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POLYINCLUSIVE STRATEGIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITIES

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I.INTRODUCTION

Urbanisation is a manifestation of the process of transformation of society and more recently of globalisation. It is estimated that by the year 2008, more than half the human population, of 3.3 billion people will be living in urban areas. This number is expected to swell to 5 billion by 2030. The world's urban population has grown from 220 million to 2.8 billion over the twentieth century. This scale of growth is expected to continue in the next couple of decades with Africa and Asia witnessing major growth. By 2030 the towns and cities of the developing world will make up 80 per cent of urban humanity.

The defining characteristic of the modern city today is that it consists to a large extent of poor people who have been excluded in the process of urban planning and whose right to be a part of the urban process has been largely ignored. Urban development that is geared to the needs of global capital displaces or excludes poor segments of the population and leads to the social and spatial segmentation of the mega-city into citadels and ghettos. This has created a growing disparity between "haves" and "have-nots", between and within nations. There is increasing evidence to show that there are those who, to a greater or lesser degree, are excluded by global processes, or are incorporated under conditions that are not of their choice and that are detrimental to their livelihoods and well being. Globalisation proceeds selectively, including and excluding segments of economies and societies in and out of the networks of information, wealth and power that characterise the new dominant system.

Objectives of the Paper

In the given perspective this paper attempts:
- To analyse the effects of globalisation on urban growth and development in India.
- To examine the policy and strategy of urban development during the past two and a half decades, including the organisational structure for managing urban sector schemes and the supporting financing system.
- To suggest an integrated strategy for the development of inclusive cities.
- To develop a framework of an inclusive, modern and environment friendly city.

The paper is divided into 7 sections. Section 1 introduces the basic concepts of the paper; section 2 is a perspective on urbanisation in India; section 3 explains the concept of inclusive city; section 4 traces changing paradigms in development theory: section 5 is an overview of the policies and strategy of urban development in India; section 6 suggests measures for development of inclusive cities and section 7 gives concluding remarks.

II. URBANISATION IN INDIA– A PERSPECTIVE

A large part of migration and urbanisation in less developed countries including India have historically been linked to stagnation and volatility of agriculture and lack of sectoral diversification within the agrarian economy. Rural urban migration has often been considered the major factor for the growth of slums in urban areas. A low rate of growth of agricultural production and lack of livelihood opportunities in rural areas, accompanied by a low rate of infrastructure investment in the public sector has resulted in out migration of uneducated and unskilled persons from several backward rural areas, with most of the migrants being absorbed within the urban informal economy. The strategy of economic reform and globalisation has given a boost to growth of industries and business in many global cities, resulting in inflow of capital from the global capital market and institutional sources as also investment by local entrepreneurs.

Withdrawal or displacement of labour force from the rural economy and their absorption in urban sectors has been an issue of serious concern in the receiving regions as well. The capacity of cities and towns has not been built to assimilate migrants by providing employment, access to land and basic amenities. The problem has been intensified as migrants have not been selective in their choice of destination (linked to availability of employment and other opportunities) causing regionally unbalanced urbanisation and distortion in urban hierarchy.

Migration and urbanisation must also be looked at in the context of emergence of global cities, many cities have acquired vibrancy in recent years by establishing linkages with national and international markets. It is often argued that the process of urbanisation in India, as in other developing countries, is being determined by macro economic factors at national and global levels and is not strongly linked to development of rural economy alone. The strategy of economic reform and globalisation has given a boost to growth of industries and business in globalising cities, resulting in inflow of capital from global capital market and institutional sources as also investment by local entrepreneurs. Most of the enterprises are not paying any attention to improve skills and living environment of the urban poor, except to maximise their profit. There has been a great deal of investment in real estate via the FDI route for the development of integrated townships. These have also ignored the vital issue of creating space for all sections of society and have only focused on earning huge profits through their small investments. (Gill, 2008) This has helped in the creation of urban spaces which are exclusionary instead of inclusive for large sections of India's urban population.

India has a large network of cities and towns. In 1991, the network comprised 3696 cities out of which 300 cities had a population of over one million. In 2001 the total number of cities had gone up to 4368 out of which 393 had a population of over one million.(Kundu et al 2007)

Globalisation strategies have opened up possibilities of resource mobilisation for large cities by strengthening their internal resource base and enabling them to attract funds from the global capital market and institutional sources. Unfortunately, most of these avenues have not opened up for smaller towns, as their economic base is very low, offering little possibility to local government for internal resource mobilisation with no business opportunity for the actors in the capital market. Given this unequal opportunity scenario, it would be a challenge, as stipulated by UNFPA (2007), to divert and promote "bulk of population growth in smaller cities and towns" that are seriously "under-served in housing, transportation, piped water, waste disposal and other services". Small cities and towns have "fewer human, financial and technical resources at their disposal" and their "capabilities for planning and implementation can be exceedingly weak". This is therefore a crucial area of policy intervention to alleviate poverty and usher in a process of sustainable urban development.

Occupying centre stage in the Indian story of globalisation are the metropolitan cities of Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. In the context of the IT industry, the southern city of Bangalore has attracted attention as the 'Silicon Valley of India.' The city has attained great visibility in the world economy due to the phenomenal growth of the IT sector in a single location in the context of a developing country. This has given rise to a new class of global migrants, who come to cities like Bangalore for work and become instrumental in the transformation of existing urban space to suit global requirements.

The global and world cities literature categorises cities as global city regions based on their functions as "command and control" centres in the global economy which determines their spatial, social and political development. This leads to a process of development, which is unequal and excluding in several different ways:

- There emerges social inequality as the city becomes polarised between a wealthy professional class and an impoverished low- wage service sector class. (Molenkopf and Castells 1991; Friedman 1995; Sassen 1998)

- This leads to uneven development as social polarisation becomes embedded in the spatial form of the city in the form of socio-economic segregation and unequal access to liveable space. This is apparent in the growth of suburbs of wealthy gated communities and the formation of central city ghettos of the poor (Marcuse 1997; Marcuse and Van Kempen 2000a).
- This causes political inequality as urban politics comes to be dominated by interest groups that favour growth–oriented policies over the interests of neighbourhoods. (Logan and Molotch 1987). Urban governance thus assumes an entrepreneurial role, which focuses more on economic development than on the provision of welfare.

It is thus important to understand that urban restructuring as a consequence of globalisation is rooted in both local and global factors – factors contributing to urban exclusion and agencies involved in the process are therefore "glocal" and not necessarily either global or local.

III.THE INCLUSIVE CITY

The concept of the inclusive city is derived from the idea that the city belongs to all its inhabitants. This gives rise to the notion of a new urban citizenship which makes it possible for those who belong in it to fully realise their rights and exercise their responsibilities. At the heart of the inclusive city, are the three inter – related ideas that contribute to the realisation of full citizenship: respect for human rights, good urban governance and equitable growth.

The Human Development Report (UNDP 2000) characterises human rights into seven core freedoms: freedom from discrimination – for equality; freedom from want – for a decent standard of living; freedom for the realisation of one's human potential; freedom from fear – with no threats to personal security; freedom from injustice; freedom of participation, expression and association; and freedom for decent work – without exploitation.

These human rights however, have to be realised within society; therefore the quality of urban governance – the manner in which individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city becomes crucial. An inclusive city requires collaboration between the national government, city governments, the private sector and civil society, which form new relationships and take on new roles in a globalising world.

Cities that are committed to realising human rights and to practising good urban governance are more likely to ensure that economic growth is equitable. An inclusive city ***promotes growth with equity.*** It is a place where everyone, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity or religion, is enabled and empowered to fully participate in social, economic, political opportunities and fully avail all basic services and shelter that cities have to offer. Participatory planning and decision making are at the heart of the inclusive city. Promoting inclusiveness is not only socially just, but is good for growth and central to sustainable urban development. Inclusive urban governance…

- Reduces inequality and social tension;
- Incorporates the knowledge, productivity, social and physical capital of the poor and disadvantaged in city development;
- Increases local ownership of development processes and programmes

Exclusion, as a result of physical, social or economic barriers, prevents certain groups from participating fully in urban life and services, and failure of local authorities to integrate such groups in their decision-making is often a function of inertia, along with bureaucratic and unresponsive forms of government. Ethnicity, gender and religion are also factors that contribute towards exclusion, along with 'self exclusion' of the urban elite who live in their own little universe cut of from the rest of the city.

Exclusion within the city means:
• **Isolation** or exclusion from the social development process
• **Unemployment** or exclusion from the economy
• **Marginalisation, discrimination and rootlessness** or exclusion from the mainstream, political and cultural processes
• **Vulnerability** or exclusion from social security networks.

Urban growth in India has been an unbalanced process since developed states and class I cities, with a strong economic base, have raised resources through institutional borrowing and innovative credit instruments helping to attract population as also economic activities. The capacity of cities and towns to assimilate migrants by providing employment, access to land and basic amenities are limited. Urban development that is geared to the needs of global capital displaces or excludes poorer segments of the population and leads to the social and spatial segmentation of the mega-city into citadels and ghettos. This has created a growing disparity between the "haves" and the "have-nots", between and within cities and regions. Exclusion in the city has manifested itself in the form of emerging slums in all parts of the globalising economy. The excluded in cities are all those who are denied the benefits of urban life, often being forced to occupy land illegally and to live in conditions which put their health and safety at risk. They are often denied basic services and suffer from crime and over-crowding. The lack of formal education, skills training and information about job opportunities, along with the shortages in the provision of health services, further contribute to urban exclusion.

The following facts highlight some features of the bleak urban Indian scenario:
- 69% urban households have access to tapped water supply.
- 79% urban households have sanitation facilities
- 46% urban households have water toilets.
- 28% urban households are connected to public sewerage systems.
- 60% garbage collection by municipal authorities
- 21% of the urban population lives in squatter settlements.
- Waste generation in class I cities more than doubled between 1978 -1995, but treatment capacity decreased from 39 to 24 per cent during the same period as there is hardly much investment in this sector.
- The urban transport situation is equally dismal, with high vehicle density, inadequate public transport and diffused institutional arrangements.
- Shortage of 26.53 million of dwelling units in urban areas for 11th plan period.

Spatial and demographic urban growth is thus characterised by a deterioration of physical, economic and social living conditions for a large and increasing part of the urban population. Against this backdrop, local, national and international policies have steadily evolved from repressive approaches aiming to eradicate slums and control the "undesirable dwellers" to an assimilating view of the urban populations. The state in its role as facilitator offers services and acts as a co-ordinator of policies and actions in the urban sphere. To some extent, this has resulted in improved legislation and collective infrastructure and services; it has also exacerbated corruption and increased the vulnerability of the urban poor.

Different systems of the city -- social security systems, education and health, transport, housing, water supply and sanitation – start responding to the wealthy minority integrated with the global economy. For example, infrastructure projects based on the principle of public-private partnership or privatisation, including those for water supply and sanitation, increase the cost of living for the poor and may altogether exclude the poorest. Land development becomes an intensely contested area. The new environmental agenda, under the concept of Sustainable Cities, also ends up expelling the poor from the city space and economy. Thus, the vast majority, that is low-skilled workers in industries or industrial zones, services, and the informal sector, congregate at the fringes where systems are inadequately developed, or in areas of the mega-city that are environmentally stressed or hazardous. The development processes that unwind are exclusionary. Large sections are first expelled from the economic space and then excluded from various city-level social systems. Thus, even though overall poverty (measured by income or consumption) in mega-cities has shown a decline over time, the vulnerability of such populations has increased. Women in poor communities suffer the most.

An increase in inequality in cities leads to issues of internal security. This pushes the rich to live in enclaves that are well protected. The city gets segmented between the rich and the poor. Segregation may not be total, but some segments of the city would have a concentration of the rich and others of the poor, as observed in the case of Mumbai and many other cities. A study of the three mega cities of Mumbai, Bangalore and Ahmedabad (Mahadevia 2004) found that globalisation becomes the excuse for elite take over of the mega cities or some of its prime parts. This is the push towards excluding neo-liberal developmentalism, where models emanate from the desks of the bureaucrats along with private sector real estate developers.

The increasing importance of the IT sector has given rise to the growth of exclusionary suburbs in Gurgaon, Pune and Hyderabad consisting of isolated dwelling units developed under the public – private partnership mode. Residential complexes aim to be largely self-sufficient and in the process exclude themselves from the surrounding slums, except for the dependence on domestic help. The urban skyline is a picture of glass and concrete; with centrally air-conditioned offices and malls depleting the already deficient resources of power and water. The gated condominiums have landscaped gardens but the foliage in the form of trees – essential for the environment and ecology is conspicuous by its absence. These residential dwelling spaces are typical examples of urban inclusiveness and to a large extent mirror the selfish and isolated mindset of the modern urban resident.

The number of persons excluded in the process of spatial development is identified at around one-third of the population of the city representing the lower economic strata of society. It is also estimated that around 50 per cent of the city population - the majority of which represents the upper income brackets do not participate in the election process which takes place at different intervals both at national and local levels indicating how deep rooted the level of exclusion is. The absence of participation of such sections is perhaps symbolic of the fact that they do not trust the system and the processes which have evolved over time.

IV.URBAN DEVELOPMENT: CHANGING PARADIGMS
Development paradigms have undergone significant changes over the years. In the last decade, in particular, approaches to development and projects have undergone considerable change with significant policy shifts in governance, gender, poverty eradication and environmental issues (Toner and Howlett, 2001). This has been marked by a shift from sectoral interventions in urban development to more holistic' or 'integrated' approaches.
Development strategies implemented by multi-lateral and bi-lateral agencies over the years can broadly be classified as:.
• **Trickle Down Approach** - from the late 1940s to early 1970s
• **Basic Needs/Redistribution with Growth** - from early 1970s to mid 1980s
• **Structural Adjustment** - from 1990s

Trickle Down Approach
The modernisation strategies of the late 1940s to the early 1970s used Keynesian economic models of demand-led growth and were influenced by the development theories of Harrod-Domar, Rostow and Lewis. Such strategies were characterised by the inclusion of import substitution, the creation of internal markets, eradication of pre-capitalist relations and modes of production and rapid industrialisation. All this was carried out in the belief that the gains of industrialisation in the North could be transferred to less developed countries, and that poverty, inequality and unemployment would disappear naturally with growth. This approach was commonly known as the 'trickle down' theory - the benefits of growth and development were expected to trickle down to the poor from growth-specific policies.

Basic Needs Provision/Redistribution with Growth
The limited financial resources of national governments in the South and their rapid pace of urbanisation meant that modernisation strategies were unable to meet the basic needs or to improve the lives of the urban poor. This led to a shift of policy from 'growth' to the World Bank's 'redistribution and employment' in aid programmes. Hoogvelt (1982) termed this shift to redistribution with growth as a change from 'global Keynesian to global social democracy'. At this time the orthodoxy in housing policy for low income population shifted, from conventional state housing, which had failed to meet need, on any meaningful scale, to site and service and upgrading initiatives. There was an acceptance of the arguments of the self-help housing, informal sector, and intermediate technology schools (Turner 1976).
Typical site and services projects involved providing areas of land equipped with basic urban services for people to construct their own shelter. Although some case studies indicate that these types of projects have brought material benefits to the urban poor, many evaluations show that little impact has been made with regard to the overall socio-economic situation of the people living in the settlements. Frequently, these projects
failed to reach the poorest groups, who would often be unable to afford the payment instalments or even secure loan finance, for a serviced site.

Redistribution to Adjustment
Structural adjustment programmes precipitated a shift to urban management and urban productivity interventions, rather than channelling aid to specific projects or programmes. This approach entailed policies concerned with urban development, decentralisation, privatisation, private sector and NGOs involvement in service delivery, regulatory reforms and initiatives to encourage community groups to invest in their own development initiatives. The theory was that by freeing up the constraints on markets through privatisation, institutional reform and capacity building, cities would become more productive and the opportunities of the poor would be improved. This, was called the **'enabling approach'** in which there was a theoretical movement away from large scale government projects which are spatially-focused to an emphasis on policy and institutional environments. This approach encouraged the non-statist provision of urban services (Harris 1992, Moser 1993, UNDP 1999).
Despite the rhetoric of the enabling approach there was still a very strong focus on projects and sectoral programmes concentrating on shelter and basic infrastructure. De Haan (1997) concludes that this type of sectoral urban development approach has neglected employment creation and questions of sustainability, 'that is responsible for their failure'.

The Current Situation - a Return to Poverty Focus
The focus of the urban debate has moved away from the management and productivity/enabling approach to urban development back to poverty. This has led to the emergence of the concept of **assets and vulnerability**, which focus on the social, political and economic processes to explain how people become poor, and why they remain poor. There is now an emerging consensus that policy makers and development actors should seek to identify what the poor have, rather than what they do not have, and in so doing focus on their assets (Moser 1998). The general focus of policies and strategies on poverty alleviation is to meet the basic needs. This has led to a move from **sectoral interventions** in urban development to **'holistic'** or **'integrated'** approaches.
The majority of development projects in urban areas have typically supported single sector activities, e.g., water supply, housing, income generation, provision of credit, or health improvements, disregarding other important aspects of local authority performance or betterment of the overall quality of urban life (Rossiter, 2000). There is often no alternative to single sector interventions due to resource constraints (Lall and Lall, 2003). It may sometimes be more pragmatic and cost-effective to limit resources to a specific sector in which there is

an acute problem and high potential for positive impact than to spread them more widely (Syagga, 2001).

The **multi-sectoral** approach to development is single-goal oriented, with all sectors involved aiming to achieve the same outcome but decentralised in management and execution. Effective co-ordination, both horizontal (between the various service providers) and vertical (between service providers and policy makers) is thus required.

The **integrated** approach refers to overall social, economic and spatial integration of a city, whereby poorer, marginalised sections of a city are formally integrated into the rest of the city. For example, un-serviced areas are connected to water, sewage and other public utilities, while land occupation is regularised and attempts made to integrate informal settlements into the framework of city/municipal development and the formal economy. This approach embodies the essence of an inclusive city.

V. POLICIES AND STRATEGY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

A review of the evolution of policy perspective on urban development indicates that until the Sixth Plan (1980-85), the policies addressed largely the problems of housing, slums and provision of civic amenities. The Seventh Plan explicitly recognised the problems of urban poor but the issues of employment generation, pro-poor growth strategy and infrastructural requirement did not figure in the strategy for this sector. The Eighth Plan (1992-97) for the first time talked of urban policies that could directly contribute to the goals of employment generation and poverty reduction by directing growth in certain directions. It envisaged a role for the local bodies in city development and stipulated cost recovery to be built into the municipal finance system. This perspective has further been reinforced in the Ninth Plan (1997-2002), which talks of **cities as engines of growth**. It also puts forward a vision of market-oriented growth with substantial reduction in budgetary allocations for development of urban infrastructure. The ninth plan document explicitly recognises "… although urban poverty is no less severe than rural poverty, the priority accorded to alleviation of urban poverty is low as the common perception is that urban poverty is a transfer of rural poverty into urban areas…".

With the passing of the 74th Amendment to the Indian Constitution and corresponding legislation, amendments at the state level, **decentralisation** has been hailed as a panacea for the problems of urban management in the country. All these basically attempt to achieve two objectives:

1. Enabling/facilitating the local bodies to undertake management, planning and development responsibility; and

2. Transferring powers to these bodies for generating adequate tax and non-tax revenue for this purpose.

Urban planning in India has undergone significant changes in terms of both policy and strategy since its inception. There have been three distinct identifiable "waves" of urban development in the Indian context

I. HOUSING was the first wave, which started in the 1950s and still continues to be a priority. Some of the significant initiatives under the scheme have been:

- **The Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme (SIHS)** was started in 1952 and provided subsidy on house construction to industrial workers with the co-operation of their employers who were also encouraged to build townships and construct houses for their workers.

- Since all the urban poor could not be covered by the SIHS, a separate housing scheme was started for the **Economically Weaker Section (EWS)** in the same year and **Low Income Group Housing Scheme (LIGHS)** was started in 1954.

- Setting up of a separate **Ministry of Works and Housing** in 1954. This Ministry was responsible for carrying out public works and housing schemes. It went through many changes in its name, role and responsibilities and was until recently called Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation.

- In 1956, the government introduced **Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Programme** in six major cities. It was essentially a beautification programme for the cities where slums were cleared more than improved for the perception of slums and their inhabitants was that they bred unwanted elements. The government activated its power of eminent domain by introducing the **Land Acquisition and Development Scheme (LADS)** in 1959 to legitimise clearance of slums, among other reasons.

- In 1986, the government launched the **Twenty Point Programme (20PP)**, which was primarily a rural programme with small urban components. This started a trend of merging housing schemes with other schemes like education, sanitation, and water supply in larger programmes.

- **Nehru Rozgar Yojana**– a scheme for employment through Housing And Shelter Up-gradation (NRY-SHASU, 1989), Prime Minister's **Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme** (PMI-UPEP, 1995), **National Slum Development Programme** (NSDP, 1996), **Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana** (VAMBAY, 2001) followed this trend by having a housing component among other objectives.

- **The National Co-operative Housing Federation of India** (NCHF) was set up in 1969 during the period when co-operatives were seen as an efficient method to gather scarce resources and minimise costs. NCHF is responsible for promoting state and primary co-operatives for the low-income category.

- **Housing Development Finance Corporation** (HDFC) and **National Housing Bank (NHB)** were set up in 1977 and 1988 respectively, though they have fewer programmes for financing the urban poor.

2. WELFARE – Social welfare programmes constitute the second wave that started with the **Urban Community Development Programme** in 1958 and gained popularity in the 1960s and 1970s.The initiation of the **Urban Basic Services (UBS)** programme in 1986 was a major step towards change in the perception of urban poverty. **From being viewed as a single sector problem of housing, urban poverty began to be perceived as a multi-sector problem**.

- At the behest of the National Commission on Urbanisation (NCU 1988), this programme was revised and launched as **Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP)** with three main objectives:

- ❖ Effective achievement of social sector goals by introducing innovations to be cost effective.

- ❖ Community organisation, mobilisation and empowerment.

- ❖ Convergence of all urban poverty programmes like EIUS, Nehru RozgarYojana, and Low Cost Sanitation (LCS) through sustainable support systems.

- **JNNURM** launched in November 2005 is the most comprehensive programme of urban reforms so far. With a budget of $12000 million, it covers 63 cities, including 7

mega cities, state capitals and cities of tourist and heritage importance. The focus of urban reforms under this programme is to create equitable and self sustaining cities, in a first of its kind acknowledgement that comprehensive urban governance reforms are required on a number of fronts - devolution of funds, functions and functionaries to local governments, basic services to the urban poor, urban planning, formalising citizen participation, urban land reforms to name a few.

3. CREDIT and EMPLOYMENT schemes started in 1977 RBI expanded the coverage of its Differential Rate of Interest (DRI) scheme to include the urban poor. As a part of this scheme, commercial banks were expected to advance 0.33% of their total advances as subsidised credit on easy terms to the urban poor.

- Women were declared as beneficiaries for an income-generating scheme of the Urban Community Development Programme in 1958. After that women are beneficiaries in UPAPs in their role as a mother while they are pregnant or lactating.

- The economic contribution of women and their role as income generators was recognised only in 1986 in programmes like **Support to Training and Employment Programme for Women (STEP)** or Urban Basic Services Programme.

- This was then followed by the Report of the National Commission for Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector (1988), Nehru Rozgar Yojana (1989), Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP), Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana (PMRY, 1993), Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme (PMI-UPEP, 1995), National Slum Development Programme (NSDP, 1996), Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana, 1999.

- **The Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services (ILFS),** established in 1989, has emerged as an important financial institution in recent years. Its activities have more or less remained confined to development of industrial townships and roads and highways where risks are comparatively less. It basically undertakes project feasibility studies and provides a variety of financial as well as engineering services. With the increasing dependence on funds from private sector and capital market, the need to study the projects' financial viability, to safeguard the interests of the investors, has come to the forefront, which explains the growing importance of ILFS. Its contribution to the total infrastructure finance in the country however is very low and its role is being recognised more as a merchant banker rather than of a mere loan provider.

An evaluation of urban development policies and programmes indicates flaws in both basic design and in their implementation. It is evident that the economics of urban poverty has been somewhat hazy with rural poverty programmes getting priority. There has also been an overemphasis on housing programmes compared to other aspects of development. While community participation and NGO involvement have been getting increasing importance in urban development programmes there is a need to make their roles more robust and training more broad based to be beneficial. It is also seen that fresh initiatives often benefit politicians more than the urban population for whom they are meant.

At the implementation stage funds often remain unutilised. The CAG on SJSRY and PMRY between 1995 and 2000 indicated that of the total Rs.2039.89 crore released under Urban Employment Generation Programmes (NRY, PMI-UPEP, SJSRY, and PMRY) during 1989-2000, 32% remained unspent as of March 2000. An overemphasis on qualitative performance targets, limited information about various schemes and continually introducing new schemes are factors, which exacerbate implementation problems.

VI. STRATEGISING INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT

Urban planning and its execution are divided in the Indian context. While development authorities and planning bodies have the authority for project approval and project execution it is the local governments which are responsible for managing and maintaining the given level of services. The basic problem lies in the perception of planning and project execution agencies, who generally do not to give due importance to the socio-economic realities and also ignore the planning of spaces for lower segments of the population. The ignored section gets embedded into the system by taking support from politicians and by the police and civil administration and occupies the spaces earmarked for certain projects. The informal settlements, illegally occupied formal spaces, have the characteristics of slums in which the occupants live under sub-human conditions. In the process, the identified projects do not materialise due to these encroachments. As a result, on the one hand the human settlement development process generally does not get completed, and on the other the illegal occupants continue to stay without required infrastructure. This process of exclusion from the development process is generally found all over the country regardless of the size of settlements.

In this context we attempt to develop a model for the modern Indian city based on an integrated approach to inclusive development. The model is based on the premise that for urban development initiatives to be successful, a multi sector approach is imperative. Given the complexity and multi-dimensionality of urban poverty, single sector interventions are unlikely to have a sustainable impact. We therefore focus on the assets of urban households to which they have access within a broader socio-economic and physical context **(Insert Table 1)**. Since households develop their livelihoods on the basis of the assets to which they have access, transforming structures and processes, which in turn have a bearing on livelihood outcomes, influences livelihood strategies. **(Insert Figure 1)**.

The conceptual model of our approach is illustrated in figure 2. **(Insert figure 2)**. The model stresses that to strengthen livelihood strategies and reduce vulnerability, the overall robustness of households asset portfolios has to be increased along side increasing the positive linkages between the local authority, community based organisations and the urban poor. It suggests increasing the range of livelihood options available to poor households and building the capacity of community based groups through networking and strengthening their knowledge and information systems. This translates into raising incomes (financial capital) to increase access to adequate shelter (physical capital) through group-based income generating activities (strengthening social capital while increasing financial capital), skills upgrading and training (improving human capital) and access to productive assets such as equipment and machines for micro and small enterprises (physical capital). Improved housing and sanitation conditions (physical capital) would not only have health benefits (human capital) but also have a positive impact on the environment (natural capital). To be able to achieve these desired outcomes there is a need to address the policy and regulatory frameworks as well as existing institutions (at the community, local and national levels) and transforming structures and processes. **(Insert figure 3)**

The following suggestions are far from exhaustive, but rather meant as steps in a poly-inclusive strategy designed to encourage greater participation for all in the multiple urban spaces of the modern Indian city**:**

- Step One: the first step in the development of an inclusive city is **social inclusion** through a recognition the right of the poor to the city. This implies increasing the access of low-income households and the urban poor to adequate, safe and secure shelter[1] and the development of physical capital. This essentially means provision of

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[1] Adequate shelter, as defined by UNCHS (Habitat) means "more than a roof over one's head. It also means adequate privacy; adequate space; physical accessibility; adequate security; security of tenure; structural stability and durability; adequate lighting, heating and ventilation; adequate basic infrastructure, such as water-supply, sanitation and waste-management facilities; suitable

housing along with the basic infrastructure of sanitation, water and electricity. Granting of secure tenure to slum dwellers wherever possible and feasible, is the first and most critical step towards slum up-gradation, improvement and their integration into city space. This can take the form of instruments ranging from de facto to de jure right of abode, and from collective to individual title deeds. This represents the first tentative step towards transforming the tenuous stake of slum dwellers into a recognisable and tangible asset. This then provides the space in which gradual and progressive improvements can be made in terms of infrastructure and services.

- While planning the cities we are yet to come across the city that has taken care of transport requirements majority of people through public modes of transport and the focus has been individual mode of transport. This led to choking of city arteries and suffocating the residents by gasses noises, vibrations and fear of not able to cross roads and accidents. The community segregation has caused false satisfaction and pride of being well of to afford alternate modes of transport.

- The establishment of shelter priorities implies developing gender sensitive participatory designs for housing plans using cost effective technology, locally available material and using community – based artisans trained in the production, application and utilisation of available technical skills to facilitate construction of affordable housing based on these designs. This may require modification in land use policies and building standards. In the Indian context the use of "Laurie Baker " technology in housing construction is often quoted as a successful example of low cost housing. The development of such dwelling units may partly be borne by the large corporations as part of their corporate social responsibility initiatives for the benefits of a cleaner city and a happier work force.

- **Financial Inclusion** and the development of financial capital is the next step in the development of an inclusive city: It is important that the potential of non traditional financial arrangements be harnessed for the provision of housing finance. In this context housing and multi-purpose community development co-operatives can play a vital role especially for the provision of cost-effective housing. The Indian co-operative housing movement has constructed/financed about 2.5 million housing units in various parts of the country, out of which 75 per cent have gone to economically weaker sections and low income families.

- The development of good quality housing increases the potential of increased income for small-scale landlords. The establishment of small-scale material production units lead to increasing the income-generating capacity of community based organisations especially women's groups.

- Training and skill development in both production and marketing would go a long way in preserving traditional arts, crafts and local industries as well as provide the local artisan with the necessary wherewithal for a decent living. The emphasis here should not be on 'technical know-how' as on 'practical how-to-do'.

- The development of micro-credit facilities through co-operatives and other financial institutions are an important step in financial inclusion. The role of women in this context is especially important and it is often seen that saving facilitation is better when credit is extended to the female rather than male worker.

- Access to knowledge and information by the urban poor is crucial in enabling them to make the most effective use of their limited livelihood assets. The provision of educational facilities and inclusion of the urban poor into the city's information space can be made possible through assistance provided by the corporate sector. This could take the form of sponsoring the sharing of resources with existing educational institutions. Sharing physical resources creates a feeling of inclusion as children from

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environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities: all of which should be available at an affordable cost."

slums study in the same classrooms, use the same computers and play the same games in the playgrounds that they have been so far excluded from. Since the physical infrastructure for this already exists all it requires is using the same facilities with a separate set of instructors in an alternate shift.

- Resident welfare associations are bodies of local representatives who have the mandate to manage the day-to-day affairs of their respective neighbourhoods. They can play a crucial role in the inclusion of the urban poor of the area through assistance with education, housing and other facilities.

- Generally water plan for cities is yet to come up to the expectations. Water produced for cities is very close the level of waste-water and recycling of the precious resource requires serious attention. Most of the cities have a partial plan and overlook the key concern to be inclusive.

- Nature of energy use varies from source to purpose but yet to come up to sustainable level. The renewable energy sources need to be a focus as there are number of technological advancements for production as well as applications of energy especially by using geothermal, solar pv, solar thermal and wind. Economical application of energy for lighting purpose like LED bulbs and use for transport purposes to minimise city emissions, this issue also required to be addressed.

- Effective use of public spaces can be an important strategy for inclusiveness. Urban exclusion is most acutely felt during leisure time: while the affluent citizens have access to green spaces in their homes and clubs, and to entertainment in restaurants, cinemas and malls the common man only has public spaces as their leisure options. Improved access to green spaces, waterfronts and public parks can go a long way in creating social inclusion in the city.

- Reviving the neighbourhood concept through participation of all sections of the population in religious and community functions could be a step towards inclusion in the urban space. This also involves getting the global migrant to become a part of local custom and tradition and perhaps getting the large corporate houses in the vicinity to participate as well.

- It is also suggested that schemes for financing the development of the city could source their revenue through schemes of differential pricing for conferences and other travel and tourism related visits of the global migrant who may then have a role in making the city inclusive.

- The final step in inclusion of the urban poor is to give them a political voice by including them in systems of urban governance. Integration both at the activity level and at the level of partners (i.e. between actors at all levels from local to national) gives the urban poor a voice in their own affairs and the power to be instruments of change.

VII CONCLUSION

This paper develops a holistic approach to the development of inclusive cities by highlighting the interdependence between social, structural, economic, financial, human, environmental and governance elements. Urban development strategy should be seen as a process in a contested space wherein various interests and goals emerge as actors to mobilise resources and decision-making practice. The process of planning and governance is an excluding process in which the urban poor tend to get socially excluded and the urban elite willfully exclude themselves. Developments in IT and communications technologies have contributed significantly to expanding the dimension of urban spaces, but have failed to make them more inclusive. It is therefore suggested that inclusion into city spaces needs a collaborative strategy and participation of all its stakeholders in an effort to build relationships of trust and empathy in urban governance

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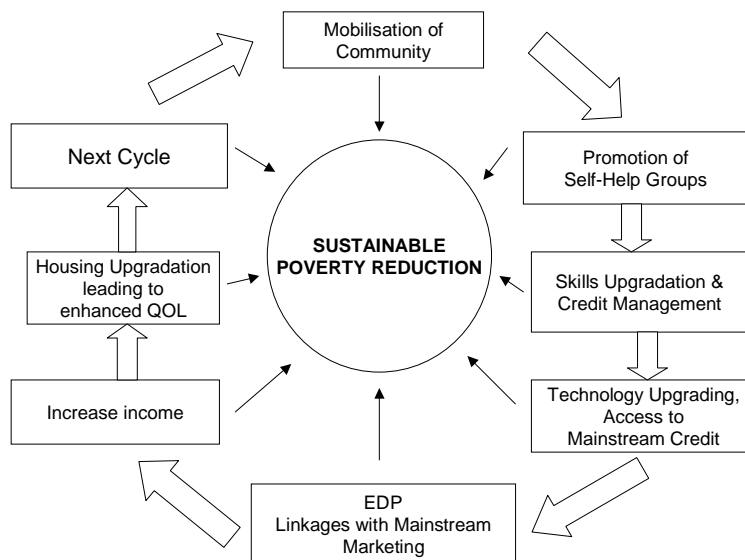
Nos 2&3, October, pp 48-52.
FIGURE 1 Integrated Approach to Inclusive Cities

Table 1: Capital Assets

Natural capital: the natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful for livelihoods are derived, e.g.,
land, water, bio-diversity, environmental resources.

Social capital: the social resources (relationships of trust, membership of groups, networks, access to wider
institutions) upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.

Human capital: the knowledge, skills, ability to labour, information and good health important to the ability to
pursue different livelihoods.

Physical capital: the basic infrastructure (water, sanitation, energy, transport, communications), housing and
the means and equipment of production.

Financial capital: the financial resources which are available to people (savings, credit, regular remittances or
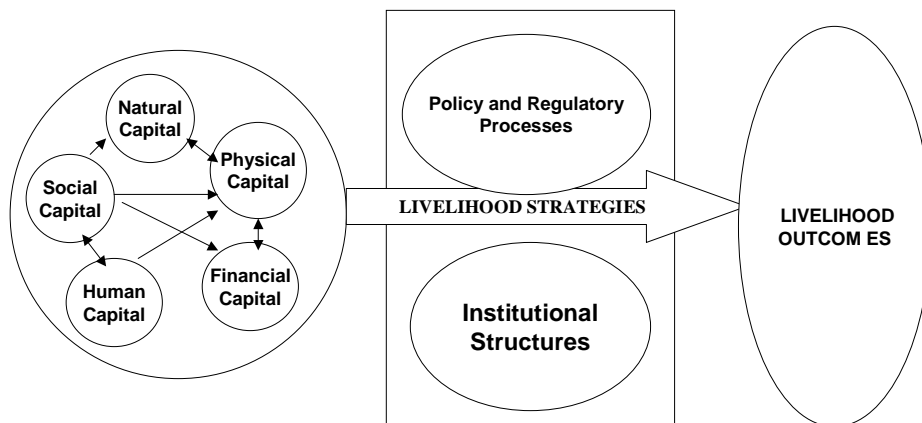pensions) and which provide them with different livelihood options.
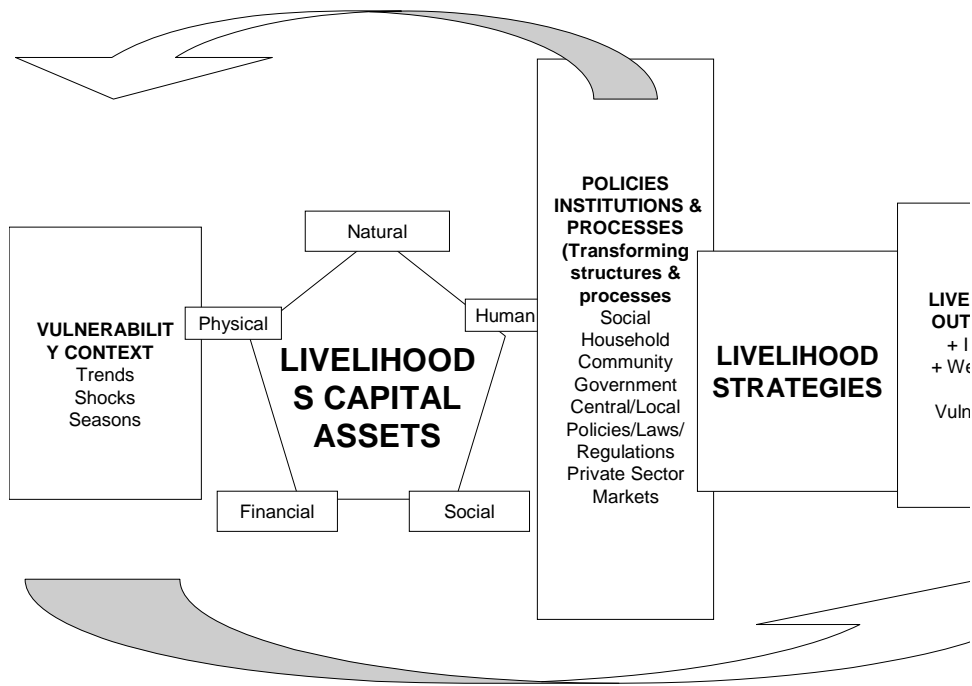

Figure 2: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for Inclusive Cities

Figure 3: An Integrated Sustainable Livelihoods Framework