT and CEPT. While the policy is long, Bijal Bhatt presented only the Principles of the proposed policy. These are:

Principle 1: The provisioning of basic water and sanitation should be de-linked from the issues of land tenure. Every urban dweller should be provided with minimum levels of safe water and sanitation, irrespective of the legal status of the land on which he/she is dwelling, possession of identity proof or status of migration. This service should be extended to recent and temporary/seasonal migrants. The service provider would not require permission from the owner of the land on which the dweller is residing, but would have the right to extend services upto and into the area. However, it must be clarified that provision of basic services does not entitle the dweller to any legal rights to the land on which he/she is residing, and any decision as to whether the slum should be legalised or not, is to be made irrespective of provision of basic services.

Principle 2: The service providers should pay for the basic services to reach upto the border of the low income settlement. Further, service provider should ensure extension of these services into the low income settlements through a mix of subsidy and self-financing.

Principle 3: The first priority is to ensure water supply and latrines at the individual household level. However, there are cities, especially some dense metros, where individual toilets are difficult to provide. In such cases, community toilets run by local women’s groups can be the norm.
**Principle 4:** For the provisioning of these services to the temporary/seasonal/contractual workers, the contractor/employer should be made responsible. They should coordinate with the service provider and make required payments for getting these services to the site. The options can include mobile toilets, water through tankers and other solutions.

**Principle 5:** A separate agency/department should be created within the service provider (ULB, parastatal, state level department, etc.) to plan, deliver and monitor water supply and sanitation to low-income settlements.

**Principle 6:** A Special Fund called ‘Water and Sanitation Fund for the Poor’ be created and located within the service provider (ULB, parastatal, state level department, etc.) to which at the least 20 per cent of the total budget of the service provider should be allocated. The Fund may raise resources from other sources besides budgetary support.

**Principle 7:** Community participation should be ensured for the planning, implementation and monitoring of the water and sanitation projects at the local level. The service provider should evolve a system of community participation mechanisms through consultations with the elected representatives, the community and the NGOs. The women of the communities should be the leaders and represent the community in the participation structures. This should go along with the deepening of the decentralisation and democratisation of urban governance system in India.

**Principle 8:** It is essential to ensure the accountability of the service provider to the residents of the city in general and residents of the low income settlements in particular. This can be done by treating the residents of low income settlements as customers of the service provider, ensuring monitoring mechanisms and setting up of the grievance redressal mechanisms.

**Principle 9:** The pricing of the water supply and sanitation services should be equitable and affordable to all. The capital costs should be borne by the general exchequer whereas the operating and maintenance costs could be through differential pricing.

**Principle 10:** Accurate data is necessary for policy implementation. There should be regular mapping of all the low-income settlements (legal or illegal, notified or non-notified, permanent or temporary) within a city, which should contain information on status of services and land tenure.

**Principle 11:** Manual Scavenging is a shame on society. Sanitation options for urban areas should do away with all forms of such scavenging including manual carrying of night soil, unprotected garbage clearing and human cleaning of man-holes.

**Principle 12:** Behavioural change is key to the ecologically sustainable cities. Campaigns for education and awareness on health, hygiene, cleanliness, sustainable use of resources and environmental issues to be carried out on a large scale in the urban areas.
8. In Conclusion

In conclusion, ‘Integrating the Urban Poor in Planning and Governance Systems’ is a very vast topic. It requires a critical look at the Urban Planning policies and mechanisms from the perspective of the poor. It also requires assessing the needs and aspirations of the urban poor for bringing them into planning mechanisms. It requires an appropriate scale of planning, which is a ward, where planning, governance and financing mechanisms can be dove-tailed to include the poor. It also requires participatory processes and creation of structures for participation. In other words, pro-poor planning and governance requires creation of new institutional structures, new sectoral priorities and flexible land use planning systems.

The workshop was held against the background of economic crises in the world that had also adversely affected some sectors in the cities of Gujarat, namely Ahmedabad and Surat. Dr. RN Vakil, Director of CEPT University, in his welcome address stated that it was most appropriate to talk of Inclusive Society and Inclusive Cities in the given context. He further added, and which has been the premises on which this National Workshop was held that the Urban Planning in India was caught into a paradigm of city beautiful concept, with often visions emanating from the developed parts of the world. The Urban Planning has also been caught into too many legalisms, which have always considered the urban poor as illegal residents of the cities, when they have been contributing to the building of the cities, cleaning the cities, providing various personal services and so on. He raised very pertinent question: can the planners and managers of the cities in particular the young and upcoming planners such as the CEPT students, take up this challenge?

Today, JNNURM has provided that platform, according to Dr. P.K. Mohanty, Joint Secretary, MoHUPA, GOI, who inaugurated the National Workshop. In tune with the 7-point charter of the JNNURM, number of national level initiatives have been taken. These are: (i) National Urban Housing & Habitat Policy (NUHHP), 2007, which stipulates that 10-15% of land in every new public/private housing projects or 20-25% FAR, whichever is greater is to be reserved for EWS/LIG Housing and (ii) JNNURM - Reform agenda, which stipulates earmarking at least 20-25% of developed land in all housing projects (both Public and Private Agencies) for EWS/LIG category with a system of cross-subsidization.

Dr. Mohanty, listed number of new approaches possible in urban India to include the urban poor in planning systems. These are:

(i) Allocation of government/ULB land for housing the Urban Poor, e.g. Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Chhatisgarh;
(ii) Proceeds of commercialisation of government/ULB land may go to affordable housing to the urban poor;
(iii) Need for amending laws and procedures relating to town planning and urban development, in essence amending the development control rules and regulations;
(iv) Adequate reservation of lands for the urban poor in Master Plans/Zonal Plans/Local Area Plans/Layouts for Residence/Workplace/Vending
(v) Inclusive Zoning/Incentive Zoning/Small Lot Zoning;
(vi) Trip reduction zoning and Transit-oriented development by locating the poor on public transit nodes/ corridors
(vii) Reservation of land under land pooling/ TP Scheme, e.g. Gujarat
(viii) Reservation of land for EWS and LIG in plotted development, e.g. Hyderabad (5% EWS & 5% LIG)
(ix) Free land assignment, e.g. Hyderabad (5% for financing of Master Plan works)
(x) Adequate reservation for EWS/LIG in group housing, e.g. Hyderabad and Kolkata (PPP Model)
(xi) Compulsory service quarters in all HIG colonies
(xii) Integrated-Inclusive Townships
(xiii) Land acquisition with land owner as equity-holder, e.g. Magarpatta Model, Pune & Kolkata (PPP Model)
(xiv) Return of a percentage of developed land to Land-owners, e.g. CIDCO- Mumbai, Jaipur;
(xv) 1/3rd-13rd-1/3rd Rule in all urban renewal projects (case of mill lands in Mumbai prior to the amendment of the act)
(xvi) Legislation on security of tenure e.g. Patta Act in Madhya Pradesh
(xvii) Reservation in FSI in Master Plans/Zonal Plans/ Local Area Plans/Layouts, e.g. Master Plan of Delhi 2001
(xviii) Incentive FSI for housing the Project-Affected Persons (PAPs), e.g. Slum Redevelopment Scheme, Mumbai
(xix) State programmes for affordable housing, e.g. Indiramma in Andhra Pradesh
(xx) Regulatory Commission on Social Housing
(XX) Contribution by developers to a Shelter Fund managed by the state government in lieu of EWS/LIG plots/houses, e.g. Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh
(xxii) Fiscal incentives to developers for EWS/LIG Housing, e.g. Andhra Pradesh
xxiii) Constitution of Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) Fund with contribution from select taxes including Vacant Land Tax, Property Tax, Transfer of Property Tax, Land Use Conversion Charges, Betterment Levy, Tax Increment Financing etc.

Interestingly, there are number of different initiatives across different states in India, which need to be studied, documented and the researched for their impacts. In essence, the workshop set the tone for further activities of the National Resource Centre at CEPTUniversity.
9. Recommendations

The recommendations emerging from the discussions held at the workshop and also from the research work carried out by the CEPT Team are:

1. Planning, Governance and Poverty Alleviation
   - Dynamic and socially responsive Master/ Development plans
   - Three tiers of Physical Plans, with matching the planning and administrative boundaries
   - Encouraging local area planning, which should be at least at the ward level with community participation
   - Laying emphasis on social sector infrastructure in the Master/ Development Plan
   - Creating institutional mechanisms for participating in zonal and city level plans, for example through formation of URCs.
   - Allocation of land for the urban poor through allocation of public lands on one hand and reservations in private sector housing developments. Detailed proposals for increasing land availability for the urban poor is discussed in the report of Workshop on “Approaches to the Lands for the Urban Poor”.
   - Promoting transit oriented development through appropriate planning.
   - Interlinking low income households with major public transit routes
   - Pro-poor components in the city development plan such as ensuring 20 per cent JNNURM projects are meant for the urban poor. Pro-poor expenditures are on public transport, bicycle lanes, pedestrian ways, water supply, sanitation, informal markets and housing.
   - Pro-poor expenditure on water supply and sanitation would mean extending these services to non-notified slum settlements or temporary slum settlements.

Example of integrating planning and governance systems is given below:

City level Plan (Structure Plan & City Level Facilities’ & Activities Location Plan) – City level investment plan for projects - City level budget, City level infrastructure (e.g. transport networks), land allocation

Zone level Plan (Zonal level networks & Zonal level Facilities Location Plan) – Zonal level investment plan for projects - Zonal level budgets, land allocation

Ward level (Ward level networks, Housing for the poor, Ward level facilities) – Ward level identification & allocation of lands – Ward level investment plans – ward level budgets, land allocation
2. Housing security is the most important aspect for inclusion of the urban poor in the cities. These would imply the following:
   - In-situ development, which is the preferred housing option of the slum dwellers in Ahmedabad city
   - Formalizing land tenure in the slums so that the in-situ development is feasible.
   - Bringing solution to land disputes in slum settlements through land tribunal
   - Backing up programmes micro-finance activities

3. Mainstreaming participatory processes
   - Mandatory stakeholders’ participation for all JnNURM projects
   - Mechanisms to ensure the concerns of the stakeholders are reflected in formulation of the projects
   - Monitoring of JnNURM projects and ULB service delivery regularly, for example through Citizen’s Report cards or any other mechanism

4. Dovetailing JnNURM projects with Master/ Development Plans
   - Introducing a mandatory reform of proposing infrastructure projects linked to the city’s Master/ Development plan (to be prepared as per point number 1)
List of CUE Working Papers


Centre for Urban Equity (CUE) advocates a human-centered and equitable urban development paradigm. The activities of CUE are research, policy advocacy, training and capacity building and data documentation and dissemination. The Centre is a National Resource Centre of Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India.