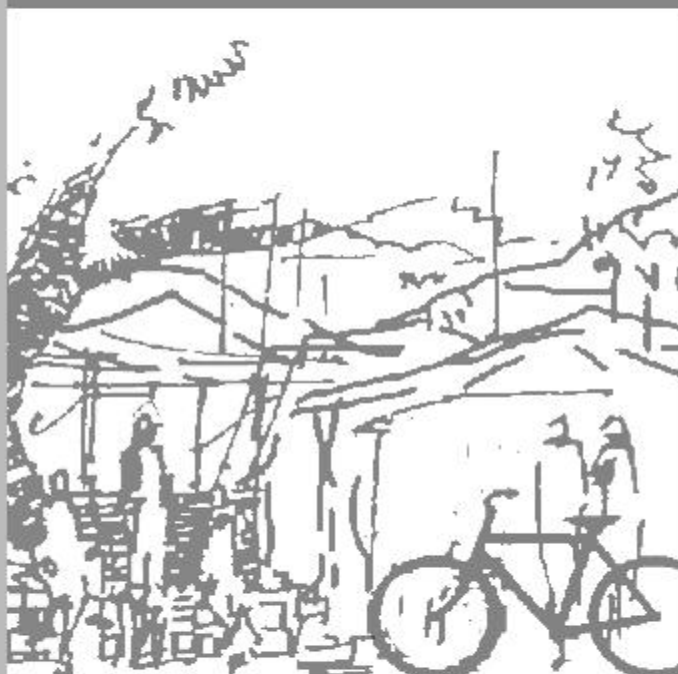




Learning from Nanded: A Study of Basic Services for the Urban Poor



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**Centre for Urban Equity
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Abstract

This paper documents and analyzes the approach taken in Nanded city under the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) programme, a sub-mission of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Nanded Waghala City Municipal Corporation (NWCMC) has approached BSUP mainly through in-situ redevelopment of slums. Under this approach, NWCMC is converting a large number of *kutcha* houses on municipal and State Government lands as well as *ingunthewari* or unauthorized layouts to *pucca* houses. Basic services and infrastructure are also supposed to be upgraded in these settlements. NWCMC has also attempted to accommodate many of the people's concerns, demands and desires which emerged during the implementation process. The Nanded BSUP approach and its experience is thus an important case-study which can aid our learning on processes and challenges around urban poor housing interventions and particularly around in-situ redevelopment and upgradation. The paper discusses three themes – the progress of the BSUP programme, public engagement, and physical design and planning – to build these learnings.

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Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
1. Introduction	1
2. Nanded City Profile	2
2.1. Housing for the Urban Poor	3
3. Research Methodology	4
4. Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP)	5
4.1. The BSUP Process in Nanded	6
4.2. Beneficiary Eligibility and Contribution	12
5. Case-Study Settlements	14
5.1. Squatter settlements on Municipal and State Government land	14
5.1.1. Nayi Abadi	14
5.1.2. Ambedkar Nagar	14
5.1.3. Jai Bhim Nagar	15
5.1.4. Lumbini Nagar	16
5.2. <i>Gunthewari</i> / Unauthorised Layouts	18
5.2.1. Kranti Nagar	18
5.2.2. Gulshan Colony	18
5.3. Relocation Sites	19
5.3.1. Site No. 34	19
6. Analysis of Nanded's BSUP Experience	21
6.1. Progress of the BSUP programme	21
6.2. Public Engagement	24
6.3. Physical Design and Planning	26
7. Conclusion	29
References	32

1. Introduction

As per the 2011 census, India has a population of 1,210.98 million, of which 377.10 million (31.16 per cent) lives in urban areas. During 2001-11, the urban population grew at a Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of 2.8 per cent, resulting in an increase in the level of urbanization from 27.81 per cent to 31.16 per cent. This growing concentration of people in urban areas has led to increasing problems of land shortage, shortfall of good quality housing and congested transit and has also severely stressed the existing basic amenities such as water, power and open spaces. Urbanization has also resulted in an increasing number of people living in informal settlements. This is primarily due to the skyrocketing prices of land and real estate in urban areas that have forced the poor and economically weaker sections of society to occupy marginal lands, preferably near their workplaces. Although informal settlements are initially characterized by poor housing quality and lack of basic services, over time, the residents try to incrementally upgrade their housing and living conditions, often with local political support. Over the past few decades, government authorities have also executed many programmes to improve housing and basic services in informal settlements as well as tackle the housing shortage through construction of new houses. Many of these have been important steps towards fulfilling the housing needs for these sections of society. However, much remains to be done. Furthermore, over the past several years, instead of supporting and guiding processes of housing improvement and mobility, government authorities have been turning to a policy of eviction in many cities. Often, slum dwellers are shifted from their low-rise, high-density informal settlements to flats, far from their earlier location, without knowing their willingness to live there. Private developers have also been trying to capture lands occupied by the poor. These recent processes are abolishing rather than expanding the right of the urban poor to shelter and livelihood.

In 2005 the Central Government formulated the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) for 65 cities across India. This mission included a sub-mission called Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP). States and cities across the country have taken widely varying approaches under BSUP. There are numerous cities like Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, and Raipur in which JNNURM and BSUP have facilitated evictions and the shifting of the urban poor to distant sites on the urban periphery. In this paper, we focus our attention on the BSUP approach in the city of Nanded in Maharashtra. Here, the Nanded Waghala City Municipal Corporation (NWCMC) has tried to minimize evictions and resettlement and has instead tried to approach BSUP mainly through in-situ redevelopment of slums. Under this approach, NWCMC is converting a large number of *kutchha* houses on State Government and municipal lands as well as *gunthewari* or unauthorized layouts to *pucca* houses. Basic services and infrastructure are also supposed to be upgraded in these settlements. NWCMC has also attempted to accommodate many of the people's concerns, demands and desires which emerged during the implementation process. The objective of this paper is to document and analyze the Nanded BSUP approach and its experience as an important case-study which can aid our learning on processes and challenges around urban poor housing interventions and particularly around in-situ redevelopment and upgradation. These learnings can inform the Rajiv Awaas Yojana (RAY), which projects a vision of slum-free Indian cities and whose guidelines place an emphasis on in-situ development rather than relocation of slums. They can also inform future in-situ slum improvement programmes.

The paper is structured as follows. The next section provides a brief background to the city of Nanded. We then outline the research methodology for this study. Following this, we briefly describe the BSUP sub-mission and then outline the process through which NWCMC has implemented it in Nanded. This is followed by a discussion of the case-study settlements. The subsequent section analyzes Nanded's BSUP approach and experience through three main themes to build learnings: the progress of the BSUP programme, public engagement, and physical design and planning. In conclusion, we discuss the learnings from this analysis.

2. Nanded City Profile

Nanded city is the headquarters of Nanded district and is located in the Marathwada region of Maharashtra. Nanded Waghala City Municipal Corporation (NWCMC) was established on 26th March 1997 by merging Nanded Municipal Council and adjoining Waghala Municipal Council. The Corporation is constituted under the provisions of Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporation Act 1949 and is also governed by the provisions of 74th Constitutional Amendment Act 1992. NWCMC's jurisdiction currently includes north Nanded (20.62 sq.km.) located north of the Godavari river and south Nanded (31.14 sq.km.) comprising of Waghala, six other newly merged villages and the areas of the City and Industrial Development Corporation (CIDCO) and Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), located south of the Godavari river (NWCMC 2006). Most of the development is concentrated in north Nanded.

The population of Nanded city as per 2011 census is 5,50,564. The population of the city has grown from 1,26,518 in 1971 to the 2011 level of 5,50,564 at a CAGR of about 3.74 per cent. It may be noted that the population growth rate during the past two decades (1991-2001 and 2001-11) was substantially lower than that of the previous two decades (see Table 1) despite the fact that the municipal territorial jurisdiction more than doubled in area from 20.62 sq.km. in 1991 to 51.76 sq.km. in 2001 (NWCMC 2006).

Table 1. Population Growth in Nanded
(Source: NWCMC 2006 and Census of India 2011)

Year	Population	Decadal Growth (%)	CAGR (%)	CAGR from 1971 (%)
1971	1,26,518	-	-	-
1981	1,91,269	51	4.22	4.22
1991	3,09,316	62	4.92	4.57
2001	4,30,733	39	3.37	4.17
2011	5,50,564	28	2.48	3.74

Historically Nanded was known for its presence in the textile manufacturing sector due to the presence of Osmaan Shahi Textile Mills (later known as Nanded Textile Mills Corporation), Cotton Research Center and Textile Corporation of Nanded. During the 1980s, Nanded Textile Mills used to provide employment to around 10,000 people. The closure of these entities affected the growth of industrial activities in the city. Presently, the economic base of Nanded city appears to be primarily reliant on the tertiary sector, more specifically on trade

and commerce followed by educational, tourism, health and transportation services. The workforce participation ratio is about 23.66 per cent as per the 2001 census, of which about 95.1 percent is in the tertiary sector (NWCMC 2006).

Nanded is an important holy place for adherents of the Sikh faith, and has the well-known Hazur Sahib Gurudwara (the Takhat Sachkhand Shri Hazur Abchalnagar Sahib Gurudwara), one of the five Takhats (thrones or seats of authority) of the Sikh religion. Over 1.5 million tourists, mainly Sikhs, from all over the world visit Nanded every year. The Gur ta Gaddi Tercentenary Celebrations in October 2008, to commemorate the 300th year of the holy events of Sikhism, the associated funding assistance from the State and Central Governments, and the funding assistance under the JNNURM was viewed as an opportunity to kickstart a transformation of the city into a vibrant economic hub “conserving and showcasing its inherent socio-cultural strengths, and ensuring sustainable overall development” (NWCMC 2006: 4). As a result, numerous infrastructure development projects have been undertaken since 2006.

2.1. Housing for the Urban Poor

The housing supply market in Nanded has been predominantly constituted by the private sector, with limited public initiatives. The last housing supply initiative by the public sector was by CIDCO between 1980 and 1985, when they developed a township in south Nanded comprising about 11,000 Low-Income Group (LIG) houses and plots. Prior to that, the Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA) had constructed about 1,000 dwelling units for different income categories between 1972 and 1982. As a result, the urban poor have squatted on municipal, State Government and Central Government lands. Workers of the Nanded Textile Mill (NTM) occupied land leased by the gurudwara to NTM. The Slum Up-Gradation Programme and Valmiki Ambedkar Awaas Yojna (VAMBAY) have been implemented in recent decades. Under the Slum Up-Gradation Programme, basic amenities like open drains, pathways, water supply lines and street lights were provided in few slums whereas under VAMBAY, 600 houses were built (NWCMC n.d.).

Over the years, NWCMC had identified 58 settlements as “slums” in Nanded city of which 25 had been notified or declared and 33 had been identified and proposed to be notified. It is not clear what criteria were followed for identifying these 58 settlements as slums. The total population of these 58 settlements is 1,54,020, with 1,07,365 in the notified slums and 46,655 in the to-be-notified slums (NWCMC 2006: Annexure II). When NWCMC began formulating its approach to BSUP, its General Body passed a resolution to identify other vulnerable areas as slums. This resolution stated that any housing cluster or settlement with more than 25 houses and lack of adequate infrastructure could be considered as a slum for BSUP.¹ The number of settlements identified as slums increased from 58 to 252. This was mainly because of the addition of a large number of *gunthewari* layouts as slums. *Gunthewari* layouts are unauthorized layouts formed through the subdivision and sale of privately-owned agricultural land for residential purpose without taking permission for Non Agriculture (NA) use. People have purchased plots of land in these layouts and have some kind of legally recognized document as proof of purchase. Many of these layouts were identified as slums since they are characterised by a lack of or inadequate basic services and comprise of many *kutchha* houses.

¹ Interview with Mr. Ratnakar Waghmare, Deputy Municipal Commissioner, NWCMC, February 2013.

Thus, of the 252 slums, 10-15 per cent are on municipal lands, about 5 per cent are on lands belonging to State Government or Central Government, and about 80 per cent are *gunthewari* layouts.²

The total population of these 252 slums is not known. It is important to note that not all the houses in a *gunthewari* layout are of poor quality and not all the plot owners are poor. As land becomes more commercialized in the informal sector, the poor find it increasingly difficult to find lands for squatting and unauthorized layouts often fulfil their needs and demands for land and housing. However, these layouts also begin to go out of the reach of the poor as land prices keep increasing. Many of the owners in Nanded's *gunthewari* layouts are, in fact, middle-class and upper-middle class and live in well-made *pucca* houses. Thus, even knowing the total population of the 252 slums would not give us any idea about the urban poor population living in Nanded's slums. Of the 252 slums, 132 have been covered under BSUP.

3. Research Methodology

The documentation and analysis of Nanded's BSUP approach and experience is based on city-level interviews on BSUP and case-studies of settlements where BSUP has been implemented. A preliminary visit was made to Nanded in January 2013 to meet with municipal officials, collect secondary data relating to slums and urban policies / legislations, and visit some of the BSUP sites. Based on this, we constructed a tenure typology for the BSUP sites. Three main types of BSUP sites could be identified based on tenure: squatter settlements, relocation sites and *gunthewari* / unauthorized layouts. We also found that squatter settlements in Nanded had varying landownership, belonging to NWCMC, State Government, Central Government (Railways, Airport authority, National Textile Corporation, etc) and the gurudwara. Furthermore, we found that NWCMC had taken three main approaches in its BSUP projects: (i) in-situ redevelopment on municipal and State Government lands through demolition and reconstruction as a new layout comprising of low-rise (ground floor or G+1) clusters; (ii) in-situ redevelopment on municipal lands and in *gunthewari* / unauthorized layouts through demolition and reconstruction on the same footprint; and (iii) relocation from NWCMC and Central Government lands. Case-study settlements were therefore identified taking into account tenure typology, landownership and the approach taken under BSUP (See Table 2).

The case-study settlements were studied in February 2013. This involved semi-structured interviews with individual residents or groups of residents at the case-study sites, as well as semi-structured interviews and discussions with municipal officials. Three major themes emerged through this research – progress of the BSUP scheme, public engagement, and physical design and planning– through which we analyze Nanded's BSUP approach and experience and build learnings.

² Ibid.

Table 2. Case-study Settlements

No.	Settlement	Landownership	BSUP approach taken by NWCMC
Squatter settlement			
1	NayiAbadi	NWCMC	In-situ redevelopment through demolition and reconstruction on the same footprint.
2	Ambedkar Nagar	NWCMC	In-situ redevelopment through demolition and reconstruction on the same footprint.
3	Lumbini Nagar	NWCMC	In-situ redevelopment through demolition and reconstruction as a new layout comprising of low-rise clusters. There is also an active women's mobilization in this community that aided, and was further encouraged by, the BSUP process.
4	Jai Bhim Nagar	State Govt.	In-situ redevelopment through demolition and reconstruction as a new layout comprising of low-rise clusters.
Relocation site			
1	Site No. 34	NWCMC	Residents of squatter settlements on lands of NWCMC, Railways, and airport, resettled at this site in G+2 buildings.
Gunthewari or Unauthorized layouts			
1	Kranti Nagar	Private (people own their land)	In-situ redevelopment through demolition and reconstruction on the same footprint.
2	Gulshan Colony	Private (people own their land)	In-situ redevelopment through demolition and reconstruction on the same footprint.

4. Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP)

The Government of India launched the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in December 2005. This Mission comprises two sub-missions – Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) and Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG). The duration of the Mission was seven years, beginning in 2005-06. This was later extended up to March 2014. BSUP is being implemented in 65 cities across India. Central Government assistance is in the form of a grant. The share of Central Government assistance depends on the category of city (see Table 3). In BSUP, there is a minimum of 12 per cent beneficiary contribution, which in the case of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Castes, Other Backward Classes and Physically Handicapped is 10 per cent.

Table 3. BSUP Financing Pattern

Category of cities	Central Government Share	State /ULB / Parastatal Share (including beneficiary contribution)
A. Mega Cities/ Urban Agglomerations	50%	50%
B. Million Plus Cities/ Urban Agglomerations	50%	50%
C. Cities/ Urban Agglomerations with less than one million population, and with historic / cultural significance	80%	20%

The Central Government guidelines allowed for a range of projects to be proposed under BSUP. This included the following:

- Integrated development of slums, i.e., housing and development of infrastructure projects in the slums.
- Projects involving development/ improvement/ maintenance of basic services to the urban poor.
- Slum improvement and rehabilitation projects.
- Projects on water supply/sewerage/drainage, community toilet/bath, etc.
- Houses at affordable costs for slum dwellers, urban poor, Economically Weaker Section (EWS) and Low Income Group (LIG) categories.
- Construction and improvement of drains/ storm water drains.
- Environmental improvement of slums and solid waste management.
- Street lighting.
- Civic amenities like community halls, childcare centers, etc.
- Operation and maintenance of assets created under BSUP.
- Convergence of health, education and social security schemes for the urban poor.

Cities were required to prepare Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) and funding was made available after the DPR was sanctioned by the State Government and then the Central Government's Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA).

4.1. The BSUP Process in Nanded

Nanded city, by virtue of its historic and cultural significance, was entitled to 80 per cent grant from the Central Government and 10 percent grant from the State Government under JNNURM. In the first DPR prepared for BSUP, NWCMC took only notified slums. Later, NWCMC's General Body passed a resolution that any settlement with more than 25 houses and having inadequate infrastructure was a slum for the purpose of BSUP. This allowed NWCMC to cover more settlements and more families under BSUP as it led to the identification of a total of 252 settlements as slums. This was a considerable increase from the earlier number of 58 slums. Majority of the settlements added to the slum list were *gunthewari* / unauthorized layouts where people had purchased plots of land and had some kind of legally recognized document as proof of purchase and ownership. Out of the 252 slums, 132 were covered under BSUP. It is not clear what the criteria were for selecting slums for BSUP. 10 notified slums (with a population of 5,852 households) of the original 58 slums were not included in this list of 132 (see Table 4).

Table 4. Notified slums not covered under BSUP

No.	Name of Notified Slum	Population	No. of households
1.	Gokul Nagar	1,275	182
2.	Harijan Wada	675	95
3.	Nalla Gutta, Deagaon, Ganga Chal	5,250	750
4.	Bhim Ghat	2,550	360
5.	Khadok Pura	6,250	893
6.	Hamalpura	3,750	525
7.	Sai Nagar	1,813	350
8.	Khudwai Nagar	15,820	2,257
9.	Peer Nagar	963	132

10.	Poornima Nagar	2,156	308
	Total	40,502	5,852

NWCMC prepared a total of 11 DPRs for BSUP covering the 132 slums. By the end of 2012, 27,985 dwelling units (DUs) were sanctioned through these DPRs. Of this, 10,175 DUs were completed, 4,615 DUs were under construction and 13,195 were yet to be started as of January 2013.³ Infrastructure provision in these settlements is still ongoing or has to be initiated.

The first DPR for BSUP was prepared in-house by NWCMC. Before submitting it to the MHUPA for its sanction, NWCMC along with 20-30 staff (junior engineers and clerks) from the Public Works Department (PWD) went house-to-house in the slums to create awareness of the BSUP scheme. Forms were distributed in the slums and people were asked to fill them if they were interested in the scheme. Around 4,000 forms were submitted by people. The DPR was submitted to the MHUPA along with this expression of interest from people. After getting approval from the MHUPA as well as technical and administrative sanction from NWCMC, a tender was floated and awarded. However, despite having filled forms as expression of interest in the scheme, people were not ready to vacate their houses.⁴

Media Matters, a theatre group that works on social issues, was thus invited by NWCMC to conduct participative theatre workshops in the slums and discuss various issues of BSUP with the people (Vinayak 2011). These awareness activities were carried out for some months. NWCMC also decided to begin construction of four houses by paying the beneficiary share itself. People began to show real interest in the scheme only after this.⁵ This entire process leading up to actual implementation had also led NWCMC to change its approach to BSUP, one that deviated from what had been proposed in most of the DPRs.

NWCMC had prepared DPR-1 in-house, after which a consultant was engaged to prepare the DPRs. According to one municipal official, NWCMC had also prepared DPR-2 in-house, but MHUPA would not sanction it until AAPIL, a Surat-based architectural and planning firm, was brought in as consultant (Project Monitoring Agency) for BSUP. DPR-2 to DPR-10 were prepared by AAPIL. In most of these DPRs, the approach taken was in-situ redevelopment through demolition and reconstruction in the form of a completely new layout comprising of medium-rise clusters (Refer Figure 1). However, when it came to implementation, this was an unfeasible approach, especially in the *gunthewari* / unauthorized layouts where the land had been subdivided into plots and the people who had bought them had some kind of legally recognized ownership and had built houses on them. Even on municipal and State Government lands, residents opposed these new layouts because of various reasons. In fact, oppositions seem to have begun from the first two DPRs, which were sanctioned by the Central Government in 2006-07.⁶ Despite this, the subsequent DPRs were prepared in 2008 following the same approach. There seem to have been various reasons for this. One reason was that there was pressure from higher authorities to submit

³ DPR wise and Zone wise DU Progress Report, NWCMC. January 2013.

⁴ These initial steps taken by NWCMC were explained by a municipal official, NWCMC, February 2013.

⁵ Interview with municipal official at NWCMC, February 2013.

⁶ The status of the DPRs is taken from: JNNURM Project Cell-NBO 2012.

DPRs quickly.⁷ Another reason might have been that NWCMC officials and the consultant were convinced about this approach since these proposals conformed to all the planning norms. NWCMC and the consultant had also not yet decided what to do about people's oppositions or how to take an alternate, more feasible, approach to the *gunthewari* layouts. DPR-3 to DPR-9 were sanctioned in January 2009. An alternate, more feasible, approach seems to have emerged only after this, which NWCMC decided to implement despite its deviation from the DPRs.

Figure 1. Proposed Layout for Gulshan Colony as per DPR-VII
(Source: NWCMC. n.d.)



The approach that evolved was of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint. The footprint referred to the footprint of the plot occupied by a household. This plot area could be larger or smaller than the BSUP unit size, whose carpet area has been specified for all BSUP projects as 269 sq.ft. Thirteen design models (M-1 to M-13) were prepared for the BSUP unit to fit different plot sizes and shapes (Figure 2). In most settlements, only *kutcha* houses were demolished and these were reconstructed as *pucca* houses on the same footprints (for e.g., in our case-study settlements of Nayi Abadi, Ambedkar Nagar, Kranti Nagar and Gulshan Colony) (See Figure 3). As a result, compared to what was mentioned in the DPR, the number of beneficiary households decreased since only households living in *kutcha* houses were considered as beneficiaries. In a few settlements which had more or less organized layouts and where most of the houses were *kutcha*, all the houses were demolished and reconstructed as rows of houses with shared walls, conforming more or less to the same footprints (for e.g. in our case-study settlements of Lumbini Nagar and Jai Bhim Nagar) (see Figure 4).

This approach was drastically different from what was proposed in most of the DPRs. A comparison of Figure 1 and 3 shows the contrast between the DPR's proposed layout for the *gunthewari* layout of Gulshan Colony and the existing situation in Gulshan Colony after

⁷ Interview with municipal official at NWCMC, February 2013.

BSUP was implemented under the changed approach.⁸ As Figure 3 shows, the layout was not changed at all as plot boundaries of the households had to be largely respected; thus *kutcha* houses were converted to *pucca* houses within these boundaries.

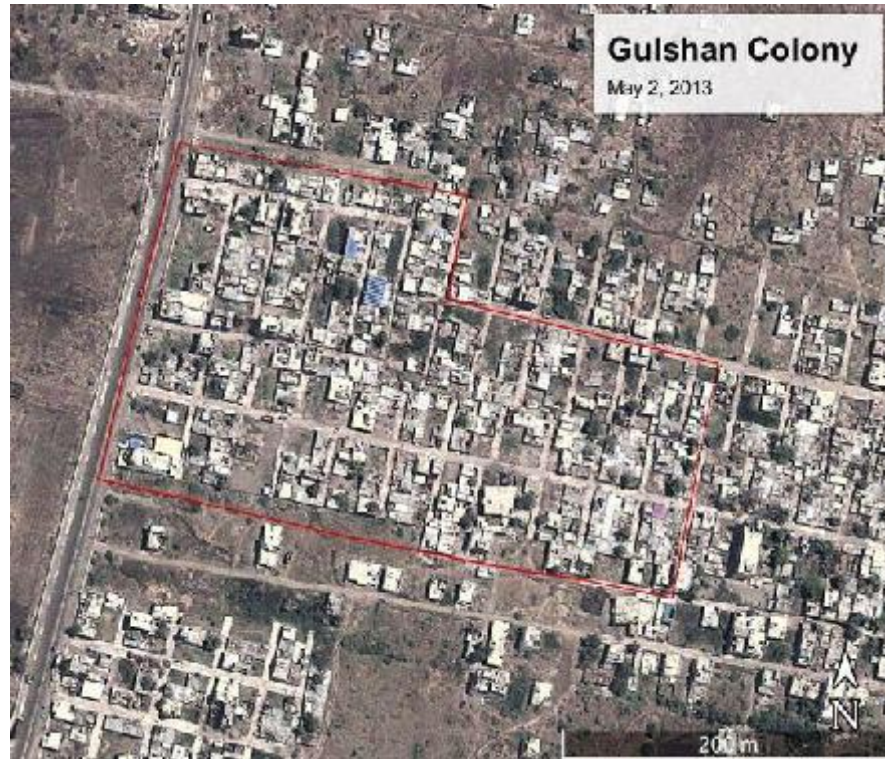
Figure 2. House design models (M-1 to M-13) for BSUP

(Source: NWCMC BSUP Brochure)

⁸ The precise boundaries of Gulshan Colony are not known to us. In the Google Earth image in Figure 3 we have therefore roughly marked the boundaries based on our field-visit.



Figure 3. Gulshan Colony after BSUP implementation
(Source: Google Earth image from May 2, 2013)



Currently, the consultant is no longer involved in BSUP. NWCMC has begun the task of revising the DPRs and explaining why implementation on the ground is not the same as what was proposed in the DPRs. Meanwhile, DPR-11 for New Brahmapuri was prepared in-house by NWCMC and has been sanctioned by the MHUPA. Learning from previous experience and recognizing that New Brahmapuri is a *gunthewari* / unauthorized layout, this DPR does not take a medium-rise cluster approach. Instead, it takes the approach of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint, converting the *kutcha* dwellings into *pucca* dwellings. It also attempts to improve the amenities in the settlement by proposing that some of the open plots in the unauthorized layout can be bought by NWCMC to create open spaces.

Thus, NWCMC evolved an approach of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint to take into account residents' concerns, demands and desires as well as the feasibility given the landownership in *gunthewari* layouts. Furthermore, a third approach of self-construction has emerged since 2012. In this, NWCMC allows beneficiaries to convert their *kutcha* house into a *pucca* house through self-construction rather than through the contractor chosen by NWCMC. In the midst of BSUP implementation NWCMC also started to give two BSUP houses to many large households comprising of more than one family. The second BSUP unit was built on the first-floor of the household's ground-floor BSUP unit. This regards the household as comprising of two separate beneficiary families, each of whom would pay a separate beneficiary contribution.

Relocation has also been undertaken for a few settlements. This is the fourth approach taken under BSUP by NWCMC. Out of the 132 slums covered under the 11 DPRs, two to three sites are relocation sites. This is for those who have been displaced due to road widening,

proximity to railway tracks, location in flood prone areas and location on airport land. The construction of about 834 houses was sanctioned at Site No. 34 and 600 have already been built and occupied.

Figure 4. Jai Bhim Nagar after BSUP implementation

(Source: Google Earth image from May 2, 2013)



4.2. Beneficiary Eligibility and Contribution

As per a January 2007 resolution of the Housing Department, Government of Maharashtra, the electoral list should be primarily referred to while deciding the eligibility of a slum dweller for BSUP. The resolution states that if the name of resident is not in the electoral list, then electricity bill, telephone bill and ration card or the proof document prescribed by the local government can be accepted. NWCMC considered a range of documents in order to identify beneficiaries:

- Corporator's *olakh-patra* (letter proving identity) (this was not compulsory but many have submitted this)
- Municipal Corporation tax receipt
- Registry of sale deed –only for unauthorized layout
- Electoral card
- Electricity bill
- School certificate with house address
- Ration card
- PAN card
- Passport

In order to take a “whole slum approach,” NWCMC did not follow any cut-off date, even though the State Government insists on a cut-off date of 1.1.1995 in Maharashtra. Furthermore, as explained above, with NWCMC’s approach shifting to one of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint, it was decided that the criteria for being a beneficiary was that the resident should have a *kutcha* house. This also meant that NWCMC identified one *kutcha* house as comprising of one beneficiary. However, as mentioned above, this was later modified in many cases, and where the household living in a *kutcha* house was found to comprise of more than one family, they were allowed to make an application for a second BSUP unit.

The beneficiary contribution in Nanded is 10-12 per cent of the BSUP unit cost. As per our conversations with some beneficiaries, they had to initially pay an amount of Rs. 3200. The remaining amount of Rs. 25,000 is to be paid on a monthly basis over six months.⁹ If anyone is able to pay the entire remaining amount at once, they can do so. Many cannot afford these instalments. Initially, 200-300 households were offered loans through the Bombay Mercantile Cooperative Bank. However, the interest rate was too high (14% per annum) so people did not take the loans. NWCMC officials reported that political leaders discourage beneficiaries from paying their share, promising them that the government will forgive their payments. They also reported that people did not behave properly with officials who tried to collect the beneficiary contribution from them. Due to these and other reasons, the cost recovery has been poor. NWCMC has also not attempted to take a heavy-handed approach towards people for collecting the beneficiary contribution. This has also led to different perceptions amongst beneficiaries regarding the instalment amounts. Some residents told us that they could pay Rs. 500 or Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000 per month according to their capacity.

As mentioned before, since 2012, NWCMC has been also giving beneficiaries the option of building their house themselves through self-construction rather than through a contractor appointed by NWCMC. Under this approach, NWCMC releases the non-beneficiary share to the beneficiary in four stages of construction: foundation level, completion of the building envelope, construction of the roof and completion of finishing. As a result, on the one hand, NWCMC no longer needs to take on the burden of collecting the beneficiary contribution (and dealing with the non-recovery of this), while on the other hand, the beneficiaries are free to reduce their share of the contribution, for example, by reusing building materials from their previous dwelling structure and contributing their own labour.

The BSUP beneficiaries would be given a *taba paavti* (a house possession letter) after they finish paying their beneficiary contribution. This mentions various conditions regarding the transfer of the house. Beneficiaries cannot rent out the house. They also cannot sell the house for the next 20 years.

NWCMC has also made a provision for BSUP beneficiaries in the *gunthewari* / unauthorized layouts to regularize their plots under the Gunthewari Act of 2001 by paying much lower regularization charges than other residents of these layouts. The rationale for this is that a high proportion of the regularization charges are meant for financing the provision of

⁹ This is mentioned in the *taba paavti*, a kind of house possession letter given to BSUP beneficiaries in Nanded after they finish paying their beneficiary contribution.

infrastructure in the layout, but since infrastructures are already being provided/improved under BSUP (the funding for which is shared as per BSUP's financing pattern outlined in Table 3), the BSUP beneficiary should not be required to pay anything more towards the layout's infrastructure.

5. Case-Study Settlements

5.1. Squatter settlements on Municipal and State Government land

5.1.1. Nayi Abadi

Nayi Abadi is located in the western part of Nanded city near the railway station. It is more than 40 years old. It has about 2,000 households in the settlement with majority of Muslim residents. The land belongs to the Municipal Corporation. The BSUP process started here in 2008 and 617 households were selected as BSUP beneficiaries. Initially, there was a proposal of accommodating the beneficiaries in a new layout comprising of a cluster of medium-rise flats. However, due to some households' opposition to this approach and demand for ground-floor structures on the same footprints, NWCMC modified this to an approach of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint. If a resident had occupied a large plot, then he/she was allowed to keep the surplus area after construction of the BSUP unit. Later, the households who had larger family sizes, demanded a second BSUP dwelling unit, therefore many have been permitted to build a second BSUP unit as a first-floor addition to their ground-floor BSUP unit. The family living in the ground-floor unit and the family in the first-floor unit have to each pay a separate beneficiary contribution. Some of the bigger families are yet to get the second unit.

One of the beneficiaries stated that the quality of construction is not satisfactory and he expressed doubt that the constructed house would last for the next 20 years. Another beneficiary stated that her house needed to be built in 7-8 months as her son's marriage was planned. Since BSUP construction by the contractor was too slow, she spent some extra money from her side to complete the work before the marriage. Many residents have started constructing their BSUP units themselves under NWCMC's recent approach under which it releases the non-beneficiary share as per four construction stages. These residents reported feeling more satisfaction towards the quality of construction.

5.1.2. Ambedkar Nagar

Ambedkar Nagar is situated in western Nanded close to Nayi Abadi. It has approximately 2,200 households. The land belongs to the Municipal Corporation. The settlement comprises of residents belonging to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes communities. The BSUP scheme was started here in 2008. Similar to Nayi Abadi, this was also to be redeveloped as a new layout comprising of a cluster of medium-rise flats, but due to beneficiary opposition, NWCMC shifted to in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint. About 900 beneficiaries were selected, however, according to many residents, only 250-300 DUs have been completed in the past four years. Of the rest, many are yet to be started while many are pending after initial work. Some residents pointed out that the previous ward councillor was responsible for these delays, but did not clearly elaborate on how this was the case. There had

also been a change in contractors and the recently elected municipal councillor pointed out that the new contractor was delaying the work.¹⁰

One of the residents whose house is being built by the contractor revealed that the contractor generally takes one and half years to finish the construction of a BSUP unit (Figure 5). According to NWCMC officials, the contractor is required to finish construction of one BSUP unit in a maximum of four months and is penalized if he does not do so. Many families whose houses are under construction in Ambedkar Nagar are living either in rented accommodation or in nearby open plots or land along the railway line. One woman resident reported living on rent of Rs. 700 per month since last two years as her house was not completed. Another resident reported that he had been living with his family in his uncompleted house since the last one and half years because the contractor had been creating delays. He had been unable to find a rental house at an affordable price.

Many residents have also started building their own houses under NWCMC's new approach. Some residents explained that they had not been able to finish the construction under this approach since the funds are released by NWCMC only after the completion of a particular stage and they are not always able to raise money for this completion. Sometimes there are also delays in the release of money by NWCMC.

Even though NWCMC's sensitivity towards people's demands has led it to adopt in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint, this approach has not improved the locality's environment so far. Ambedkar Nagar has a high density of dwelling units and parts of the locality are very congested. There is no possibility of creating open spaces for playgrounds and community gatherings under the approach taken by NWCMC. Basic services and infrastructure are still to be upgraded under BSUP. The area is well connected by a water supply line but residents complained about the irregularity in supply. Some of the internal lanes are constructed with cement concrete, however, there is a lot of unevenness in the pathways. The sewer line is old and needs to be upgraded and improved. It is not clear when this infrastructure will be upgraded.

5.1.3. Jai Bhim Nagar

Jai Bhim Nagar is in the western part of Nanded. The present site was allotted in 1977 by Shankar Rao Chavan, when he was Chief Minister of Maharashtra, to people residing on the Godavari riverbed. Most of them refused to live here at the time because the site was like a forest and they had been allotted 10'x10' plots. Over time, this land was occupied by others, mostly people belonging to the Dalit community. Once, people were evicted from this area, and 1,000 people marched in the city under the banner of Dalit Panther and got permission to live on this land for the next six months. Even after six months were over, people continued to live there. Later, the Municipal Corporation started collecting tax from the residents.

Under BSUP, 808 DU have been built to accommodate all the residents. Majority of the houses had been *kutcha*. All the hutments were demolished and *pucca* houses were constructed in-situ with a completely new layout of low-rise structures. Those who had larger plot sizes (along the main road) have been given ground-floor BSUP units and have been

¹⁰ Interview with Mohammed Khan Pathan, municipal councillor of the Ambedkar Nagar area, February 2013.

allowed to keep their surplus plot area. Some of them have recently applied to the Municipal Corporation for permission to extend their house on this surplus land. Those who have smaller plot sizes have been given G+1 BSUP units. The carpet area of both types of BSUP units is the same. Those with larger plot sizes and larger family sizes have also been provided with a second BSUP unit on the first floor. The family living in the ground floor unit and the family in the first floor unit have to each pay a separate beneficiary contribution.

Many residents reported that the sewer lines were not functioning properly, as a result of which they could not use the toilet in their house. They use the toilet as a store-room and go to nearby areas for open defecation. Residents informed that many times the sewer line choked and it overflowed inside the house. NWCMC officials explained that this problem occurs as the sewer line has still not been connected to the main sewer line since the sewerage network of the city is still under construction under JNNURM. Until the sewer work, including laying down of all trunk and distributory pipelines, is completed and the Sewage Treatment Plant starts to function, this problem will not be solved.

One of the residents revealed that although they were shown the layout plan before execution of the project, they could not understand the kind of dwelling units that would be built since the majority of residents are illiterate. At the time, they thought that it would be great that their *kutcha* house would be converted into a *pucca* one. However, now that this has been done, they feel that the toilet is too close to the kitchen, especially in the G+1 units built on the smaller plots. They feel that sewerage issues have created worse problems for them than earlier. Some residents are, however, quite happy with their houses. A beneficiary living in another part of Jai Bhim Nagar explained that “when this project started we didn’t know whether it would be comfortable for our family or not. Now we feel that these houses are good because earlier we used to live in huts but now we are in a *pucca* house.”

The back lanes, between two rows of houses, have been used for laying the sewer line, but manholes have been placed in such a way that it is very difficult to clean the lane (Figure 11). Windows open onto this lane and may become a cause of health hazards, especially since the sewer lines are not properly functional. Moreover, while the drains are behind the house, many use the space just in front of their house for washing since these were their earlier practices and also the house is too small to accommodate all activities. As a result, small open drains have emerged, winding down along the pathways in front of people’s houses (Figure 12). Water supply provision is still inadequate. Since water does not reach up to the first floor, most residents have placed large plastic water drums in front of their houses.

5.1.4. Lumbini Nagar

Lumbini Nagar lies on the outskirts of south-east Nanded along Degloor road. This area developed in 1981 when people were shifted to this land from the Itwari area (Nanded’s old historic core) due to road widening. The settlement has developed along two lanes. The first lane is mainly occupied by people from the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) while residents in the second lane belong to the Dalit community. As this settlement is on municipal land, a new layout comprising of a low-rise cluster was proposed. Residents agreed to this layout in the second lane, mainly because an existing women’s Self-Help Group (SHG) in the lane was

able to mobilize them for this. In the first lane, residents did not agree to a new layout and thus NWCMC took an approach of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint.

Initially, 64 DUs were approved for BSUP in Lumbini Nagar, but later 84 DUs were built by considering the large households as comprising of two families. In other words, at first, one BSUP unit was built for each house demolished. However, there were conflicts in some households over the BSUP unit since there was actually more than one family in the household. This led people to demand for a unit for each family. Ultimately, NWCMC considered each household with more than one family as eligible to apply for a maximum of two BSUP units, built as a G+1 structure. Even after this there were conflicts in some of the households. In one instance, there were quarrels amongst the three married sons of an elderly lady, who reportedly passed away from stress about this situation. Now, the third son is living outside the locality. Nonetheless, NWCMC did attempt to take some of the people's concerns and demands into consideration. Mr. Kalim Parvez, Executive Engineer for BSUP in the Municipal Corporation, held meetings with people to resolve design issues for the first floor unit. This is how separate staircases were built for each of the first-floor BSUP units.

Many residents use gas cylinders for cooking but many also use wood for cooking, either due to difficulty in getting a gas cylinder or due to low affordability. As a result, many earthen cooking stoves were observed in front of the constructed dwellings. Almost every household has also built a concrete ledge to wash clothes in front of their house. In fact, majority of families cook food and wash utensils and clothes in front of their house as there is not enough space to do this work inside the BSUP unit. Since there are some drains built in front of the houses, small open drains have not emerged as they have in Jai Bhim Nagar. Residents reported that their locality is devoid of amenities like *balwadi* and primary health centre. Children go to a *balwadi* that is at a distance of ½ km and a school for up to 5th standard that is at a distance of 1 km in a nearby settlement called Ganga Nagar.

The Feedback Foundation taught the SHG women vermiculture during the Swachata Abhiyan, the Community Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) programme implemented during the tenure of the former Municipal Commissioner Nipun Vinayak. Following this, the SHG set up vermiculture in the settlement. The SHG gives each family two bags, one for dry waste and the other for wet waste. The Municipal Corporation has allowed the SHG to use a nearby municipal plot to make a pit for vermiculture. Residents dispose their wet waste in this pit. On every eighth day, the SHG removes plastic, iron and non-degradable things from the wet waste in the pit. They mix cow dung and some fertilizer into the wet waste, and then repeat this process again and again until the pit is full of waste. Then they seal the pit using cow dung and leave it for at least three months, after which they excavate bio-fertilizer and sell it to the local fertilizer seller at Rs. 20 per kg. This whole process takes 6 months. On an average they make 400 kg of fertilizer each time. The SHG uses the money earned through this for their members. At the time of our visit, they were in the process of making fertilizer for the third time.

Another initiative taken by the SHG has been to convert the nearby municipal plot into a park. Earlier, this plot was used for open defecation. Vijyabai, one of the SHG members, explained, "We took this initiative for elimination of open defecation on this land. Earlier this

open plot was used by children for open defecation but as we cleaned this plot and started planting herbs and making a lawn, that practice stopped.” SHG members also keep track of sanitation work in their area by maintaining a register in which they note the time and date of cleaning of drains, cleaning of streets, waste collection, etc, in their locality. Vijyabai explained that earlier officials at the Municipal Corporation did not take their problems seriously since they did not know them. Now, after starting these activities, they have got recognition and whenever they go to meet municipal officials for any work in their area, their problems are taken seriously.

5.2. Gunthewari / Unauthorised Layouts

5.2.1. Kranti Nagar

Kranti Nagar is located in the south-western part of the city. It is a 25 year old settlement and is a *gunthewari* or unauthorized layout comprising of approximately 150 plots. The average plot-holding varies from 600 (15x40) to 1,200 (30x40) sq.ft. The plot-owners possess some kind of legally recognized document as proof of their purchase and ownership of the plot. As a result, although AAPIL had proposed a completely new layout comprising of a cluster of medium-rise flats, it was not feasible to reconstitute the individually-owned plots into a completely new layout. Moreover, the layout had many *pucca* houses with well-to-do owners. These houses did not require any kind of redevelopment. Thus, NWCMC changed its BSUP approach to in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint. About 35 residents living in *kutcha* houses were selected as beneficiaries. This did not include any of the tenants who live in some of the plots in small *kutcha* or semi-*pucca* structures.

Before execution of the project, interested households were asked to apply to NWCMC with necessary documents. After getting the applications, municipal officials came to verify the site and asked beneficiaries which model they wanted for their dwelling unit. Since the plot sizes in the unauthorized layouts are quite large, many of the BSUP beneficiaries continued to live in *kutcha* or semi-*pucca* structures on their plots during BSUP construction. As a result, transit housing was of a lesser concern here and thus delays also were less of an issue.

The construction of the dwelling units under BSUP was completed in Kranti Nagar about two years ago. One of the beneficiaries explained: “Now we are feeling safe from gale and thunderstorm as now we have a *pucca* house with RCC roof.” However, she was not satisfied with the quality of construction. Furthermore, infrastructure has not been adequately improved yet. Many of the residents do not use the toilet inside their BSUP unit since it has not been connected to a sewer line yet. They have therefore built separate toilets in their plots, connected to a septic tank.

5.2.2. Gulshan Colony

Gulshan Colony is located in the eastern part of Nanded between the railway line and Degloor road. The settlement is about 25 years old and is a *gunthewari* or unauthorized layout. According to a resident, who was one of the first plot owners in the layout, there are about 120 plots, mostly 1,200 (30x40) sq.ft. in size. Some plots were still vacant at the time of our field visit. The same resident informed us that he had bought a 1200 (30x40) sq.ft. plot for Rs.16,000 about 19 years ago. Such plots now cost Rs. 7.5 lakhs. This shows that 20

years ago, the land price was about Rs. 43 per sq.m. in this area but now it is about Rs. 2,000 per sq.m. Only 20-30 of the plot owners are the original purchasers. Rest have sold to others, and this process continues. Many of the plots are now owned by middle-class families. Nonetheless, since there were many *kutcha* structures and inadequate services and infrastructure, NWCMC included this settlement under BSUP.

AAPIL proposed a completely new layout comprising of a cluster of medium-rise flats. This was not feasible as all the plots are owned individually and cannot be reconstituted into a completely new layout. Moreover, many houses were *pucca*, many of whose owners are well-to-do, and did not require any kind of redevelopment. Thus, when it came to implementing BSUP here, NWCMC changed its approach to in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint. Residents with *kutcha* structures were eligible to apply for a dwelling unit under BSUP. Nearly 50 beneficiaries were sanctioned houses under BSUP.

Many families have enclosed their BSUP units with compound walls. Firstly, this is in order to keep their vehicles and valuables safe. Secondly, without compound walls their houses directly open on the road, which is not preferred. Vinayak (2011) observes that such enclosures have been made in the Muslim localities where BSUP was implemented. Some beneficiaries, who can afford to, and have the necessity, have started upper floor construction on their BSUP units.

In 2007, elections had been held in this area for the first time and the councillor, Masood Ahmed Khan, had provided roads within 6 months of being elected. Besides this, the layout had been provided with hardly any other infrastructure. There were no individual water connections. Municipal water tankers came to cater to the local needs. Now, under BSUP, a water supply line has been laid which will serve not only BSUP households but other residents also. Drainage is also being provided under BSUP, although there is no connection to the main drainage line yet as the line needs to go through someone's private property for this. As this has not been resolved, it creates overflowing and collection of stagnant water in vacant plots. Toilets have been built under BSUP but these are connected to septic tanks since the sewerage line is not in operation yet.

A local leader informed us that only 15-20 plot holders have got their plots regularized under the Gunthewari Act of 2001. Majority of those who have regularized their plots have big plot sizes and comparatively better houses. He further stated that if anyone wants to get building permission from Town Planning Department, he/she has to regularize their land under Gunthewari Act and get registered as landowner on the 7/12 document. As a result, those who apply for regularization do so in order to get building permissions. BSUP beneficiaries are not yet applying for regularization even though NWCMC has passed a resolution to reduce the regularization charges for them.

5.3. Relocation Sites

5.3.1. Site No. 34

Site No. 34, located near Shrawasti Nagar in the eastern part of north Nanded, is one of the relocation sites where people have been relocated from different government lands (railway land, airport land, State Government land, municipal land) required for various development

purposes such as bridge construction, road widening, airport extension, etc. Relocations have taken place from areas like Hamalpura (220 households from Railway land), Srinagar B K Hall (24 households due to road widening), Kavta (24 households due to road widening), Kharagpur (15 households due to road widening) and Gadipura (15 households from Godavari river bed). Under the first phase, 480 flats have been provided to relocated families.

Residents are in occupations like vegetable vending, construction work, welding work, and various kinds of daily wage work. Some of them have to now pay higher transport costs to commute to their work places as the area is not served by any kind of public transport. Beneficiaries whose livelihood depends on casual labour reported that now they have to spend Rs. 20 on transportation to reach their worksite and they cannot access work as easily as they could prior to relocation. Some residents reported that the electricity bills were very high at this relocation site. Somereported that almost ten dwelling units have been rented out while two have already been illegally sold by beneficiaries.

Almost 150 households are expected to shift here in the next phase from the Godavari riverbed from areas like Navghat, Govind Ghat, Mominpura and Karbala. Navgahat is at a distance of almost 6 kms from the relocation site. One man living at Navghat revealed that the majority of residents there worked as casual labour or drove auto-rickshaws in Navghat. Relocation may negatively affect their work. He further informed that 15 years ago he had bought a piece of land along the river for Rs. 15,000. Now this land costs about Rs. 1,50,000. He actually lives in a *gunthewari* or unauthorized layout, a part of which has been marked as a flood-prone area by NWCMC. He said, “It is sad that we are going to shift here but at the same time we are getting a *pucca* house where there is no danger of flood during the monsoon.”

Provision of light and ventilation has been considered while designing buildings at the relocation site. Space for people’s gathering has also been designed in the corners of every housing block, but it is in poor condition and is not maintained by either the community or the Municipal Corporation. An *aaganwadi* and a health centre have been built, but the health centre is not functional. There was a notice board at the site for monitoring sanitation work but it was found blank and no one was maintaining this. The water distribution system is currently being operated by one of the residents. There is some fault in the network of the water pipelines, as a result of which conflicts erupt between residents at the relocation site and residents of an adjacent area. A resident informed that as per municipal notification they had sent the names of two people from each housing block in order to form a committee that would take care of maintenance of assets and monitoring of sanitation work. However, no further action had been taken by the Municipal Corporation towards the formation of the committee.

22 families living along one edge of the relocation site claimed that they had not been allotted a BSUP house because they had been left out from NWCMC’s survey. Since last two years they have been living in very poor conditions, with temporary toilets and bathrooms. There is threat of snakes and reptiles. One of the excluded residents showed his voter card with the address of the railway land from where others had been relocated. One woman stated, “We applied for houses with necessary documents and we visit the Municipal

Corporation regularly for allotment but municipal officials do not give attention towards our problem. We don't have access to water, light, drainage and toilet here. The whole area is full of dirt and reptiles." Although three completed blocks having 15 flats each and one completed block having 24 flats are unoccupied, these excluded households have not been provided a BSUP unit. One of the municipal officials argued that three surveys had been carried out before relocation and these families were not living on the railway land at that time. He pointed out that they might have voter cards with the address but this does not mean they were residents of that locality. They might have lived there once upon a time and then moved away, but kept their voter cards with the old address. The municipal official further stated that the families would be given houses under BSUP as soon as possible.

6. Analysis of Nanded's BSUP Experience

We analyze the BSUP approach and experience in Nanded by discussing three themes: progress of the BSUP programme, public engagement, and physical design and planning.

6.1. Progress of the BSUP programme

Under JNNURM, Category C cities, which include Nanded, were eligible for 80 per cent grant from the Central Government for BSUP projects. However, this large financial aid is not sufficient to ensure that a municipal corporation will propose many BSUP projects or will implement these projects even if proposed and approved. The municipal corporation also needs to have both technical and institutional capacity as well as a commitment towards the urban poor and towards implementation of the programme.

Table 5. Comparison of BSUP progress across Category C cities (as of March 2011)

(Source: Grant Thornton 2011: 64)

City	Population	Percentage of total urban population	Total projects	Approved cost (in crores)	Total Released (in crores)	Total Expenditure (in crores)	Per capita expenditure
Ujjain	4,29,933	0.13	3	17.4	9.29	11.47	266.79
Nanded	7,96,270	0.25	10	1001.6	157.82	120.23	1509.92
Ajmer-Pushkar	9,83,338	0.31	1	107.17	26.93	17.17	174.61
Mysore	10,75,977	0.34	4	236.4	80.08	96.08	892.96
Ranchi	11,33,294	0.35	6	263.58	126.88	0.3	2.65
Raipur	11,66,475	0.36	3	462.49	381.28	73.22	627.70

Nanded's City Development Plan states that being a young municipal corporation (upgraded from municipal council in 1997), NWCMC has limited technical and institutional capacity to plan and implement projects and properly utilize financial resources. The limitations are in terms of inadequacy of number of staff and appropriately qualified staff as well as lack of capabilities for conceptualizing, planning and implementing city development works. Despite these constraints, NWCMC proposed and got approval for 11 DPRs, covering 27,985 dwelling units across 132 slums. By January 2013, out of these 27,985 dwelling units, NWCMC had completed the construction of 10,175 dwelling units while 4,615 dwelling

units were in progress.¹¹ There has thus been relatively good progress and high utilization of funds for BSUP. Table 5 shows that compared to a number of other Category C cities such as Ujjain, Ajmer-Pushkar, Mysore, Ranchi and Raipur, Nanded had both the highest number of approved projects as well as the highest total expenditure, which was only slightly less than the total funds received.

NWCMC had, in fact, expanded the definition of the slum for the purpose of BSUP because it found that there were a high number of poor-quality houses in the city's *gunthewari* / unauthorized layouts whose residents were moreover facing extremely inadequate basic services and amenities. Thus, from 58 slums, the number of identified slums increased to 252. Whereas most of the DPRs had proposed an in-situ redevelopment approach in which the entire settlement would be demolished and reconstructed as an entirely new layout, thus covering all households, this approach changed due to people's oppositions. Under the new approach, NWCMC mainly identified households having *kutchha* houses as beneficiaries. Those with *pucca* houses would benefit from the infrastructure provision at the settlement level, but would not be eligible for a dwelling unit. As a result, the number of households covered in many slums, especially the *gunthewari* / unauthorized layouts decreased. This meant that NWCMC would now build fewer numbers of dwelling units than sanctioned as per the approved DPRs. However, in response to people's demands, NWCMC began to provide two BSUP units to households with more than one family. As a result, although there had been an initial decrease in number of beneficiaries because of NWCMC's change in approach, the number of beneficiaries rose again. Thus, NWCMC has been able to cover a large number of urban poor families and utilize a high proportion of its BSUP funds despite changes during the implementation process. It is not clear though whether the sanctioned number of 27,985 DUs can be built under the changed approach.

This does not mean that the progress of the BSUP scheme in Nanded has gone smoothly. There have been many delays in its implementation. These delays have occurred due to NWCMC, the contractors as well as the residents, and they have created problems for both the contractors and the residents. The initial delays occurred because the approach proposed in many of the DPRs was unfeasible and NWCMC was not able to begin BSUP implementation until it formulated a new approach that was acceptable to people. Once BSUP implementation began, delays occurred due to other reasons. NWCMC required that the contractor finish each dwelling unit in four months. If the contractor's work on a dwelling unit went over four months, then he would be penalized at Rs.50 per day until the dwelling unit was completed. Although municipal officials stated that such penalties were imposed, this would have to be confirmed since few residents at our case-study settlements reported that their house had been completed within four months. Most of them revealed that the process of building their BSUP house had taken between 6 months to one year. In Ambedkar Nagar, residents reported that the work had been delayed by 2-3 years due to political reasons. Labour shortfall during certain times of the year was also cited as a reason for delays by the contractor. Delays have also occurred because many residents did not vacate their house quickly after the contractor was awarded the tender. The NWCMC's approach of in-situ redevelopment on the existing footprint also means that converting each beneficiary's *kutchha* house to a *pucca* house becomes a project in itself, and its progress is susceptible to

¹¹ DPR wise and Zone wise DU Progress Report, NWCMC. January 2013

that beneficiary's expectations and interventions. This has also created delays many a time. Contractors have found it difficult to deal with long delays since the tender cost remains the same while the cost of building material and labour increases over time. For residents, delays in the BSUP process after the construction of their house was started, led to longer periods of living in alternate housing, either on rent or squatting somewhere nearby.

**Figure 5. Ambedkar Nagar:
BSUP unit under construction since one and half years**



In the past one year, NWCMC has also begun to give beneficiaries the option of building their BSUP unit through self-construction rather than through a contractor appointed by NWCMC. NWCMC releases funds to the beneficiary in four instalments, corresponding to four stages of the unit's construction. This has been an interesting innovation, however, NWCMC has not been providing the instalments easily and timely so many beneficiaries are unable to build their unit quickly. Many beneficiaries reported that it was cumbersome to get the instalments. NWCMC's progress report from December 2012 reveals that out of the 10,551 dwelling units sanctioned for self-construction, only 93 dwelling units had been completed through self-construction and 498 dwelling units were in progress. One reason for slow progress of self-construction was that marginalized families who depend on daily earnings were unable to raise the funds to even start their house. In the words of a mobile vendor, "The Municipal Corporation releases the first instalment after completion of foundation work. But poor people like me who depend on daily earnings find it impossible to invest Rs. 50,000 for the foundation. We must borrow money from moneylender on interest and in case the Municipal Corporation delays release of instalment, it becomes even more difficult for us to repay."

Thus, while there has been quite good progress on BSUP with 10,175 dwelling units completed and 4,615 under construction by January 2013, this is only half the sanctioned 27,985 units. This is partly because of the change in approach which led to a decrease in beneficiaries as households with *pucca* houses were not included under the new approach. It is also due to delays whose reasons we have discussed above, and which would need to be addressed in other in-situ redevelopment and upgradation programmes.

6.2. Public Engagement

Over the course of the BSUP scheme, NWCMC has attempted to engage with people in various ways. The process through which BSUP began in Nanded reveals an attempt by NWCMC to create awareness about the programme and understand demand for it. Media Matters, a theatre group that works on various social issues was engaged to create awareness about BSUP and discuss various aspects of it with the people. When people opposed the new layouts proposed in the DPRs, municipal officials and elected representatives tried to convince people of these layouts. But when people did not agree, NWCMC developed a new approach that tried to take into account people's concerns and demands. Realizing that the medium-rise cluster approach proposed in most of the DPRs was not feasible and practical, NWCMC evolved a new approach of in-situ redevelopment on the existing footprint. One of the residents of Naya Abadi told us: "We got a *pucca* house instead of *kutchra* house in our earlier plot because we did not agree to shift to flats. We expressed our opposition to the Municipal Corporation in writing and finally they were convinced to build individual houses." This approach was taken not only in the *gunthawari* / unauthorized layouts where new layouts were literally unfeasible since people owned their plots of land, but also on municipal and State Government lands where NWCMC decided to take into account people's concerns and demands.

Before the execution of the project under this new approach, municipal officers and elected representatives were involved in explaining the project and showing people the 13 models of dwelling units that they could choose from depending on the size and shape of their plot. After house construction had started, people expressed other concerns and desires, and NWCMC often tried to engage with these. Initially, NWCMC had decided to give one BSUP unit to one household. But later, municipal officials realized that one household might actually comprise of more than one family. For example, there were households in which 2-3 brothers, each with his own family, lived together in one structure. As conflicts arose amongst families within a household over the BSUP unit, some people asked NWCMC to consider each family as a separate beneficiary. NWCMC then began to consider a maximum of two beneficiaries from households with multiple families. Since BSUP construction had already started, the second BSUP unit was built as a first-floor addition to the ground-floor BSUP unit. In some settlements like Lumbini Nagar, municipal officials discussed designs with the people. This is how one staircase was built between two adjacent first-floor units.

Further modifications were made when municipal officials encountered many beneficiaries complaining to them about the quality of construction by the contractor. In response, NWCMC began to give people the option to construct their houses themselves rather than through the contractor appointed by NWCMC. It would release the non-beneficiary share to the family as per four stages of construction. 10,551 DUs have been approved for this self

construction. Many beneficiaries are now building their houses as per their aspirations since they are not required to follow any of NWCMC's 13 design models.

Figure 6. Nayi Abadi and Kranti Nagar: Dwelling units (of different designs) built through in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint



Figure 7: Nayi Abadi: Self-construction of BSUP house



Although a systematic process of participation has not been followed by NWCMC, it has engaged with people in some manner, modifying its BSUP approach to address people's concerns, demands and desires. This included ignoring the proposed layout in the DPR and moving to a new approach of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint; giving two BSUP units to large households with more than one family; allowing residents to build their own BSUP unit since many were not satisfied with the quality of construction by the contractor. In Nanded, municipal officials claim that the beneficiaries are occupying their BSUP unit unlike in other cities where beneficiaries often rent out this unit and go back to live in a slum. This would indicate that the majority of people are satisfied with many, if not all, aspects of BSUP scheme.

There have also been limitations to this public engagement. One of the municipal officials revealed that despite awareness building, people do not always use the toilets that are built as part of the house and continue to defecate in the surrounding fields. He argued that despite

giving people a better house, their civic sense was not improving. NWCMC had tried several times to create awareness about sanitation, even organizing awareness camps in Jhari village where residents are involved in successfully maintaining their village. But they had not succeeded in many cases. Thus, people's sanitation practices could not be transformed through provision of a house with a toilet or even with NWCMC's awareness activities and workshops. It is worth noting here that in a number of our case-study settlements, people reported that drainage and sewerage infrastructures were not functional. One of the reasons for continuing open defecation in some settlements might therefore be that while toilets were built in the BSUP houses and awareness activities were carried out, the infrastructure was simply not adequate to accommodate better and safer sanitation practices.

In many settlements, NWCMC had also organized vermiculture workshops with community groups. However, except for a couple of settlements with pre-existing strong community groups which made vermiculture a regular part of their activities and transformed solid waste management in their neighbourhoods through this, nothing long-term could be achieved in most of the settlements. Without sustained public engagement processes over a long period of time, it was difficult to transform communities and neighbourhoods.

Figure 8. Site No. 34: Poor maintenance of public spaces



The above discussion focuses on public engagement with people at the settlements chosen for in-situ redevelopment. There is no evidence of any kind of public engagement with people living in settlements that were chosen for relocation. Our study of Site No. 34 reveals that no attempt has also been made to organize and mobilize the community after relocation. As a result, there is neither a strong community organization that can mediate with NWCMC on issues arising at the relocation site, nor is the larger community mobilized around taking responsibility for the conditions in its neighbourhood. This partly explains the poor maintenance of public spaces and poor waste management at the relocation site (Figure 8).

6.3. Physical Design and Planning

A new layout comprising of medium-rise clusters was proposed in most of the DPRs, for settlements on municipal and State Government land as well as *gunthewari* / unauthorized layouts. People opposed these new layouts, and through engaging with the people, NWCMC evolved a new approach of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint, converting *kutchra*

houses to *pucca* houses. Since the plot sizes and shapes that people occupied/owned differed, NWCMC developed 13 different designs (M-1 to M-13) (Figure 2). When a person applied for a BSUP house, they could choose from these 13 designs depending on their plot size and shape as well as their preference. This was an innovative, demand-driven housing design, rather than a design imposed on people. Furthermore, when households with multiple families began to demand that they should get more than one BSUP unit, NWCMC began to allow such households to apply for two BSUP units. Since BSUP construction in these settlements had already begun when this demand came forth, the second BSUP unit could not be built on the ground. Some innovations were made in the housing design to accommodate the second BSUP unit on the first floor and provide a staircase from outside so that the two units would be independent of each other (Figure 9).

**Figure 9: Lumbini Nagar and Ambedkar Nagar:
Large households provided with a second BSUP unit on the first floor**



These design initiatives taken by the Municipal Corporation in response to people's concerns, demands and desires are appreciable. However, if one assesses many of the settlements through the lens of planning norms, it is doubtful that one would recommend a replication of the physical design since it does not always follow norms of street width, and has not provided any open spaces or spaces for other public amenities. The built-up density is very high in many of the settlements and since many of the BSUP units are two-storied (either because the plot was so small that a single BSUP unit had to be built as a two-story structure as per design model M-13, or because a second BSUP unit has been built on the first floor), some of the settlements have become even more dense than earlier. While the approach taken in the DPRs conformed to all planning norms but was impractical and completely rejected by people, the approach taken on the ground seems to be the path of least resistance which has therefore not allowed for the provision of any public amenities, including open space. This approach has also led to poor positioning of the sewers that creates wasted and difficult-to-maintain spaces (Figure 10). Since the houses are quite small, many residents also continue to use the pathways in front of their houses as washing spaces, but the drainage infrastructure has not been planned to accommodate such usage, thus creating open drains in the middle of the pathways (Figure 11). One wonders whether it

might have been possible to evolve an approach somewhere in the middle of these two extremes, which took into consideration some essential planning norms as well as people's patterns of using their house and immediate open spaces.

Figure 10. Jai Bhim Nagar: Poor positioning of manholes



Figure 11 (left). Jai Bhim Nagar: Open drains on the pathways

Figure 12 (right). Jai Bhim Nagar: Poor provision for electric wires



The BSUP work has been almost completed in many settlements but they are still have inadequate physical and social infrastructures like road, sewerage, drainage, water, health centre, *aanganwadi* and *balwadi*, and community space. Such infrastructures and amenities were meant to be integral part of BSUP. As far as physical infrastructures are concerned, municipal officials argued that the work is in progress and once they finish work of building dwelling units they will focus on provision of physical infrastructures. However, this non-synchronization of construction of dwelling units and physical infrastructures has led to various problems for residents. In certain cases, residents cannot use the toilets inside their

BSUP house and have even built their own makeshift toilet or toilet with septic tank to cope with the lack of sewerage. BSUP is coming to an end in March 2014. It is not clear whether NWCMC will be able to provide the required physical infrastructure in this short time.

Figure 13. Squatter settlement on private land not covered under BSUP



Some squatter settlements on private lands, such as the settlement opposite Jai Bhim Nagar (Figure 13), have been excluded from BSUP. The reason in this particular case is not known, but where there are insurmountable landownership issues (Airport lands) or environmentally hazardous sites (such as the riverbed), it might have been possible to include the residents in adjacent settlements where BSUP was being done so that they could have continued to live near their previous localities.

7. Conclusion

In this concluding note, we discuss a number of key learnings from Nanded's BSUP approach and experience that can inform urban poor housing interventions and in-situ slum redevelopment. Such learnings are particularly important in India in the current moment as the emphasis in RAY is on in-situ development of slums.

The expansion of the definition of the slum by NWCMC opened up the possibility for BSUP benefitting greater numbers of the urban poor, as well as more settlements with poor quality housing and inadequate infrastructure. However, there does not seem to have been any clear criteria for selecting which settlements would be covered under BSUP. Furthermore, DPRs were prepared without any prior study of the types of settlements in Nanded, their varying conditions, and people's concerns and priorities. This explains why the DPRs proposed a completely new layout of a cluster of medium-rise flats for most of the slums, including the *gunthewari* layouts. There was also no study of these layouts and thus no understanding of the economic backgrounds of the residents and whether they all should be covered under BSUP. It is, however, to NWCMC's credit that, when people's oppositions began and continued, it realized that the DPRs were unfeasible and it formulated a new approach rather than giving up on BSUP altogether. This approach, which was in-situ redevelopment on the same

footprint, deviated from most of the DPRs. It also took shape as implementation unfolded on the ground. The number of DUs that could be built under the new approach had decreased from the number of sanctioned DUs. This was partly addressed by giving larger households up to two BSUP units in response to their concerns around intra-household conflicts over a single BSUP unit. It also introduced the option of self-construction when people began to express dissatisfaction over the quality of construction by the contractor. Thus, although a systematic process of consultation and participation was not followed, the Nanded BSUP experience shows that the municipal corporation was still open to people's voices and engaged with their concerns, demands and desires.

It would, however, have been preferable if surveys, studies and a process of public engagement had guided the preparation of the DPRs. Such essential activities, which can take time, have often not been possible in centrally or State funded programmes when there are long processes for sanction of projects and release of funds. This has often been the case even when these programmes have guidelines that ask urban local bodies to carry out community participation. They have also not been pursued very often because of a lack of knowledge amongst urban local bodies and consultants regarding planning for the urban poor as well as a lack of capacity to engage with people and carry out participatory design and planning. Carrying out surveys, studies and a process of public engagement prior to DPR preparation would have ensured better planning for the process of in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint. Instead, since this approach was formulated after the DPRs were sanctioned, the actual process that unfolded on the ground was not aided by much planning and was often quite haphazard. NWCMC did not have the institutional framework and mechanisms in place to implement, monitor and resolve the complexities and challenges that the new approach presented. As one municipal official explained, in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint meant that each BSUP house became a project in itself. Engaging with each beneficiary and resolving his/her problems and concerns throughout the construction process of his/her dwelling unit, monitoring the contractor's work on each dwelling unit, etc., was challenging for NWCMC officials.

Furthermore, although, in response to people's oppositions and concerns, NWCMC changed its approach to in-situ redevelopment on the same footprint, this has not led to the kind of improvements in basic services and amenities that should be an integral part of housing for the urban poor. This too can be attributed, at least partly, to the lack of prior planning for the new approach. The new approach simply prioritized construction of BSUP dwelling units, but did not pay concurrent and adequate attention to the upgrading and functionality of physical and social infrastructures in the settlement. While a number of interesting innovations were made for the design of the BSUP dwelling unit (for e.g. giving people an option between 13 designs, adding a second BSUP unit on the first floor for larger households, etc), there was little attention paid to creating appropriate and adequate infrastructure. For example, while sewerage, drainage and water-supply lines were laid in the BSUP settlements, these were not functioning properly in many settlements, preventing the use of toilets in many BSUP units, causing drainage issues in the settlements, etc. Municipal officials attributed this to the fact that city-wide infrastructures were still being provided and upgraded under JNNURM projects. This reveals that the upgrading of physical infrastructures in the BSUP settlements were not planned in relation to the provision and

upgrading of the city's physical infrastructures. Although municipal officials claimed that the physical infrastructures in the BSUP settlements would ultimately improve, it was not really clear when this would happen or to what extent it would really improve. It is ironical that this has happened in a programme called Basic Services to the Urban Poor. This experience points to the need to firstly, place equal emphasis on house design and the design and planning of physical and social infrastructures, and secondly, plan these infrastructures in relation to wider city-level improvements. If this is not done, settlement-level improvements will end up being lip-service but will not lead to substantial improvements in quality of life for the residents of these settlements.

BSUP guidelines state that the goal of the programme is to “provide basic services (including water supply and sanitation) to all poor including security of tenure, and improved housing at affordable prices and ensure delivery of social services of education, health and social security to poor people.” BSUP thus had a broad, all-encompassing vision. However, what we find is that even in Nanded, where municipal officials have otherwise tried to be quite responsive to people, the design and implementation of BSUP has fallen short of this vision. Not only have physical and social infrastructures not been provided adequately in the BSUP settlements, but attempts have also not been made to link housing with social protection. This could have been done by addressing other important components of BSUP like convergence of health, education and social security schemes for the urban poor. Although vast numbers of families have not been relocated in Nanded, many amongst the relocated families mention difficulties in accessing their places of work. Whether in relocation programmes or in in-situ redevelopment programmes, issues of livelihood need to be addressed since housing and livelihood are inter-dependent, and without livelihood, the urban poor often find it difficult to sustain housing improvements.

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