SLUM IMPROVEMENT SCHEMES
AND KANPUR SLUMS-AN
APPRAISAL

ABSTRACT

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IN
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BY
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ABSTRACT

This research study was undertaken to appraise the performance of the various slum improvement programmes launched by both the governmental and non-governmental agencies. The area of study viz; Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh is among those metropolises of India that have attracted a significant amount of industrial investment in the past. Consequently the city acted as a magnet due to the ample opportunities of livelihood that it provided as a result of its level of industrialization and urbanization.

Numerous immigrants particularly from the nearby adjoining districts started flocking to the city which, in turn, resulted in the creation of slums and squatter settlements on a wide scale. A number of schemes and programmes were introduced by the central Government as well as the state government and local bodies to tackle this seemingly unwieldy scourge. It was in the light of these schemes that the extent of development of the Kanpur slums was studied.

The thesis has been divided into six chapters. Chapter I is introductory in nature which deals with the phenomenon of slums in a conceptual context. This chapter acquaints the reader with the definition, meaning, prominent characteristics and nature of slums. It also delves into the fundamental relationship that exists between urbanization and slums. Though the phenomenon of slum exists both
in the developed and developing countries, the magnitude, nature and the extent of deprivation and wretchedness differs in the two cases.

The living conditions of slum dwellers in developing countries are much worse than those in developed countries. However, both the cases expose the fundamental distortion in the way the processes of industrialization and urbanization are taking place.

Chapter II specifically deals with the Kanpur slums and studies the way they have developed in this metropolis. The contents reveal the geographical distribution of slums in Kanpur, the most pressing problems that the slum dwellers face and the demographic composition of the slum inhabitants. The slum settlements dot the whole landscape of the metropolis with differences only in the degree of concentration. It's not only the basic physical infra-structural deficiencies that have been responsible for the degraded living conditions of the slum dwellers but absence of adequate opportunities of livelihood also which perpetuates the poverty of the people and makes it difficult for them to come out of this quagmire. The demographic composition reveals the preponderance of traditionally disadvantaged segments of population among the slum dwellers like Scheduled castes, backwards and ex-untouchables.

Chapter III provides an exhaustive description of various slum improvement schemes that have been launched. It clearly
demonstrates the excessive focus that the policy makers and program planners have given to the physical improvement of slum localities while at the same time disregarding their pressing needs of employment and economic enhancement. The chapter discusses the slum development programmes in the historical perspective and concludes that initially the policy makers tendency was the eradication of slum localities through their clearance and demolition. However, later on, this approach was abandoned and a more humane approach was adopted which gave birth to schemes like Urban Community Development, Urban Basic Services and National Slum Development Program. The chapter discusses some landmark departures that took place in terms of entry of Non-Governmental organizations in the field of urban slums development in a vigorous form and the promulgation of the 74th constitutional amendment which aims at decentralization an democratization of urban governance.

Chapter IV explains the methodology adopted for carrying out the field survey and analyses and interprets the data obtained. The perusal of the data reveals the below expected results that have come out through the implementation of the programmes. Though improvements have occurred but still the problems abound. The economic deprivation of the slum dwellers has not been tackled in a significant manner. The magnitude of the problems like lack of physical facilities, livelihood opportunities, educational and socio-
cultural deprivation demands doubling of the efforts and a committed involvement of all stakeholders.

Chapter V studies the problem in the context of social work. What this professional discipline can contribute to help the slum dwellers ameliorate their conditions of living is the basic theme of this chapter.

It has been demonstrated that a social work professional can play a constructive role in stimulating the participation of the beneficiaries in the slum improvement programmes. Lack of participation of the target population in the developmental programmes has come out as one of the impediments in realising the objectives of these programmes.

Lastly, chapter VI contains the conclusions and suggestions. Some of the most striking conclusions include the absence of existence of population and the development agency, lack of adequate physical and infra-structural facilities in the slum localities etc. Agency personnel don’t seem to be interested in ensuring the active involvement of the beneficiaries in the programmes. Even the revolutionary change that is normally supposed to have taken place during the nineties as a result of the 74th amendment regarding urban governance could not inject any significant transformation in the thinking of the officials of the urban local bodies. Suggestions to
improve the effectiveness of the programmes include organization of periodical mobilisation meetings in the slum localities, increasing significantly the target segment’s awareness level about the programmes, constitution of active community based organisations like Project Committees and Self-Help-Groups, initiation of more employment-generating programmes, enhancing the earning potentialities of the slum dwellers etc.

In the conclusion, it can be said that the present study has tried to delve into the causes of success or failure of the programmes introduced for improving the conditions of slum dwellers. The facts that have come to light unfortunately, present a depressing scenario that prevails in the slum localities. However, it is hoped that the modified thinking that has dawned upon the policy planners and program makers in consequent to the landmark changes that are now unfolding in the whole system of urban governance as a result of the 74th amendment Act will go a long way in making the programs more successful and effective.
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Certificate

This is to certify that Mr. Sajid Ishtiaque bearing University Enrolment Number V-3515 has completed the present thesis entitled “Slum Improvement Schemes and Kanpur Slums-An Appraisal” under my supervision. I understand that it is the original work of the researcher and suitable for submission for the award of Doctorate degree in Social work.

Dr. M. Jamal Siddique
Supervisor
PREFACE

Process of industrialization in its early phase attracts immigrants on a large scale due to the employment opportunities and other community facilities and advantages offered by the area where the industries come up. However, the poverty and low paying capacity of the migrants force them to find refuge either in low rental areas or to squat on the unused land located near their work centres.

These slum and squatter settlements can be found in almost all cities of the country. The government from time to time initiates a number of schemes and programmes to improve the conditions of the people residing in these slums. The present study tries to measure the effectiveness of such schemes in the context of Kanpur. The thesis has been divided into six chapters. Chapter I is introductory in nature. It discusses the concept of slums in its various dimensions. Chapter II describes the various
aspects of Kanpur slums. It includes the demographic composition, settlement pattern and basic problems of Kanpur slums. Chapter III describes the slum development schemes in its historical perspective apart from the detailed description that it contains about the various slum improvement schemes. Chapter IV analyses and interprets the data gathered from the respondents. Chapter V deals with the phenomenon of slum in the perspective of a social worker in helping ameliorate the conditions of slum dwellers. Chapter VI contains the conclusions and suggestions.
Acknowledgement

I bow in reverence to Almighty whose gracious blessings gave me the required devotion for the completion of this work.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 SLUM-CONCEPT AND HISTORY

Slums urban or rural are areas planned primarily for residential use where dilapidated, overcrowded, unsanitary or unsafe structures jeopardize public welfare. The term is frequently misapplied to blighted districts of drab appearance where population losses have left vacant houses and proper maintenance has been neglected but while such areas may be slums in the making, they do not present either the difficult problem of reclamation or the anti-social consequences of slum. The term slum indeed is always relative. It connotes the worst structural and sanitary conditions and the most degraded occupancy usually by the lowest income groups, of any given period. The following legal definition based on Marvin Vs Housing Authority of Jackson Ville, which appeared in Corpus Juris Secundum (a complete restatement of the entire American Law) and the same is produced here.¹

“The word slum has a well defined meaning and is applicable to sections of almost every city or town of proportions. It is usually understood to mean a squalid, dirty street or quarter of a city, town or village ordinarily inhabited by the very poor, destitute or criminal classes, with
overcrowding usually a prevailing characteristic. The word is comparatively recent and is of doubtful origin and it has been doubtfully connected with a dialectical use of the word ‘slump’ in the sense of marshy place”.

Slum is a relative term and defers from country to country. Since this is a grave social problem prevalent all over the world different writers have put forth various views on the subject. In the book “Slums and Urbanisation” by A.R. Desai and others, the following theories of slums based on the ideas expressed by various writers have been given.¹

1) The slum develops within the zone surrounding the central business district.

2) The slum develops into an area of high land value but cheap rents, a curious contradiction that results from the lands being held in pawn, so to speak on the assumption that the central business district will expand, bringing into the areas new business firms, manufacturing establishments and high priced rental units like hotels and apartments.

3) A modification of this theory based on city growth is that of the city pattern as a pic, divided into wedge-shaped sections. According to this theory, industrial areas follow
river valleys, water courses and rail road lines out from the center and working men’s houses cluster along them with factories tending to locate even at the outer fringes of the city.

From the foregoing discussion on ‘slums’, it appears that they stand for the wretched socio-economic conditions of the city life of people who are living in the filthy blight areas. The combination of words of ‘SLUM’ appears to have unconsciously acquired the modified form of prevailing conditions in abbreviated form if we take ‘S’ for ‘SHELL’, ‘L’ for ‘LANGUISHING’, ‘U’ for ‘URBAN’, and ‘M’ for ‘Masses’. Thus the word ‘SLUM’ denotes, “SHELL OF LANGUISHING URBAN MASSES.” This appears to be the natural depiction of prevalent conditions in any slum area.

Throughout the world slum areas exhibit certain characteristic features. Most urban slums are based on excessive overcrowding of land. Plots are subdivided into small areas, houses built back to back or separated by narrow chasms which make rooms dark and damp. Types of structure vary from the one-storey shack to the large multi family building, but always the houses are drab, unclean, in disrepair and often they are structurally unsound; many have
walls which have buckling or broken through window frames, sashes and frames out of plumb. Whatever sanitary equipment exists is old, often defective and dirty even to the extreme of being obstructed and grossly insanitary. One spigot serves many families. Garbage and rubbish accumulate in hallways, yards and alleys. Overcrowding is common with a high percentage of families living in one room in which they carry on all their household activities. Few municipalities have been wholly free from such areas. They are found today not only in larger cities but also in an acute though restricted form in smaller towns and rural districts.

Let us now examine a few definitions of slum as given by different sociologists and social agencies. According to UNESCO document: “a slum is a building, a group of buildings or area characterized by over-crowding, deterioration, insanitary conditions or absence of facilities or amenities which, because of these conditions or any one of these, endanger the health, safety or morals of its inhabitants or the community.”

This is a broad definition helping to cover any living environment, which is slum like be it an area or even a single building. Sociologists like Bergel have attempted to offer a
more restricted definition of slum, which is at variance with the one quoted above. Bergel states, “Slums may be characterized as areas of substandard housing condition within a city.” A slum is always an area. A single neglected building even in the worst stage of deterioration does not make a slum.” These different definitions picture the problem differently. One emphasizes a certain type of social problem while the other is related to an area. This divergence in the approaches prevents a systematic analysis of the problem involved. Broadly speaking, we may characterize those areas as slums which are overcrowded and congested, have bad and run-down housing, and are deficient in all amenities.

According to David R. Hunter, “a slum is a mass of more or less non-descript individual houses, tenements, stables, dilapidated shops, an absence of paint, accumulation of dirt, tin cans and rubbish. The picture is scented with a dark, damp, odour, intermingled with the smell of decaying matter. We think of slum as the abode of half-starved filthily clothed children, of diseased and crippled individuals, a place of poverty, wretchedness, ignorance and vice. We think of it as a recession from normal standards of a sound society. The slum is a distinctive area of disintegration and disorganization. It is not merely the decaying and dilapidated houses, the filthy allay
and streets nor number of unared for children and poverty
stricken adults which make up the slums. The slum is more
than an economic condition. It is a social phenomenon in
which the attitudes, ideals and practices play an important
part." In 1938, the division of housing, New York
published a pamphlet, named as “A primer about slums”. On
the covering page of this pamphlet, it has been mentioned that
“Slum is an ugly name for a place in which to live. It is the
final plase of a neighbourhood sickness that attacks our towns
and cities. 

Ford's study can be considered as monumental. He
started reviewing the way slum had been defined over the
years. He has pointed out the fundamental difficulty in defining
slum i.e., too much emphasis is laid upon local peculiarities.
The slum tends to be defined in terms of more or less
personnel consequences. We may therefore better define a
blighted area one are in which large majority of buildings,
whether commercial, industrial or residential are old and in
which fundamental repairs are no longer being made. Any area
of deteriorated housing in which there is poor up-keep of
houses and premises is a blighted district and a potential slum.
Any area of old, neglected and deteriorated housing or of new
markedly sub-standard housing is a slum as soon as it becomes
insanitary or otherwise injurious to its occupants. The slum is thus characterized by age, neglect and low standard or practices in sanitation. In this way, Ford’s definition of a slum is “The slum is a residential area in which housing is so deteriorated, so substandard, or so unwholesome as to be a menace to the health, safety, morality or welfare of the occupants”.

There are common elements that are to be found in every slum locality although slums do vary considerably from one type to another. No doubt, all slums possesses such common physical characteristics, yet it will be some what unjustified to view slums only in such terms. Sociologically, it represents a sub culture with its own set of norms and values reflected in poor sanitation and bad health practices and often in the lack of interest in formal education deviant behavior and the characteristic attribute of apathy and social isolation. In this sense, slums can even exist in areas having reasonably good physical facilities, such as slum clearance projects. This may appear paradoxical. But slum residents even here become isolated from the general power structure of the community and are looked upon as inferior. They in turn, reflect, in their living and in their behaviour, their own suspicions about the world that they regard to be “outside”.
John R. Seeley divides slums into four basic types (i) the permanent necessitarians (ii) the temporary necessitarians (iii) the permanent opportunists and (iv) temporary opportunists. Among the permanent necessitarians are the indolents, the adjusted poor and social outcasts. Among temporary necessitarians are the respectable poor and the trapped. The permanent opportunists are the fugitives, prostitutes and sparting crowd. The temporary opportunists are the beginners, climbers and entrepreneurs. Charles Stokes has divided slums into the slums of hope and slums of despair. The slum of hope is a way station. One person or family may stay there, a fairly long time, but there is a feeling of transition in it. The people there are going to get out, they are on their way somewhere. These people are not yet participating fully in the economic and social life, of the city but there are reasons to believe that they feel that one day they will. The slum of despair is the end of the line and there is no way out. Its inhabitants feel that way about themselves.

Bharat Sevak Samaj has used the term slum to those parts of the city which may be considered unfit for human habitation, either because the structures there in are old, dilapidated, grossly congested and out of repairs or because it is impossible to preserve sanitation for want of sanitary
facilities including ventilation, drainage water supply etc. or because the sites by themselves are unhealthy.  

A seminar on Slum Clearance held in Mumbai in May 1957 provided a more realistic and concrete description of a slum. According to it: "A slum may be defined as a chaotically occupied, unsystematically developed and generally area which is over populated by persons and overcrowded with ill repaired and neglected structures. The area has insufficient communications, indifferent sanitary arrangements and inadequate amenities necessary for the maintenance of physical and social health, the minimum needs and comforts of the community and human beings. There is a general absence of social services and welfare agencies to deal with the major social problems flaring of persons and families in respect of substandard health, inadequate income and low standard of living who are victims of biological, psychological and social consequences of the physical and social environment.

According to the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956, enacted by the central government, a slum has been defined as: Any predominantly residential area, where the dwellings, which by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement of design, lack of ventilation,
light or sanitary facilities or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morals.

Slums are described as the dark blots on our grossly overcrowded urban areas. These are anathema to health and human dignity. It has been rightly said that slums offend the eyes, ears, nose and conscience. Slums are generally infested with poverty and ignorance, which further accelerate the rate of crime particularly amongst the delinquents. Such areas affect the development and personality of most of the individuals and particularly of the teenagers. The personality is the result of social relationships and the environment plays a major role in that. Undesirable environment can't trainee the individual according to the accepted ways of society, on the contrary it teaches him anti-social ways Karl Marx in his book Das Capital has expressed the view that crime, prostitution, vice and moral evils are primarily due to poverty. Inadequate housing has feather accelerated the causation of crime particularly amongst the delinquents. Marshall Clinnard has observed as follows.

"A high incidence of deviant behavior, crime, juvenile, delinquency, prostitution drunkenness, drug abuse, mental
disorder, suicide, illegitimacy and family maladjustment have long been associated with slum living”.

“Shaw and Mckay have concluded that the traditions of delinquency are transmitted from generation to generation in much the same manner as are language and other social pattern. In nut shell the following factors are responsible for the high rate of crime and delinquency”.

(i) Undesirable environments

(ii) Ignorance and poverty.

(iii) Broken homes

(iv) Inadequate and bad housing

(v) Overcrowding in the house

(vi) Indiscipline and parental indifference there to.

Beatrice says the new system of production which made Britain the workshop of the world and the richest nation at one time thrust hundreds of thousands of families into the physical horrors and moral debasement of chronic destitution in the crowded tenements, in the midst of neon streets”.

All the definitions cited above have the same basic ingredients of a slum. They all point towards the sub-human and degraded conditions of living which the slum dwellers
endure, normally without any hope of ever being able to come out of this quagmire. Though efforts are initiated to tackle such malaise, they hardly consider the economic and social characteristics of urban migrants and slum formation, welfare needs and sometimes such practical factors as cheap transportation to places of work. Some experts say the cause of slum formation particularly the dilapidated condition of its dwelling structures lies not only in unequal distribution of income and wealth but also in legal ignorance for the acquisition of legal forms of tenure in urban areas, where custom and societal dependency does not hold sway. "The sequence of development that a society follows will carry immediate consequences for the kinds of cities that it contains. Where the pace of urban growth outruns the rate of industrial expansion or the rate of middle class growth the city will have features of transitory population, unemployment and slums." 10

The nature of urban growth that we have here in developing countries, especially in terms of its acceleration and prematurity, reveals an abnormal process leading to underdevelopment and dependency rather than development. Slums could be counted as one of the characteristics of this abnormal process. Our cities are presently said to be overurbanised in the sense that at comparable rates of
urbanisation, developed countries of today had a correspondingly greater proportion of their labour force engaged in non-agricultural occupations. Urban slums, seasonal migration and the poor and temporary quality of labour are all a function of keeping down the wages of labour to an extraordinary low level of subsistence. The predominantly rural and migratory character of labour and the survival of traditional identities among them hinders the growth of proletarian political consciousness and class solidarity.

Examining the phenomenon of slum in the historical perspective, one finds that Assyrian, Babylonian Grecian and Roman towns all had their districts where the poor were housed in insubstantial buildings of mud, brick and frame, whole families living in one room and the tenements rising storey upon storey to shut off air and light circulation from the streets and rooms below. Medieval walled cities were also characterized by excessive land coverage, with dwellings huddled together and streets narrow, usually unpaved and filthy and so overhung by the timbered upper stories of the buildings that from the street level, the sky could be seen only through a slotted opening.
Modern slums date from the industrial revolution with its accompanying concentration of population. In England, particularly the rapid growth of factory towns led to hasty building and shoddy construction. The characteristic structure was the row house and land congestion took the form of back lot, court and alley, buildings without street frontage or yard areas. Inadequate sewage facilities and room congestion appeared in aggravated form. On the continent, where industrial development appeared somewhat later, the concentration of population resulted in the erection of tall tenements of more substantial construction but brought about even more extensive occupancy. It is a well known fact that poverty is the prime characteristic of slums. The poor have always been forced to live in the worst quarters of the city. The mass of artisans and workers of some of the most glorious ancient civilizations have always had to be content with inhuman living conditions. As BERGEL points out, the residential areas of the poor in the great Roman Empire at time approximated slum conditions. As such, it becomes obvious that the slums are not solely the product of Industrial Revolution. They existed even earlier. However, the Industrial Revolution accentuated the growth of existing cities and created a number of new ones. These enlarged cities offered
tremendous employment prospects, in sharp contrast to the barren countryside. The city, thus, became the frontier of hope for poorly employed and unemployed people.

"Large-scale migration to cities became a natural consequence of huge factories, aided by power driven transport to market their goods. The factory, the rail, road and the slum—this is how Mumford delineates the elements of the new industrial city. In the emerging industrial order human beings became a forgotten element. Workers were often housed in the left over spaces between the factories and the shade and the rail road yards, and on land filled in with ashes and broken glass and rubbish."12 If this was the condition of the new towns, the condition of older towns that began expanding with industrialization was much worse than that. MUMFORD further states that in these towns, workers were turning old one-family houses into rent barracks. In these made over houses such separate room would now enclose a whole family from Dublin and Glasgow and Bombay. And the standard of one room per family long held13. It is needless to say that these rooms were overcrowded, filthy and unfit for human habitation in a civilized society. The collars of old buildings accommodated privies and pig-sties and later on human beings too who thronged into the cities in search of work. Thus pig-
sties and human-sties existed side by side in the industrial cities. This was the free enterprise era when the movement of wheels was more precious than the heart-beats of men who kept the wheels moving. The new systems of production which made Britain the "workshop of the world" and the richest nation at one time", thrust hundreds of thousands of families into the physical horrors and moral debasement of chronic destitution in the crowded tenements, in the midst of mean streets."\(^{14}\) There is no element of exaggeration in the descriptions of the horrifying conditions of life during the Industrial Revolution. It is testified by Engel's first hand account of British towns in 1844.

"In London", Engels wrote, "fifty thousand human beings get up every morning not knowing where they are to lay their heads at night. The luckiest of this multitude who succeed in keeping a penny or two untill evening, enter a lodging house such as abounds in every great city, where they find a bed. But what a bed ! These houses are filled with beds from celler to garret, four, five, six beds in a room as many as can be crowded in. Into every bed, four, five or six human beings are piled as many as can be packed in, sick and well, young and old, drunk and sober men and just as they come indiscriminately. ... And those who can not pay for such a
refuge? They sleep where they find a place, in passages, arcades, in corners where the police and the owners leave them undisturbed." ¹⁵ Further about the old town of Manchester, Engels wrote, “Every thing which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the industrial epoch. The couple of hundred houses, which belong to old Manchester, have been long since abandoned by their original inhabitants, the industrial epoch alone has crammed into them the swarms of workers whom they now shelter; the industrial epoch alone has built up every spot between these old houses to win a covering for the masses whom it has confused hither from the agricultural districts and from Ireland; the industrial epoch alone enables the owners of these cattle sheds to rent them for high prices to human beings, to plunder the poverty of the workers, to undermine the health of thousands in order that they alone, the owners, may grow rich” ¹⁶. These were the conditions created by the industrial order which subjected the worker to the laws of supply and demand and reduced him to a commodity.
1.2 Urbanisation and Slum In India

Perpetual inflow of rural population to the urban centres is one of the main factors, which has hampered the elimination of the menace of slums in all countries of the world. Slums have resulted there from in the past; they still exist and they will continue to exist in future till the present trend of migration from rural areas continues to cause overcrowding and congestion in the cities. The inevitable result has been that more than half of the population of the underdeveloped countries in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America have either been rendered homeless or is living in grossly inadequate and overcrowded dwelling units causing great damage to health and human dignity.

Examining the phenomenon of city emergence from historical angle, one finds that early medieval society was a creation of camp and countryside to meet the local imperatives of sustenance and defense. 12th and 13th centuries saw the founding of more new towns than that between the fall of Roman Empire and the Industrial Revolution. Under the economic conditions prevailing before 1800 A.D., localisation of integrated work process started near the source of fuel.
Urban concentration provided cheap transport, besides, better economic facilities. The unusual confluence of commercial, geographical and technological factors in Britain made it the ‘workshop of the world’ with London as its head office. Concentration of manufacturing labour force in ‘mill-towns’ and ‘Coke-towns’ gradually changed traditional social structure and relationship.

“The Industrial Revolution converted the cities into workshops. The accompanying revolution in communications made them commercial, cultural and intellectual centres of their respective countries.”

City is a name given to certain urban communities in English speaking countries by virtue of some legal or conventional distinction and it also refers to a particular type of community, the urban community and its generic culture. In the United States of America, a city is an urban area incorporated by special or general set of a State legislature. In Australia and Canada, city is a term, which applies to the large units of Municipal Government under state and provincial authority respectively. New Zealand has followed British precedent since the abolition of the provinces in 1876, the more populous towns are called ‘boroughs’ under the
Municipal Corporation Act of 1893 and earlier legislation. In the United Kingdom, the cities do not enjoy greater corporate power than those of country ‘boroughs’ (as defined in the Local Government Act of 1888 and Municipal Corporation Act of 1882 and subsequent legislation). “In the century after 1850 world population doubled and the population living in cities of more than 5000 inhabitants rose from under 7 per cent to almost 30 per cent. Between 1900 and 1950, the population living in large cities (1,00,000 plus) rose by 25 per cent, the rate of increase in Asia being three times that of Europe and United States.”

“Cities like New York, Tokyo, London, Moscow, Paris, Chicago and Buenos Aires have grown to them tremendous size. Their metropolitan regimes encompass population between 7 and 15 millions. The reason for the tremendous increase during the present century is the great growth of population throughout the world, the migration during the century from rural to urban areas, and the increasing proportion of the population of each country concentrating in the large metropolitan cities. The reason for the last is that capital cities generally act as magnets because they are the seat of the government and they are the main centers of administration of a country’s institutions and of the nation’s
commercial and cultural life”\textsuperscript{19}. This unprecedented and rapid industrialization and urbanization while paving the way for prosperity has also been responsible for creation of slums and degeneration of human society. In the West, the problem of housing and slums came to the forefront after the Industrial Revolution. In Britain, with the rapid establishment of industrial units and simultaneous mechanization of agriculture, there was sudden influx from rural to urban areas.

In the developing countries, growth of slums is usually parallel to the growth of urbanization. India is no exception to urbanization. In India one important reason for migration of rural population to the cities apart from the fact that urban areas offer better job opportunities, appears to be that the development of rural areas has lagged far behind, with the result that rural population is attracted to the amenities and entertainment facilities of cities. Housing has, without exception, failed to keep pace with the staggering rate of migration and the inevitable result has been unplanned growth of the cities and the consequent growth of slums. In India urbanization has been growing steadily for decades. Although estimates vary according to how the data is calculated, the current urban population of India is considered to be about 280 millions out of a total population of 1.08 billion\textsuperscript{26}.
percent) The Indian Government's IX Development Plan estimates it will reach 605-618 millions during 2021-2025 that is some 50 per cent of the total population. Urban India contributes more than 50 percent of the country's GDP, although containing a third of its population.

Between 1950 and 2001, the level of urbanization increased by only 13 percentage points. (307 millions total urban dwellers) More than two-thirds of the urban population lives in Urban Agglomerations, regions having population greater than one million. The investment requirement for housing in urban areas alone has been estimated at 52,000 crores of Rupees. Between 1901 and 1991, the urban population in India increased by more than 600 percent, but the number of urban settlements increased only by 80 per cent. This means that essentially the existing towns and cities increased by size and not many new towns came into being. In absolute terms, there has been a phenomenal growth in urban population since independence. During the period 1947-91, urban population of India has quadrupled from 50 millions to 217 millions in 1991. One characteristic feature of this phenomenal urban growth is that large and metropolitan cities are growing much faster than the medium and small towns. 23 million plus cities of India contain one-third of the total urban
population of the country. Though the level and the rate of urbanization are low by the international standards, the massive size of the urban population exceeds the total population of most of the countries of the world. Growth rate of urban population during 1981-91 had been lower than that in 1961-71 and 1971-81. Several studies have examined this slowing down and opined that it was due to the decline in the volume of rural-urban migration, increasing concentration of rural populations in the rural areas at the periphery of large cities and lesser number of new places emerging as towns. Apart from the one-third of the urban population that was residing in 23 “million plus cities” in 1991, another one-third was residing in 277 class first cities of population ranging from 100,000 to 1 million. Only the remaining one-third was spread over 3,397 smaller towns with population less than 100000. The estimated pattern of size distribution of urban centers suggests that there will be over “70 million plus” cities and 500 Class I\textsuperscript{st} cities by the year 2021.\textsuperscript{21} This metropolitinisation of urbanization presents a daunting scenario and needs to be taken cognizance of by the policy planners. Number of towns and urban agglomerations has increased from 1827 in 1900 to 3768 in 1991. There was a steady increase in the number of towns till 1951 but, with the adoption of a more restrictive
definition of urban areas in 1961, as many as 810 towns of 1951 were declassified in 1961, resulting in a significant decline in the no: of towns from 2843 in 1951 to 2365 in 1961. Since then, the no: of towns has continuously increased. With a net increase of 788 towns between 1971 and 1981, the number of towns and urban agglomerations became 3378 in 1981. But the net increase during 1981-91 had been low and total number of towns in 1991 was 3768.

While slow pace of urbanization during 1901-11 could be attributed to a natural calamity, the effect of II World War and the partition of the country in 1947 led to a sudden spurt in urban growth during 1931-41 and 1941-51. With the inception of the planning era and consequential rapid industrialization, the economy experienced a high decadal growth rate of 38.23 per cent during 1961-71 and an accelerated growth rate of 46.1 per cent during 1971-81. Urbanization has been really rapid during these decades, an absolute increase of 50.6 millions during 1971-81 was the biggest gain in urban populations for any decade since 1901. The tempo was again slow during 1981-91, the annual rate of growth declined to 3.09 per cent in 1981-91, from 3.83 per cent in 1971-81. This slowing down of the pace of urbanization, according to some scholars, could be attributed to
under numeration of urban population while others present a wide range of plausible explanations. Prime amongst these explanations are a decline in the volume of rural–urban migration, identification of a relatively fewer new towns and increasing concentration of population in rural areas adjacent to large urban centers. The decline in the rate of natural increase of urban population has been ruled out as one of the explanations for the lower urban growth rate as it has remained more or less stable (19 per cent) during the two decades. A large number of people, particularly new migrants opt for residing in the peripheral regions and commute to the nearby large cities to work because of high cost of living in big urban centers.

Customarily, a six-fold classification is undertaken, so far as the data on urban places and their urban population is concerned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Population Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class I</td>
<td>towns having population</td>
<td>1 lakh or more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>towns having population</td>
<td>50,00-99999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>towns having population</td>
<td>20000-49999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IV</td>
<td>towns having population</td>
<td>10000-19999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class V</td>
<td>towns having population</td>
<td>5000-9999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Class VI towns having population less than 5000.

Bigger towns having a population of more than 1 lakh have dominated the urban scene and this is one of the major features of urbanization in India. While the proportion of urban population living in cities increased from about one-fourth to two-third, it remained virtually stagnant in the large and medium towns and reduced heavily, i.e., from slightly less than half to around one-fourth only in the last category of small towns during the last 90 years period. This trend is indicative of the fact that urbanization process in India is gradually being transformed into the process of concentrated urbanization.

Urbanization as a process of movement of people in India is generally associated with the following factors:

1) Push from subsistence agriculture - Tradition bound agrarian society in India does not provide ample job opportunities to its component members. Agricultural workers, marginal farmers, landless workers do not find ample source of income in rural economy. Agriculture is just a subsistence economy. There is disguised unemployment due to availability of only seasonal work. Although some job creation activities in rural economy have been initiated due to plan development like dairy farming, poultry, crash crops, marketing etc., but the
process is quite slow and in consequence, fast increase in rural population has to look for some urban centre for job and employment. This push force of rural society in India has increased due to rapid population growth and increase in literacy and mechanization of agriculture.

2) Pull of relatively high urban wage – It is generally considered that urban work is easier and urban wages are high. Therefore urban centers pull young and unemployed rural youth promising them an economic opportunity in urban locations, particularly in big industrial and commercial cities.

Due to the push and pull forces, there is rapid movement of population from rural to urban areas.

Social characteristics of this migrating population is illiteracy, poverty, ignorance and poor skills. Because of the nature of migration, urban settlement pattern changes fast and creation of slum locations becomes phenomenal. Obviously, majority of the new migrants have to be accommodated in the localities for their poor economic status and social attitudes.

The following table depicts some features of Indian urbanization over the period 1951-2001
Table 1.2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>No. of Towns and Urban Agglomerations</th>
<th>Urban Population (in millions)</th>
<th>Urban Population as Percent of total</th>
<th>Annual Growth Rate of Urban Population (in %)</th>
<th>Urban Natural Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2845</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>17.29</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2365</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>17.97</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2590</td>
<td>109.1</td>
<td>19.90</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3378</td>
<td>159.1</td>
<td>23.34</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3768</td>
<td>217.6</td>
<td>25.71</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>5161</td>
<td>285.4</td>
<td>27.78</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


At the census of 2001, the urban population was identified at 285354954 with Maharashtra reporting highest at 41019734 and Lakshdweep lowest at 26948. The overall percent increase in urban population in the decade 1991-2001 was 31.13. No: of towns and cities in each size class category is as follows:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size class of towns/cities</th>
<th>Total Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class I</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>1386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IV</td>
<td>1560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class V</td>
<td>1057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class VI</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5161</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tables that follow present the various dimensions of the urbanization phenomenon in India.

**Table 1.2.2**

Percentage Distribution of Class Wise number of Towns and Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of towns (percent)</td>
<td>Population (percent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of towns</td>
<td>Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[29]
Table 1.2.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1961-71</th>
<th>1971-81</th>
<th>1981-91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Urban Population Growth (in millions)</td>
<td>30.18</td>
<td>49.45</td>
<td>56.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Composition (in millions) The figures in brackets are percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Natural Increase</th>
<th>Net Migration</th>
<th>Reclassification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901-11</td>
<td>19.68 (65.2)</td>
<td>5.91 (19.6)</td>
<td>4.59 (15.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-21</td>
<td>20.40 (41.3)</td>
<td>19.73 (39.9)</td>
<td>9.32 (18.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-31</td>
<td>33.87 (60.0)</td>
<td>12.76 (22.6)</td>
<td>9.82 (17.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1991

Table 1.2.4

AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH OF POPULATION, 1901-91

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901-11</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-21</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-31</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-41</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-51</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-61</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-71</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-81</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-91</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1991
### TABLE 1.2.5


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIZE CLASS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>83036031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>122291246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>22036770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>28764160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>883</td>
<td>26867127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1161</td>
<td>35273020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1247</td>
<td>17675328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1451</td>
<td>2107949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>6934463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>7392211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>1130452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>971497</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALL CLASSES</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3949</td>
<td>157680171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>4615</td>
<td>215771612</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: Figures for 1981 exclude Assam and those for 1991 exclude Jammu & Kashmir as no census was carried out there.

Source: 1981 figures verified; Statement 1 (p.57) General Population Tables Towns & urban Agglomerations classified by population in 1981 with variation since 1901, Census of India, Series 1 INDIA.

1991 figure compiled by T.C.P.O. from Data Supplied by R.G. Office on Floppies.

**TABLE 1.2.6**

PERCENTAGE URBAN POPULATION BY SIZE OF TOWNS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIZE CLASS</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1991 (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>11.17</td>
<td>13.83</td>
<td>16.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>3.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>19.91</td>
<td>23.34</td>
<td>25.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures for 1981 exclude Assam and those for 1991 exclude Jammu & Kashmir as no census was carried out there.

Source: 1981 figures verified; Statement 1 (p.57) General Population Tables Towns & urban Agglomerations classified by population in 1981 with variation since 1901, Census of India, Series 1 INDIA.

1991 figure compiled by T.C.P.O. from Data Supplied by R.G. Office on Floppies.

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<th>1981</th>
<th>1991 (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>13.83</td>
<td>16.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>3.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>19.91</td>
<td>23.34</td>
<td>25.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>percent of total population</th>
<th>Total population (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>548.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>683.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>846.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Size Class-wise percentage do not add up to percentage of total urban population as data on Assam and J&K are excluded in the size Class-wise distribution.

(P) = Provisional

Source: Selected Socio-Economic Statistics for India, 1993
Central Statistical organization, Govt. of India.

Due to the concentration of industries near the existing cities, unplanned urbanization and unabated migration and concentration of poor population from the underdeveloped rural areas to the urban settlements, numerous problems of very complex nature have emerged. It has created social and economic imbalances. The migration has strained infrastructural facilities in the cities to the breaking point. The intermixing of various land uses has created confusion and chaotic conditions. There has been acute housing shortage in the urban areas with the result that the cities face very grim situation with increasing number of shanty dwellers, squatters, pavement dwellers and
Chapter One: Introduction

slums in all the metropolitan and other cities throughout India. Perpetual inflow of rural population to the urban centers is one of the main factors, which has hampered elimination of slums in not only India but all countries of the world. Slums have resulted in the past, they still exist and they will continue to exist in future till the present trend of migration from rural areas continues to cause overcrowding and congestion in the cities. S. N. Singh says "Rapid industrialisation while paving the way for prosperity has also been responsible for creation of slums and degeneration of human society. In the West, the problem of housing and slums came to the forefront after the Industrial Revolution. In Britain, with the rapid establishment of Industrial Units and simultaneously mechanization of agriculture, there was sudden influx from rural to urban areas."

Historically, the advent of the European powers by sea brought in a new factor and Madras, Bombay and Calcutta are examples of cities that have grown out of clusters of small villages to support the trade and political expansions of the East India Company. Many other commercial centers rose and fell on the coasts under similar influences. Pondicherry and Goa are notable instances. The unbalanced and haphazard pattern of urbanisation in India has resulted in insufficient development of sound economic base in the cities and towns that could give a
living and decent wage to the hundreds and thousands who flock to them. The result has been a proliferation of slums where people live without comfort and without hope. The poor that have flocked to the cities do no have the skills that would increase their earning capacity and, therefore, their saving potential. As a result they build shelters which are a disgrace to humanity or live in the open, as for instance, in the metropolitan cities; their anger bursts out in anti-social behavior, rebellion against government and the established order; their children grow in squalor, providing a fertile ground for implantation of juvenile delinquency. During the initial planning days, emphasis was laid on creating capacities for basic industries on the part of the government. This measure was essential and has contributed to creation of a basic industrial climate for the manufacturing industries to develop. But what seems to have been lost sight of is the high capital output ratio and the low employment potential of private ventures that thrive in such an enabling environment. As a result unemployment started growing. With a low per capita income, the saving potential of the population was not only low but negligible. The average citizen's earnings went into food and clothing and left nothing for shelter.
Most Socio-economic surveys of slums during 1950s and 1960s found that slums represented the locational characteristics of urban poverty, as there was, in them, a preponderance of urban poor. They were also identified as the segregated habitat of socially and economically disadvantaged Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SCs and STs) and of distinct occupational groups. Long duration of stay in slums indicated lower level of upward social and economic mobility. Slums were mostly found on private lands. Since 1961 rapid growth of slums on public lands (squatter settlements) began to be noticed. Moreover slum population was estimated to be increasing 2 to 4 times higher than the population of cities coming under pressure of rural to urban migration. The share of rural to urban migration reached 40 percent during 1971-81. The slum and squatter settlements offered shelter to the migrants, 80 to 90 percent of whom work found to be poor, coming to the city to earn livelihood. Housing was a low priority till they decided to settle down and bring their families to live with them. The neighborhood formation was mostly homogeneous. Based on ethnicity caste, linguistic and regional identity, it provided a strong support system to compensate for breakup of strong joint or extended family, and for shrinking space of house for performing family socializations functions.
However, there were strong indications that the growth of slums and squatter settlements became more or less autonomous and urban poverty is no longer an extension of rural poverty. Nor are the urban slums synonymous with urban poverty. While urban poverty incidence has declined, there is no evidence of any decline of the slum population. Apparently, housing shortage, infrastructure and urban services' deficiencies reveal more the poverty of the local government than its people in contributing to the growth of slum population. At the all India level, there are more number of people living in slums than there are those below the poverty line. Significant variations in the distribution of slum population and urban population do indicate that not all those living in slums are poor and conversely not all the urban poor live in slums. In one respect the growth of metropolitan and large cities accounts for the urban impact on the surrounding villages. As the city expands, many a village comes in the orbit of the metropolis. Some of the villages are totally absorbed in this process and the surrounding land is used for urban development. These pockets have been found in cities like Delhi, Banglore, Hyderabad, Kanpur and other cities which degenerate into slums. The extension of metropolitan cities into the rural areas leads to semi urbanisation which results in the development of rural
slums in the suburbs of the metropolitan cities which are devoid of civic amenities such as water, sewerage and public utilities. In the cities of over one million population size, 66.6 percent households occupied one-roomed houses. On the basis of a desirable room, about 75 percent of the urban households in India fall below this norm. In its 49th Round (Jan-June 1993) Survey ‘Slums in India’ National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) reported that out of 1,17,227 declared and undeclared slums in the country, 56,311 (around 48 percent) were in the urban sector. Around 36 percent of the urban slums were specified as ‘declared Slums’ by appropriate civic authorities. More than 89 percent of the urban slums of the country as a whole were located in the residential areas, whereas 5 percent and 3 percent of the slums were formed in industrial and commercial areas respectively. Around 1/3rd each of the urban slums were pucca, semi-pucca and Kutcha structures. About source of drinking water in the slums, the report states that around 65 percent of urban slums reported a “tap” as the source of drinking water, while more than a quarter of the slums got drinking water through tube wells/hand pumps. According to the survey, around 75 percent of the urban slums of the country had reported electrification.
About 60 percent of the urban slums remained waterlogged during monsoon. There was no latrine facility in 54 percent of the urban slums. About 18 percent each of the urban slums had latrines with a septic tank and flush system. 7 percent of the urban slums were having serviced latrine facilities. The area declared as slums by respective local bodies, Municipalities, Development Authorities and Corporations were treated as “declared Slums” in the NSSO estimates. Such an area was taken as “undeclared” in which at least 20 households live in that area. As a consequence of unrelented migration to urban areas, the slums themselves are becoming overcrowded; indeed those who get into slums are considered lucky as they have some kind of shelter, the cost of which is day by day increasing. And so our fashionable metropolises are creating a class of people who have sub-culture, i.e., slum-culture. Within slums due to pressure of population, sub-human conditions have deteriorated further. In many slums there is no laboratory facility and the number; of users per laboratory, if there be any, runs into more than a thousand in some cases. The poor conditions of living in the ‘Katras’ of Delhi, the ‘Bustees’ of Calcutta, the ‘Chawls’ of Mumbai, the ‘Cheris’ of Chennai and the ‘Ahatas’ of Kanpur are well known. Yet it is doubtful whether anything more than sporadic, casual and cosmetic attempts have been
made to understand the nature of the slum problem in Indian cities. Consequently we do not have a continuous flow of scientifically collected, systematic material on slums, and are therefore left with no data. Slums have become a chronic problem, which evades solution. This is evident from the fact that in our metropolises, as existing data show, slums are continuously on the increase. In the 'Bustees' of Kolkata it was reported that amenities like water were so inadequate that often over 200 persons shared a single water tap. Kolkata itself is today considered a big 'Bustee'. The size of slum dwellers in Kolkata in terms of the number of families varies from a few hundred to few thousands. In the state at the time of 1991 census, total number of slums stood at 2,490 and the slum population was 31,35,302.

Out of a total population of 131.147 lakhs of Kolkata in 2001, the slum population was 43.147 percent. "Cheri" is the name for a slum in Tamil which actually means a village or a hamlet or a village of depressed castes. Thus a 'Para Cheri' is a village of the periyars. In Chennai city, the early slums were called 'Cheries', presumably, because the depressed castes used to live in them. However in some other parts of South India, the term 'Cheri' does not have the odium which it repeatedly has in the Tamil region. For instance, Muttancherry in Cochin befits
the description of a slum area with its deteriorated pucca structures and a high degree of congestion but it was not called so due to predominance of any one-caste group. The Chennai city alone brings out certain striking differences between a slum and a non slum population. The birth rate, death rate and the infant mortality rate are higher in slum areas. The literacy level is also very low both among adults and among children. Out of a total population of 42.893 lakhs, in 1981, the slum population stood at 13.769 lakhs constituting 32.1 percent. In 1991, the respective figures were 54.220 lakhs, 15.251 lakhs and 28.1 percent. At the census of 2001, the estimated corresponding figures are 69.823 lakhs and 19.620 lakhs. Ahmedabad too has slums. Nothing need to be said about how miserably congested these dwellings are. As slums are generally areas of poor sanitation, excessive overcrowding is not merely a question of insufficient per capita living space, it also portends health hazards of a severe nature. Health indices like infant mortality, mentioned earlier, show that, be it New York or Chennai, the slum population has a distinct level of misery.

The factory zone in Bangalore was composed of huts and houses in a precarious condition. In some parts of this area, people beg for water from house to house. Sanitary conditions existing in such a situation need no elaboration. In 1981, out
of a total populations of 29.218 lakhs, slum populations was 3.650 lakhs constituting 12.50 percent. The corresponding figures for 1991 and 2001 were 41.303 lakhs, 5.162 lakhs and 12.5 percent; 63.597 lakhs and 7.979 lakhs. Kanpur is grappling with an acute housing problem with the inevitable consequence of slums mushrooming in many parts of the city. This is so especially because it has had a strong industrial base for a relatively long time.

Here the problem is more acute than any other city of India. The rise in population is due to the arrival of laborers from adjoining villages to seek employment in the industries. Out of a total population of 16.391 lakhs in 1981, 6.140 lakhs were inhabiting slums constituting 37.5 percent. The corresponding figures for 1991 were 20.299 lakhs, 4.172 lakhs and 20.6 percent. In 2001, the estimated figs. were 24.875 lakhs and 5.124 lakhs.

Chandigarh, though a planned city presents another distressing scenario. It was the first instance of planning in the country. It is superior to many Indian cities in the sense that it has sufficiently been immunized against the numerous problems which infest urban life everywhere. But this city too has slums. When the city was being planned there was no way to clear the
hutments as they belonged mostly to workers who were required for building the city. It was, therefore, decided to shift them to peripheral areas where small plots were allotted for putting up their own hutments. People with influence and means, however, secured several plots and began renting it out. Furthermore around these authorized plots, several unauthorized hutments began to appear and more and more people began to migrate to the city in search of work. Thus Chandigarh, the dream of a great architect today faces the reality of a large section of its population living in slums.

Thus, we can see that India contains some of the worst slums in the world. Due to lack of proper town and country planning, cities have been chronically incapable of accommodating the ever-increasing flow of migrants from rural areas and small towns. If we go back to an analysis of Mumbai slums, we can find that this city’s slums are of 3 types: (a) areas with single or multi-storeyed buildings, built long ago as per standards prevailing then, and which are today in a deteriorated condition. Every monsoon in Mumbai is invariably marked by the collapse of a few buildings of this type. The second type of slum consists of semi-permanent structures, which are both of the authorized and unauthorized types. They are commonly known as ‘Patra Chawls’. The third type of slum is the hutment
colony or the squatter colony, called 'Zoppad pattis', these huts are, as anywhere else, built with an assortment of materials consisting of hard board, zinc sheets, flattened tin pots and gunny bags, adobe and mud. Hutment colonies are not many in the city proper but the outlying areas of the city have a large number; of them due to the open areas available there.

In the conclusion, we can say that increases in urbanisation or tertiary employment in the absence of economic growth in our cities or a growing secondary sector are seen as pathological and are used to explain the apparent marginality of the large number; of urban poor who are observed swarming the slums and ghettos. Rapid urban population growth through immigration and natural increases and economic stagnation are viewed as the immediate conditions causing this marginality.

The unwieldy migration of people from rural as well as urban settlements is increasingly assuming unmanageable proportions resulting in urban chaos, sub-standard and dehumanizing environment. Urban management tasks call for improvement in the institutional capacity for organizing, undertaking, planning, programming, and implementing the whole range of urban services.
1.3 NATURE AND SPREAD OF SLUM IN INDIA

The slum is a complex product of many factors, as is true of many other social phenomena. But poverty is the foremost cause. Low income forces people to live in slums, but such groups do not object because they are used to even worse conditions. Again, we have an interplay of social and economic factors in our slums.

The Indian slums as elsewhere are characterized by other than technological and hygienic features: social elements have to be added. There are generally three main types of slums. One is the original slum, an area which, from the beginning, consisted of unsuitable buildings; these sections are beyond recovery and need to be razed. The second type consists of slums created by the departure of middle and upper class families to other sections and subsequent deterioration of the area. The third and most unpleasant type of slums is mainly a phenomenon of transition. Once the area around a main business district has become blighted, physical and social deterioration starts rapidly. Neglect, dilapidation and disorderliness with respect to buildings, yards and streets is almost the universal mark of slums, including Indian slums. Indian slums generally have been the abode of low income
group people, although there may be occasional buildings of equally run-down appearance inhabited by families that are not so poor. In general, however, our slums are a poverty area.

The slum space is overcrowded with buildings or the buildings may be overcrowded with people, or both. Many of the inhabitants of the slum area are persons who are not welcome in other residential areas or they cannot afford to live elsewhere. Thus, it may be a refuge area for chronically sick, the landless and the socially maladjusted. But such ‘odds’ and ‘ends’ may not be welcome even in some slums where a ‘sense of community’ exists. Needless to say, life finds its utterly pathetic and disorganized form in some of the slums. Crime and vice flourish to such an extent in certain slums that field investigators have sometimes come across instances of people giving up regular jobs to do full-time business in illegal ventures. The origin of slums of some of the cities can be traced to the particularly city’s development as an important political and economic centre of the country as in case of Mumbai. Because of this it naturally attracted a large number of people from rural areas.

A great majority of the buildings in the slums of this city being more than 70–80 years old are built to standards that are
utterly obsolete. The gradual decay and obsolescence have now rendered all these buildings absolutely unfit for human habitation. Not only the old slum spots are increasing in extent, but many more areas have been deteriorating into slums in a number of important cities of the country. Another common reason for the development of slums in India is that the landlords do not care to maintain the permanent structures due to which they deteriorate and dilapidate over time.

It is also claimed that the people of India, particularly, those in the low socio-economic levels are not civic-minded. They are not concerned if slum conditions are created even in otherwise decent localities, nor do they feel about improving the conditions. Commenting upon the nature of Chennai Slums, Commissioner of Chennai City said According to us, a slum is taken to mean hutting areas with squalid surroundings. In such areas huts are erected in a haphazard manner without proper access. Minimum basic amenities are lacking in these areas. Protected water supply and drainage arrangements do not exist in these areas. Houses are built up in close proximity not allowing free air to get in. The number of persons living in the slums is on the increase without restriction and the condition of these areas is worsening day by day. As the population is increasing in the city, not only sums of the above descriptions
increase, but the built up areas which were once having all facilities of free ventilation and other hygienic conditions also take a turn for the worse and the built-up areas get unduly crowded. A house where six tenants can live with comfort is occupied by more than a dozen and this unhealthy and heavy congestion in the street houses makes the area worse than the hotted slums, so, the term ‘slum’ will also include such dwellings which on account of such overcrowding, dilapidation and lack of ventilation are detrimental to safety health and social morals.

During a study of slums of Vishakhapatnam, the following facts were revealed: Majority of the houses were found to be one room tenement with 7 people huddled together. However, the houses in one of the two clusters studied, were comparatively better looking and well maintained. People in one of the clusters were either low caste or scheduled caste people whereas in the other one, they were all caste-Hindus. The cluster inhabited by low caste or scheduled caste people would not participate in a desired direction to help themselves, out of insanitary surroundings by either cleaning the area themselves or by complaining to the Municipal Authorities. On the contrary, the other cluster people are more prone to developmental ideas and as such their social attitudes were one of associative integrative character. The surveyors concluded
that slum mentality so widely prevalent in the minds of slum dwellers is but the net product of various socio-economic conditions like economic and social status and the consequent psycho-social phenomena like literacy, which, when corrected would be very largely conducive to the improvement of the slum-dwellers in all walks of life.

When we analyse the existing facilities and services, it is found that these are grossly inadequate, particularly sanitation and water supply. The gap between the demand and supply is widening over the years. The slum habitats in which poor people live face communicable diseases due to unhygienic conditions and poor sanitation. The main sources of injection in slums include toilets, sewage, garbage, rodents and insects, toxic wastes etc. There appears to be a total lack of perception by the government as far as the specificity of the needs of low income people is concerned.

In a number of studies of the slums it was found that the percentage of workers in the general population and the slum dwellers are more or less equal. But the occupations pursued by both the classes do not bear any comparison either in nature or its lucraviveness. Slum dwellers generally have to put their children to work in large numbers to augment their income. The
occupations which the slum dwellers in the country follow during the prime of their lives yield only low income and they do not earn anything to sustain them in their old age. They are, therefore, forced to continue to work even in their later life. The slum dwellers are engaged in odd jobs involving heavy manual labour or petty occupations. A preponderant majority of the slum workers pursue the same work from the beginning. They are generally, not prepared to take any occupational risk and prefer 'browsing on the old 'meadow' to think in terms of 'fresh woods and new pastures'\textsuperscript{24}'. Majority of slum workers reach their places of work on foot will show that they are able to secure work near their home. The occupations pursued by the majority of slum dwellers are of such that they do not fetch uniform income day to day. It fluctuates considerably. Low income and underemployment are prominent features of an Indian slum worker. Most of the slum dwellers' huts are constructed of cheap materials. Dwellings are impermanent and liable to destruction by fire and floods. Inside many a hut, a man cannot stand erect, but will have to crawl. The huts are usually built in close proximity to one another and in surroundings very unsatisfactory. They lie scattered without any order or alignment. There is, generally, no cleanliness, because there is no drainage, no safety because the construction is flimsy, no
privacy because, there is no sufficient space and no permanence because the site belongs to another. In brief, these huts are dark and dank and far removed from health and decency. A slum is, however, found with a few good huts here and there which provide better comforts. Lack of basic amenities is one of the chief characteristics, which distinguishes slums from other areas. During a socio-economic survey of the Kolkata Bustees, the following observation was recorded by the investigators:

"The bustee dwellings could be called houses only in an over stretched sense of the terms as they hardly protect their inmates from the rain. Almost cent percent of the bustees' rooms are non-ventilated and receive little sunlight in any part of the day or fresh air in any part of the year. No modern facilities are available to the bustee people. Very few bustees possess water taps within their boundaries. In the majority of cases municipal taps, far away, are to be used, the number of users ranging often from 200 upwards per tap. The queues before such taps are indeed, a disturbing spectacle. No separate bath, even for the females, are available and the demoralising influence of such a state of affairs may be easily imagined. The municipal toilet are cleared not more than twice a month. As to civic facilities like education, they are simply non existent in these areas. Only rarely did we find a school going boy. Not
infrequently, we were deeply moved by the miserable conditions of the children in these areas and realized the painfulness of collecting statistics of such miseries and not being able to do more than that”.

A majority of the slum dwellers in India desire to improve their state of living by shifting to sites which have a relatively better ambience, amenities and other basic necessities and are even prepare to bear a part of the expenditure but one of the major impediments advanced by them is the fact that they can’t afford to be far off from their place of work as transportation expenses are beyond their affordability.

Analysis of the ameliorative efforts initiated to improve the conditions of the slum dwellers reveals that it has not touched even the fringe of the problem, the solution of which has been as distant as ever before. It is further seen that the city slums are not confined to the industrial areas alone. They exist in the midst of non-industrial areas also. A very large proportion of urban families are living in highly congested conditions and with great inadequacy of amenities.

From the foregoing analysis of the nature of Indian slums nature, we can conclude that they exhibit both the features of a universal slum and those of an Indian slum. Poverty, as
elsewhere, is the prominent identifiable feature. They also exhibit the tendency of “Slum Culture”. Indian slums do not develop near the city centre as they do in the United States, where property taken over by the poor, is abandoned by more affluent citizens, who have moved to the suburbs. In our country, slums spring out throughout the city, wherever there are markets, shops, factories, middle class homes and even in posh residential areas-any place in need of cheap labour and services.

Any attempt to estimate the magnitude and spread of the existing slum population with its disaggregation at the various levels is beset with two major problems namely,

(a) The non-availability of reliable and comprehensive data in respect of slum population and

(b) The conceptual difficulties arising from the adoption of varying definitions of ‘Slum Area’ as used in the slum legislations and the various surveys/census and other such relevant literature which form the basis of such estimates.

There is no systematic time series data available on slum population on a countrywide scale. It was only after the release of the findings of a nation wide sample survey of slums, conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO)
in 1976-77 and published in 1980, that a tentative, though restricted, estimate of slum population of class-I cities (cities with population over 1 lakh in the 1971 census) in the country became available. Another set of data on slum population released in 1981, related to the estimate computed by the National Building Organisation. In 1981, the States/Union Territories had identified about 279 lakh slum dwellers. Out of this identified slum population some of the states had given the fig. of above 50 per cent which was very high. Hence, these were also ad hoc estimates based on limited survey by specialized state agencies.

Prior to 1981, whatever information was available on slum population was highly sporadic. Most of the estimates available were the result of a series of ad-hoc surveys carried out in some of the big cities whereas, other estimates available were conjectural in nature as these were based on the assumption of the Working Group on Slums that 20 per cent of the urban population in the country constitutes slums.

**SARVEKSHANA (NSSO) ESTIMATES 1980:**

Th NSSO estimates of slum population are based on a nation wide sample survey on “Economic Condition of Slum Dwellers in Cities” conducted by the NSSO in its 31st round
covering the period of one year i.e., from July 1976 to June 1977. The survey was restricted to all the class-I cities in India and two class-II cities of Shillong and Pondicherry. The survey covered only the city proper and not the Urban Agglomeration for all the class-I cities in the country. Further in eight of the 9 Metropolitan cities, (with population of one million and above in 1971) the survey was restricted to 'declared slums' only. In the case of other 142 class-I cities the survey covered both 'declared slums' notified and 'undeclared slums' which were assessed as slums during the first three months of the survey. Declared slums with adequate sanitary and water facilities were excluded from the purview of the survey. For purpose of identification, an undeclared slum has been defined as an area/unit having 25 or more and kutcha structures, mostly of temporary nature or 50 or more house holds, residing mostly in Kutcha structures, huddled together or inhabited by persons with practically no private latrine and inadequate public latrine and water facilities. The survey covered 1321 'declared slums' and 3320 'undeclared slums' in 142 class I cities having 1971 census population of less than one million and 5626 'declared slums' in eight big cities with 1971 census population of one million plus. All the undeclared slums in the metropolitan cities were kept out
of the survey coverage. Slum population had been estimated on the basis of house listing in 'Sample Slums'.

According to the NSSO, about 35 lakh people resided in slums in the eight metropolitan cities in 1976-77. This constituted about 17 per cent of the total population in these cities in 1971. This figure can be taken to be a firm lower limit of the estimated slum population in these cities. For the remaining 142 class-I cities the magnitude of slum population was of the order of about 50 lakh accounting for about 16 per cent of the total population of these cities. The perusal of these figures reveals that cities falling under size 3-10 lakh had a higher percentage of slum population in relation to their total population as compared to the rest of class I cities. These figures are consistent with the National Building Organisation (NBO) estimates except for the metropolitan cities where the underestimation is quite understandable.

National Building Organisation Estimates: Under this source estimates are available for slum population at the national and metropolitan city levels, the former disaggregated according to population size classes of cities/towns for the year 1981, which also include cities in the population size below one lakh. According to NBO estimates in 1981, nearly 19 per cent
of India’s urban population resided in slums. In absolute terms, the slum population was of the order of 298 lakhs. A break-up of slum population according to different classes of urban agglomeration indicates a major concentration of this population in million plus cities. The percentage in big cities was almost 31 per cent. In all about 129 lakhs people were living in slums in 12 metropolitan cities which constituted 43 per cent of the country’s total slum population. This is followed by cities in size class 3-10 lakhs. In these cities almost a fifth of their population resided in slums. Likewise in the next category of class – I cities (1 lakh – 3 lakhs) a comparable percentage (18.12) of urban population constituted slum population. In general large sized cities indicate a higher percentage of slum population. In all the class – I cities, taken together more than 77 per cent of country’s total slum population was concentrated in these cities. On an average almost a fifth (24 percent) of class – I cities population constituted slum population as against about 11 per cent of the total population of cities below 1 lakh population.

Further, of the total slum population in class – I cities, almost 56 per cent resided in Metropolitan cities.
TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING ORGANISATION (TCPO) ESTIMATES ON IDENTIFIED SLUMS 1985:

This source provides information in respect of slum population for selected states in the country. The data (on slum population) are supplied for the purpose of monitoring point number 15 of the 20 point programme to the Town and Country Planning Organisation, Government of India under the scheme of “Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums”. The data relate to identified slums only in towns covered under the EIUS Scheme.

There is therefore some overlap between the NBO estimates and these estimates. The difference, however, is that the NBO has extrapolated the reported data taking into account the other sources while the TCPO estimates are based directly on the slum population figure supplied by the States and Union Territories (UTs). According to TCPO, the States and Union Territories have together identified about 279 lakhs slum population in 1981.

According to the Task Force estimates, the slum population in the country (selected states and UTs) as in 1981 was of the order of 320 lakhs based on low estimates and about 400 lakhs on the higher side of the estimates. This population
constituted one fifth (20 per cent) and one fourth (26 per cent) respectively of the total urban population in the country. Further the figure of slum population showed a preponderance of slum dwellers in the 12 metropolitan cities which had almost a third of their population residing in slum areas. Based on the higher side of the estimates about 40 per cent of the total population of these cities lived in slums. The share of metropolitan cities in the country’s total slum population was about 40 per cent. The class I cities (other than metro cities) which had in absolute terms a population of 90-130 lakhs accounting for 18-25 per cent of their total population. The share of slum population in this class-size in the total slum population in the country was 29 to 31 per cent. In the next category of cities/towns (below 1 lakh) about 90 lakhs people were living in slums, constituting 15 per cent of their total population on the lower side while higher estimate was of the order of about 120 lakh, accounting for 20 per cent of the total population of these cities. These cities shared 29 per cent of the total slum population in the country in 1981.

According to the 1991 census, there were 300 class I Urban Agglomerations in India, which constituted about 8.11 per cent of the total towns and cities and accommodated about 64.92 per cent of the total urban population. A total of 1400.84 lakhs
people were residing in all the class I cities, out of which about 314.30 lakhs was slum population which was 22.49 per cent of the total population. This 314.30 lakhs slum population constituted about 68.80 per cent of the total slum population. The cities/towns possessing population between 50,000-99,999 each, had a combined population of about 236.29 lakhs which constituted about 10.94 per cent of the total urban population of about 2157.71 lakhs and accommodating about 47.15 lakhs of slum population which constituted about 20 per cent of their total population and 10.30 per cent of the total slum population. The total number of towns in the size-class of population of less than 50,000 was 3052 whose total population was 520.58 lakhs constituting about 24.14 per cent of the total urban population. The slum population was 95.23 lakhs which, constituted about 18.30 per cent of its total population and 20.90 per cent of the total slum population. Thus we can say that out of a total number of 3697 towns and cities in aggregate according to the 1991 census whose total population was 2157.71 lakhs, the slum population was 456.69 lakhs which constituted about 21.20 per cent of the total population.

The distribution of the urban population will indicate the preponderance of slum dwellers in 23 Metropolitan cities of the
country as depicted in the table 1.3.1 given at the end of the chapter 1.

About 188.659 lakhs of the total slum population of 463 lakhs was residing in such cities constituting about 41.30 per cent of the total slum population. Out of a total population of 515 lakhs of the 23 metropolises of the country, according to the census of 1981, the total slum population was 148.249 lakhs constituting about 28.7 per cent. According to the 1991 census, the total population increased to 709.966 lakhs while the slum population was 188.659 lakhs constituting about 26.6 per cent. This slight reduction of 2.1 percentage points can be attributed to factors like the deletion of some slum localities due to a relatively improved physical and infrastructural facilities and amenities, non enumeration and therefore non-inclusion of few recently emerged slum localities etc. According to the estimated figures in 2001, the total population of the 23 metropolitan cities was 966 lakhs and the slum population was 254.811 lakhs which constituted about 26 per cent. We can delve more deeply and observe that the metropolitan cities/Urban Agglomerations of Kolkata, Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai, together accounted for 279 lakhs, 375 lakhs and an estimated 494 lakhs of urban population in 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively while their slum population were 93 lakhs, 117.199
lakhs and an estimated 154 lakhs in 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. We can see that the slum population of these four metros constituted about 62.71 per cent, 61.90 per cent and an estimated 60.39 per cent of the total slum population of 23 million plus metropolitan cities in 1981, 1991 and 2001. Thus, it is clear that more than 50 per cent of the million plus cities’ slum population lives in these four metropolitan cities. This reflects upon the extent of attraction these cities wield for the immigrants in comparison to other cities in this block of million plus cities.
References:

1. Marvin Versus Housing Authority of Jackson Ville: Corpus Juris Secundum; American Law.


5. A Primer About Slums (Albany, New York State Division of Housing, 1938).

Chapter One: Introduction


20. Ninth Five Year Plan;


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of cities</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Slum population</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Slum population</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Estimated total population</th>
<th>Estimated slum population</th>
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<td>1.</td>
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<td>22,480</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>122,204</td>
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<td>8,593</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>62,964</td>
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<td>5,162</td>
<td>12.5</td>
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<td>20.3</td>
<td>33,122</td>
<td>6,724@</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>43,629</td>
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<td>4,065@</td>
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<td>35,290</td>
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<td>4,172</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>24,875</td>
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<td>29.1</td>
<td>22,108</td>
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<td>0.801+</td>
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<td>0.958</td>
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<td>15,430</td>
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<td>6,982@</td>
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<td>15,273</td>
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<td>3,687</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>16,342</td>
<td>5,785</td>
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<td>709,966</td>
<td>188,659</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>966,283</td>
<td>254,811</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Classification of the size of cities is based on 1991 census.

@ Based on the percentage identified slum population of 1981.

+ Based on the percentage identified slum population of 1991.

# Based on the number of identified jhuggi cluster by the state government in 1991-92.

**SOURCE:** TOWN & Country Planning Organisation, Government of India.
KANPUR SLUMS

2.1 DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION

Urban growth in the Third World countries has been increasing at an alarmingly high rate, unprecedented in the developed countries. Larger cities have been expanding at a faster rate. The main causes of rapid growth of such cities as Kanpur are two fold- natural growths of urban population and rural urban migration. The impact of the ever increasing urban population has been an increasingly acute shortage of housing, employment, resulting in poverty which in turn results in undernourishment, inadequate physical and civic amenities and the mushrooming expansion of slums and squatter settlements. The slums and squatter settlements punctuate almost every city of the world. These settlements have become a universal and an inevitable phenomenon accompanying urban growth in all countries of the world. Charles Abrams, while elaborating the chaotic nature and unavoidability of the slums in the world, states "They (Slums) can be found in the Qasba of Tunis or the desert countries of Havana and Bermudas. In some places, a whole city may be a slum. Types of slums vary from place to place as does the definition. They include the rural and metropolitan slums, and
handmade and prefabricated slums. Some are in shack towns, others are found in the back mansions. Some are made of scrap, others are put together with mud, adobe, thatch or wood findings. Many are one storey high while others are six storeyed slums. Even caves are in use in parts of Europe and Africa\textsuperscript{1}.

Coming to Uttar Pradesh which is the largest state of India in terms of population and where our universe Kanpur is located which has the state’s largest concentration of slum population, we find in terms of its pattern and trends of urbanization that the state boasted of 41 cities with more than 1 lakh population in 1991 accounting for a population of 14,419,509 as against 30 such cities in 1981. Such a gradual increase in the number of cities of size class I in the state is going on since 1961. At the 1991 census, there were, in all, 753 towns accommodating a population of 27,605,915. Also highest proportion of the total urban population in the state is living in class I cities followed by 15.77 per cent in the towns of size class III, 13.32 per cent in class IV, 12.02 per cent in class II and 6.09 per cent in class V while only 0.57 per cent of the total urban population was located in class VI towns.

Kanpur city (\textit{80}\textdegree\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde 23' 4'' E and Naqvi et al., 1991,\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde 28\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde 15'' N) is the largest urban agglomeration of U.P. and is the industrial
metropolis of north India. It is traditionally believed that Kanpur derived its name from Kanhaiyapur, the town of Kanhaiya. By another tradition, Kanpur is supposed to have derived its name from Karnpur and is associated with Karna, one of the greatest heroes of the epic Mahabharata. During the British period it was also known and spelt as Cawnpore.

Kanpur owes its position to the rapid industrialization which it underwent during the period 1919-50 and although the pace of growth slowed down in the succeeding two decades, concentration of industries in the areas of urban agglomeration continued to grow. The industrial base of Kanpur was laid in mid-18th century with the location of the British Army Camp and establishment of woolen and cotton textile mills. World war II caused tremendous increase in the demands of Kanpur’s products and its population doubled in the period between 1931-47.

During the post war and post independence period, its industrial growth declined and industrial employment decreased from a peak of 1,16,000 factory workers in 1945 to less then 62,000 in 1955. Between 1955 and 1965, industries grew rapidly, especially small scale ones, light engineering, re-rolling, casting, manufacture of agricultural implements, chemicals, paints etc.
History of Ahtas can be traced back to the flow of British Merchants in the city during the days of East India Company which resulted in large scale employment opportunities, but the actual growth of Ahtas started since 1931 because maximum number of industrial units have come up in succeeding years. The profile of Kanpur slums that follows it based on a socio-economic survey of this city's slums, conducted by Kanpur Development Authority (KDA).

Out of a total slum population of 4,19,859 inhabiting 390 slum clusters, 77,578 or 46.43 per cent were comprised of females. Total number of families was 98,208. The slum population constituted 20 per cent of the total Kanpur population.

New immigrants continued to be attracted towards this metropolis in spite of an apparent deceleration in the pace of industrialization in Kanpur during the last decade. They have found it difficult to land in gainful employment and have, thus, started living in localities of cheap accommodation i.e. in "ahatas" in turn, further deteriorating the already sub-human level of living. An overview of the existing organizational structure in the housing sector reveals that this is hardly taking into consideration the demand pattern and the affordability of this section of the
urban population. Rather, many of the agencies in the housing sector by their administrative and financial stipulations have excluded this section from the purview of their activities.

As regarding the caste composition of the slum population, it was found that out of a total families of 98,208 about 19,172 or 19.53 per cent were constituted by people belonging to General Caste (not belonging to Backward, Minorities and Scheduled castes). Scheduled caste people, a good part of whom comprised ex-untouchables constituted 35,646 families, which in percentage terms was 36.29. Scheduled tribe comprise a very low percent of population. 27,930 families constituting 28.44 per cent comprised Backwards. Minorities constituted the rest 15,460 families or 15.74 per cent. These people are generally amongst the poorest of their respective caste groups who are at the bottom of the socio-economic scale and lead a disgruntled life in the burgeoning cities. Old tin and asbestos sheets, bites of tarpaulin, polythene sheets, gunny bags and dead wood are widely used for the construction of dwellings in the Ahatas. However, one very permanent though somewhat strange looking fact needs to be emphasized here. The existence of such shanty localities has long been attributed to urban poverty. But there are strong indications that the relationship between slums and urban
poverty is becoming tenuous and complex. Most socio-economic surveys of slums during 1950s and 1960s found that slums represented the locational characteristics of urban poverty as there was in them a preponderance of the urban poor. They were also identified as the segregated habitat of socially and economically disadvantaged (SCs and STs) and of distinct occupational groups. Slums and squatter settlements offered shelter to migrants, 80-90 per cent of whom were found to be poor, coming to the city to earn livelihood. But there are strong indications that the growth of slums and squatter settlements during 1980s became more or less autonomous and urban poverty is no longer an extension of rural poverty. Nor are the urban slums synonymous with urban poverty.

Regarding age configuration, almost half (48.84 per cent) of the "Ahata" population comprised of those representing the active productive stage of life i.e., 18-60 years. About 5.33 per cent or 22,360 belonged to age group of 60 plus. Those who belonged to 0-5 age group constituted 67,026 or 15.97 per cent. The largest category was represented by those belonging to 5-18 age group which constituted 29.86 per cent or 1,25,395 people. Thus, we can observe that there is a preponderance of children and young people in the "Ahatas" of Kanpur and this fact makes
it all the more important to address the scourge of slum in all its dimensions as this segment of a society has the potential to either mar or make the society. Also, from the analysis of the patterns of deviant behaviour that exist in these "ahatas", one is bound to think that the high incidence of crime, delinquency, prostitution, drunkenness, drug abuse, mental disorder, suicide, illegitimacy, family maladjustment, are associated with slum living.

Regarding their educational background, an overwhelming majority was found to be illiterate (64.17 per cent constituting 2,69,427 persons). Only 35.83 per cent or 150432 were found to be literate. This is in complete contrast to the general situation prevailing in our country. The literacy rate among males was 58.38 per cent and among females was 41.6 per cent. This trend is reflective of the situation prevailing in the general population where we have more literate males than females. On an analysis of the level of educational attainments among the males and females separately, the following picture emerges.

**Educational Profile of the Slum Dwellers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>29,851 (33.98)</td>
<td>23587 (37.75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We can see that more than 70 per cent of the literate males are in the possession of low educational standards which is adequately demonstrated by their low paid unskilled type of occupations with which they are engaged for their livelihood. Only a meagre 3.89 per cent of the educated males are graduates. The slum dweller's nil or low educational background is a major factor which explains a preponderance of deviant behaviour in such localities in comparison to non-slum localities.

Regarding their occupational structure about 1,02763 persons or 24.47 per cent are unemployed and only 15.91 per cent or 66,835 persons are employed. Further if we analyze the break-up of the employed people by the nature of their occupations, we find that about 13,113 (19.61 per
cent) are in government jobs. 10,134 (15.16 per cent), are involved in semi-Govt. jobs whereas 17,361 (25.98 per cent) are associated with jobs lying in non-governmental sector. However a great part of the occupationally engaged persons are self-employed. This last category is accounted for by 26,227 persons or 39.25 per cent. An overwhelming majority of the government servants, semi-government employees and those in the private sector are involved in low paid and unskilled class IV jobs which leads to a perpetuation of their poverty and deprivation. Also those who are self-employed are mostly cart-pullers, rikshaw pullers, hawkers etc and the income that such activities fetches is hardly sufficient to lead an enriched and humane quality of life. Fortunately there has been a gradual recognition that these people face social exclusion on the grounds of class, gender, ethnicity, caste and age. Also, nations that cities are filled with backward peasants cu workers who are responsible for their own poverty and deprivation have been replaced with new perspective about the needs and interests of urban poor.

Regarding monthly income per family, almost 90,000 families out of total of 98,208 slum families earn less than
Rs. 2000 per month. A very meagre percentage of the "Ahata" families earn more than Rs. 3000 per month. This fact amply explains their utter deprivation and a sub-human existence. One of the major factors that has impeded the salvaging of such a depressed urban situation is directly related with the meagre and tremendously inadequate income of the slum dwellers. A viable and sustainable credit system geared to the needs of the informal sector should be developed for improving their incomes and housing states in particular and for alleviating urban poverty in general.

Almost half of the Ahata families viz; 49,648 families or 50.55 per cent are without the facility of electricity. This segment depends upon kerosene oil for lighting purposes. Only 39.72 per cent or 39,012 families have the facility of electricity. The rest 9,548 families or 9.73 per cent the total depend upon other sources.

54,099 families or 58.08 per cent depend upon public source of water. Only 18.58 per cent have the facility of tap water whose supply is very erratic 14,943 families or 15.20 per cent have personal handpumps. The rest 10,902 other unspecified sources of water.
21,010 families or 21.30 per cent are fortunate to be in the possession of concrete viz-pucca residence. 22,803 or 23.21 per cent of the total families live in dwellings designated as semi-pucca in official parlance. Kutcha dwellings account for 38.65 per cent of the total. 12,446 families or 12.68 per cent live in hutments. 3990 or 4.67 per cent of the families live in unspecified other types of dwellings. Thus we can see that among all the forms of dwelling structure, it is the Kutchha type which is preponderant. As regarding their conditions, the following observation in the report of the Integrated City Development Plan for Kanpur Metropolis, 1975-81 provides an insight into the deteriorated and wretched conditions- "Slum are chaotically occupied, unsystematically developed, and generally neglected area which is overcrowded by persons with ill-repaired and neglected miserable structures."

46,208 Ahata families were owners of their dwellings and in percentage terms, they constituted 41.41 per cent or 40,665 families. The rest 11,335 families or 11.54 per cent of the total were living in illegally and unauthorisedly occupied dwellings. However, in case we observe the
particular slum locality separately, we can find an overwhelming preponderance of those dwellers who on their dwellings depending upon the slum in observation.

Finally, regarding the slum dwellers’ toilet description, about 31,545 families or 32.12 per cent were using public toilet facilities, which in majority of the cases were constructed and managed by an NGO, Sulabh Shauchalaya and this service was not free of cost. About 23.63 per cent of the families which constituted twenty three thousand two hundred and eight families were enjoying the facility of personal flush. A substantial part constituting 24.76 per cent or twenty four thousand three hundred five families were without any source of toilet and were thus compelled to resort to such methods like open defecation etc. About nineteen thousand one hundred fifty families accounting for 19.49per cent of the total slum families were having personal "Sokhta" toilets.

In the conclusion, we can say that the inhabitants of Kanpur slum/Ahata tenements are generally among the economically, socially, educationally culturally, occupationally and psychologically most disadvantaged, wretched and marginalized segment of the urban dwellers in our country.
2.2 Settlement Pattern.

Kanpur, the industrial and commercial metropolis of north India is the largest Urban Agglomeration in the State of Uttar Pradesh and ranks ninth largest urban centre in the country. In its kaleidoscopic urban scenario manifested through smoke and coal ash, belching chimneys of cotton textile mills and iron foundries, homeless squatters, squalid slums, overcrowding, traffic congestion, etc. on the one hand and sprawling new modern suburbs, multi-storeyed flats, universities and technical institutions, magnificent Radha Krishna Temple and spacious zoo, Ganesh Udyan, Nanarao and Brijendra Swaroop parks, on the other. The metropolis epitomizes overwhelming contradictions and incongruities of physical structure, functional morphology and human situation.

Nestling along the high natural levee of river Ganga, Kanpur enjoys a nodal location in the heart of the northern plains of India. Lucknow, the state capital lies at a distance of only 72 km, New Delhi 425 km, Kolkata-1004 km and Mumbai 1342 km. there are seven railway lines radiating from Kanpur i.e., five broad gauge railway lines linking it to Lucknow and Allahabad, Banda, Jhansi and Etawah and two metre-gauge lines to Lucknow and Farrukhabad and then onwards to different
parts of the country. Similarly there are seven major roads including the Grand Trunk connecting Amritsir and Howrah.

Like many major cities of India, Kanpur is also situated on the bank of the Ganges, the largest perennial river of north plains. The north-west to south east elongation of this physiographic feature has restricted the spread of this metropolis towards the east and insulated it from the recurring floods.

The present spatial matrix of Kanpur forms an oblong rectangle with a north-west to south east distance of about 36 km and east-west distance of nearly 15 km. between the Ganges and the Pandu rivers. The city lies in the central part of the humid mesothermal (CWg) climo-statistical region of north India, having a sub-tropical continental climate, transitional between the hot and relatively dry part of western India and warm humid part of lower Ganga.

Broadly speaking, though the pattern of morphological growth of the metropolis reflected the concentric zonation, the later stage of its growth assumed sectoral pattern. During the recent decades, the rapid sprawl of the metropolis has begun to show the signs of multi-nuclei pattern of growth. At present, the oblong rectangular shape of the metropolitan space of Kanpur
with north-west to south-east elongation contains within its limits overwhelming contradictions and incongruities, not only in terms of its physical build, multifarious economic activities and transport linkages but also in density of population, living style and overall quality of life.

"Like the crystallisation of mass around a nucleus, 11,639 inhabited revenue villages and 96 urban centres form the nodal matrix for spatio-functional organization of the urban society of Kanpur region. The colossal dominance of Kanpur metropolis in its region is clearly reflected in its disproportionate population more than half of total urban population growth as it has accommodated more of the region since 1951. Such numerical disfunctionality of urbanization in the region is further indicated by the primacy index of the metropolis". The metropolis had a high degree of primacy as in 1951 it was 8.78 times larger than the second largest centre in the region. This trend was further intensified in the next two decades when in 1961, Kanpur was 10.27 times larger than the second largest centre. In the next two decades, this two city primciry index indicated downward trend as it was 10.19 in 1981 and 10.61 in 1991. Similarly, the metropolis happens to possess 79.62 per cent of the total industrial units and 91.78 per cent of the total industrial workers
of the region. In terms of the provision of socio-economic services and other facilities, Kanpur has emerged as a great regional magnet controlling about 540 central places. This has resulted in poor coordination of the metropolis and other central places of region, aggravating regional inequalities and creating colossal problems of unemployment, poverty and socio-economic stagnation in the greater part of the region on the one hand and traffic congestion, housing shortages, slums, squatter settlements and encroachments, overburdened infrastructure and the overall degeneration in the metropolis on the other hand.

The 'ahatas' of Kanpur dot the whole city with only few exceptions in the suburban parts of the metropolis where newly built middle class residential colonies, institutes of national repute, university etc. are coming up. Its the central part of the city with some stretched out areas and the industrial and factory zones that account for almost 40-50 percent of the total slums of Kanpur. Being industrially and commercially focussed and concentrated area, this area exhibits a preponderance of business outlets and wholesale shops, restaurants, banks and places of public entertainment and recreation which are operated on commercial lines like cinema halls and brothels.
It is this zone of Kanpur which was, first of all, inhabited by immigrants to the metropolis. Business and industry acted as magnets to a large number of traders, merchants, artisans, skilled and unskilled workers, mechanics, casual laborers etc. who came and started establishing their abodes there.

As has already been mentioned in the previous section, though, the ahata (slum) formation can be traced back to the inflow of British merchants into the city, their actual growth started since 1931 because maximum number of ahatas have come up in the succeeding years. These ahatas were developed by the Mill owners/landlords on private land to provide accommodation as night shelters to the industrial laborers rented at cheaper rates near the industrial locations. The earlier ahatas were having few dwelling units clustered around the open space. Now the situation has become very grave due to vertical expansion being done by the landlords for accommodating newcomers.

Some of the rest of the slums of the city lie adjoining one or the other middle class or posh residential locality, along the railway tracks and on the bank of the Ganga canal which cuts the city into two portions. Planned residential colonies like Govind Nagar, Saket Nagar, Barra, Sarvodaya Nagar, Pandu
Nagar, Ranjeet Nagar, Azad Nagar, Harsha Nagar Indira Nagar normally incorporate within their vicinity patches of slums.

Apart from such slums, the old compact residential parts of the metropolis forming its main nucleus, comprise a large zone of mohallas like Bhusatoli, Harvansh Mahal, G Waltoli, Moolganj, Bansmandi etc, some of which have also been categorized as portions resembling slums, particularly their original residential spots as different from later-on-emerging extended parts. As works of renovation or repairing are normally not done, the dwelling structures are dilapidated as well as overcrowded due to the very limited space and continuously increasing family size.

The housing areas of labour colonies either as employer’s colonies like McRobertsganj, Allenganj, Elgin Mill Settlement, Kamala Nagar etc. or Government and Semi-Government labour colonies such as Bapupurwa colony, Govindnagar colony, Benajhawar Road, Vishnupuri colony etc. also account for some of the slum settlements. As neither the employers, be it private or Government or the inhabitants themselves on their own ever made efforts to provide the fundamental physical necessities, other facilities and amenities in these colonies in an adequate measure, and also due to a substantial contraction in the industrial job opportunities and consequent deterioration in the
economic conditions of the inhabitants of these residential areas, they acquired almost all the characteristic features of slums.

There are numerous railway lines in the metropolis which crisscross the city and almost everywhere, there are patches of slums adjoining these tracks. A number of them belong to the category of slums that have recently sprung up. Also, the lower Ganga Canal cuts the city into two halves. The poor people have inhabited the area comprising the bank of this canal.

Summarizing, we can say that slums of Kanpur, among themselves, reflect variations in origin, welling structures etc. The explanations accounting for the emergence of ahatas and the way they have come up are different in case of different slum clusters. However one common thread that run through all of them is the deprivation of the slum inhabitants and their exclusion and separateness from the main urban fabric of the city.
2.3 BASIC PROBLEMS

Living conditions of the inhabitants of Kanpur slums are extremely poor due to inadequate provision of infrastructure, shelter and basic services. Kanpur, being the hub of industrial and modern technological development, has acted as a magnet and its level of industrialisation, employment opportunities, both in the formal and informal sectors of its economy, educational development, amenities and facilities in the field of transportation, electricity and other such concomitant advancements have attracted thousands of immigrants from far and wide. Majority of the inhabitants of the slum localities of Kanpur are the immigrants from the nearby districts like Pratapgarh, Lucknow, Sitapur etc. These people experienced both pull and push pressures simultaneously and the net effect was in terms of their shifting to Kanpur. As the jobs in which most of them landed were hardly income fetching, they started inhabiting the settlements which were already exhibiting almost all features of slum life like, overcrowding, dilapidated dwellings, poverty, unhygienic sanitation, malnourished children and adults, an above average rate of prevalence of infant mortality,
morbidity, poor child delivery services, complete absence of any educational facilities, lack of vocational training opportunities, the squandering away of the most productive phase of life by a majority of the youths, an almost subservient status of women the dwellers' indulgence with immoral, socially despised behavioural patterns, destructive forms of activities like drug abuse, sexual perversion etc. The quality of life of these people is poor due also to their poor health status with a high incidence of water-borne communicable diseases such as gastroenteritis, cholera, hepatitis skin, eye, throat ailments. The processes of technological modernization, urbanization and industrialization in the metropolis injected situations of wide disparity in the levels of living, income and development of human facilities much more so among the rural migrants living in degraded environment forming such slum and squatter colonies without the basic facilities and services. Second World War and influx of refugees as a result of Partition have been regarded as the two major factors accountable for the further deterioration in the situation when in spite of the existence of 1919 Improvement Act, no perceptible change had occurred in the civic amenities. Thereafter breeding of slums developed, Kanpur, being a well-connected city. Such an
inflow of population brought about shortage in housing quantitatively as well as qualitatively. According to an old survey, 32 persons/house in the built up area was reported. On the fringe of the city, several village type settlements in particular on the southern part which were included within the municipal limits did not have any civic amenities. Besides the menace of overcrowding, the insanitation in Ahatas, i.e., the slums grew proverbial in the city. The factories in Kanpur built only slums and did not think of developing the settlements for the labour, consequently the industrial labor was drawn in the laps of private enterprises which developed the institution of "Ahatas" which became a vested interest and produced a crew of small and big exploiting individuals/families to extort high rents along with ghastly or no service facilities for the industrial labour for that matter the slum-dwellers is regulated by the income earned by them but, for casually employed, it is difficult to figure out his real income. The following definition of the "Ahata" will provide some insight into few of the problems encountered by the dwellers of these "ahata". "An ahata is a group of tenements not being less than 9 in number and each of the tenement has 2 or less than 2 rooms which are intended for human habitation."
Again the tenement is defined as a house or building or portion thereof which is let out for residence of four or more families living independently and cooking independently of each other and having a common right in the halls, stair cases, yard or cellar".

The existence of slums on such a vast scale in this metropolis is one of the most evident symbols of the failure of this apparently "progressing" city to uniformly spread the benefits of development that has supposedly taken place. Some economists and industrial experts have hinted at the existence of economic industrial stagnation in Kanpur particularly during the last decade of the last century. Increases in urbanization and a tertiary employment in the absence of economic growth in the city or a growing secondary sector are seen as pathological and are used to explain the apparent marginalization of the large number of slum dwellers who are observed swarming the ahatas and ghettoes. Such a skewed urbanization is not without its social cost. It is bringing to the city slums, ever increasing overcrowding, substandard housing, insanitary conditions, diseases and general community disorganization. These "ahatas" have generally been the most neglected settlements of Kanpur,
overcrowded with dilapidated housing, insufficient communications, inadequate amenities, absence of social services, welfare agencies all of which combine to breed many social problems. There is general apathy, lack of cohesion and an indifferent attitude. The cause of housing shortage is found not only in the unequal distribution of income and wealth but also in legal ignorance. As we have already seen in the previous section that a majority of the slum dwellers in this city are illiterate, the acquisition of legal forms of tenure is beyond their reach, not only because they are poor but also because of illiteracy and general ignorance. Most of the ahata dwellers were found to have a diet far below the standard balanced diet. Their dwellings are impermanent and liable to destruction by fire and floods. The lands on which they squatter or erect their shelter belong in most of the cases, to either the Government, Corporation or private individuals. They bristle with severe sociological evils. Juvenile delinquency, gambling, ticketless travelling, tresspassing, bootlegging, theft, pickpocketting etc. are most common.

Following are some of the most pressing, difficulties, deficiencies deprivations prevalent in the "ahatas" of Kanpur.
1. There is very inadequate and unsatisfactory drinking water availability. The few public handpumps that have been provided are hardly commensurate to the requirements. In the slum localities where piped water has been provided, it is available for short durations at a low pressure and the supply is often erratic. A large number of persons being dependent on one handpump results in long queues and hours of waiting. The per capita water consumption is, therefore, extremely low in such slum localities. It seems that the problem for them is not of non-affordability of the current (monthly) expenses of having piped water supply but that of the capital cost of installation. Given that public funds available for tackling the problem have gone down over the years the private entrepreneurs are unlikely to find this sector financially lucrative, the deterioration in water situation in recent years is understandable. Further, seepage of sewer water through corroded water pipes is common which results in epidemics.

2. In most of the ahatas, the dwellers are devoid of any personal toilet. They have to depend upon the public toilet which in a number of cases is not free of cost. They seem
to have no other option except open defecation which, of course, is widely prevalent. Even the condition of public latrine, sometimes, becomes bad unbearable due to overcrowding, poor and improper maintenance and also due to the and indifferent attitude and poor hygienic sense of the users themselves. There is problem with the availability of adequate water mugs/cans needed for personal ablution purposes as well as cleanliness in the latrine. The overall problems with the old community latrines are very acute. There appears to be hardly any incentive for the people to use them. Viewed from any consideration namely quality of construction cleanliness, hygiene etc. the conditions of old latrines are most deplorable. Technically these latrines have many poles.

3. Drains, more often than not, develop defects due to which their proper functioning gets affected.

4. The acute problem of unsound condition of lanes, by lanes and streets in the slum localities is hardly to be missed. In most of the cases they are without any lighting facility, brick-paving has been done but it is not universal in the
sense that not all the slums and bastees have been provided this amenity nor all the lanes and bylanes even in an individual basti are fortunate to enjoy this facility. In a number of cases, they have developed mounds which hampers the smooth movement. Occasionally, accidental of the individuals and incurring of minor injuries are also reported.

5. Electricity:— Less than half of the slum households have proper electricity connections (legal and metered) Majority of the dwellers use non-electricity sources for lighting purposes. The supply is also very erratic. Street lighting is virtually non-existent. The factors like location of the toilet complex, capacity of the people to pay for usage of these facilities, level of literacy and civic sense of the people and the capacity of the toilet complex are major determining factors for its usage. There is also the problem of inadequacy of support amenities like water for cleaning and electricity for lighting.

6. Street electric poles (where this facility has been provided) are virtually without any bulbs or tubelights. Even after
making numerous representations and appeals and after receiving numerous assurances. The problem doesn’t disappear as most of the times the assurances prove hollow.

7. Dwelling structures in majority of the cases are unspacious, overcrowded, unventilated, dilapidated, have run down walls and roofs and hardly adequate for a decent human living. There is no security of privacy. Young couples and other members of the family are compelled to sleep in the same room. All such factors combine to give birth to such socially despised behavioural patterns as perverted sex and promiscuity, incest. Such an unnatural sexual perversion gives rise to serious sexual disorders which also explains a relatively high prevalence rate of such diseases in the ahatas as compared to non-slum localities. Moreover, new rural dwellers from the adjoining districts continue to pour into the metropolis due to population pressure and agricultural stagnation in the villages. The almost decelerated and stagnant pace of industrialization in the city itself especially during the last ten years has almost contracted the job opportunities. Consequently job seekers
ultimately enter the informal sector in the form of street vendors, hawkers petty shopkeepers, rickshaw pullers, cart pullers, labourers etc. Being unable to land in jobs fetching more than subsistence income they just crowd these deteriorated and dilapidated "ahatas' and further degrade the already sub-human existence.

8. Related with the above mentioned problem is the non-regularization of and non-entitlement to the dwelling land due to which the residents live in a constant fear of eviction. This fear prevents them from undertaking shelter upgradation and improvements programmes.

9. Even in cases where some of the infrastructural amenities have been provided, more often than not, their quality is unsatisfactory. The services start developing problems, in some cases, within the first year of their provision. The difficulties may be related with the design of the plan, the sub-standard quality of the materials used, the use of less than required amount of the materials etc.

10. An overwhelming majority of the migrants who come and find accommodation in the ahatas are generally poor not
only in terms of their current earnings and incomes but also their potential learning capabilities as a preponderant of them are almost illiterate, unskilled or semi-skilled and without any hope of ever enhancing their earning capabilities. Infrastructure and urban basic service deficiencies reflect poverty of the urban bodies and authorities than its people in contributing to the growth of the slum population. Also, almost 50-60 per cent of the earned money would be spent on activities like gambling, movie watching, drinking etc. and ultimately they will be left with little to spend on such constructive activities like school fees for their children, shelter upgradation and acquisition of skills to enhance their earning capabilities.

11. Poor health status of the slum inhabitants also can not be missed, almost all the health indicators like people’s morbidity rate, mother’s and child mortality rate, low birth weight among the new borns, prevalence of infectious and communicable diseases, nutritional deprivation among the children, pregnant and lactating mothers, a tendency of neglecting the health particularly of the vulnerable sections
like pregnant mothers and infants reveal a depressing picture.

12. In a significant proportion of the slums, the primary and pre-primary educational facilities are either non-existent or the quality of service delivery is very poor. But this does not mean that the dwellers don’t want to set their children educated. In fact, a reasonably good number of slum children attend private schools situated in the vicinity of their cluster.

13. Lack of community cohesiveness, community feeling and brotherhood, community initiative and sense of belongingness are very often associated with the slum life and cited as some of the major impediments in effecting any environmental improvement programme. Policy makers, programmers and implementing personnel generally attribute the failure of the programmes, among others to the uncaring attitude of the slum dwellers towards improving their conditions, lack of traditions of participation in the developmental efforts and other such variables. But the perception of the slum dwellers is that it’s
the government officials who regard them as unwise and uncared for people which makes it difficult for them to participate fully in the programs. Whatever may be the argument, there is no denying of the fact that the slum dwellers are lacking in any sense of community organization. Also, they seem to be much less empowered. Empowerment means people have a proportionate sharing in the fruits of development that their society experiences. This means people are able to realize, articulate and plan ameliorative programmes themselves for the needs deficiencies and deprivations in their whole set up of living. In almost all such fundamental community requirements, the ahati dwellers of Kanpur are utterly lacking. Frequent quarrelling and wrangling will erupt in the most minor of the Basti issues. There is an acute lack of responsible, accountable and dedicated leadership in these communities. Political exploitation of the Basti dwellers on the lines of caste and community is rampant. The local elected political representative’s callous attitude towards the Basti problems is a recurrent complaint.
A number of the above mentioned factors are, more often than not, associated with non-slum communities also but their requirement is felt more severely and their absence is more chilling in slum communities.

14. Poor maintenance of the services provided, irresponsible and callousness use, apathy of the government officials and more importantly the perception among the slum-dwellers that they are destined to live in such wretchedness and misery are also among the constraints and inhibiting factors of slum life. Lack of the integration of the dwellers with the general urban fabric, prevalence of a feeling of being among the city's excluded and marginalized and problems associated with the slum dwellers' socio-psychological dimension are very striking. Lack of empowerment prevents them from approaching the government department regarding their problems. Their accessibility to public institutional establishments is almost negligible or virtually non-existent.

In the conclusion, we can say that the problems which the "ahata dwellers" are facing are multidimensional. The broad
Reference:


3. Socio-economic Survey of Kanpur Slums; conducted by the Kanpur Development Authority in 1997-98.


3.1 HISTORY OF SLUM DEVELOPMENT

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

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

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

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

The Third Plan Report (1960-61 to 1965-66) noted that during the Second Plan, out of a provision of Rs. 200 millions only Rs. 99 millions were spent but provided for more funds amounting to Rs. 286 millions for the 3rd Plan on “Slum Clearance, Slum Improvement and Construction of Night Shelters”- in addition to an allocation of Rs. 298 millions for
Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme (SIHS) (as compared to Rs. 212 millions spent in the Second Plan), Rs. 352 millions for ‘low income housing’ (as compared to Rs. 378 millions in the II Plan), Rs. 54 millions for "Town Planning and Preparation of Master Plans (as compared to Rs. 11 millions in the II Plan) Rs. 123 millions for Urban Development Schemes. The physical targets fixed for the Third Plan under Slum Clearance, SIHS, Low Income Group (LIG) and coal and mica workers in terms of houses/tenements to be raised were 100,000, 73,000, 75,000 and 60,000 respectively. In the Third Plan, a scheme supplementing slum clearance scheme was also started, it was that of providing of ’skeletal housing’ and open developed plots with separate washing platform and latrine for each family; however, leaving it to the slum dwellers to build huts/houses of a prescribed pattern themselves on ‘self-help’ basis in accordance with the technical directives of the state government. The Skeletal Housing Scheme is, in some way, a precursor to the "Site and Service Scheme” launched by the World Bank in a lot of developing countries, including India during 1970s. This was an important landmark in the development of strategies for the housing for low income groups including squatter settlement
rehabilitation. Under this scheme 32 sq. mts. developed plots/or including a skeleton house were made available (with on-site infrastructure like water supply, electricity, drainage, sewerage etc.) on hire purchase basis. This concept was based on the objective of utilizing the self-help capabilities of the residents. The dwelling unit could gradually be developed through various stages, depending upon the affordability of the people. Vacant plots with water connection could be extended to one room set and finally to additional one room on first floor along with varandah. The covered area was, gradually, to be increased from 10.47 sq. mts. to 38 sq. mts. in incremental steps. An evalulative study conducted by National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA) revealed that the land use distribution, under the sites and services scheme, seemed to be aiming at higher standards. The scale of provisions for circulation, open spaces, community and social facilities attracted the higher income groups and in the process threw the target groups out from the area as soon as these facilities were provided. As a result of accelerated urbanization and consequent pressure on land, rents and land prices in these areas may increase rapidly, thus making the project financially non-viable for low income housing.
Now reverting back to our analysis of the Slum Clearance Scheme during the Third Plan, another aspect which was rather 'enabling' in nature was the enactment of legislations by a number of states during the Second Plan itself for speedier acquisition of slum areas and scaling down of the rate of compensation. Slum Clearance Scheme was reviewed by two committees (i) Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance (ii) Study Team set up by the committee on Plan Projects.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
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<th>Programmes</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Funding and Executing Agencies</th>
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<td>I. Central Sector</td>
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<td>a) Basic Services</td>
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<td>i) Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums</td>
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<td>c) Low-Cost Sanitation</td>
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<td>d) Shelter-Cum-Basic Services</td>
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- Grant
- Grant-cum-loan
- i) Central Government.
- ii) State Government.
- iii) UNICEF
- iv) Overseas Development Organizations
- v) Commercial Development
- i) Sanitation
- i) Water Supply
- ii) Sanitation
- iii) Health
- iv) Education
- v) Shelter
- vi) Employment
- i) Central Government.
- ii) State Government.
- iii) Local Authority
- iv) Overseas
- v) Industrial Development
- vi) Commercial Development
Chapter Three: Review of Slum Development Schemes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another scheme initiated during those initial years was the Slum Clearance and Relocation Scheme. This was in consequence to the realisation on the part of the government that government and public lands were to be cleared of slums and squatter settlements so that they could be utilized according to
Chapter Three: Review of Slum Development Schemes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Low cost latrines.

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

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

   (ii) Preventive medical facilities and health care.

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

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

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

A. Projects which are remunerative.

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

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

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

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

b) The programme targets wrong cities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. to promote and inculcate group spirit and self-help among the slum communities through education and awareness campaigns.

2. to provide pre-school education to the children and adult education to illiterate slum women by organizing balwadi and adult education centers.
3. to extend mother and child health care services, with special emphasis on preventive health care by providing for immunisation, nutritious food, Oral Rehydration, etc.,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

i) power to declare areas as slums.

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

iv) clearance and redevelopment.

v) acquisition of land for improvement redevelopment.

vi) protection of tenants in slum areas from eviction.

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

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

ii) Difficulty in recovery of improvement expenses.

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

iv) Difficulty in demolition of buildings.

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

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

vii) Difficulty in eviction of tenants.

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

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

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

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

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

One of the most revolutionary changes that took place during the 1990s regarding urban development which envisaged decentralization and representative governance at the local level was in terms of the promulgation of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act regarding urban local bodies.\(^9\) In the context of the people's participation, this CA has been hailed as a key to obtain a wholehearted and representative involvement of the beneficiaries at all stages of development. The Constitution (74\(^{th}\) Amendment) Act, 1992 relating to Municipalities (Known as the Nagarpalika Act) was passed by parliament in the winter session of 1992 and it received the assent of the president on 20.4.1993. This act seeks to provide a common framework for the structure and mandate of urban local bodies to enable them to function as effective democratic units of local self-government.

The salient features of the constitution (74\(^{th}\)) Amendment Act cover the following:\(^{10}\)

- Constitution of Municipalities
- Composition of Municipalities.
- Constitution of Wards Committees
- Reservation of Seats for SCs, STs and Women.
- Fixed duration of Municipalities-Power, Authority and Responsibilities of Municipalities.
- Appointment of State Election Commission.
- Appointment of State Finance Commission.
- Constitution of Metropolitan and District Planning

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Organization of community in the form of formation of small groups, viz. project committees, youth clubs, children's army etc. has been attempted in a number of cases but their efficacy seems to be in doubtful. It appears that the formation of such groups has become an end in itself without realizing that they are only the means towards the attainment of larger objective of bringing about an amelioration and improvement in the wretched conditions of living of the slum dwellers. There appears to be a lack voluntary spirit among the people. This is the most fundamental requirement for soliciting and obtaining the active and dedicated support and participation of the prospective beneficiaries. The success or failure of the programmes, as has been derived from the experiences gained in the implementation of the projects over the last number of years point towards the people's participation or lack of it. NGOs require to make great efforts to develop a culture of voluntary participation/contribution among the people. NGOs comparative advantage also lies in the fact they are normally known in the area, speak the local language and have a good rapport with the people.
The performance of the agency officials in identifying genuine beneficiary is not very satisfactory. Even the elected representative has hardly been very effective. Similar is the case with the community Development Society (C.D.S). This is so because the local politicians has some reservations. He has to please the voters and the factional groups that support him. Hence, they resort to political expediency in selecting the beneficiaries rather than measuring the extent of poverty and exclusion. The NGOs, however, barring some exceptions, as outsiders, are free from such inhibitions and work with independence, autonomy, flexibility, innovativness and participatory outlook. They also have developed novel techniques and strategies to identify the poorest among the poor because of long experience in this field. These NGOs could impart lessons in practical methods they employ to identify and select beneficiaries. In few programmes of such nature, it was found that rather than resorting to such fixed criteria as monthly or annual income, the NGOs selection procedure reflected reasonable flexibility and they employed methods such as personal contacts, advertising, household field surveys, propaganda and distribution of useful materials. They were thus able to select some very genuine and deserving candidates. This, however, in itself generated heart burning and jealosy among a
number of slum dwellers who, inspite of being comparatively better, resented the exclusion of themselves or some of their family member or friend. The passing of the 74\textsuperscript{th} constitutional amendment could not transform the archaic attitude of the local officials engaged in implementing improvement programmes as expected. They lack planning skills to identify the needs, resources and priorities necessary for preparing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating projects. The NGOs-ULBs interface can enhance the capabilities of these officials by providing the inputs that are lacking. They can educate these personnel about what they should do and how they should go about doing it. They have, in fact, done this in a number of cases. They have provided data and information about slum problem. They have assisted the officials by carrying out household surveys, preparing inventory of the amenities and identifying the developmental problems. The informations collected by NGOs can be relied upon by the government and the latter can thus, accordingly, formulate programmes aimed at developing an enabling environment in the slum localities for effectively implementing the programmes of improvement. The government, utilizing the feedback, provided by the NGOs can modify slum development policies in accordance with the aspirations of the local people and the availability of the resources and the prevailing circumstances.
However\textsuperscript{10}, there are some really important issues with regard to the NGO movement on the national basis. Firstly, the growth of the NGOs in the different states and territories of the country is uneven, particularly in the context of its size and population. The findings of a number of studies have revealed that the growth of the NGOs in Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and the Union Territory of Delhi, has shown a downward trend, while it has accelerated in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala. There is a sharp contrast in the voluntary culture between northern and southern India. Hence, there is an urgent need to strengthen and ensure uniformity in voluntary efforts in the country as a whole. The working of some giant NGOs is reported to be steered by remote control by smart bureaucrats and political leaders sitting in air conditioned rooms away from the field, without any knowledge or understanding of the sorry plight of slum dwellers.

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

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

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

Nature and Scope of Study: The present study could be called diagnostic. It is diagnostic in the sense that an attempt has been made to find out the factors that have negatively influenced the desirable and smooth implementation of the programmes and acted as impediments in obtaining the expected results. Certain slum-specific and endemic conditions sometimes act to create difficulties in appropriate functioning of the slum improvement activities. The extent of deficiency particularly in terms of fundamental physical and social infrastructural necessities and facilities faced by the slum dwellers is established. Suggestions and recommendations to make the programmes more successful, reduce the magnitude of gaps in objectives and actual realization and increase the outreach of the benefits of the programmes to all sections of the society, are made.

Objectives: This empirical study aims at achieving the following objectives.
Chapter Four: Evaluation of Slum Development

1. To assess the study the profile of the slum dwellers in terms of their socio-economic, cultural and educational indicators.

2. To assess the nature the magnitude of the difficulties deficiencies and deprivations encountered by the slum dwellers.

3. To study the extent of the effectiveness of the various slum improvement schemes and programmes launched by the Government on terms of affair impact on lessening the physical and infract restructure deficiencies local by the slum habitants.

4. To find out the nature the degree of deviations the departure from the professed objectives of the various schemes the programmes of slum improvement.

5. To ascertain the factors behind the failure and success, if any, of the slum improvement programmes.

6. To suggest and recommend the steps needed to avoid the occurrence of avoidable impediments and stumbling blocks that try to mar the qualitative and quantitatively adequate implementation of the programmes.

Hypotheses: It is proposed to test the following hypothesis
(i) Slum dwellers are aware of the slum improvement schemes, launched by Government and non-Governmental agencies and organizations.

(ii) Benefit of improvement schemes local not reach to all slum localities and all groups of society.

(iii) Political jack and well-oiled connections are important in securing benefit from the programmes.

(iv) Common perceptions among the women that their reproductive the health Cole issues have not been adequately addressed in these programmes for the improvement of quality of life of the slum dwellers.

(v) People’s perception is that Government is not serious about really helping the people.

(vi) There is wide gap between objective conditions of people and formal requirements of various schemes to help the individual and families to provide.

(vii) On the implementation of the programmes peoples consultation was poor.

(viii) Community empowerment has not been attempted in a sincere and serious manner.
(ix) Serious attempts have not been made to provide income generating assets to slum dwellers on a sustainable bases.

4.2 Sampling and Data Collection:

The present study is concerned with finding the extent of effectiveness of various slum improvement programmes launched for improving the living conditions of the slum dwellers. Kanpur, one of the most industrialized and commercialized cities in India with the concomitant phenomenon of prevalence of numerous slum localities has been selected as universe. Here mention of few evaluation studies conducted earlier is warranted. One such study was entitled “In the Name of Urban Poor- Access to Basic Amenities” by Amitabh Kundu, which highlighted the fact that access of the bottom 40 per cent urban households to basic services like latrine and tap water was comparatively limited. Another study was conducted by the National Institute of Urban Affairs entitled “Urban poverty: A study in perceptions, 1998” The study found that less than 10 per cent of the below poverty line urban dwellers were aware of the various development programs related to them. The Task Force on Shelter for Urban Poor and Slum Improvement reviewed social housing schemes
and concluded that despite objectives in favour of urban poor there is insufficient evidence as to the extent that the urban poor have benefited from the schemes. The findings of the important studies mentioned above are, no doubt, quite important. However the relevance of present study lies in two facts. One, after the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments whole dynamics of people related development particularly community development has undergone a tremendous modification and two, due to very heavy arrival of NGOs both national and international in the field of social development and change in almost all problem aspects of contemporary Indian society. As stated above, Kanpur the largest city and 9th largest in India, has large industrial population. According to a survey report conducted by Kanpur Development Authority in 1997-98 about 420000 people (20 per cent) lived in 390 slum localities. Keeping these facts into consideration the area of study has been identified. Taking level of development as independent variable these localities are classified into 3 categories. 143, 195 and 52 numbers of slums have been identified from the three categories in proportion to their respective population. From these three strata by random sampling technique 7, 10 and 3 locations respectively have been selected. Slum category 'A' represented 36.66 per cent, slum category 'B' 50 per cent
and slum category 'C' 13.33 per cent of the total slum population By random sampling method, 300 respondents have been identified in proportion to their population in their respective categories. There are 110 respondents in ‘A’ category, 150 in ‘B’ and 39 in ‘C’ category. Information and data have been collected with the help of structured interview schedule. During the course of stay in the field observation method was also employed. Precautionarily, data has been collected from 325 households as the unit of study. In the final scrutinizing and verification 299 cases were treated for tabulation and analysis. Major aspects of study being awareness level, participation particularly participation of women and scheduled castes, implementing agencies’ efforts to enlist cooperation, focus of important programs contradiction between goals of programs, and peoples aspirations etc

The process of industrialization in its early phase attracts immigrants on a large scale due to the employment opportunities and other community facilities and advantages offered by the area where the industries come up. However the poverty and low paying capacity of the migrant, force them to find refuge either in low rental areas or to squat on the unused land located near their work centers. These slum and squatter settlements can be found in almost all cities of the country. The
government from time to time initiates a number of schemes and programmes to improve the conditions of the people who reside in this slum. The present study tries to measure the effectiveness of such schemes in the context of Kanpur. The thesis has been divided into six chapters. Chapters I is introductory in nature. it discusses the concept of slums in its various dimensions. Chapter II describes the various aspects of Kanpur slums. It includes the demographic composition, Settlement pattern and basic problems of Kanpur slums. Chapter III describes the slum development schemes in its historical perspective apart from the detailed description that it contains about the various slum improvement schemes. Chapter IV analyses and interprets the data gathered from the respondents. Chapter V deals with the phenomenon of slum in the perspective of social work and describes the approach of a social worker in helping ameliorate the conditions of slum dwellers. Chapter VI contains the conclusions and suggestions.
4.3 Analysis and Interpretation of Data

Table 4.3.1

Respondents level of awareness about the
programmes and agencies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>+ 17 (15.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>+13 (11.81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>-19 (17.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme</td>
<td>-61 (55.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: + denotes awareness

- denotes lack of awareness

Table 4.3.1 depicts the extent of awareness of the respondents with the programmes and the agencies carrying out the implementation of the programmes. 15.38 per cent of the respondents in all are aware of the programmes as well as one or the other Government department/ agency which, according to their knowledge, generally carries out the programme of slum improvement. About 61 per cent of the total respondents are neither aware of the programmes nor agencies. This fact
demonstrates the gap that exists between the slum dwellers and the agency personnel. The percentage of respondents who are neither aware of any programme nor any agency is maximum in category 'C' slums which is about 82 percent. We know that category 'C' slums are those where the physical and infrastructural necessities are in their worst condition. This means that for people to become aware of programmes that have been made with the professed objective of benefiting these very people, it's required that they are able to enjoy the benefits of such programmes themselves.

The percentage of respondents who lack awareness increases as we proceed from the slums having comparatively better facilities and services to the one with worst facilities. There appears to be an utter lack of spirit of forging working partnerships between these two important constituents of the programmes. It can also be convincingly stated that there is a lack of sincerity on the part of the implementing personnel to effectively bring about ameliorations in the slum dwellers' condition, for, had this not been the case, there would have been some formal mechanism in existence to make the targeted group obtain all the relevant informations regarding various programmes. Even if we accept the Government's contention that there is a Community Development functionary in the slum
localities whose function is to provide informations, identify prospective beneficiaries assess the general slum community needs etc., its effectiveness is doubtful. The fact that over 60 per cent of the respondents are neither aware of any programme nor any agency demonstrates how limited is the accessibility of intended beneficiaries to developmental programmes. As a matter of fact, such limited access to developmental programmes is not associated only with slum related programmes but is an all pervading reality with almost all kinds of developmental schemes brought about in our country. Slum related programmes are just one manifestation of this.

A social work professional while interacting with the people in their live situation has to apply his professional skill of intervention and behaviour modification. Probably this is one important drawback with most of the agencies and organisations working in the field of social welfare. This is high time that policy formulators must accept the importance of social work professionals.
### Table 4.3.2
Level of awareness about slum problems being addressed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Physical improvement of locality</td>
<td>12 (35.29)</td>
<td>7 (22.58)</td>
<td>2 (16.66)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Health related problem</td>
<td>5 (14.70)</td>
<td>7 (22.58)</td>
<td>2 (16.66)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Unemployment</td>
<td>6 (17.64)</td>
<td>5 (16.12)</td>
<td>1 (8.33)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Illiteracy</td>
<td>7 (20.58)</td>
<td>10 (32.25)</td>
<td>6 (50)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Community empowerment</td>
<td>4 (11.76)</td>
<td>2 (6.45)</td>
<td>1 (8.33)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34 (44.15)</td>
<td>31 (40.25)</td>
<td>12 (15.58)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now let's peruse the table showing the break up of the respondents by the specific slum problem reported by them, to be taken up for being remedied. A total number of 77 respondents across all the 3 categories of slums indicated one or the other problem being tackled through the programmes. A total of 12 respondents (35 percent) out of 34 who identified one or the other problem in the category ‘A’ slums indicated some physical and infrastructural problem like toilet, drinking water, brick-paving of lanes and by lanes, electricity waste disposal etc. Only 22.58 percent respondents in the ‘B’ category slums indicated any physical improvement work that was being effected in their slum localities. A gap of 13 percentage between the ‘A’ and ‘B’ categories of slums can be explained in terms of comparatively better provision and maintenance of physical facilities in ‘A’ group of sampled slums,
namely Bagahi Bhatta and Nutan Nagar. In the ‘C’ category slums only 60.66 percent respondents could identify any physical deficiency. This constituted about 16 per cent. A total number of 14 respondents indicated any health care facility being provided, namely, primary health centre, immunisation etc. This constituted about 18 per cent of the total 77 respondents. A total of 12 respondents constituting about 16 percent indicated unemployment as one of the problems, which was being sought to be tackled through some programmes. This included imparting of training in any trade for self-employment, provision of loans to start any business, provision of wage employment opportunities etc. A total of 23 respondents indicated illiteracy as the problem being addressed through Non-Formal Educational (NFE) facilities. This constituted about 30 percent of the total 77 respondents. Only 7 respondents in all or about 9 per cent felt that community’s lack of empowerment was being addressed through some of the governmental programmes. They particularly referred to the DWACUA Scheme-Development of Women and Children of Urban Areas and the efforts of few NGOs like that of Kanpur Welfare Society in category ‘A’ slum of Bagahi Bhatta, that of ‘Unnyan’ in category ‘B’ slum of shivraj Singh ka Purwa and that of FPAI-
A critical scrutiny of the data would reveal that to ameliorate the economic deprivation of the people, programmes have either not been initiated in proportion to the requirement or have remained unable to give good results. It’s the problem of lack of employment opportunities that dampens the spirits of people to wholeheartedly work for improving the other aspects of their living conditions. This reveals that there has not occurred any substantial changes in the economic condition of the slum people, which could decisively transform the prevalent structural configuration of the social setup. The outcome of the programmes which seek to improve the conditions other than economic of the slum dwellers can be substantially enlarged and improved if this crucial issue of unemployment is tackled effectively as it has been an established phenomenon that those colonies and settlements where the residents enjoy a reasonably average or good economic status, the general condition in terms of physical facilities and necessities including socio-cultural dimension are healthy or at least not as bad as in poor people’s colonies.
Lack of community empowerment is also inextricably linked with the general socio-economic conditions of the people. As the bulk of the slum dwellers' socio-economic conditions are bad, as has already been demonstrated rated in a previous chapter dealing with the demographic composition and socio-economic features of the slum inhabitants, their lack of empowerment is understandable. In other words, this implies that the slum community is generally cut off from the mainstream, is uneducated, has resigned to its present deprivation and either the attempts to make them socio-educationally empowered have remained utterly inadequate or have not been able to bring about the long term objective of community empowerment.

The percentage of respondents who have referred to the lack of proper educational facilities in the slums is the highest. However, the fact that a substantial percentage of the respondents were either illiterate or educated below primary level (5th class), highlights the need to delve into the real causes of this problem which may be related with the slum dwellers' poor economic status, their specific socio-cultural orientation etc.
Field observation tells us that few people take initiative to start participation in the programmes. However, when passive participants are exposed to a real situation, their inhibitions slowly disappear and they also start cooperating with the agency functionaries. This speaks about a social structural reality of Indian society, which due to its particular type of social stratification hinders people’s collective participation in the matters of community development. How to deal with this structural reality is the real challenge for a social work professional interacting with ground realities of societies.

Table 4.3.3

Participation of the slum dwellers in developmental efforts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Participating</td>
<td>43(39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Not participating</td>
<td>57(52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. can’t say</td>
<td>10(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding their participation in the slum developmental endeavours and initiatives a fairly large number of the respondents, a total of 149 out of 299, constituting about 50
per cent have hardly any inclination towards a constructive participation in any such efforts. Their only forms of participation is the rare and occasional but non-serious and routinous presentation at the general mobilisation meetings organised by the community development functionary or any non-governmental organization, in case the latter is working in any slum locality.

As we can see from the table a total of 106 respondents constituting about 35.45 percent of the total belong to the category of participating respondents. 15 percent could not say any thing. It can also be observed from the table that only 5 percent of the respondents in category ‘C’ slums stated that they participated in developmental programmes. Also, about 43 percent were unable to say anything. Most of the respondents' rationalisation behind their non-participation in developmental efforts in this ‘C’ category of slums was that their contribution in terms of participation didn’t matter as this was the government’s responsibility. The fact that only 35 percent of the total respondents participate in any developmental efforts and the rest do not have any inclination towards any participation in effort only goes to demonstrate their sense of resignation to their present wretched conditions. In such a scenario, its only a trained social work professional, having
obtained and internalized the skills, expertise and experience to motivate and stimulate a community towards affording and endeavoring itself for its upliftment, who can be of any substantial help.

We can say that people's participation in the developmental programmes is lacking and even in cases where it exists it is only peripheral. Also, as there is non-parallelism or mismatch between the priorities of the beneficiaries and the Government, the people are not able to generate adequate interest in the programmes. The slum dwellers' pressing requirement is that of livelihood and employment and improving themselves economically but there has been disproportionate emphasis on the part of the Governmental authorities to effect physical improvements in the localities which too have hardly been qualitatively and quantitatively up to the mark. If such a half hearted and callous participation on the part of the slum dwellers is not reversed, the success rate of various programmes shall not improve. The data indicates the lack of any background creation or framework for involving all stakeholders for the efficient and smooth implementation of policy objectives. Non participation or half hearted participation also implies lack of a transparent and accountable management, community empowerment, poverty reduction and capacity building, all of
which contribute decisively in stimulating the participatory habits of the beneficiaries.

Table 4.3.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Participating</td>
<td>30(27.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Not participating</td>
<td>69(62.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. can't say</td>
<td>11(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A look at the table 4.3.4 indicates clear that about 59 percent of the respondents, both males and females, replied in negative regarding the participation of the women in any developmental efforts. If we analyse the table category wise we can see that 63 percent in category ‘A’ slums, the highest in any category stated that their women did not participate. About 36 percent of the respondents in category ‘C’ slums, the highest percentage in any category, didn’t express their views.

Most of the respondents, in an overall basis, reasoned that its futile for females to venture out and participate in outdoor activities as they already had too much work load at their
homes. Also, it was beyond the comprehension of their females to understand and realise the slum problems in its fullest. Further, some of the respondents opined that participation of women would be futile as they were not going to interact with the Governmental functionaries regarding these problems. It is, however, very interesting to note that these people duties don’t have any objection in allowing their women to cross the boundary of their homes and participate in any outdoor economic activity which fetches some money. As a matter of fact, a reasonably good number of the women slum dwellers work as domestic helps in some nearby posh colonies.

However, a fact which needs emphasis here is that among the youths (those who belonged to the age group 20-40) a reasonable good number, almost above 50 per cent, were not against the idea of women participating in outdoor developmental activities, though, they were quick to attach the condition that such women should be reasonably educated, socially conscious and informed. The responses that were given by the women interviewee (whose strength was 67) out of a total of 299 (22 per cent) were most disheartening as they seemed to have acquiesced in a secondary status in social life and decision making. Their response that the males were more informed, knowledgeable, conscious and authoritative are so its
they who deserved to participate in such developmental efforts conveys the impression that they generally seem to be content with their social status and have no desire to challenge male supremacy and hegemony. Even for those women who were contributing economically to their family earnings such participation was an anathema as a number of them murmured that how they could have any say in such activities when having access to and control over their own earned income and domestic decision-making was disliked and discouraged. It seems that slum women’s low-level of literacy and education affects the attitude of their men and women’s own consciousness of their rights and privileges dictates a lower status for the females.

The data clearly demonstrates the subservient position that the women endure in the paternalistic Indian society. This also shows that the women have generally remained more cut off from the modernising influences of the processes like industrialisation, education, community empowerment etc. The reasons advanced by the respondents behind women’s non-participation clearly demonstrates how the above processes have hardly been able to effect emancipation of the people from their stereotyped and traditional mentality which have acted as impediments in stimulating their women’s involvement in case of hitherto zero participation and enhanced involvement in case
of rudimentary participation. However, the fact that a number of respondents don’t object to their women participating in outdoor economic activities brings into light the contention that to initiate and promote collective participation, the satisfaction of people’s basic needs of food, shelter and clothing, first, need to be met. A social work professional’s challenge lies in creating a consistency between the explanatory aspect of the social situation enumerated above and its prescriptive aspect which he can make use of in actual practice. An analysis of the man-woman relationships and the assessment whether the latter constitutes a ‘community’ within communities and the possibility of generating a collective approach to the issue of non-participation of women in the programmes is needed. Also the reasons gathered attribute the women’s nonparticipation to the absence of programmes specifically dealing with issues concerning common. This implies that either the women specific-schemes are not available to the extent they are needed or there are some endemic problems with the programmes themselves or the absence of an enabling environment that are impeding the beneficiaries accessibility to the programmes.

The approach of the government seems to be just dealing with the ‘high visibility’ problems and no attempt is made to realise the causes which may lie elsewhere and it may be beyond
the means of the community to be able to do something about that. This also reveals how much the policy formulators understand the complex social structural relationship of the community whom they serve. However, such a community, where the power and privileges held by different groups are unequal and one group is dominating while the other is subservient is easy to work with by a social work professional so long as the worker does not initiate any programme which is likely to disturb the existing power situation. The data received would imply that even the considerable extent of industrialisation of the Indian economy and concomitant social change, irrespective of its magnitude, that is normal supposed to have taken place could hardly change the slum dwellers’ long held stereotyped individual attitudes.

Its in such a setting that a trained social worker’s requirement, with his skills of intervention and behaviour modification, becomes all the more necessary and pressing. Creation of a widespread awareness of the problems facing women and children in society is more important to elicit cooperation and involvement of the community. Till now it seems that the services offered are only at the micro level without involving the community.
Table 4.3.5

Agency’s attempts to seek people’s participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Participation sought</td>
<td>20(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Participation is not sought</td>
<td>85(77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. can’t say</td>
<td>5(4.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3.5 presents respondent’s opinion regarding development agencies efforts to enlist participation of the target groups in the implementation of their programmes. It is quite striking to note that 71-57 per cent of the respondents in all the three types of slum localities feel that their participation has not been invited by developmental agencies. It is only 22 per cent respondents who feel involved with the developmental works. From social work perspective such a high level of non participation of people in development process is a serious methodological and procedural lapse. In terms of locational differential it can be observed that 79 per cent respondents in ‘C’ category of slums informed that participation is not sought by development organizations. It is difficult to say at this juncture if development precedes participation. However, a
vicious circle seems to be operative between level of participation and level of development.

This empirical study and a number of others concerned with measuring the extent of solicitation of beneficiaries' participation in the programmes designed for this section by the development officials have exposed this malady. The implementing staff's aversion to include the beneficiaries at any stage reveals the misconceptions harboured by the larger bureaucracy regarding the capacities of the disadvantaged and poor sections of the people. Though such attitude and mind sets are changing for the better, still much less importance and significance is attached to the suggestions given by them. Few of them especially in 'A' and 'B' slums under study who somewhat reinforcingly and proudly stated that the developmental officials did solicit their participation and even consider their proposals seemed to be rather trying to give the impression that they were more educated and socio-economically better than the others, (as also appears from an analysis of their background data) its only they who deserved to be consulted and not the other members of their community (this fact came to light during the discussions that followed with them). We can say that its very infrequently and rarely that the developmental personnel invite proposals and participation from
the beneficiaries. An overwhelming majority, about 84 per cent, of the respondents, who stated that their participation was sought, responded that it was in making people more aware, more conscious towards health, hygiene and sanitation, counseling community members against deviant behaviour and other such activities that their participation was normally sought.

The data reveal that there is a lack of an enabling environment for the slums dwellers to participate. This fact that only goes to show that a wide gap exists between and the masses. The mindset in vogue among the political, social, economic, communication and educational elite is that the masses, whom they profess to serve, should only passively accept whatever is being offered to them, as it's only they (the officials) who understand the masses' needs and aspirations in a proper perspective. The scheme like Urban Community Development and Urban Basic Services Programme focused on an active participation of the prospective beneficiaries but the data gathered reveal that the official's indifferent attitude towards seeking any responsible and meaningful role from the community acted as a hindrance and, therefore didn't result in the realization of such objectives as promotion of local initiative, cultivation of community leadership talents, community organisation and consciousness. At the same time, there is an
urgent need for the slum dwellers to overhaul their mindsets and develop a new progressive outlook and an urge and inspiration for a better living. In such a scenario where a wide gulf exists between the agency and the beneficiaries, a social work professional, due to his trained orientation in dealing with such hindrances, can find a perfect setting for utilizing his skills. At present, no efforts on the part of the agency are directed towards understanding and soliciting the contribution that the people can make and the possible ways in which they (the target group) can implement the programme to serve their objective. As already stated, a trained social worker knows that the community members are in possession of a variety of talents and experiences and tapping these is a part of the total orientation of the social worker in order to mobilise indigenous resources. However the present bureaucratic class of policy formulators does not believe in identifying the community talents and incorporating these into the programme planning, which, in the case of a social worker, is a time tested method of working with communities.
Table 4.3.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Influences</td>
<td>42(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Doesn't influence</td>
<td>53(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Can't say</td>
<td>15(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now let's analyse the responses received in response to the poser whether caste and religion influence people's participation. We can see from the table that about 48 per cent of the respondents in 'A' category slums don't think that caste and religion either obstructs or facilitates people's participation. About 38 per cent, however, think otherwise. This figure, as we can observe, is maximum in category 'A' slums. The probable reason behind this may be the fact that the sampled slums in this category contain a reasonably good number of non-SC (Scheduled Caste) people as well as adherents of Islam. About 69 per cent of respondents who said that factors like caste and religion did affect people's participation were Hindus, 28 per cent were Muslims and 3 per cent were Sikhs. About 79 per cent of the Hindu respondents were in possession of education upto 8th class. Occupationally, few of them were in fourth class government jobs, some were petty shopkeepers, some were not
working any where, few persons were cart and rickshaw pullers and others were vendors. Among the Muslims, 58 per cent were having education upto 5th standard and the rest were illiterate. Occupationally, they were factory workers, vendors, helpers at different shops, rickshaw pullers etc. Some of the Hindu respondents were averse to the idea of attending mobilization meetings in the Muslim-dominated pockets of the slum, as was revealed by them during the course of discussion that followed the administration of the questionnaire schedule. Few respondents, among the Hindus opposed the inclusion of more than proportionate number of Muslims in any Basti-based voluntary body to look after the general development of the slum. Similar was the case with the Muslim respondents who thought that the District Urban Development Agency (DUDA) and State Urban Development Agency (SUDA) officials, being Hindus, deliberately ignored the development of their neighbourhood pockets. This perception prevented them from working shoulder-to-shoulder with their Hindu counterparts for their slum’s upliftment. However, this does not necessarily imply that these two communities never sat, discussed and devised strategies together to workout solutions, to their common difficulties and deficiencies. Similarly, the non-SC Hindu respondents would prefer not to take the Scheduled
Caste Community Development Functionary (CDF or CDS) of their slum locality very seriously and would attend the sittings organized by her (CDS/CDF) very infrequently. In the ‘B’ and ‘C’ categories of slums, only 26 per cent and 10 per cent respectively of the respondents thought that factors such as caste and religion affected people’s participation. About 49 per cent in category ‘B’ and 56 per cent in category ‘C’ did not agree that these two factors influenced people’s participation. It can be conclusively said that factors like caste and religion have influenced people’s participation in the slum development programmes both negatively and positively. Negatively, in case of localities, where a substantial concentration of adherents of different religions live and positively in case of those localities which are single caste or single religion dominated. Kanpur, being among those sensitive cities of Uttar Pradesh where inter-caste and inter-communal animosities, particularly the latter one, become reinforced time and again, do not leave the atmosphere of slums untouched. The residents of the single caste dominated slum localities, particularly that of Harijans, in facts, utilize the constitutional provision of positive discriminatory treatment of their caste group and they invoke their caste status in order to force the agency officials to do the needful in case of problem arising in their localities. Factors
such as economic conditions and other non-cast and religious facts will, however, play the role of discriminator in single caste/religion dominated localities. Although, ideally, all members of the single caste dominated localities are social equals, in reality, wealth, political power, education, occupational status operate both within and between castes to produce important internal inequalities of status.

Table 4.3.7

Stage of involvement of slum dwellers

in developmental works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Planning stage</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Programme implementation stage</td>
<td>21(19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Supervision and monitoring stage</td>
<td>19(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Multistage involvement</td>
<td>38(35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we analyse this table, it becomes clear, that the percentage of respondents who want multi-level involvement in the slum improvement and development programmes is maximum (almost 32 per cent) About 39 per cent out of 95 respondents who want multi-stage participation, possess education between 3rd standard to 10th standard. The rest are
More than 65 per cent of them (out of 95 respondents) belong to the age group 25-39. About 15 per cent of the 95 respondents were women and they belonged to the age group 30-50. None of them was educated except one who had education up to class IVth. The next maximum number of respondents, belonged to the group which wanted its involvement at the planning stage. When the question was posed to few respondents, who belonged to this group, as to what they actually meant to be included in planning, they stated that it should include a proper distribution of the resources that were available to meet the competing needs. This was the prime objective of any planning as revealed by about 70 per cent of this group of respondents. About half of them were in possession of education below the primary level and belonged to the age group of 30-50. Occupationally, almost all were job holders in the informal sector. Few were petty shopkeepers also. About 60 per cent were residing in their respective slum localities for the last 40-60 years. The rest were comparatively new immigrants as they had settled there during 1970s. It was the supervision and monitoring stage at which the next maximum number of respondents viz; about 23.07 per cent desired their involvement. This group seemed to reason that if the supervision and monitoring were entrusted to persons other
than Governmental officials and particularly to the beneficiaries themselves, the result would be invariably good. If we take the percentages of respondents favouring involvement at both the implementation and supervision stage together, we can see that it comes to about 44.8 per cent. Thus, almost 45 per cent respondents in aggregate want their involvement in the implementation of the programmes, some in supervising these programmes, others in its execution but they hesitate, due to a number of reasons, most important of which is the indifferent and callous attitude of the agency people, as told by the respondents. It can be said that the respondents who expressed their desire to be involved at these two stages, particularly at the implementation stage, interpreted it in terms of getting some chances of employment and earnings. Though, there could be some other reasons also, particularly the fact that the quality of the creation of necessities and facilities would be invariably good in case the beneficiaries i.e., the slum dwellers themselves were involved. The fact that about 45 per cent respondents desired to be ensured involvement in implementation and supervision and another 23 per cent in planning, amply reveals the negligibly small amount of trust and reliance that they pose in the governmental officials. They seem to have become disgusted and fed up with the rhetoric as well as the quality of the works undertaken by
them. Now the slum dwellers want themselves to be actively involved in at least some of the most important stages of programmes undertaken for their amelioration, though, as I have already indicated, the motive may sometimes be the utilization of some earned work opportunities as in case of respondents opting for involvement at the implementation stage.

An analysis of the responses reveals that people normally want to be consulted when programmes designed to effect any improvement in their conditions, or as a matter of fact, any programme related with them are prepared. However, it is the absence of an enabling environment, among other factors, that hampers such a participation. The data show the disgustment of the beneficiaries and the targeted segment of the population with the governmental authorities who make the plans with the professed aim of benefiting these people whose participation and ideas are never incorporated at any stage of the programme. It is undisputable that until and unless their involvement is ensured at the major stages of planning and implementation, the success of programmes shall always be in jeopardy. The people's inclination towards being involved at the implementation and monitoring stages conveys, apart from the conclusions enumerated above, the lack of transparency and
accountability at these two stages. They don't approve of the authorities' ways of implementing and supervising the programmes.

**Table 4.3.8**

**Communities' contribution in the slum improvement programme**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Didn't Contribute</td>
<td></td>
<td>67(60.90)</td>
<td>85(56.66)</td>
<td>21(53.84)</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>57.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Can't say</td>
<td></td>
<td>14(12.72)</td>
<td>33(22.22)</td>
<td>14(35.85)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>20.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Going through this table we find that 57.85 per cent of the total respondents does not contribute in any form, to any slum improvement or development programme. The maximum percentage of the non-contributing respondents was recorded in category 'A' slums, where it was almost 61 per cent. The counterpart in 'B' category slums was 56.66 per cent and in 'C' category was 53.84 per cent. If we compare this percentage of non-contributing respondents with that of non-participating respondents, we find that while in the former it is 57.85 per cent, in the latter it is 50 per cent. This implies that, there are some respondents who have categorized themselves as participants but are non-contributors. One important fact needing special emphasis here is that it appears that a majority
of the respondents have interpreted any contribution in terms of monetary help. This fact came to light during field survey discussions.

21.73 per cent of the total respondents contribute in the developmental programmes. If we compare this figure with those participating in any improvement programme, we find that 106 respondents are in the latter group, while 65 respondents are in the former group. This again reflects the fact that not all who are participating in any slum improvement or developmental programme in any form are contributing in monetary terms as almost all the respondents construed the word 'contribution' in terms of, as already stated above, some monetary thing.

The agency personnel's attitude doesn't encourage any contribution from the slum dwellers. They tend to think on the lines that poverty stricken, deprived and disadvantaged community can not contribute in any constructive manner, rather their intervention could become inhibitory. A social work professional with his special expertise and orientation in dealing with a community places complete confidence in the capacity of its members to become active participants in any development or improvement programme. His task lies in locating,
identifying, promoting community resources in whatever form they may be (cash or kind) like local talents, skills, ideas, labour, materials etc. Through his expertise, he can help generate a purposeful, meaningful, relevant and time specific changes in the systems. As many a times, the people may resist changes. The social worker will require to enhance the coping and adjusting capacities of the community through of the community.

A trained social worker with his skills and expertise will generally act in such a scenario in the role of a social activist to bring about conscientisation of general masses in the urban slums. He will create a delicate balance among his professional orientation, where he is mostly influenced by the values, and standards and methods sanctioned by a relevant professional body, bureaucratic orientation where he is influenced mostly by the policies of his employing agency and finally the client orientation, where he is influenced by the needs of those with whom he works.
Table 4.3.9

Improvement observed by the slum dwellers in their localities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Improvement observed</td>
<td>42(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Didn't observe any improvement</td>
<td>57(51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Can't say</td>
<td>11(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3.10

Areas in which improvement occurred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Health, hygiene, and sanitation</td>
<td>7(16.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Electricity</td>
<td>6(14.28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dwelling related improvement</td>
<td>5(11.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Education</td>
<td>15(35.71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Physical infrastructural improvement</td>
<td>9(21.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding any improvement in the general physical infrastructural as well as environmental conditions in the slum localities, as observed by the respondents, 51.83 per cent replied in negative. Slum category-wise, this fig. was maximum in ‘C’ type slums, where about 69 per cent of the respondents...
out of a total of 39 did not observe any improvement. As a matter of fact, the physical conditions and the standard of other basic services, facilities and amenities in this 'C' type slums is utterly inadequate and deplorable. 71 respondents out of a total of 150 in category 'B' didn't notice any improvement. About 99 respondents out of 155 in aggregate who didn't observe any improvement, constituting about 64 per cent were inhabitants of the respective slum localities for the last more than 20-30 years. However, this necessarily doesn’t mean that they had very recently migrated to these slum localities but as number of the respondents were those who were born here and were in the age group of 20-30 and therefore, it is only for the sake of simplicity that they have been categorised as not-so-old inhabitants. About 34.44 per cent of the total respondents observed some improvement in their Bastees. Among the 103 respondents who observed some improvement, about 15.53 per cent indicated it in the field of health, hygiene and sanitation. About 12.62 per cent referred to the improvement they observed in the availability of electricity. About 13.59 per cent referred to the dwelling related improvement. Few respondents were among those who had been given dwelling upgradation loan. It was in the field of education that the maximum percentage of respondents, viz; 36 per cent observed some
improvement. It was in the forms of establishment of a new school nearby or within the slum, existing school building’s renovation and repairing, enrollment of a greater number of children of the locality in a school, organisation of Non Formal Education (NFE) centers etc. Second largest group of respondents observed some improvement in the physical and infrastructural facilities.

The fact that only 34 per cent of the respondents observed any improvement reveals the extent to which the improvement and development programmes have had been successful. Such a low percentage of respondents observing any improvement may also be due to the fact that a large number of the slum dwellers are dissatisfied with the quality of the services created. Moreover, as people’s pressing needs of employment and income enhancement have remained more or less unfulfilled, as we already saw in a previous table that only 15 per cent (of the 77 respondents, who were aware of any development programme being executed), indicated that the problem of unemployment was being sought to be addressed, the appreciation of physical improvements by the respondents will hardly be adequate. The data obtained support the Needs Hierarchy Theory which says that first an individual’s basic physiological needs need to be met and it is only after this, that
he can be expected to demand and accept other needs of social security, psychological gratification and self-realization. The fact that only 10 per cent of the respondents observed any improvement in the ‘C’ category slum goes to demonstrate that the efforts made are not as genuine and committed as they should be. Low level of improvement also reflects poorly upon the maintenance aspect of the services created. Once the agencies leave the locality after implementing the programme, problems start occurring in the proper functioning and maintenance of the facilities. Also, the slum dwellers find it difficult to get the support and coordination of all the concerned departments. Dilapidated and low level of dwelling structure, as has come out through this empirical study, also conforms that hardly any efforts are being made to link the improvement schemes with security of tenure and assistance in house construction. There is also no evidence of any social facilities and employment programmes being linked to slum improvement.

All this shows that wide gaps and contradictions exist between the policies and the programmes. Over emphasis on population factor tends to ignore the complexities of political, administrative, social, historical and cultural forces and often contradict with socio-economic goals.
Table 4.3.11

Existence of Public/Community Toilet facility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Exists</td>
<td></td>
<td>47(42.72)</td>
<td>55(36.66)</td>
<td>10(25.64)</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>37.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Doesn’t Exist</td>
<td></td>
<td>49(44.54)</td>
<td>73(48.66)</td>
<td>23(59)</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>48.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Can’t say/Don’t know</td>
<td></td>
<td>14(12.72)</td>
<td>22(14.66)</td>
<td>6(15.38)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding existence of public toilet, it was in the ‘A’ category of slums, which were relatively developed in infrastructural facilities, that the highest percentage (43 percent) of slum dwellers were using either individual toilet or Sulabh Shauchalaya Toilet. In the ‘B’ category of slums, 37 percent of the dwellers were using any public toilet. Though Sulabh toilets were kept clean and hygienic, (they were constructed and operated/maintained by a non-governmental organization, Sulabh) the condition of Community toilet which is built and maintained by government was deplorable. Those using Sulabh toilet were, therefore, satisfied with its functioning. The prevalence of individual toilet was more in ‘A’ slums than either ‘B’ or ‘C’ slums. The ‘C’ slum dwellers were overwhelmingly using open defecation mode. Some respondents in the ‘B’ category slum exhibited their unaffordability in using the Sulabh
Shauchalaya. Overall, it can be said that in those slum localities where Sulabh Shauchalaya is existing, dwellers were not facing great difficulties but the problem was acute in the localities where either community toilet was existing whose maintenance was not up to mark or the Sulabh Shauchalaya was at a far away place from the slum locality. The Sulabh Shauchalaya staff in the sampled slums were facing difficulties in operating the toilet on 'Pay and Use' principle particularly in 'B' and 'C' categories of slums.

This again highlights the need to increase the affordability of the people through creation of additional employment, improvement of skills for better employment opportunities and overall improvement in production and organization of services. The data as well as the discussion that ensued during the course of administration of the questionnaire schedule revealed that the toilet services were the most pressing problem area which in turn goes to show that the scheme related with provision of sanitation facilities have not been very successful. The fact that the condition of the government operated community toilet was deplorable is a telling comment upon the quality of the services created and their maintenance.
Chapter Four: Evaluation of Slum Development

Table 4.3.12

Occurrence of positive changes in the general health status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.Occurred</td>
<td></td>
<td>37(33.63)</td>
<td>58(38.66)</td>
<td>8(20.51)</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>34.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.Didn’t occur</td>
<td></td>
<td>56(50.90)</td>
<td>73(48.66)</td>
<td>19(48.71)</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>49.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.Can’t tell</td>
<td></td>
<td>17(15.45)</td>
<td>19(12.66)</td>
<td>12(30.76)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>299</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.Public facilities only</td>
<td></td>
<td>37(33.63)</td>
<td>47(31.33)</td>
<td>29(74.35)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>37.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.Private facilities only</td>
<td></td>
<td>22(20)</td>
<td>30(20)</td>
<td>7(17.94)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>19.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.Both public and private</td>
<td></td>
<td>51(46.36)</td>
<td>73(48.66)</td>
<td>03(7.69)</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>42.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>110</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>299</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as any positive changes in the health status of the slum dwellers is concerned, only about 34 per cent respondents gave an affirmative reply. In the category ‘C’ slums where the general socio-economic and infrastructural conditions were comparatively bad, the number of respondents, who were of the opinion that health related positive changes had taken place, was the lowest (21 per cent) in the three categories. A good number of respondents who gave a positive reply may have
been motivated by the fact that now accessibility to health facilities was easy, public hospitals were within reachable distance, etc.

During the administration of the questionnaires schedule, a number of respondents who gave positive responses reasoned that as now less people die from diseases like Tuberculosis and Malaria which about 40-50 years ago used to wipe out the whole locality, so it’s natural that improvements in health care services have taken place. Some among those who gave negative replies rationalized that when doctor’s fees were unaffordable, the medicines were expensive then how it could be said that the health conditions had improved. From the table 4.3.12 which shows the break up of respondents by their use of public, private and mixed health facilities, it’s clear that about 46 per cent or 51 respondents were using mixed health facilities in ‘A’ category slums and 49 per cent were using the same kind of facilities in ‘B’ category slum. In the ‘C’ category of slums, the preponderant majority was using public facilities. Moreover, those among the slum dwellers in the ‘A’ and ‘B’ categories who were using private health facilities exclusively reasoned that firstly, the cost difference between public and private health services was not much, secondly, due to heavy rush in the Governmental hospitals, the doctors were hardly giving
individualized and complete attention and thirdly, the distance between the hospital and their dwelling also proved to be a hindrance. These respondents’ socio-economic and educational profile seemed to be comparatively better. Those respondents who were using mixed services said that though they visited private practitioners but it was not as frequent as public hospitals.

The data reveal that maternal and child health practices are not very healthy and they need due attention. A trained social worker who has specialization in Medical and Psychiatric Social Work will delve into the patients psychological and environmental strengths and weaknesses. His interventionist elements will involve collaboration with the doctor’s team in the delivery of services to assure the maximum utilization of the skill and knowledge of each team member. He will require to assist the family to cooperate with treatment and to support the patients utilization of medical services. A social work professional whose major function is to enhance the social functioning of the community or as a matter of fact, individual or group, help them muster the personal and social resources towards physical and mental well bring.
The data revealed highlights the disenchantment of the people with public health facilities, but again due to their poverty, they are forced to use them. This reveals how grossly inadequate the services are at public hospitals both in quality and quantity. There is an utter lack of social health practices among the slum dwellers which reflects upon the insufficient availability of health related education. A social work professional's role, in such a scenario, will be at various stages. He will be required to involve himself in health education, encouraging immunization, good mental health practices in families, prenatal and postnatal care etc. The social worker is a linkage between the community and a system of support that maintains health. The heavy dependence of the slum dwellers upon the public health system is adequately revealed by this research study.

**Table 4.3.14**

**Influence of slum development programmes on Community Cohesiveness.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Community brotherhood increased</td>
<td>32(29.09)</td>
<td>41(27.33)</td>
<td>08(20.51)</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>27.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Community feeling remained constant</td>
<td>69(62.72)</td>
<td>73(48.66)</td>
<td>27(46.15)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>56.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Can't say</td>
<td>09(8.18)</td>
<td>36(24)</td>
<td>04(10.25)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regarding community cohesiveness and brotherhood, less than 30 per cent of the respondents (29 per cent) in category ‘A’ slums gave a positive reply. The respondents who gave a positive reply seemed to be including only their immediate and near community dwellers. They did not seem to mean all slum dwellers when they talked about community brotherhood. However, overall the opinion leaned towards absence of community feeling. We can say that schism and separate identification exists even in the same slum locality among its dwellers on the basis of socio-economic and educational conditions. The creation of community cohesiveness and consciousness, cultivation of local leadership talents, creation of self-help groups were the objectives sought to be achieved through the Urban Community Development Project but the results that have come up through this research study reveals the extent to which they have been attained. Poor community brotherhood and cohesiveness as revealed through this research study indicates lack of sound interpersonal relationship among the slum dwellers. Regarding local initiative’s role, it was very rarely that solution to tackle any slum problem came up from within the slum community itself whether it was in the form of resource mobilization or needs assessment, their prioritization and patterning to suit the particular slum locality. Lack of any
local initiative was an all pervading phenomenon but it was marked in the category ‘C’ type of slums. Some respondents in the ‘A’ category of Bagahi Bhatta were highly appreciative of their independent local political representative.

Overall, as shown in the table 4.3.13 about 27 per cent opined that community cohesiveness increased. Just above half (56 per cent) said, it remained constant and the rest 16.38 per cent didn’t express their views.

The responses received make it clear that there is a lack of community feeling and brotherhood which acts as a hindrance in the smooth implementation of the programmes. A trained social worker with his skills and expertise will face the challenge of developing the capacity of the community by making it more organized to cultivate a feeling of cohesiveness. The data would imply that there is no attempt to create an enabling environment in the slums in terms of community feeling. The tendency of monopolization of fruits of development by certain sections of the community, as will be revealed later on also, creates disharmony among the various sections of the society, and disenchantment with the agency personnel, among those sections who perceive themselves as being left out. In such a disharmonised social set up the social workers challengers will
increase manifold as he will find it difficult to organize them with the purpose of community action in case any need arises for that. It is due to the non-cohesiveness in the slum community that attempts to create any community, structure which could take over the programme to run it through indigenous resources, generally does not succeed.

Table 4.3.15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Received</td>
<td></td>
<td>19(17.27)</td>
<td>32(21.33)</td>
<td>5(12.82)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Not received</td>
<td></td>
<td>91(81.8)</td>
<td>118(98.66)</td>
<td>34(87.17)</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>81.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table depicting the break-up of the respondents by provision of any income-generating assets to them including any financial assistance, it is clear that very meagre percentage of the respondents have ever received such benefits. As we can see from the table, only 18.72 per cent of the total respondents have received any such assistance. Category-wise, its clear that the percentage of respondents who have not received any such assistance is the highest in category ‘C’ slums which is 87.17 per cent. It is lowest in category ‘B’ slums. However, the difference among the percentage figures in all the three
categories of slums is not very substantial as is obvious from the table. A good number of respondents were of the view, in all the three categories of slums, that the conditions which facilitated provision of any income generating asset including loans were close proximity to the Sabhasad i.e. ward member, being an influential person of the locality, being functionally educated and economically well off in comparison to the other slum dwellers. Respondents said that it was very difficult for a person, who was genuinely in need of some assistance but was not in the good books of the local ward member or had not been in possession of any other connection, to avail of any assistance whether in the form of financial assistance or some sustainable asset. The complaint that only well-connected and influential persons got any kind of loan or other kinds of assistance was, however, very common among the slum dwellers. It can be deciphered from an analysis of the research data obtained that not all slum dwellers are acquainted with urban poverty alleviation programmes and income generating asset assistance programme, rather a meagre segment of slum population know about the schemes. There is no practice of briefing the slum dwellers about the various urban poverty alleviation programmes, and slum improvement schemes initiated by the Government. A number of respondents revealed
that the lengthy documentation and complicated procedure also
acted as disincentive to obtain benefits even in case of those
who were acquainted with the schemes. Leave the slum dwellers
who are illiterate, ignorant and almost cut off from the
mainstream of the larger societal fabric, even the literate,
conscious, newspaper readers and somewhat integrated with the
urban fabric are not acquainted with the various schemes
initiated for urban poor’s development and benefit.

The respondents told that the Community Development
Society (CDS) had been entrusted the task of identifying the
prospective beneficiaries under the various programme. During
discussions with the respondents, it was found that the slum
dwellers were not happy either with the way the selection of the
beneficiaries used to be done or with the trainees who had been
selected. The concerned departments looking after the
improvement schemes and other specific poverty alleviation
programmes need to give a wide publicity to the promulgated
programmes if they are serious in addressing the deficiencies of
the poverty stricken people. A number of respondents in all the
three categories of slums were complaining about the eligibility
requirements that had been attached with the programmes of
loan assistance and training.
Chapter Four: Evaluation of Slum Development

The data gathered and information received in the course of discussions with the slum dwellers reveal that ignorance about any programme to help people obtain some income generating asset, the eligibility criteria fixed, the lengthy and cumbersome procedure to obtain the help, nepotism and corruption, uncooperative attitude of the elected political representative, all hampered the accessibility of the prospective beneficiaries to the programmes. The characteristic bureaucratic inflexibility and a lengthy documentation procedure need to be dispensed with so that more and more genuine and deserving candidates could benefit.
Table 4.3.16

Quality of the services created

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Good</td>
<td>12(10.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Average</td>
<td>27(24.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Poor</td>
<td>60(55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Can’t say</td>
<td>11(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we look at table 4.3.16 which shows the slum dwellers’ perception of the quality of the work carried out by the agency authorities, it’s clear that on an overall basis only about 10 per cent of the total respondents feel that services provided were good. When we match this information with the background data, we find that 6 per cent of them are in possession of education up to 8th class; belong to the age group between 25-37; have a household income of less than Rs. 4000 p.m. but more than 3000 per month; living in their respective slums for the last more than 40-50 years and remain outside the locality for an average 7-10 hrs. daily.

However, even these respondents seem to differentiate the quality between good and poor depending upon which fundamental physical facility of the locality they are referring to. E.g., few respondents in the ‘A’ category slum locality of Nutan
Nagar expressed the view that the maintenance and upkeep of the public toilet managed by the Sulabh Shauchalaya was good but the same of the governmental managed community toilet was poor. About 44 per cent termed the quality of services provided as poor. About 25 per cent of the total respondents couldn’t say anything about the quality of the work. It was in the category ‘C’ slums that the percentage of respondents rating the quality of the work as good, was the lowest. Incidentally, the status of the fundamental infrastructural facilities in category ‘C’ slums was the worst among the 3 categories of slums.

Let’s now analyse the rationalisations behind the various responses expressed by the respondents. About 58 per cent respondents in the ‘A’ category slums who rated the facilities created as poor, supported their point of view by reasoning that neither the facilities, when first created, were up to mark nor the maintenance/repairing/renovative work carried out is good. The rest 45 per cent of this group of respondents reasoned that poor maintenance; inappropriate, irresponsible and improper use of the services and the poor standard of the services itself when first created were the major factors among few minor ones for the poor quality of the available facilities.
From the above description, it's clear that the respondents either rate the quality of the facilities as poor or average. Such responses on the part of the slum dwellers can not be dismissed simply in terms of the fact that they are of complaining nature as this impression is normally harboured by the agency personnel. Field survey itself revealed the poor maintenance and upkeep of the facilities. The observation makes it clear that the executive agency needs to strictly adhere to the quality stipulations when carrying out such improvement works in the slums.

Table 4.3.17
Level of regularity of implementing agency officials in the field.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents and their percent to total respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Visited two times</td>
<td>62 (56.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Visited only once</td>
<td>32 (29.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rarely visited</td>
<td>16 (14.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the view of the respondents, important officials of the agencies/organizations working in the locality visited the area in different fashion. It is seen that nearly 50 per cent of the respondents accept that the officials visited the locality two times during the execution of the work, 31.77 percent respondent accept that officials visit to their area only once.
while 20 per cent are of the view that such visits are rare and the high officials hardly bother to save time for the poor localities. The data mentioned above appear quite simple and plain but one thing can be accepted beyond doubt that bureaucratic attitude of government officials is not encouraging and their commitment to people's welfare programmes is poor. In such a situation it is difficult to accept the success of development programmes. This means that a sustained, concerted consistent and united efforts of all the stake holders is the need of the hour. Social work is one of the professions that because of its value system, knowledge base and methodology is asked to help find solution. A low degree of supervision on the part of the agency personnel reflects the extent to which they feel concerned about the problems facing the community whom they profess to help. A trained social worker with his practice framework, which encompasses purpose the raison d'être of practice, values which determine his attitudes and approaches, sanctions-the society's mandates and provisions of social work expressed in structural arrangements the law the policy statements, all prove crucial in finding solutions and helping the concerned people in presenting a concerted effort.

It's clear from the information and date received that more than 70 per cent of the respondent observe for not more than
two times any senior agency functionary visiting the basti to see for himself the project’s execution. It’s a sad commentary upon the sincerity and seriousness shown by the agency people for meeting the needs of the slum dwellers. This fact of commitment and dedication on the part of the agency functionaries is an all pervading phenomenon in our country and is not limited to the slum development programmes only. However, it’s not only the agency but the prospective beneficiaries too with exception of some rare occasions, don’t feel the kind of emotional attachment with the programmes that with infuse than with the spirit to involve themselves in such programmes, though, as already depicted and discussed, there are numerous inhibiting factors also which actually disincentivise them to participate. Resources alone would not do the job.
If we look at the table 4.3.18, which shows the factors responsible for the poor execution of the programmes in the perception of the slum dwellers, we see that in the 'A' category slums about 20 per cent held lax supervision as the cause of poor result. About 76 per cent of this group was having education up to 9th class. The rest 24 per cent were educated up to 2nd class only. About 88 per cent were residing in their slums of Benajhavar Road/ Nutan Nagar and Bagahi Bhatta for the last more than 40-60 years. All of them were born in these

Table 4.3.18

Factors responsible for poor performance

of the programmes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Lax supervision</td>
<td></td>
<td>22(20)</td>
<td>15(10)</td>
<td>3(7.69)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Attitude of elected representative</td>
<td></td>
<td>17(15.45)</td>
<td>20(13.33)</td>
<td>8(20.51)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Corruption</td>
<td></td>
<td>20(18.18)</td>
<td>13(8.66)</td>
<td>3(7.69)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Uncaring attitude of the government</td>
<td></td>
<td>15(13.63)</td>
<td>16(10.66)</td>
<td>5(12.82)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Inadequate funds</td>
<td></td>
<td>14(12.72)</td>
<td>12(8)</td>
<td>2(51.12)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Combination of factors</td>
<td></td>
<td>22(20)</td>
<td>74(49.33)</td>
<td>18(46.15)</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>38.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
slums itself. On an overall basis, 14 per cent held lax supervision as the cause of poor execution. 15 percent held indifferent attitude of their elected representative as the factor behind poor results. A number of respondents, during the administration of the questionnaire schedule, who belonged to this group of 15 per cent, told that either their elected representative didn’t show any active interest in solving the Basti’s problems or at the most, tried to ameliorate the conditions of that neighborhood pocket to which he himself belonged. The slum dwellers’ disgustment with and non-reliance upon the person who was thought to assume an active role in solving the slum locality’s basic problem parallels the larger picture prevalent on an all India basis. In both the ‘B’ and ‘C’ categories of slum, the single most important factor held accountable for the poor and unsatisfactory implementation of the programme was their political representative’s callous and uncaring attitude. In category ‘B’ slums, about 13 per cent of the respondents held this factor and in category ‘C’ slums it was 20 per cent of the total. In category ‘A’ slums, this factor was the third most frequently cited reason for poor execution of the programmes. This difference in the ranking of this factor in the category ‘A’ slum on the one hand and ‘B’ and ‘C’ slums taken together on the other may be due to a comparatively better
performance of the political representative in one of the sampled slums of category 'A'. As narrated by the slum dwellers of this locality the passing away of the local elected representative proved to be a watershed in the mutual relations of the inhabitants and animosities, rivalries and wrangling surfaced on a prominent scale and destroyed the harmonious neighbourhood brotherliness that was previously existing. About 12 per cent held corruption as the cause of poor execution. Category-wise, the largest percentage was in category 'A' slums where 18 percent of the respondents held corruption to be the culprit. About 15 per cent held lack of serious commitment on the part of the Governmental officers to improve the slum dwellers living conditions as the cause of poor execution of the programmes. 12 per cent thought that lack of adequate funds was one of the factors.

Lastly, when we come to the column which shows the number of respondents in each three categories of slums holding a combination of these above mentioned factors responsible for the inadequate results, we find that 38 per cent have chose this column. The most frequently cited combination in category 'A' was that which contained lax supervision and corruption as two culprits. Similarly in 'B' category slums, the most common combination contained 3 causes; viz; lax
supervision, indifferent attitude of elected representative and corruption. In category ‘C’ slums, the most common combination contained utter lack of dedication and commitment of the elected political representative and lack of funds in required amount.

The data reveals that a number of factors are impeding the smooth and desired implementation of the programmes. One of the most difficult roles a trained social worker will assume in such a situation is that of assisting in the optimal utilization of the resources as far as their limited availability is concerned. It will require imagination and creativity to put resources together in a different configuration in order to serve the needs effectively. The social worker may be called upon to develop new funding sources to meet community needs in the community. Social work professionals have specialized training in the marshalling of community resources to promote the well-being of all without discrimination.
Table 4.3.19

Undesirable interference in the programme by vested interests.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Interference exists</td>
<td>32(29.09)</td>
<td>42(28)</td>
<td>3(7.69)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>25.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Interference does not exist</td>
<td>59(53.63)</td>
<td>72(48)</td>
<td>3(7.69)</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>44.81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Can’t say</td>
<td>19(17.27)</td>
<td>36(24)</td>
<td>33(84.61)</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>29.43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we look at the table 4.3.19 depicting the volume of any undesirable interference in the improvement works by elements like contractors, middlemen, local politician, community’s influential and domineering personalities like reasonably well to do persons etc. to obtain some personal benefit at the cost of slum community’s overall development and improvement. We observe that 26 percent indicate any such interference. The most common undesirable intruder was, according to the respondents, the contractor who was suspected of developing a secret and mutually beneficial nexus with the governmental officers in order to derive personal benefits. About 74 percent of this group of respondents advances this opinion. About 57 percent of this group held contractor. Government officer nexus as well as local elected political representative-governmental officer nexus as the two such harmful entities in
existence. The rest 26 percent indicated the nexus existing between some local apolitical but well-to-do and influential personality who had developed a good rapport with some DUDA/SUDA officers. A total of about 45 percent didn’t observe any kind of harmful interference by any person. A fact, which needs special emphasis here, is that 64 percent of this group of respondents was below 5\textsuperscript{th} class pass. Also they seemed to be, a comparatively, much less acquainted with their own slum locality’s day-to-day events like visiting of any governmental officer to their locality regarding some common problem or organization of some general meeting to discuss any matter of common interest. About 29 percent were completely oblivious of any such phenomenon and their socio-economic and educational profile closely matched that of those 64 percent who didn’t notice any such interference in the developmental or improvement works.
IMPLICATION AND FUTURE OF SLUM DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

5.1 SOCIAL WORK PERSPECTIVE

Urban slums have been among the three important types of communities in the country the social workers generally chose for intervention. By the word community in social perspective, we mean a particular spatial or geographical unit. “However, the concept of 'communities within communities' is normally acknowledged by social scientists and social work professionals.”

In communities, the inhabitants interact with differing sets of people for different purposes, within differing institutional boundaries. Also, the particular community of slum dwellers can not be assumed as a unitary whole where overlapping and interpenetrating social ties do not exist. Also, despite the problems of vices, violence and criminality in urban slums, it’s not that human co-existence and social cohesion don’t exist. Rather the extent of cohesiveness and co-existence sometimes exceeds that prevails in non-slum communities. It’s the lack of effective participation in and integration with the larger institutional system of the city such as educational institutes, which is one of the crucial characteristics of the slum life.
The explanation for this is Herzberg’s Motivation-Hygiene theory which suggests that in the absence of fulfillment of the basic needs to a certain extent, the people in general can not be motivated towards participating in activities such as educational development or community empowerment. It is obvious from this research study that a substantial proportion of the slum community doesn’t approve of some of the activities carried out by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which aim towards generation of community spirit, community consciousness etc. Until and unless their basic survival needs in terms of food, clothing and shelter are met, they are unlikely to participate meaningfully in activities including efforts at self-development e.g., health, education etc. or communal issues such as cleanliness and leisure time activities or any other welfare activity. “The maximum focus in any social work practice is the client who is being served.” It’s a client-centered methodology to accomplish the specified objectives. All the activities at various stages of the programmes will involve the slum dwellers. When we talk in the context of social work the activities like needs identification, programme planning, implementation, monitoring, feedback or evaluation will involve the slum dwellers in a comprehensive manner. They will be asked to identify the problems that they are facing in their locality, devise the plan of
action, what could be their mechanism to tackle the problems they have identified etc.

The slum dwellers’ general sense of disenchantment and pessimism results from not only their physical and material deprivation or due to their perception that they don’t figure anywhere in the Government’s whole developmental agenda but it’s also the result of a host of non-economic factors which have to do with specific socio-cultural dimensions of their life. It’s not that the social life exhibited by them is biologically inherited by them but it’s actually the outcome of a long period of existence in a social structure in which groups carry on the social life as an integrated part of a functional whole. It is the cultural milieu and the social institutional arrangement (in the form of caste, class, minority, weaker section etc) which creates hierarchy and inequality of access to resources and opportunities in a given system of social relationships. Taking a case of Indian society, we find that it is characterized by caste and inequalities which is very well connected with economic and educational inequalities marginalising certain groups such as scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, minorities etc. In the process of urbanisation when the urban centers grow and create possibilities of employment it is this weak and marginalised group of rural society that finds a future possibility in migration from rural to urban areas.
Development differential in urban and rural societies in post-independent India has further accelerated the pace of rural migration and consequently massive growth of urban population particularly in the metropolis and megalopolis. Increasing population pressure on India’s urban society objectively alienates the economically weaker groups who are otherwise unskilled, uneducated and unemployed. A location like slums, therefore, becomes the natural abode as life here is relatively less competitive. It is in the perspective of this social structural objective realism that slum as a community is to be studied. Any scheme or programme for the alleviation of poverty in slums has to take into account these facts. Social work as a professional discipline, as they know, has four major goals or objectives.

1. To enhance social functioning of individuals, families, groups, organizations and communities.

2. To link the client’s system with needed resources.

3. To help improve operation of the social service delivery networks and

4. To promote social justice through development of social policy.

In the present work attempt has been made to scrutinise and assess the factors and the causes which may be responsible
for reducing (limiting) the advantages and benefits of development schemes and programmes to slum dwellers in Kanpur. In the earlier chapters it has been elaborated that a host of developmental programmes both by the government as well as non-governmental organizations have been launched to enhance people’s capacities and reduce their social limitations. But, in the absence of social work perspective, the overall results are not satisfying as expressed by both the respondents and the agencies. The study clearly found that the principle should not be of a provider rather it should be of a facilitator. Use of relationships is an effective social work strategy to modify existing cultural relations and ideological orientations. This relationship formation is the most fundamental ingredient of all human systems whether individuals, groups, families, neighborhoods, communities etc.

The above description makes it clear that the unique stratified Indian social structural system is proving to be the most formidable deterrent in getting the intended outcome from the implementation of the various developmental and improvement programmes. Notwithstanding various schemes launched by the government to dilute the implications of such hindering social and cultural milieu, the results in terms of dismantling of such a social structure itself is not very heartening. We can say that the programmes intend to mitigate the effects of such a stratified
system but the planners and policy makers don’t seem to be interested in tackling the system perse. As already elaborated, this is proving to be the most unwieldy inhibiting factor. When we see this whole system in the perspective of social work profession, we can observe that this whole social structure will decide the nature of reciprocal interactions that develops between the various human systems like individual, family, neighbourhood, organization or community. This in turn will shape the relationship that will develop between and among the various system levels. The social worker’s specialized orientation leads him to examine these human system levels in relation to his environment i.e., the social milieu. It’s this aspect which differentiates a social work oriented developmental strategy and the typical bureaucratic developmental strategy. This necessitates the inclusion of social work angle in the whole scheme of developmental agenda if the society really wants to get rid of the ugly and eye-soaring phenomenon of slums dotting the whole landscape of any industrial or, as a matter of fact, any city. When the slum improvement programmes will start incorporating the social work perspective as elaborated above we could be more optimistic with regard to their success. As already stated it’s the modification of the cultural relations and ideological orientations that will be the starting point for treading that developmental
path which will ultimately lead us to the attainment of our objectives. The inclusion of the aspect of cultural traditions will be necessary in the programmes of improvement. The particular cultural group membership of the slum dwellers makes the society at large treat them in terms of discrimination, suspicion, dependence and criminality. In the perception of the elite and well-off city dwellers, the slum inhabitants due to their particular behavioural patterns, deprogressing orientation and parasitic traits create problems for the larger urban society. However, when the slum problems are dealt by a social work professional, he examines not only the slum population but it’s cultural relations also and tries to ascertain how the cultural variables are influencing the actions, reactions and interactions of the human system of slums.

The social work perspective examines the client in situation. Interpreting this basic and fundamental social work profession’s proposition in terms of the slum community it means that the community practitioner will devise solutions while studying the contextual situation of the slum dwellers. This is opposed to the governmental strategy of just doling out programmes to the slum dwellers to meet their needs without ever contemplating to relate the problem and the solution with the slum dweller’s contextual situation. Also, the social work
perspective recognizes the multicausal nature of problems and fosters the development of multiple solutions. Moreover, this perspective embraces the notion of partnership in the transactions between practitioner and the target population as opposed to the governmental strategy, though now landmark change in terms of recognition of such partnerships on the part of the Government and executive class is rapidly being realized. The 74th constitutional amendment is the proof of such realization.

Thus the social work way of seeing the slum problem, devising solution and carrying out implementation will be a key input in making the programmes successful. In the perspective of the structural adjustment programme being carried out in the context of New Economic Policy which encompasses liberalisation and globalisation, the socio-economic conditions of the marginalized and excluded segment are undergoing further deterioration. It is the unintended consequence of the Government's policy of withdrawing itself from as many areas of economic activities as feasible. The economic reform process being in its infancy stage and the government not being able to obtain a consensus on such issues across the political, economic and social spectrum, is only proving to be harmful with regard to the interests of the poor. However, notwithstanding the
unfulfilment of consensus condition, the Governments across all political dispensation seem to be determined to carry out the process of reforms. This strategy of reforming the economic system is based on the justification that the fast economic growth that will result in the wake of the reforms will help ameliorate the conditions of poor, reduce the magnitude of gap existing between have and have-nots ultimately result in the ushering in an overall prosperity in the country. However, as already suggested earlier, in the absence of any social security measure for the vulnerable disadvantaged segment (SCs, STs women, minorities etc.) in order to shield them from the new consequences that will follow or in the absence of an enabling and conducive environment for the poverty stricken people to identify, locate and utilize the new categories of opportunities that will accrue in the wake of the reforms, will tend to make them more worse. The new economic scenario being unfolded will be most favourable to those who are in possession of technical, managerial and administrative skills and will be most unfavourable to those who lack such capacities.

Thus the emerging scenario throws a two-fold challenge. First, how to use the existing limited and increasingly depleting social welfare services as well as social services to provide relief in terms of curative or rehabilitative services to the mass of poverty stricken and unemployed people. The second challenge
relates to the exploration and development of new programmes of social services that are consistent with the philosophy of social work intervention. However, at the same time India's planned system of social and economic development warrants the shouldering of major responsibilities for both social services (programmes of socio-economic development) and social welfare (welfare of the deprived and unempowered segments like slum dwellers, women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, minorities etc.) by the public agencies themselves. In the context of the constitutional obligation of the government to work for the deprived the role of the state will be difficult to be shortened. Rather the new emerging socio-economic challenges with regard to poor masses will demand providing strength and vigour to programmes of development and improvement. Also, as the description makes it amply clear, the whole development and improvement strategy will require to be programmed in a social work oriented perspective.
5.2 Intervention strategy:

As already described, among the three practices of social work, ideally it's the community organization that will find the widest application in a community that we are concerned with. However, social work practice nowadays is often generic, involving all three of the traditional methods, namely, case work, group work, and the one mentioned above viz; community work. "The major focus in social work practice is on reducing problems in human relationships and on enriching living through improved human interaction." Utilization of community resources in helping people to solve problems is very important. Social workers have a comprehensive knowledge of community resources due mainly to their professional orientation and are able to tap them to meet the needs of their clients. They also make significant contributions to the larger community, utilizing their skills in planning and organization, helping governmental and private organizations and agencies to be more effective. Social workers, in themselves, are the tools in helping troubled persons. They need to grow professionally and therefore require to keep themselves abreast of new knowledge and skills.

The problem which we are concerned with is how to bring about amelioration and improvement in the wretched, miserable,
sub-humane and subsistence level living conditions of millions of our country men who are forced by the unfortunate circumstances in which they find themselves to lead their lives the way they do. In such a scenario, a social worker's interventionist strategy is normally multi-pronged. Let's first see the various models of community organization provided by some experts. Rothman (1979) has suggested three models of community organization - locality development which refers to the popular notion of community organization practice, whereby, a worker or an agency attempts to develop various services or programmes to meet the needs of a target population in a defined area. This may also include the coordination of various agencies providing services in the area and the generation of new programmes and services as well. The social planning model refers to community work where a worker or an agency undertakes an exercise evaluating the welfare needs and existing services in the target area and suggest possible blueprint for more efficient delivery of social services. The social action model refers to community work which is issue-oriented and attempts to generate a social movement. It is said, regarding a community in the context of social work practice, that its members have the capacity to meet a number of problems through their own initiative and the resources. The agency personnel in the perspective of an Indian
situation will, first of all, get a clear insight into the targeted community’s socio-cultural values, norms and traditions. E.g., people in the community that we are dealing with have a considerably different perspective on the values of civic and social consciousness. The demand for their civic or social rights from the authorities, or a people’s organization with or without the little help from the community worker can take place with the development of a civil society. This, however, raises some other issues. The socio-economic conditions, high rates of unemployment and absolute poverty, caste, religion and regional affiliations make it extremely difficult for a civil society to emerge in the country.

It said that community work’s goals evolve through interaction between the sponsors, the practitioner and the community action system and further assumes that the needs of the community, the purpose of the agency and the aspirations of the worker get integrated. However, in reality, interaction between the social worker, the slum community and the slum development and improvement programme’s sponsoring agency will take place only after the goals have been finalized, mainly by the government agency’s officials. Therefore, it could be the contention of some that such state-sponsored programmes would leave little scope for either the worker or the community to
effect any change. However, the social work professional, motivated by his profession’s values, training and orientation, targeted community’s sanction and the goals of the slum improvement programmes can carve out a reasonable space and mutually beneficial relationship between himself and the target slum community. To be fair, the results of the empirical study have made it clear that the community is hardly in possession of the ability to determine its goals or needs and the problem areas are so obvious that they offer little scope for debate. For example, the need for education, health and other basic facilities like drinking water, a proper system of drainage and roads is obvious. But this research study has shown that even these may not constitute the “felt need”.

We in the context of the overall situation prevailing in the slums face a more acute and uphill task in the sense that first, it is the generation of basic physical and socio-economic facilities that is the primary task and later to motivate the slum dwellers to use those facilities which demands the creation of a conducive and enabling atmosphere in the locality. E.g., the use of a sound, modern and well maintained school can suffer if the people don’t value education and they think about it in terms of wastage of time and resources. Furthermore, a social work professional faces the problem of conflicting priorities. As has already come out of
this empirical study, normally there will be some segments even in a particular slum locality which may be economically, somewhat, better than a substantial section and their priorities might be health, education and hygiene in comparison to the latter segment which have more pressing survival needs.

The socio-economic scenario of the Kanpur slums which has come up as a result of our empirical study and which demand, first of all, meeting of the basic necessities of the people makes community work synonymous with community development. Such a similarity is not restricted to slum community alone but can be generalized as an all pervading reality even to the extent of all developing countries. Such a situation arises in our case due mainly to the non-availability of requisite resources both quantitatively and qualitatively. The need for local initiative to meet the basic needs from its own resources, therefore, poses more complicated problems. The question of micro vs macro approach, the micro-realities can not possibly be changed unless the macro-structure is modified or changed, creates further confusion.

Due to such unavoidable factors process of community work seldom proceeds in the neat formulation of identifying needs, fixing priorities, finding resources and developing a
cooperative attitude. As "Fischer noted," social work tradition views the community essentially as a social organism; it focuses on social issues such as building a sense of community gathering together with social service organizations or lobbying for and delivering social resources. A social worker in such a situation, first of all, assumes that the problem is basically related with what the professional terminology of social work says – social disorganization. He will, then, act in the role of either an "enabler" to help the targeted community gather itself together and exhibit an organized strength which could than act as a pressure group or he could act as an "advocate" to secure the needed help for the community. His strategy will be gradual and consensual which means that the social worker assumes a unity of interest between the power structure and the targeted community and secures the willingness of at least, if not all, some in power to meet community needs. Mere willingness on the part of few elite is unlikely to be helpful in meeting the needs of the community as is clearly evident from this empirical study. Generally, it happens that it's the worker or the organization or the agency on whose behalf the worker is discharging his assigned duties which determines the need or the problem, tries to devise ways and means to meet that need, seeking people's cooperation, usually by persuasion but sometimes even forcing
them through agitational methods to accept change. In the beginning it may be difficult to generate local initiative and, therefore it will come from outside rather than from the community itself. Similarly self-dependence and self-management capacities are generated in the community and all these take a reasonably long time. That's why the social worker's interventionist strategy will necessarily be a long term one. Another element of his strategy involves obtaining the support of the society at large. E.g., success in bringing about an attitudinal change in the community towards education, health or status of the women would depend to a great extent on media support and opportunities of growth and development in society at large, as well as a change in social values. However, this may call for far more radical changes in the social structure and may lead to confrontation with the established order and practices.

Another ingredient of the social worker's strategy involves the utilization of political education which is different from political propaganda. Moreover, the nature, magnitude and volume of the problems faced by the community which we are dealing with, would normally call for the initiation of some projects for the development of the community. The scope of the projects may vary from organizing to delivery of services, to raising their level of social consciousness and social participation
to demand a better deal. The social worker endeavors to induce a process which makes the community realize the most general assumption of any community work practice that they have the capacity to meet a number of problems through their own initiative and resources and, consequently, make efforts to achieve a greater degree of satisfaction for all of its members, individually and collectively. The strategy involves the process of identification of some indigenous but responsible, mature, socially and community-wise conscious, sagacious individuals, their capacity enhancement in terms of financial and administrative project management skills, cultivation of a spirit of voluntary community work among the slum dwellers in order to form an indigenous sustainable community structure/community based organization to take over the functions, responsibilities of the worker or the agency as soon as possible. The social worker's role intends to unleash the developmental energies within the community rather than acting as a provider of services. The worker's strategy's most important objective places emphasis upon self-sustenance, rather than dependence on outside help. The worker remains cautious so as not to be trapped by the general understanding on his part to generate services to cater to the needs of the people or improve the physical surrounding of the locality by introducing the concept of drainage and proper
Chapter Five: Implication and Future of Slum Development Schemes

roads. He actually tries to develop new ideas. The emphasis will be to encourage thinking on the part of people themselves, rather than to do things for them.

One of the most difficult impediments that have come to light through this empirical research is the problem in the generation of indigenous resources, either for a specific programme or for a total development of the community. Hence any strategy that incorporates an over-emphasis on local resources would be frustrating. On the other hand, in the changing economic scenario, state's funding for community development projects is likely to decline. In such an emerging situation, the worker will be cautious not to withdraw himself completely. His strategy will gear towards a long-term involvement. The fact that change, and people's participation in bringing about change or its acceptance in Indian conditions is a gradual process lends additional weight to the need for a long-term perspective. Also, as it will not be possible for the community in question, or as a matter of fact, for any community to fully take over and run any development programme without any professional help.

Some form of supervision of the programme on a long term basis will have to be made. Therefore, although the social worker
or agency may plan for a partial withdrawal, which means employing more local resources for day-to-day management, nevertheless, they have to continue professional supervision of the programme.

The most important missing link in the programmes of slum improvement, or as a matter fact in any other developmental oriented programme, seem to be either the inability or unwillingness of the planners to involve the beneficiaries themselves, notwithstanding numerous public assertions contrary to that. Such a situation is a fertile ground for a social worker, having been trained in the process of community work, to enter and through the utilization of his/her skills, expertise and experience get what the bureaucratic set up has been unable to, that is, people’s participation. In the scheme of things of a social worker, all the debates and discussions that will be conducted regarding the needs assessment, prioritization, programme formulation, resource mobilization, implementation, monitoring and evaluation will necessarily involve the community. This does not mean that the concept of people’s participation was or is completely missing from the programmes formulated by the bureaucratic class. Actually they were unable to evolve and put in place a tailor-made and suitable mechanism for people’s participation. However, this difficulty has been sought to be
removed through the 74th Constitutional Amendment regarding urban local bodies, as has already been extensively discussed in the last section of chapter three.

As Brager and Specht indicate that community organization, the social work practice that, as has already been mentioned, shall be most frequently applied in the setting of a slum community, is actually a method of intervention whereby individuals, groups and organizations will engage in planned action to influence the problems besetting the community. It is concerned with the enrichment, development and/or change of social institutions and will involve two major related processes; planning, i.e. identifying problem areas, diagnosing causes and formulating solutions, organizing i.e., developing the constituencies and devising the strategies necessary to effect action. The two areas where the social worker will be required to utilize his skills and exhibit his expertise extensively in the community with which we are concerned will be organization and the community itself.

Another very important aspect concerns itself with the policies, if any, in prevalence regarding the issue with which the agency and the community - both are concerned. As Kettner and colleagues have stated that “Approaches or types of interventive
effort are the creation or modification of a policy, the creation or modification of a programme, or the initiation of a project". The agency officials need to be conversant with the policy initiatives, their objectives, strategy, contents etc. and must have an understanding of how policy guides human service programmes. Their most difficult task will then be to strive for bringing the realization among the policy and programme formulators to change those policies and programmes in order to make them more responsive to human needs, more conducive for serving the objectives for which they have been promulgated.

Here, again, a social work professional’s requirement will be very acutely felt as he, having been in the possession of orientation and skills to establish, nurture and develop a rapport with the community at the grassroot level, will be in a far better position to provide a proper, relevant and latest feedback to the authorities representing the higher echelons of the policy planning mechanism.

The social worker’s, one of the most important components of the interventionist strategy involves formation of community institutions / structures like committees as it’s through such structures that at the community level most of the planning and action will take place, decisions will be made, ideas and feelings
shall be brought into the open, making it possible for tailor-made and appropriate action to follow.

As the central theme of the social work in the community setting that we are concerned with is the improvement or a positive change in one or several areas in the life of the target population largely through the efforts of the people themselves by the utilization of the indigenous resources, the worker will effect a change in the attitudes of the people or the entire personality to obtain more intimate relations which can bring people together. It can be argued that cooperative and collaborative attitude are possible in the urban slum community setting even in the absence of intimate relations, increased heterogeneity and very superficial concern with social solidarity. Collective behaviour is not institutionalized but collective behaviour demand reasonable consensus on some issue, goal or objective. (Mc Caughan, 1977) Smelser (1963) identified certain conditions for collective behaviour. His analysis includes both sociological and psychological determinants:

1. Structural conduciveness: It means that certain social conditions must exist such as institutionalized forms of segregation such as castes in India.
2. **Structural strain**: The existence of dissonance in societal values. People feel that they are forced to live in slums or that villages are low priority areas of development on the agenda of the government.

3. **Growth spread of a generalized belief**: For example, suspicion, doubt, rumour may mobilize collective behaviour easily than information.

4. **A precipitating factor**: An incidence of natural disaster may, for example, easily mobilize people to collective action rather than appeals to prevent it.

5. **Emergence of leadership**.

6. **Social control**: The possibility of collective behaviour is greater in absence of formal institutions of social control. Smelser worked out the factors contributing to collective behaviour in the context of mob violence and not positive collective behavior of the kind the social worker in the community set up has in mind. But it does not negate the importance of the findings of the study. The kind of apathy and callousness that was revealed through this empirical study, on the part of the slum dwellers towards their own wretched, miserable, sub humane conditions of living can be countered by the social work professional by
propagation of a different set of values and questioning of the existing social norms which perpetuate their poor conditions.

Also, as has come out, there is a lack of responsible, accountable and committed leadership in the community which could make the community realize the common felt needs. Therefore locating, identifying, cultivating, training, nurturing and sustaining leadership talents in the social, educational, political and religious arenas of the community should be an important component of any developmental strategy. The created leaders in conjunction with the community members and the social work professional could sit, discuss, debate and, in due course of time, identify the needs that will reflect a semblance of consensus. The community can realize the need for a concerted and consistent action on its part thus resulting in an active cooperation with the agency personnel. Another important aspect relates with the agency personnel themselves. These officials may be skillful, educated, experienced and committed to serve the programmes objectives but they lack the fundamental training and orientation of a social work professional. To deal with a community which perceives itself as the most disadvantaged, poverty stricken, deprived and miserable and lays the major part of the blame for its wretched conditions in the way the elite and
bureaucratic class of the government conducts itself with regard to the question of slum dwellers’ amelioration, requires an utmost sensitivity on the part of the agency personnel. However, it’s exactly this basic ingredient which is in short supply among the policy formulators, programme makers, planners and executive class of the country. It is at this juncture and to compensate for this inadequacy that a social work professional with his basic training and orientation in community dealing, having done a Master’s level 2 year course, which equips him with sufficient knowledge in the fields like Psychology and Sociology, comes into the picture. This fact highlights the need for inclusion of such professionals in the implementing work force or as a matter of fact, at almost all stages of programmes. The agency people may not place much trust and hope in the ability of the community members. (This conclusion can be made in the light of the facts that have come out of this study in respect of non-solicitation of slum dwellers’ participation in the programmes as well as the non-consideration of the slum people’s opinions, ideas and inputs). Such a tendency on the part of the bureaucratic personnel is in complete contrast to the one exhibited by a trained social worker who wants his role to be limited to only catalyzing and facilitating the whole process of slum development.
In the perspective of social work intervention, the formation of community organizational structures like project committees; consisting of prominent, resourceful, responsible community members which may be entrusted the responsibility of formulating plans and recommendations for alleviating the problems which the slum dwellers are besieged with and which they have, with their own efforts and initiatives, located and identified; youth committees, self-help groups of females which can act as micro-credit associations, could be initiated. As we have seen, such an elaborate associational and organizational structure at the community level is lacking due mainly to the non-consideration of such aspects of community development on the part of the agency officials, which could again be attributed to their utter lack of any social work type training.

Even where some sort of participation in the programmes of slum improvement on the part of the people is there which, in any way, does not cross symbolism and a nominal involvement, as the chapter on analysis and interpretation makes it clear, an evenly distributed participation of the community members, geographically, socially and economically is not given due attention as the agency personnel, unlike a social work professional, who hardly believes in the resourcefulness of the most marginalized and deprived section of the community which,
in fact, could be of immense help in the overall aspect of the programmes of improvement. We have seen how the community is either unable to utilize the opportunities of involvement in terms of decision making, due to some inherent structural factors like caste distinction, being a traditionally depressed and marginalized community and a number of other similar factors or is not provided any opportunity of decision making at all. In such a context, from the point of view of social work profession, distribution and decentralization of decision-making power rather than its concentration and centralization is the need of the hour. With a bureaucratic tendency of usurping such important areas as decision-making, the need of social work intervention becomes all the more pressing. The agency people tend to assess the community needs, deficiencies, deprivations; plan the programmes for their amelioration and improvement; carry out their implementation; do monitoring, supervision and evaluation without involving the targeted community at any stage, without obtaining inputs from the community, without giving any consideration to the compatibility of such programmes with the socio-economic milieu of the slum people, without considering aspects like the sustainability of the programme activities and numerous other aspects. All these conclusions are evident from the data obtained. At all the stages, the most important and
pressing requirement is the participation of the targeted community. Now in such a situation, the orientation and grounding that the social work profession provides shall come as a handy solution and the outcome will improve, hopefully, qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Community organization, the process of community social work is a conscious process of social interaction which helps people bring about a consistency between the social welfare needs and social welfare resources which is effected by helping people to deal more effectively with their problems and objectives by helping them develop, strengthen and maintain qualities of participation, self direction and cooperation.

Such a tendency is perfectly in keeping with the profession's firm belief in involving the prospective beneficiaries from the conceptual stage through decision making till the end stage of evaluation.

At the same time, lack of community participation is not due to only their supposed indifferent attitude, a sense of pessimism, or lack of community cohesiveness but is also due to the community not being in possession of the requisite capacities, training and orientation. However, fortunately, such hurdles can effectively be tackled with the intervention of a social
work professional. He is trained to stimulate and arouse people’s participation through the capacity enhancement of the community people. Building capacity is teaching people that they can be leaders.

In such a situation, the social work interventionist strategy shall be to work in tandem with that of the bureaucratic elite. As the agency personnel rarely question the policies formulated, even if they have manifested loopholes and do not serve the objectives for which they have been made, such as the policy of slum relocation and clearance adopted in the very beginning of the planning era, the intervention on the part of the social work professionals becomes all the more pressing which could take the forms of client advocacy, acting as pressure groups etc. Earlier, though activity of championing the cause of the targeted community of disadvantaged people was rarely utilized even by a social worker. However, nowadays, this strategy is used on a wide scale by him to bring about social action and social change to help fulfill the community’s needs and improve the society.

Furthermore, the facilities are created in the localities in a very discreet and disintegrated manner which leads to an apathetic and lukewarm attitude of the slum dwellers towards the programmes. The programmes are never integrated with the
psychosocial milieu of the people so that they could develop an emotional and psychological attachment with the programmes. Being deficient of any sound grounding in the disciplines of Sociology and Psychology, the agency personnel cannot be expected to develop an environment and ambience which could foster a sense of emotionalism in the slum dwellers with regard to the programmes. At such a juncture, it's a professional social worker who could be expected to develop an emotional and psychological framework and background in order to make the slum dwellers realize that it's they for whom the programmes have been made in order to cater to their requirements in terms of a decent standard of living. Its their cooperation and support which is vital for the success of the programmes and it's their dedication and commitment to make the programmes successful that will provide strength to all such efforts.
CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The present study has explored the status of the slum development and improvement programs in the Kanpur slums and their outcome in terms of the improvements. Various dimensions of the slum development were studied and the following conclusions were drawn. The level of awareness of the slum dwellers about the developmental programs has been found poor and consequently the participation of the slum dwellers in the programmes is very weak. The finding conforms the conclusions of an earlier study by National Institute of Urban Affairs that found the awareness level of slum dwellers with slum improvement programs below 10 per cent. Community efforts are also lacking as is clear from the table that shows the participation of people in developmental efforts. Women’s representation in developmental of forts is absent. Programs addressing women’s issues are not adequate. Special programs to improve the economic conditions of the slum dwellers have not been very effective. The finding tallies with the observation of the Task Force on Urban Poverty that physical and infrastructural improvement of the slum localities have been emphasized at the cost of economic improvement. The agency officials’ attitude is also not encouraging in terms of inviting people’s participation in
the programs. The study “Upgradation of Slum: A Study of Kanpur City” by Indian Institute of Public Administration noted the exclusion of the slum dwellers in the program planning, execution etc.

There is no information as to whether efforts are being made to link improvement schemes with security of tenure. Also no substantial improvement seems to have occurred in the slum localities’ overall physical and infrastructural conditions. The programmes purporting to provide income generating assets to the slum dwellers have not been very successful. As is clear from the table that shows the number of respondents having got such assistance. Genuine candidates are not always identified. The supervision of the programs by the agency officials is not regular. Poor performance of the programs is due to a number of factor lax supervision, apathetic attitude of the local elected political representative etc.

Overall it can be said that the slum improvement programmes have not been very successful and effective in realizing their objectives. However, the successes that have been realized particularly in the field of physical improvement of the localities need to be made more qualitative.

Suggestions:
Although making suggestions for various reasons is a ritual, the following points may be highlighted.

(1) There is a need to make the slum dwellers aware of the slum development programs. The role of Community Development society (C.D.S) is required to be strengthened. Regular interaction between the beneficiaries and the agency is very useful for identifying the core of people's problems.

(2) Participation of the slum dwellers can be achieved if they are adequately made acquainted with the programs, their components how these programs will improve their conditions etc. If some concrete improvements particularly in their economic conditions is made their participation is likely to increase.

(3) Women related programs should be strengthened.

(4) Industrial Corporations can be made partners in the programs particularly in the localities where their workforce resides.

(5) Local community leadership should be identified and nurtured.

(6) Employment oriented programs need to be introduced more vigorously.
Chapter Six: Conclusion & Suggestion

(7) Reprioritization of the needs should be done in accordance with the priorities of the slum dwellers.

(8) Beneficiaries' involvement at the stages like planning, implementation is acutely needed. Sincere encouragement of slum dwellers to participate in the programs should be done.

(9) Implementation of the programs should be assigned to some Community Based Organization. This is likely to help enhance the effectiveness of the programs.

Finally it is hoped that the present work of the researcher, though quite humble and having many limitations, my be useful for planers, other researches in the field of developmental activities, NGOs etc. engaged in the conscientisation of people’s awareness and mobilizing community efforts for development and change in contemporary urbanizing and globalizing society of India."
ANNEXURE-I

QUESTIONNARIRE

(1) Are you aware of any slum improvement programme being implemented in your Basti? Yes ☐ No ☐

(1 a) If Yes; (i) give its name (ii) problems to be addressed (iii) name the areas in which any improvement has occurred.

2. Do you participate in developmental efforts of your locality? Yes ☐ No ☐

3. If yes, in what ways?

4. Whether the females participate in developmental efforts? Yes ☐ No ☐

5. If no, why?

6. Do agency personnel invite your participation? Yes ☐ No ☐

7. If yes, in which programmes?

8. Whether agency staff solicits your views and opinions? Yes ☐ No ☐

9. Why people hesitate to take part in locality’s developmental programs?

9. Do you think caste and religion influence participation? Yes ☐ No ☐

11. Whether public toilet is available to you?

12. Are you satisfied with the quality of the facilities created? Yes ☐ No ☐

13. How many times the implementing agency officials visit the locality?
   a) Visited two times ☐ b) Only once ☐ Rarely visited

14. Do you think community cohesiveness increased in you locality? Yes ☐ No ☐

15. Whether you have been provided any income-generating asset? Yes ☐ No ☐
16. Do you notice positive changes in the health status of your locality’s dwellers?
Yes [ ] No [ ]

17. Which health facility you normally use?
   a) Public facilities only [ ]
   b) Private facilities only [ ]
   c) Mixed facilities [ ]

18. Name the stage of the programs at which you want your participation?

19. Do you contribute to the slum improvement programs?

20. If yes, in which way?

21. Name the causes that, you think, impeded the programme’s outcome?

22. Do you think some vested interests interfered with the program’s execution?

**RESPONDENT’S BACKGROUND INFORMATIONS**

Name: ........................ Age: .................. Sex: .........................
Family Size: ..................... Educational Status: ........................
Occupation: ........................ Monthly income: ........................
Caste: ........................... House Status: ..........................
Owner/Tenant: ..................... Duration of stay in the locality: .........................
................................ Description of household belongings: .........................
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