



## **Participation in Upgrading of Informal Settlements**

-a case study of the project “City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM”

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### *Abstract*

Fyhr, Karl (2012). *Participation in Upgrading of Informal Settlements -a case study of the project "City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM"*. Fyhr is a student at Human Geography Department at Stockholm University. This thesis for the course Urban and Regional Planning has been supervised by Andrew Byerley. The aim is to put the participatory approach of slum upgrading in context of rationality. What are different stakeholders approaches towards participatory planning? Are there any potential conflicts of interests with the participation approach used in the Yerwada project? Who are actually participating in real practice? How can different ways of rational thinking be explained in the questions above? This thesis is based on a 10 weeks MFS-study in India. The methodology is a case- study of a slum-upgrading project in Yerwada slum located in the city of Pune. Focus is on different rationalities which are embedded in the project. Two main rationalities are identified, the professionals' rationality contra the beneficiaries. A clash between the two rationalities can be identified. This clash can be reduced by influence of NGOs and CBOs cooperating with authorities and building a bridge between professionals and the urban poor.

Key words: Yerwada, slum- upgrading, informal settlements, rationality, urban- poor, power, SPARC.

*Acronyms*

PMC	Pune Municipal Corporation
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres
NSDF	National Slum Dwellers Federation
Mahila Milan	Women together
The Alliance	SPARC, NSDF and Mahila Milan
KRVIA	The Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies
CDSA	Center for Development Studies and Activities
JUNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
BSUP	Basic Services for Urban Poor
MASHAL	Maharashtra Social Housing and Action League
URBZ	User- generated cities
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
CBO	Community-Based-Organisations
EOI	Expression of Interest
FSI	Floor space index

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## 1. Introduction

Historically the planning practice has been dominated by engineer's whose roles were as experts. Modernistic planning is one example of this. The belief was that everything could be fixed by good planning. By building in the right angle with light and by functional specialization with a structure formalized like in a machinery way all problems could be solved. Le Corbusier is maybe the most famous planner and architect who are associated with this kind of ideal (Fishman, 2003). I'm not saying that his or the modernism ideal only are wrong, there are also many of these plans and ideas that are very good. According to My belief, the problem was that the people weren't introduced or able to take part in these ideas. Planning was and is sometimes even today dominated by the politicians, planners and architects.

More recently however, many of the old planned areas have been subjected for massive critique. In Sweden many areas from "the million houses program" have been described as cold and depressing. It is the separation between different functions that has often been described as the problem (Lilja, 1999). This could be one reason, but one reason can also be the lack of participation in the time when these neighborhoods were built. Henri Lefebvre describes cities as centers of social and political life where not only wealth is accumulated but also knowledge (Lefebvre, 1996). Why don't we take advantage of this knowledge in the urban planning? I believe it can be done, through participation. Francis Bacon has mentioned the famous words "Knowledge is power" (Flyvbjerg, 1998 p.27). This can in many ways be true but it is important to ask whose knowledge, and what knowledge that is power?

As a reaction to the critique a more participatory approach in the planning practice slowly emerged. New theories about participatory planning were established with Habermas work about communicative actions becoming the base for many theories. But these theories have in turn also been criticized during the years. For example the question of who is it that actually participates has been raised. Some theories about participation have been criticized for being too utopian with too strong belief of reaching consensus. Arjun Appadurai (2002) writes about democracy from below and questions the participatory planning partly by asking what a democratic process actually is. Others have asked the important question of who it is that actually can participate. How inclusive is the participatory planning? Patsy Healy have lightened the importance that power has on the participatory process (Healy, 2003).

India contains many informal settlements one of these is the Yerwada slum in Pune. Many slums are going through processes of upgrading and so is also Yerwada in Pune. The upgrading of Yerwada has partly been financed by Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission "JNNURM" which is a state program with the goal to make Indian cities free from slums. The project that consists under the JNNURM is known as a Basic Services for Urban Poor "BSUP" project. More exactly is this specific project called "City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM," In this study it will simply be called the "Yerwada project". The basic premise of the project is that slum dwellers are included and that they all can stay in their neighborhood and on exactly the same footprint<sup>1</sup>.

Could the "Yerwada project" be seen as a reference to a new way of upgrading informal settlements, a more democratic and inclusive model? Is participation only good and to what

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<sup>1</sup> Footprint is in this context the same as plot size and structure

extent is it possible to include the residents in urban development? How can the “Yerwada project” be discussed and explained from a rationality perspective? This is the more fundamental point of departure for this thesis based on a 10 weeks MFS in Pune and Mumbai, India.

### *1.1 The aim*

Citizen’s participation is an important part in the aim of making urban planning more transparent and attuned to peoples own lifeworlds. By putting a specific case study into a wider theoretical context this study will try to answer the following questions:

- What are different stakeholders approaches towards participatory planning?
- Are there any potential conflicts of interests with the participation approach used in the Yerwada project? How can these conflicts be reduced?
- How can different ways of rational thinking be explained in the questions above?

Better understanding of these questions will result in knowledge that will be of importance for continuing slum-upgrading. The study will also contribute to the field of research regarding informality and rationality.

### *1.2 Structure of thesis*

After presenting the introduction with including aims, use of concepts, methodology, references, source criticism and ethics, relevance and limits of research the thesis will continue with presenting the theoretic approach of the study. This section presents and discusses the theories that will be of most importance in this study.

After presenting the theoretic approach the thesis continues with the section called participation. The participation section starts with a definition of what participation is. This definition is based on interviews with professionals and on a literature study. The second part in the participation section discusses the emergence of participation in the planning practice. This will give the reader a background and an historical context.

The Participation section is followed by the section called Slum upgrading in Maharashtra. This section starts to present definitions and thoughts about the term slum. The participation section continuous presenting and discussing different types of slum upgrading in the state of Maharashtra. After presenting different types of slum upgrading the section gives a short presentation and discussion of planning history and slum policies in Maharashtra. This part is meant to give the reader some background information about planning and slum policies in Maharashtra.

The main part of this thesis is the case study of the project “City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM.” Its starts by presenting some short data about the city Pune where the case study took place. The info about Pune is followed by a part which presents the project site and the limited site for the case study, Mother Theresa Nagar in Yerwada. The case study section is continuing presenting background information about the project and how it was started. The fourth part in the case study section is presenting different stakeholders which are important in the case

but also in slum-upgrading as whole. Stakeholders that are presented are Pune Municipal Corporation, The Alliance consisting of SPARC, NSDF and Mahila Milan. Also the NGO MASHAL and the architecture school KRVIA are important stakeholders in this study.

The section about the case study continues with a discussion of the different methods for participation that have been used in the project. This part is followed by a discussion regarding the in-situ scheme as a scheme for slum-upgrading. This discussion highlights both potential strengths and weaknesses of the scheme.

The case study section is followed by a section which presents a more general discussion of why participation is important. This section is based on interviews with professionals and local non-professionals in the cities Pune and Mumbai. The section is followed by a continuing one that discusses in what way participation can be implemented.

The thesis ends with a discussion part and a conclusion. In the discussion part, the case study of the “Yerwada project” is put in relation to the main theories presented in this thesis. Also the general discussion regarding participation is here combined in the discussion.

The conclusion gives a short overview of the findings in this study and presents further research suggestions.

### *1.3 Use of concepts*

Different concepts and terms will be used in this study. These concepts can have different meaning for different persons. Thus the concepts and terms used in this study will be explained in this part to specify their meaning in this study.

The most important concept for this study is the concept of participatory planning. Participatory planning is not an easy concept to define because it can have a lot of meanings. It is very closely anchored to the term democracy. I would like to talk about participatory planning as democratic planning. But it is important to look deeper into what participatory planning actually is and not only to simplistically think of participatory planning as something which is only good with no conflicts. Patsy Healy believes that it is important to look at participation in the context of power. She argues that Foucault’s thoughts, that power is not only embodied in people’s energy but also in their position and command over different resources and rules are of importance when discussing participation. Foucault also argues that power is embodied in people’s assumptions about appropriate ways of acting and thinking. These assumptions in individuals every day life’s can become embedded in institutionalized practices. Even though Foucault himself didn’t studied participatory planning Healy mean that his theories are well applicable to the discussion of participation (Healy, 2003).

One other important concept which will be used frequently in this study is the concept of informal settlements. In my opinion informal means the opposite to something that is formal. In planning practice this often means something which isn’t planned by any authority or company. Informal settlement is often used as another word for the term slum. Informal can sometimes be activities which are illegal, something which are separated from the authorized to something unauthorized. Roy defines informality as a state deregulation, where the

ownership, use and purpose of land cannot be mapped and fixed according to the law or any prescribed regulations (Roy, 2009).

In this study informal settlement is used as a synonym for the term slum. In other words I would define it as a settlement that is not planned by any authority.

The term planning does in this study refer to the process of development and modernization of different kind. It is the whole process from the initiation of an idea, through the construction and to the follow up studies of a project. It is in this study mostly referring to the process of slum upgrading. Upgrading is in this study limited to the whole physical structure of a neighborhood and community.

Democratic is a term that in this study refers to the amount of people's opportunity to influence the planning process.

In this study the in-situ scheme refers to developments that take place at the same site as former structure. In the case of Yerwada this also means that the actual ground structures are kept as the original.

#### *1.4 Methodology*

The research- design used in this study is a case- study design, where a specific case is the main resource. In this case- study the two main methods are interviews and observations. Interviews and observations are the most usual methods used in a case- study but also more quantitative types of methods can be useful (Bryman, 2002).

The field work for this study took part “between” the 2<sup>nd</sup> February to the 9<sup>th</sup> of April in 2012. Mainly Pune and especially the Yerwada slum has been the field site. The case that been studied is a slum upgrading project “City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM”. Time spent in the field enable the researcher to get close to the subject of research. To do interviews and participatory observations in a close relation to the field can help to receive information both from an inside and an outside perspective (Kaijser, 1999). The close relation to SPARC facilitated the ability to get in contact with people to interview. This is because of SPARC good reputation and connections both among professionals and the urban- poor.

The case- study is limited by focusing on the work of Mahila Milan in Pune. They have been running the upgrading project in Yerwada together with the NGO “SPARC” and NSDF (National Slum Dwellers Federation) which they together form the Alliance.

The field work also took place in Mumbai at the SPARC office. The methods in Mumbai are mostly interviews. In Mumbai the interviews that were done are limited to professionals within the planning field.

The architecture school, KRVIA has in corporation with SPARC done an alternative redevelopment plan for Dharavi<sup>2</sup>. This makes KRVIA a good resource for interviews about slum- upgrading and participation.

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<sup>2</sup> One of the largest slums in the world, located in Mumbai, India



Interviews were also made with representatives from SPARC, NSDF and Mahila Milan. They have a central role in both the project in Yerwada but also in other projects which aim to increase the influence of the poor in the decision-making in slum- upgrading projects.

The case- study will help to show how slum upgrading can be done in India and especially in the state Maharashtra. The case- study does not aim to show a representative picture of how slum upgrading is done but it will show one example of how it can be done. The case is also good because of its close connection to the NGO SPARC and also is a pilot project for a more participatory approach towards slum upgrading. To be at the project site but also at SPARC's office in Mumbai enables the opportunity to get a good outside and inside perspective of the project.

The interviews that have been conducted are both structured and semi-structured. The structured interviews are more specific with some closed questions while the semi-structured interviews are more of discussions with open questions. The open questions are good because they give space for more open answers and follow up questions but they still keep the focus on a certain subject (Dalen, 2007). In interviews with local people living in the slum I found it hard to have closed questions because they sometimes were hard to understand by the interviewee. At this time open interviews were preferable. It was good to start with one wider question, for example, what they thought about the project and then let them talk more freely. Many questions were answered only by listening to the interviewees stories. To make the interviewee feel more comfortable they got the opportunity to also ask questions to me, the interviewer. This helped to light up the atmosphere. One other way to get people in better mood was to show pictures from Sweden. To show them personal pictures of family members, pets and house where strongly appreciated by the interviewees. This also strengthens the connection between interviewer and the interviewee.

The semi- closed and closed questions are good when specific facts are required. In this study these kinds of questions were mostly targeted to professionals. It could for example be questions regarding floor space index or building regulations etcetera. There are though a risk that semi- closed and closed questions gets too focused and doesn't leave room for discussion. This may result in that important information gets lost. This risk was reduced by presenting a more open question after the closed ones. This encourage for a discussion.

Professionals that are interviewed in the study were chosen because of their expertise and knowledge about the Yerwada project. SPARC, Mahila Milan and MASHAL have been working with the project and have a lot of knowledge about both the project and the project site. CDSA and KRVIA have both resources with a lot of knowledge within the field architecture/planning. The beneficiaries in the study were chosen randomly with the delimitation only that they lived in the area Mother Theresa Nagar. Interviews with professionals took place in offices which made it easy to record the interviews. With the interviews of beneficiaries it was sometimes harder to keep to the actual subject. These interviews took place both at Mahila Milan's site office in Yerwada but also outside in Mother Theresa Nagar. These areas for interviews of beneficiaries were not optimal as the places weren't separate and often people came in and the interviews were interrupted. In some cases the interviews took place with more than one person, which had both positive and negative aspects. The beneficiaries and the women at Mahila Milan felt more secure to speak freely in company of their friends who they knew well. On the other hand these interviews tended to lose focus more often than interviews with the professionals.

The case-study design was a good choice in this study because it enabled a deeper understanding of how slum- upgrading works in reality. To only focus on one case can of course also be seen as a weakness. It is for example hard to get a general understanding of how slum-upgrading projects look like (Dalen). This weakness has in this study been reduced by presenting a simple more general literature and document study of slum-upgrading. Also the interviews were in some cases of more general context. This is presented in the parts called Why participation? and How participation?

### 1.5 References

The main literature in this study is focused on the rationality discourse, thus Bent Flyvbjerg's (1998) *Rationality and Power*, Vanessa Watson's (2008) *Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues* and work by Arjun Appadurai and Ananjan Roy. Jürgen Habermas and Sherry R Arnstein's works will be the main contents in the participation discussions.

The study is to a great extent based on interviews with both professionals and local residents. The people and organizations taking part in the study are presented below.

John Rainbow	SPARC
Sheela Patel	SPARC
Anekid	Architect
John James	NSDF
Paul Anirudh	KRVIA
George Jerry Jacob	KRVIA
Mahila Milan A	Pune Mahila Milan
Mahila Milan B	Pune Mahila Milan
Beneficiary A	Inhabitant of Mother Teresa
Beneficiary B	Inhabitant of Mother Teresa
Beneficiary C	Inhabitant of Mother Teresa
Siddarth Benninger	CDSA
Aneeta Benninger	CDSA
Sharad Mahajan	MASHAL
Pratima Joshi	Shelter Associates
Vaze	Junior engineer City Ward Office
Hawalyar	Junior engineer City Ward Office
Rahul	URBZ

### 1.6 Source criticism and Ethical issues

To keep an open mind and high credibility in the study it is important to have a neutral approach towards the subject that is studied. I think it's good with participation because it gives people the opportunity to engage in the planning process, but I have tried to be neutral about why and how participation in planning should be implemented. Mostly this study let people talk for themselves. This is done by using interviews.

In the observations it is important to think about the fact that I as researcher am a part of the observation process. It is important to reflect over how the researcher's presence can affect what is being observed. It is also important to understand the fact that different viewers could look at the same case with different eyes depending on knowledge, understanding etc. According to Leonie Sandercock all information tells a story. The story can be different depending on who is telling it but also depending on who the listener is. It is important to have this in mind during the interviews and observations. The researchers should aim to go behind the "closed doors" and reach the right information. One way to do this could be to look on different sources from different actors (Sandercock, 2003).

In the Yerwada case the observations took mostly part in the area Mother Theresa Nagar where the construction has already started and some houses even are finished.

Even though there is a specific case and the work of a specific NGO is the subject for the field study, there have been interviews with many different stakeholders which all have their own opinions on the project. It has also been important to have a neutral approach towards the NGO that have been followed in this study. It is thus important to clarify that this study is not about the work of a specific NGO but rather a study of a specific case in the hope of showing how slum upgrading with a participatory approach can be done.

It is also important to have an open and neutral view towards slum upgrading and different types of slum upgrading. It is important to put focus on local peoples and professionals thoughts and not to involve personal beliefs too much in the research.

When doing research in developing countries and especially of urban poor in slum settlements it is important to think about ethical issues. In this study all local, (non-professionals) are kept anonymous. This is done because of the wishes of the interviewees themselves. As mentioned the interviewees were able to make their own decisions for how the interviews should take place. Many wanted to have some friend with them to feel more secure. The place for the interviews is also important, they took place in areas that the interviewee were familiar with. The interpreter is also important to think about both from aspects of source criticism but also of ethical issues. For most of the interviews in this study there was no need of an interpreter. But some interviews with local beneficiaries were done with the help of one woman at Mahila Milan. It was of help that she knew the area and often also the beneficiaries. That she was working with the project could though be seen as an issue of source criticism because it could result in people being afraid to criticize the project.

### *1.7 Relevance*

Planning has historically been dominated by professionals and there has been a lack of public involvement in the planning process (Watson, 2008). This is sometimes also the case in present times. Thus the work of increasing citizen participation is important to gain a more successful and democratic planning (Anirudh, 2012-04-04). To study how participation is and can be implemented in informal settlements is relevant because a lot of the development in developing countries like India does take place in informal settlements. To understand how participation could be implemented in these informal settlements could be a great step towards a more democratic planning process. Knowledge of how different stakeholders see on participation is important for continuing work towards a more participatory planning.

Understanding of participation in slum upgrading projects and its strengths and weaknesses is important for future development. Flyvbjerg and Watson have done important work which discussing the complexity of rationality and how it are related to power. Especially Flyvbjerg (1998) have discussed the relation between rationality and power. Watson (2008) discuss how different rationalities clashes. She discusses this in a context of informal settlements. However I believe that there is a need to provide the rationality discourse with a clear example. Flyvbjerg discuss rationality by analyzing, the Aalborg project, but there is a lack of examples from a slum context. This study will provide an example in a slum context. I believe that a deeper knowledge of the rationality discourse and how it can be present in slum- upgrading projects are of importance. It's important not only to achieve a better process of slum- upgrading but also urban planning in general.

### *1.8 Limits of research*

The time for this study is limited to about 10 weeks in the field. Thus careful delimitations of the subject is obligatory in order to maintain the coherence of the study. The focus has been on one specific upgrading project in the Yerwada slum in the city of Pune, located in the state of Maharashtra. The site of fieldwork has been even more delimited to the community of Mother Teresa Nagar, within Yerwada. Mother Teresa is a good site for this case because it is the community where the construction first started and some houses are finalized. Interviews have been limited to local people in Yerwada but also professionals in both Pune and Mumbai.

## **2. Theoretical approach**

The main theories used in this study are theories about rationality and power. The work of Bent Flyvbjerg (1998) is important for the theoretic framework for this study. Flyvbjerg's work about rationality and power is indeed feasible and central in the discussion of slum upgrading. It is important to understand why planning is done in a specific way and what role rationality and power have in this process. The rationality discourse will have a central role in this study and will be put in the context of slum- upgrading. Different stakeholders view of participation and planning can be explained by their view of rationality. With their view of rationality this study refers to person's way of rational thinking. Flyvbjerg also writes how power in some cases can rule over rationality. According to Flyvbjerg this more generally means that knowledge and rational thinking can be neglected by other forces from for example an influential politician or company. According to Flyvbjerg, this can be done through a process or tool called "Rationalization" which means that power forces can turn something irrational into rational. Flyvbjerg describes Ervin Goffman's theory of front stage- backstage relationship, of how rationalization and power are dominating behind the closed doors and how this becomes presented as rationality at the front stage. Flyvbjerg refer to Francis Bacon and his statement, as mentioned in the introduction, "Knowledge is Power". Flyvbjerg believe that this is true, but also argues that power is knowledge. He mean that power and knowledge are impossible to separate form one another. According to Flyvbjerg can power procure knowledge that supports a specific purpose but power can also ignore knowledge that doesn't support the same purpose (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

In the discourse of rationality the work by Vanessa Watson will also be of importance. She puts the discourse into the context of developing countries and slums. She writes about the "clash of rationalities" and discusses the clash between rationality of planning practice and

the rationality of survival of informal residents. According to Watson there can be a conflict of rationalities between the state and the urban poor and that there is a need for rethinking the role of planning. She writes that the planning practice is still based on ideologies from the early 1900s and from modernism, this is both in the global south but also in northern societies like in US and Europe. She questions the master plan and its visions of the good city and as Peter Hall (1988) have written, for being used as a tool by the middleclass and the rich to exclude the urban poor from their spaces (Watson, 2009). Thus Peter Hall and Vanessa Watson's theories and discussions are also of interest in the discussion of the emergence of slums.

To discuss how the participatory approach in the case study corresponds to the general theories about participatory planning, it is necessary to present some theories about participatory planning.

Participation can be described in the context of Jürgen Habermas theories about communicative actions. Thus communicative planning will play an important role in the theoretical approach of this study. Habermas has different factors that have to be accomplished to gain a free and open argumentation. 1. That no one that will be affected by a decision should be excluded from the argumentation. 2. That all participants should have equal possibility to present and criticize validity claims in the process of discourse. 3. That participants must be willing and able to emphasize with each other's validity claims. 4. That existing power differences between participants must be neutralized. 5. The fifth and last point is transparency, that participants must explain their goals and intentions openly (Habermas, 1990).

It is in my opinion hard to fulfill all of Habermas points for argumentation. Pierre Bourdieu's theories of different types of capital can be seen as a description of factors that affect the arguments and different person's opportunity to argue. According to Bourdieu, a person who possesses a larger amount of cultural capital knows better how to speak and act in relation to others. This advantage gives a person with larger amount of cultural capital better opportunity to argue than one with less amount of capital. When Bourdieu writes about cultural capital he refers to a person's education knowledge. Bourdieu also identify two other types of capital, economic capital and symbolic capital. Economic capital means material assets like money while symbolic capital refers to honor and prestige. All of these types of capital are according to Bourdieu something which people to greatest extent are striving to possess. The amount of capital in all of these forms has impact on a person's power (Giddens, 2007).

Sherry R Arnstein's *Ladder of citizen participation* (2007) that can be seen in figure 1, will be of importance in this study. She writes about the participation and its different stages. She means that it is important to understand that there are different levels of participation and non-participation. She describes these different stages in her "ladder of participation".

At the bottom of the stage are Manipulation and Therapy, they are both levels of non-participation. In Arnstein's ladder manipulation means that people become educated by powerholders. According to Arnstein are structures like "neighborhood councils", or "neighborhood advisory groups" a way for the CAAs<sup>3</sup> to manipulate the people. The "neighborhood councils" or "neighborhood advisory groups" make people believe that they are participating but in fact these bodies frequently have no power or legitimate function.

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<sup>3</sup> Community Action Agencies

Therapy is according to Arnstein both dishonest and arrogant. She means that therapy can be used by officials as a protection to keep their own power. She shows one example of how tenants in a public housing program are brought together to adjust their attitudes and values to the greater society. This is done through different campaigns and is according to Arnstein therapy, masquerade as citizen participation (Arnstein, 2007).

There are three steps in degrees of tokenism. These are information, consultation and placation. Arnstein means that information is one of the first important steps towards citizen participation. The problem, according to her is that this flow of information often only has one direction, from officials to citizens and then there's no room for feedback. The opportunity to negotiations become even less when the information is given late in the planning process. Tools frequently used in this process are posters, media, responses of inquiries and pamphlets.

Consultation must according to Arnstein be combined with other modes of participation. There is otherwise no assurance that citizen concerns will be taken into account. Attitude surveys and community meetings are frequent methods for consultation. If this is the only mode in the participation process there is a risk that citizen concerns don't count and thus have little or no influence in the decision-making process.

To place a few "poor citizens" in different boards of Community Action Agencies can according to Arnstein be one strategy of placation. Because the traditional elite still have the majority in the boards, the influence by the citizens still stays limited. One other strategy can be that the planning committee allows citizens to come with suggestions on a plan, but it is still a judge of professionals who make the decision to legitimize the advice or not. Partnership is the first step that Arnstein divides into a degree of citizen power. In partnership the power is redistributed between citizens and power-holders. Partnership between the power-holders and the citizens are according to Arnstein something rare and something that almost always are initiated because of angry citizens. She means that the cities seldom give power to the citizens, rather the power has to be wrested by the powerless. The further step of citizen power is delegated power. This means that citizens can take dominating decision and making and authority over a specific plan or program.

Citizen control is the highest extent of citizen power. According to Arnstein there are no examples of societies where absolute citizen control is dominating. However, she argues that there are examples of schools and neighborhoods that are almost dominated by citizen control but not an absolute one (Arnstein, 2007).

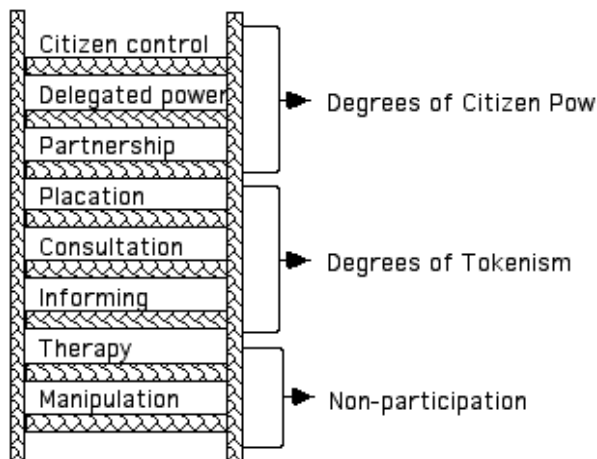


Figure 1: <http://www.uow.edu.au/>

Arnstein also talks about different roadblocks for citizen participation. She means that these roadblocks both exist at the power level but also at the citizen level. At the power level these roadblocks can be paternalism, racism, and unwillingness to redistribute their power. On the subaltern level the roadblocks can be lack of infrastructure, knowledge base and distrust against government. Arnstein mean that these roadblocks are hard to describe with her theory “the ladder of participation”. She also writes that in practice there can be many more stages in the ladder. Arnstein’s ladder of participation will in this study be used as a tool to categorize the amount of participation used in the “Yerwada project”

The work by Arjun Appadurai will also be used to question the influence of participation and how it actually works in practice. Appadurai’s work will be of interest in the discussion of participatory planning as well as in slum and informality discourses. It is mainly his article *Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics* that will be helpful in the previous mentioned discourses. In this article Appadurai also follows the work by the NGO, SPARC who also will have a central role in this study. “Deep Democracy” means that planning should be done from below instead of top-down as the formal planning practice. In a deep democracy grassroots organizations should play important roles in the planning process (Appadurai, 2002).

In order to exam participation methods for a slum it is of importance to get more knowledge about slums. Mike Davis research and article, *Planet of Slums* (2004) describes the problems that come with urbanization. Overcrowded cities result in formations of informal settlements with marginalized living conditions, also called slums. Thus according to Davis, the existence of slums can be described as a consequence due to the urbanization. Davis has a very dystopian view of slums and in *Planet of Slums* (2004) slums are described as dirty and insecure. He also make reference to early Victorian London and Charles Dickens, *A December Vision* from 1850 (Davis, 2004). This is only one stance, as will be discussed further on in this thesis, there are others which have more positive views of slums.

Ananya Roy’s discussions about informality will be of importance in this study. Roy argues that informality can be used by the state. Roy means that the state can be a deeply informal entity and use informality as an instrument of both authority and accumulation. By un-mapping land<sup>4</sup>, the state can enable development in an informal way. Roy means that some informality is seen as good by the state while some are seen just as something unwanted.

<sup>4</sup> To deliberately avoid mapping an area to make sure it’s free for all types of exploitation (Roy 2009).

Informality which is used by the state to as one example enable industrial development is seen as good informality while the informality which forms slums are seen as unwanted (Roy, 2009). Roy's work about rationality is well applicable to Flyvbjerg's theories about rationality and power. I would argue that un-mapping can from the powerholders be a way to simplify the process that Flyvbjerg calls "rationalization". This is because as Roy (2009) argue, that un-mapped areas can be used as a tool to legitimize and enable industrial or commercial development. There are studies who define informality not as an exception rather it's a dominant mode in urban centers from a perspective of income generation (Al-Sayyad and Roy, 2003). There are also positive theories about informality as a planning feature. Judith Innes, Sarah Connick and David Booher present informality as a valuable strategy of planning. They define informality as a planning strategy that doesn't prescribe or proscribed by any rules (Innes, Connick & Booher, 2007).

These theories are to a greater or lesser extent used in this study. Rationality and power is the main concept of this study and thus Flyvbjerg and Watson's work will be of great importance and of high extent included, especially in the discussion part of the thesis. Before describing the empirical material from the case study and putting it into an Indian context, a section about participation will be carried out in next part.

### 3 Participation

#### *3.1 Definitions and thoughts about participation*

To research participation in a context of slum upgrading projects it is first essential to define the term participation. In this study I chose to talk about citizen participation, this can also be seen especially in slum context as community participation. In my opinion participation in the planning process is the ability to influence the design and extent of the plan. John Rainbow who been SPARC's coordinator for the "Yerwada project" means that participation is when the beneficiaries have the influence during the whole process from planning start to implementation, construction and monitoring (Rainbow, 2012-02-21).

Aneeta Benninger who is professor and director at CDSA (Center for Developments Studies and Activities) means that participation can be described as taking part in events that take place in a community or larger area, she also means that there are both active and passive forms of participation (Benninger 2012-03-01). This is a view that is very well compatible with Sherry R Arnstein's theories about the ladder of participation.

Arjun Appadurai has a view that participation is more or less meaningful in relation with other concepts. He writes about the importance that the participants are informed but also the importance to enable people to get their voices heard (www.airroots.org, 2008-09-21).

#### *3.2 The emergence of participatory planning*

As was mentioned in the introduction planning has historically, especially through modernism been dominated by professionals. Le Corbusier and Robert Moses are two examples of professionals who emerged a lot of power in their way of planning. Le Corbusier and especially Robert Moses had to great extent free hands in their projects and thus possessed a lot of power. Moses was during many years planning roads in the New York area. Le Corbusier had the belief that everything could be solved through good planning.



Planning by professionals during modernism has often been referred to as a time when development took place like in a machine (Fishman, 2003).

In the Swedish context the million housing program, “Miljonprogrammet” has often been seen as a result of the modernist planning field. Thus “Miljonprogrammet” has been criticized by many professionals for creating functional separation and causing segregation (Lilja, 1999). One explanation for these critiques is the mode of the planning at that time. The planning by engineers and professionals who are associated to the modernist planning field didn’t take peoples knowledge into concern. The transparency and amount of participation in the planning process were strictly limited.

All this critique against the mode of the historical planning field, especially the modernistic resulted in the emergence of a more participatory/communicative approach in planning.

Communicative planning is according to Tewdwr-Jones and Philip Allmendinger formed on a range of different theories which are based on the thoughts of Jürgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens (Allmendinger & Philip, 2000).

John Friedmann (2003) writes about the need for a new planning mode, a non-Euclidian mode of planning. This non Euclidian mode of planning can be seen as a first introduction of citizen participation in the planning field. He meant that there is a need to define planning away from the engineering field. Planning should also focus on real time and on everyday events rather than on imagined futures that has been the case in earlier planning.

One of the most important aspects in the non- Euclidian mode of planning in the context of participation is that the planner should be responsible for the plan. He should meet face to face with people who are affected by a certain plan. Planning should be focused on regional and local spaces and take peoples everyday life into concern. This should be done through participation (Friedman, 2003).

More recently there has also been critique raised against participatory planning. There have been question concerning how participation actually transfers from theory into real practice. In “Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics” Arjun Appadurai (2002) writes about democracy from below, the work of NGOs and question of what a democratic process actually is? Appadurai writes in an Indian context and about SPARC and the Alliance work in Maharashtra, Mumbai (Appadurai, 2002). He also believes that participation is important to put in relation to informed citizenship. A participant gets more significant if he is more informed. The voice of the people is also an important factor according to Appadurai. It is important to enable space for people to articulate their ideas. He argues as an example that a woman can be highly informed but may not have the opportunity to get her voice heard ([www.airoots.org](http://www.airoots.org), 2008-09-21).

It was first in 2008 that UN Habitat recognized that a change has to be done within the planning practice. UN Habitat Executive Director Anna Tibaijuka, wanted planning practitioners to develop an approach that is pro- poor and inclusive. The creation of livelihoods should be at the center of the planning. According to Vanessa Watson the planning practice in many southern but also northern societies is still structured in the same ways as in the early 1900s (Watson, 2008).

Planning practice can be seen as a process in constant flow of renewal. However, the flow has been slow and in many ways the planning process is much like it was during the modernist era. But there has been renewal and change in the way of thinking planning. It is now important to take a deeper look into definitions and thoughts about slums and how it has changed over time. This is in my opinion important because the understanding of slums may impact on the way that upgrading of slums takes place. This will be done in an Indian context and slum upgrading in the state Maharashtra will be overviewed.

## 4 Slum upgrading in Maharashtra

### *4.1 Definitions and thoughts of slums*

There are different definitions of what a slum is. The term slum can be traced back to Vaux's *Vocabulary of the Flash Language* from 1812 and were synonymous with criminal trade. It was often referred to crime, drug abuse, epidemics and seen as a place apart from everything else that was seen as decent (UN- HABITAT, 2007). UN- HABITAT uses the term slum in the discussion about low income settlement and poor living conditions, as a simple definition they suggests;

“a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor” (UN- HABITAT, 2007, p1 ).

UN- HABITAT divide slums into two categories, “slums of hope” and “slums of despair” (UN- HABITAT, 2007). Slums of hope are upcoming sites with mostly self-structured housing that are or recently have been through a upgrading process of some kind. The slums of despair signify declining neighborhoods with bad condition of service and environment.

A UN- expert group has put up some characteristics to make the definition of slums more clear and better targeting of improvement programs. The characteristics are:

- Inadequate access to safe water
- Inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure
- Poor structural quality of housing
- Insecure residential status
- Overcrowding

Thus a slum is by the definition of the UN- expert group an area which to various extent combines previously mentioned characteristics (UN- HABITAT, 2007).

UN-HABITAT aims to ensure environmental sustainability, as number seven at their Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Some goals are to reduce the proportion of people who are without sustainable access to safe drinking water by 50 percent and to achieve significant improvements of at least 100 million slum dwellers living conditions by 2020 ( UN-HABITAT, 2005).

Desai and Pillai (1972) talk about the slum as an area of sub-standard housing there the main problem is to enable shelter for the poor.

According to Siddarth Benninger who is a planner and teacher at CDSA some slums do exist as Ward Banks<sup>5</sup>. Ward Banks can establish when politicians give people land in exchange for money and votes in Ward elections. The land often belongs to someone else, private or governmental, but by bribing planners and officers at the ward office the “slumlords”<sup>6</sup> can protect the land from development and mapping. Thus the slum dwellers can start living in and developing the area as their neighborhood. The slum dweller also often has to pay an informal rent to the “slumlord”. This results in that the “slumlord” can get both money and votes in the local election. When the slumlord gets elected to the corporation the next step could be to use slum- redevelopment as a tool to transform the land that is occupied by the slum dwellers from illegal into legal land. Parts of the land can then be sold to developers (Benninger, 2012-03-05).

Like mentioned earlier, Mike Davis has a dystopian view of slums, he for example relate to the description in Charles Dickens roman “A December Vision”. Davis focuses on the urbanization and the surplus of people moving in to the cities. People are forced outside the formal world economy and driven into slums (Davis, 2004). This description may be correct in many ways but it is far from the only description of slums. In fact there are some romantic descriptions of slums. The architect Rem Koolhaas has in his work about Lagos shown a more positive view of slum. Instead of seeing slums like a place with no future he argues that the slum can be seen as a representation of development. He suggests that Lagos can be seen as a case of an African modern city instead of being referred to in terms of conditions of dysfunctionality (Koolhaas, 2000).

By the observations done in this case study I would describe the slum of Yerwada in a level between these two previously extreme descriptions. There are problems related to poverty but at the same time people have functional lives and seemed to like their neighborhoods.

#### *4.2 Various types of slum upgrading*

Upgrading of slums is a complex process and can occur in many different ways. Thus slum upgrading can in my opinion, with reference to various upgrading projects be divided into three major categories. The first one is what I would call “relocation of settlement” which is when the slum dwellers are moved to housing in another site location. This is a well-used method and can be the case when the former site location is unsuitable because of flooding or other reasons. It can also be the case when the site location is because of the location economically valuable for other exploitations.

The other category of slum upgrading is what I would call “redevelopment” which means that a part or the whole settlement gets demolished and rebuilt. This is for example the Government’s plan for the slum settlement of Dharavi in Mumbai. This often results in high and dense housing to enable more open space for other exploitations. This can also be the

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<sup>5</sup> People in slums who can vote as the “slumlord” tell them to. The neighborhood becomes like a bank for votes in the ward elections (Benninger, B 2012-03-05)

<sup>6</sup> Another term for landlord who attempt to maximize profit by minimizing spending on property maintenance. They use un-mapped land to develop illegal settlements (Benninger, B 2012-03-05)

case because of land value. The land value is so high in Mumbai that the interest for commercial developers is high (Jacob, 2012-02-09).

The third category is the “in-situ scheme”. This is a new type of upgrading which has been done as a pilot project in Yerwada slum in Pune. This scheme means that the settlement keeps its current structure. The footprint for each household is kept and the upgrading takes place on exactly the current site. This enables the slum dwellers to stay in their community but still get access to better housing and infrastructure.

Anekid who is one of the architects in the upgrading project of Yerwada means that upgrading can be described in three categories, housing upgrading, social upgrading and infrastructure upgrading. A fourth category is a combination of two or all three of these categories (Anekid, 2012-02-24).

Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) present three types of Slum rehabilitation schemes that are permissible. The different schemes are approved under different sections of Development Control Regulations (DCR).

One scheme is the one that is described in this case study, the in-situ scheme. Another scheme is the PAP scheme and the third one is a transit scheme. The in-situ scheme means that slums are rehabilitated on their existing sites. The PAP scheme means that an owner of vacant unencumbered land can use it for construction of PAP tenements for which TDR will compensate land and construction. The third scheme which is called transit scheme allows the landowner to consume the existing FSI (Floor space index) potential of the land that he owns (www.sra.org, 2012-03-13).

Floor space index is a tool for density control. In slum upgrading projects by SRA the typical floor space index is set to 2, 5. In other slum upgrading projects in Mumbai which are not SRA projects, the floor space index range from 0, 77 to 1, 33. SRA projects also require that 15 percent of the area to be open space. This means that a total plot area of 1000 square meters gives an adjusted plot area of  $1000 \times 0,85 = 850$  square meters. This gives an adjusted SRA floor space index area of  $850 \times 2,5 = 2125$  square meters. This means that the project can consume 2125 square meters as built up area (SRA, 2011).

There are different theories of how slum upgrading should take part and about which factors that is important. Desoto emphasizes the importance of secure tenure and this in form of ownership (Davies, Narsoo & Tomlinson, 2007). He means that first when people own their homes they can start to upgrade them. He also argues that households will increase in value and that people then can sell their houses and by the profit afford a more expensive house. This theory has been criticized by other researchers who believe that ownership is a simple way to hand over problems to the people that should be handed by the government. They also mean that there is no evidence that ownership *per se* can solve the problems of slums. In fact there are studies from South Africa that show that ownership can increase the cost and have the opposite effect. The households of urban poor seldom have a financial cushion to fall back on if rates raise or something happens to their incomes. Instead some researchers mean that secure tenure is more important than a title as owner (Davies, Narsoo & Tomlinson, 2007).

### *4.3 Planning history and policy in Maharashtra*

To understand ways of participation in Indian planning of slum upgrading projects it is relevant to understand history of Indian planning and slum upgrading. According to Siddarth Benninger who is teaching in Planning at the CDSA, most Indian cities were in the early 20 century planned by the British, but India didn't had a framework or history of planning at that time. It was Sir Patrick Geddes who introduced a culture of planning in India. He was a biologist who started to map activities in cities and introduced a theory that planning should include three activities; Place, Work and Folk. He brought the interactions and relationships between different activities that took place in the cities into the planning practice. Land use is defined by these three activities. Many City councils in India invited him to advise in their planning matters. The British planner Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens was brought in from England to plan Delhi which by many is called Lutyens Delhi. Chandigarh is another, according to Benninger well planned city. This time it was Le Corbusier who was invited to India to achieve the planning of the city (Benninger, 2012-03-05). Benninger's view of good planning can surely be questioned and put into discussion. This will be done in the discussion part where the question regarding what is good planning will be discussed. For example is Le Corbusier a representative of modernism, which is a planning mode, as mentioned earlier that been criticized. Planning was done in India but according to Benninger it wasn't put into context because there was still no planning legislation (Benninger, 2012-03-05).

-“Most Indian cities are not planned they are a mess” (Benninger, 2012-03-05).

It is also important to have urbanization and globalization in mind when discussing Indian planning practice and especially the existence of slums. India has since 1921 seen a massive increase of population. This increase of population has made the urban situation very serious (Shrey, Kandoi & Srivastava, 2010). The state of Maharashtra had an estimated population growth of 15, 99 percent between 2001 and 2011. The urban growth for the same period was estimated to 23, 67 percent. In the state of Maharashtra in 2011 the urban population was estimated to 50, 827, 531 inhabitants (Census of India, 2011).

Maharashtra didn't have any planning legislation until the introduction of Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act in 1966. But even if Maharashtra has a planning law this is according to Benninger not followed. There is a great gap between legislation and actual implementation of a plan. There are many times, more than exceptions, when planners are corrupted. This makes the plans lose their impact because people don't follow them. By bribing the planners and professionals at the ward office people can build without following the plan for the area (Benninger, 2012-03-05).

There are also researchers who are criticizing the use of master plans in India. Ansari means that the master plans for Indian cities are failing, they displays problems which caused other western- countries to shift away from this approach. Many of the master plans and zoning that exist in India is also persisting since the colonial time (Ansari, 2004).

Until 1970 slums were treated as illegal squatting area and a lot of demolitions took place. This was not an effective solution because the result was only that people rebuilt their huts in the same or in other nearby locations and new slum settlements appeared. Even the attempts from the state government to resettle the poor were unsuccessful. The poor were completely excluded from the decision- making. The exclusion from the decision- making resulted in that most of the urban poor were forced to relocate. This got the consequence that many of the

urban poor returned to their original communities or to places nearby. One important reason for this was that the resettlement projects didn't take any concern of people's social and economic networks (Burra, 2003).

Demolitions were seen as inhuman and between 1970- 1980 slum improvements were seen as the new solution. In 1976 a census of slums was carried out and identity- cards were issued.

Between 1980 and 1990 slum dwellers for the first time had the opportunity to lease the land that they occupied. In order to take up slum upgrading works soft loans were extended to the slum dwellers. This scheme was only possible to implement on non- reserved land owned by the government. From 1990 until the present time there has been a change in the view of slums. The land settled by slums becomes treated as a resource. It became allowed to use FSI and enable construction of tenements for sale on the open market. The profits from the sales of these tenements should be used to sub finance the free houses to the slum dwellers (www.sra.org, 2012-03-15).

The problem with urban density and appearance of slums are common for most Indian cities but in the state of Maharashtra and especially in Mumbai the mode is more critical than ever. In Mumbai it is estimated that more than 55 percent of the population stays in slums (www.sra.org, 2012-03-15).

In 1995 a committee was appointed by the Government of Maharashtra in order to ameliorate the problems of slum dwellers. The Chief Secretary of Maharashtra, Shri Dinesh Afzalpurkar chaired the committee. He estimated that close to 80 percent of the slum settlements should and could be developed as in-situ. The committee also stated that the slum settlements are important parts of the metropolis, in this case Mumbai. They also stated that the slum dwellers have a share in the growth, status and prosperity of the city. The slum settlements and its dwellers do share an important part in the industrial and economical maintenance and growth in the city. The committee believes that it is important to give the slum dwellers preferential treatment and bring them into the mainstream of social, cultural and economic parts of the city (www.sra.org, 2012-03-15).

As explained there are different methods that have been used for slum upgrading in India. The committee suggests that in-situ should in most cases be best way to do upgrading. The case study "City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM" that will be explained and discussed in this thesis is an example of in-situ development. The case study is not only an example of in-situ development, but also examines how this has been done with a participatory approach. The case study will be presented in following section.

## 5 The case study

### 5.1 Pune

Yerwada is located in Pune which is the second largest city in the state Maharashtra (John Rainbow, 2012-02-22). Pune has a population estimated at about 3 150 000 and about 32, 84 percent, over 1 000 000 of the population live in slums. There are 477 identified slum pockets spread over the city (MASHAL, 2012). Pune has a total estimated population growth of 30, 34 percent between 2001 and 2011. The urban population growth for the same period is estimated to 36, 63 percent. This is 15, 01 percent higher than the rural perceptual growth in Pune that was 21, 62 during the same period (Census of India, 2011).



Picture 1: Google.se, 2012-04-12



Picture 2 : Map of the footprints in Mother Theresa Nagar in the Yerwada slum. (SPARC, 2012)





Picture 3: View from the roof of Mahila Milan's site office in Yerwada. Karl Fyhr, 2012



Picture 4: A new Pucca house in Mother Theresa Nagra, People have already built informal extension, Karl Fyhr, 2012.



Picture 5: A house under construction in Mother Theresa Nagar, Karl Fyhr, 2012





Picture 6: The view from one room in a new built Pucca house in Mother Theresa Nagar, Karl Fyhr, 2012

## 5.2 Project background

The upgrading of Yerwada is financed by a state program, Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission “JNNURM”. It is known as a Basic Services for Urban Poor “BSUP” project. But it is also related to a more international context through founding of various international organizations. The BSUP program seeks to enable slums to avail the same level of basic amenities as the rest of the town and to bring them within the formal systems. BSUP provides two different methods to addressing slum issues. One is the in-situ slum upgrading scheme that is used in this project. The other is the slum redevelopment model (Chalke, 2011).

A design workshop was held in June 2008 by SPARC, Mahila Milan and other NGOs. In the workshop they invited 4<sup>th</sup> years architecture students from Pune and Mumbai, with the aim to investigate different development strategies which was made in consultation with the urban poor in Pune.

In November 2008 negotiations with Pune Municipal Corporation started with the aim to create a new development plan for settlements in Pune. After many discussions the Commissioner agreed to rehabilitate several slums with an in-situ scheme. The process should be participatory and community led. First different NGOs got the mission to hand in and submit documentation for an Expression Of Interest (EOI). This means that the residents and the local Corporator<sup>7</sup> in the community need to sign that they agree to an upgrading of their community. One woman at Mahila Milan means that it's very important to first exam if people actually want to change their neighborhoods. The EOI can be seen as one first step in the participation process. This gave also Mahila Milan to get a closer relation to the local residents. Even if the woman in Mahila Milan lives in the area it's still important to improve relations among local residents (Mahila Milan B, 2012-02-24). With the EOI a plan of how they proposed to undertake the projects should be submitted.

SPARC and Mahila Milan were awarded the contract to lead and manage the scheme in seven slums in the project “City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM.” In this study the project will simply be referred to “The Yerwada project” as it makes is easier to read. The seven slums that were included in the scheme were Bhatt Nagar, Sheela Salve Nagar, Netaji Nagar, Chandrama Nagar, Yashwant Nagar, Mother Theresa Nagar and Wadar Wasti. The Alliance put a lot of work in forming agreement documents with the PMC to ensure that Mahila Milan would have control through the process. This helped Mahila Milan to do evaluations, to ensure transparency and participatory through the whole process.

The upgrading project would not only be for the houses but also for the whole community. In this way not only the beneficiaries would get something positive out of the project. Public spaces should be upgraded, like better streets and more green spaces would be developed. The households who already had permanent “pucca<sup>8</sup>” houses would get 15 000 rupees in order to install toilets and bathrooms in their houses and the community would construct pathways, sewage and drainage connections (SPARC, Mahila Milan, NSDF, 2011).

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<sup>7</sup> Corporator is The local leader in the community (John Rainbow, 2012-02-21).

<sup>8</sup> A type of house that is permanent and solid Pucca means solid on Hindi. Pucca houses are often made of concrete or stone with real walls and roofs (George Jacob, 2012-02-09).

The beneficiaries have an important part in the upgrading, partly through involvement in the design of their households but also through financing. The beneficiaries have to pay 10 percent of the upgrading cost for the households. This is a cost of 30 000 rupees for each household. 50 percent of the total cost of 300 000 rupee is financed by the central government, 30 percent by the state government and 10 percent by the PMC. According to John Rainbow from SPARC who has been coordinator for the project, the financing is important also in the context of participation. This makes the people more involved in the process, because they by themselves also need to partly finance the upgrading of their houses. On the other hand the financing also is a difficult issue of the project. 30 000 rupee is a lot of money for poor people and there have been some difficulties for people to finance their part of the cost. The payment of 30 000 rupee is thought divided into smaller parts so that the beneficiaries should have a better opportunity to pay. But in some cases the payment have been delayed which also in some ways delayed the project (John Rainbow 2012-02-21).

### *5.3 Stakeholders*

There are many stakeholders involved in urban upgrading projects. In this project there are stakeholders at international, national and local levels. There are so many stakeholders in the upgrading project of Yerwada, it would take long time to locate them all, thus following there will be a short description about the most central stakeholders during the process of the project “City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM,”

#### *5.3.1 PMC*

Pune Municipal Corporation was not able to upgrade Yerwada even though they had got finance from JNNURM. The PMC didn't have the man ship or the knowledge to lead a process like this. Mahila Milan's involvement was very important for the project because of their knowledge and contacts in the area. SPARC also clarified the importance of PMC's cooperation to enable the feasibility of the project, because SPARC doesn't have the ability to finance projects like this (John Rainbow, 2012-02-21).

#### *5.3.2 The Alliance (SPARC, NSDF and Mahila Milan)*

SPARC is a well-known organization established in 1984. They consist of professionals and their aim is to help the urban poor in slum areas in India. They want to find solutions that can help the urban poor and they believe that these solutions can also be implemented in other similar areas of the world. SPARC believes that upgrading has to be done in collaboration with the people who are living in these settlements and the poor should be centrally involved in planning shelter for themselves.(SPARC, 1988)

SPARC also formed Mahila Milan (“Women Together”) a network of women's collectives. The Mahila Milan was formed in 1986 when hundreds of women succeed in preventing their homes on Mumbai's pavements from being demolished. Mahila Milan aims to increase women's opportunities to participate and influence development in their community's. The networks of women's collective manage credit and saving activities in the communities in which they are active. Mahila Milan can then give out loans to different projects run and led by women (www.sparcindia.org, 2012-02-11). Picture 7 shows then some women from

Mahila Milan are going through the money collection diaries which show how much each household has saved.



Picture 7: Women from Mahila Milan at NSDF, Dharavi office are counting savings, Karl Fyhr, 2012.

Mahila Milan has been working in Pune since about 15 years back and has thus established good relations among the urban poor in Pune. They have for example worked with sanitation projects and built houses and increased the identity by the urban poor in Pune. The urban poor have through Mahila Milan been involved in projects taking place in their communities (SPARC, Mahila Milan, NSDF, 2011).

Since 1986, SPARC and Mahila Milan also have a partnership with National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) which is a broad based national organization incorporating community groups and leaders who live and operate in the slums and informal settlements. NSDF have more connections at the grassroots level and is thus a good complement to SPARC that incorporates professionals and which has more connections on higher level with government, private companies and organizations (Appadurai, 2002).

As mentioned before Mahila Milan is the contractor for the project “City In-situ Rehabilitation Scheme for Urban Poor Staying in Slums in City of Pune under BSUP, JNNURM,” Their already good relations and connection to the site was of course important for the feasibility of the project (Rainbow, 2012-02-21).

### 5.3.3 MASHAL

The NGO, MASHAL (Maharashtra Social Housing and Action League) was established in 1985. It was developed by a group of like-minded people who believe in the basic human right of a healthy living environment and adequate shelter. MASHAL is based in Pune and consists of professionals in the field of Urban and Regional Planning, Architecture, Social

work, Engineering and Rural development. Sharad Mahajan is architect planner and executive director at MASHAL (Mahajan, 2012-03-02).

MASHAL works closely with stakeholders and government and has played an important role in surveying, policy formulations, research and implementation of various housing projects (www.mashalindia.org, 2012-04-23). The Pune Slum Atlas is one important atlas which contains data and maps over different slum pockets in Pune.

MASHAL have always put people's participation in central of their work. They have strived to involve beneficiaries through whole processes. Identification, action plans and implementation has according to the belief of MASHAL be established together with localities (www.mashalindia.org, 2012-04-23). MASHAL also have the belief that housing programs are a relevant initial intervention in the overall process of community development (Mahajan, 2012-03-02).

#### 5.3.4 The KRVIA

The Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies (KRVIA) is an actor who is involved in the creation of a new alternative redevelopment plan for Dharavi. Paul Anirudh the principal at KRVIA has a positive view towards participation in planning and he means that it is obligatory to enable good planning and architecture which is accepted by the people (Anirudh, 2012-04-04). KRVIA are not specifically involved in "The Yerwada project" but have been working together with SPARC and the Alliance in the development of an alternative redevelopment plan of Dharavi and has thus knowledge both about SPARC and slum-upgrading in general.

### *5.4 Methods for Participation used in the "Yerwada project"*

#### *Surveys*

An important early stage in the process was to collect data of families, their socio economic status and other important figures. It was also important to know if people wanted upgrading or not. Thus surveys were an important tool in this project and are also a way to participate with the people. SPARC have a history of making surveys and collect data which give the residents in slums power as a step towards secure tenure. Secure tenure is according to SPARC one of the most important things to enable people to upgrade their homes and a step towards a slum reduction.

Some surveys that have been done before and during this process are to identify, settlement profiles, socioeconomic and biometric data. Data like household income, type of employment, education level, size of household, and other detailed background information about current living conditions.

Mahila Milan also created a list of head of households both male and female, for all beneficiaries. This was a way to get a view of the extent of households in each community and also a way to introduce the beneficiaries to Mahila Milan.

Surveys are a good way to get individual contacts and strengthen relationship at an early stage of the process. This is maybe the most important aspect of surveys. Without a good



relation and trust from the slum dwellers, participation could not be done (SPARC, Mahila Milan, NSDF, 2011).

Sheela Patel clarifies that it is extremely important to gain the peoples trust. This is something that takes a lot of time, many meetings and discussions have to be made. This may not show results during one project but maybe during continuous projects in the future. In the Yerwada project it did in the beginning take a long time to convince and involve people in the project. But after some houses are completed they can see the result and people have more trust and willingness to implement the project in other areas (Patel, 2012-04-05).

### *House model exhibitions*

Different Housing exhibitions were done in order to get peoples opinion on what house designs they would like to have. Models were put out at Mahila Milan's site office in Yerwada. Real scale cloth houses were made to give the people a clearer picture of how the houses could look like. A middle-aged local woman said that she appreciated the house models a lot. "Especially the models in natural scale were good, we could actually see how the house should look like"(Beneficiary C, 2012-03-06). Picture 8 shows how the housing model in natural scale looked like.



Picture 8: A house model in natural scale, SPARC, Mahila Milan, NSDF, 2011



### *Cluster workshops*

Cluster workshops were done to enable understanding and acceptance for the construction of the houses. The meaning with cluster development is that houses which are located next to each other can be developed at the same period. This makes the construction easier and keeps the cost down (Rainbow, 2012-02- 22).

### *Community meetings*

Mahila Milan did arrange several community meetings. A lot of the meetings took place in the different communities. Public places were chosen in order to make sure that people felt secure to participate. Some meetings were outside at the sites in order to enable better and clearer description of how the scheme could come to change the physical structure. A 51 year old woman who is a local resident in Mother Theresa Nagar says that the meetings were good because they provided a better understanding about the project and it gives possibilities to have a discussion (Beneficiary A, 2012-03-05). In picture 9 below, one can see how a meeting could look like.



Picture 9: Mahila Milan arrange a community meeting in Yerwada, SPARC, Mahila Milan, NSDF, 2011

### *Panchayat meetings*

Panchayat meetings were the last meetings before finalizing the individual house design. These were individual meetings with the beneficiary and the community leader. The architect and the community leader once again went through the housing design with the beneficiary. This was the last opportunity for the beneficiary to change the housing design. After the meeting the beneficiary signed a document that final housing design was chosen and that the construction work could begin (Rainbow, 2012-02-25). Panchayats do often have important resources like lands, orchards, ponds and grazing lands that could work as instruments for self-reliance. But according to Varun Vidyarthi (1995) the Panchayats function of mobilizing

people and resources has been reduced because of influence from outside intervention of both politics and bureaucracy (Vidyarthi, 1995).

### *Monitoring and follow-up.*

Mahila Milan will not leave the beneficiaries when the plan is finalized; not even after the construction says John Rainbow. Mahila Milan has their site office in Yerwada and will continue with its saving groups. Many of the women in Mahila Milan also live in Yerwada and this helps to facilitate good monitoring during and after the construction work. Rainbow has together with the architects also followed up and inspected the project during and after construction. There have been some problems with construction that doesn't follow the architecture plan. The reason for this can be that beneficiaries are telling the construction workers work in another way than the plan or that the construction workers don't follow the design. One example when the design hasn't been followed is when the stairway has been constructed outside the house instead of inside. The reason for this is mainly because the beneficiary has plans to rent out the second floor. In picture 10, the architect Anekid inspects the construction work and talks to some beneficiaries.



Picture 10: The architect Anekid are inspecting the construction work and talking to some beneficiaries, Karl Fyhr, 2012.

It is important to follow up the work says Rainbow, during the inspections of the constructions the relations between the architects and the beneficiaries also strengthen. The beneficiaries have the opportunity to come with complaints and questions (Rainbow, 2012-02-22).

The methods that were used in this specific project are not something unique nor are they all new for the NGO SPARC or the Alliance. As mentioned SPARC have done surveys for a long time. What is new with this project is that Mahila Milan has been contractor for the project and has got more free hands from the PMC. The hardest thing was to show people the benefits of acting as a community and to change footprints (Rainbow, 2012-02-22).

### *5.5 In-situ scheme as a model*

In Pune and the BSUP project, Mahila Milan were contracted to manage the upgrading process. John Rainbow who has been working as SPARC's coordinator for the project for almost four years says that Mahila Milan has done an incredible job. The communication with the slum dwellers in Yerwada has been very integrated in the whole of the planning process. This is thanks to Mahila Milan he clarifies. They have done surveys to collect important information about the households in the area. It is mainly the temporary houses that have been included in the scheme for upgrading, but permanent households have also been included in the upgrading process of the whole community. Information about household's income situation was also of importance because each household would have to pay 10 percent of the cost themselves. In this case that cost would be about 30 000 rupees in total. As mentioned before the financing were not free from consequence. Some beneficiaries have more ability to pay than others and delays of payments have in some cases delayed implementation process. One thing that was important for the project and one aspect that can keep the cost down was to develop the construction in clusters. If three households that were close to each other should be developed it was essential to build them at the same time.

Long before the constructions took start, there were many meetings with the households. It was important to get their thoughts and wishes of the redevelopment project. The consultation and meetings with the households resulted in an in-situ scheme being chosen. In picture 11 John Rainbow is inspecting the construction work of a house in the community of Mother Theresa Nagar together with the architect Anekid.



Picture 11: Anekid and John Rainbow are inspecting the construction, Karl Fyhr, 2012.

One issue that was very important for the residents was to keep their footprints exactly as they were. They didn't agree to change their footprints in order to give space for wider streets or walkways. Mahila Milan tried together with architects to demonstrate for the beneficiaries the benefits of changing footprints. This was done in several workshops where the participants worked with blocks, which demonstrated the size of the new houses. They got to put the blocks on a map with the size of their footprint. Then architects showed how small

changes of footprints could give space for wider streets and pathways. It also became clear that many households could get extra windows and thus more light into their houses. At the workshop many agreed that this was a good idea, it was good for the community. But after the workshop they changed their mind again and remained of the opinion that they didn't want to change their footprint (John Rainbow, 2012-02-21).

The hard wish to keep the current footprint was according to two engineers at the Ward office one of the negative impacts of the in-situ scheme. The scheme is good for democracy and the beneficiaries who were able to participate and to keep their plots. Through an architectural and a public perspective the in-situ scheme wasn't so effective. It was hard to develop good infrastructure said both of the two junior engineers at the ward office (Vaze and Hawalvar, 2012-02-24). Thus it could be argued that there is a conflict between participation and the ability to create a plan which aims to serve the whole community. It is also possible to distinguish a conflict between planning in the private and public domains. No one would allow even losing a square foot of their footprint in order to enable a better public solution for example roads. As a 51 year old local woman explained;

-“Why should I give up my space to get bigger streets or public space? I need my space” (Beneficiary, A 2012-03-05).

Anekid who is architect and working with the project explains that it was very hard trying to convince people that it would be much better for the community if they would have allowed small changes of their footprint. It was just not possible to convince them he said (Anekid, 2012-02-24).

The decision to keep existing footprints and land uses on an in-situ scheme has been criticized by Pratima Joshi, architect and founder of Shelter Associates. She means that this scheme just creates another slum. This is because it keeps the density and structure as a slum and fails to enable sustainable public spaces in the communities. According to Joshi mapping would be the best method to deal with slums. She suggests that unused areas in the close surroundings can be mapped and used for development to relocate the people living in slums (Joshi, 2012-02-29).

Sharad Mahajan who is executive director at the NGO Maharashtra Social Housing and Action League “MASHAL” and also an architect and planner says that if it is important for people to keep their footprint then the architect needs to respect that. The architect and planners should find other solutions to enable good public spaces. Participation with the residents should be done to one hundred percent. It is no use planning something that's not wanted by the people. The plan needs to be accepted by the people. This is something that earlier slum upgrading projects have failed to achieve.

- “Participatory planning can't be done in air-conditioned rooms of architects it has to be done with interaction” (Sharad Mahajan, 2012-03-02).

Architects and planners should have an approach to go out and sit with the people and together form the plan. People's wishes and planning is not contradictory (Mahajan, 2012-03-02). This can be related to Paul Davidoff's (2007) thoughts about the planner as advocate. There the planner should work for the people. The planner as an advocate should integrate social values and justice in planning. In the context of slum upgrading it can be seen as a planner who works for the urban poor (Davidoff, 2007).



Picture 12: Karl Fyhr and Sharad Mahajan, Karl Fyhr, 2012

Mahajan strongly believes that the in-situ scheme is a good architecture that includes the people in the planning. That people can stay in their neighborhoods is important and because of close participation with the people through the process the plan also gains their acceptance (Mahajan, 2012-03-02).

Planning Professor Aneeta Benninger (founder of Center for Development Studies and Activities) is also pushing the importance of enabling people to stay in their neighborhoods. People don't want to move and change their lives she says (Benninger, A 2012-03-01). Pratima Joshi on the other hand means that people are willing to move to another site if it isn't too far from the current area. According to Pratima it is unethical to plan after an in-situ scheme. She believes so because the scheme doesn't give people the basic needs of light and air. She also criticize the density as it constitutes a fire hazard, the scheme gives no room for basic emergency services like fire fighters or ambulances (Joshi, 2012-02-29). SPARC is aware of this critique and the lack of fire safety but it was not possible to change beneficiaries footprints and enable more space for wider streets. This is what I see as one critical part of the in-situ scheme, on the other hand the scheme follows the beneficiaries' wishes and is good from a democratic perspective.

Rahul at URBZ is very positive towards in-situ as a scheme for slum upgrading. He says that there are needs for new types of methods, the Soviet method, by building everything big is not always the right one he says. He believes that it is important to locate local economies and plan with those in mind (Rahul, 2012-03-29).

Paul Anirudh believes that in-situ is the right way to upgrade slum settlements. He emphasizes the importance of identifying different activities and planning for different neighborhoods. It should not only be one plan for a community, it should be many different plans if that is the wish of the people. Anirudh says that in-situ is a good scheme for slum upgrading but that it should be more flexible and enable changes of the structure. Footprints should be able to change to achieve a better design (Anirudh, 2012-04-04).



A 51 year old local woman is very positive towards the in-situ scheme. She said that it is important that she could keep her house at the same site. She mentioned the importance of the ability to continue her daily life and keep the network that she had before the upgrading (Beneficiary A, 2012-03-05).

Most professionals in planning practice that have been part of this study share the belief that in-situ is the most suitable model for slum upgrading even if it in some ways can be more flexible. The support of the in-situ scheme is also something that goes in line with the view of SRA “Slum Rehabilitation Authority” (SRA, 2012-04-03). Pratima Joshi at the NGO, Shelter Association is thus critical towards the in-situ scheme as a model for slum-upgrading. She believes that the in-situ scheme, because of its structure only results in the creation of another type of slum (Joshi, 2012-02-29).

Architects who are positive towards in-situ schemes also believe that the scheme has weaknesses. The consequences of keeping the footprints are something that many of the professionals see as a weakness. It is mostly from a design and planning point of view that the in-situ scheme appears to have some weaknesses. As mentioned the inability to enable a good design of public spaces is the most crucial weakness. Paul Anirudh mentioned that there is a need for a more flexible form of the in-situ scheme. He means that the most important aspect of the scheme is that the upgrading is taking part at the original site but that the structure can be changed. Anirudh believes that the change of footprints and structure can be done through participation but he mentioned that it can take long time and many projects to gain peoples trust (Anirudh 2012-04-04).

The Yerwada project is seen by many as a successful project mainly because of its participatory approach. But how do different actors view participation? Do they think it is important and how should it be done? Different professionals and local slum dwellers views about participation will be examined in the two following parts.

## 6. Why participation?

John James who is working at NSDF and is a community leader in Dharavi, states the importance that the community is built by its residents. People need to be included in the planning process and be able to take part in decisions that will affect them. He explains that the development plan of Dharavi has been established without citizen participation. As the plan looks today, people will be put on the streets, the apartments planned by the government will be too expensive and do not take the inhabitants needs into consideration. John James says that participation is important because people know best what their needs are. He believes that Mahila Milan has an important role in the work with participation and planning. Women are taking care of the household and that’s why they also have the best knowledge about what is needed in the homes. This view is thus problematic from a gender perspective as I will describe little deeper in the discussion part. John James says that women also are important because of the surveys that they are doing. It is the women in Mahila Milan that are doing the surveys he says. Surveys which registrar slum dwellers and households help to give the people power and are an important tool to gain secure tenure (James, 2012-02-07).

George Jacob who is teaching at the architecture school KRVIA is also working with an alternative redevelopment plan of Dharavi, where the residents are included. He explains that the people aren’t against redevelopment of Dharavi, but that it has to be done in the right

way. The redevelopment should according to Jacob be done by the people from bottom- up instead of top- down which has been the case in the previously redevelopment plan done by the government. The government's plan is to build high rise buildings to give less dense space in Dharavi. The problem with the plan made by the government is that it doesn't take any concern of the people who live at the site today. Many slum- upgrading projects do also have a hidden agenda behind the reason for up- grading. SRA projects do sometimes become a project for the project. This means that slum- upgrading often in form of relocation is done to give place for another project. This is according to Jacob especially the case when the economic- value of the land area is high. Earlier redevelopment projects done by the government have resulted in expensive flats that are prohibitive for the poor residents that once lived on the site. They are forced away to restart their lives somewhere else.

-“Mumbai is in need of housing for the poor, but if the rental prize is too high, then it isn't for the poor anymore” (Jacob, 2012-02-09).

Participation is important to get the knowledge about the people who live at the site but also their everyday life. It is important to understand their needs in order to make a successful plan. The network between people and their activities, businesses is important to understand and adapt the plan to. It is the architectures job to provide a housing that enables flexibility for the inhabitant. He or she should be able to continue with the business which existed before the redevelopment. The physical structure should also enable opportunities to develop a new business if a person so wishes (Jacob, 2012-02.09).

Jacob explains that many stakeholders have been involved in the redevelopment project of Dharavi. This is because Dharavi is a very interesting area with its location in the middle of Mumbai. Many investors from overseas are interested to develop the site. The plan from the government is subjected to a massive critique and this finally made the government to agree on allowing a committee of experts to investigate the opportunity for an alternative plan. This alternative plan is now under construction by the KRVIA in close association with the people of Dharavi (Jacob, 2012-02-09).

Sharad Mahajan at MASHAL argues that planning without participation is pointless. It is not possible to plan a community without understanding the people who live there and their daily life. Even if it is possible it will not result in good outcome. Planning and architecture need to be accepted by the people that it's aimed for. This can only be done by participation and interactions between planners and the people (Mahajan, 2012-03-02).

One male, 44 years old, with his wife and four children who just had moved in to his new pucca house. He had a positive attitude to the project and the work done by Mahila Milan. He told me that his wife attended most of the meetings. They later talked about the meetings and the project in the home. The reason why he was so satisfied was because he and his family have been included in the process and felt that they had been listened to, especially the individual design of the house have been very inclusive (Beneficiary B, 2012-03-04).

All the professionals and locals that took part in this study were positive towards participation in the planning process.

## 7. How participation?

SPARC mean that upgrading has to be done in participation with the residents, but how can this be done? SPARC believe that one of the first important things that has to be done is to change the perspectives both among city planners and slum dwellers. The change of planner's perspectives can be done through lobbying at different government levels. To change the slum dwellers perspectives it is important to develop a movement among the poor themselves. SPARC also argue for the importance that all groups of poor get included and the opportunity to participate. It is essential that the people understand how the process of urban planning occurs, this is nothing obvious, especially not because many of the urban poor are rural farmers who have migrated into the city. Slum dwellers have little access to skilled work (SPARC, 1985). Siddarth Benninger also argues that participation is especially hard to enable in India because of a various reasons. The large population, with different religions, different socioeconomically groups and different castes is some reasons that Benninger mention. Even if the castes system officially doesn't have any effect any more it still does according to Benninger. As one example he told me that all his co-workers are from the same castes. He argues that the influence of the castes system is one thing that needs to change in order to enable efficient participation (Benninger, 2012-03-05).

According to SPARC the first thing that is important is to define the needs of the poor. Thus surveys are an important tool in the participation process. The establishment of forums and strategies to include the urban poor in the planning process can only be done first after their needs are defined (SPARC, 1988). I believe that this is true. From Swedish examples the participation process also starts with the collection of background information. This can thus be done in different ways and with different methods. Survey is a good method to collect data and opinions that can give a good description of the current situation. It can also give a picture about what the respondents need and want in the future. In an early stage of the participation process it could also be successful to do a SWOT-analysis. A SWOT-analysis will highlight the participant's thoughts about the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in relation to a specific theme (Lindholm, 2012). In this case it could be about upgrading projects.

The new redevelopment plan for Dharavi has been done in close association with the residents, but Jacob doesn't think it's enough that the plan is made in close contact with the residents. They should also have more influence over the implementation. It should be small local companies that should get the opportunity to redevelop Dharavi, not large international construction companies. Both the planning and the implementation should be done in close relation to the people. Jacob also means that the architecture has to create structures which enable people to use it in different ways. Flexible structures will be more feasible for different persons with different interests (Jacob, 2012-02-09).

John James believes that women should be the ones who have the most important part in the planning process. This is because they are the ones who take care of the household. Thus they know most about what is needed in the home. Mahila Milan has an important role to integrate the women in the planning process (James, 2012-02-07).

One woman who has been working for Pune Mahila Milan since 1994 shares the view with John James, that women are important for upgrading of slum settlements. Like James she says that it is the women who have the responsibility for the household thus also this is the domain where it is the women who have most knowledge. She also means that Mahila Milan



is a good organization to lead a project like this because of their communication with the communities. She pointed out the importance that everyone from Mahila Milan also lived in the slum and thus understand the problems that people there are facing. Because they live in the communities they also already have good contact with people and have their trust. This makes it possible for them to talk to the communities in a way that would not be possible for any outside professionals (Mahila Milan A, 2012-02-22).

John Rainbow means that participation should be done during the whole planning process. People should be inclusive from the start to the end and even follow-up studies should be done in which people can participate (Rainbow, 2012- 02-22). The junior engineers at the Ward office also believe in the importance of participation, but they had the belief that three or four meetings were enough to include people in the process (Vaze & Hawalya, 2012-02-23).

Paul Anirudh (see picture 13) director at KRVIA says that there is a need for a clear framework of how participation should be implemented in the planning process. This framework should be connected to the legislation. Anirudh also means that participation doesn't have to mean that the people actually should do the plan. Rather they should have the opportunity to understand the plan and the process. They should be able to follow the process and make suggestions and complaints that should be taken into consideration by the planners and architects (Anirudh, 2012-04-04).



Picture 13: Paul Anirudh, Karl Fyhr, 2012

If it was clear that all professionals and locals in this study are positive towards participation, it is possible to distinguish differences in the beliefs regarding how it should be done. Some believe in a greater degree of participation in the planning process than others. John Rainbow said for example that people should be included during the whole process. This view is almost opposite to the one of the two junior engineers. His belief was that three or four meetings would be enough.

It could also from the architects view be distinguished a pattern of importance of design and architecture. George Jacob mentioned that it was important with participation but also pushed on the importance of architects. He mentioned that architects should enable a flexible design to give people different opportunities in their activities and everyday life.

## 8. Discussion

The “Yerwada project” can in many ways be seen as a success although it’s not free from weaknesses. The ability for the beneficiaries to finance 10 percent of the cost which means 30 000 rupees can be discussed as a weakness. On the other hand does the financing engage the beneficiaries one step further in the project. John Rainbow has mentioned that he believes that the part- finance from the beneficiaries is important to involve people in the process. The payments have also been divided into smaller parts which increase the ability for people to pay. The financing issue is important and something which we need to be aware of but the focus in this discussion will be on conflicts of interests in the participation process.

There are many aspects in slum- upgrading that are important to discuss further and deeper. The different schemes can in my opinion be set in a context of rationality and power. It is clear that different schemes serve different stakeholders in various ways. SRA writes on their homepage that about 80 percent of all slums could and should be rehabilitated as in-situ ([www.sra.org](http://www.sra.org), 2012-03-13). Still there are many examples of slum rehabilitation projects that have been relocation projects. This can be discussed in the context of Bent Flyvbjerg’s theories about rationality and power. Flyvbjerg means that power sometimes can rule over or be rationality. Flyvbjerg describe in *Rationality and Power* (1998) how a powerful mayor and a bus company in Aalborg affected the decision making regarding a new bus-station. In Flyvbjergs case the mayor and the bus company neglected the engineers and professionals decision regarding what size and where the bus station should be located. Flyvbjerg are here discussing how power made something from the professionals view irrational into rational. I argue that rationalization also can take place in the context of slum- upgrading. George Jacob has mentioned that private companies and developers can have a lot of power. He also mentions how SRA projects sometimes can be used as a project for the project. One example can be that an investor empathize SRA to redevelop a slum but with the hidden agenda to free space for commercial developments. The process when something irrational turns into something rational is by Flyvbjerg called rationalization. It could be argued that private investors could use SRA or other slum upgrading / redevelopment as a tool to rationalize something which wouldn’t be seen as rational in the first place. This of course raises the question what rational is and for whom? In my opinion it is for an investor rational to gain maximum profit of the investment and thus I would believe that investments in commercial developments hardly serve the urban poor. This view corresponds to George Jacob’s critique against the government’s current re-development plan of Dharavi. He means that this plan will force the urban poor out of their neighborhoods and in best case into high- raise houses. The process will be done totally without participation with the urban poor. Siddarth Benninger’s opinion that slums are used as ward- banks is also interesting in rationality and power perspective. This means that slums can appear as a product of poor, powerless people often emigrants from rural parts of India, used by powerful people like “slumlords” or politicians.

Rationality is current in the footprint issue, described in the “Yerwada project”. Like Vanessa Watson (2008) I agree that the conflict between planners/ architects and the survival of the urban poor can be described in the context of rationality. Two different rationalities can be described in the case of the “Yerwada project”. The rationality of the planners and architects at one side, and the rationality of the urban poor on the other. I would not describe a clear delineation between the two rationalities, distinguished in the “Yerwada project” rather it is fluid and overlapping. The architects and planners have in the “Yerwada project” a belief about the good design and planning. Anekid and the two junior- engineers emphasize a good

design with wider roads and more open spaces in the community. The way to enable such design is according to them by changing household footprints. The architects and planners rational thinking is thus in this case to enable what they refer to as a good design. I would also argue that architects and planners want to protect their profession as they have great faith on the result of their work. To protect the importance of their own profession can thus also be included in their own rational thinking. There is however a strong will and belief from the architects and planners to participate with the people. All of the professionals taking part in this study are positive towards participation in the planning process.

The urban poor or the beneficiaries in the “Yerwada project” are not against a good design, but want to keep their footprints. As is shown in this study the beneficiaries’ will to keep their footprints were very strong. The rational for the beneficiaries is to protect their spaces which in this case means to keep their footprints intact.

The main conflict between these two groups’ rationalities is thus the footprint issue. The footprint is both the obstacle to enable good design and the most important issue for the beneficiaries. There are however professionals who don’t see the footprint issue as a problem of greater importance. Sharad Mahajan has for example the opinion that the people’s wishes always have to be the main concern for architects and planners. This is also what has been done in the “Yerwada project”.

Even if the “Yerwada project” isn’t free from critique or weaknesses most of the professionals taking part in this study are positive towards the project. They are convinced that in-situ is the right way to deal with slum upgrading. As has been mentioned they are also positive towards participation in the planning process. The two junior- engineers at the City Ward office clarified that this project couldn’t have been done without participation, at least not with the same successful result. But they also mentioned that the project is good from a democratic point of view but not from a design point of view. Democratically it is good, because of the influence from the beneficiaries and that they got their main will through, in other words they could keep their footprints. The project is not so good in a design manner, because it fails to enable good public space. This is as I discussed previously what can be described in the context of Watson’s “clash of rationalities”.

There are beliefs that it will be possible to change the footprints and thus enable a better design in the future. As Sheela Patel mentioned, the acceptance towards projects increases after more meetings, workshops and when they actually can see results. Paul Anirudh shares this opinion, that it takes time to gain peoples trust. It may take many meetings and maybe even several projects. If this is true it could be a way to deal with the conflict between the two rationalities. At least it could be seen as a way to draw the two rationalities closer towards each other. My belief is that NGOs, CBOs and other grassroots organizations play an important role in this work. I believe that PMCs cooperation with NGOs and CBOs, like SPARC and Mahila Milan, have decreased the gap between the two rationalities and counter what Watson calls for “clash of rationalities”. SPARC and Mahila Milan’s work has done a great effort to include the urban poor in the planning process of Yerwada. This belief is shared by both professionals and by the beneficiaries in Yerwada taking part in this study. Like Anirudh and Patel I strongly believe that more projects with this participatory approach could gain a closer relationship between professionals/ politicians and the urban poor. I would like to talk about a relationship between formal and informal sectors. It is though important that this is done with focus on the urban poor and their knowledge. This is how SPARC work and I believe that this is the right way to go. There could otherwise be a risk

that Governments use NGOs and CBOs in what Flyvbjerg (1998) calls for “rationalization”. If the focus is on the urban poor and their knowledge and wishes then I believe that slum issues can be solved. Like Sharad Mahajan said, there is now meaning to plan something that the people don’t want.

Participation is of course not a guarantee that planning becomes inclusive and done in the right way. Like Siddharth Benninger has mentioned the caste system is still an issue that even if it’s officially un- effective still influence peoples power. This can be adapted to Bourdieu’s theory about economic, cultural and symbolic capital. Bourdieu argues that the amount of capital affects the influence in real life (Giddens, 2007). The caste system could in my opinion be a form of symbolic capital where different people are divided in different titles (Giddens, 2007). I would like to argue that SPARC’s work in mobilizing and empowering slum dwellers is an attempt to break this capital distinction.

There are different ways that participation can be done. It has been mentioned that it is important that the focus is on the urban poor and the people actually living in the areas. This can in my opinion be done by using the same approach that SPARC are using. It is however important that NGOs are not used to as Arnstein (2007) describes “manipulate” the participants. I believe that it is possible, like Arnstein argues that people can be manipulated by taking part in community groups that actually don’t have any power. Though I don’t believe that this always is the case, unlike Arnstein I believe that community groups do have a function that can gain citizen participation. It is in my opinion important that the participants can see the result of the meetings and their involvement. By the observations and interviews done in the case study I would argue that the result is clear in the “Yerwada project”. People were able to keep their footprints and got sanitary improvements. In fact I would like to put the “Yerwada project” into the highest steps of Arnstein’s ladder of participation. I would because of the shift of power from the PMC to the Mahila Milan put the “Yerwada project” in the partnership stage. As Mahila Milan also been contracted for the project it would be possible to place the project even at the step of delegated power. There is though a thin line between these two steps in this project as the PMC still had control over the financing and some construction contractors.

In the “Yerwada project” it seems like women have played an important role and been dominant at the meetings. This is good because it shows that women were included in the process, but it can also be seen as a weakness that the absence of men was so high. However, none of the professionals or beneficiaries taking part in this study saw this as a problem. It is however important to raise the question of who actually participates in practice? In “The Yerwada project” the women were over represented at the meetings. But according to beneficiaries and professionals men were involved in the project anyway. They became involved at discussions in the private domain in people’s homes where the women raised the discussion over dinner. Thus it could be argued that women became the messenger between the home and the public, between the private and the public domain. The beliefs of women’s importance in the planning process because of their knowledge about the households are also important to discuss through a gender perspective. Many professionals argued that women were making decisions regarding the households and that the homes were their domain. This study is not discussing this gender problematic any further but it is still important to raise the issue.

When discussing clash of rationalities and the NGOs and CBOs role to minimize this clash it is important to ask if there is a need to do so? How should it be done and which of the groups

has to change their view of rationality? In the “Yerwada project” there can be distinguished a small clash mainly regarding the design and footprint issue. In this case it was the beneficiaries’ rationality which won over the architects and professionals rationality. It can be argued if this is good or bad. Shouldn’t professionals know best how planning should be done, according to SPARC belief it is the people that knows best. Pratima Joshi on the other hand has a stronger belief that professionals know best. People should participate but not in planning. This raise the discussion of what good planning and good design actually is?

The architects taking part in this study talked about the importance of the whole community, both private and public space. As mentioned before one of the architects who was working with the Yerwada project talked about the importance to change the footprints in order to achieve a good design. Also Pratima Joshi criticizes the planned outcome of the “Yerwada project”. Joshi argued that the in-situ scheme only created another slum, from kutcha<sup>9</sup> into a pucca slum. She meant that a better design could be done with relocation of slum dwellers into other sites. Thus she emphasizes the importance that these relocations are done in the close surroundings so that people can continue with their daily lives.

For the people good architecture and planning are associated with something that is good for them but still they were scared of losing their private space.

Shiri Dinesh Afzalpurkars committee’s belief that it is important to the mainstream of society is something which can be discussed further. I wonder if slum dwellers want to be “mainstream”, and what mainstream actually means? It could be argued here that the government’s view of good planning is to defeat the slums and build something they call for mainstream.

From a perspective of rationality and power this discussion regarding good planning is very interesting and indeed justified. It could for the government be seen as rational to see good planning as the way planning usually is done, in India this planning practices is mostly based on examples from western countries and historical Soviet Union. For example Siddarth Benninger described most Indian cities as unplanned and messy. His view of well-planned cities is similar to the view of modernism planning. He mentioned Chandigarh by Le Corbusier as a well-planned city. This confirms Vanessa Watson’s belief that the planning practice is still based on the ideals of the early 20th century. She argues that symbolic terms like structure, order, formality, harmony and function specialization still are embedded in the planning field.

The footprint issue can also be seen as conflict between personal and common spaces in society. This can be explained as rationality for the personal verses rationality for public sphere. It could be argued that architects and planners rationality in the “Yerwada project” are closer to the public sphere than the beneficiaries rationality is. The beneficiaries rational thinking is to protect their own space, thus it can be seen that their rationality is closer to the personal sphere. If participation takes a long time but also creates conflicts to establish a good and sustainable neighborhood, is then participation rational from a planning perspective? Sharad Mahajan believes that it is, according to him there is always a conflict between personal and common issues in planning. According to him it is the architects and planners job to find solutions to these conflicts.(Sharad Mahajan, 2012-03-02)

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<sup>9</sup> Kutcha house is often cheaper and simpler than a pucca house. The hose can be built of mud or stone and do often only have one floor.

## 9. Conclusions

To answer the question regarding what different stakeholder approaches are towards participatory planning, this study shows that both professionals and local residents are positive towards a participatory planning. There are though different ideas of how this should be done, and to what extent people should participate. Architects planners and engineers tend to have a stronger belief in their own importance in slum-upgrading. This belief is though not common among all professionals taking part in this study. There are those who have stronger belief in the importance of participation than others.

The main conflict of interests in the “Yerwada project” was between the professionals and the beneficiaries regarding the footprint issue. This conflict have in this thesis been discussed in the context of rationality.

Participation can be problematic if the clash of rationalities can’t be reduced. In the “Yerwada project” the clash of rationalities was between professionals (architects, planners and engineers) and the beneficiaries. The rational view from professionals perspective is to enable as good design as possible. To enable a good design professionals meant that footprints have to be changed. This makes the footprint issue as the main conflict as the beneficiaries rational view were to keep their footprints and protect their own space. This conflict can also be seen as a conflict between private and public interests. In the “Yerwada project” they decided to listen to the beneficiaries and let them keep their footprints. This can be explained in terms of rationality. The rational thinking by the urban-poor was dominating over the professionals’ rational view. I would argue that in the “Yerwada project”, urban-poor have increased their power towards professionals. I believe that this is thanks to the work by NGOs and CBOs and their cooperation with PMC. It is important to work through different levels from the grassroots to the government to achieve a successful slum – upgrading and decrease the clash of rationalities.

I believe, like Sheela Patel and Paul Anirudh, with others, that participation takes time and that it is important to gain peoples trust. This had been to great extent been done in the “Yerwada project”. I believe that the participatory approach and the in-situ scheme presented in this thesis will slowly result in reducing the clashes of rationalities. I would place the “Yerwada project” at the stages partnership or delegated power at Arnstein’s ladder of participation.

The “Yerwada project” and the approach used by SPARC with others are good subject for continuing research of how to make planning more inclusive. There are needs for more knowledge of how rationality is embedded in different stakeholder actions. Studies have been done, but not so much in the context of slum- upgrading. This study will contribute to lighten how rationality is present in slum –upgrading projects and how conflicts between different rationalities may be reduced. In further research it would be interesting to exam more in depth what specific methods might be used to reduce the clash of rationalities even more.

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*Illustrations:*

Figure 1: <http://www.uow.edu.au/~sharonb/STS300/participation/levels/ladder.html>, 2012-03-02

*Pictures:*

Picture 1: www.Google.se, 2012-04-12

Picture 2: SPARC, 2012

Picture 3: Karl Fyhr, 2012

Picture 4: Karl Fyhr, 2012

Picture 5: Karl Fyhr, 2012

Picture 6: Karl Fyhr, 2012

Picture 7: Karl Fyhr, 2012

Picture 8: SPARC, Mahila Milan, NSDF. (2011). *Pune Mahila Milan on their growth trajectory- Paper written by SPARC, MAHILA MILAN, and NSDF for CHF-International.* Mumbai

Picture 9: SPARC, Mahila Milan, NSDF. (2011). *Pune Mahila Milan on their growth trajectory- Paper written by SPARC, MAHILA MILAN, and NSDF for CHF-International.* Mumbai

Picture 10: Karl Fyhr, 2012

Picture 11: Karl Fyhr, 2012

Picture 12: Karl Fyhr, 2012

Picture 13: Karl Fyhr, 2012