INCLUSIVE URBANIZATION

Rethinking Policy, Practice, and Research
in the Age of Climate Change

Edited by Krishna K. Shrestha, Hemant R. Ojha,
Phil McManus, Anna Rubbo, and Krishna K. Dhote

Inclusive Urbanization

How do we include and represent all people in cities? As the world rapidly urbanizes, and climate change creates global winners and losers, understanding how to plan cities that provide for all their citizens is of the utmost importance. *Inclusive Urbanization* attempts not only to provide meaningful, practical guidance to urban designers, managers and local actors, but also to create a definition of inclusion that incorporates strategies bigger than the welfare state, and tactics that bring local actors and the state into meaningful dialogue.

Written by a team of experienced academics, designers and NGO professionals, *Inclusive Urbanization* shows how urbanization policy and management can be used to make more inclusive, climate-resilient cities, through a series of 18 case studies in South Asia. By creating a model of urban life and processes that takes into account social, spatial, cultural, regulatory and economic dimensions, the book finds a way to make both the processes and outcomes of urban design representative of all of the city's inhabitants.
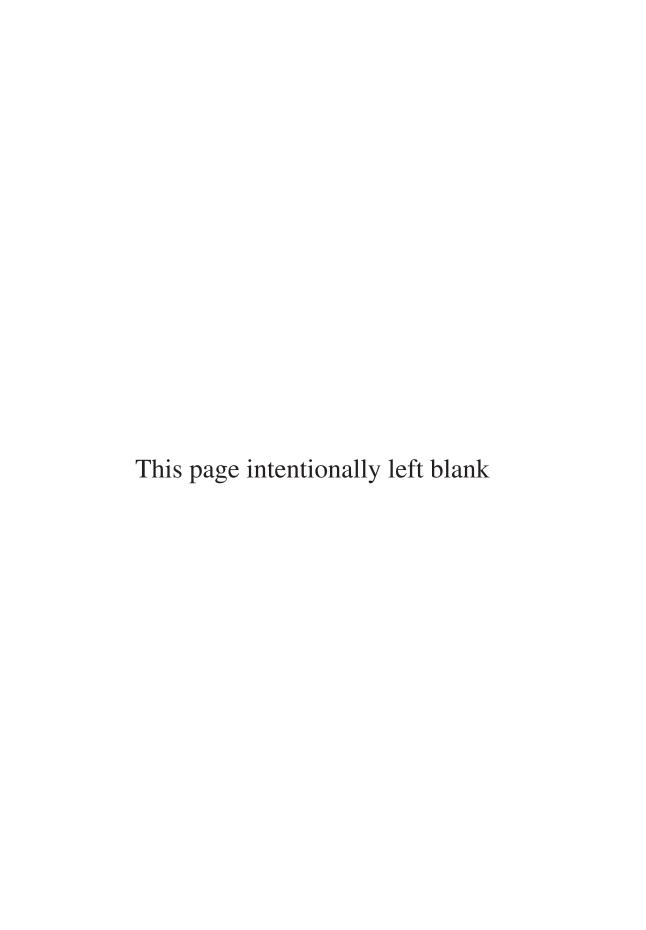
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Acronyms

AKKA	Aga Khan Award of Architecture
AMPA	Ancient Monuments Preservation Act Nepal
ARC	Area Resource Center
AUWSP	Accelerated Water Supply Program
BGIA	Bhopal Group for Information and Action
BMC	BrihanMumbai Municipal Corporation
BRTS	Bus Rapid Transit System
BSUP	Basic Services for the Urban Poor
CAA	Constitutional Amendment Act of India
CBIS	Community-Based Information System
CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CDP	City Development Plan
CDP	Community Development Project
CEPT	Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology University
CMAG	City Managers Association Gujarat
COSTFORD	Centre of Science and Technology for Rural Development
CSV	Centre of Science for Villagers
CURE	Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence
DEWATS	Decentralized Waste Water Treatment Systems
DFID	Department of International Development UK
DH&UD	Department of Housing and Urban Development India
DoA	Department of Archaeology Nepal
DPRs	Detailed Project Reports
DSR	District Schedule Rates
ESAF	Evangelical Social Action Forum
EU	European Union
EVOS	Exxon Valdez Oil Spill
FSI	Floor Space Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
GoI	Government of India
GoN	Government of Nepal
GoO	Government of Odisha
GS	Global Studio

HUPA	Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICMA	International City/Country Management Association
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
INTACH	Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPTS	Integrated Public Transport System
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Program
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
KVWHS	Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site
LECZ	Low Elevation Coastal Zone
LEED	Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design
MCA	Mega Cities Association
MCGM	Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFIs	Microfinance Institutions
MHADA	Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority
MHWE	Mughal Heritage Walk Enterprise
MM	Mahila Milan (i.e. *Women Together*)
MoMA	Museum of Modern Art
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
NAPA	Nepal's National Adaptation Plan of Action
NBFCs	Non-Banking Financial Companies
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIUA	National Institute of Urban Development India
NSDF	National Slum Dwellers Federation India
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
OWSSB	Odisha Water Supply and Sewerage Board
PAC	Peoples Architectural Commonweal
PEARL	Peer Exchange And Reflective Learning
PHED	Office of the Public Health and Energy Department, Odisha
PMC	Pune Municipal Council
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RCC	Reinforced Cement Concrete
RGVN	Raastriya Gramin Vikas Nidhi
ROW	Right Of Way
RRDC	Regional Rural Development Centre
SAP	Slum Adoption Program
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SBLP	Self-Help Group Bank Linkage Programs
SFC	State Finance Commission
SHG	Self-Help Group
SMC	Surat Municipal Council
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers
SRA	Slum Rehabilitation Authority
SSNS	Samudaya Nirvana Sahayak (i.e. Community Development Assistant)
SSP	Slum Sanitation Program

TDRs	Transfer of Development Rights
UCIL	Union Carbide India Ltd.
UDPFI	Urban Development Plan Formulation and Implementation
UIPM	Urban Indicators and Performance Measurement (Program)
ULBs	Urban Local Bodies
UMC	Urban Management Center
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSEP	Urban Self-Employment Program
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WHC	World Heritage Committee

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Acknowledgments

The book brings together papers that were presented at the Global Studio international conference, *Re-imagining inclusive urbanization*, held in Bhopal, India in 2012. It builds on the subsequent writers' workshop and our interests in the pressing issues of urbanization, social inclusion and climate change. The book, with chapters by scholars, experts and practitioners from different disciplines, examines the multiple arenas of inclusive urbanization in the face of climate change and represents research conducted by the editors and authors over many years, with numerous organizations.

The idea for the book originated during the planning for Global Studio Bhopal at the University of Sydney, which took place immediately after the conference. We are grateful for the comments and insights provided by the Global Studio Bhopal participants; they have enriched the content of this book. We would also like to acknowledge Global Studio, an international practice-based educational project, which aims to address the need for urban professionals to learn to work effectively with the urban poor in inclusive urban development. Thanks must go to Anna Rubbo, a co-editor of this book, but also Global Studio founder and co-convenor with Krishna Shrestha, Krishna Dhote and Anupama Sharma of Global Studio Bhopal. The preparation and implementation of this book project was lengthy and challenging. Being a mix of researchers with widely varied academic backgrounds, the task at times was not an easy one, as we were often confronted by both ontological and epistemological differences. Yet, our heated discussions and often irreconcilable differences helped us in the long run to produce what we hope is a better book.

Many organizations and individuals have offered advice and provided contributions to the various aspects of this book. In Australia, we are grateful to the University of New South Wales and the University of Sydney for supporting this work. We would like to thank colleagues Alan Peters, David Schlosberg, Santosh Bista, John Dee and Sunil Dubey for their advice and support in the planning of this book, as well as Global Studio. In India, we are grateful for the support and help provided by various people, especially Chetan Vaiyda, School of Planning and Architecture, Delhi, formerly director of the National Institute of Urban Development (NIUA), Amitabh Kundoo from Jawarlal Nehru University and Sheela Patel from SPARC. Special thanks must go to the staff and students of Maulana Azad National Institute of Technology (MANIT) in Bhopal for hosting and supporting the conference and providing administrative, logistical and other necessary support. We are especially grateful to the Director of MANIT, Appu Kuttan K.K., Registrar Savita Raje and faculty, Anupama Sharma and Preeti Singh. We would also like to thank several staff members of Bhopal Municipal Corporation and Rajarshi Sahai from Madhya Pradesh Urban

Chapter 1

Urbanization, Social Inclusion and Climate Change

An Introduction

Krishna K. Shrestha, Hemant R. Ojha and Phil McManus

Over the past decade, widespread concerns have surfaced globally on the persistent failures in making urbanization socially inclusive. This concern has further escalated in the contexts of the added risks and complexities due to climate change. Over half of the world's population lives in cities, mainly in the Global South where urban space and political institutions are often exclusionary, and vulnerabilities to climate change are yet to be adequately understood. This book aims to pool key insights from the worlds of practice, policy and theory to understand ways to achieve inclusion, whereby individuals and communities can lead a meaningful and dignified life at a time when urbanization is impacted by climate change.

The book directly addresses four key questions that have resurfaced in the context of addressing inclusive urbanization and promoting inclusion in the context of growing urban inequalities and climate change:

- How do we understand the dynamic links between urbanization policy, practice and social inclusion?
- How does climate change affect the current and planned efforts on inclusive urbanization?
- What are the emerging opportunities and challenges for ensuring inclusive urbanization and climate change resilience in the Global South?
- How can urbanization be made more inclusive in the context of increased vulnerabilities to climate change?

We are aware that a social inclusion agenda is also not new in both rural and development discourse. Yet this book has been conceived to engage critically with the agenda. At the outset, we would like to clarify that this book is not about making one more call for social inclusion in the urbanization process—a much-cherished ideal over the past few decades. Instead, it is about understanding how we can better delineate the roots and dimensions of social and spatial exclusion in rapidly urbanizing societies, and then chart pathways towards more inclusive urban development in an increasingly climate-constrained world. Covering a wide range of case studies on various aspects of urban life, mainly in South Asia, *Inclusive Urbanization* presents a fresh approach to research, policy and practice of inclusive urban development, urban planning, design and governance.

Arena of Urban Exclusion and Inclusion

Inclusive urbanization is broadly defined in this book as a process in which disadvantaged actors have capability to articulate the voices and concerns in their community and the larger

public arenas, and hence to shape and influence regimes of resource access and use, within a broader policy context where political institutions are also sensitive and accountable to the legitimate concerns and voice of the groups disadvantaged in the process of urbanization. In essence, inclusive urbanization is both a normative and analytical instrument aiming to remove the conditions that disadvantage people's social and economic life, and hence make urban spaces more liveable and contribute to more sustainable urban systems. An important point to note is that inclusion and exclusion are not just the games between winners and losers, but occur in complex and diverse "arenas"—places or scenes of activity, debate or conflict, where multiple actors compete for material and non-material benefits within prevailing political and economic contexts. For instance, sanitation and transportation, like many other services, may be considered complex arenas of urban practice. Climate change presents an additional challenge by disproportionately adding risks and vulnerabilities to those who are already disadvantaged. Our definition of inclusive urbanization recognizes the many facets of exclusion that exist in the rapidly urbanizing and climate-constrained world.

Dominant ways of understanding inclusion in cities seem to merely attempt to offer access to services or welfarist protection (e.g. through old-age pensions), or at best to mobilize the agency of the excluded groups to demand services. In contrast, our approach in this book seeks to unravel the complex and interlocking social, cultural, economic and spatial "arenas" in which ideas and resources are contested, with various resulting inclusion (and even exclusion) outcomes.

Many of the urban service delivery institutions and processes can be re-conceptualized as "arenas". These arenas regulate access to, and control over, services related to crucial functions such as sanitation, transport, housing and water supply, all of which have social, spatial, cultural, regulatory and economic dimensions that interact in complex ways to define, shape and constitute the state of access of particular groups of people over the material resources as well as having the symbolic power to define who is a legitimate user or decision-maker of such resources. This approach will add analytical leverage in understanding the ways through which access to such resources are determined in increasingly complex urban societies. The notion of arena also offers a platform in the social and economic system where the concrete effects of climate change can be explored and the implications for exclusion analyzed. The arena of urban management practice thus provides a basis to understand adaptability and resilience of city systems to the damaging effects of climate change. This approach allows the exploration of inclusion, not just within current levels of climate change, but also in the face of projected climate risks as arenas aggregate social and spatial capabilities to respond to climatic stresses at the societal level.

Chapters analyze inclusion in multiple "arenas of management practice" in which a diversity of actors, with differential access to resources and having politically unequal power and identities, struggle, contest and cooperate to improve procedural and substantive aspects of individual and collective life (see Figure 1.1). In the language of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1985; Bourdieu, 1998), it resembles a social field that comprises a contested site inhabited by social agents, having differentiated cultural dispositions and access to resources, which shape and influence who controls policy practices. Similarly, in the language of Michel Foucault (Rose and Miller, 2010) the concept of a discursive field provides an analytical perspective to understand how ideas, language and rhetoric create and sustain institutions and practices around issues of inclusion and exclusion in urbanization. A typical arena will have the following attributes:

• actors with differential access to resources, opportunities and capabilities to participate in urbanization processes;

- everyday practices/struggles of disadvantaged groups and their manifestations in livelihoods practices, including efforts to secure basic services;
- institutions defining resource access/use and accountability at different levels in which an arena operates—for example municipality rules, urban regulations and community norms;
- material and symbolic resources around which everyday livelihoods depend and also those valued by the actors engaging in the arena (material resources—such as transport, water supply and housing and even prestige and symbolic resources such as positions, prestige, honor, status and legitimacy of speech);
- discourses that enable the arenas to be represented and contested.

Our approach to understanding inclusive urbanization addresses the current social science bias towards analyzing formal institutions of state, the market and civil society (Rose and Miller, 2010). Such conception of urban management arenas transcends the boundaries of formal governance and the economistic logic of the market, and helps us explore the connections among political, cultural, ecological and economic dimensions of urban planning, management and development that lead to the problem of exclusion. In the 16 chapters presented in the book, questions of inclusion and adaptation to climate change are analyzed within relatively differentiated arenas of "urban management practice" which are either focused on specific services such as sanitation, housing, transport and credit services,

Figure 1.1 Framework to analyze inclusive urbanization.

or are cross-cutting in scope, involving issues of participation, community engagement and research-policy linkages. As a result, this approach can help explore multiple and practically feasible actionable opportunities for improvement either in specific locations or in the entirety of the arena, which operates at multiple scales. This approach thus enables us to see inclusion not merely as a policy question or market development issue, but unravels a complex array of possibilities to achieve inclusion.

Current thinking on social inclusion emphasizes procedural inclusion and substantive inclusion. Social inclusion includes at least four key pillars, which have relevance in urbanization and climate change: a) Capability (Sen, 1999); b) Opportunity (e.g. Rawls, 1971; Harvey, 1973); c) Voice and Representation (Forester, 1999; Ribot, 2007; Taylor, 1988; Deutsch, 2000; Forester, 1989; McManus, 2004); d) Accountability (Agrawal and Ribot, 1999; Przeworski and Stokes, 1999; Dryzek, 2010). Substantive inclusion refers to the state of entitlement and access to private and common pool resources (Ostrom, 1999; Devereuz, 2001).

Chapters explore one or a number of these aspects of inclusion in their analysis of urbanization and, as relevant, the impacts or potential impacts of climate change. Our approach here is not to focus on particular opportunities for inclusion, but to utilize the wider scope of analysis that the authors have used to understand the nature and extent of incremental inclusion resulting in different case study contexts. Together these offer a broad framework for procedural and substantive outcomes of social inclusion.

This conceptual framework suggests, and enables, rethinking on the ongoing mainstream neo-liberal and state-centric approaches to urban governance and urban planning and design, and explores innovative frontiers, trajectories and processes through which public, private, community and individual efforts can be brought together to advance more equitable access to and control over urbanization processes in the developing world.

The book is unique in several ways. First, it focuses on aspects of inclusive urbanization, including participatory approaches to urban planning and design for which there are no comparable books. The existing literature is constituted primarily of research monographs by international organizations, rather than academic publications. Second, the book situates the inclusion debate in the context of climate change in cities—thus contributing to filling a major gap in current climate change adaptation and mitigation debate. Third, it takes an interdisciplinary approach and hence can speak to multiple disciplines about urban development—sociology, planning, architecture, geography, anthropology, public policy and environmental studies. At the same time it raises questions about appropriate approaches to how interdisciplinary urban professionals learn from each other and through practice. Fourth, it takes up an emerging area of academic and professional discourse—the bringing together of social sciences, planning, policy and design in service of inclusive urbanization. Many books related to urban development are narrowly framed as per the language and requirements of particular disciplines. Fifth, it is structured to have a regional focus in South Asia along with wider reviews of urbanization knowledge and practice globally.

Thus, the book's conclusions are derived from the analysis of some of the most complex situations of urban life in human history (such as Indian mega-cities), captured through cutting-edge trans-disciplinary theoretical lenses. Finally, *Inclusive Urbanization* critically explores the participation and citizenship agendas, a vital contribution in view of the pitfalls and transformational opportunities that have emerged through three decades of participatory

development. The book does not just criticize what went wrong, but focuses more on how social and environmental inclusion may be achieved through new approaches to urban management.

Key Arguments

Each chapter in the book identifies at least one arena of urban management practice, and at least one aspect of incremental inclusion on both procedural and substantive aspects. The book together covers four cross-cutting arenas, namely a) sustainable city, b) participation, c) socially engaged practice and d) politics of inclusion. It also includes seven service-focused arenas, namely a) sanitation, b) health, c) transport, d) housing, e) micro-finance, f) service delivery and g) indigenous heritage. The book then offers different solutions as practiced to enhance inclusive urbanization, namely a) community driven solutions, b) pro-poor professionalism and c) rethinking education. Together the chapters offer important lessons and insights in relation to procedural and substantive inclusion on diverse urban management. Each paper complements the other by bringing unique analysis in relation to the five attributes of arena (as outlined earlier—actors, institutions, practices, resources and discourses) and aspects of inclusion. The book as a whole provides a comprehensive analysis into the prospect of inclusion in a highly complex view of urban society and the city environment.

Key messages coming out of the book include:

- Inclusion is not an outcome that can be achieved through simplistic policy solutions or giving way to the market. It emerges through complex interplay between actors, institutions, market, policy and the culture. A more holistic and an arena-focused approach can help better understand underlying social and spatial relations through which discourses and practices of exclusion are created and nurtured. Authors report several instances supporting this view—underlying gender relations have affected inclusion policy outcome (e.g. Nightingale and Rankin), and the informal politics around sanitation determine who gets services, not the formal decisions of the municipal agencies (e.g. McFarlane).
- The ongoing reforms around participation and community engagement can be the very processes to create and sustain exclusion. Authors offer a critique of current practice from a number of viewpoints including the ubiquity of elite control and instrumental focus (e.g. Khosla), issues which will be even more critical in adapting urban areas to climate change (e.g. McManus). Limited mobilization or conscious avoidance of a citizenship narrative in participatory projects can fail to deliver services that are valued by the excluded groups (e.g. Sekher).
- A genuinely inclusive process in the climate-constrained urban world requires more informed deliberation between urban development professionals and disadvantaged communities. This further implies rethinking the way in which urban expertise is organized—making it more collaborative with the people who are suffering diverse forms of social exclusion and ensuring that it is grounded in their lived reality. Authors provide insights into community-oriented architectural practice (e.g. Patel, Johnson, Arya), socially engaged inquiry (e.g. Farhan), new modes of education that connect professionals with communities (e.g. Dhote and Singh), the need to reframe the relationship between communities, policymakers and scientists (e.g. Maxwell and Shrestha) and how to shift from an "expert-driven to community-based approach" (e.g. Pradhananga and Shrestha).

- Arenas of inclusion are highly political, informal, interconnected and sometimes precarious, contingent, predatory and collectivized (e.g. McFarlane). Any attempt to improve inclusion does essentially involve questioning the links between social structure and the development action (e.g. Maxwell and Shrestha).
- Current approaches to the "delivery of services" use the logic of markets and target those who can pay for services, without looking at redistributive dimensions (e.g. Sekher). This also leads to a misfit between sustainable design solutions and the requirements of the disadvantaged groups (e.g. Kundoo).
- A number of instances exist to demonstrate that incremental inclusion can be facilitated if a community-focused approach is supported by the policy system, with critical and participatory research to inform both practice and policy, along with transparent mechanisms for resource governance (e.g. Arya, Zavestoski).
- Inclusion occurs not through paternalistic or welfarist intervention, or through subsidies, but through the enhancement of capabilities to exercise agency in multiple arenas of urban management (e.g. Arya, Khosla) and this is even more critical in the context of climate change (e.g. McManus, Nightingale and Rankin).

By weaving together innovative theoretical thinking and emerging reflections from the transdisciplinary world of practice, this book consolidates and advances the inclusive urbanization agenda in the context of climate change globally. The book has a strong empirical focus on South Asia, home to some of the world's most rapidly urbanizing areas, hosting the largest concentration of the poor on the planet. With editors and authors spread among the premier research and teaching institutions, non-government organizations (NGOs) and professional organizations spearheading innovative practices around the world, *Inclusive Urbanization* showcases the South Asian experience in a truly global context and synthesizes how inclusion can be achieved in the urbanizing world. As a result we believe that this book will be an important contribution to the scholarly debate on achieving the Millennium Development Goals—with particular reference to Goal 7—"Ensure Environmental Sustainability, Target 7d—by 2020 to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers."

Structure of the Book

Following this Introduction, the 15 remaining chapters in this book are divided into three main sections: Part A: *Cross-Cutting Arenas of Inclusion*; Part B: *Service Arenas of Inclusion*; and Part C: *Opportunities for Inclusive Urbanization*. The Cross-Cutting Arenas section comprises four chapters, beginning with Phil McManus's insightful arguments on sustainable and equitable cities in an era of climate change. As noted by McManus, recent monitoring of climate change suggests that potential future climate change impacts have been underestimated and, when this analysis is combined with rapid population growth in India's coastal regions, the need to address climate change issues is undeniable. McManus warns that the imperative of addressing climate change can potentially override democratic rights, including participatory and equitable decision-making that may generate multiple perceptions of, and responses to, issues encapsulated by the term "climate change". This chapter highlights the need for, and possible approaches to, addressing climate change issues in ways that are both meaningful and appropriate to the South Asia context. Issues of livelihoods and security are paramount. Making cities equitable and sustainable requires the participation of people

whose lives are affected by climate change impacts and by the mitigation and adaptation strategies devised to address climate change.

The above chapter segues nicely into Renu Khosla's on community participation. Khosla claims that participation is the new policy-speak and mandatory syntax in all slum development discourse. Over time, some of its tools and practices have also been popularized. Khosla's chapter deconstructs the meaning of people's participation in the planning of local slum neighborhoods and cities that are inclusive, and whose essence is local and specific, and where the urban poor are able to "live, work, learn, improve their lives and fully exercise their rights as citizens in a democratic society". Khosla also explores the challenge of taking participation to a city scale—by expansion of ideas, innovations, practices, outputs and products. This chapter presents three case examples of community-level collective action from the work of the Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence (CURE) in the cities of Agra, Delhi and Bhubaneswar to suggest options and possibilities for promoting and scaling community-based planning in achievement of city goals and national missions for urban slum development.

Following on the idea of rethinking participation, the role of the practitioners is a theme that is crucial when issues of social inclusion are considered. Farhan Karim, from the University of Kansas, provides a broad and critical context within which the idea of social inclusion has been transformed from the utopian spaces of the colonial struggle to various post-independent government and non-government practices in India. This chapter provides an overview of architecture's capacity to mobilize human agency, and how this has changed over time, and its evolving strategy to resist the production of exclusion by creating a social model on the basis of ecology. The philosophical foundation of the emerging socially engaged architecture, which Karim terms "dos-gardes" in contrast with the modernist notion of vanguards, is based on the idea of a new mode of citizenship that mediates to create a balance among state, society and environment. Working at the complex intersection of ecology and citizenship, dos-gardes works not as the designer in a traditional sense, but as the facilitator of spatial production who initiates conditions that include the actual users in the production of space through participation.

Andrea Nightingale and Katharine Rankin ask, "What does it mean to 'adapt'?" They look particularly at the politics of marginalization and gender inclusion in the context of post-conflict transition and resource governance in Nepal, a country where they have extensive research experience. According to these co-authors, gender is often seen as a specialist or "side" issue in climate change debates, particularly when placed in the context of violent conflict. The concern focuses first on the environment and second on violence, with women seen as victims of both. In their chapter, the two co-authors argue that gender and gender relations are at least in part constitutive of both climate change and violence and therefore need to be more central to attempts at climate adaptation and mitigation. These practices are key arenas wherein contestations, alliances and desires to be recognized by the state are played out with significant material consequences for what will come in future. Not only are people's consciousness and subjectivities transformed, but the material base of the state is also transformed, and that has implications for what kind of struggles and subjectivities will be durable and which will change. In the rapidly urbanizing Nepal, Nightingale and Rankin argue that ideas of adaptation need to be expanded to account for social-political relations that ultimately underpin the socio-natures—and the "adaptations"—that result.

In the first of the Service Arena chapters, Colin McFarlane, from Durham University in the United Kingdom argues that, while the challenges of urban sanitation in informal

settlements are increasingly recognized in academic and policy contexts, issues of urban sanitation access, usage and experience on a daily basis are still given marginal status in scholarly and policy-related circles. Drawing on primary research examining sanitation in two informal settlements in Mumbai—Khotwadi, an authorized, established settlement in northwest Mumbai and Rafinagar, an unauthorized, poorer settlement in northeast Mumbai—McFarlane argues that there is a need to focus more on how people use and organize sanitation as a basis for policy interventions. He highlights six key dimensions to everyday sanitation: party political manipulation of sanitation; the ongoing improvization of sanitation systems; the geographies of open defecation; the importance of moral economies of entitlement; the labor through which sanitation is produced and maintained; and the deeply unequal hydropolitics that shape the nature of daily sanitation practice. These six different domains are key constituent parts in the making of everyday urban life and illustrate the precarious, contingent, uncertain, predatory and collectivized nature of informal urban environments.

The theme of health is continued in the next chapter, where Stephen Zavestoski from the University of San Francisco, USA, explores the role of community health in inclusive urbanization, by looking at what can be learned from the 1984 chemical gas leak disaster in Bhopal. Zavestoski begins by paying special attention to the ways in which the city's urbanization process resulted in a worse disaster than might have otherwise occurred, before shifting to a focus on the role of community health in inclusive urbanization. Despite its tragic nature, among the positive legacies of the Bhopal disaster was the eventual emergence of the Sambhavna Clinic. Sambhavna was conceived when the survivors' movement for justice realized that, in the absence of government support or court-ordered compensation, it would need to find its own ways to begin healing the communities most heavily impacted by the disaster. Opened in 1995, the clinic is an "independent, community-based, non-governmental medical initiative concerned with the long-term welfare of the survivors [that] offers an innovative blend of modern and traditional therapies free of cost to the survivors." The primary lessons emphasized in this chapter are that community health cannot easily be restored once destroyed, community health and healing—especially in areas of intense poverty—require innovative models that emerge out of and are based in the communities themselves and grassroots community health efforts can be restorative on a number of different levels. This claim, and the clinic's record on the ground, prompts the concluding question: Can community health initiatives become the vehicles through which urban slums transition to inclusive urbanization?

Another vital service-focused arena is that of transport. In urban India, this often means buses. Meghal Arya, from CEPT Ahmadabad, writes about implementing the multi-award winning Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) in Ahmedabad, with emphasis on involving the community in the design of bus stations. She begins with the premise that urban infrastructure is a crucial factor in determining the ability of a city in providing quality life to its citizens. The question is: Can infrastructure be seen as something beyond hidden networks, as having potential for creating environments of public activity, as public spaces? This chapter analyses the case of the BRTS in Ahmedabad. BRTS represents "transition spaces," meant to accommodate and regulate large volumes of a vast variety of citizens. These points of interaction should be universally accessible and welcoming to the commuter, and for that reason the architects adopted a participatory approach to the design of the bus stations. The stations are the face of the BRT system and the design approach was to give the citizens a sense of pride and collective ownership. State-of-the-art construction technology and materials

were used to make a mark in the urbanscape. The design revolved around high durability, quick assembly of prefabricated parts, ease of maintenance and good aesthetics. The system comprises not only bus stations and their immediate environments, but also other facilities like pedestrian bridges, workshops, depots and driver facilities. These together complete the loop of "architecture for transit".

Buildings such as health centers and residential buildings are crucial components of any city. In the next chapter Anupama Kundoo from the University of Queensland, Australia looks at affordable green building alternatives. Her chapter is based on the premise that solutions that don't address the bulk of India are hardly solutions. Kundoo argues that the current urbanization in developing countries is distinct from the urbanization that took place in developed countries because, apart from the scale and speed, the global shortage of resources is a new limitation. India is still primarily rural. Rapid urbanization of rural areas cannot affect a rapid change in the mind-set of the inhabitants whose culture remains rural. Along with capacity-building, it is urgent to find design solutions that consider local building skills or lack of expertise and acknowledge local culture of the rural inhabitant not yet quite at home in the urban. India has 16 percent of the world population occupying only 2.4 percent of the world's land. Even basic development will be at the cost of the environment. Buildings need to be produced with significantly less than globally accepted standards. International standard "green buildings" being promoted in India appear to Kundoo to be an elitist fancy, affordable to just a few. Kundoo advocates setting standards appropriate to India's particular context.

Amelia Maxwell and Krishna K. Shrestha investigate pro-poor microfinance organizations and their role in poverty alleviation in urban India. The authors argue that inclusive urbanization depends on the forces of economic growth, positive social change and environmental sustainability. It is often argued that improving the livelihoods of the urban poor is contingent on improving access to resources and enhancing opportunities. Access to human, social, physical and financial capital is fundamental to addressing the multidimensional causes of poverty in rapidly urbanizing countries in South Asia. Microfinance has been acclaimed internationally as a successful tool to provide the rural poor with access to financial credit to improve their livelihoods and exit from poverty. However, the program is often limited as a poverty alleviation tool for the poorest of the poor in the urban settings. These programs are also criticized for a focus on building financial capital, not on social capital. The authors therefore address the question—Do microfinance programs in India help the poorest of the poor? They highlight the need to reframe the relationship between existing social structures and development programs, arguing that socio cultural change is necessary before development can be truly inclusive.

In the following chapter we move from a focus on microfinance to the inclusive service delivery in urban areas. Madhushree Sekher, from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, India, asks how inclusive are processes for delivering services to urban local communities. This is an important question because, in recent years, with industries and services concentrated in cities, urban centers are becoming the hubs of economic networks, and the traditional powers of national government and governance in cities is getting increasingly bounded by a number of private and official agencies, supranational and sub-national governments, non-government organizations and so on, that jostle for influence. In this institutional landscape, participatory partnerships have formed the core of a set of "new democratic politics." But, the important question today is how cities balance different demands and provide for basic services to citizens within their borders. In this context,

Sekher discusses the institutional reforms and shifts in governance of urban local communities in India, describing the contrasting and often competing pressures that bear on the city-government machinery and, in turn, influence the type, nature and manner in which services are provided within the city precincts. She draws from case studies of two cities from the state of Odisha, Bhubaneswar and Berhampur, and looks at the provisioning of three types of basic services in cities—sanitation and conservancy services, health services and elementary education, as well as the locals' perceptions about the services provided. Sekher argues that the process of urban local governance is still largely a "government/ State-guided process" rather than a "citizen-driven process" and the agenda in terms of "what" and "how" specific services are demanded and provided are instances of applied phenomenology, that is, a response based on some generally perceived experience of the government about what is workable or will yield a result.

The following chapter addresses the important issue of heritage conservation work with indigenous communities, with a focus on Kathmandu, Nepal. In this chapter, Neelam Pradhananga and Krishna K. Shrestha argue that many indigenous communities around the world have created institutions for centuries to promote social inclusion and sustainable heritage conservation. The Guthi System in Kathmandu City, which consists of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site, is an example. In this chapter the authors investigate how urbanization as a process has engaged (or disengaged) with indigenous Guthi communities of Kathmandu City, Nepal in relation to heritage conservation practices. Empirical evidence shows that the Guthi system, and the learning that can be derived from it, are increasingly being sidelined by scientific approaches to heritage conservation. These scientific approaches have been implemented through a technocratic, top-down approach of state bureaucracy that ignores local social realities. This system has consequently placed constraints on local traditions and has led to the disenfranchisement of Guthi communities from their own heritage, resulting in the dilapidation and destruction of social, cultural and physical heritage of considerable local, national and international significance. Under such circumstances, there is an urgent need for major rethinking as to how indigenous urban communities can be re-engaged in such a way that sustainable heritage outcomes can again be reimagined in Kathmandu. The authors draw on various aspects of the Guthi system such as access, representation, accountability and empowerment to offer a policy framework that outlines ways to shift heritage conservation practice from an authoritative, expert-driven approach to a community-based approach. The new approach integrates positive aspects of both indigenous and scientific-Western systems to advance the goal of sustainable heritage conservation in cities.

In the first of the chapters focused on strategies implemented for inclusion, Sheela Patel from The Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers (SPARC), India, describes the activities of the alliance of SPARC, Mahila Milan and National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) as an institutional arrangement that seeks to build skills and capacities and develop strategies that the urban poor can explore and negotiate internally and present to the city and to the state to seek a place in building the vision of inclusive cities that work for all. It briefly shares the processes through which capacity-building and solutions are developed and how, through contestation with formal, external and professionally produced data and project practices, these communities and their organizations demonstrate possible mechanisms by which the urban poor seek to become partners in development, rather than marginalized and invisible residents of the city. Most of the processes face long contestation, most fail initially, and breaching the walls of existing practice requires persistence and perseverance. The work of the

alliances through several decades indicates how breakthroughs come about and how these practices get accommodated into city level development activities. The chapter also briefly explores some of the real challenges that the urban poor face in how the image of a city is being contested, between the aspirations of becoming a city of global investment and an inclusive city. Finally, the chapter outlines how such long-term alliances accommodate and facilitate new insights and challenges, such as climate change, into their ongoing pursuit of producing inclusive cities that work for all.

In the following chapter, Chris Johnson from Urban Taskforce Sydney explores the role of female architects using spatial mapping technologies to generate urban renewal in Indian slum areas. An essential part of the success of the individual projects has been the participation of the community, generally led by women, in the planning and the design of new housing types. Johnson summarizes the work of three prominent female Indian champions of inclusive urbanization, namely Pratima Joshi from Pune, Manvita Baradi from Ahmedabad and Renu Khosla from Delhi. Johnson highlights the key features of the work of each of these women and their associated organizations in the provision of housing. He highlights the importance of computer simulation and, through the construction of full size mock-ups of housing types, individual families are able to influence the design of final housing types. In many instances the community is then involved in the building of the houses. From this bottom-up involvement of communities a new approach to the planning of cities is developing. With up to 40 percent of the residents of some Indian cities living in slums, it is essential that city planning is based on the renewal and improvement of the slum areas. Johnson shows that the architects and planners involved in the case studies are role models who can inspire many more professionals to reimagine inclusive urbanization.

The importance of rethinking educational practices segues into the next chapter by Krishna Dhote and Preeti Onkar Singh from MANIT India. In this chapter, the authors situate Global Studio 2012 within contemporary academic debates about educating the next generation of urban professionals. The need for thinking and engaged professionals to act in support of the urban poor in the developing world would seem to be an inarguable starting point. Currently around 300 million people live in Indian cities. By mid-century these numbers are estimated to rise to 800 million; rural to urban as well as environmental migration will play an increasingly important and transformative role in the social, economic, political and creative life of cities. How best might future professionals be educated to enable the transition out of poverty and what role can design play in this transition? How can professionals help create the space for people to lead the development process? Drawing on the experience of the cross-cultural and participatory studio and research workshop offered in Global Studio 2012, this chapter evaluates the processes and outcomes, engages with the diverse experiences and viewpoints of the other chapter authors and constructively theorizes the implications of rethinking educational practices.

In the Conclusion, the editors ask the question, "Where do we go from here?" This chapter integrates key insights from the chapters and weaves the agenda of inclusive urbanization and the potential for linking that agenda more strategically to climate change. In so doing it articulates a new vision for socially just, community-oriented, climate-responsive cities. It also addresses key public policy aspects and future practice and research needs, in the form of presenting a research agenda for other researchers and practitioners to engage with the important issues raised in this book. The goal of this chapter is to advance inclusive urbanization in the 21st century of rapid social, economic and ecological change.

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