

EXAMINING THE 'SLUM' IN THE NARRATIVES OF URBAN PLANNING PROCESSES

Study and capacity building based in Indore



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Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) is a non-profit development organisation committed to enabling vulnerable groups to access their rights and address human rights violations. YUVA supports the formation of people's collectives that engage in the discourse on development, thereby ensuring self-determined and sustained collective action in communities. This work is complemented with advocacy and policy recommendations on issues.

Contributors:

Ooha Uppalapati, Anand Lakhan, Anjali Anand, Marina Joseph

Reviewer:

Gautam Bhan

Field researchers and research support

Ranjita Singar, Pooja Yogi, Suresh Chandana, Mukesh Pawar, Ritesh Tripathi, Manali Ingale, Dhanya Pravin

Data analysis and representation support:

Arindam Jana, Teja Malladi, Dhananjayan Mayavel

Edited by:


Doel Jaikishen


W: www.yuvaindia.org

E: info@yuvaindia.org

 @officialyuva

 @officialyuva

 yuvaindia84

 @yuvaonline

Capacity building partner



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Designed by:

Manoj Hodawadekar

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>List of Maps</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Executive Summary</i>	<i>vi</i>
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. INDORE: URBANISATION, 'SLUMS' AND PLANNING	9
3. PRIMARY DATA ANALYSIS	37
4. CAPACITY BUILDING WORKSHOPS	69
5. CONCLUSION	71
<i>References</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>Questionnaires</i>	<i>77</i>
<i>Annexures</i>	<i>99</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

ABD	Area Based Development	OG	Out growth
AHP	Affordable Housing in Partnership	OSM	Open Street Map
BLC	Beneficiary Led Construction	PMAY	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
BSUP	Basic Services for the Urban Poor	RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
CLSS	Credit Linked Subsidy Scheme	RTE	Right to Education
CSS	Centrally Sponsored Scheme	RTI	Right to Information
DCHB	District Census Handbook	SBM	Swachh Bharat Mission
DR	Dwelling Room	SC	Scheduled Caste
DU	Dwelling Unit	SCM	Smart Cities Mission
EWS	Economically Weaker Section	SFCP	Slum Free City Plan
HH	Household	ST	Scheduled Tribe
HIG	Higher Income Group	TCPA	Town and Country Planning Act
IDA	Indore Development Authority	UA	Urban Agglomeration
IDP	Indore Development Plan	UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
IMC	Indore Municipal Corporation	URDPFI	Urban and Regional Development Plans Formulation and Implementation
ISSR	In-Situ Slum Rehabilitation	VAMBAY	Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana
JJ	Jhuggi Jhopri		
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission		
LIG	Lower Income Group		
MIG	Middle Income Group		
NGT	National Green Tribunal		
NSS	National Sample Survey		
ODA	Overseas Development Administration		

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Details	Page	Table	Details	Page
1.1	'SLUM' LISTS REFERRED FOR THE STUDY	5		BASIC SERVICES	
2.1	INDORE POPULATION STATISTICS	10	3.8	DISTRIBUTION OF PHASE II SAMPLE AMONG INDICATORS OF TENABILITY	61
2.2	Decadal change in slum population, 1951–2011	12	3.9	DISTRIBUTION OF PHASE II SAMPLE AMONG INDICATORS OF ACCESS TO SOCIAL AMENITIES	62
2.3	SLUM LISTS BY PLANNING INSTRUMENTS IN THE SCOPE OF THE CURRENT STUDY	12	3.10	DISTRIBUTION OF PHASE II SAMPLE AMONG INDICATORS OF INVESTMENT	66
2.4	AREA AND DEMOGRAPHIC SCOPE OF INDORE'S DEVELOPMENT PLANS	15	3.11	DISTRIBUTION OF PHASE II SAMPLE AMONG INDICATORS OF EXPERIENCE AND FUTURE CONSTRUCTION PLANS	67
2.5	DETAILING THE DEFINITION AND ENUMERATION OF SLUMS IN IDP 1991	16			
2.6	DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENTS ON DIFFERENT LAND USE	20			
2.7	COMPARISON OF CENTRALLY SPONSORED HOUSING SCHEMES IN INDORE	24			
2.8	DETAILING PLANS FOR PHASE I AND II OF PMAY IMPLEMENTATION IN INDORE	25			
3.1	DISTRIBUTION OF 109 SLUMS ON THE BASIS OF LAND OWNERSHIP	38			
3.2	DISTRIBUTION OF 109 SLUMS ON THE BASIS OF TENURE	38			
3.3	DISTRIBUTION OF 109 SLUMS ON THE BASIS OF STATUS OF LAND USE AS PER IDP 2021	38			
3.4	DISTRIBUTION OF 109 SLUMS ON THE BASIS OF STATUS OF RELOCATION	38			
3.5	DISTRIBUTION OF PHASE II SAMPLE AMONG INDICATORS OF STRUCTURAL ADEQUACY	54			
3.6	DISTRIBUTION OF PHASE II SAMPLE AMONG INDICATORS OF SPATIAL ADEQUACY	55			
3.7	DISTRIBUTION OF PHASE II SAMPLE AMONG INDICATORS OF ACCESS TO	59			

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Details	Page	Map	Details	Page
2.1	GROWTH RATES IN DISTRICTS OF MADHYA PRADESH, 1981-2011	9		SETTLEMENTS AGAINST LAND USE AS PER IDP 2021	
2.2	SLUM AREAS AND JHUGGI JHOPRI CLUSTERS LISTED IN IDP 1991	17	3.8	SETTLEMENTS THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN RELOCATED, FROM THE SAMPLE OF 109	44
2.3	INTERVENTIONS PROPOSED FOR SLUM AREAS IN IDP 1991	18	3.9	SETTLEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN RELOCATED, FROM THE SAMPLE OF 109	44
2.4	AREA OF IDP 1991 AS AN OVERLAY ON IDP 2021	19	3.10	STATUS OF PMAY PHASING OF 109 SETTLEMENTS AGAINST LAND USE AS PER IDP 2021	45
2.5	OVERLAY OF SLUM LOCATIONS MAP AND LAND USE PLAN FROM IDP 2021	21	3.11	SETTLEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN PHASED UNDER PMAY, FROM THE SAMPLE OF 109	46
2.6	OVERLAY OF SLUM INTERVENTION PROPOSALS OF IDP 1991 AND IDP 2021 ON SLUM LOCATIONS MAP FROM IDP 2021	22	3.12	SETTLEMENTS NOT PHASED UNDER PMAY, FROM THE SAMPLE OF 109	46
2.7	SLUMS MARKED UNDER THE ISSR AND AHP VERTICALS OF PMAY AND THEIR SITES OF REHABILITATION	26	3.13	STATUS OF 109 SETTLEMENTS AGAINST LAND USE AS PER IDP 2021	47
2.8	EXISTING MAP OF CORE CITY AREA DEMARCATED FOR AREA BASED DEVELOPMENT UNDER SMART CITIES MISSION	28	3.14	SETTLEMENTS FROM THE 109 ON RESIDENTIAL AND MIXED RESIDENTIAL LAND USE	48
2.9	PROPOSED PLAN FOR CORE CITY AREA DEMARCATED FOR AREA BASED DEVELOPMENT UNDER SMART CITIES MISSION	29	3.15	SETTLEMENTS FROM THE 109 ON LAND USE OTHER THAN RESIDENTIAL	48
3.1	LAND OWNERSHIP STATUS OF 109 SETTLEMENTS AGAINST LAND USE AS PER IDP 2021	39	3.16	MAP OF SETTLEMENTS REPRESENTED AS PER WEIGHTS CORRESPONDING TO OPEN SPACE WITHIN THE COMPOUND	57
3.2	SETTLEMENTS, FROM THE SAMPLE OF 109, ON LAND OWNED BY IMC AND COLLECTOR	40	3.17	MAP OF SETTLEMENTS REPRESENTED AS PER WEIGHTS CORRESPONDING TO ADJOINING OPEN SPACE	57
3.3	SETTLEMENTS, FROM THE SAMPLE OF 109, ON LAND OWNED BY OTHERS THAN IMC AND COLLECTOR	40	3.18	MAP OF SETTLEMENTS REPRESENTED AS PER WEIGHTS CORRESPONDING TO SETTLEMENT DENSITY	58
3.4	TENURE STATUS OF 109 SETTLEMENTS AGAINST LAND USE AS PER IDP 2021	41	3.19	SETTLEMENTS REPRESENTED AS PER WEIGHTS CORRESPONDING TO ACCESS TO EDUCATION	64
3.5	SETTLEMENTS FROM THE 109, WHERE HOUSEHOLDS HAVE PATTI LEASEHOLDS	42	3.20	SETTLEMENTS REPRESENTED AS PER WEIGHTS CORRESPONDING TO ACCESS TO HEALTH	64
3.6	SETTLEMENTS FROM THE 109, WHERE HOUSEHOLDS HAVE TENURE OTHER THAN PATTI	42	3.21	SETTLEMENTS REPRESENTED AS PER WEIGHTS CORRESPONDING TO ACCESS TO COMMUNITY CENTRE	65
3.7	RELOCATION STATUS OF 109	43	3.22	SETTLEMENTS REPRESENTED AS PER WEIGHTS CORRESPONDING TO ACCESS TO OPEN SPACE	65

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Details	Page
2.1	DETAILING A POST-INDEPENDENCE TIMELINE OF PLANNING IN INDORE	11
2.2	SMART CITIES MISSION PLAN FOR RIVERFRONT DEVELOPMENT IN THE CORE AREA	33
2.3	IDP 1991 AND 2001 LAND USE MAPS CONCURRENT TO BUDDHA NAGAR'S LOCATION SHOWING THE CHANGE IN ALIGNMENT OF THE PROPOSED RING ROAD	35
3.1	DISTRIBUTION OF STRUCTURES AND SETTLEMENTS ON SCALES OF INDICATORS 1-4 FROM DATA EXERCISE PHASE II	52
3.2	DISTRIBUTION OF STRUCTURES AND SETTLEMENTS ON SCALES OF INDICATORS 5-9 FROM DATA EXERCISE PHASE II	53
3.3	SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE POINTS OF EXPERIENCE ACROSS INDICATORS	68
3.4	SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE POINTS OF EXPERIENCE WITHIN INDICATORS	68
4.1	SHOWING FACT FILE ON PMAY IMPLEMENTATION IN INDORE	73

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 'slum' as a homogenous spatial, physical, legal and moral unit has been a significant focus of planning and policy in Indian cities. Despite urban poor and marginalised settlements transgressing and appropriating planning norms from different periods, this imagination has remained the same, retaining the approach of addressing a dominant alternate urbanism with regressive tools of clearance and rehabilitation.

This study and capacity building conducted from 2017-2018 by Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) and the Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS) aimed to problematise this imagination and consequent practice by presenting the relationship between formal planning processes and urban settlements categorised as 'slums' in Indore. This was done to evaluate the oversights and illustrate opportunities for new modes of articulation, analysis and intervention. Indore's history of planning, beginning in the 16th century, presents a platform layered with diverse and starkly varied frameworks and politics.

The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods and extensive secondary data review. Unique to the study is the action research methodology that used capacity building workshops and community researchers who are residents of the settlements of study.

Beginning with its first Master Plan, the Indore Development Plan 1974-1991, Indore entered a phase of progressive tenancy laws - the Patta Act, 1984 and the M.P.Nagar Palika Rules, 1999, and infrastructural improvement programs in the last decades of the twentieth century like the Slum Networking project, 1989-1997, targeting the urban landless, the poor and their habitats.

At the turn of the century, along with the second Master Plan, the Indore Development Plan 2008-2021, various centrally sponsored schemes entered Indore's planning scenario including the Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY), Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP), Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) and the Smart Cities Mission (SCM). They

brought with them ambiguous yet definitive terms like tenability and viability to determine the future of 'slums'; simultaneously replacing the people and rights centric approach of earlier planning instruments.

The study reviews these processes and corroborates instances of this with case studies. Through this, definite trends were observed in the relationship between planning and 'slums'. Key findings that emerged include:

1. Settlements in Indore, listed as 'slums', have layers of tenure and infrastructure secured from incremental investments of state and people over three decades.
2. The inclusive visions of planning instruments from the twentieth century - tenancy laws and infrastructure improvement projects - partly enabled this agency. However, a lack of follow-ups in the form of financial and infrastructural support allowed them to be de-legitimised and overwritten by newer schemes.
3. IDP 1991 and IDP 2021 fall short of recognising 'slums' as tenable residential areas. While the same was used to push for a vision of inclusivity by parallel planning instruments in twentieth century, the same was leveraged for evictions and displacement by instruments from the twenty first century.
4. Settlements proposed for intervention and those that underwent intervention in previous planning phases were found in 'slum lists' in later planning phases; either in the same location and condition, or under a new identity.
5. A systemic erasure of legal and infrastructural safeguards from previous planning provisions was observed from case studies, as practiced during implementation of centrally sponsored schemes.

Drawing from these findings, a primary data exercise was planned in two phases with the aim to:

1. Present evidence to examine the alleged qualities of deprivation and violation in 'slums', to be set against the framework of consequent interventions

- proposed to eradicate the same.
2. Examine within the same data collection and analysis grid, the existing provisions of tenure and infrastructure for their adequacy to be further built on.
 3. Propose alternate directions to address needs of the habitats of the urban poor.

The first phase of data collection and analysis outlined sketch profiles of 'slums', sampling 109 'slums'. From these 109 'slums', 31 'slums' and 269 dwellings were sampled for a detailed data exercise in the second phase.

Major findings from the two phases included:

1. The data set poses a challenge to the alleged qualities of 'slums', prevalent indicators for their measurement and the assumption of their homogenous spread across all settlements and across units within settlements. This was observed majorly in the gaps in imagination and measurement of structural, spatial and service adequacy.
2. There has been an incremental investment in tenure and infrastructure in 'slums', by state and people, secured over three decades.
3. Weaker spatial and structural adequacy in 'slums', relocated more than two decades ago, reveals the limitations of restricted unit and site plans of rehabilitation proposals and absence of state investments into rehabilitation sites post rehabilitation.
4. It has been observed from relocated settlements that while access to basic services to the settlements has been acquired over time and negotiations, access to social amenities seems to be influenced by the growth of the city to their proximity.
5. Rehabilitation, in the context of 'slums' in Indore, is posing a threat to available housing stock and an existing robust mechanism, facilitated by people with available state provisions, for housing security.
6. The data underlines gaps in proposals of centrally sponsored schemes, particularly PMAY, for rehabilitation of 'slums' in addressing the needs of settlements listed in their 'slum' lists.
7. A recurring narrative from the data is that of housing as a mode of spatial production that begins with occupation and then progresses towards development of building components.
8. The data shows that social and mental well-being and infrastructure are the strongest influencers of experience of living in a settlement. This is followed by location and economic sustenance.

The study draws the following recommendations from the research findings and capacity building process:

1. There should be an articulation of a new vocabulary that recognises self-built settlements and the logic of their planning.
2. The 'slum' as a homogenous unit in need of one-size-fits-all planning interventions is an imagination that must be disintegrated both in policy and in popular imagination.
3. The current policy assumption of 'slums' as homogenous spatial concentrations, targeting arbitrarily demarcated settlements for interventions, needs to be replaced by identification according to an assessment of need.
4. Up-gradation of existing housing must take precedence over provision of new housing, most urgently in contexts similar to Indore whose settlements have strong provisions for tenure, services and structural adequacy.
5. Planning instruments, especially housing programmes, should recognise 'incrementality' as the predominant and a potentially secure and sustainable planning alternative.
6. As much as planning terminology should be populated with vocabulary from people lead planning, formal planning language and logic should be disseminated to be accessible and usable by residents and communities.
7. The steps between the formulation of plans and peoples participation need to be recognised and their fulfilment should be an essential part of both design and implementation of planning instruments.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 WHY EXAMINE 'SLUMS'?

1.1.1. DENOTATIONS AND CONNOTATIONS

In sporadic planning efforts of the early twentieth century and early post-colonial policies in India, the 'slum' featured as a category of public health, identified as a site of response to epidemic outbreaks in the emerging industrial centres. However, this imagination borrowed variously at different points in time from contemporary notions of development, emerging as a convenient tool to spatially exclude marginalised communities.

A broadly implied physical, legal and cultural unit, the 'slum' has been loosely interpreted to include a vast number and variety of settlements majorly constituting of urban poor households. One of the earliest postcolonial legal definitions of a 'slum' was introduced

in the Slum (Clearance and Improvement) Act, 1956, to be adapted widely into the following decades.

Listing both moral ('detrimental to morals') and physical indicators ('dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty design' etc.) the definition, however, does not expand into relevant metrics for measurement. In spite of this, consecutive Town and Country Planning Acts, state Slum Acts, Master Plans, policies, schemes, projects and even the Census, derive slum definitions from the 1956 Slum Act.

While some of these definitions do have metrics, for example the size of settlements in terms of units or the size of units, the rationale behind arriving at the quantity remains vague, opening the definition for further speculation. Each of these definitions is a variation in equal measures of subjectivity, allowing

DECLARATION OF SLUM AREAS FROM THE SLUM (CLEARANCE AND IMPROVEMENT) ACT, 1956

- (1) Where the competent authority upon report from any of its officers or other information in its possession is satisfied as respects any area that the buildings in that area-
 - (a) are in any respect unfit for human habitation; or
 - (b) are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morals, it may, by notification in the Official Gazette, declare such area to be a slum area.
- (2) In determining whether a building is unfit for human habitation for the purposes of this Act, regard shall be had to its condition in respect of the following matters, that is to say-
 - (a) repair;
 - (b) stability;
 - (c) freedom from damp;
 - (d) natural light and air;
 - (e) water supply;
 - (f) drainage and sanitary conveniences;
 - (g) facilities for storage, preparation and cooking of food and for the disposal of waste water; and the building shall be deemed to be unfit as aforesaid if and only if it is so far defective in one or more of the said matters that it is not reasonably suitable for occupation in that condition.

Source: *Slum (Clearance and Improvement) Act, 1956*

for physical, moral, political, cultural and economic connotations to populate the term.

Among the set of recurring connotations, there are those that are intended to suggest the relationship with formal norms such as informal, illegal, irregular, unplanned and unauthorised, and those that suggest standard and style of living, such as poverty, health, crime, hygiene, temporality and deprivation. These terms are significant as both justifications for interventions as well as exclusion from citizenship, operating in a loop feeding into one another.

The scope of policy generated from this lens fails to recognise, among others, a prevalent and viable mode of production of space in the city, deducting substantial urban pockets from their contribution to its housing stock and economy.

1.1.2 SPATIAL UNIT OR REGULATORY TOOL?

In the Census 2011 definition, 'slums' are categorised as notified, recognised and identified, as given in the box alongside.

Source: Census, 2011

CENSUS 2011: TYPES OF SLUMS

- Notified Slums
declared as such under any statute including Slum Acts.
- Recognised Slums
that may not be notified under statutes but are acknowledged and categorised as slums by state or local authorities.
- Identified Slums'
'of at least 300 residents or about 60–70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities' that are identified by the charge officer and inspected by a nominated officer by the Directorate of Census Operations

While cities generate Census 'slum' lists based on this categorisation, there are various reproductions of 'slum' lists under different programmes and their selective agenda, adding and subtracting settlements. Additionally, there are also those lists prepared prior to this categorisation, including those under the earliest

Master Plans and internationally funded infrastructural projects from the late nineties. Each slum list functions through varying legal validity and physical implications, ranging from trails of relocation and infrastructural remnants.

An observation of these past interventions and future propositions associated with various lists raises questions as to whether every settlement included in a 'slum' list is comparable along the scale of indicators that measure need for intervention and, inversely, whether every settlement in need of specific interventions is included in relevant 'slum' lists.

Hence, it is important to ask in regard to various slum lists what the metrics are for measuring the conditions of a settlement and the need for proposed interventions. And whether these metrics differentiate between need and qualitative assessment of the settlement or merely draw one from the other.

In their paper 'Of Slums or Poverty', Bhan and Jana challenge whether the 'slum' as defined by the logics of planning, the Census of India in this context, is in fact an adequate unit for intervention to address urban challenges. Discussing the association of poverty to 'slums', the paper suggests a separation of 'the slum from the poor' and to 'consider what this separation means for the delivery of urban services, social security benefits and shelter' (Bhan and Jana, 2013).

This brings us to an essential question—what is the slum a spatial concentration of? The response to this question seems to be implicit in different interventions into 'slums', both for improvisation and for clearance. However, the rationale behind this response often seems to draw from factors unrelated to the settlement's need for improvement or its alleged violation of norms. In that case, then, is a 'slum' a spatial unit at all or only a regulatory framework?

It is important, hence, to recognise and investigate the logics of planning behind categorisation and intervention into 'slums'. Especially because there seems to be an open-ended sample of settlements

that are being selectively included within the scope of different agendas which are connected, not by the needs of the resident population but by privileged interests on valuable urban resources

1.2. LOCATING THE STUDY

1.2.1. A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In her appraisal of 'Urban Policy in Post Independent India', Annapurna Shaw details how planning legislations for Indian cities, driven by the early Five-Year Plans, borrowed extensively from both the old British law and postmodern principles of design. The paper quotes that 'an architecture of power and dominance, of isolation and segregation' (Gupta in Shaw, 1996) defined planned spatiality in cities. Extending this visual to notions of urban living, one can decipher the influences on the imagination of exclusive urban citizenship, which built up to a definitive incision of the urban poor, post liberalisation.

There was a shift during this period, in perceiving poverty and inequality as articulated in 'This is no longer the city I once knew', by Gautam Bhan, as 'based on representations of the poor as economically unviable, environmentally harmful and criminal, as they are recreated as a homogenous category inseparable from the built environments of the illegal "slums" that they inhabit' (Bhan, 2009).

'Slum' as a threat to safety, health and morals is a sentiment put into words in the Slum (Clearance and Improvement) Act, as early as 1956. In the 60 years hence, settlements categorised as 'slums' have negotiated and claimed urban space, transgressing as well as appropriating formal norms to become integral components of Indian cities. The imagination of a 'slum' has, however, evolved not only indifferent to these developments, but as antithetical to a 'set of values—hygiene, environment, progress and growth-centric government, market participation, planning and order, aesthetics, notions of a "world class city" and leisure' (Ibid.) that have come to be ascribed to an ideal urban citizenship.

This approach locates people and communities on the brink of citizenship, where they are political and economic contributors, yet with no access to shelter,

infrastructure and social security. Describing this process, Yiftachel in his 'Theoretical Notes on Gray Cities' calls this location 'gray space'—positioned between the "whiteness" of legality/approval/safety, and the "blackness" of eviction/destruction/death'. Presenting the relationship between urban policy and gray space, he adds that they 'are usually tolerated quietly, often even encouraged, while being encased within discourses of "contamination", "criminality" and "public danger" to the desired "order of things" to exist in "permanent temporariness"' (Yiftachel, 2009).

Ananya Roy deconstructs permanent temporariness in 'Urban informality' using 'state of exception', suggesting that 'the planning and legal apparatus of the state has the power to determine when to enact this suspension [of order], to determine what is informal and what is not, and to determine which forms of informality will thrive and which will disappear' (Roy, 2005).

The prevailing methods of defining, categorising and listing settlements as 'slums' make the state of exception even more powerful to arbitrarily pardon or punish alleged violations. Introducing the term legitimate into planning terminology to describe settlements, Bhan in 'Planned Illegalities' uses it to 'describe settlements that enjoy a de facto or de jure security of tenure' meaning 'that they are protected—either explicitly within the plan or implicitly in actual urban development practice—from arbitrary eviction' (Bhan, 2013).

However, the indefinite range of settlements that may be included under the umbrella of 'slums' on the other hand, by virtue of their alleged opposition to the vision of ideal citizenship, are maintained as illegitimate even if they meet the expectations of planning logic.

To expand on the bias in granting legitimacy, Shaw's list of influences on post-colonial urban policy in India is useful. Outlining the broad influences of urban policy post-independence, Shaw presents a politics of demands that emerged from the mid-1960s, with 'the economic demands of the agrarian elite for more development and middle class demands for a better urban living environment' (Shaw, 1996). More than half a century since the advent of demand politics and a quarter since the paper was written, these politics are still central to urban policy and planning.

A strengthening environmental activism of the urban middle-class and elite interests on prime urban land work simultaneously, to cause displacement of millions.

To meaningfully resist these forces, Bhan avers that ‘the poor and their advocates must find appropriate articulations—legal, political and cultural—that will adequately respond to these changing logics of exclusion and be seen as legitimate in the new sites of struggle’ (Bhan, 2009).

1.2.2 SITE OF STUDY

Located on the threshold of urban transformation, tier II cities offer greater possibilities for such articulations and resistance. Their density and settlement structures allow intervention for inclusive planning trajectories. On the other hand, the same factors make them avenues for ambitions of development. Systems of urban living prevailing in slums are disrupted and their vulnerability is exploited for external interests on prime urban land.

This study and capacity building is based in a tier II city—Indore, located in central India. Indore has a history of formal planning that can be traced back to the sixteenth century, interwoven with an equally old status as a trading hub that established steady migration into the city. A 1918 Development Plan for Indore by Patrick Geddes, a Scottish town planner, details this confluence in the industrial era. Addressing the outbreak of plague and drafting recommendations for public health, the report locates ‘slums’ in an industrial city. It recognizes the stigma surrounding ‘slums’ and urges the city to deconstruct the concept to arrive at solutions that scope beyond demolitions and supply of inadequate housing (Geddes, 1918).

Almost a century after the completion of the report, Indore stands on a repository of solutions in the form of legislations, schemes and two development plans, all of which failed to incorporate these recommendations. The practice of demolition and excessive supply of inadequate housing still persist, and so does the stigma. Adding to this, the city is currently one of the strongest competitors for centrally funded urban development schemes appearing in the forefront for mass eviction drives and mushrooming rehabilitation projects. With the current development plan ending in 2021, the city is in much need for a new direction to make its claims

for urban inclusion a reality.

1.3. AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.3.1. AIM

The study aims to present the relationship of formal planning processes with urban settlements categorised as ‘slums’ in Indore, to both evaluate the oversights and illustrate opportunities for new modes of articulation, analysis and intervention.

1.3.2. OBJECTIVES

1. To generate a **database of settlements categorised as ‘slums’ in Indore**, overlaying their status with applicable planning norms.
2. To initiate knowledge exchange in the settlements identified within these categories **through capacity building processes**.
3. **To arrive at recommendations for planning and policy**, for an alternate articulation of and intervention into slums, particularly focused on the Indore Master Plans and housing policies.

1.4. METHODOLOGY

This study used a mixed methodology combining both qualitative and quantitative methods. For primary data collection, qualitative tools included observation, semi-structured interviews (refer Questionnaire 1) for settlements, and capacity building for residents; the quantitative tool used was a household survey and settlement survey (refer Questionnaire 2). Unique to this study is the action research component that involved periodic capacity building and feedback to deepen levels of understanding on planning processes. Secondary data was collated, reviewed and analysed to correlate the primary findings.

1.4.1. STAGES OF DATA COLLECTION

1.4.1.1. Preliminary Visits

Preliminary visits included visits to slums and sites of rehabilitation, unstructured interviews with residents of these settlements and nodal officers of Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana–Urban [PMAY(U)] and Smart Cities Mission (SCM). The visit outlined the current status of slums and their interaction with planning processes from observation of physical attributes and

narratives from the interviews. Observations from each settlement visited were recorded.

Outcome: The concept note for the study and an initial database of settlement categories and their relationship to planning processes.

1.4.1.2. Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data was collected to support and elaborate on these findings, and to get an overall understanding of the history of urbanisation and planning in Indore.

Sources for secondary data included:

- 5.1. Indore Development Plans and other relevant Plans
- 5.2. Acts and Rules
- 5.3. Scheme guidelines
- 5.4. Project reports
- 5.5. Census and National Sample Survey (NSS) data
- 5.6. Official slum lists

Data sources were extracted from documentation available with government bodies, project reports, earlier research and news articles. The secondary database generated was reviewed to outline the overall scope of various plans, projects and schemes and the articulation of 'slums' within them.

Outcome: A database of slum lists and maps was generated. All relevant plans, policies and projects have been listed. A timeline of planning processes in Indore was juxtaposed against a timeline of intervention into 'slums'. An overlay of slum maps over other plans and maps offered a spatial review.

1.4.1.3. Primary Data Collection

To bridge the gap in secondary sources regarding the data on slums and to collate evidence to corroborate findings from secondary data review, primary data was collected to substantiate various aspects of settlements against their articulation in planning instruments and proposed interventions. Primary data collection was conducted in two phases.

The universe of the study are the 712 slums that are part of the Indore Municipal Corporation (IMC) 2008 official slum list. The various official 'slum lists' that have been prepared since 2008 have been listed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 / 'Slum' lists referred for the study

NAME OF DOCUMENT	NO. OF 'SLUMS' LISTED	YEAR OF RELEASE
List of notified slums, Indore Municipal Corporation (IMC)	712	2008
Part A DCHB Indore, Census 2011	613	2011
Indore Development Plan 2021	404	2008
Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) slum list	646	2015
Slum Free City Plan (SFCP), Indore (under RAY)	599*	2013

**the SFCP claims that there are only 599 notified slums in Indore and 712 is a number generated because of duplication*

1.1.1.3.1 Sampling

A multi-stage sampling procedure was used to include an adequate range of settlement conditions in terms of history, infrastructure, form, tenure, planning processes and future proposals for intervention in 'slums'.

Probability sampling was used through the study. For the first phase, a 15 per cent sample of slums (i.e. 98 slums of 712) was generated from the universe of the study and a sketch profile was drawn up for these slums. For the second phase, a 40 per cent sample of 98 slum settlements (i.e. 39 slums of 98) were drawn with specific criteria to get granular data on indicators that are included in definitions of slums.

1.1.1.3.2 Primary Data Collection - Phase I

Sampling

In the first phase of data collection, stratified sampling was used considering specific criteria that were significant to the context of 'slums' and planning in Indore. Criteria used were:

1. Status of relocation
 - a. Settlements relocated to land plots
 - b. Settlements marked for rehabilitation (with and without relocation) under and due to current schemes—the PMAY and the SCM
2. Location
 - a. Located along a water body such as a river, lake, etc.
 - b. Located on 'kaankad' (thin strip of land between

- agricultural fields) at the time of settlement
- c. Located along a transit corridor such as a main road, railway line, etc.
- 3. Land and tenure
 - a. Residing on 15 per cent land reserved for the economically weaker section (EWS)
 - b. With notarised¹ document, residing on 'ceiling land'
- 4. Geographic spread across Indore

Once settlements sufficing criteria 1–3 were included in the sample, random sampling was done from the universe to include an even geographic spread (criterion 4) to arrive at a final sample of 109.

The objective of phase one was to arrive at settlement profiles (refer Annexure 1) based on broad indicators to generate a filtered sample for detailed analysis for phase two.

Data Collection and Analysis

For the first phase, data on history of settlement, tenure, socio-economic profile, form and location was collected. Data collection was done at a settlement level through semi-structured interviews from no less than three individuals or groups in order to triangulate information and minimise error. The data was then analysed for sketch profiles and a spatial overlay review with data from secondary sources. Indicators of tenure, including proof of tenure, land ownership, land use and status of relocation were analysed.

Limitations

Data collected was insufficient for an analysis of socio-economic status, age, size and form of settlement. Indicators of tenure were analysed in this phase.

While the study considered data corresponding to the sample as indicative of profiles to be found in Indore, it is not an exhaustive list of profiles of the 712 'slums' from the universe of the study.

Outcome

Sketch profiles of the 98 slums were generated. Their locations were reviewed against land use plans and other maps for a spatial analysis. The sample for a detailed second phase of data collection and its framework have been finalised. Spatial analysis was done using Google Earth and Photoshop (refer to maps

3.1 to 3.15 for details).

1.1.1.3.3 Primary Data Collection – Phase II

Sampling

In the second phase, stratified random sampling was used to identify slums using diverse criteria of spatial distribution and surroundings. A 40 per cent sample of the 98 slum settlements (i.e. 39 slum settlements) were drawn with specific criteria in decreasing order of priority—Refer Annexure 2&3

1. Inclusion in PMAY list
2. Land-use as per IDP 2021
3. Location with respect to water bodies, green zones and transit corridors
4. Inclusion in past schemes and projects
5. Tenure and land ownership
6. Age
7. Size
8. Form

The entire set of settlements under immediate prospect of intervention based on criteria 1–3 were included and the remaining were sampled to include a proportional variation of all the criteria. Due to this decision, the sample for phase II included an exhaustive list of settlements that fall under criteria 1–3 from phase I sample and only portions of settlements from criteria 4–8 are included, excluding the rest.

A systematic sampling method was used, ensuring that 1 in every 50 structures were sampled per settlement, with a minimum sample of six and maximum of 20 structures per settlement. The sample hence calculated included 289 structures over 39 settlements.

Limitations

From the total sample, we were able to collect data from only 31 settlements and 269 structures, due to evictions of some of the settlements during the course of the study and refusal from the residents from others to participate in the study.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data was collected at both the settlement and structure² level. The objective of this phase was to extend this analysis to other attributes within slums such as including spatial and structural adequacy

1/ Notarised documents for exchange of land in return for specified amounts were found with households in specific parts of the city. These documents are only a proof of exchange before the process of registration of land title. While they corroborate sale, they do not function as land titles in themselves. Unlike 'pattas' that are provided at a household level, this is a settlement level tenure provision

in terms of form and construction; viability in terms of access to services, amenities and livelihood; and relationship to location in terms of investment, experiences and future plans. This phase of data collection focused on collecting data on indicators for qualities inferred from terms attributed to 'slums' in planning norms, in addition to those that can suggest alternatives for interventions.

1. Density (term: 'overcrowding')
2. Habitability (term: 'uninhabitable')
3. Access to basic services (term: 'inadequately serviced')
4. Natural light and ventilation (term: 'lack of light and ventilation')

Additionally, the following qualities were included to the set to be able to suggest alternatives for interventions as the outcome of study.

1. Tenure security
2. Social amenities
3. Investment (home construction and settlement development)
4. Age of settlement
5. Status of relocation
6. Livelihood

The survey also involved semi-structured interviews to outline a timeline for the transformation of settlement with respect to services available, surroundings, administration and planning interventions.

Outcome: An analysis at both household and settlement level was made across all indicators to deduce gaps in analysis of status, measurement of need and hence appropriate frameworks for intervention, by comparing the findings to the definitions and propositions in selected planning processes.

1.1.1.3.3 Additional Scope

Observations from preliminary visits suggested that the samples for phase I and II of primary data analysis need to include existing sites of rehabilitation under centrally sponsored schemes—Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY), Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) and PMAY. This inclusion was meant to study the hazardous and deprived living conditions observed

from field visits alongside the status of existing 'slums', especially in light of the compulsory denotification clause of rehabilitation sites mandated in PMAY.

Eleven rehabilitation sites were included in the sample for phase I, expanding the scope of study from 98 'slums' to 98 'slums' and 11 rehabilitation sites. The data collection and analysis of phase I was conducted for a sample of 109. For the second phase, six of the 11 rehabilitation sites were sampled. However, due to resource limitations, these sites could not be included for data collection and analysis.

1.1.1.4 Community Driven Data and Capacity Building

Taking initial steps towards community driven data generation, the study took the support of three residents from sample settlements for primary data collection. It was envisioned that this will set the stage for a discourse on slums that originates from the lived experience of residents themselves. Their engagement included debating the rationale of the study, inputs for questionnaire design, contributing to the capacity building workshops and data collection. This method substantially directed the research as it progressed. It shaped the research outputs generated at various phases.

Another part of the study attempting community participation was the parallel set of capacity building workshops that were conducted with residents and community leaders from different slums. Drawing from the findings of research at every stage, these workshops addressed the logic of planning in the context of 'slums'. The outputs from workshops were returned to the study to direct its next phase. Three capacity building workshops were conducted simultaneously while collecting data. The workshops included both classroom and field work components. These were day long interactions with sessions on planning concepts, exercises to build intuition as practitioners, learning from case studies in Indore and research sharing. A more comprehensive account of these workshops has been detailed in Chapter 4 of the report.

This method of community engagement in the study meant a persistent questioning of the relevance of the study and relating it to threats faced by residents. The

account of these workshops has been detailed in Chapter 4 of the report.

This method of community engagement in the study meant a persistent questioning of the relevance of the study and relating it to threats faced by residents. The workshops helped address this threat. This can often become a paralysing question for research but, here, it was productive, leading to the generation of many immediate and intermediate outputs as part of the research that did engage with immediate concerns. Even as the research presented here is in its complete form, the process followed provides evidence based learning for long term practice.

Outcome: In the short term, each workshop addressed an immediate concern that was presented by the group by facilitating knowledge exchange on specific subjects. In the long term, the sessions along with the material generated by the study are envisioned to strengthen participatory planning at the local level, with a focus on ensuring the rights of marginalised groups.

CHAPTER 2

INDORE – URBANISATION, 'SLUMS' AND PLANNING

2.1. URBANISATION IN MADHYA PRADESH

Madhya Pradesh, located in central India, is the second largest state by area, covering 3,08,244 sq.km. (Census of India, 2011). The Narmada River divides the state along the east-west axis, with the Vindhya-Satpura range straddling the valley. The southern parts of the valley are majorly under forest cover, constituting 30.7 per cent (Forest Survey of India, 2011) of the state's total area. The north-western parts are relatively urbanised with major urban centres, including Indore. The Census of India 2011 identified 374 statutory towns, 112 census towns, 37 urban agglomerations and 86 out growths in the state.

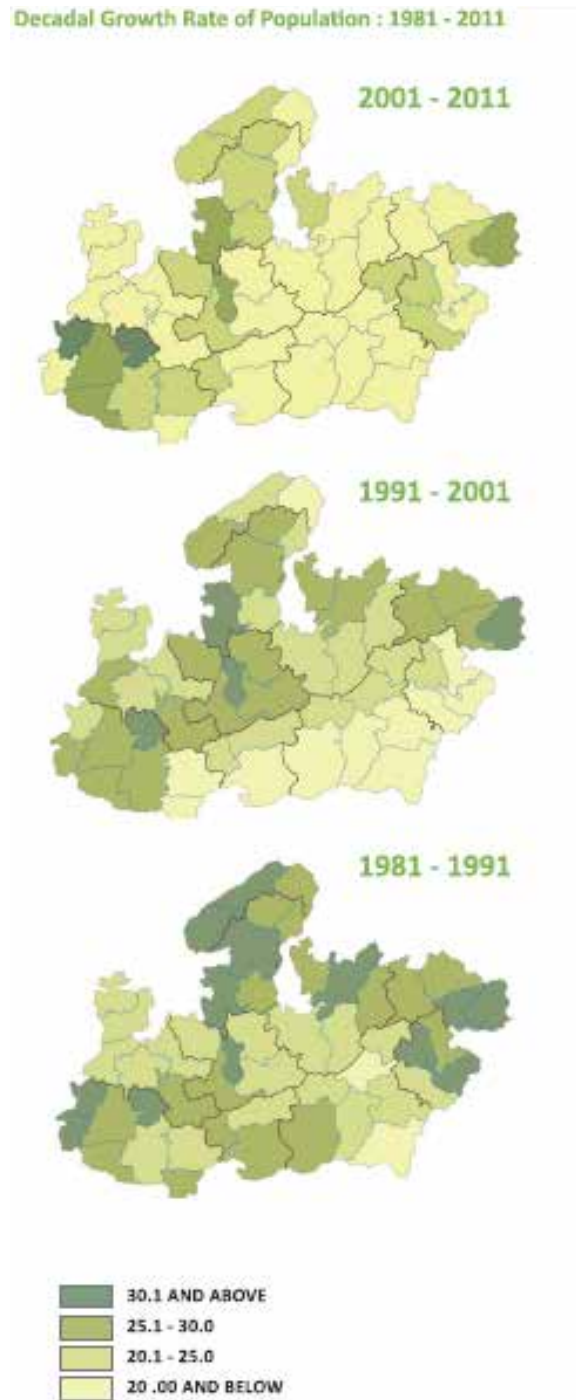
As per Census 2011, the population of Madhya Pradesh was 7,25,97,565, constituting 6 per cent of the country's population. The decadal growth rate of the state between 2001 and 2011 was 20.3 per cent, ranging between 32.7 and 12.3 among the fifty constituent districts. Population growth patterns among the districts in the last three decades show a wider distribution of high growth rates, with the southeastern districts demonstrating a rise in growth rate as high as 8 per cent. This is even as the traditionally high growth districts showing marginal dips, including Indore. This may suggest a shift towards a relatively even distribution of urbanisation.

2.2. INDORE

2.2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter details the planning scenario in Indore—its history, relevant instruments and current status—and its implications for the status of settlements listed as 'slums.' Beginning with the changing demographic of the Indore District and the Indore Urban Agglomeration, it goes on to set out a history of planning in the city. A brief outline of the beginnings of planning is followed by a detailed timeline of planning

Map 2.1 / Growth rates in districts of Madhya Pradesh from 1981 to 2011 *Source: Census 2011*



Map not to scale

post-independence. The planning instruments listed in the timeline are detailed in the following subsections to include their premise, provisions and current status of implementation with respect to 'slums' in Indore.

These instruments include the two Master Plans of Indore, centrally sponsored schemes for housing and infrastructure with a detailed analysis of Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) and the Smart Cities Mission (SCM), and two provisions for tenancy for the urban poor legislated by the Madhya Pradesh government—the 'Patta' Act, 1984 and the land reservation for the economically weaker section (EWS) under Registration of Coloniser Rules, 1998.

The two Master Plans are analysed for a comparison of their articulation of and approach towards 'slums' to make apparent both consistent and changing government priorities in this regard. The chapter then moves on to detail centrally sponsored schemes and their supply of housing and infrastructure, followed by an account of the tenancy acts for the urban poor. The three distinct planning instruments are then compared for the implications of their provisions and implementation for the status of 'slums' in Indore, both as independent tools and overlapping processes.

2.2.2. LOCATION, DEMOGRAPHY AND GROWTH

Located in the western part of Madhya Pradesh, the district of Indore is the most populous in the state, with the highest decadal growth rate between 2001 and 2011. It is spread over 3,898 sq. km, with 10 statutory towns, 14 census towns and 629 villages. The Indore urban agglomeration, referred to as Indore henceforth, is the largest in the state in terms of both population and area.

Table 2.1 | Indore population statistics

	POPULATION	DECADAL GROWTH RATE 2001-2011
Indore district	32,76,697	32.7%
Indore district (urban)	24,27,709	
Indore urban agglomeration	21,93,664	42.3%

Source: Census 2011

2.2.3. OVERVIEW OF PLANNING

2.2.3.1. Beginnings

A town planning report from 1918, Town Planning towards City Development, written by Sir Patrick Geddes, a Scottish town planner, traces the origins of planned development in Indore to its spatial core. Adjoining the banks of rivers Khan and Saraswati, it is described as three cities—religious, commercial and military—developed in successive phases into the Holkar period in the sixteenth century (Geddes, 1918).

In contemporary planning, this has been considered a heritage precinct demarcating the north western part of this area for 'Area Based Development (ABD)' under the SCM.

2.2.3.2. Industrialisation

The 1918 town planning report follows the establishment of railways and early industrial infrastructure with recommendations for expansion. It details zoning for cotton textile mills, workers' housing and urban ecology, including gardens and water bodies.

In contemporary plans, peripherally located with regard to the heritage precinct, older infrastructure from this section is demarcated for redevelopment under various projects, including the SCM.

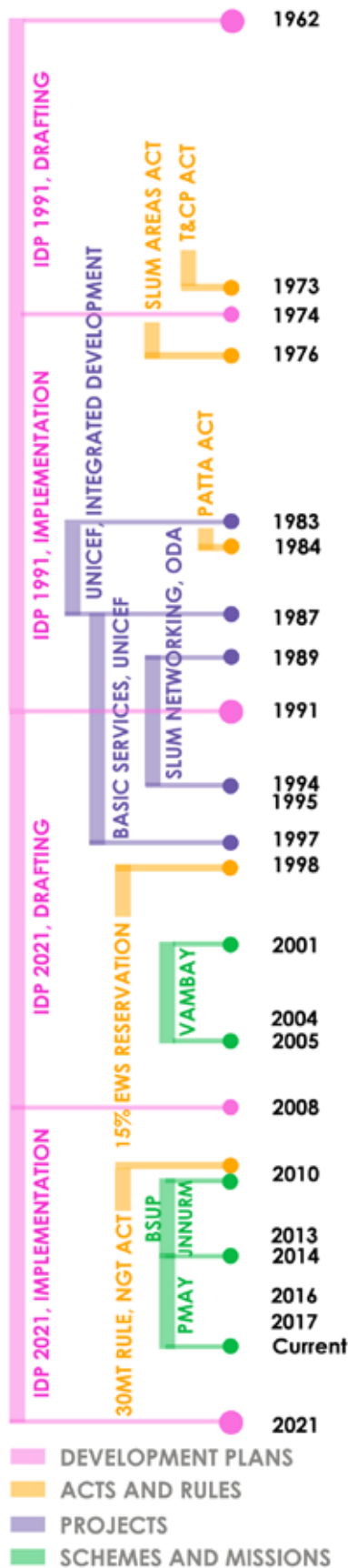
2.2.3.3. Post-Independence

Indore's post-independence growth is captured in two Development Plans—Indore Development Plan 1974-91 (IDP 1991) and Indore Development Plan 2008-2021 (IDP 2021).

In the periods of drafting and implementation of the two plans, various other planning instruments have been introduced by the central, state and city governments in different phases spread across the six decades, as demonstrated by the planning timeline in Fig 2.1.

Urbanisation in Indore in the final decades of the twentieth century was influenced by two strong legislations by the government of Madhya Pradesh, particularly for the provision of tenancy for the urban poor in a rapidly growing city. The 'Patta' Act enacted in 1984 secured the tenure on occupied land for the urban landless and the Madhya Pradesh Municipal

Fig 2.1 | Detailing a post-independence timeline of planning in Indore



Corporation Rules from 1998 secured land for EWS as a reservation in future residential development.

During the same period, deriving vocabulary from the Madhya Pradesh Slum (Clearance and Improvement) Areas Act, 1976, the state and city governments undertook development work in 'slums' in collaboration with international institutions, including the World Bank and the UNICEF. Indore entered the twenty-first century with the legacy and active provisions from these two streams of planning processes and stepped into the plans of centrally sponsored urban development schemes for housing and infrastructure that contributed to its landscape in the two decades since.

2.2.3.4 Current Status

Under the centrally sponsored schemes, the historical core and industrial age developments have been demarcated for retrofitting and redevelopment, and the fringe of the city for affordable housing along with green buffer zones and protected zones for the service sector—a spatial bifurcation reflected in the Master Plans. On the other hand, the spatiality that has been consolidated over the years by the urban poor, using the tenure provisions from the tenancy laws and the infrastructural provisions from the internationally funded projects, is gradually being overwritten. It is being relocated to the periphery in fragments by the schemes' vision and the compliance and indifference to such developments by the Master Plans.

2.2.4. SLUMS AND PLANNING

The 1918 report by Sir Patrick Geddes recommends interventions into 'slum areas', addressing them in the context of industrialisation and the epidemic of plague and tuberculosis. Locating them at the confluence of industrial growth and migration, the report recognises the stigma surrounding 'slums' and urges the city to deconstruct this imagination to arrive at solutions that scope beyond demolitions and excessive supply of inadequate housing—a suggestion relevant even today.

In post independent India, this imagination evolved with the Slum Areas (Clearance and Improvement) Act 1956, as the parent document. Different planning instruments modeled definitions and provisions for 'slum areas' from it, generating varying slum lists and populations.

Table 2.2 | Decadal change in slum population, 1951–2011 *** The 2011 data has been referred from Slum Free City Plan (SFCP) 2013, the remaining from IDP 2021

YEAR	POPULATION OF INDORE	SLUM POPULATION	DECADAL GROWTH RATE OF SLUM POPULATION (IN %)	SLUM POPULATION AS A % OF TOTAL POPULATION
1951	3,10,859	67,619	23	21.7
1961	3,94,941	83,174	23	21
1971	5,60,936	1,12,352	35	20
1981	8,29,327	1,68,246	49.7	20.3
1991	10,91,674	3,46,625	106	31.9
2001	15,97,441	4,85,585	40.6	16.25
2011**	19,94,397	8,18,000	65.45	38.68

Source: IDP 2008–2021 and Socio-Economic Survey: SFCP for Indore Metropolitan Area, 2013

In the decades of 1981–1991 and 2001–2011, the growth of slum population can be seen to be 70 per cent and 80 per cent of the growth of total population. This may not only be because the number of people living in slums has increased by those numbers, but a reflection of variation in how slums came to be enumerated. Especially considering that the last decade of the twentieth century in Indore saw the implementation of a number of internationally funded projects for the infrastructural development in 'slums', the high growth rate in slum population in these decades which is also almost the entire portion of total population growth, can be explained with extensive enumeration exercises focused on 'slums'.

With the turn of the century, more 'slum' definition and enumeration exercises for centrally sponsored schemes were taken up, the most extensive of which was concluded in 2013 for the Slum Free City Plan (SFCP) for Indore under the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY). The 'slum' population in Table 2.2 against 2011 has been referred from the same document. As it has been demonstrated in the following sections of this chapter, each of these planning tools has a different method for defining and enumerating slums, for the purposes of their respective agendas.

For the scope of this study, the following slum lists prepared by the respective bodies have been taken into consideration.

Table 2.3 | Slum lists by planning instruments in the scope of the current study

NAME OF DOCUMENT	NUMBER OF 'SLUMS' LISTED	YEAR OF RELEASE
Indore Development Plan 1991	36 'slums' and 33 JJ*clusters	1974
Slum Networking Project	183	1989
List of notified slums, Indore Municipal Corporation (IMC)	712	2008
Indore Development Plan 2021	637	2008
Census 2011	613	2011
Slum Free City Plan (SFCP) under RAY	599**	2013
Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) Slum List	646	2015

Source: IDP 1991, IDP 2021, Notified slum list by IMC, Part A District Census Handbook (DCHB) Indore- Census 2011, Indore Slum Free City Plan of Action, PMAY slum list

*JJ refers to Jhuggi Jhopri

**the SFCP claims that there are only 599 notified slums in Indore and that 712 is a number generated because of duplication

Table 2.3, demonstrates the uncertainty of slum data and enumeration recorded officially, even within the same time period. Considering that settlements noted in any list will be subject to respective interventions, the study sampled settlements from the entire set for analysis, findings and recommendations.

In the following sections, the scope of different planning instruments relevant to 'slums', in the context of Indore will be discussed, beginning with the Madhya Pradesh tenancy laws available to the urban poor in Indore, followed by a review of the city's two Master Plans and then moving into a review of centrally sponsored schemes. Detailed accounts of provisions and proposals under each of these instruments will be corroborated with narratives from field, case studies and relevant reference to other projects and initiatives regarding 'slums' in Indore.

2.2.4.1 EXISTING LAWS OF TENANCY FOR THE URBAN POOR

Madhya Pradesh has a legacy of strong, pro-poor tenure policies including the Patta-Act and coloniser registration rules, both directives of land distribution to the urban working class. However, the sustenance of these acts has repeatedly been challenged by political circumstances.

The 'Patta' Act, 1984: The Madhya Pradesh *Nagariya Kshetro ke Bhoomihin Vyakti (Pattadhriti Adhikaron ka Pradhan Kiya Jaana) Adhiniyam, 1984*. The Madhya Pradesh Urban Landless Persons (conferring tenure rights) Act 1984.

Overview:

The Act provides for settlement of leasehold to the urban landless on the site of occupation itself. Many informal settlements in Indore benefited from this Act, both in their original and resettlement sites, at different stages of amendment of the Act in the years 1984, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013 and, most recently, before the assembly elections in Madhya Pradesh in 2018. The period of leasehold varied between one year and 30 years, based on the site of occupation. The one year *patta*, also called a temporary *patta*, is given to households occupying lands reserved for other use or those that are considered to be hazardous.

Provisions:

The Act directs that any landless person occupying State government land in urban areas will be settled on this land, to the extent of 45sq. m. The Act is applicable in all cities of Madhya Pradesh with a population greater than 1,00,000 and '5 km thereof'. Landlessness in the Act is established only in the city where the 'person actually resides'.

The latest amendment to the Act recognises occupation of urban land up to 31 December 2012 for settlement. The act mandates submission of ration card or a testimony from an authorised officer in the local body to this effect for settlement of land. The settlement will then be recorded in the land rent register and will be sustained by a payment of development charges. The *patta* thus acquired can be inherited and mortgaged but cannot be transferred.

The Act directs that in case of restrictions on settlement of occupied land due to public interest, land will have to be settled elsewhere in the urban area and in case of displacement from *patta* land for public interest, '*patta*' should be restored elsewhere within six months. There shall be a high power committee to decide on the question of securing the vacation of any existing occupied land in the name of public interest along with a hearing.

Current Status of Patta Holders:

In contrast to the directive in the Act, mandating repossession of '*patta*' in case of displacement for public purpose, evicted informal settlements with '*patta*' holders have been rehabilitated into multi-storeyed buildings and transit camps in the periphery, built under different housing schemes like Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY), Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) and PMAY, after the advent of centrally sponsored schemes. They have been provided dilapidated flats on conditional ownership isolated from the city, in exchange for a leasehold on a valuable piece of land in the heart of the commercial capital. The '*khabja patra*' or occupation certificate for a flat in a 'slum' rehabilitation scheme can only be registered after repayment of 'beneficiary contribution' for the construction of flats. (refer Table 6.7).

According to the directives of the Patta Act, accepting the benefits of another scheme for land or housing will cancel the leasehold rights of the *patta* holder. However, field interactions reveal that the residents were not briefed on this very crucial detail during the PMAY demand surveys which were registering applicants for benefits under the scheme. While an announcement by the Chief Minister in 2017 promises renewal of '*patta*' in select slums for a period of 30 years, slums with '*patta*' holders have been included in the slum list prepared by PMAY for

intervention under its slum rehabilitation segment.

Speaking to an officer in the PMAY nodal office in Indore about whether patta holders with a few more years of leasehold will be considered for the beneficiary led construction (BLC) vertical under PMAY, which provides financial assistance to upgrade the beneficiary's house, instead of rehabilitation, he said:

‘पट्टा को तो हम नहीं मान सकते. [पट्टे] कही पे भी दिए गए थे कांग्रेस के टाइम पे’

‘Patta cannot be considered as valid. They were just given just anywhere during Congress’ time’

This interaction exemplifies the tendency of centrally sponsored schemes to overwrite provisions from long standing tenancy acts and infrastructural projects. In the following sections of this chapter, it is also demonstrated how this pattern is strengthened by the lack of recognition of these older, progressive provisions in both the existing and proposed sections of the Master Plans.

The M.P. Nagar Palika (Registration of Coloniser, Terms and Conditions) Rules, 1998

Overview:

Section 10 of The M.P. Nagar Palika (Registration of Coloniser, Terms and Conditions) Rules, 1998 or 15 per cent rules, as they are colloquially referred to, provide for reservation of land or funds from residential colony development in urban areas, to house the EWS.

Some of the informal settlements that were evicted from central locations, from the river banks and the historical precinct, during the late 1990s were later resettled into lands near the periphery that were reserved for the EWS under these rules.

Provisions:

The rules were made on exercise of powers conferred by sections under the Madhya Pradesh Municipal Corporation Act, 1956 and the Madhya Pradesh Municipalities Act, 1961 (in Municipal Corporation, Municipal Council and Nagar Panchayat). Section 10 of these rules detail directives for availability of plots/houses for the weaker sections of society in residential colonies.

The rules detail three ways in which this mandate may be fulfilled. The coloniser may:

1. Reserve fully developed plots of 32–40 sq. m. area amounting to 15 per cent of the total area of plots developed by the coloniser in every residential colony in an urban area.
2. Construct residential houses of 20–24 sq. m. on an area equal to one-fourth of the total area of the developed plot.
3. In respect of the land on which the Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation) Act, 1976 is applicable, the coloniser shall have to reserve developed plots of the size of 32–40 sq. m. area on at least 25 per cent area of the total developed area to the persons belonging to the EWS.
4. Deposit a shelter fee calculated, based on the area of development with the collector, which will be added to a shelter fund, in case the coloniser wishes neither to reserve land nor construct houses.

Provisions for use of shelter fund:

1. Made available for use of local bodies, housing boards and development authorities to construct housing for EWS.
2. As margin money to obtain loan from financial institutions for the construction of houses for the EWS.
3. For provision of basic services and infrastructure development in both jhuggi basti and resettlement areas of jhuggi bastis.

Current Status of Reserved Land and Occupying Settlements:

In spite of provisions that enable registration of reserved land, only one settlement resettled thus has moved towards registering the land in the name of the residents. The others continue to face threats of eviction to be rehabilitated under various housing schemes.

The latest amendment in the rules in 2014 decreased the mandated land reservation to 11 per cent.

Additionally, the land reservation clause and the shelter fund are being dovetailed to contribute to projects under the PMAY.

The scope of inspection regarding land development before allotment, construction quality of housing and collection and distribution of shelter fund was previously under the urban local body. With transfer of

benefits, it is not clear whether the local government will continue to perform these functions.

In spite of land reservation through an act of legislature, the settlements are not demarcated for residential land-use in IDP 2021. However, similar to settlements with 'patta' rights, those settled on reserved land continue to be included in various 'slum' lists along with the PMAY 'slum' list, to be considered for intervention under its 'slum' rehabilitation verticals—in-situ slum rehabilitation (ISSR) and affordable housing in partnership (AHP).

Along with provision for tenure that the households in these settlements have, the accounts of residents about the early years of relocation to these lands reveal that access to services and amenities is not as old as that of tenure security. A resident of New Suryadev Nagar recalls:

‘जब हम यहाँ आये थे, तब आसपास पूरा जंगल था. बारिश हुआ तो इतना तक (pointing to her chest) पानी में चलके जाना पड़ता था. पानी, बिजली ... सालो बाद मिला’.

‘It was a forest when we were moved. We had to wade through chest deep waters during monsoon. Water and electricity came much later’.

Similar accounts by residents about the early years of resettlement to these reserved plots demonstrate years of mobilisation of residents for services to compensate for a clear violation of rules that mandate reservation of fully developed plots by the coloniser, before allotment.

2.2.4.2 MASTER PLANS

As per provisions under the Madhya Pradesh Town and Country Planning Act, 1973 two master plans have been drafted and implemented so far in Indore—IDR 1974–91 (IDP 1991) and Indore Development Plan 2008–2021 (IDP 2021).

Both Development Plans have dedicated segments for slums, their definition, enumeration and proposals for intervention which have been detailed and analysed here.

Table 2.4 | Area and demographic scope of Indore's Development Plans *Action*

DEVELOPMENT PLAN	TOTAL PLANNING AREA	AREA PROPOSED FOR DEVELOPMENT	PROJECTED POPULATION BY THE END OF THE PLAN PERIOD	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL SLUM POPULATION
IDP 1974–1991	214 sq. km. IMC + 37 villages	121.45 sq.km.	12,50,000	5,60,936 (in 1971)	1,12,352 (in 1971)
IDP 2008–2021	505.25 sq. km.	340.47 sq. km.	37,67,000	15,97,441 (in 2001)	2,59,577 (in 2001)

Source: IDP 2021 and Slum Free City Plan of Action

Indore Development Plan 1991

Definition and Enumeration:

Detailing the inadequacies in existing residential development, IDP 1991 lists four forms of housing in need of urgent attention—areas with poor living conditions, slum areas, jhuggi jhopri and newly incorporated villages with slum-like conditions.

Proposals for Intervention:

The report proposes four approaches to solve the ‘problem’ (*samasya*) of slum areas and *jhuggi jhopri*:

1. Amending current construction practices along with drafting and implementing zoning regulations.
2. Making land available for supply of affordable housing in anticipation of future need, to prevent ‘encroachment’ of public land.
3. Eviction and rehabilitation of ‘slums’ and *jhuggi jhopri*.

4. Rehabilitation to be done in areas in close proximity to current settlement of ‘slums’ and *jhuggi jhopri* to keep the socio-economic ties (*dhaancha*) of residents intact. Further, rehabilitation is envisioned in two ways:

- a. Part rehabilitation after relocation and part improvement (upgradation of services)
- b. Rehabilitation of the entire settlement with relocation

To reduce social, economic and emotional hindrance caused by evictions, the report claims to mark only those settlements on untenable lands of those designated for other use. Of the 36 slum areas, 15 were listed for relocation and 21 slums for improvement. Of the 33 *jhuggi jhopri* clusters, 20 were listed for relocation and 13 for improvement.

Table 2.5 | Detailing the definition and enumeration of slums in IDP 1991

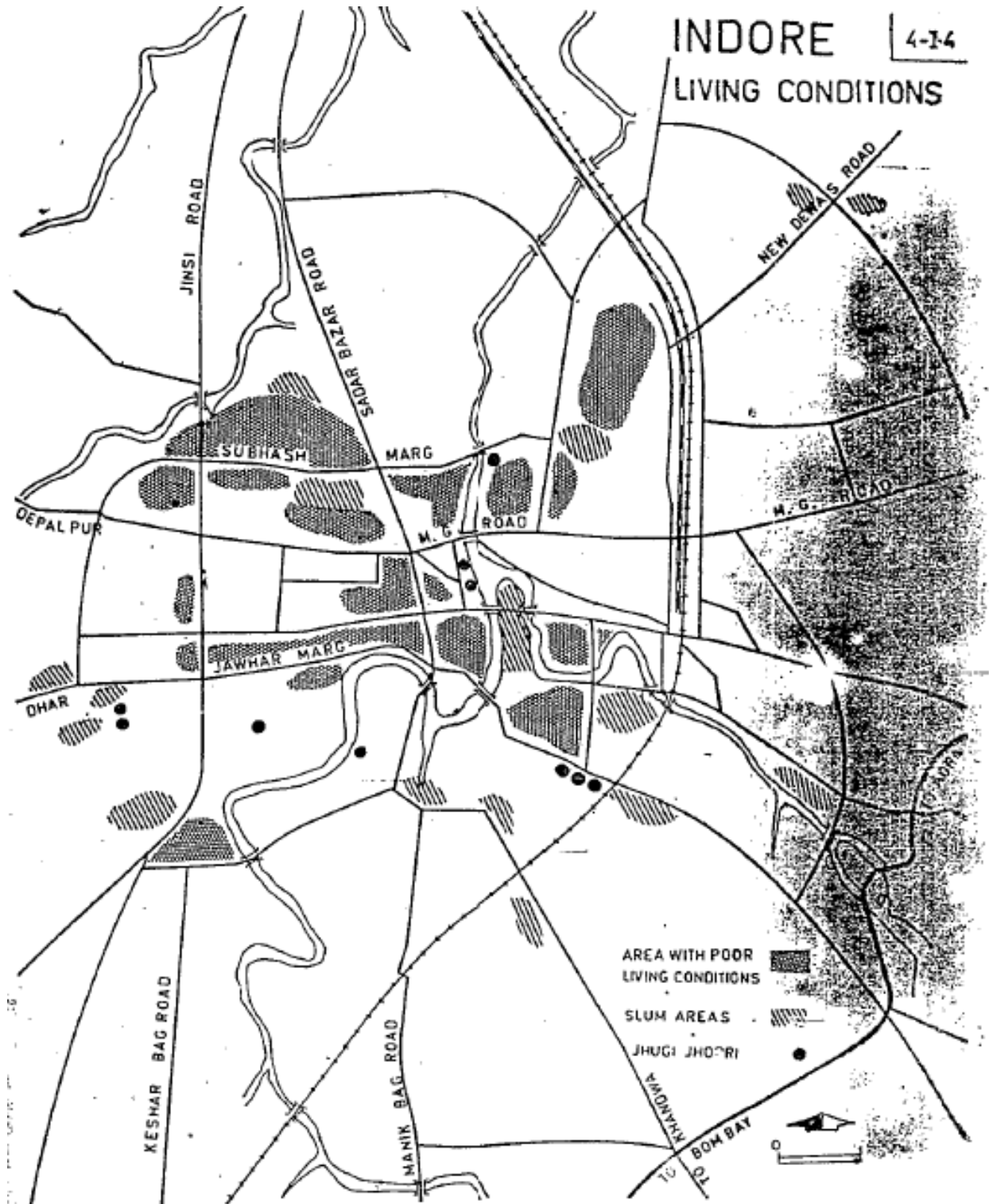
HOUSING FORM	NUMBER	POPULATION	AREA OCCUPIED
Slum areas	36 ‘slums’ in 5 areas	80,000	225 acre
	Overcrowded, kuccha, dilapidated, unhygienic houses with poor access to clean drinking water, sewage disposal and storm water drain connections. Newly incorporated villages are observed to have ‘slum-like’ conditions.		
Jhuggijhopri	33 clusters in 7 areas	21,600	74 acre
	Clusters of ‘unplanned’ hutments that are scattered in different parts of the city.		
Areas with poor living conditions	Unauthorised (<i>aniyath</i> and <i>asambadh</i>) colonies with no pucca roads and social amenities; and areas with poor water supply and sewage disposal which is exacerbated by settlement in low lying areas.		
Newly incorporated villages with slum-like conditions	No definition or enumeration associated with this category.		

Source: IDP 1991 and YUVA analysis 2017

1/The term *kuccha* has been defined variously by different planning instruments. This study addresses the same in later chapters.

2/The term *pucca* has been defined variously by different planning instruments. This study addresses the same in later chapters.

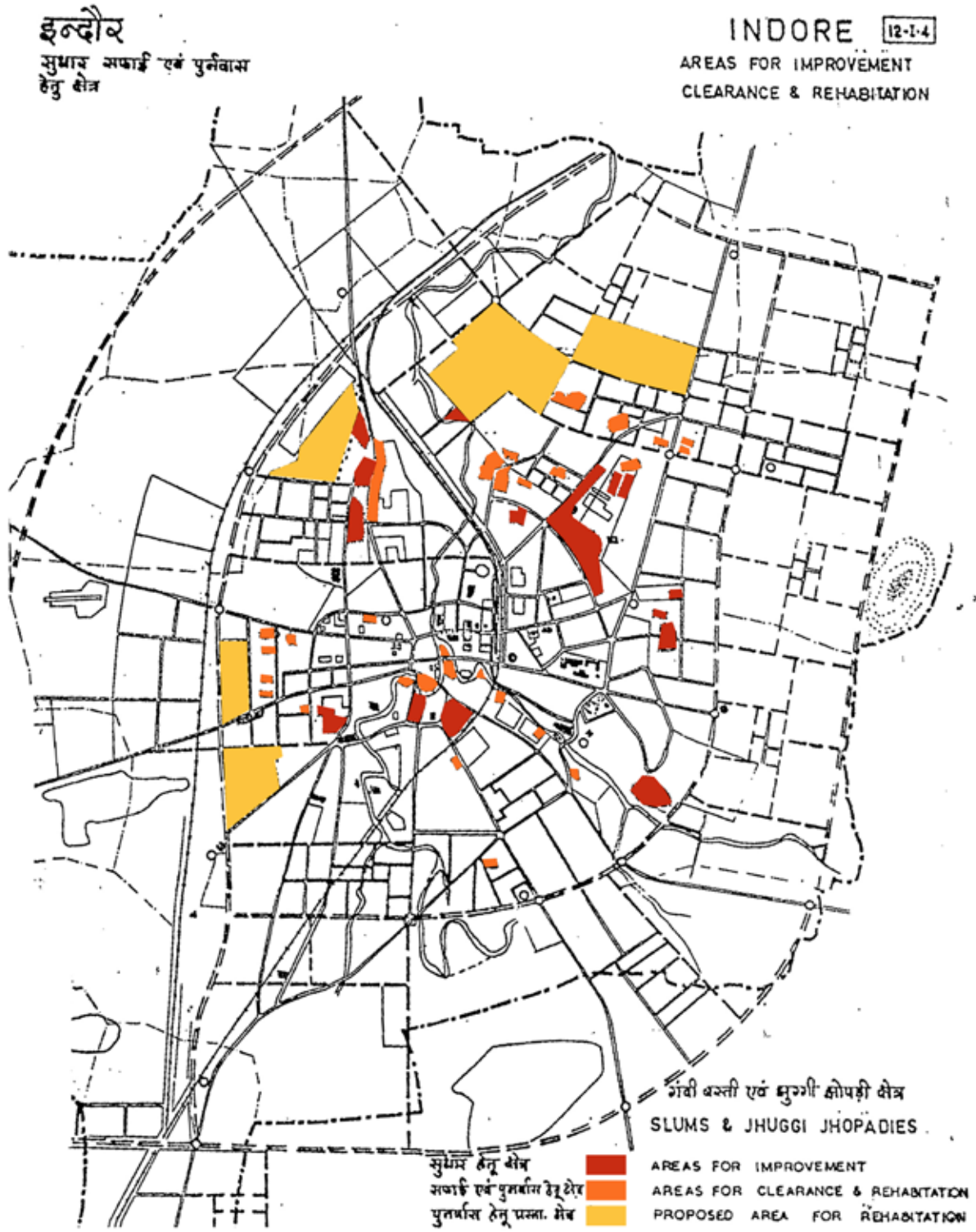
Map 2.2 | Map of slum areas and jhuggi jhopri clusters listed in IDP 1991



Map not to scale

Source: Indore Development Plan 1991

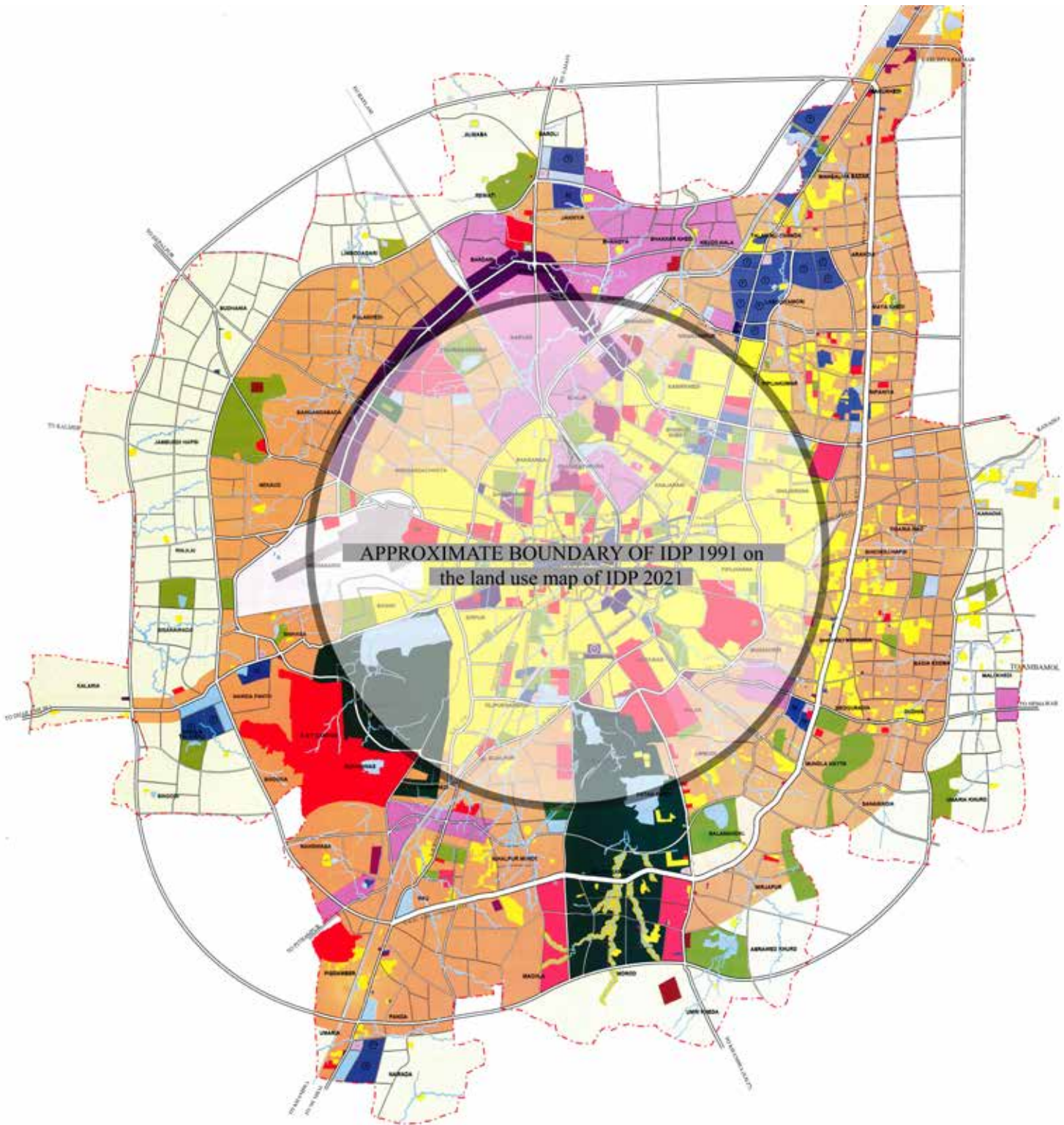
Map 2.3 | Map of interventions proposed for slum areas in IDP 1991



Map 2.3 | Map of interventions proposed for slum areas in IDP 1991

Map not to scale

Map 2.4 | Area of IDP 1991 as an overlay on IDP 2021



Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, edited for YUVA-IIHS study 2017-19

Map not to scale

Indore Development Plan 2021

Enumeration:

Moving away from the slum categorization in the Indore Development Plan 1991 that was based on provision of services and form, the Indore Development Plan 2021 divides 'slums' into three categories based on ownership of land —slums settled on public land, slums settled on private land and slums settled by developers on

their private land. It mentions a total of 637 slums in which, the report observes, 50 per cent families live in tenements less than 350 sq ft in area and 17.9 per cent families live on rent.

While the IDP 2021 report notes that there are 637 'slums' in Indore, only 488 are mapped as part of the report (refer Map. 6.4). Of the 488, Table 6.6 depicts the distribution of settlements on different land use.

Table 2.6 | *Depicting the distribution of settlements on different land use*

LAND USE AS PER IDP 2021 (EXISTING AND PROPOSED)	NO. OF SLUMS	AS A % OF 488 SLUMS
Residential	322	65.98%
Commercial	6	1.22%
Industrial	29	5.94%
Transportation (slums adjoining/over arterial roads have been included)	49	10.04%
Public/Semi-public	16	3.27%
Public Utility	1	0.20%
Regional Park	12	2.45%
Other Green Zones	8	1.63%
Mixed Use	45	9.22%

The report takes stock of previous attempts to intervene into 'slums' including:

1. Integrated city development programme by IMC and UNICEF, 1983–1987
2. UNICEF programme for provision of basic services, 1987–1994
3. City wide sanitation programme by Overseas Development Administration (ODA) and Indore Development Authority (IDA), 1989-1997

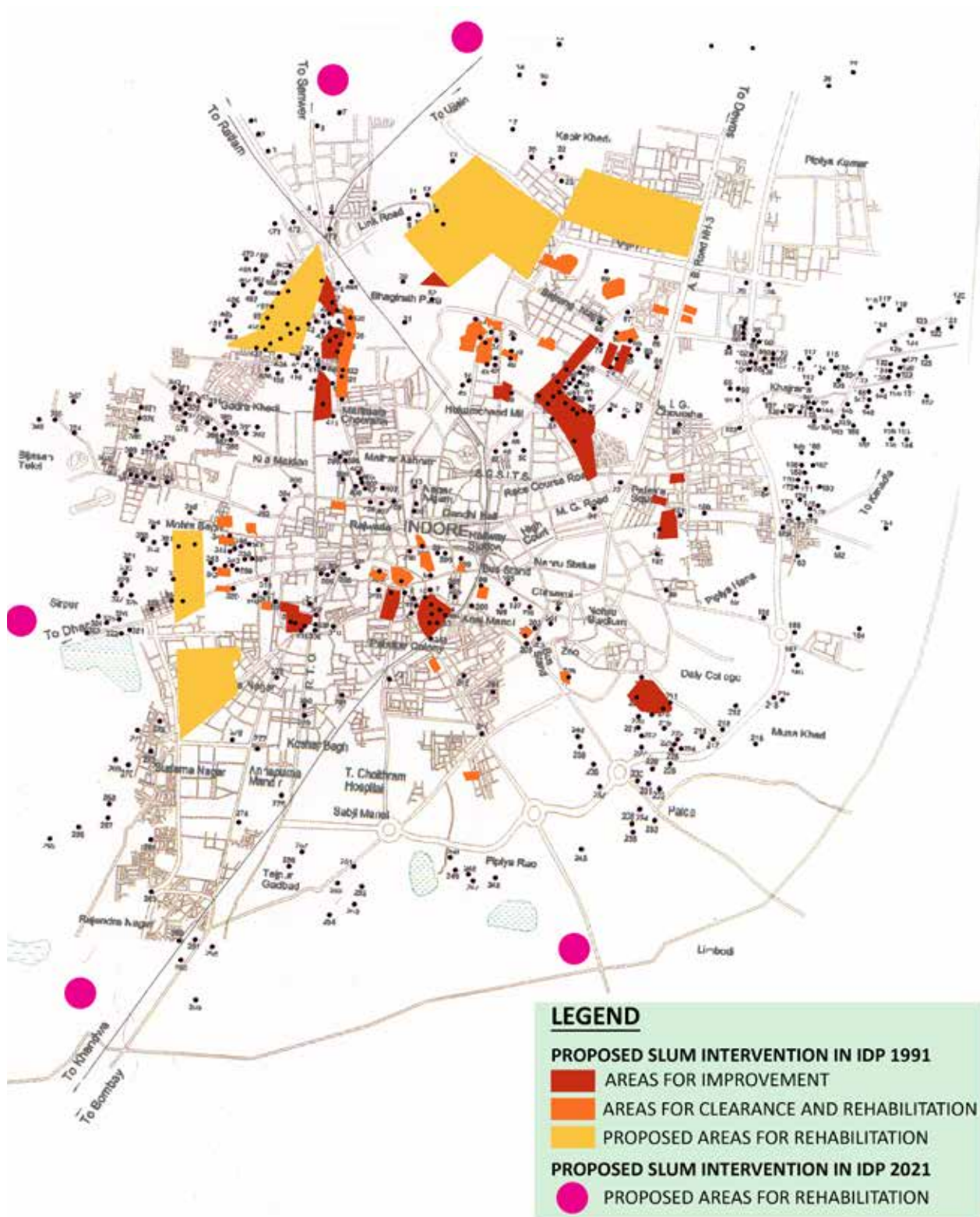
The report observes that the failure of these programmes is on account of setting impossible goals, not converging

with efforts of non-governmental organisations and not taking people's needs and aspirations into account.

Proposals for Intervention: It proposes four approaches for future intervention:

1. Amending current construction practices along with drafting and implementing zoning regulations.
2. Reservation and development of land for economically weaker sections (EWS)
3. Improvement of environment and provision of public amenities in 'slums'
4. Eradication of 'slums' and rehabilitation of evicted families

Map 2.6 | Overlay of slum intervention proposals of IDP 1991 and IDP 2021 on slum locations map from IDP 2021



Map not to scale

ANALYSIS FROM REVIEW OF THE INDORE DEVELOPMENT PLANS, IDP 1991 AND IDP 2021

IDP 1991:

1. Tracing the settlements listed in IDP 1991 across different 'slum' lists, maps, and narratives from field revealed that households and communities from some of the listed settlements, in case of relocation, have been observed to be living in other settlements under a different name listed in a latter 'slum' list, marked for a new set of interventions.
2. A map of the proposals listed under IDP 1991 (refer Maps 2.2 and 2.3) shows a spatial distribution of 'slums' that is similar for those marked for clearance and those marked for improvement. The sites proposed for relocation of cleared 'slums', on the other hand, form a ring to the periphery along the proposed ring road.
3. The map of proposals (refer Maps 2.2 and 2.3) also shows all the riverside 'slums' as being marked for clearance. However, the Slum Networking Program by the IDA along with the British ODA, implemented in 1989—within the period of implementation of IDP 1991 (refer Fig 2.1)—considered 183 'slums' for on-site upgradation, including 'slums' on the river bank. The project report makes no reference to IDP 1991 and its approach towards 'slums'. Instead, it states that the project envisions to build on the leaseholds distributed by the Patta Act, 1984 and that 'tenure is vital in any slum rehabilitation' (Ekram, 1998).

IDP 2021:

1. The greatest proportion, 65.98 per cent, of the 488 'slums' mapped in the IDP 2021 slum map are falling inside land marked for residential use—both current and proposed.
2. The report of IDP 2021 lists three projects implemented in collaboration with ODA and the UNICEF as past attempts to intervene into 'slums' and gives reasons for their 'failure'. The report, however, does not list IDP 1991 as one of the past attempts to intervene into 'slums', nor does it comment on the efficiency or sustenance of its proposals.
3. While the report mentions non-convergence as one of the reasons for failure of the listed internationally funded projects, the proposals listed by IDP 2021 neither recognise the prevailing

infrastructure and securities enabled by these projects and the tenancy laws, nor do they propose convergence in the future.

4. As part of the four proposals listed for intervention into 'slums', the report recommends both improvement of environment in 'slums' and eradication of 'slums' without making a distinction in terms of conditions for applying either of the recommendations.

Findings from an Overlay Analysis of IDP 1991 and IDP 2021:

1. Areas proposed for slum rehabilitation form concentric rings near the fringe of respective Development Plan areas moving the locations farther from the core each time.
2. A review of slum lists of both plans reveal that slums marked for intervention in IDP 1991 were either not intervened into or they were rehabilitated only to reappear in the slum list of IDP 2021. This can also be observed from the slum locations from IDP 2021 that populate the intervention areas from IDP 1991.
3. As illustrated, in the planning timeline in Fig 2.1, during the 17 year drafting period for IDP 2021 two internationally financed slum infrastructure projects through UNICEF and World Bank were implemented. Slums along the Khan River and in proximity to the core were marked for infrastructure development under these projects. However, these settlements reappear in the IDP 2021 slum list.
4. A comparison of proposals for 'slums' by the IDP 1991 and IDP 2021 shows that both plans had similar ways in which they conceived planning for slums. Both proposed zoning regulations, amendment of construction practices, reserving land for the poor, evictions and rehabilitation. Where they significantly differed was that in the 1991 plan rehabilitation was mandated to be close to the original settlement and upgradation of services was seen as part of the process.
5. The difference in vocabulary used for rationalising the proposals in the two plans demonstrates the changing imagination of 'slums' and residents of 'slums'. The IDP 1991 refers to eviction as an economic, social and emotional hindrance to be considered as a last option whereas, IDP 2021 refers to eradication of slums as one of the four

possible solutions, even as it refers to indifference to the needs and aspirations of people as one of the reasons for failure of previous intervention into 'slums'.

2.2.4.3 Centrally Sponsored Schemes

Like most cities in India, Indore is a site of centrally sponsored schemes for housing and infrastructure since 2001. 'Slums' are a focus area especially in those providing housing. Under different schemes, nearly 40 'slum' rehabilitation sites were developed in Indore since 2005, with 38 more in the pipeline under current schemes.

Rehabilitation under these schemes was done both in-situ and through relocation. The relocation component, presented later in the chapter, amounts for a majority of 'slum' rehabilitation. While tenability is projected as the deciding factor between the two approaches, financial viability plays an equally important role. Tenability has been established in terms of land requirement for public purpose as well as hazardous

living conditions. The definition and imagination of 'slums' plays a very important role in these decisions. Viability, on the other hand, is deduced as a function of willingness of private participation, additionally driven by the popular narrative that 'slums' lock the value of occupied land which needs to be freed for realisation of its potential. Case studies detailing the same have been discussed in Chapter 2.3.

Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) and Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)

VAMBAY, launched in 2001, was the first centrally sponsored housing scheme in the city, followed by JNNURM, launched in 2005, which undertook construction of affordable housing as part of its components, Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP). Occupation of these sites, however, began only in late 2015 under Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY), after the termination of JNNURM in 2014.

Slum Free City Plan (SFCP) for Indore Metropolitan

Table 2.7 | Comparison of centrally sponsored housing schemes in Indore

	VAMBAY	BSUP	PMAY
Period	2001–2005	2005–2014	2015–current
Sites/houses	7	5	Under construction (refer Table 6.8 for more details)
Typology	G+1 buildings Floor area of dwelling unit: 25sqm	G+2 to G+4 buildings Floor area of dwelling unit: 30sqm	G+9 structures Floor area of dwelling unit: 30sqm
Site design	Only EWS components	Only EWS components.	EWS, LIG and MIG components.
Tenure	Occupation certificate, that can be registered after repayment of loan	Occupation certificate, that can be registered after repayment of loan	Occupation certificate, that can be registered after repayment of loan (for ISSR and AHP verticals)
Approach	Only for 'slum' residents, upgradation is an option	Housing as basic service, upgradation is an option	"Slums" separated from upgradation options through tenure mandates. Tenability and viability of 'slums' and relevant interventions are a determining factor.

Area, 2013

Preceding the launch of Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) in 2009, States and Union Territories prepared Slum Free City Plans (SFCPs) for select cities to identify housing need and lay down a plan of action. Indore Municipal Corporation (IMC) prepared the SFCP for Indore Metropolitan Area in 2013 for the same. While RAY was never implemented in Indore, PMAY guidelines direct the use of SFCPs to inform planning and implementation.

The SFCP lists 599 settlements from the IMC list of 712 notified 'slums', arguing that the remaining are a result of duplication. The document presents the findings of a city-level and a settlement-level survey of the 599 slums across various indicators

Review of SFCP of Indore Metropolitan Area, 2013:

1. 74.15 per cent of the 599 'slums' are either entirely or partially on lands demarcated for residential use.
2. 60.27 per cent 'slums' are on land owned by the state and local government.
3. 410 'slums' of the 599 (68.44 per cent) are on 'non-hazardous' locations of which 88.3 per cent 'slums' have either predominantly secure or semi-secure tenure as defined by SFCP.
4. 28.56 per cent 'slum' households have house water connection and another 26.08 per cent source water from public standposts.
5. 84.95 per cent slum households have in-house toilets connected to the city-wide sewerage system,

with only 5 per cent of these connected to open drains.

6. 53.81 per cent total road length is covered by stormwater drains.

These findings show high percentage of tenable slums with gaps in access to basic services. While in-situ upgradation or rehabilitation would be suitable solutions, especially given the recommendations in IDP 2021, planning and implementation of PMAY, SCM and the Swachh Bharat Mission that came into effect post 2014, took an opposite approach to slum housing.

Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, 2015

Status of Planning

Launched in 2015, PMAY is the current centrally sponsored housing scheme in Indore. The scheme generated a 'slum' list as part of its plan of action, including 646 settlements. The first phase of the implementation was planned in one site for in-situ slum rehabilitation (ISSR) and three sites under for affordable housing in partnership (AHP). Nineteen settlements from the 'slum' list have been selected for rehabilitation in these sites. The second phase of the project is planned in seven sites of AHP which will rehabilitate 38 settlements from the 'slum' list. Details of the remaining phases of PMAY are not in the public domain.

Status of Implementation:

Table 2.8 | Detailing plans for phase I and II of PMAY implementation in Indore

PHASE	ISSR SITES PLANNED	AHP SITES PLANNED	SETTLEMENTS FROM 'SLUM' LIST	FOR IN-SITU REHABILITATION	FOR RELOCATION
Phase I	4 (1 sanctioned)	3 (sanctioned as 1 project)	18	7	11
Phase II (sanctioning unknown)	0	7	38	0	38

Source: RTI

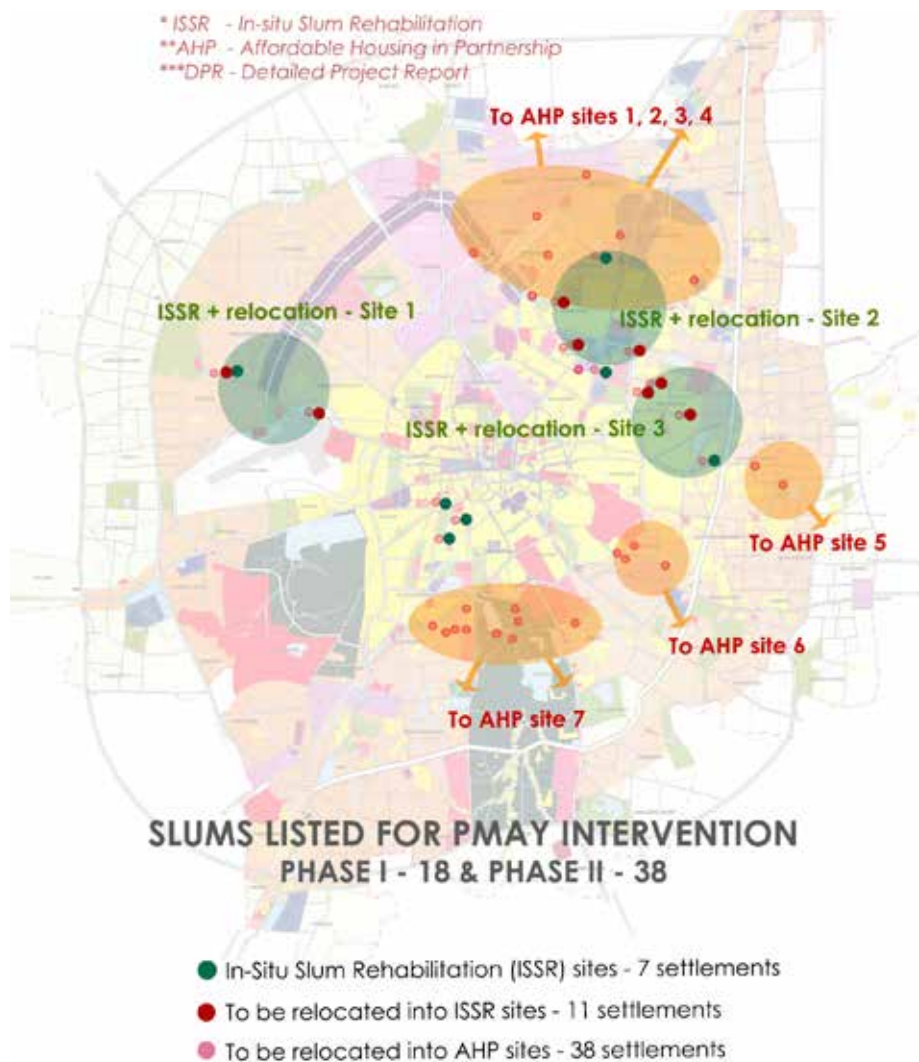
In the early months of its launch, close to 12 settlements of different sizes were relocated to four sites developed under BSUP and one transit camp under phase I. The size of displaced groups varies between single families displaced from road widening under the SCM and settlements as large as 1,400 families displaced from the river bank following a High Court order to clear encroachments (refer 2.3.1 for details). The distance of relocation varies between zero to 12km.

The design of guidelines of the four scheme verticals is that two verticals that can ensure in-situ upgradation—beneficiary led construction (BLC) and

credit linked subsidy scheme (CLSS) —limit their benefits to applicants with tenure recognised by state and local governments. In Indore, local bodies selectively overlook or reject tenure rights given to slums such as pattas (individual land title) and EWS land reservation (commonly known as 15 per cent) through misinformation during demand surveys.

Such practices directly and indirectly impose relocation of settlements in the 'slum' list through the other two verticals, ISSR and AHP, while alienating them from benefits such as financial subsidy for upgradation offered by the BLC and CLSS components.

Map 2.7 | Slums marked under the ISSR and AHP verticals of PMAY and their sites of rehabilitation



Source: IDP 2021, RTI (details), edited for YUVA-IIHS study 2017-19

Map not to scale

Smart Cities Mission (SCM)

Planning:

Indore was one of the 20 cities selected for Phase I of SCM. The city chose three approaches to implement the mission—Area Based Development (ABD) through retrofitting, redevelopment and pan-city development. The ABD component has been planned for the central historical precinct, the redevelopment component on certain pockets of public land and pan-city development across the municipal corporation area.

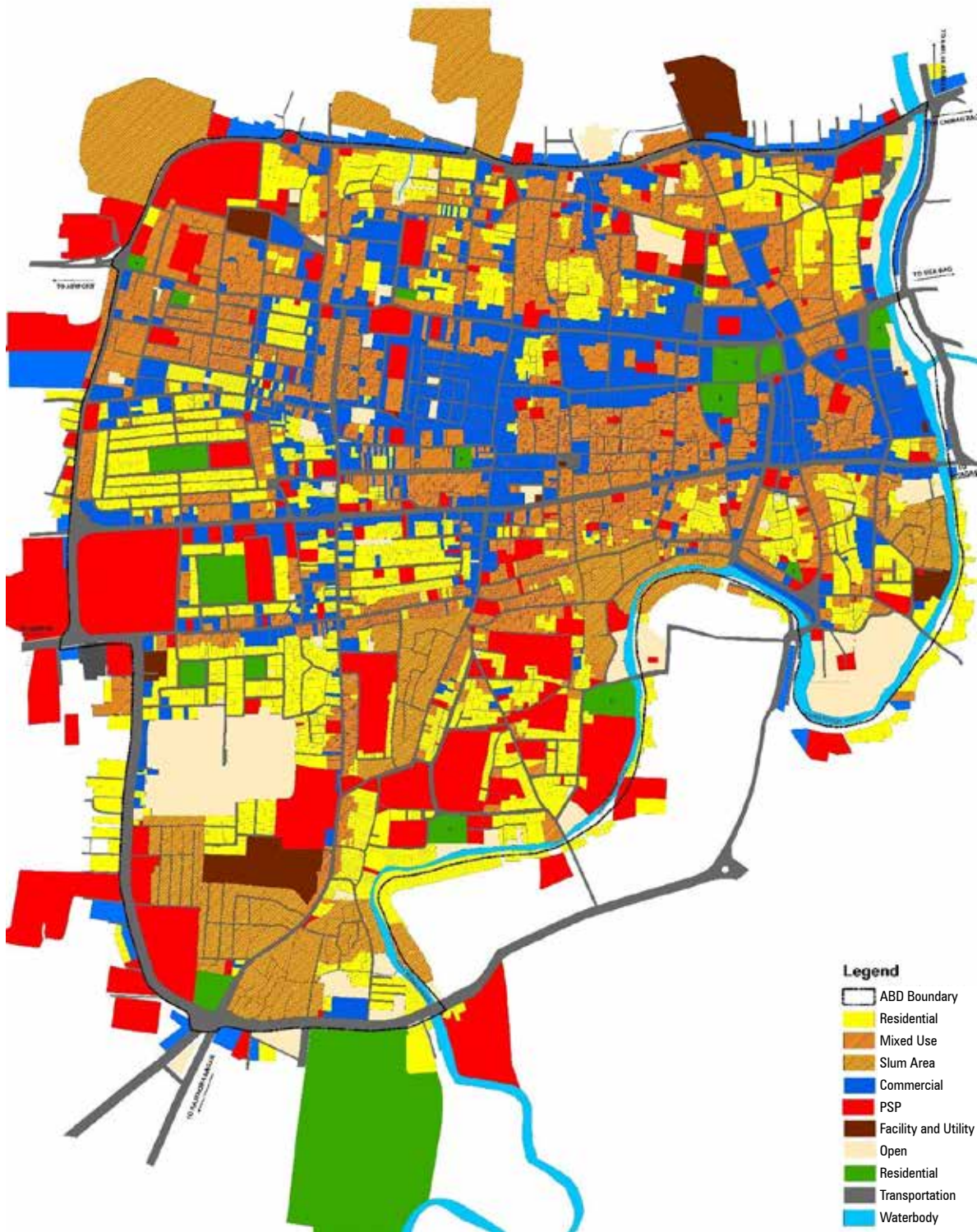
SCM and Slums: The Master Plan (“Smart City Indore,” n.d.) for the ABD component shows 10 distinct ‘slum’ pockets inside the demarcated area of 272.2 hectare. In the proposed land-use, these pockets are shown to be transformed to uses such as open areas, pedestrian zones, riverfront development, transit zone and redevelopment with green buildings.

According to the proposal for the redevelopment component (“Smart City Indore,” n.d.) the area demarcated for redevelopment comprises of 101.36 acres of ‘slum land’ and 63.09 acres of ‘non-slum land’. The plan proposes that the settlements on ‘slum land’ will be redeveloped using PMAY guidelines and the surplus land along with the ‘non-slum land’ will be used for high-density mixed-use development with green building concepts, open spaces, clean infrastructure. It, however, does not specify which component under PMAY will be applied or the status of these settlements in terms of tenure and infrastructure.

Implementation:

The process of making land available for mission implementation is taking the support of provisions in other regulations, especially those that authorise clearance of ‘slums’. Families thus dishoused are then identified as beneficiaries to be rehabilitated under housing schemes like the PMAY. In this manner, the question of tenure is being addressed by Acts and court orders, like the High Court order following the National Green Tribunal Act, 2010 to clear riverside encroachments, while the scheme is projected as a provider of ‘clean’ infrastructure addressing the ‘problem’ of encroaching and unhygienic ‘slums’. This pattern has been detailed with examples in section 2.3 of the report.

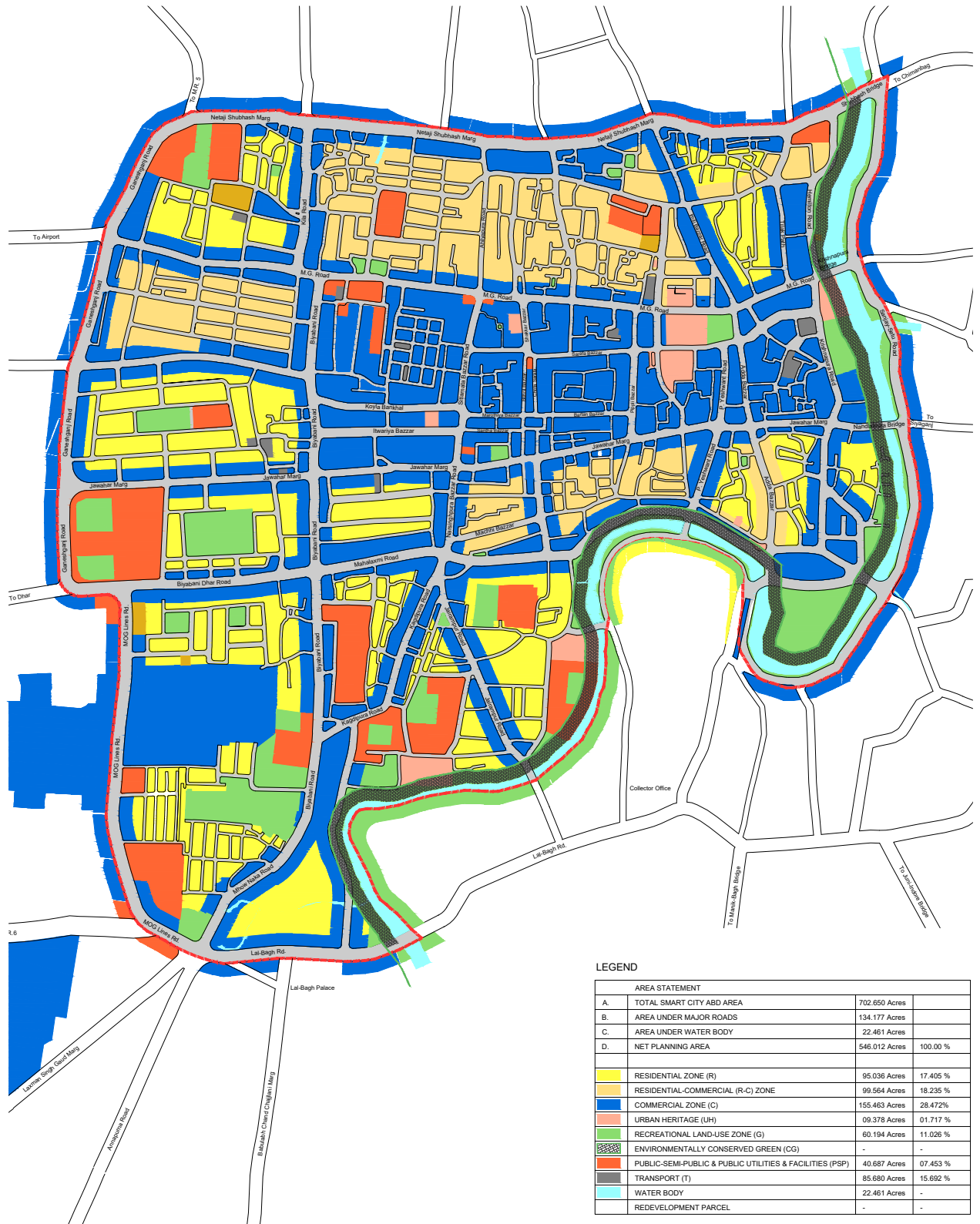
Map 2.8 | Existing map of core city area demarcated for Area Based Development under Smart Cities Mission



Sourced from <https://www.smartcityindore.org/existing-scenario/>

Map not to scale

Map 2.9 | Proposed plan for core city area demarcated for Area Based Development under Smart Cities Mission



Source: <https://www.smartcityindore.org/proposed-master-plan/>

Map not to scale

2.2.5 FINDINGS FROM SECONDARY DATA REVIEW

Overview:

As seen from Fig 2.1, urban planning in Indore and its treatment of slums has seen distinct stages in the six decades after independence. The detailed exploration of planning instruments from each phase in the sub-sections of this chapter demonstrate the prevalent conception of development and a consequent imagination of rights of the marginalised from each phase, extracted from the vision of planning and its implication on status of 'slums'.

From the notes on current status of provisions of these instruments, the stigma recognised in the town planning report from 1918 by Patrick Geddes surrounding 'slums' and its recommendation to the city to deconstruct this imagination to arrive at solutions that scope beyond evictions and excessive supply of inadequate housing seems just as relevant today, if not more.

IDP 1974–1991:

The first development plan of Indore, IDP 1974–91, reflected the straitjacketed understanding of 'slums' as conceived by the Slum Areas Act, 1956. Its approach to 'slums' as defined spatial units of deprivation recommended interventions for improvement or clearance of this 'problem' (samasya). However, similar to vocabulary surrounding rights and poverty in this period, it expresses concern for the social, economic and emotional 'hindrance' caused by evictions and recommends that relocation, if needed at all, keeps intact socio-economic ties.

During the period of its implementation, IDP 1991 was joined with strong tenancy laws by the government of Madhya Pradesh as well as 'slum' infrastructure development projects in collaboration with international institutions. The visions of these projects reflected the Plan's concern for social, economic and emotional wellbeing of people, as demonstrated by their focus on tenure security, improvement of environment and strengthening access to basic services and amenities, as opposed to eradication, relocation and rehabilitation, which they clearly articulate as well and practice as the last and least favoured option.

Tenancy Laws and 'Slum' Infrastructure Projects from the Last Decade of the Twentieth Century:

The Slum Networking project by IDA and ODA from 1989–1997 emphasised on strengthening tenure security and improving their environment through an integrated sanitation project. Apart from two low-lying 'slums' out of the 183 listed for the project, all the 'slums' were intervened in-situ. The list of 183 'slums' prepared for the project also included the 35 'slums' listed under IDP 1991 for clearance and improvement.

Similarly, the Patta Act, 1984 (refer 2.2.4.1) granted leaseholds to landless families on the site of occupation, including those living in riverside 'slums', almost all of which have been marked for clearance in IDP 1991. This shows a trend of planning instruments parallel to the Master Plan, strengthening its vision and even circumventing its limited recommendations for this purpose.

Relocation during this period and in the early years after the completion of IDP 1991 was done into plots of land which were later developed by the residents. Provisions of tenure to the relocated families was provided through instruments like the M.P. Nagar Palika Rules 1998, which reserved land for the EWS with minimal or no contribution from the families (refer 2.2.4.2) or the Patta Act.

Lessons from the Twentieth Century Planning Processes in Indore:

These tenure and infrastructural provisions can be considered as planning with foresight for inclusive urbanisation, for their scope for distribution of urban land and resources to the marginalised and the agency they grant to mobilise for rights to the city.

However, the 'slum' infrastructure projects and tenancy laws from this period should be also be read for their shortcomings including their lack of efficiency in implementation, absence of follow up procedures to consolidate their provisions and lack of maintenance and upgradation of infrastructure. These oversights caused irreversible gaps in the realisation of their vision in the form of severe hardships to families due to lack of access to services and amenities in the early years of relocation, wasteful remnants of infrastructure paving way for more such installations under newer schemes and growing insignificance of

tenure securities for lack of progression into stronger rights on land and housing.

IDP 2008-2021:

With the twenty-first century came both the IDP 2008–2021 and the centrally sponsored schemes for housing and infrastructure. The IDP 2021, moving away from the slum categorisation in the IDP 1991 that was based on provision of services and form, divided 'slums' into three categories based on land ownership. It suggested upgradation as well as eviction and rehabilitation, with no emphasis on proximity of the relocation site—a specification made in the IDP 1991 report. The report expressed no concern similar to that articulated in its predecessor regarding the hindrance of evictions, retaining the sentiment, however, that 'slums' are a 'problem' to be tackled.

The sites identified in IDP 2021 for relocation of evicted 'slums' are farther from the previously peripheral locations marked in IDP 1991. Adding to this, these sites are marked as indicative points with no reference to location and surroundings as opposed to the clear demarcation of area in IDP 1991.

Centrally Sponsored Schemes and the Transition from Citizens to 'Beneficiaries':

The first two centrally sponsored schemes for housing, VAMBAY and BSUP under JNNURM, implemented between 2001–2014, adhered to the recommendations in IDP 2021 for upgradation along with relocation and rehabilitation to multi-storey buildings near the periphery. However, the period since 2014 under the influence of PMAY and SCM has seen a complete shift towards rehabilitation in the name of unlocking the potential of valuable urban land encroached upon by 'slums'.

To complete the transition from legal safeguards to scheme benefits, all previous tenure and infrastructural provisions along with the legacy of laws and the history of people's mobilisation for access have been erased through various measures. These included the listing of settlements under the umbrella of 'slums' in need of homogenous intervention through rehabilitation irrespective of their status, overwriting existing benefits by misinformed registration into new ones under the scheme and disproving tenability with the help of selective application of laws attributing

criminality, illegal occupation of public land and encroachment into environmentally sensitive zones.

The lack of recognition in IDP 2021 of tenure and infrastructural safeguards available with 'slums', neither in the propositions nor in the land-use maps, has enabled this erasure to proceed un-checked and propelled the city into a new phase of planning that is directed not by local needs outlined by constitutionally mandated decentralised instruments like the Master Plans and Acts, but by centrally sponsored schemes and supporting non-representative models of governance.

2.3. CASE STUDIES

In this section, four case studies have been detailed which will demonstrate the findings from the secondary review of planning instruments as manifest in 'slums' in Indore. Each of the four cases traverses the planning timeline (refer Fig 2.1) with experiences contextually shaping the 'slum' and planning relationship. They exemplify histories of settlement in Indore, their location in the process of urbanisation, the articulation of their legality during different phases of planning, the politics of legitimisation and their current status corroborating the observations regarding centralised planning instruments.

2.3.1 CHANDRA PRABHA SHEKHAR NAGAR (C. P. SHEKHAR NAGAR)

Land Clearance for Smart Cities Mission

In the 1950s, C. P. Shekhar Nagar began settling along the Khan River, growing to a size of nearly 1,500 families by 2015. The families belong predominantly to the Matang community who are a scheduled caste, and derive their livelihood from waste-collection, segregation, sale and processing.

IDP 1991 listed C. P. Shekhar Nagar as a jhuggi-jhopri cluster proposed for clearance and rehabilitation. The site proposed for rehabilitation was located in the adjacent planning unit, nine. In 1976, two years after the commencement of IDP 1991, 600–700 families were given cards under the Gandhi Basti Unmulan Abhiyan, but the clearance never took place. Instead, in 1984, around 1,000 families received leasehold rights for 30 years under the Patta Act, which was again renewed in 2003 for 30 more years. Only in 1995, the

year the first Master Plan ended, 200 families were evicted and resettled to south western and northern fringes of the city at that time.

Additionally, between 1989 and 1997, the settlement received piped water supply, sewerage connection, roads and social amenities through the Slum Networking project by the IDA and the ODA. The overlay analysis of 'slum' locations over the land-use map of IDP 2021 (refer Map 2.5) shows that C. P. Shekhar Nagar is located on land reserved for residential use.

With the 30 year leaseholds from the provisions of the Patta Act renewed in 2003, the infrastructural development from the Slum Networking project and the land reservation for residential use in the IDP 2021, C. P. Shekhar Nagar is a legal and authorised settlement with infrastructure for access to basic services.

In 2014, however, responding to Kishore Deepak Kodwani vs State of M.P. and Ors., the National Green Tribunal, Bhopal, ordered the clearance of encroachments on the Khan and Saraswati riverbeds. Following this order, all the households of C. P. Shekhar Nagar were evicted in October 2015. The settlement is one of the very few 'encroachments' cleared, leaving many others untouched.

The evicted households were then relocated as part of the AHP vertical under PMAY to multi-storey buildings constructed under BSUP, located to the north-western fringe of the city 10 km away from the site of eviction.

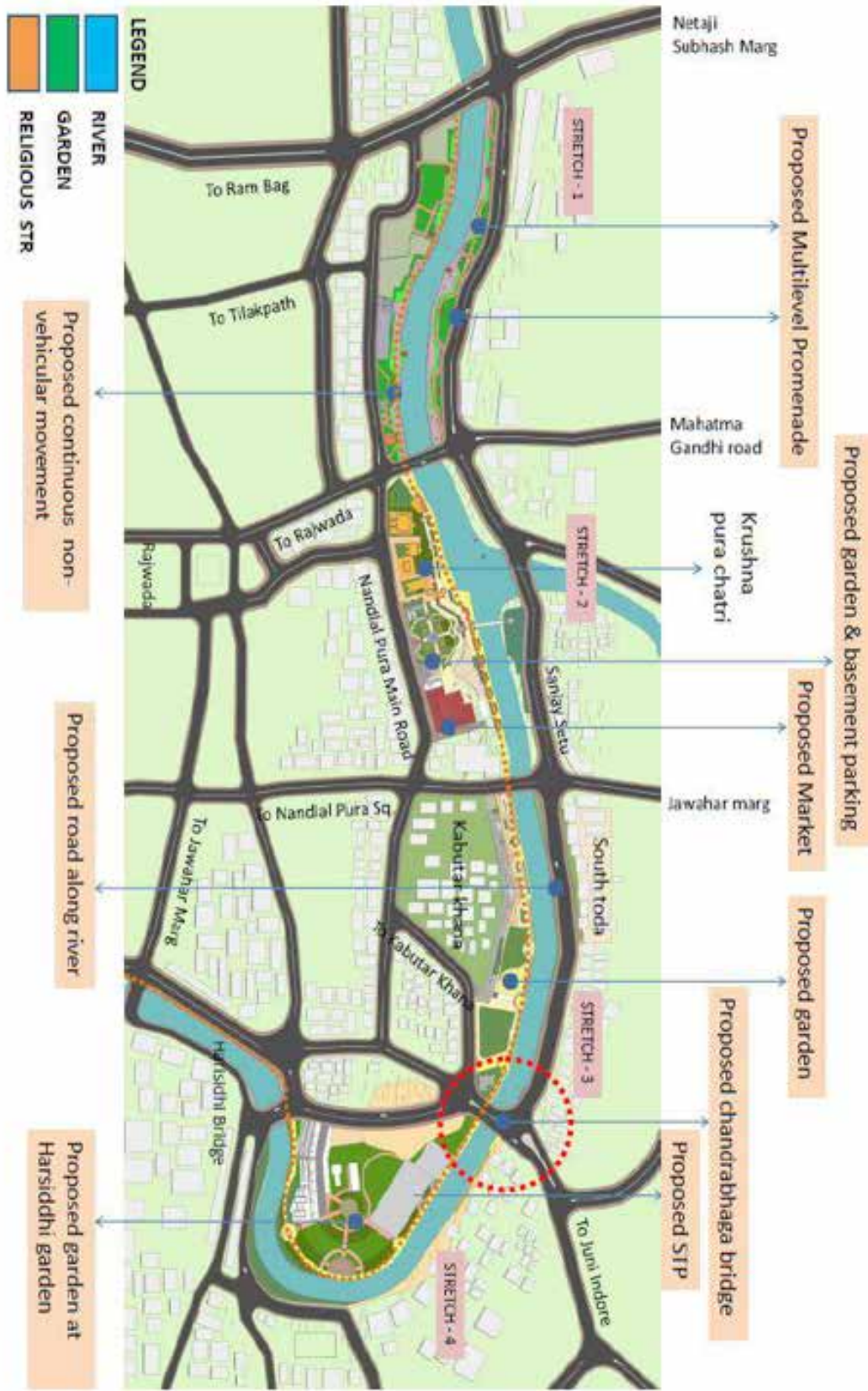
In August 2015, three months before the eviction and relocation, as part of the proposal for the Smart Cities Challenge for which Indore was shortlisted, the C. P. Shekhar Nagar site was marked for riverfront development to be executed in phase I. When probed about the relationship between the phasing and the eviction, an official in the PMAY nodal office denied that there is one and that C. P. Shekhar Nagar was prioritised among the riverside evictions on account of the 'criminality' of its residents.

The methods used for eviction and relocation of these households systematically negate tenure and

infrastructure secured for C. P. Shekhar Nagar over three decades. A constitutionally protected leasehold on a valuable piece of centrally located land was first legally contested as untenable, hence setting it up for transfer. It was then exchanged for an occupation certificate (khabja patra) that can only be registered upon payment of 'beneficiary' contribution under PMAY. The investment in infrastructure and home construction, both by the state and the residents has been lost under replacement by new constructions with relatively inadequate and inaccessible services and amenities under new schemes.

This case study demonstrates that while the efforts of tenancy laws and the Slum Networking Project circumvent IDP 1991 to enable stronger safeguards for the rights of the marginalised to the city, the centrally sponsored schemes circumvent provisions of IDP 2021, in this case the settlement's location on residential land-use, to weaken the same and displace them to the periphery on conditional rights to land and housing.

Fig 2.2 | Smart Cities Mission Plan for riverfront development in the core area



Source: www.smartcityindore.org

Map not to scale

2.3.2. BUDDHA NAGAR (KRISHNAPURA PUL BEFORE RELOCATION)

Elite Violation of Master Plan

Krishnapura Pul was among the seven jhuggi-jhopri clusters along the Khan River bank, marked for clearance and relocation in IDP 1991. According to the development plan report, the settlement was proposed to be relocated to planning unit six to the south east, adjacent to a proposed major city road MR1. However, the families were relocated to an unplanned site to the south west in planning unit 11, adjacent to a proposed ring road RW1, to be developed as Buddha Nagar.

In 2004, 800 dwelling units in Buddha Nagar, located towards the proposed ring road RW1 were evicted to make land available for its construction. These families were moved to houses built under Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY), away from the proposed ring road on the other side of the settlement. The ring road, however, was never completed. Instead, a row of bungalows were later constructed on the cleared land.

Overlaying the IDP 2021 land use map over a Google Earth image of Indore, one can see that the proposed ring road now takes a sharper curve away from the site of newly constructed bungalows. The site of remaining dwelling units of Buddha Nagar as well as that of the cleared ones with the bungalows are shown as reserved under residential use (refer Fig 2.3).

In spite of this reservation, the remaining families in Buddha Nagar were relocated in 2015 as part of the AHP vertical under PMAY to multi-storey buildings constructed under BSUP five kilometre and twelve kilometre away. The bungalows, on the other hand, remain as authorised constructions legitimised post development.

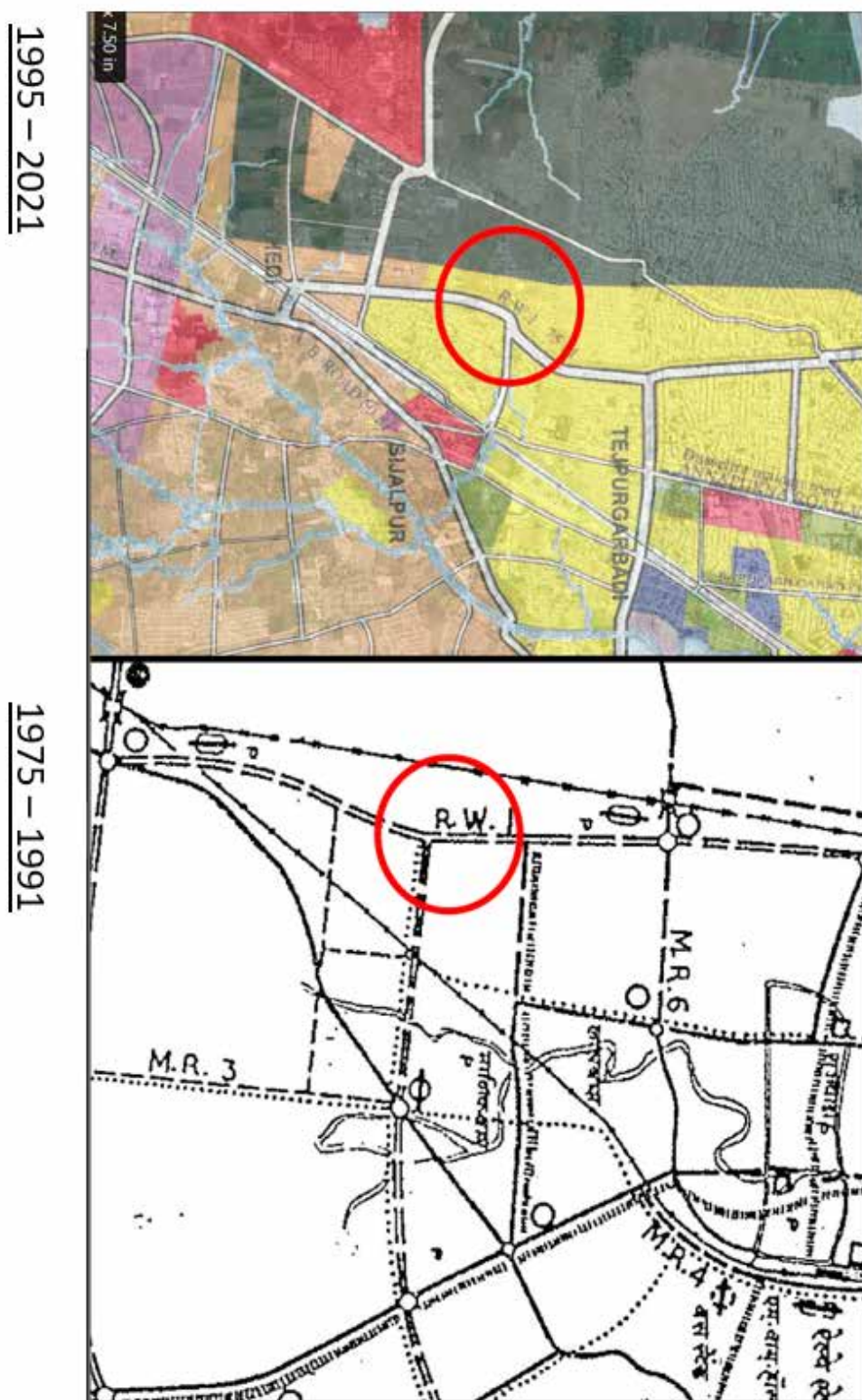
The evicted families recount the PMAY demand survey as an 'Aadhaar survey'. They have no recollection of being informed of the loan that they will have to repay to be given title documents for the new flat, nor are they aware of losing their leasehold rights on land in Buddha Nagar by availing benefits under PMAY.

In a slight variation from the previous case study the pattas of Buddha Nagar residents are delegitimised through misinformed transfers with no need for

support from other instruments. This transfer is enabled without obstruction though selective omission of information on both loss of leasehold and the conditions that apply for availing the promised subsidised housing under PMAY.

Most importantly, the Buddha Nagar case demonstrates the selective legitimisation of unauthorised elite development. It is even more significant considering that they were legitimised on the same site from where 'slum' households were previously evicted for the same violation of Master Plan. Adding to the subjective and selective nature of enforcing Master Plan reservations is the fact that the reservation existed during the time of resettlement of the 'slum' into the same site two decades ago.

Fig 2.3 | IDP 1991 and 2001 land use maps concurrent to Buddha Nagar's location showing the change in alignment of the proposed Ring Road



Source: IDP 2021 and IDP 1991, edited for the Urban Fellows Program 2017–18 study on Master Plan Violations in Indore.

Map not to scale

2.3.3. AHIR KHEDI

State Violation of Master Plan

In the proposed area for development under IDP 2021, two zones surrounding the Sirpur and Fatan tanks to the south and south-west, are marked as regional parks. Being close to the periphery and to water bodies, these zones are also home to many migrant settlements. Settled on a thin strip of land between farmlands, they are colloquially called *kankads*, after the landforms they occupy.

Due to the regional park reservation, these settlements on the *kaankads*, appearing in various 'slum' lists are under threat of eviction. Noted in the PMAY slum list, they are proposed to be relocated to sites outside the planning boundary, under the AHP vertical of the scheme. On the other hand, the regional park reservation around Sirpur tank is also the site to multi-storey rehabilitation structures constructed under Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) – the Ahirkhedi multi (colloquial term for multistorey buildings in rehabilitation sites).

Flats in the Ahir Khedi BSUP site are allotted to families relocated from five different 'slums' under PMAY, three of which were on lands reserved for residential use, one from a regional park reservation and one is a *kaankad* evicted from the same site as BSUP structures. A site relocated from land on residential reservation to the Ahir Khedi BSUP is Buddha Nagar from case study 2.3.2.

The Ahir Khedi case exemplifies state violation of the master plan for rehabilitating 'slums' which are allegedly 'violating' various planning provisions. Significant in this case study is the observation of shifting 'slums' from authorised (in that they are not violating the land-use as per Master Plan) and legal (in that they hold *pattas*) condition to such tenure and legal status which could be interrogated in future for 'violation' of master plan and other planning instruments. This sets the stage for recurrence of cases of eviction from sites of legitimate resettlement by state, similar to Buddha Nagar from case study 2.3.2.

2.3.4. TRENDS OBSERVED FROM REVIEW OF CASE STUDIES

1. All three cases show a systemic erasure of earlier planning provisions both to clear and acquire land and to fit the 'slums' and their needs into the framework of the newer centrally sponsored schemes, even if it means ignoring decades long investment and development and replacing it with a completely new layer of the same at higher cost to both state and residents and lower adequacy.
2. While the first case exemplifies dissolution of patta leasehold with the support of a law that delegitimises it, the second and third cases demonstrate the same using misinformation during demand surveys (refer Fig 4.1) that exaggerates scheme benefits and underplays the loss of leasehold benefits.
3. Not only are existing safeguards erased in the three cases, they are replaced by conditions that enhance vulnerability either in the form of occupation certificates with a conditional registration clause, transfer to lands or sites on non-residential land-use, structurally inadequate and even hazardous rehabilitation building conditions and weakened access to social amenities and livelihood due to relocation to the periphery.
4. The case-studies reveal different forms of either state or elite-violation of Master Plan and other planning instruments which are not threatened by eviction or even legitimised through new land-use reservations. However, 'slums' in a related context have been evicted for the same violation or even shifted to illegitimacy from a previously legal status to contribute to the state and elite purposes.

CHAPTER 3

PRIMARY DATA ANALYSIS

The systematic erasure of existing safeguards through selective deligitimisation, misinformed transfers and uprooting families from layers of investment in housing and infrastructure, as revealed in chapter 2, needs to be examined, especially since it is being fuelled by a vision of development and citizenship that fits within the framework of built form and services and the associated imagination of lifestyle and identity being identified with centrally sponsored schemes.

Hence, this exercise with primary data aims

- 1. To present evidence to examine the alleged qualities of deprivation and violation in 'slums', to be set against the framework of consequent interventions proposed to eradicate the same.**
- 2. To examine within the same data collection and analysis grid, the existing provisions of tenure and infrastructure for their adequacy to be further built on.**
- 3. To propose alternate directions to address needs of the habitats of the urban poor.**

Primary data collection was conducted in two phases. The first phase focused on generating a sketch profile with a larger sample of 'slums' and then narrowing the sample accordingly for the second phase for a more detailed relationship study. For a detailed methodology of each phase refer section 1.4.

3.1 DATA ANALYSIS – PHASE I

Data collected from the first sample of 109 'slums' (refer section 1.4 for methods of sampling and data collection design), was analysed for the following indicators at a settlement level:

1. Tenure available with majority households
2. Land ownership
3. Surrounding features
4. Status of relocation

Along with these four data points from primary data collection, three more points were included from secondary data sources for analysis:

1. Status of phasing for Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) intervention
 2. Land use as per Indore Development Plan (IDP) 2021
 3. Location with respect to Development Plan boundary
- Data charts from primary data collection have been attached as Annexure 1.

3.1.1 DATA FINDINGS FROM PHASE I:

Following is a distribution of 109 'slums' on the basis of these seven indicators and the findings drawn from the same.

Table 3.1 | Distribution of 109 slums on the basis of land ownership

LAND OWNERSHIP	NO. OF SLUMS	AS A % OF 109 SLUMS
Owned by occupants (other than tenants)	5	4.58%
IMC and Collector's land	90	82.59%
Indore Development Authority	5	4.58%
Private owner (not occupant)	7	6.42%
Owned by a trust	2	1.83%

Table 3.2 | Distribution of 109 slums on the basis of tenure

TYPE OF TENURE	NO. OF SLUMS	AS A % OF 109 SLUMS
Registered document	13	11.92%
PATTA	57	52.29%
Residing on land reserved for EWS	7	6.42%
Notarised document	11	10.09%
Occupation certificate	11	10.09%
None	10	9.17%

Table 3.3 | Distribution of 109 slums on the basis of status of land use as per IDP 2021

LAND USE AS PER IDP 2021	NO. OF SLUMS	AS A % OF 109 SLUMS
Residential	68	62.38%
Mixed-use with residential	11	10.09%
Mixed-use (other)	6	5.5%
Commercial	6	5.5%
Industrial	4	3.66%
Public/semi-public	2	1.83%
Green zones	8	7.33%
Transportation	4	3.66%

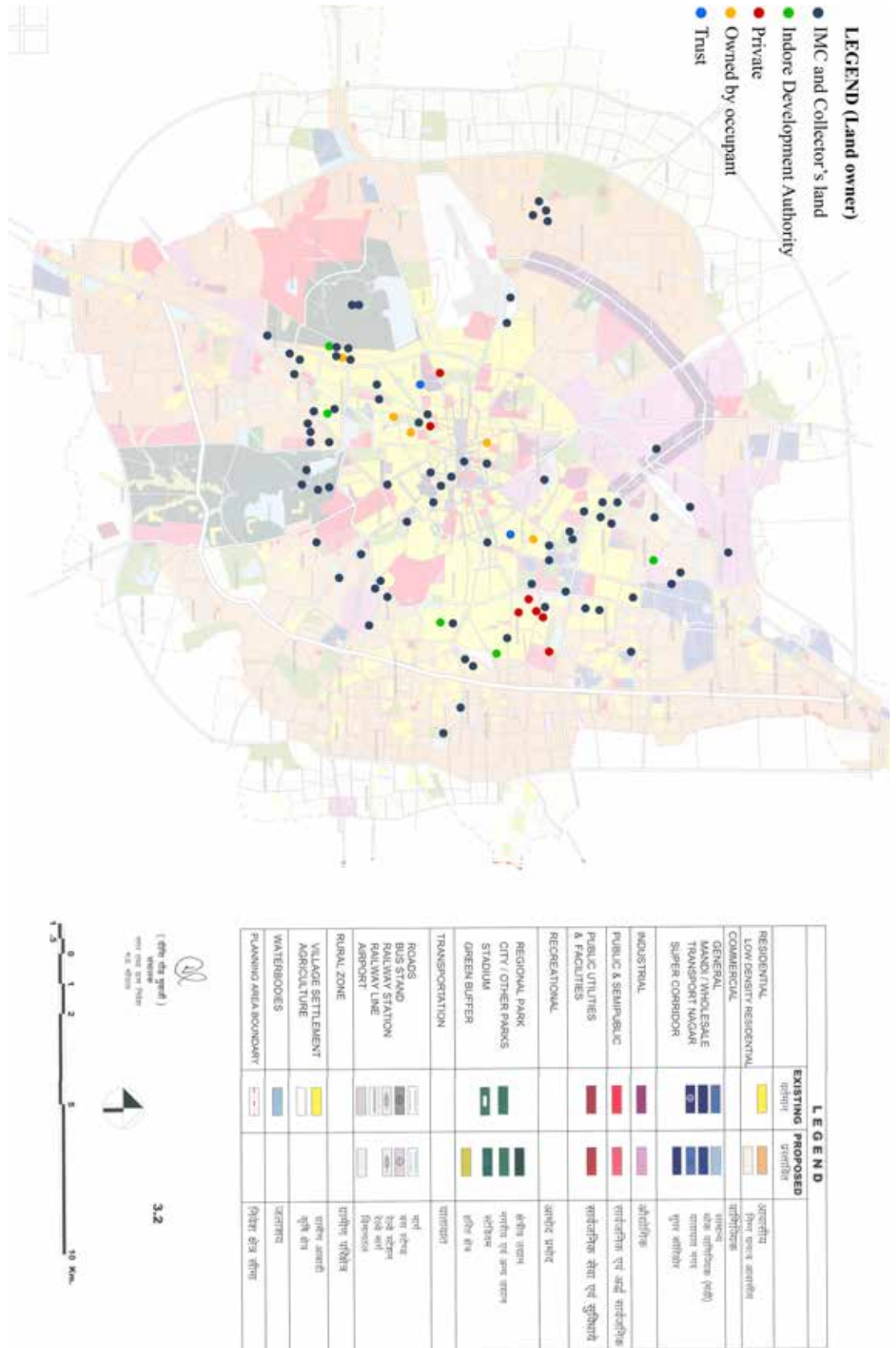
Table 3.4 | Distribution of 109 slums on the basis of status of relocation

STATUS OF RELOCATION	NO. OF SLUMS	AS A % OF 109 SLUMS
Relocated to plotted land	22	20.18%
Relocated to developed rehabilitation sites	11	10.09%
Never relocated	76	69.72%

3.1.2 OVERLAY ANALYSIS ON IDP 2021

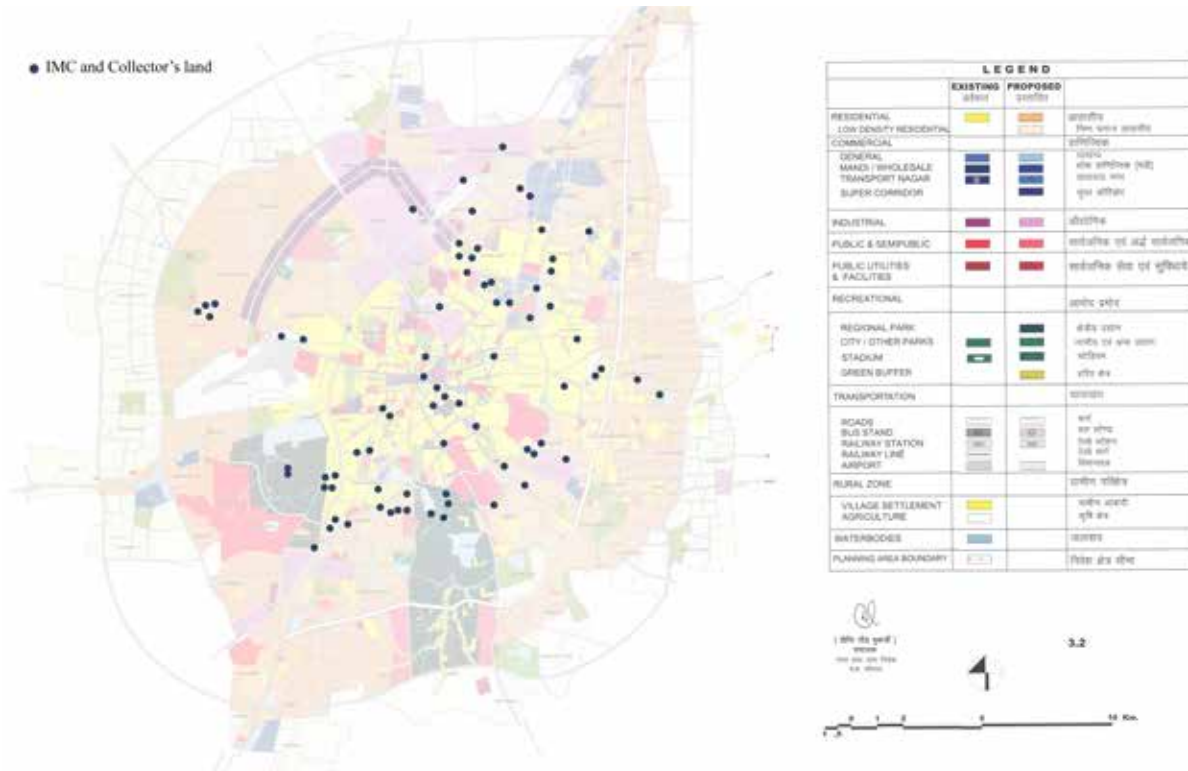
Land with respect to the land use plan in IDP 2021, they were mapped onto the land use map of IDP 2021 along with representation of distribution across indicators of tenability—tenure, land ownership and status of relocation. A fourth indicator—status of phasing for PMAY intervention—was added for comparison.

Map 3.1 | Land ownership status of 109 settlements against land use as per IDP 2021



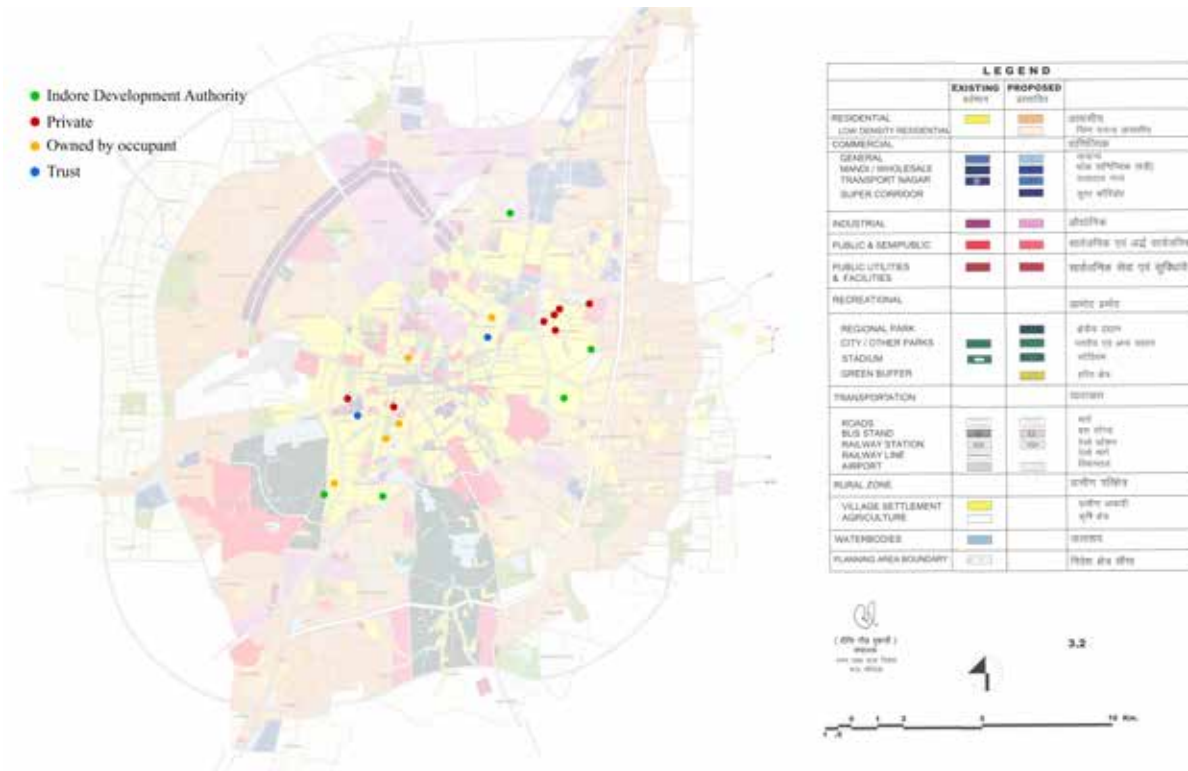
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021 YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.2 | Settlements, from the sample of 109, on land owned by IMC and collector



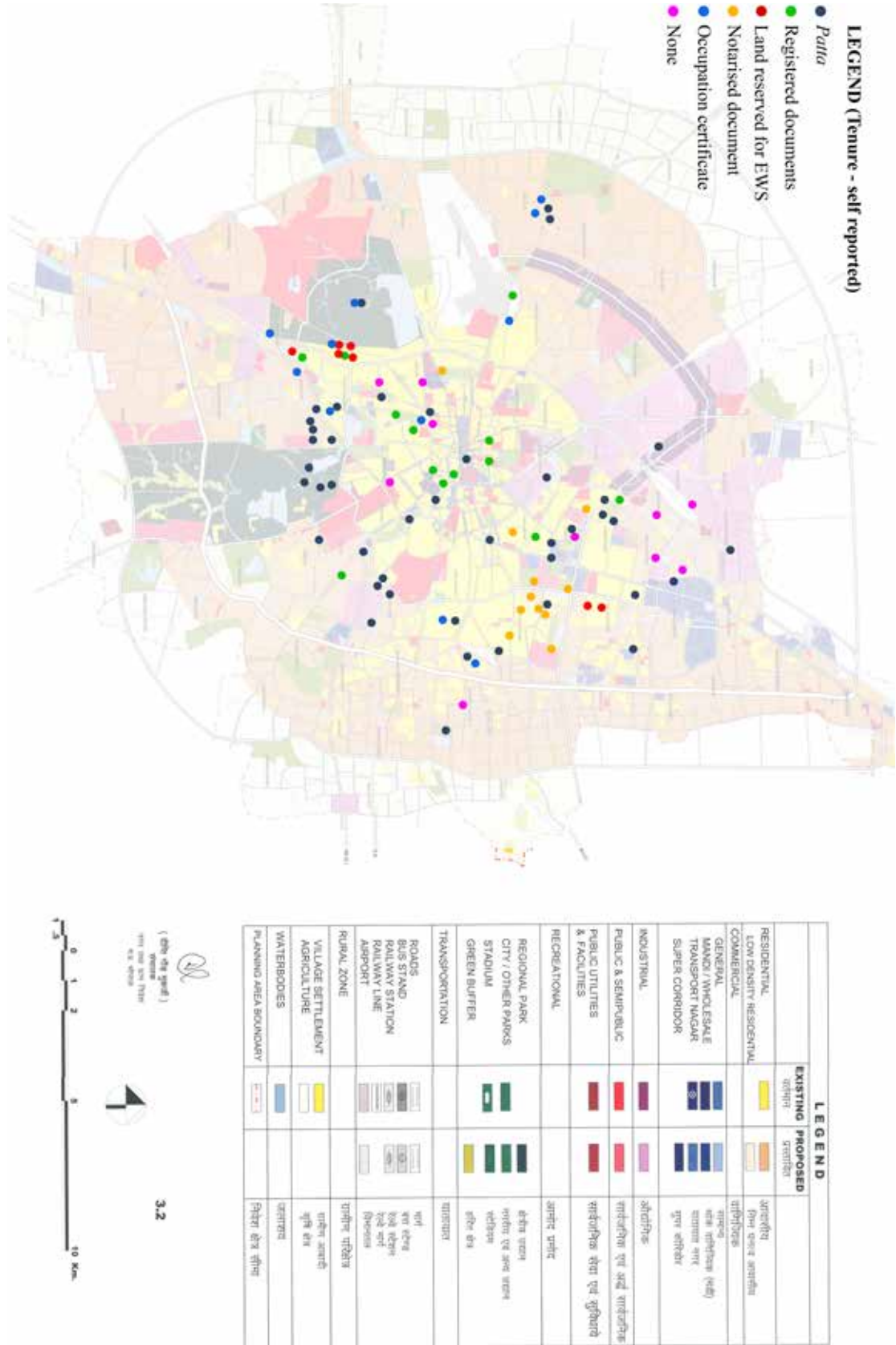
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.3 | Settlements, from the sample of 109, on land owned by others than IMC and collector



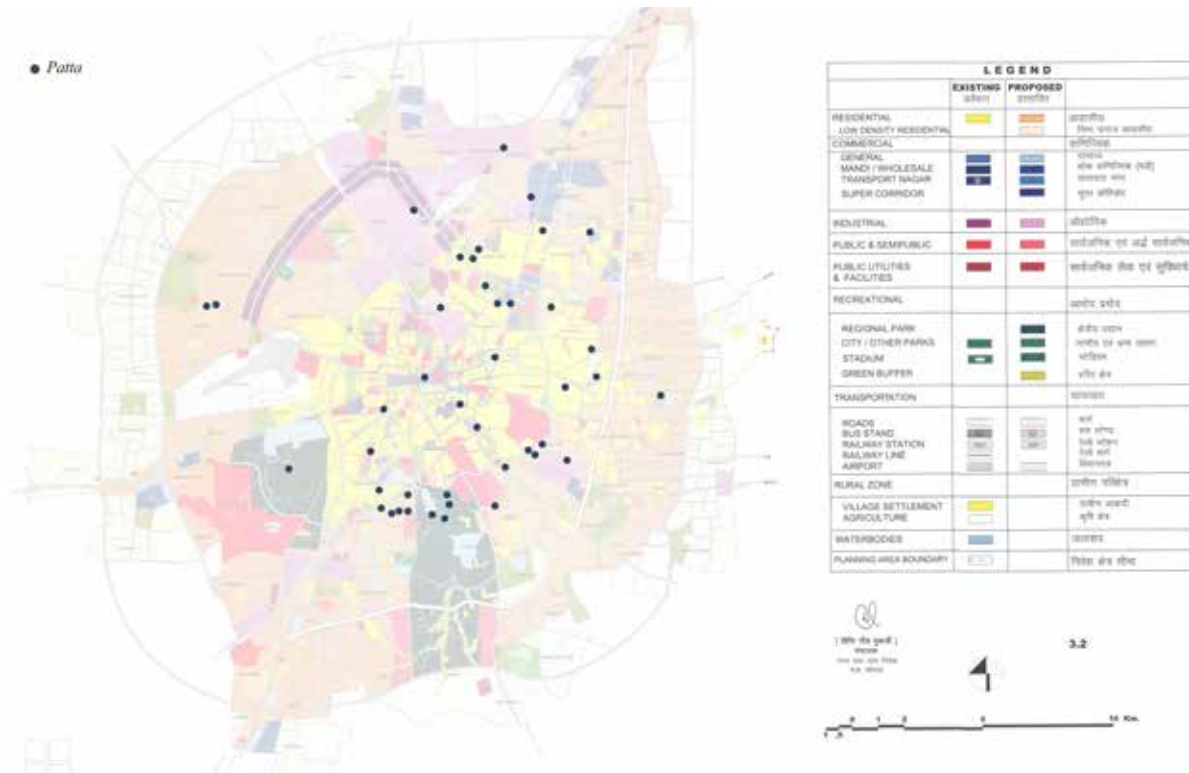
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.4 | Tenure status of 109 settlements against land use as per IDP 2021



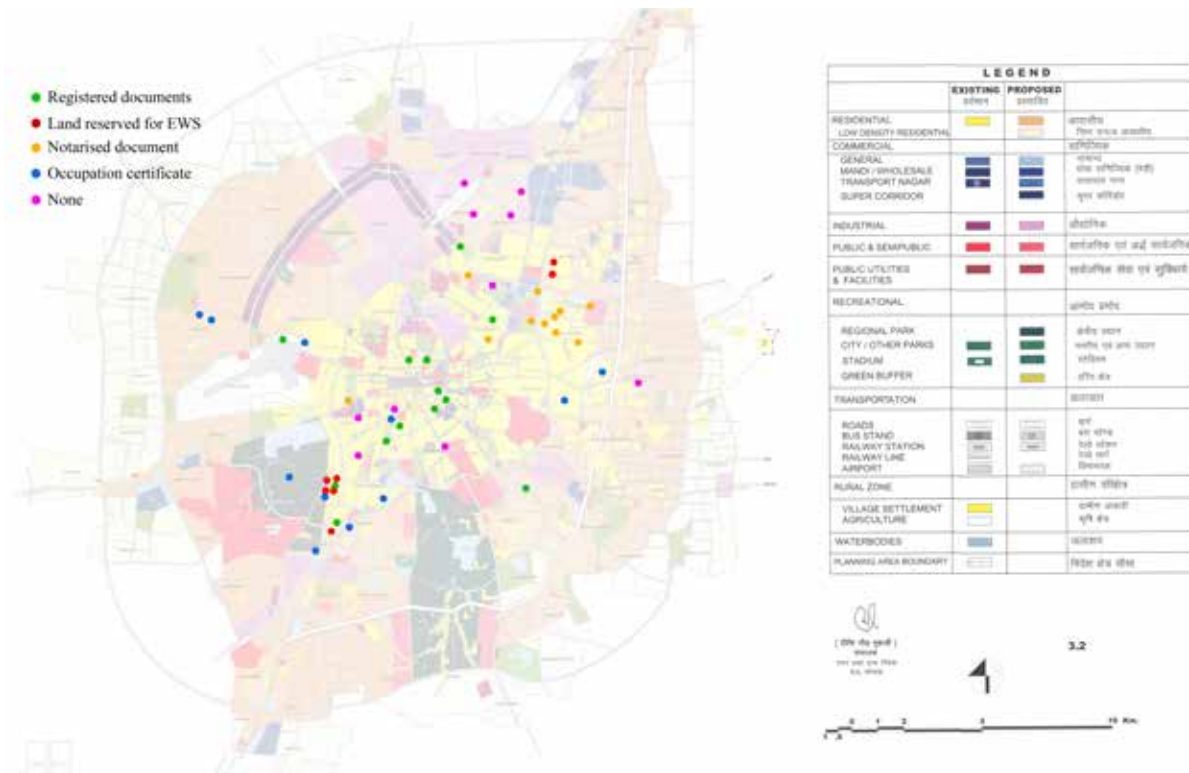
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021 YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.5 | Settlements from the 109, where households have patta leaseholds



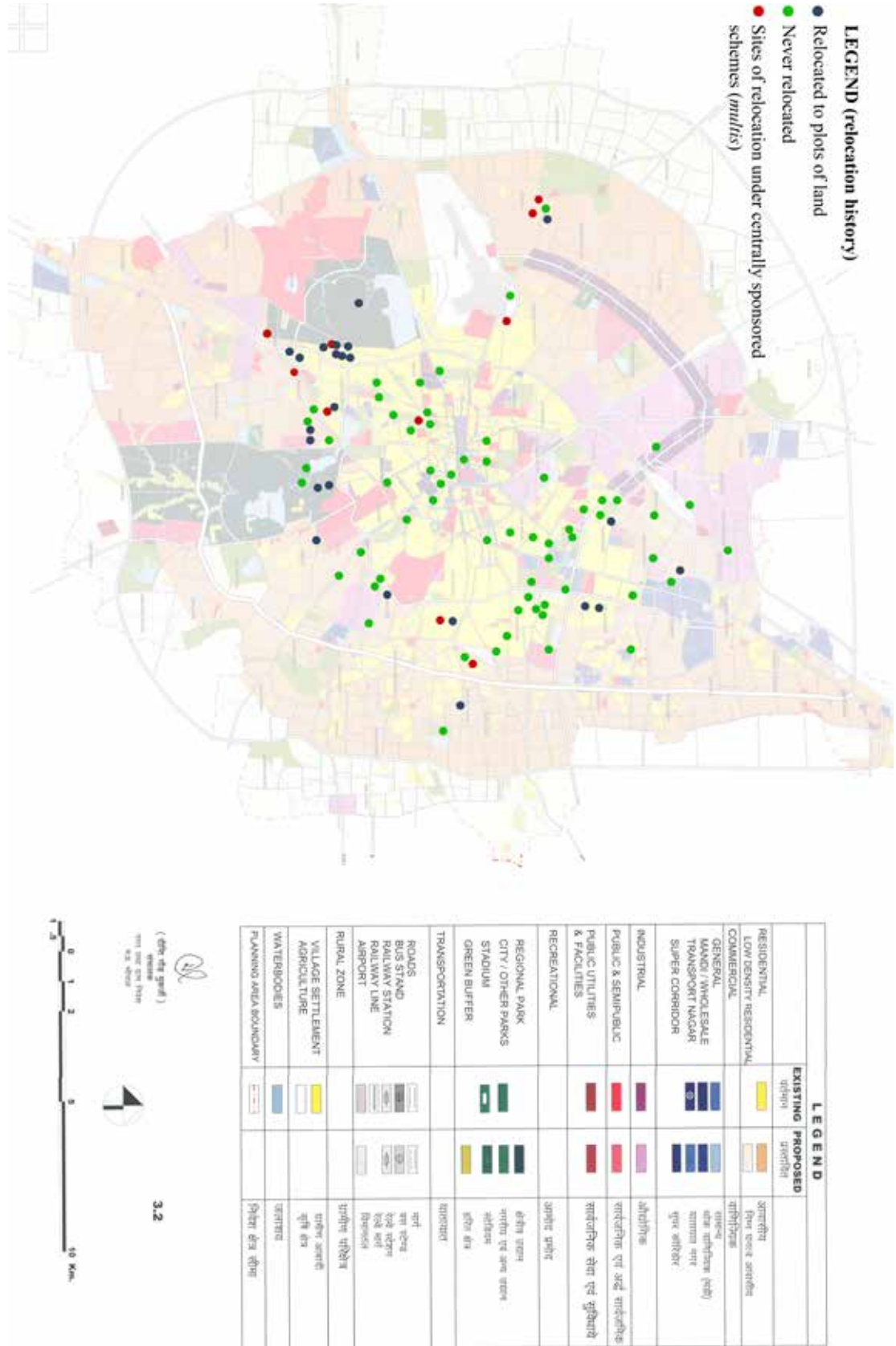
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021 YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.6 | Settlements from the 109, where households have tenure other than patta



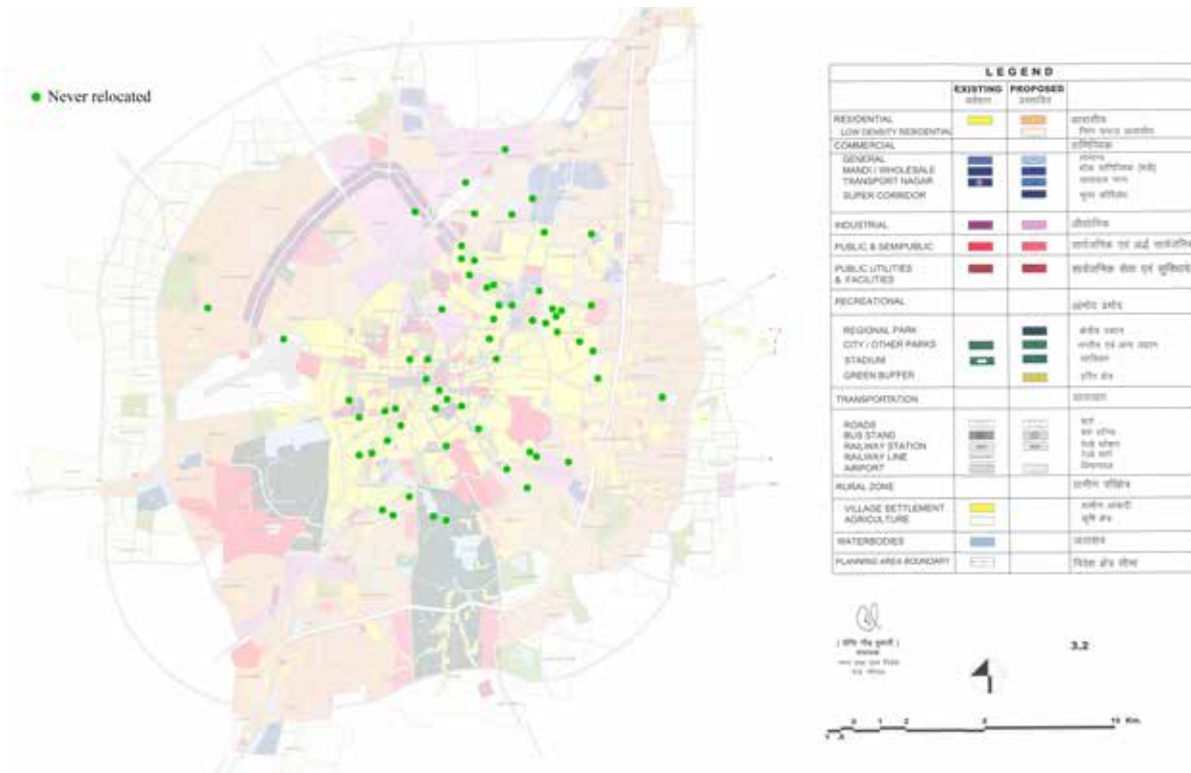
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021 YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.7 | Relocation status of 109 settlements against land use as per IDP 2021



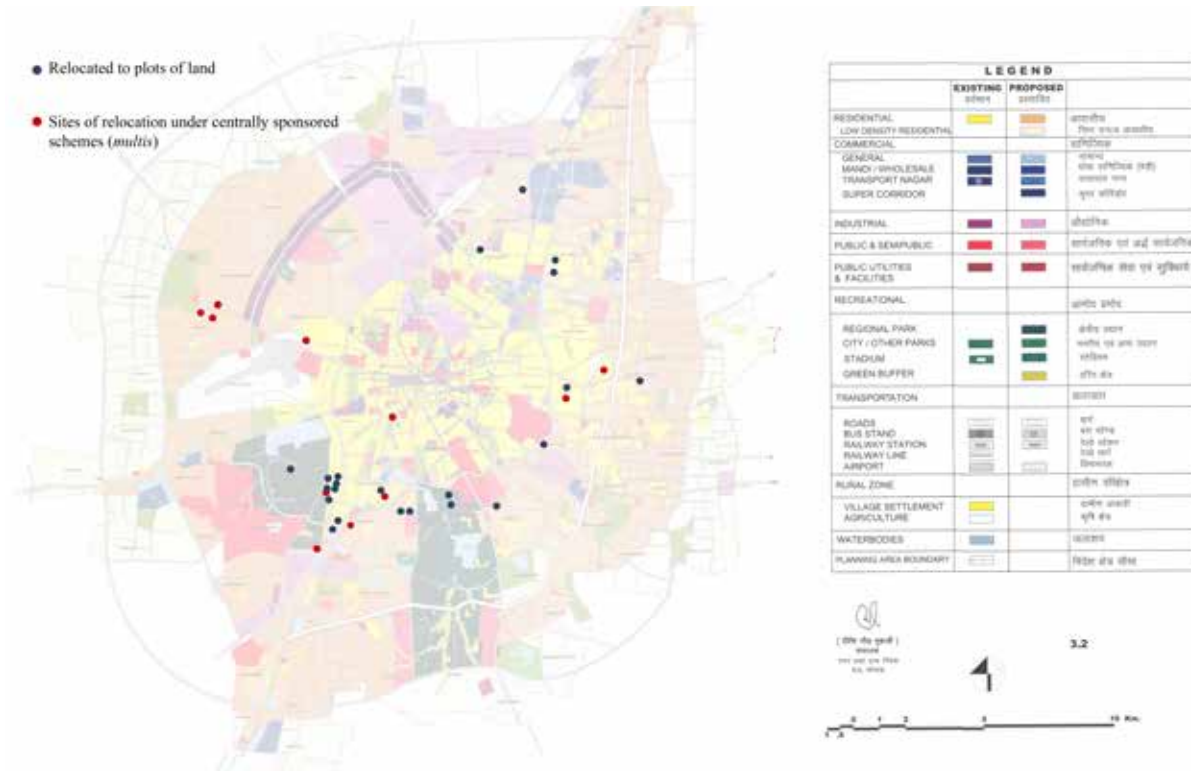
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.8 | Settlements that have never been relocated, from the sample of 109



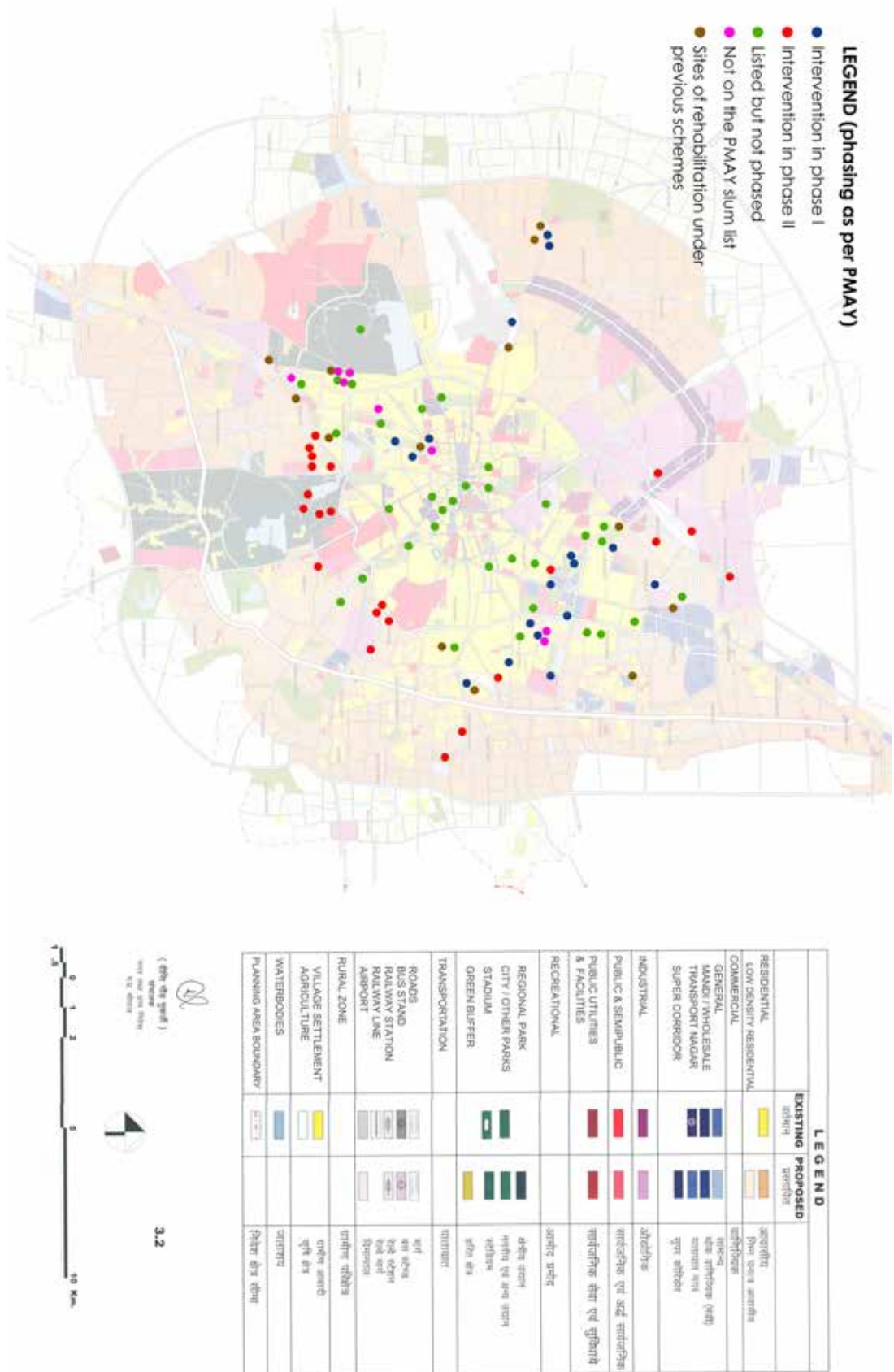
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.9 | Settlements that have been relocated, from the sample of 109



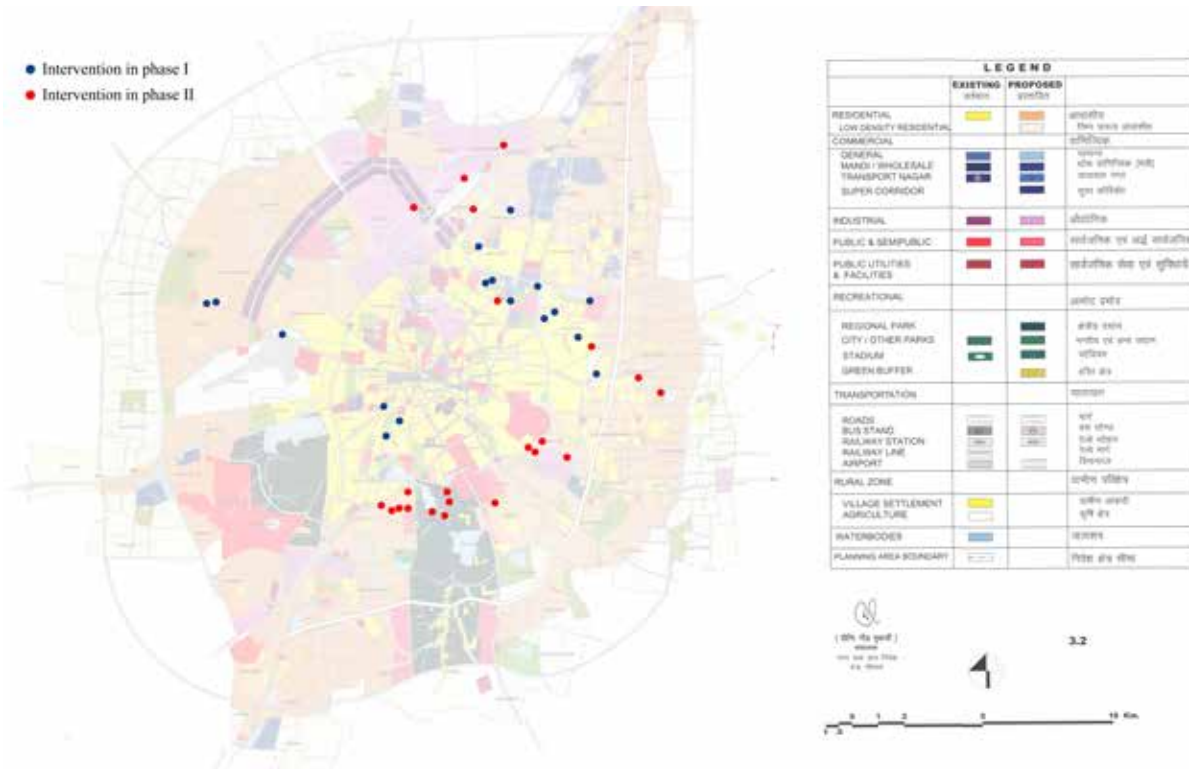
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.10 | Status of PMAY phasing of 109 settlements against land use as per IDP 2021



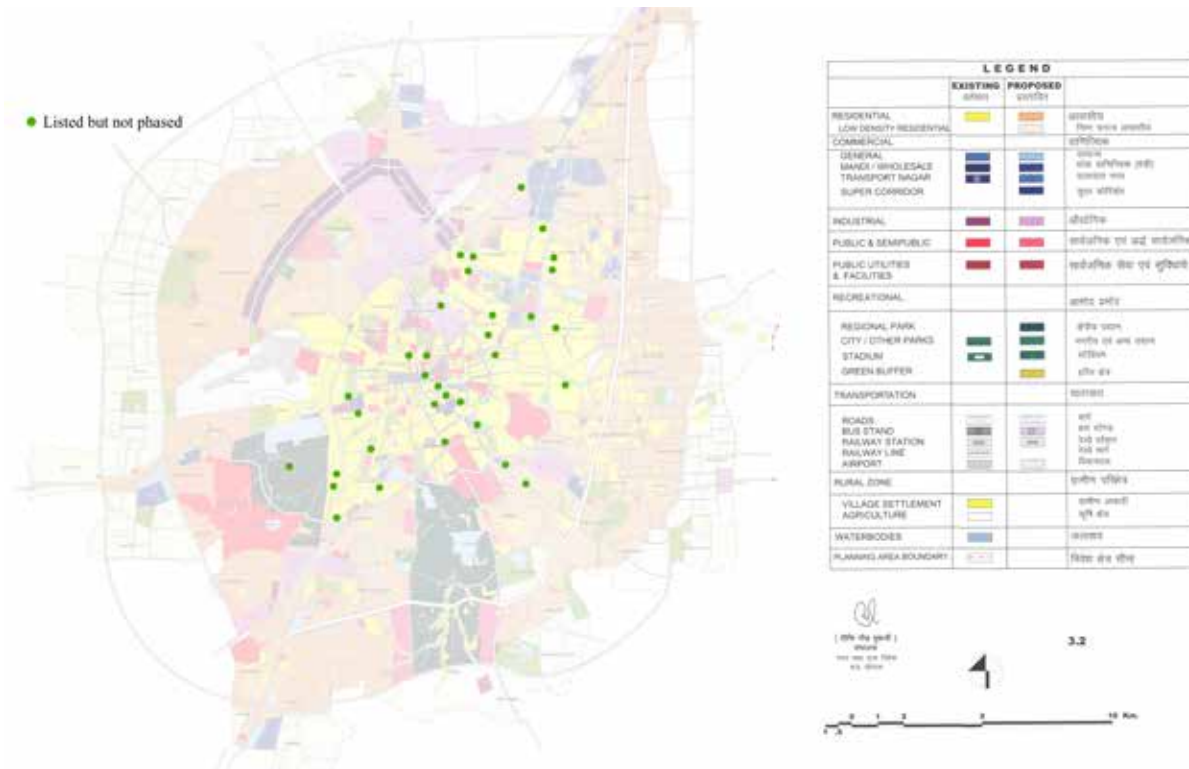
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.11 | Settlements that have been phased under PMAY, from the sample of 109



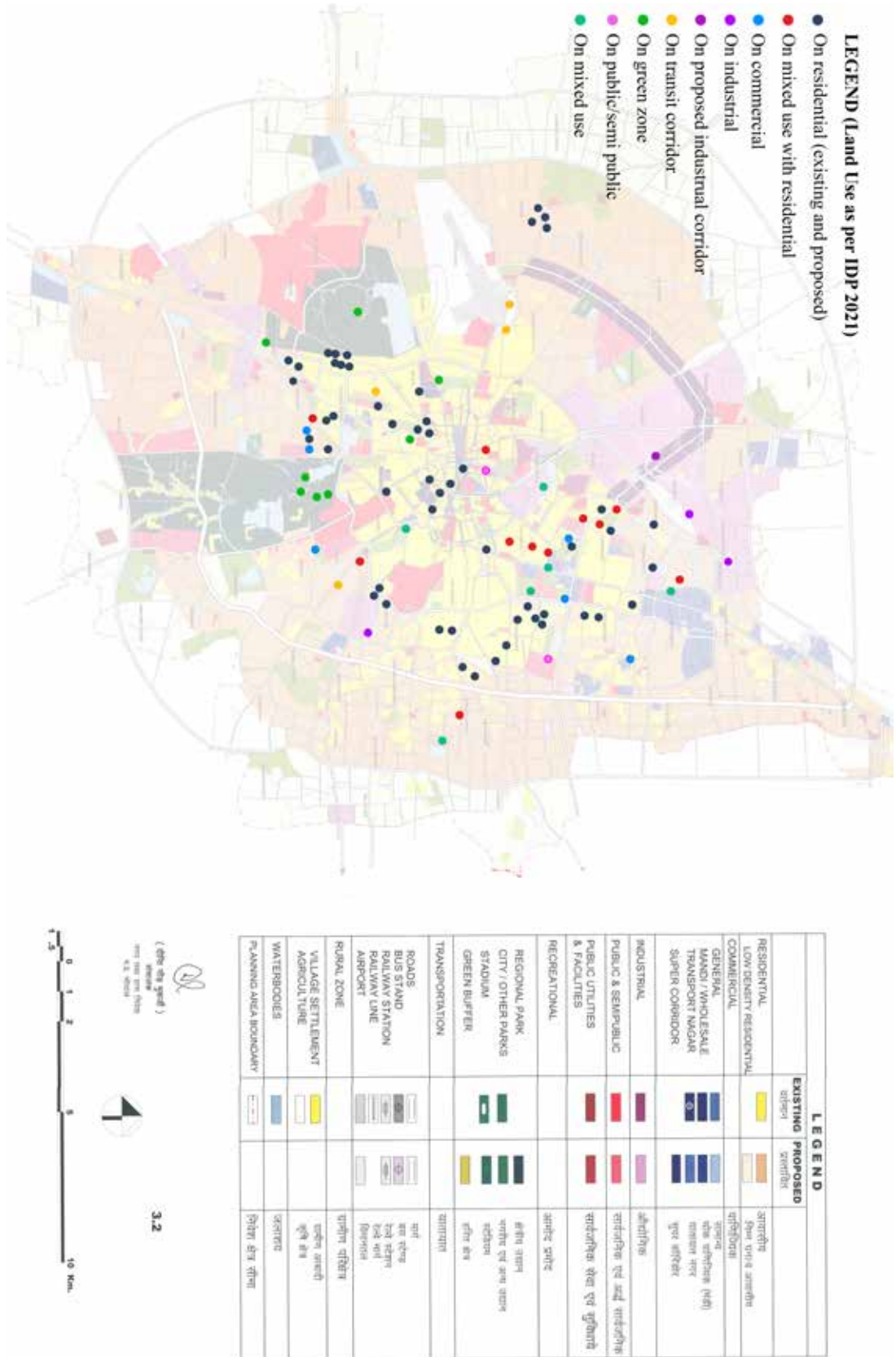
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.12 | Settlements not phased under PMAY, from the sample of 109



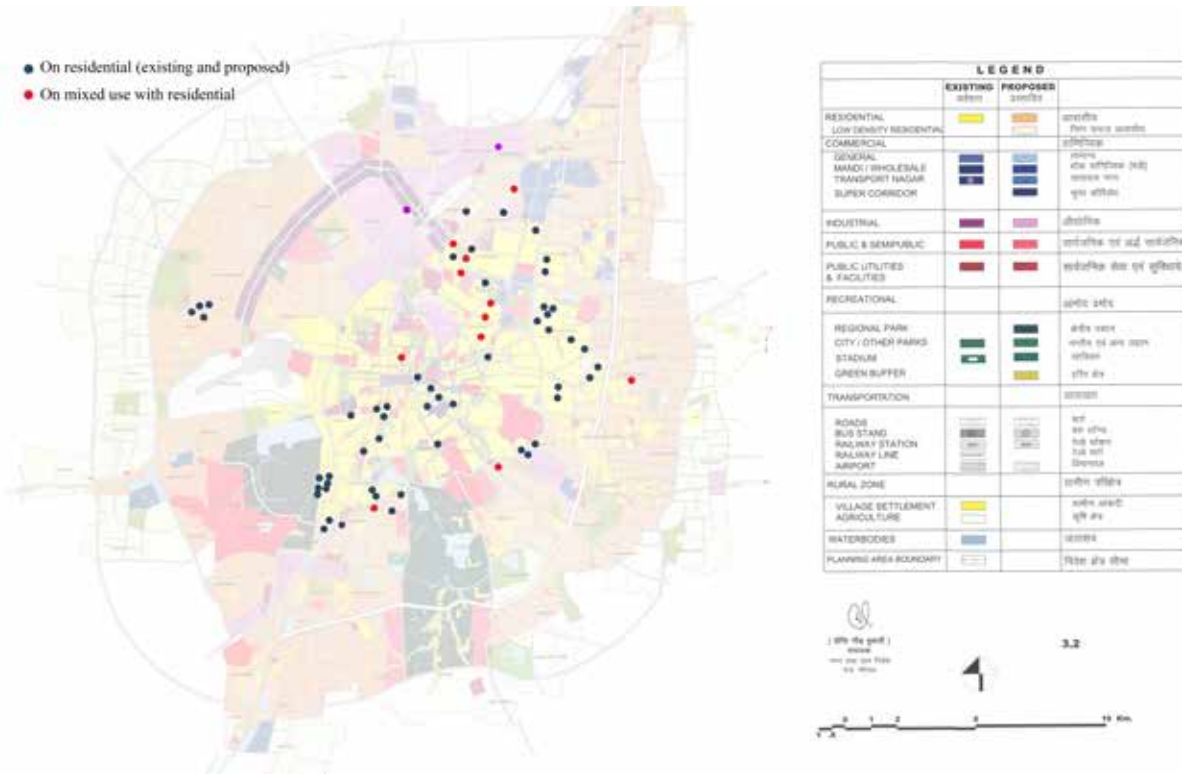
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.13 | Status of 109 settlements against land use as per IDP 2021



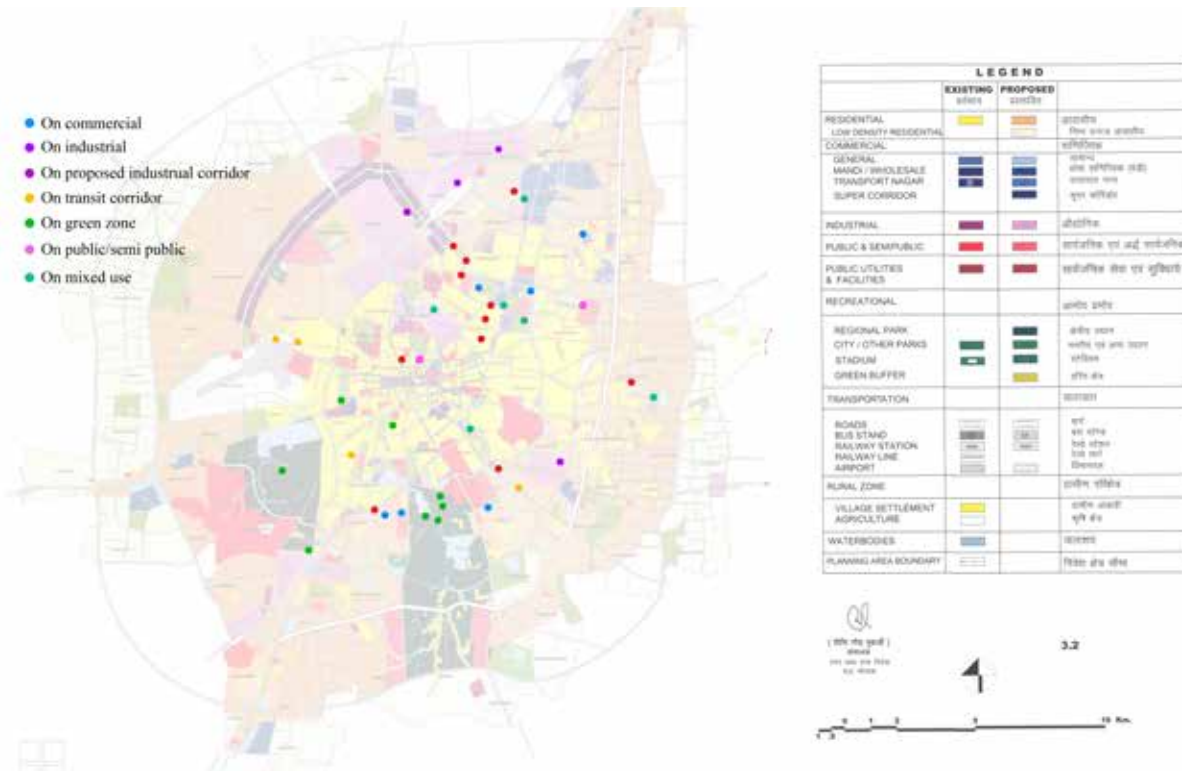
Source: Indore Development Plan 2021 YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.14 | Settlements from the 109 on residential and mixed residential land use



Source: Indore Development Plan 2021, YUVA field work 2017-18

Map 3.15 | Settlements from the 109 on land use other than residential



Source: Indore Development Plan 2021 YUVA field work 2017-18

Findings:**1. Tenability of the sample:**

The data represented in Tables 3.1 to 3.4 show that a majority of the 109 'slums' are located on public land reserved for residential use, with legally recognised tenure provisions.

- a. 82.59 per cent of the sampled 'slums' are on land owned by IMC or the collector.
- b. Households in only 9.17 per cent of the sample predominantly don't have any form of tenure and those in only 10.09 per cent of the sample have notarised documents of transfer. The remaining 80.64 per cent of the sample show households predominantly with legally recognised documents of tenure—registered land titles or patta from the Patta Act, 1984 or economically weaker section (EWS) land reservation from the M.P. Nagar Palika Rules, 1999 or an occupation certificate given after resettlement by the state.
- c. 62.38 per cent of the 'slums' from the sample are on land reserved for residential use under IDP 2021 and 10.09 per cent are on mixed land use, including residential use.

2. Inclusion of sample for PMAY interventions:

In spite of the strength of tenure seen in the sample, 66 per cent of the 109 'slums' are included in the PMAY 'slum' list, with 20 per cent of the sample listed for phase I of intervention under the scheme and 15.6 per cent of the sample listed for phase II.

3. Overlay analysis for tenability:

The overlay exercise of the sampled 'slums' shown from Maps 3.1 to 3.15, reveals that

- a. Out of the 79 'slums' located on land reserved for residential and mixed residential use
 - i. 40 'slums', i.e. 50.6 per cent, have tenure security in the form of patta or EWS land reservation or registered land titles.
 - ii. 43 'slums', i.e. 39.44 per cent, are on either Indore Municipal Corporation (IMC) or collector's land.
 - iii. 15 'slums', i.e. 19 per cent, have been relocated previously.
- b. 24 'slums' out of the sample of 109, i.e. 22 per cent, are on land reserved for residential use and owned by IMC/collector and with a

predominant number of households holding tenure security in the form of patta/EWS land reservation/registered document. Ten of these 24 'slums' are already relocated as part of previous interventions by the government.

4. Overlay analysis for tenability and inclusion for PMAY intervention

An overlay with representation of PMAY shows that

- a. Six out of the above 24 are listed under phase I and phase II under PMAY implementation, to be intervened under in-situ slum rehabilitation (ISSR) or affordable housing in partnership (AHP) components of the scheme, both of which involve relocation for rehabilitation, with only two sites proposed for in-situ intervention.
- b. 10 out of the 24 slums are present on the slum list prepared for PMAY if not phased yet.

5. Reading the data alongside PMAY guidelines

- a. These observations, when read alongside the articulation of PMAY guidelines which emphasise the possibility under the scheme to leverage the potential of land 'locked' under the scheme, show an approach which disregards legal safeguards for land rights of the marginalised, functioning under an exclusive imagination of value of and investment into urban land.
- b. One of the limitations of planning instruments, seen as articulated in the IDP 2021, is the absence of inter linkages between schemes. The inclusion of 50 per cent of the relocated 'slums' from the sample of 109 for consideration under PMAY benefits, again as 'slums' reveals that this formally recognised limitation is continuing unchecked.
- c. The compulsory denotification clause, in the PMAY guidelines after rehabilitation of a 'slum', in the context of rehabilitation of already relocated 'slums' is both insufficient in its justification of this inclusion as well as feeble as a guaranteed outcome. The latter is felt strongly especially from observations of inadequacy of service provision and hazardous built environment in the occupied rehabilitation sites under PMAY.

6. Status of and implications for housing in Indore

- a. The multiple layers of tenure security with a majority of the sample demonstrate a strong collaboration of people and provisions of the state to enable production and security of housing in Indore for the last three decades independent of the centralised, privatised channels being pushed by housing schemes like PMAY.
- b. They indicate a possibility for meeting the housing needs of the city without the social and economic costs of completely eradicating existing investments, of people and the state, and assigning resources for new development.
- c. A dangerous trend recurring at different phases of the study and significantly from the data collected from the 109 'slums' is the normalisation of eviction of households with legally guaranteed leaseholds like the patta and EWS land reservation by their inclusion in 'slum' lists prepared by government bodies and the consequent demolition drives that follow.
- d. The data from the 109 'slums' and the findings from secondary review locate rehabilitation as a threat rather than a solution to both rights of the marginalised to the city as well as to the possibility and sustainability of meeting housing needs in similar urban contexts in India.

violation associated with 'slums' in planning language as well as those that substantiate their agency in the form of tenure and infrastructure as explored in the primary data exercise and secondary data review.

From the sample of 109 'slums' considered for phase I, 31 settlements and 269 individual structures were considered for the second phase (refer section 1.4 for methods of sampling and data collection design).

The following qualities were considered for data collection to address the respective terms used in 'slum' definitions by planning instruments:

1. Density (term: 'overcrowding')
2. Habitability (term: 'uninhabitable')
3. Access to basic services (term: 'inadequately serviced')
4. Natural light and ventilation (term: 'lack of light and ventilation')

Additionally, the following qualities were included to the set to read against the above list

1. Tenure security
2. Social amenities
3. Investment (home construction and settlement development)
4. Age of settlement
5. Status of relocation
6. Access to livelihood

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS – PHASE II

The findings from phase I of the data exercise locate 'slums' in Indore inside the legality of tenure facilitated by tenancy laws and land use reservation in IDP 2021 along with the finding that a majority of them are occupying public land. While this allows an aspiration for an inclusive trajectory of planning to be built on existing layers of housing, infrastructure and investments, phase I reveals a threat posed by the vision and methods of intervention proposed by centrally sponsored schemes.

The second phase of the data exercise attempts to address this threat, not only as a blatant disregard for existing legal safeguards but as originating from an imagination of 'slums' as a 'problem' of urbanisation, engraved in their articulation in formal planning processes. In this phase, data was collected against indicators of alleged qualities of deprivation and

After collation of data, a framework for analysis was designed with nine broad indicators with respective sub-indicators. Survey questions were first categorised under various sub-indicators of physical, social, economic and legal characteristics of structures and settlements. These sub-indicators were then grouped under each of their respective nine main indicators: (A framework for analysis and primary charts of analysis can be found in Annexure 6).

Indicators and Sub-indicators

1. Structural adequacy
 - a. Building typology with respect to material of construction
 - b. Age of latest structural addition
2. Spatial adequacy
 - a. Number of occupants per dwelling room
 - b. Floor area per occupant
 - c. Number of open spaces within the compound
 - d. Number of open sides and their width
 - e. Number of structures per hectare of the settlement
3. Access to basic services
 - a. Access to water supply
 - b. Access to sanitation
 - c. Access to power supply
 - d. Access to solid waste management
4. Access to social amenities
 - a. Access to educational facility (higher secondary school)
 - b. Access to health facility (government hospital)
 - c. Access to a community centre
 - d. Access to an open space
 - e. Access to an anganwadi
5. Tenure security
 - a. Type of tenure
 - b. Land ownership
 - c. Land use as per the IDP 2021
 - d. Payment of property tax
6. Investment
 - a. Cost of construction of structure
 - b. Monthly income of household
7. Distance from work
 - a. Least distance travelled by a family member for work
 - b. Farthest distance travelled by a family member for work
8. Experience of living in the settlement
9. Future construction plans

Range of Values:

Each sub-indicator has been broken down into a range of values assigned to constituent characteristics. Each value differs from its adjacent by one point increments. The sum of these ranges adds up to the range of the sub-indicators. The sum of ranges of constituent sub-indicators adds up to the range of each respective indicator.

Calculating Weights:

All values assigned to building/structure level responses have been converted to settlement level responses by taking an average. Each value is then converted to a percentage (using respective range). The percentage values are then converted to points in increments of 5 per cent, 20 per cent and 33.33 per cent to arrive at three different representations with ranges of 1–20, 1–5 and 1–3.

Representation of Data:

Data has been represented in four forms to enable a thorough, layered analysis.

REPRESENTATION I:

A distribution of structures and settlements under each indicator and its constituents. Fig 3.1 and Fig 3.2

REPRESENTATION II:

A matrix of settlement weights against each indicator. Annexure 4 & 5

REPRESENTATION III:

A spatial representation of settlements on a map of Indore with size and colour variations based on their indicator weights on a 1–5 range. Annexure 7 and figures in analysis.

Reading data from Fig 3.1 and Fig 3.2

STRUCTURAL ADEQUACY:**Table 3.5** | *Distribution of phase II sample among indicators of Structural Adequacy*

INDICATOR CONSTITUENTS	SCORE	% OF 269 STRUCTURES	% OF 31 SETTLEMENTS WITH AVERAGE SCORE
Sub indicator I: Material typology			
<i>Pucca</i>	3	95.5%	100%
Serviceable kuCcha and semi-pucca	2	3 %	0%
Un-serviceable kuccha	1	1.5 %	0%
Sub indicator II: Age of latest structural addition			
<=10 years	3	52%	45.2%
10–20 years	2	21%	51.6%
>20 years	1	17%	3.2%

Findings:

1. The 4.5 per cent structures in the kuccha and semi-pucca categories do not translate into settlements with similar average score. This shows that the kuccha and semi-pucca structures are distributed over different settlements and not concentrated in any.
2. A similar pattern can be found with data corresponding to age of latest structural addition. Only 31 out of the 269 structures and only one of the 31 settlements were recorded in the older than 20 years category. This shows that other than the structures in that one settlement, the remaining structures with structural additions older than 20 years are spread across settlements.
3. Considering that almost the entire structure sample is recorded as pucca, it is only the age of the latest structural addition that is effecting variations in average values of structural adequacy across settlements. After these variations, 68 per cent of the samples settlements have been recorded in the 80–100 per cent range of the structural adequacy scale.
4. The weights of material typology and age of latest structural addition across settlements do not vary proportionally, with different weights of material typology for every set of settlements under each weight of age of latest structural adequacy.
5. Material typology of structures among settlements does not show any significant pattern of spatial concentration.

Analysis and recommendations:

1. The terminology of kuccha and pucca is considered one of the definitive indicators to decide the status of 'slums'. This terminology appears in the data tables of extensive surveys for the Census, the NSS and the SFCP among many others. The data regarding the same from Phase II shows that
 - a. this terminology is not adequate to identify entire settlements
 - b. if it must serve as a measurement of status, the finding that 95.5 per cent structures have been recorded as pucca indicates at a wide gap between assessment of need and relevant proposals.
2. The trends from the data in the relationship between age of structure and material typology show that durability of a structure cannot be gauged from the material of construction alone. While there is no data within the scope of this study to establish the indicators for durability of a structure, it can be suggested from interviews and observations that in a mode of construction that is incremental, the term durability is also a function of periodic alterations and repair to the structure as much as the components that make up the structure.

Limitations

The calculation of structural adequacy as a function of material typology and the age of latest structural addition is only a step to expand its measurement

from only that of material typology. However, there are various other indicators of structural adequacy including construction methods, structural components and site and climate specific requirements for risk and resilience.

The scope of data collection did not include a thick description of increments of construction with material, method and time interval details. This would not only have strengthened the analysis of structural adequacy

on the site of study, it could have suggested alternate methods for reading structural adequacy in case of incremental production of housing.

Additional scope:

The data collection did include a wider variation of material typology drawing from roof and wall material compositions found on site. Representation for this can be found in Annexure 6.

SPATIAL ADEQUACY:

Table 3.6 | *Distribution of Phase II sample among indicators of spatial adequacy*

INDICATOR CONSTITUENTS	SCORE	% OF 269 STRUCTURES	% OF 31 SETTLEMENTS WITH AVERAGE SCORE
Sub indicator I: Occupants per dwelling room			
< 2 occupants per dwelling room	3	37.5%	12.9%
3 to 4 occupants per dwelling room	2	37.5%	83.87%
>4 occupants per dwelling room	1	23.5%	3.2%
No data	ND	1.5%	-
Sub indicator II: Occupants per 320 sq. ft.			
<= 4 occupants per 320 sqft	3	55%	16.1%
4 to 6 occupants per 320 sqft	2	20%	74.2%
>6 occupants per sqft	1	22%	9.7%
No data	ND	3%	-
Sub indicator III: Open spaces within compound			
>= 1 open space	2	44.5%	58%
No open space	1	55.5%	42%
Sub indicator IV: Open space adjoining structure + width			
>=2 open spaces >=6mt wide	3	15%	13%
1 open space >=6mt	2	62.5%	61%
No open space >6mt	1	22.5%	16%
Sub indicator V: No. of structures per hectare			
< 120 structures per hectare	2		39%
>= 120 structures per hectare	1		61%

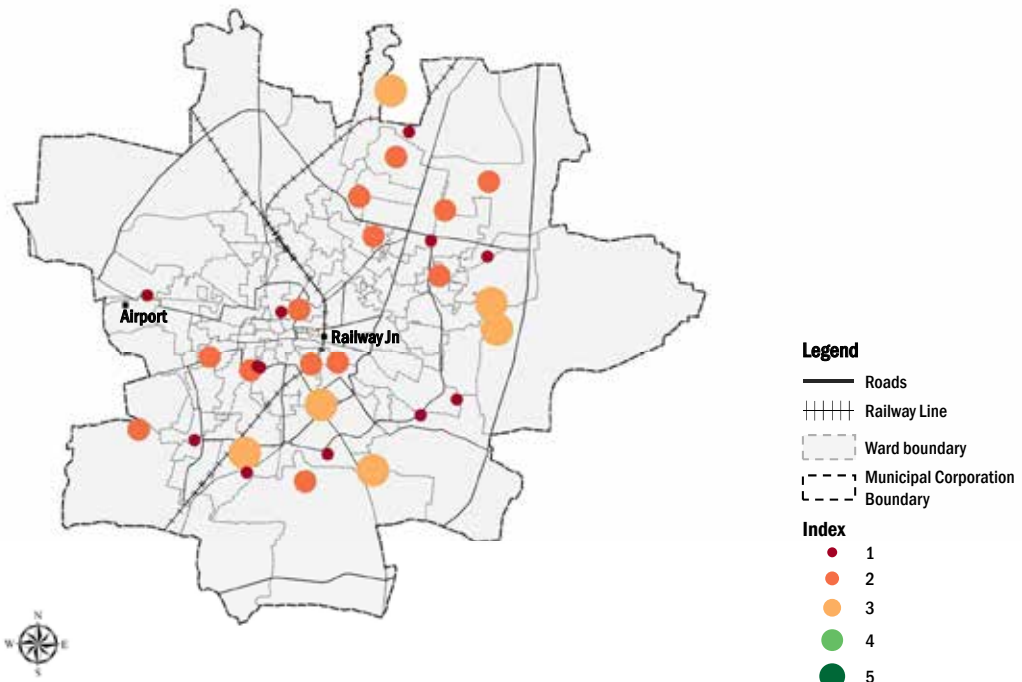
Findings:

1. There is an equal distribution of structures with <= 2 occupants per dwelling room and 3 to 4 occupants per DR. While 23.5 per cent (63) structures have been recorded to have more than 4 occupants per DR, there are only two settlements where more than 50 per cent structures demonstrate the same. This, combined with 84 per cent settlements with an average value of indicator close to the middle shows

2. that there is a mix of each of the three categories within settlements.
2. In contrast to findings from occupants per dwelling room, occupants per floor area shows that 55 per cent structures have less than or equal to 4 occupants per 320 sq. ft. And similar to occupants per dwelling room, the structures with >6 occupants per 320 sq. ft. are distributed over different settlements except for 3 settlements where they account for more than

- 50 per cent of the sample.
3. Unlike the findings from the first two indicators, structures with open spaces within are relatively more concentrated within settlements. 80–100 per cent structures in 10 settlements have no open space and the same in six settlements do.
 4. Among the 62.5 per cent structures with 1 adjoining side ≥ 6 mt, majorly the open space is the access road. In case the access road is < 6 mt, it is either an adjoining water body, field or open ground based on location. 4 settlements have more than 50 per cent sampled structures with no adjoining open space ≥ 6 mt and 3 settlements have more than 50 per cent sample structures with ≥ 2 adjoining open spaces ≥ 6 mt.
 5. Settlement density in the sample varies beyond the 120 structures per hectare marker, with six settlements recorded to have < 65 structures per hectare and five settlements at > 240 structures per hectare.
 6. Floor area per occupant is the most varying indicator in the spatial adequacy set, defining the variation in the cumulative indicator. However, some observations from the other indicators are important to understand spatial adequacy and its measurement.
 7. One of the settlements, Professor Colony, which has lower floor area per occupant and greater occupants per dwelling room, is also one of the three settlements where all the sampled structures have at least one open space within.
 8. Occupants per dwelling room and floor area don't follow a similar graph, with structures where there are more than six occupants per dwelling room having less than four occupants per 320 sq ft and vice versa.
 9. The two settlements which have the least floor area per occupant as well as the most number of occupants per 320 sq. ft. are from sites of relocation into land reserved for EWS, 25 years ago. They are also in the lower categories for the other sub-indicators of spatial adequacy—open space within and adjoining structure and structures per hectare.
 10. The three settlements where structures predominantly show higher occupants per floor area are also where predominantly structures do not have open space within. There are, however, settlements where the floor area: occupant ratio is slightly higher, yet low compared to the sample, yet a high average score of open space within compound. This is the case with the indicator representing adjoining open spaces as well.
 11. Settlement density, calculated here as structures per hectare, is not varying in relationship with unit density, calculated here as occupants per dwelling room and floor area. However, all the settlements with ≤ 65 structures per hectare are also to be found in the medium to high average score for open space adjoining structures. This is not exclusively so, with 4 settlements having a density of > 120 structures per hectare also found in this category.
 12. Settlements with higher averages for open space are suggesting a peripheral concentration. However, the periphery is also populated by settlements with lower averages.
 13. The same pattern is not followed by the other indicators, where settlements with different scores are evenly spread over the map.
 14. Even though the sample contains settlements in surroundings of varying densities—along the river, amidst plotted residential developments, along roads and railway lines, adjoining open fields near the periphery—their densities (structures per hectare) vary within these surrounding types as well as with respect to the city boundary.

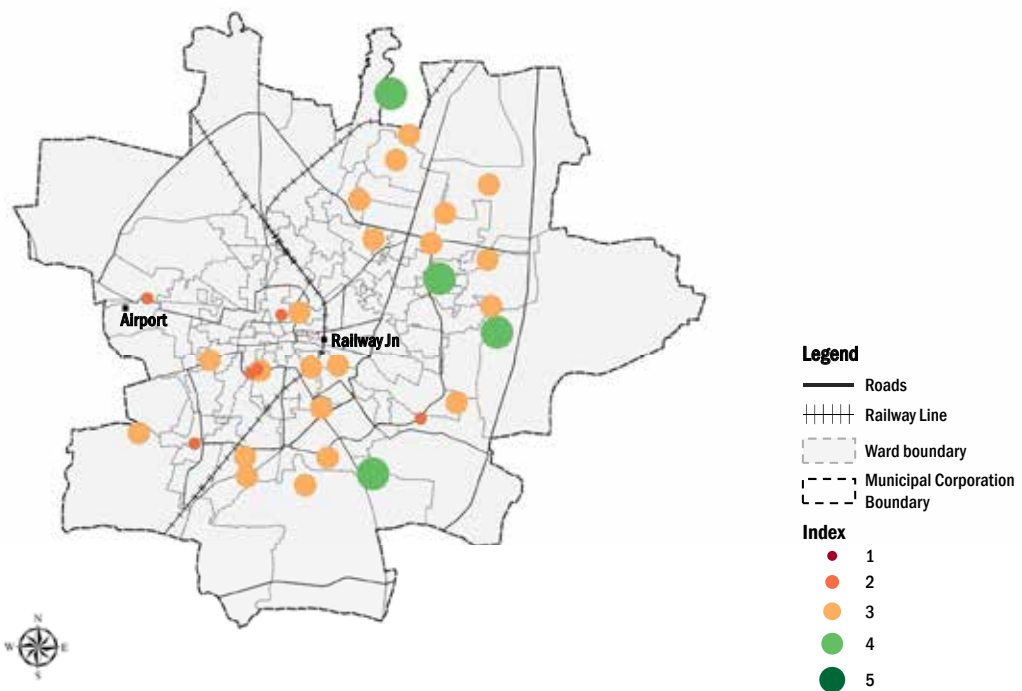
Map 3.16 | Settlements represented as per weights corresponding to open space within the compound



Map not to scale

Source: IMC, 2015; OSM, 2019; Census, 2011; YUVA-IIHS Analysis, 2017-19

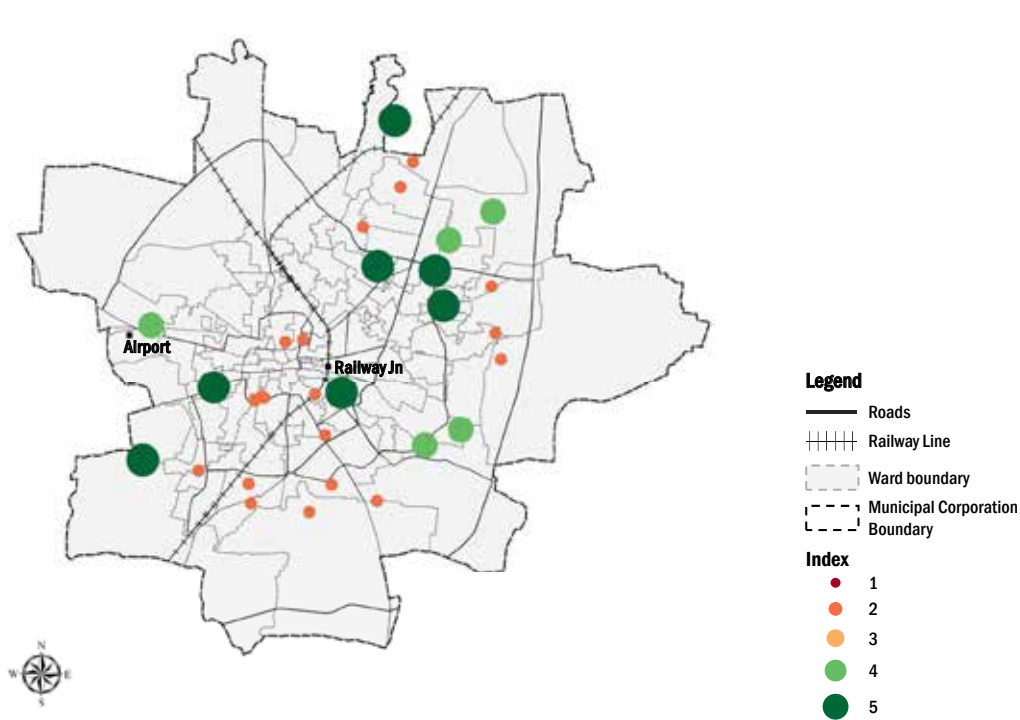
Map 3.17 | Map of settlements represented as per weights corresponding to adjoining open space



Map not to scale

Source: IMC, 2015; OSM, 2019; Census, 2011; YUVA-IIHS Analysis, 2017-19

Map 3.18 | Map of settlements represented as per weights corresponding to settlement density



Map not to scale

Source: IMC, 2015; OSM, 2019; Census, 2011; YUVA-IIHS Analysis, 2017-19

Analysis and recommendations:

1. The data shows a variation in density as measured by occupants per dwelling room and occupants per floor area, with higher density recorded in the former and lower density recorded in the latter. This data finding can be used to present two analyses.
 - a. Firstly, the measurement of occupation densities, as a function of occupants (couples in the case of Census) per dwelling room needs to be reviewed.
 - b. Secondly, the design of new construction with each dwelling unit with a floor area between 25 sq. m. and 30 sq. m. as part of rehabilitation proposals (refer Table 2.7) for decongestion is challenged by the data where occupants per 30 sq. m. (320 sq. ft.) as measured in a majority of the sample is no more than the size of a single family.
2. While density measured from occupation of dwellings is not showing any trend at a settlement level, its measurement using open space within and adjacent to the structure is.
 - a. This is an indication that the form of a dwelling

- b. The settlement level variation of open space in relation to the structure also indicates that the surroundings, socio-economic characteristics of resident community and traditional design practices may have an implication on perception as well as manifestation of spatial adequacy.
 - c. Layering this analysis with the finding that settlements with high unit and settlement level density are also showing higher weights corresponding to open space related to structure strengthens the relevance of this indication further.
 - d. This asks for a review of rehabilitation proposals to consider the relationship of home to other activities, including work, specific to different communities.
3. The higher density and lower open space weights seen in settlements relocated to land reserved for EWS, more than two decades ago, indicate the limitations of strictly regulated settlement and unit plans that leave no room for expansion horizontally and lack of sustaining rehabilitation

efforts through financial support for expansion vertically. This is a limitation that will be multiplied in newer rehabilitation sites with homogenous flats and multi-storey buildings set inside concrete site designs.

4. The Urban and Regional Development Plans Formulation and Implementation (URDPFI) guidelines, 2014 recommend that there be less than 120 plots per hectare for low income housing. The data, on the other hand, shows settlements in the range of less than 65 structures per hectare to greater than 240 structures per hectare. Reading this finding along with the absence of settlement level variation of occupation densities of dwelling units problematises the term 'overcrowding' that is often associated with 'slums' in planning definitions.

Limitations

The spatial design of houses and settlements is a product of the history of the settlement, the tradition of construction and use of space as well as about dimensions. This study measures only the latter and attempts to suggest at the former from its analysis.

The settlement density has been measured as structures per hectare. Data on persons per hectare would have strengthened the analysis.

The height dimension has not been considered by the study in any of its indicators. Height informs density, light and ventilation crucially. Density and form of the surroundings has not been considered, which is also a deciding factor for reading the spatiality of a settlement, as observed during field work.

ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES

Table 3.7 | Distribution of Phase II sample among indicators of access to basic services

INDICATOR CONSTITUENTS	SCORE	% OF 269 STRUCTURES	% OF 31 SETTLEMENTS WITH AVERAGE SCORE
Sub indicator I: Access to water supply			
Yearlong source <100mt	5	58.5%	64.5%
Yearlong source >100mt	4	12%	13%
Seasonal source	3	20.5%	19%
IMC tanker	2	7%	0%
Private source	1	2%	3.5%
Sub indicator II: Sanitation			
Individual toilet + closed drainage	4	82.5%	80.5%
Individual toilet + open drainage	3	9.5%	6.5%
Public toilet	2	5.5%	13%
Other	1	1.5%	0%
Sub indicator III: Power supply			
24hr supply with meter	4	84.5%	77.5%
<24hr supply with meter	3	6.5%	9.5%
24hr supply without meter	2	2.5%	3%
< 24hr supply without meter	1	1.5%	10%
No data	ND	5%	-
Sub indicator IV: Solid waste management			
IMC vehicle	2	96.5%	93.5%
No IMC vehicle	1	3.5%	3.5%

Findings:

1. Across the four sub-indicators, a majority of both settlement and unit sample shows access in terms of distance, regularity and quality.
2. Gaps were observed in access to basic services within settlements. In 21 settlements, water supply wasn't recorded as evenly distributed among all dwellings. This was the case with 17 settlements for sanitation, 8 settlements for power supply and 5 settlements for solid waste management.
3. This gap in some cases was because of large settlements divided by roads, water channels or railway lines. This was also observed in settlements which settled in phases. However, this trend is not exclusive to such cases. Settlements with no such physical or time barrier demonstrated similar gaps.
4. The data does not present any relationship between access to basic services and other indicators including tenure, monthly income, location, age and ownership of land. Nor is there any relationship among the sub-indicators.

Analysis and recommendations:

1. The extent of access to basic services seen among the sample settlements and dwelling units challenges the identification of 'slums' with 'inadequate access to services'. In extension, the investment into new infrastructure as part the schemes, addressing this 'inadequacy', needs to be reviewed as well.
2. The data corresponding to access to basic services is not presenting any relationship with other indicators, including tenure and economic status, indicating an incremental upgradation of living conditions in 'slums' through investments by people and the infrastructure development projects which did not mandate any pre-requisite conditions.
3. The gaps observed within settlements, where individual households are unable to access these services equally, shows that there is a need to invest in existing infrastructure in 'slums' to enhance its efficiency and reach. This will allow both, end coverage as well as investment to upgrade the quality of the service.

TENABILITY

Table 3.8 | Distribution of Phase II sample among indicators of tenability

INDICATOR CONSTITUENTS	SCORE	% OF 269 STRUCTURES	% OF 31 SETTLEMENTS WITH AVERAGE SCORE
Sub indicator I: Tenure			
Registered	5	1%	3.5%
EWS land reservation	4	4%	6.5%
Patta	3	39%	26%
Notarised transaction	2	16%	32.5%
None	1	29%	32.5%
No data	ND	11%	-
Sub indicator II: Ownership of land			
Owned by occupant	5	2.2%	3.5%
Indore Municipal Corporation	4	42%	45%
Collector	3	37.3%	32%
Indore Development Authority	2	14%	13%
Private	1	4.5%	6.5%
Sub indicator III: Land use as per IDP 2021			
Residential	5	63.56%	64.51%
Mixed, with residential	4	9.66%	9.67%
Public and semi-public	3	2.97%	12.9%
Mixed	2	4.46%	6.45%
Others	1	19.33%	6.45%
Sub indicator IV: Payment of property tax			
IMC vehicle	2	96.5%	93.5%
No IMC vehicle	1	3.5%	3.5%

Findings:

1. The two settlements with the highest average tenure security also feature in the lowest averages for spatial and structural adequacy. These two settlements were relocated 25 years ago from the city centre to land reserved for EWS near the fringe.
2. Few settlements with no tenure and located on private and other non-government lands are also seen to have higher averages of spatial and structural adequacy as well as basic services.
3. Tenure security is not homogenous within all settlements, with households in 12 settlements recorded at different levels of tenure.

Analysis and recommendations:

1. The data corresponding to tenure reiterates analyses

from previous sections

- a. It shows that both, at a household and settlement level, there are strong tenure provisions secured over decades.
- b. Some of the settlements with poor or no tenure provisions have been recorded with good access to basic services, while settlements with strong tenure are found to be lacking in spatial and structural adequacy. These findings demonstrate the following:
 - i. Strength of incremental infrastructural additions in 'slums' over years through investments by people and state partnered infrastructure development projects which did not mandate tenure as a pre-requisite condition for availing benefits.
 - ii. The weakness of tenure provisions and rehabilitation efforts which are not reinforced with periodic

investments for further development which:

1. Limit people's investment to securing access to basic services, curbing development in other aspects, including home expansion and maintenance and site development for amenities as observed from the data.
2. The strict regulation of rehabilitation designs both in terms of unit and site plan, when added to lack of financial support, restrict horizontal as well as vertical expansion, needed for future needs.

ACCESS TO SOCIAL AMENITIES

Table 3.9 | Distribution of phase II sample among indicators of access to social amenities

INDICATOR CONSTITUENTS	SCORE	% OF 269 STRUCTURES	% OF 31 SETTLEMENTS WITH AVERAGE SCORE
Sub indicator I: Education			
Primary <=1km, higher <=5km	3	71%	71%
Primary <=1km, higher > 5km	2	12%	9.5%
Primary and higher 1 to 5km	1	12.5%	16%
No data	ND	4.5%	3.5%
Sub indicator II: Health			
Government hospital <=2km	3	23%	3.5%
Government hospital 2-5km	2	40%	22.5%
Government hospital >5km	1	35%	35.5%
No data	ND	2.5%	3.5%
Sub indicator III: Community centre			
Inside settlement	3	30%	29%
Within <=2km	2	58.5%	48.5%
Located >2km away	1	0%	19%
No data	ND	11.5%	3.5%
Sub indicator IV: Open space			
Designated open space <=1km	3	21%	26%
Any open space <=1km	2	58.5%	58%
No open space <=1km	1	7.5%	9.5%
No data	ND	13%	6.5%
Sub indicator IV: Anganwadi			
Located within settlement	2	80.5%	81.5%
Not located within settlement	1	9%	19.5%
No data	ND	10.5%	-

Findings:

1. Even if 71 per cent of the structures are located in proximity to primary and higher standards, there were mixed responses whether these schools were preferred.
2. The data shows that a majority of units (35.5 per cent) are located farther than 5 km from a government hospital. However, respondents spoke of clinics and private health facilities located closer.
3. In the case of community centres and designated open space, a majority of the units do not have designated facilities within the settlement. These residents reported either using empty plots or the streets in the settlement rather than use a paid

centre or an undesignated open space, irrespective of its proximity to the settlement.

4. Among the relocated settlements, unlike access to basic services which were extended to the settlements over time, access to social amenities seems to be influenced by the extension of the city to their proximity. Access to education and anganwadi are exceptions to this, with a reach further than the others irrespective of the surroundings.
5. Reflecting the above point, the spatial analysis shows a peripheral concentration of lack of access. However, there are also a few settlements to the periphery and closer to the centre with higher and lower access, respectively.
6. Regarding access to open spaces, while the peripheral settlements are located in relatively lower density surroundings, it is the absence of designated open spaces that is bringing down the average. While there is use of such undesignated open spaces in some settlements, majority of them listed lack of safety for not using these spaces.

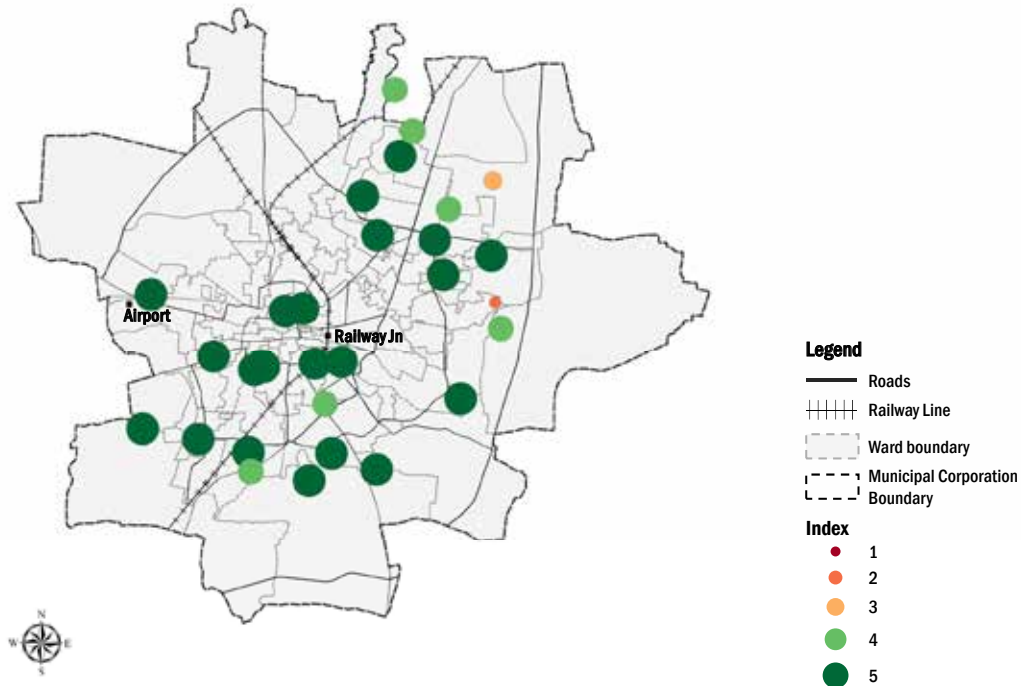
Analysis and recommendations:

1. Unlike access to basic services and tenure provisions, the 'slums' in Indore are demonstrating weak access to social amenities. The data findings revealing this trend need to be analysed keeping in mind that the definitions of adequacy of social amenities were borrowed from existing norms. While this has been done for access to basic services as well, observations of preference for each amenity by residents show a variation with that of norms for social amenities.
 - a. Respondents expressed that they access health and education facilities far from the site irrespective of availability of similar amenities in proximity, stating concerns of quality.
 - b. In case of community centre and open space, however, residents prefer undesignated spaces within the community appropriated for the purpose, over designated spaces outside or even in proximity to the community, stating concerns of safety and cost.
 - c. These trends are in clear contrast to provisions and access to these services in sites of rehabilitation and future proposals.
 - i. The location of rehabilitation sites being near

or outside the fringe furthers the distance travelled to access education and health of preferred quality.

- ii. The design of community centres and open spaces within the rehabilitation site do not reflect the generation and use of these spaces in previous settlements, leading to dis-use, lack of safety and appropriation for other uses. Not only does this resemble the issue regarding these amenities in previous sites, it amplifies the same by reducing opportunity for generation of these spaces by people due to strictly regulated site designs.
2. A strong takeaway from the data is that while access to social amenities is showing a weaker presence among the indicators, rehabilitation proposals under schemes like PMAY are furthering this weakness by widening the same gaps existing in 'slums', along with disrupting provisions like tenure, structural adequacy and access to basic services, whose data is showing stronger trends.

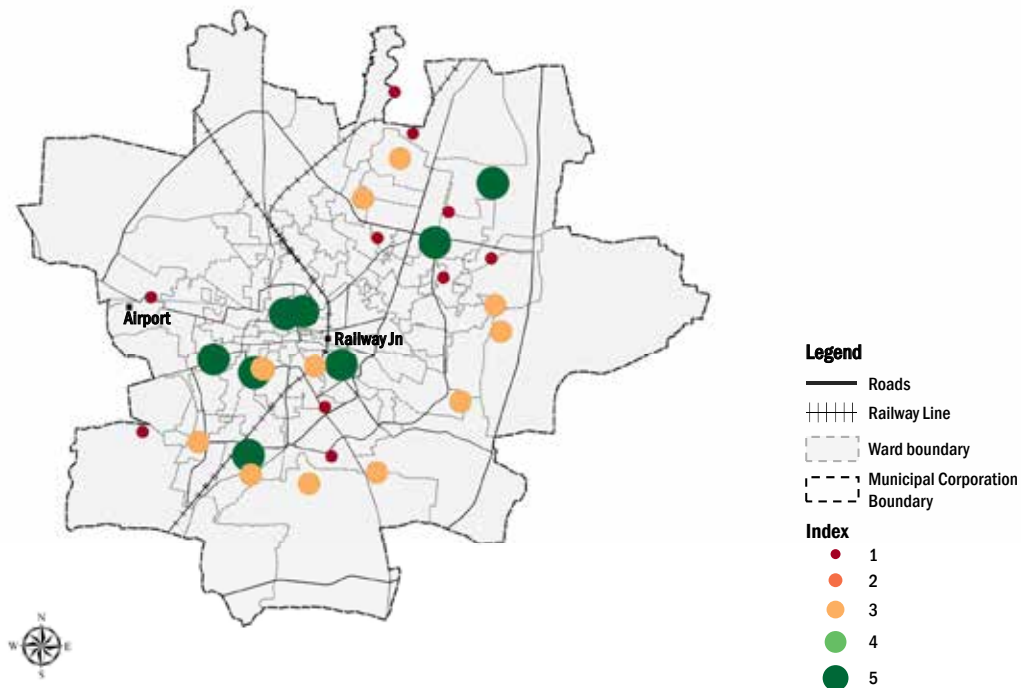
Map 3.19 | Settlements represented as per weights corresponding to access to education



Map not to scale

Source: IMC, 2015; OSM, 2019; Census, 2011; YUVA-IIHS Analysis, 2017-19

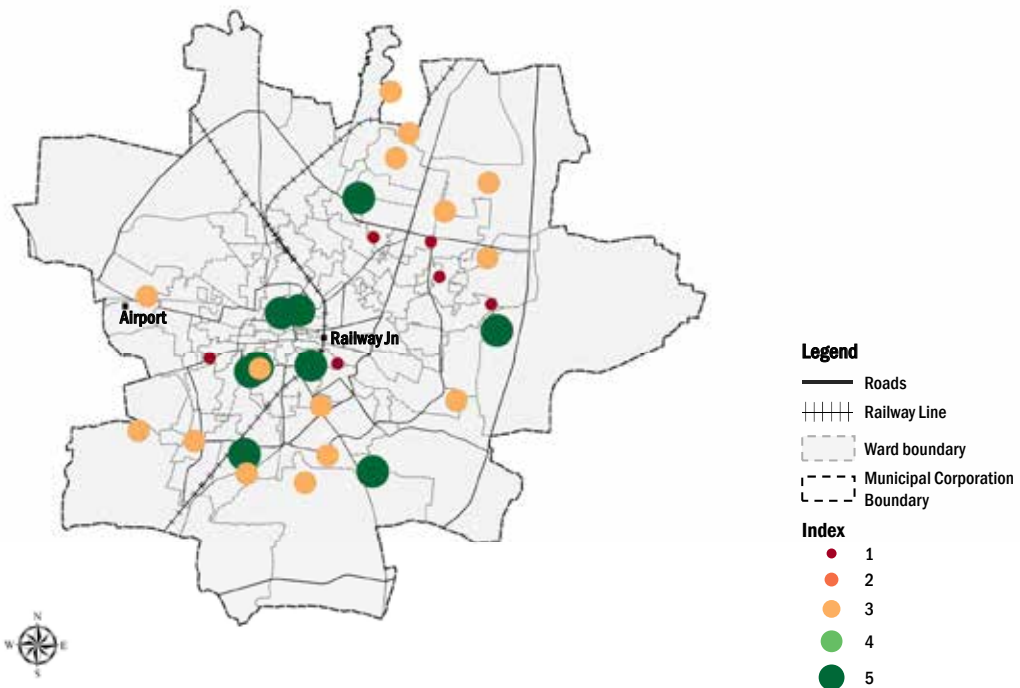
Map 3.20 | Settlements represented as per weights corresponding to access to health



Map not to scale

Source: IMC, 2015; OSM, 2019; Census, 2011; YUVA-IIHS Analysis, 2017-19

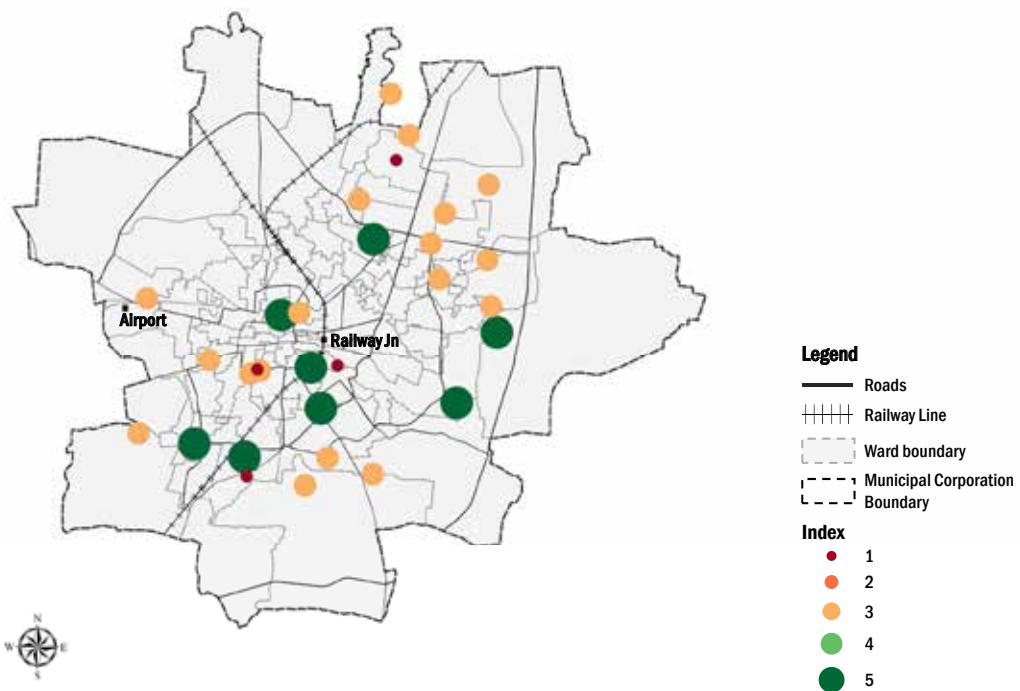
Map 3.21 | Settlements represented as per weights corresponding to access to community centre



Map not to scale

Source: IMC, 2015; OSM, 2019; Census, 2011; YUVA-IIHS Analysis, 2017-19

Map 3.22 | Settlements represented as per weights corresponding to access to open space



Map not to scale

Source: IMC, 2015; OSM, 2019; Census, 2011; YUVA-IIHS Analysis, 2017-19

INVESTMENT

Table 3.10 | Distribution of phase II sample among indicators of investment

INDICATOR CONSTITUENTS	SCORE	% OF 269 STRUCTURES	% OF 31 SETTLEMENTS WITH AVERAGE SCORE
Sub indicator I: Cost of construction			
>1.5 lakh	4	17.5%	9.5%
1 lakh to 1.5 lakh	3	7%	26%
50,000 to 1 lakh	2	13%	35.5%
<=50,000	1	35%	29%
No data	ND	28.5%	-
Sub indicator II: Monthly income of household			
<=5,000	4	16.5%	0%
5,000 to 8,334	3	17%	16%
8,334 to 16,667	2	38%	77.5%
>16,667	1	28.5%	6.5%

Findings:

1. The data shows that a majority of the households in the 269 structures belong to the middle and higher income groups (as per categories used by the study), yet the cost of construction of majority structures is less than 1 lakh.
2. The average cost of construction and monthly income in settlements do not follow the same graph. While a major portion of lower income groups also fall in the lower cost of construction category, there are a considerable number of them in the higher cost of construction category and vice-versa.
3. Comparing indicators of spatial adequacy with that of floor area, the cost of construction is not directly proportional to floor area per occupant. There are settlements with lower averages of cost of construction with higher floor area and vice versa. Additionally, in case of higher cost of construction and higher floor area, the average of monthly income is not always in the higher category.

- recorded as pucca challenges the proposal for new construction under ISSR and AHP, where the cost of construction has been estimated at 7.5 lakh per unit with a beneficiary contribution of 2 lakh.
2. The same finding also indicates the gap in investment required for the two distinct forms of housing production—self built, incremental production and flat for rehabilitation supplied by state with private partners.

Limitations:

Cost of construction has not been rationalised according to the year of construction and location. Monthly income has not been augmented with information regarding additional financial sources and liabilities. Data on expenditure of households would strengthen the reading of cost of construction versus monthly income of household.

Analysis and recommendations:

1. Data shows that 68 per cent households (excluding the sample with no data) have spent less than one lakh on home construction, irrespective of their economic status. Reading this finding alongside strong provisions for tenure and basic services and that 98.5 per cent structures have been

EXPERIENCES AND FUTURE CONSTRUCTION PLANS

Table 3.11 | *Distribution of phase II sample among indicators of experience and future construction plans*

INDICATOR CONSTITUENTS	SCORE	% OF 269 STRUCTURES	% OF 31 SETTLEMENTS WITH AVERAGE SCORE
Sub indicator I: Experience of living in settlement			
+ve 5 to 7 points	4	5%	0%
+ve 2 to 4 points	3	35.5%	42%
+1, 0, -1	2	52.5%	55%
-ve 2 to 4 points	1	7%	3.5%
Sub indicator II: Future construction plans			
Structural	5	25%	0%
Home extension	4	2.5%	13%
Finishing	3	2.5%	19.5%
Repairs	2	8.5%	29%
None	1	61.5%	38.5%

Findings:

1. The settlements where the average of future plans is closer to the value of none are either those settlements with higher average of structural adequacy or lower income in case of those with lower structural adequacy. The latter also recorded low in the experience of living in settlement.
2. However, the settlements where the average plan for construction is structural are also those with lower income and/or lower experience of living in settlement.
3. The data on experience of living in the settlement was collected through semi-structured interviews. Each positive and negative experience was recorded as one positive and negative point respectively. The range of scores recorded was between +7 to -4 points.
4. From the 269 structures, a total of 692 positive points and 353 negative points were recorded.

Analysis and recommendations:

1. Data reveals an aspiration for structural upgradation in a majority of structures recorded with lower structural adequacy.
2. This aspiration needs to be read alongside the finding that under recorded experiences of living in settlements, infrastructure and social and mental wellbeing have been recorded as the highest factors under positive experiences. With strong indicators of access to service infrastructure in 'slums' and a recorded narrative of social and mental wellbeing, the aspiration of structural adequacy needs to be addressed to augment this finding, rather than uproot residents from the same, as proposed by rehabilitation proposals.

Fig 3.3 | Distribution of positive and negative points of experience across indicators

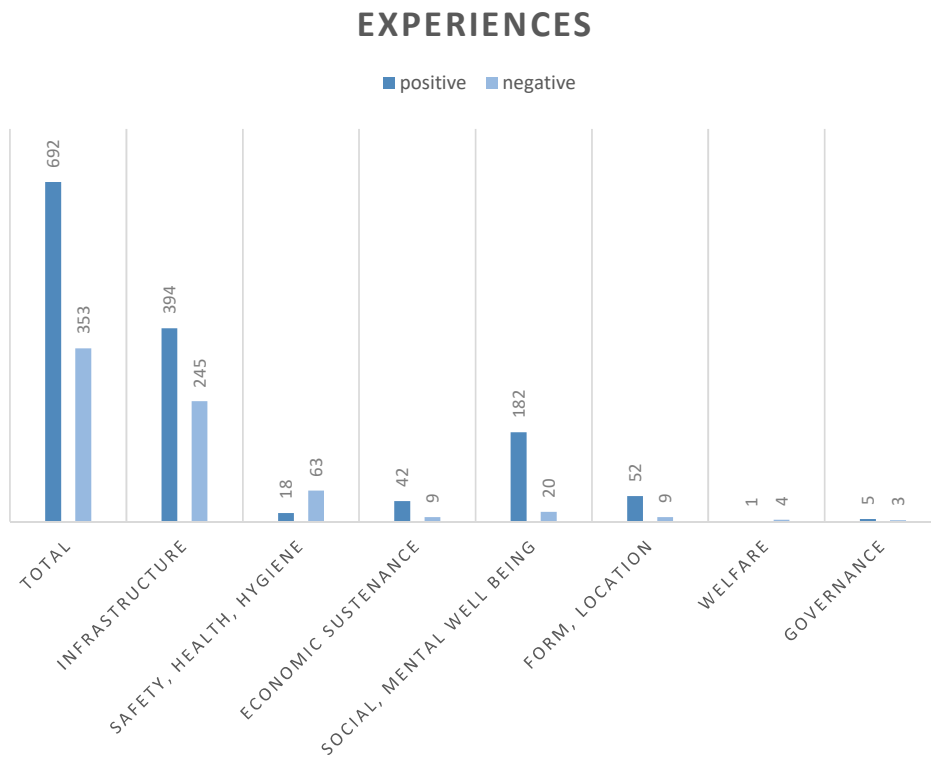
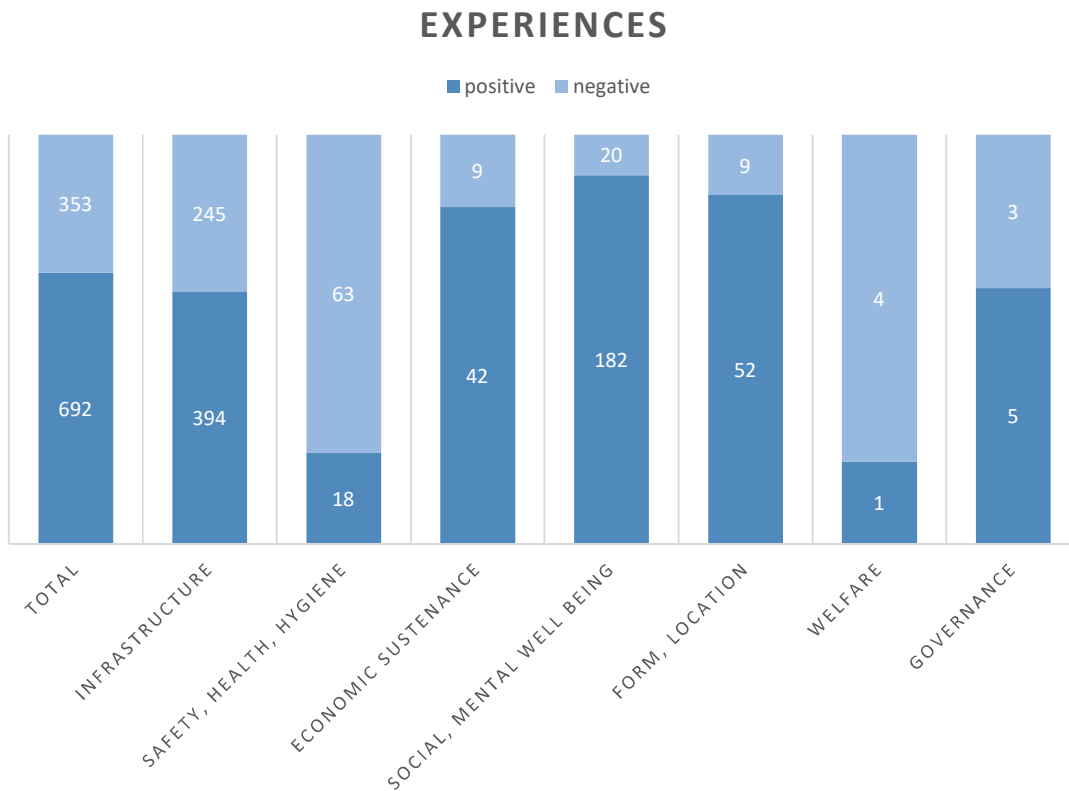


Fig 3.4 | Distribution of positive and negative points of experience within indicators



3.3 KEY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS:

1. A recurring observation during primary data analysis is the challenge this data set poses to the alleged qualities of 'slums', prevalent indicators for their measurement and the assumption of their homogenous spread across all settlements and across units within settlements.
 - a. Data findings corresponding to structural adequacy showed that the kutchra and pucca terminology is not a quality measurable at settlement level. It also revealed that by this definition of structural adequacy, 96.5 per cent structures are pucca, refuting the need for new constructions.
 - b. Findings from access to social amenities revealed a preference of amenities, by nature of their form and quality that is different from what is considered adequate by existing planning standards. This finding stands in contrast to rehabilitation proposals moving families farther from health and education facilities of preferred quality and designs which restrict contextual appropriation of space for community and open space activities.
 - c. Provisions of tenure and access to basic services along with structural adequacy showed the strongest trends. A vast majority of structures and settlements showed layers of these provisions secured over decades, refuting the definitions that they are 'temporal' and 'inadequately serviced'.
 - d. Data corresponding to spatial adequacy reveals that the existing methods of measurement of density at a unit level—occupants per dwelling room and occupants per floor area, and a settlement level—plots/structures per hectare,
 - i. Collect data that varies greatly across settlements and units within settlements with the sample demonstrating densities lower and higher than the norm by more than double the extent.
 - ii. do not capture spatial characters like the design of open spaces that showed definitive trends at a settlement level, redefining density as a function of use of space by occupants as much as a measurement of space and its occupants.
2. The distribution of indicator weights across settlements is more prominent than its concentration within settlements. This raises an essential question as to whether settlements (in context of this study, slums) should be the smallest units of intervention or households and structures.
3. Relationship between data findings corresponding to different indicators reiterates findings from secondary review and phase I of primary data analysis
 - a. The strength of access to basic services was not seen as related to the strength or weakness of other provisions, revealing that there has been an incremental process of accessing these services over the years by investments of people and the state, irrespective of the presence of other provisions.
 - b. 'Slums' relocated more than two decades ago are demonstrating weaker spatial and structural adequacy compared to those that are occupying the same land for longer periods without relocation. This reveals the limitations of restricted unit and site plans of rehabilitation proposals and absence of state investments into rehabilitation sites post rehabilitation.
 - c. This trend of settlements with adequate access to services in need of stronger tenure security and settlements with strong tenure security lacking in structural adequacy and basic services may also be attributed to interventions for tenure in the form of tenancy acts (refer to section 2.2.3.1) and projects for infrastructural development (refer Fig 2.2) being implemented independent of each other and neither interventions being consolidated by future interventions.
 - d. From the status of relocated settlements, it can be seen that while access to basic services to the settlements has been acquired over time and negotiations, access to social amenities seems to be influenced by the growth of the city to their proximity. In lieu of current proposals for relocation and rehabilitation, this observation is critical to consider.
4. The data underlines gaps in proposals of centrally sponsored schemes, particularly PMAY, for rehabilitation of 'slums' in addressing the needs of settlements listed in their 'slum' lists. Gaps have been noted in the methods of rehabilitation through relocation, investment in construction of new flats, design of units and sites of rehabilitation and

proposals for services and amenities.

- a. More than 70 per cent of the reported costs of construction are lesser than 1.5 lakh, 96.5 per cent structures have been recorded under pucca category and 55 per cent have been recorded with latest structural addition not older than 10 years. Considering these conditions, phasing these 'slums' under PMAY, for new construction at 7.5 lakh per unit with 2 lakh beneficiary contribution challenges rehabilitation into new construction by strongly favouring on-site upgradation.
- b. It has also been observed that monthly income and cost of construction are not following a similar graph with households in the lower income groups bearing higher costs of construction. This indicates a possibility that home construction is being supported by additional sources of funding, revealing one of the existing layers of upgradation being sought by residents. This adds to the layers of available agency with 'slums' that proposals for rehabilitation could augment and not disrupt.
- c. The gaps in service distribution observed within the settlements with inadequate end coverage reflect in similar issues observed in rehabilitation

sites during preliminary visits, challenging the assessment of need for rehabilitation proposals and efficiency of their implementation. It indicates a need for improvement of service accessibility within settlements.

5. Another recurring narrative from the data findings is the need for re-imagination of housing, primarily as a unit complete with approved design elements, to present a new mode of housing production that begins with occupation to then progress towards development of building components. This can be seen from
 - a. Settlements observed with strong tenure and infrastructure and relatively weaker structural and spatial adequacy.
 - b. Settlements with higher average incomes with lower average cost of construction and lower structural and spatial adequacy, yet higher tenability and access to services.
6. Reiterating point 5 are the responses suggesting social and mental well-being and infrastructure as the strongest influencers of experience of living in a settlement. This is followed by location and economic sustenance. This calls for a reading of living and working in the city very different from the one influencing planning and policy today.

CHAPTER 4

CAPACITY BUILDING WORKSHOPS

Three day-long sessions were conducted at different stages of the study with residents from settlements included as part of the study. Including both classroom and field work components, these workshops began with exercises on spatial thinking and progressed into field visits to settlements where the learnings were used to read the conditions and draw up strategies for advocacy.

The findings from each phase of the study were presented in these sessions, illustrating case studies to deconstruct the logic of planning and to incorporate learnings from the discussions into the study outcomes.

4.1 WORKSHOP I:

Spatial Thinking and Planning

The first workshop focused on spatial thinking and introduction to planning. It was designed as a combination of classroom and workshop components. Exercise and topics of discussion included:

1. Reading spaces in top-view: The top-view is a representation in which norms of planning are detailed and read. However, it is not a mode that is legible to those without specific training. This session was designed to help the participants overcome this barrier.
2. Types of planning processes and their differences: The scope and differences between Master Plans, Schemes, Acts and projects were detailed by using examples which the group is familiar with.
3. Reading a land-use plan: The different components and representations in a land-use plan were explained through an exercise where each participant located their home on the map and understood what the overlaying colour meant.
4. 'Slum': As defined by formal practice—the history, definitions, categorisations and the opportunities and threats that follow categorisation were discussed.
5. Case studies introducing the relationship between planning and 'slum': Case studies detailed in

section 2.3 were discussed in detail. Many of the participants being residents of the settlements being discussed, this segment was able to ground points from the earlier segments through narratives from the participants.

A significant outcome of this workshop is the exchange of vocabulary between the participant's interaction with planning as a lived experience and its form in official tools like maps, acts, guidelines and drawings.

A takeaway from this workshop for the purpose of research has been that even as there is acute awareness about the popular imagination of a 'slum' and consequent interventions like eviction, relocation, loss of livelihood and identity, there seems to be a wide gap in understanding the relevant planning norms and their relationship to the status of their place in the city.

4.2. WORKSHOP II:

Plan Your City

The main theme of this workshop was 'Tenure and Tenability in the context of planning interventions'. It was divided into two sessions. The first session focused on detailing concepts introduced in the first workshop, relevant to the theme. The second session used these concepts to draw strategies to engage with various planning interventions. The day-long session included exercises and topics of discussion as follows:

1. 'Plan your ideal city': This exercise initiated a debate on division of land-use, ownership, services and access by engaging groups of participants to draw a plan of their ideal city. Thinking from a planner's perspective allowed the groups to think of the city with all its communities, their habitats and networks. The following debate addressed their questions on priorities and the responsibilities of decision-making while planning.

2. Ladder of land rights: The basis for strength of claims to land was explained by first listing the different relationships that communities and individuals hold with the land they occupy and the terms used in formal vocabulary to define and respond to these claims. Legal-illegal, authorised-unauthorised, tenable-untenable, regular-irregular were some of the terms explained.
3. Moving towards thinking about strategies in the context of central schemes: Using the above terms with respect to the participant's settlements and the implications of such a relationship in the context of current central schemes including Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) and Smart Cities Mission (SCM) was discussed.
4. Case-studies: Possible strategies for strengthening the claims and advocacy in case of immediate threat were discussed using case-studies from Indore.

A major takeaway from this workshop is the list of issues that was generated in relation to the current status of planning interventions in Indore with respect to informal settlements. It also strengthened the planning vocabulary relevant for these issues to be strategised in further sessions.

4.3. WORKSHOP III:

Think Like a Practitioner

The third workshop was conducted in the form of field practica in two sites—Bhuri Tekri and Indrajeet Nagar. A smaller group of participants from the previous workshops were engaged in this workshop.

The settlements chosen for the visits are opposite to each other in terms of form, legal status, history and future planning propositions. Bhuri Tekri is a recently evicted site where a Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) rehabilitation site stands completed and occupied, adjoining a PMAY site under construction. It is also site to transit camps where the evicted families now live. Indrajeet Nagar is a site of relocation of 50 years where majority households own pattas and pay property tax. However, it is under threat of eviction due to new adjoining developments.

Keeping these differences in mind, the following activities were planned for the visits:

1. Reading the form, service level and legality of a

settlement on-site.

2. Assessing the need and drawing an intervention strategy.
3. Understanding and managing disparities within the community.
4. Plans of action for the communities on each site.

The group concluded both visits by meeting the residents and discussing possible strategies. While the discussion in Indrajeet Nagar focused on strengthening tenure security, the discussion in Bhuri Tekri focused on strengthening agency in negotiations after rehabilitation, including access to the maintenance fund and reviewing gaps in list of families to be rehabilitated.

One of the intermediary outputs of the study was a result of this workshop. From the issues and strategies discussed for each site, a 'fact file on PMAY(U) implementation in Indore' was drawn for the attention of practitioners in similar fields in other cities.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. IN CONCLUSION

This report is the outcome of an intense process that challenges the notion and definition of 'slums' and proposes alternative perspectives to ascertain the need for state-driven planning interventions directed at poverty and marginalisation. With 38.68 per cent of Indore living in 'slums' and ongoing housing schemes directed at these slums, this study provides crucial insights for Indore's planning trajectory.

The study began by asking whether 'slums' are a spatial unit or regulatory tool and critically explored multiple slum lists and the definition of slums. It found that settlements are included on lists not to respond to the needs of the resident population but driven by larger planning processes, often on an adhoc basis. As a result, diverse interventions have taken place in settlements listed as 'slums', often disrupting existing layers of tenure, services and socio-economic networks available with resident communities.

The study also aimed to understand the treatment of slums within the two Master Plans. The proposals for 'slums' by the Indore Development Plan (IDP) 1991 and IDP 2021 show that both plans had similar ways in which they conceived planning for slums. Both proposed zoning regulations, amendment of construction practices, reserving land for the poor, evictions and rehabilitation. Where they significantly differed was that in the 1991 plan rehabilitation was mandated to be close to the original settlement and upgradation of services was seen as part of the process.

However, the difference in vocabulary used for rationalising the proposals in the two plans demonstrates the changing imagination of 'slums' and residents of 'slums'. The IDP 1991 refers to eviction as an economic, social and emotional hindrance to be considered as a last option whereas IDP 2021 refers

to eradication of slums as one of the four possible solutions, even as it refers to indifference to the needs and aspirations of people as one of the reasons for failure of previous intervention into 'slums'.

To examine terms used to define 'slums' in planning norms, the study collated data at settlement, dwelling and household level to quantify relevant qualities including, density (term: 'overcrowding'), habitability (term: 'uninhabitable'), access to basic services (term: 'inadequately serviced'), natural light and ventilation (term: 'lack of light and ventilation').

Drawing from indicators for these qualities, both included and excluded from planning norms, the study framed the data collection and analysis around nine indicators and their sub-indicators—structural adequacy, spatial adequacy, access to basic services, access to social amenities, tenure security, investment, distance from work, experience of living in the settlement, and future construction plans.

The study found that the data corresponding to these indicators varies widely across and within settlements both quantitatively and qualitatively. The average values of indicators observed at the settlement level varied across 'slums' with no definite pattern among 'slums' with similar indicators of age, income, tenure or location. Both agency and vulnerability was witnessed among households and structures. This pointed to a need to re-imagine terminologies and indicators of measurement used in the various definitions of 'slums'—the language of *kuccha* and *pucca*, the measurement of density and 'overcrowding' and the norms for adequacy of social amenities.

The findings also showed considerably well-built, serviced, maintained and viably located units, irrespective of their location within defined 'slums'. This refutes the imagined need for clearance and rehabilitation retained through years of planning

interventions and being strengthened by the current housing scheme, the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY).

The study highlighted solutions implemented by various governments in the form of infrastructure provision, tenure security and new housing to solve the 'problem' of slums. While some of these interventions, especially designed at the city-level, have enabling results, their success was not sustained by successive initiatives. Newer initiatives either ignored or disrupted existing provisions and infrastructure. The securities provided by the tenancy acts were not considered within the scope of large infrastructural projects by the state government in partnership with international financial institutions like the Slum Networking Project.

The inclusive vision of these two phases of planning interventions are weakened by lack of follow-up investments and absence of a collaboration to build on each other's provisions. The infrastructure set up by these projects are not considered within the scope of the current centrally sponsored schemes, installing a new layer of infrastructure. Not only are centrally sponsored schemes like PMAY and the Smart Cities Mission (SCM) investing in completely new constructions for housing and service infrastructure, they are erasing layers by de-legitimising their provisions.

This trend reflects in the findings where settlements with strong tenure are weak in terms of structural and service infrastructure and those with good access to services and a relatively better spatial adequacy have no form of tenure security. The same is feeding into clustering them under the umbrella of 'slums' repeatedly, even after layers of interventions attempting to address the same.

Different planning instruments, including IDP 2021, recognise this lapse in recognition of existing layers and consequent gaps in intervention. There are also those supporting instruments like the Slum Free City Plan (SFCP) that substantiate these layers of interventions in their collation of status of slums. However, this analysis does not reflect in the interventions proposed by the same bodies, where viability of project development or 'unlocking the potential of viable urban land' (PMAY guidelines)

become priorities.

The propositions for both provision of housing and intervention into slums, especially the centrally sponsored schemes, focus on production of units of houses serviced by basic services including water, sanitation and electricity. However, the data collected for this study as well as data collected for design of these schemes show that gap in structural adequacy and access to basic services is minimal in Indore and does not warrant new construction. However, the data reveals gaps in access to social amenities and need for structural upgradation, both of which are not being addressed by the propositions. Instead, access to social amenities, which is seen as influenced by location with respect to city boundary, will be made even more precarious in case of relocation to proposed sites.

Sites of rehabilitation, both past and proposed, show a homogenous design defined by floor area, number of dwelling rooms per household, infrastructure for basic services and community spaces. A reading of spatiality of structures as well as settlements show varying permutations of weights of these components, yet not resulting in simply reduced versions of proposed designs but a diverse range of spatial productions, each with its own exhibition of density, arrangement, solid-void ratios and resultant patterns of light, ventilation, crowding, legibility and navigability.

While measurement of essential dimensions for reduction of risk are important, they cannot form the defining grid of spatial production. Spatiality, as observed from the settlement sample, is a product of history of settlement, traditions of construction and design, contextual need and aspirations, surrounding limitations and priorities based on economic viability. A detailed study of incremental production of housing in these settlements may shed light on possible readings of existing layers of space and adaptable interventions for the future.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

Need for a vocabulary that recognises self-built settlements and the logic of their planning

The study establishes that the existing vocabulary in planning for defining and approaching self-built

settlements is detrimental to their status and the future of habitat security in cities. A new vocabulary is needed that recognises the process of planning that begins with occupation and moves gradually towards securing services, structural upgradation, access to amenities and tenure security. The vocabulary must include the traditions of design and construction that evolve over increments of consolidating the structures, their surrounding and their networks.

The variation of qualities observed by the study, within and across settlements, defying a formal understanding of spatial adequacy, calls for a vocabulary that can articulate alternate relationships of spatial use—residential, commercial, industrial, recreational, etc.—moving away from the existing formal understanding of segregated and ready uses set inside clear hierarchies.

The study shows a process of securing access to services, amenities and tenure in the settlements that transcends source and supply, traversing histories of mobilisation, political processes and incremental investments. The new vocabulary should reflect a reading of this evolution and allow opportunities for consolidating and strengthening these layers.

A needs assessment of self-built settlements should inform an intervention for improvement

The 'slum' as a homogenous unit in need of one-size-fits-all planning interventions is an imagination that must be disintegrated both in policy and in popular imagination. The understanding of 'slums' as problems ('samasya') must evolve with the agency that the settlements under this umbrella have acquired over the years, with a recognition for the alternate mode of spatial production that they are facilitating. The policy assumption of 'slums' as spatial concentrations, targeting arbitrarily demarcated settlements for interventions, needs to be replaced by identification of units of intervention according to an assessment of need.

For a true realisation of need, its terminology should also be reinvented based on ground conditions. This is evident from the insufficiency of terms like kuccha and pucca, which fail to capture diversity in material typology and construction practices or the perception

of overcrowding from a definition of density removed from use of space.

The need for critical needs assessment has also been made evident from the study finding that social and mental well-being is one of the highest influencer, deciding experience in a settlement, second only to access to infrastructure. This asks for a widening of scope of needs assessment in terms of both measurement and imagination.

Up-gradation of existing housing must take precedence over provision of new housing

Proposals of housing and infrastructure schemes to intervene into 'slums' need to take existing layers of investments by people and the state into consideration, for the agency they provide these settlements and gaps in their quality and reach. In scenarios like Indore, where existing provisions for housing are strong, in terms of tenure, structural adequacy and access to basic services, onsite upgradation must be the prioritised solution to meet housing needs. Investment models for supply of housing and infrastructure need to be reimaged to enhance existing provisions, adding to the investments secured over decades. Existing channels of support, both private and public, enabling home extensions, betterment of service infrastructure and access to preferred social amenities need to be augmented. For new investments to enable affordability, efficiency and sustainability of infrastructure, this is the only approach to achieve results at scale.

The models of housing and infrastructure proposed under past and existing centrally sponsored schemes that imagine a zero condition, to be built on entirely, need to be problematised. This is essential both for preventing disruption of existing securities and to ensure investment into efficiency and sustenance of existing provisions.

Housing programmes should recognise 'incrementality'

Housing, primarily as a unit complete with approved design and service elements, needs to be re-imagined as a mode of spatial production that begins with occupation of land, to then progress incrementally

towards development of building and service components over time. Findings from the study corresponding to existing provisions as well as gaps tell the story of incrementality, through layered histories of securing access and gaps in end coverage. The timeline of development traced through these observations asks for a reading of an incremental tradition of spatial production. This recognition is crucial to reveal the strengths and vulnerabilities of this mode of spatial production and to design for habitat security with minimally disruptive proposals.

Guidelines for meeting housing needs through relocation and rehabilitation, as articulated in PMAY, need to be re-evaluated considering that these proposals threaten existing housing security. Their vocabulary erasing the value of investments embedded in 'slums' and propagating private investments as the only viable solution for housing security need to be challenged.

Communities should be active participants and not recipients of the planning process

The engagement during capacity building workshops reveals a gap in planning knowledge between state infrastructure and people's understanding. As detailed in the earlier points, there is a need for populating planning terminology with vocabulary from people-led planning. At the same time, there is a need for disseminating formal planning language and logic to be accessible and usable by residents and communities. This should be imagined as a structural transformation with a re-structuring of both content and methods of planning education. The steps between the formulation of plans and peoples participation need to be recognised and their fulfilment should be an essential part of both design and implementation of planning instruments.

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QUESTIONNAIRE 1

PHASE I: SKETCH PROFILES OF 'SLUMS'

for questionnaires in Hindi visit <http://yuvaindia.org/your-right-to-know/>

NOVEMBER, 2017

I. Introduction of settlement:

Name		Ward
Age		
No of households		
Surrounding features (roads, use, building typology, water body, hill, etc.)		
Nearest land mark		
Ownership of land	i. Collector	ii. IDA
	iii. IMC	iv. Co-op housing society
	v. Private (other than self)	vi. Trust
	vii. Self	viii. Other
Is the settlement included in any scheme/project or going to be included?	Under what scheme/project is it mentioned?	Under what scheme/project will it mentioned?

II. History of settlement :

First location/s of settlement of resident community/ies in Indore	Location	Time period	Tenure
	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		
If relocated, why?			
Did relocation happen more than once? (Y/N)			
If yes:			
First relocation	To	Time period	Tenure
	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		
Reasons for relocation			
Second relocation	To	Time period	Tenure
	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		
Reasons for relocation			

III. Typology of settlement and dwelling units

Number of floors	Least number		Highest number	
	Majority			
Predominant characters of construction	Roof type		pucca	kuccha
	Wall		pucca	kuccha
	Finishing		Yes	No
	Number of floors			
Road	kuccha	pucca	width	

IV. Socio-economic condition :

Caste of families	1.	Majority
	2.	
	3.	
	4.	
	5.	
Documentation available with residents	Housing related	
	Personal	
	Work related	
Livelihood	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
	4.	

V. Services

Water supply	Number	Functional (Y/N)		Price		
Collective hand pumps						
Individual hand pumps						
Collective tanks						
IMC/private tanker						
Collective taps						
Individual taps						
Collective wells						
Individual wells						
Sanitation	Individual		Public toilet	Price	Open defecation	
	Septic Tank	City sewerage network				
Power supply	Authorised		Un-authorised		Meter/bill (Y/N)	
Solid waste management	Dustbin/ vehicle to collect waste (Y/N)			Provision to clean roads and open spaces (Y/N)		
School	Government (distance)			Private (distance)		
	Primary	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Higher Secondary
Hospital	Government (distance)			Private (distance)		
Community centre	Number		Ownership	price	Area	
Anganwadi						
Open space	Distance			Area		

Transport facilities	Nearest bus stop (distance)	
	Nearest auto stand (distance)	
	Majorly used facility	
	Distance from work	1.
		2.
3.		
4.		

VI. Contact person from settlement

Name	House number	Phone number

VII. Any NGO or volunteer organisation working in the settlement

Name	Work

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

PHASE II: DETAILED SURVEY

for questionnaires in Hindi visit <http://yuvaindia.org/your-right-to-know/>

JANUARY, 2018

Name of the Basti:

Details of Respondent

Part 1: Population Related Information				
1A. Details of Respondent				
We would want to start with some general questions.				
Sr.No	Question	Response	Code	Remarks
1.1	What is your name?	(Male / Female / Other) (Age.....)		
1.2	Since when in Indore? (yrs)			
1.3	Since when in Basti? (yrs)			
1.4	Where were you living before settling in this basti?			
1.5	Reason for settling here	If relocated from where?..... Why?	1	
		Work	2	
		Education	3	
		Marriage	4	
		With Family	5	
		Own House	6	
		By Birth	7	
		Any other	888	
1.6	Where were you born?	Indore	1	
		Other District/City in M.P.	2	
		Other State in India	3	
		Any other	444	
1.7	What work do you do?	1. 2.		

		3. 4. 5.		
1.8	What is your earning?	1. Daily/Monthly/ any other..... 2. Daily/Monthly/ any other..... 3. Daily/Monthly/ any other..... 4. Daily/Monthly/ any other..... 5. Daily/Monthly/ any other.....		
1.9	What is the earning of your family	Daily/Monthly/ any other.....		
1.11	Work before settling in basti Distance from work..... Daily/Monthly/ any other.....		
1.12	Change in work after settling in Basti	1..... Distance from work..... Earning..... 2..... Distance from work..... Earning..... 3..... Distance from work..... Earning.....		
Sr.No	Question	Response	Code	Remarks
1.13	Have you availed any loan?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
1.13.1	From where / whom?			
1.13.2	For what purpose? (code)			
1.13.3	For how much amount?			

1.13.4	Have you repaid it?	Yes	1	
		No	2	

Part1B: Details of respondent's family						
Basti Name						
Sr.No	Relationship with respondent	Age	Gender (Female / Male / other)	Work	Earning	Distance from work / place of study
1	Self					
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						

भाग 2: Land, House Ownership				
Sr.No	Question	Response	Code	Remarks
2.1	Ownership of Land	IMC	1	
		Collectors land	2	
		IDA	3	
		Colonizer / Developer	4	
		15% land reserved for EWS	5	
		Private (Not self)	6	
		Trust	7	
		Railway	8	
		Self	9	

		Other	10	
2.1.1.	Ownership in previous basti	IMC	1	
		Collectors land	2	
		IDA	3	
		Colonizer / Developer	4	
		15% land reserved for EWS	5	
		Private (Not self)	6	
		Trust	7	
		Railway	8	
		Self	9	
		Other	10	
2.2 - Building / Construction				
2.2.1	How many houses in this structure? (kitchen)			
2.2.2	How many families in them?			
2.2.3	How many people living in structure?			
2.3	Do you own the house or rent it?	Own House	1	
		On Rent	2	
2.3 A Own House				
2.3.1	Since when in this house?			
2.3.2	Type of tenure	Patta	1	
		Notarised doc	2	
		Registered doc	3	
		15% Land reservation	4	
		None	5	
		Receipt	6	
		Occupation Letter	7	
		Other	8	

2.3.2.1	When did you get it?			
2.3.2.2.	Who gave it?			
2.3.2.3	Validity period			
2.3.2.4	On whose name? (Relationship to respondent)			
2.3.2.5	Do they stay in this house?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
2.3.2.5.1	If not, where do they stay?	In this compound/ Room in this structure	1	
		Basti	2	
		Outside Basti	3	
		Other	4	
2.3.2.6	Tenure in previous settlement (if relocated)	Patta	1	
		Notary	2	
		Registry	3	
		15% Land	4	
		Non Existent	5	
		Receipt	6	
		Occupation Letter	7	
2.3.3	Did/do you pay property tax?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
2.3.3.1	Where did you pay?			
2.3.3.2.	How much			
2.3.3.3	In what intervals? (yrs)			
2.3.4	Is any part of the house rented?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
2.3.4.1	How many parts for living? (kitchen)			
2.3.4.1.1	To how many families?			
2.3.4.1.2	To how many people?			

2.3.4.1.3	How much rent do you take?	1..... 2..... 3.....		
2.3.4.2	How many parts for other than living? (rooms)			
2.3.4.2.1	How many different purposes/uses?			
2.3.4.2.2	Describe these uses.	1..... 2..... 3.....		
		How much rent do you take? 1..... 2..... 3.....		
2.3.4.3	Activities other than living in home and basti	At Home 1. 2. 3.	In Basti 1. 2. 3.	
2.3.4.4	What space do you use for this work?	Inside House	1	
		Room Constructed next to house	2	
		Open space next to house (describe space)	3	
		Construction in the basti	4	
		Open space in the basti (describe space)	5	
2.3.5	Any loan or mortgage on the house?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
2.3.5.1	From where/whom?			
2.3.5.2	For how much?			
2.3.5.3	For what purpose?			

2.3.5.4	Is it repaid?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
2.3.B. Rented				
2.3.1	Since when?			
2.3.2.	How much rent?			
2.3.3	Other than living in home, Activities	At Home 1. 2. 3.	In Basti 1. 2. 3.	
2.3.4	What space do you use for this work?	Inside House	1	
		Room Constructed next to house	2	
		Open space next to house (describe space)	3	
		Construction in the basti	4	
		Open space in the basti (describe space)	5	

3. House Construction						
Sr.No	Question			Response		Remarks
3.1	How old is the structure?					
3.2	In how many increments?					
3.5 Description						
Part	Construction Increments	How many years hence	Who got it constructe d?	How much did it cost?	How did you arrange for the cost?	Population of structure in each increment
1						
2						
3						
4						

5						
6						
3.6	Population of structure				Increment 1.....	Now
3.7 House Maintenance						
3.7	When is the last repair or maintenance done in the structure?					
3.7.1	What was the repair or maintenance?					
3.7.2	How much did it cost?					
3.7.3	How did you arrange for the cost?					

Part 4.1 A: Water for Drinking and Cooking							
Provision	Source	Period of availability (yearlong)	Cost of use (monthly)	Cost of Installation	Location	Availability Daily	Availability
Part 4.1 A: Water for other purposes							
Provision	Source	Period of availability (yearlong)	Cost of use (monthly)	Cost of Installation	Location	Availability Daily	Availability

Provision		Source		Location	
Description	Code	Description	Code	Description	Code
Individual water tap (self)	1	Narmada line	1	Inside the house	1
Tap installed by a group of households	2	Tank attached to - Narmada line	2	Inside compound	2
Individual water tap (govt)	3	Tank attached to - Bore well / tube well	3	Outside house, in the basti (distance)	3
Community tap (govt)	4	Tank - filled by tanker	4	Outside basti (<1 km)	4
Water tap of neighbour / acquaintance	5	Tank - filled by sump	5	Other (Describe)	5
Own tank	6	Pvt tanker	6		
Community tank (private, not self)	7	Govt Tanker	7		
Community tank (govt)	8	Sump attached to - Bore well / tube well	8		
Individual Hand pump (self)	9	Community Well	9		

Community hand pump (private)	10	Own Well	10		
Community hand pump (govt)	11	Bore well	11		
Own Well	12	Direct	12		
Community Well	13	Other (Describe)	13		
Bore Well	14	Yearly Availability		Predictability	
Govt Tanker	15	Answer	Code	Answer	Code
Pvt Tanker	16	Entire Year	1	Every day, on time	1
Sump	17	Not in summers	2	Can't say	2
From outside the basti	18	Only in Summers	3		
Other (Describe)	19				

4.2 Sanitation							
4.2.1	Type of toilet	How many toilets of each type	Who got it installed? 1. Individually 2. Family member (Mention) 3. Govt. (Scheme) 4. Project 5. other (Mention)	When was it constructed? How many years hence?	Installation cost (in k)	Where is it located? 1. Inside house/attached to house 2. Near the house (<500 mt.) 3. In basti 4. Outside the Basti (<500.mt) 5. Outside the Basti (>500.mt)	Sewage disposal 1. Main line 2. Septic Tank 3. Other
	1. Individual						
	2. Shared among a group of households						
	3. Community toilet						
	4. Outside						
	Other						
4.3 Electricity							
Sr.No	Question	Response		Code	Remarks		

4.3.1	Is there electricity in your house?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
4.3.2	Is the connection legal?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
4.3.3	Is there an electric meter?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
4.3.4	Since when do you have a connection?			
4.3.5	When did you install the meter?			
4.3.6	How much did the connection cost?			
4.3.7	Where do you get the electricity from?			
4.3.8	Monthly expenditure on electricity?			
		Bill not yet come	1	
		Don't know / cannot say	2	
4.3.9	How many hours a day do you have electricity?			
4.4. Waste Disposal				
4.4.1	Where do you dispose the waste?	Open space outside the house	1	
		Outside the house in the waste bin	2	
		Vehicle to collect waste	3	
		Other	4	
4.5 Waste Water Disposal				
4.5.1	Where do you dispose off waste water from the house?	Out in the open	1	
		To the main line	2	
		To the chamber	3	
		Other	4	
4.6 Documentation				

4.6.1	What ID proofs do you have?	Aadhar Card	1	
		Samagra ID	2	
		Pan Card	3	
		Ration Card	4	
			A.P.L	
			B.P.L	
			Antyoday	
		Kamkaji Mahila Card	5	
		Mazdoor Card	6	
		Rag picker Card	7	
		Feri/ Thela Card	8	
		Bank Account (0 Balance)	9	
		Bank Account (Other)	10	
		Other	11	

5. Experience in Basti (Good & Bad)

Good	Bad
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.
5.	5.
6.	6.

6. Expectations & Aspirations

Unit Level Observations

7. In relation to the House				
Sr. No	Question	Response	Code	Remarks
7.1	Surroundings	Main Road	1	
		Railway Track	2	
		River	3	
		Lake	4	

		Nallah	5		
		Dumping Groun	6		
		Other	7		
7.2	Typology of room relative to unit	Attached to House (1) / Detached (2)	Open (1)/ Close (2)/ Semi-open(3)	Number	Remarks
	Bedroom				
	Hall				
	Kitchen				
	Toilet and Bathroom				
	Toilet (Separate)				
	Bathroom (Separate)				
	Courtyard				
	Garden				
	Other				
Sr No	Question	Options	Code		
7.3	Typology	Independent Construction (with 1 house)	1		
		Independent Construction (with more than 1 house) No:	2		
		1 house in compound / plot	3		
		More than 1 house in compound / plot No:	4		
		Multi	4		
		Other	5		
7.4	Number of floors	1 floor	1		
		2 floors	2		
		3 floors	3		
		>3 (How many?)	4		
		Multi (no of floors)	5		
7.5	Size of compound / plot (sqft) x			
7.6	Size of unit (sqft) x			
7.7 Material used for House Construction (In case of more than one material please mention the predominant material)					
7.7.A	Material of walls	Grass	1		
		Bamboo, wood	2		
		Mud	3		

		Plastic , Polythene	4	
		Un-plastered Brick	5	
		Plastered Brick	6	
		Stone	7	
		G.I. Sheet	8	
		No walls	9	
		Cow dung / mud plaster	10	
		other	999	
7.7.B	Material of roof	Grass	1	12.6
		Bamboo, wood	2	
		Mud	3	
		Plastic , Polythene	4	
		Tiles	5	
		Stone, slate	6	
		G.I Sheet , Asbestos	7	
		R.C.C	8	
		Other	999	
7.7.C	Material of flooring	Mud	1	
		Tile	2	
		Brick	3	
		Stone / Slate	4	
		Cement	5	
		Other	999	
7.8	Number of open sides	1 side	1	
		2 sides	2	
		3 sides	3	
		4 sides	4	
		Other	5	
7.9	Distance between road and structure	None	1	
		Less than 3 feet	2	
		3-6 feet	3	
		Greater than 6 feet	4	

7.10	Open space on sides	1 st wall			
		None	1		
		< 3ft	2		
		3-6ft	3		
		> 6ft	4		
		2 nd wall			
		None	1		
		< 3ft	2		
		3-6ft	3		
		> 6ft	4		
		3 rd wall			
		None	1		
		< 3ft	2		
		3-6ft	3		
		> 6ft	4		
		4 th wall			
None	1				
< 3ft	2				
3-6ft	3				
> 6ft	4				
7.11	Width of road	< 6ft	1		
		6-12ft	2		
		12-18ft	3		
		>18ft	4		
7.12	Condition of road	'Kuchha'	1		
		'Pucca'	2		
7.13	Water leakage from roof during monsoon	Yes	1		
		No	2		
7.14	Flooding during monsoon	Yes	1		
		No	2		
7.7.15	Do you want to maintain / renovate the house?	Yes	1		
		No	2		
7.15.1	Plan to do any repairs/modifications? What, If Yes?				

Settlement Level Observation

Basti Level Details

8. Changes in the Basti					
8.1	Age of settlement				
Sr.No	Change	How many years hence?	By whom	Basti's involvement	Remarks
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

Fill the responses based on the following list of components:

Water supply
 Accessibility and condition of roads
 Accessibility to schools and hospitals
 Means of transport and accessibility
 Community Hall
 Green / Open Space
 Changes in surrounding areas
 Number of people / families in the basti
 Aanganwadi
 Amalgamation of Panchayat spaces into Municipality and IMC
 New schemes and projects intervening into the basti

Part 9: Other Characteristics in the basti					
Sr. no	Question	Response	Code	Remarks	
9.1 Basti – Its surroundings and Maintenance					
9.1.1	Surroundings	Main Road	1		
		Railway Track	2		
		River	3		
		Lake	4		
		Nallah	5		
		Dumping Grounds	6		
		Other	7		
9.1.2	Condition of public amenities (physical)	Pits (on Pucca Road)	1		
		Overflowing / Blocked Nallah	2		
		Other	3		
		Dilapidated/ Not functional community Facilities			
		Community well	4		
		Community Tank	5		
		Community sump	6		
		Community Hall	7		
		Stairs	8		
		Pipe / Chamber	9		
		Open Space	10		
		Green Area	11		
9.1.3	Garbage vehicle	Yes (Daily / Sometime)	1		
		No	2		
9.1.4	Has anyone taken up the responsibility of cleaning up the roads?	Yes	1		
		Who? People of the basti Government			

		No	2	
9.2 Social amenities				
9.2.1	Distance from Nearest School	School till 5 th Class		
		Distance: govt.....Private.....		
		School till 8 th Class		
		Distance: govt.....Private.....		
		School till 10 th Class		
		Distance: govt.....Private.....		
		School till 12 th Class		
		Distance: govt.....Private.....		
9.2.2	Distance from Nearest Hospital	Govt Hospital		
		Distance:		
		Private Hospital		
		Distance:		
9.2.2.1	Distance from Nearest Clinic	Inside the basti	1	
		Outside Basti Distance.....	2	
9.2.3	Distance from Nearest Ration Shop			
9.2.4	Open space Describe.....	Inside the basti/ adjacent to basti (Functional)	1	
		Inside the basti/ adjacent to basti (Not functional - Reason)	2	
		Outside the basti (Distance.....Cost)	3	
		None	4	
9.2.5	Community hall	Inside the basti/ adjacent to basti (Functional)	1	

		Inside the basti/ adjacent to basti (Not functional - Reason)	2	
		Outside the basti (Distance.....Cost)	3	
		None	4	
9.2.6	Anganwadi	Inside the basti/ adjacent to basti (Functional)	1	
		Inside the basti/ adjacent to basti (Not functional - Reason)	2	
		Outside the basti (Distance.....Cost)	3	
		None	4	
9.3 Area and population				
9.3.1	No of structures			
9.3.2	How many households in basti?			
9.3.4	Area of house / plot in basti which was provided at the time of occupation?			
9.3.5	Area of Basti			
9.3.6 Other activities in basti				
Sr.No	Activity	From Home	In Basti	Remarks
9.3.6.1	Commercial	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	
9.3.6. 2	Industrial	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	

9.3.6. 3	With relation to Institutions			
	Education	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	
	Governance	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	
	Religious	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	
	Social	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	
	Other	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	
9.3.6. 4	Recreational	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	
9.3.6. 5	Amenity	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	
9.3.6. 6	Other	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE 1

110 settlements with filter												
S.No	Name	period	size	tenure	typology	land	relocation	PMAY	IDP			location
									Land use	F1	F2	
1	Ahir Khedi	2	4	2	2	1	1	0				outer
2	Bada Bangarda	3	2	2	2	1	0	1				fringe
3	Naya Basera	3	3	2	2	1	1	1				fringe
4	Daktar Colony	2	1	4	5	5	1	4				fringe
5	Bhim Nagar	1	2	5	6	1	2	3				fringe
6	Durga Nagar	3	1	4	2	1	0	0				fringe
7	Ambewali Mata	2	1	3	2	1	1	4				fringe
8	Chnadmari Compound	4	2	0	1	4	0	0				inner
9	Babu Murayi Nagar	4	5	4	4	1	0	1				fringe
10	Ram Nagar	3	1	2	2	1	0	1				fringe
11	Panchsheel Nagar	1	2	5	6	1	2	3				fringe
12	Ahmed Nagar	3	1	2	1	2	0	2				fringe
13	Aman Nagar	3	4	1	4	1	0	1				fringe
14	Old Indira Ekta Nagar	3	1	2	2	1	0	2				fringe
15	New Indira Ekta Nagar	3	1	2	2	1	0	2				fringe
16	Shiv Nagar	3	4	2	2	1	0	2				fringe
17	Shanti Nagar	3	4	2	2	1	1	2				fringe
18	Diamond Palace colony	3	1	4	2	1	0	2				fringe
19	Buddh Nagar	1	1	5	6	2	18.2	3				fringe
20	Pawan putra Nagar	4	2	2	4	1	0	2				outer
21	Martand Nagar	2	1	2	4	1	0	2	M (R+T)			outer
22	Gangour Nagar	3	1	2	4	1	1	2				
23	Patel Nagar	3	1	1	4	3	0	1				fringe
24	Sohrab Colony	2	1	1	4	3	0	0				fringe
25	Chand Mari Bhatta	3	3	1	4	3	0	0		Ind/public/wholesale		inner
26	Jan Sewa Nagar	4	2	2	1	1	0	0				inner
27	Shyama Charan Skukla Nagar	3	3	2	4	1	0	0				
28	Professor Colony	3	0	0	1	1	0	0				inner
29	Mahadev Nagar	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	M (R+T)			outer
30	Arjun Nagar	3	1	2	4	1	0	2				
31	Rajiv Nagar	3	4	2	5	1	0	4				fringe
32	Shajaha Colony	3	2	1	4	3	0	1				fringe
33	Asarfi Nagar	3	4	1	5	3	0	0				fringe
34	Hajari Bagh Colony	2	0	1	4	3	0	4				fringe
35	Shri Vishvkarma Nagar	3	3	0	1	1	0	4				inner
36	Joshi Mohalla	4	2	4	5	5	0	1				inner
37	Rahul Gandhi Nagar (Lasudiya)	2	3	0	2	1	1	0				
38	Bhuri Tekri	4	1	2	1	1	0	1				fringe
39	Hapsi Bicholi	2	1	0	1	1	1	2				
40	140 scheme	1	3	5	5	2	2	3				fringe
41	Bajrang Nagar Kankad	3	3	2	2	1	0	2				
42	Chikitsak Sai Basti	2	1	3	1	1	1	0				inner
43	Bapu Gandhi Nagar	3	3	2	1	1	0	0				fringe
44	Soniya Gandhi Nagar	2	2	2	1	1	0	2				outer
45	Jeet Nagar	3	3	2	4	1	0	2				outer
46	Niranjanpur	3	5	0	4	2	0	1				fringe
47	103 scheme	1	1	5	5	2	2	3				fringe
48	Arjun Pura	1	1	5	5	1	2	3				inner
49	Lal Multi (RetiMandi)	1	2	5	5	1	2	3				outer
50	Bara Matha	4	3	4	5	5	0	1				inner
51	Katju Colony	3	2	0	1	3	0	4				inner

S.No	Name	period	size	tenure	typology	land	relocation	PMAY	IDP			location
									Land use	F1	F2	
52	Matang Nagar	3	2	2	1	1	0	4				
53	Kanadia Murgi Kendra	3	2	2	1	1	0	2				
54	Kanadia Cor Bawadi	3	2	2	1	1	1	2				
55	Kanadia Talab Ki Chal	3	2	2	1	1	0	2				
56	Haranya Pahadi Bicholi	4	2	2	1	1	0	2				
57	Prakash Chandra Sethi Nagar	1	3	2	5	1	0	1				
58	Patel Nagar	1	2	1	2	1	0	1				fringe
59	Bhavna Nagar	2	4	2	4	1	1	2	M (R+T+G)			outer
60	Chapri Village	2	2	2	1	1	0	2				
61	Sanjay Nagar	3	3	2	4	1	0	2				
62	Bhaangad	3	3	0	1	1	0	2				outer
63	Gaddi Adda - Juni Indore	3	5	4	4	1	0	0				inner
64	Bakshi Bagh	3	1	4	4	5	0	0				
65	Jagjivan ram nagar	4	4	4	5	5	0	0				
66	Adarsh Bijasan Nagar	4	3	2	4	1	0	0				
67	Adarsh Molik Nagar	4	5	2	4	1	0	0				
68	Heera Nagar	4	4	2	4	1	0	0				fringe
69	Kumedi kakad	2	2	0	1	1	0	2				outer
70	Shakkar Khedi	4	3	2	1	1	0	2		surrounder by propose		outer
71	Luniya pura	4	3	4	4	1	0	0				inner
72	Champa Bagh	4	3	4	4	1	0	0				inner
73	North Toda	3	4	2	4	1	0	0				inner
74	Harjan Colony (Palasiya)	4	4	2	4	1	0	0				inner
75	Narwal Kakad	3	5	2	4	1	0	2				
76	Nayta Mundla	3	5	4	4	1	0	0				outer
77	Kalali Mohalla	3	4	2	4	1	0	0				inner
78	Garva Nagar Khajrana	3	5	1	4	2	0	2				
79	Ramabai Nagar	2	2	2	1	1	1	0				fringe
80	Jhulelal Nagar	2	4	2	4	1	0	4				
81	Himmat Nagar	2	4	2	4	1	0	0				
82	Raj Nagar	3	2	4	4	1	0	0				
83	Sabnees Bagh	2	3	4	4	1	0	0				inner
84	Maruti Nagar	3	3	1	4	1	0	0				
85	Amrapuri Colony	3	3	4	4	1	0	2				
86	Ganesh nagar	3	4	1	4	1	0	0				
87	Bada Bangerda BSUP	1	3	5		1	2	3				outer
88	Nanod BSUP	1	3	5		1	2	3				outer
89	Bhuri Tekri BSUP	1	5	5		1	2	3				fringe
90	Ahir Khedi BSUP	1	4	5		1	2	3				outer
91	Ekta Nagar	3	1	2	4	1	1	2				outer
92	Indrajeet Nagar	3	1	2	4	1	1	0				inner
93	Gujrati Basti	1	1	3	4	1	1	4				fringe
94	Rahul Gandhi Nagar	3	2	2	4	1	1	2				outer
95	Maratha Basti	3	1	3	4	1	1	0				fringe
96	Suryadev Nagar	2	1	3	4	1	1	0				fringe
97	Annabhau Sathe Nagar	2	1	3	1	1	1	0				fringe
98	40 quarter	2	0	3	4	1	1	4				fringe
99	Bhamori	3	1	2	5	1	0	1	M (R+G+T)			fringe
100	Ishwar Nagar	3	2	2	4	1	1	1				fringe
101	Jai Ambe Nagar	3	1	1	4	1	0	1				
102	Harnyakhedi Kankad	2	1	0	1	1	0	2				
103	Chitra Nagar	2	1	1	4	1	0	1	M (G+C+P)			inner
104	Lodha Colony	4	2	2	4	1	0	1				inner
105	Pigdamber kankad	4	1	2	3	1	0	2				
106	Bada Bangerda Kankad	3	2	2	2	2	0	0				
107	Nipaniya Kankad	2	2	2	4	1	0	2	M (R+C+P)			fringe
108	Somnath ki chal	4	1	1	4	4	0	0				
109	Kadav Ghat	3	2	2	4	1	0	4				
110	Tigarai Rau	4	2	2	3	1	0	2				

ANNEXURE 2

Sample for phase II of data collection and analysis – 45 'slums'. (Refer Annexure 3 for index).

45 settlements after sorting												
S.No	Name	period	size	tenure	typology	land	relocation	PMAY	IDP			location
									Land use	F1	F2	
1	Ahir Khedi	2	4	2	2	1	1	0				outer
9	Babu Murayi Nagar	4	5	4	4	1	0	1				fringe
10	Ram Nagar	3	1		2	1	0	1				fringe
11	Panchsheel Nagar	1	2	5	6	1	2	3				fringe
13	Aman Nagar	3	4	1	4	1	0	1				fringe
14	Old Indira Ekta Nagar	3	1	2	2	1	0	2				fringe
16	Shiv Nagar	3	4	2	2	1	0	2				fringe
18	Diamond Palace colony	3	1	4	2	1	0	2				fringe
25	Chand Mari Bhatta	3	3	1	4	3	0	0		Ind/public /wholesale		inner
28	Professor Colony	3	0	0	1	1	0	0				inner
30	Arjun Nagar	3	1	2	4	1	0	2				
32	Shajaha Colony	3	2	1	4	3	0	1				fringe
33	Asarfi Nagar	3	4	1	5	3	0	0				fringe
36	Joshi Mohalla	4	2	4	5	5	0	1				inner
38	Bhuri Tekri	4	1	2	1	1	0	1				fringe
44	Soniya Gandhi Nagar	2	2	2	1	1	0	2				outer
46	Niranjanpur	3	5	0	4	2	0	1				fringe
48	Arjun Pura	1	1	5		1	2	3				inner
49	Lal Multi (RetiMandi)	1	2	5		1	2	3				outer
50	Bara Matha	4	3	4	5	5	0	1				inner
51	Katju Colony	3	2	0	1	3	0	4				inner
59	Bhavna Nagar	2	4	2	4	1	1	2	M (R+T+G)			outer
63	Gaddi Adda - Juni Indore	3	5	4	4	1	0	0				inner
64	Bakshi Bagh	3	1	4	4	5	0	0				
69	Kumedi kakad	2	2	0	1	1	0	2				outer
70	Shakkar Khedi	4	3	2	1	1	0	2			surrounder	outer
72	Champa Bagh	4	3	4	4	1	0	0				inner
73	North Toda	3	4	2	4	1	0	0				inner
77	Kalali Mohalla	3	4	2	4	1	0	0				inner
78	Garva Nagar Khajrana	3	5	1	4	2	0	2				
83	Sabnees Bagh	2	3	4	4	1	0	0				inner
83	Sabnees Bagh	2	3	4	4	1	0	0				inner
85	Amrapuri Colony	3	3	4	4	1	0	2				
87	Bada Bangerda BSUP	1	3	5		1	2	3				outer
89	Bhuri Tekri BSUP	1	5	5		1	2	3				fringe
90	Ahir Khedi BSUP	1	4	5		1	2	3				outer
94	Rahul Gandhi Nagar	3	2	2	4	1	1	2				outer
95	Maratha Basti	3	1	3	4	1	1	0				fringe
97	Annabhau Sathe Nagar	2	1	3	1	1	1	0				fringe
99	Bhamori	3	1	2	5	1	0	1	M (R+G+T)			fringe
100	Ishwar Nagar	3	2	2	4	1	1	1				fringe
103	Chitra Nagar	2	1	1	4	1	0	1	M (G+C+P)			inner
104	Lodha Colony	4	2	2	4	1	0	1				inner
107	Nipaniya Kankad	2	2	2	4	1	0	2	M (R+C+P)			fringe
109	Kadav Ghat	3	2	2	4	1	0	4				

ANNEXURE 3

Index to read Annexure 1 and 2

S.no	LEGENDS													Reasoning	
1	age of settlement (years)	0-15	1	15-26	2	26-43	3	>43	4						Two main phases based on the periods of the two master plans. Further broken down based on centrally sponsored schemes starting from VAMBAY (2005) and the Patta Act (1984)
2	size (units/families)	<70	0	70-300	1	300-750	2	750-1200	3	1200-2000	4	>2000	5		due to variations in data collected, families and building units are being considered as one unit. 70 is taken as the lowest based on census and PMAY quantification of slum households.
3	tenure	none	0	through notarised document	1	patta	2	15% land provision, municipality rules	3	through registered documents	4	khabja patra/occupation certificate	5		Even if notarised documents equate to no tenure they have been considered separately due to the large number of respondents considering it so. All different types of Patta have been considered as one for this stage.
4	typology	1 floor (K roof)	1	2/3 min 1 max (K roof)	2	1 floor (P roof)	3	2/3 min 1 max (P roof)	4	2/3 floor (P roof)	5	multistorey buildings	6		Data on unit sizes and other components of housing structure was felt insufficient. Hence, only number of floors and material of roof has been considered for now.
5	land ownership	IMC, collector (other ULB/state)	1	IDA	2	private - third party	3	trust	4	private - self	5				The data on land ownership has been verified with secondary sources as much as possible. However, when not available primary data has been used as it is. Only one settlement is known to be on land belonging to the railways. It has been marked with IMC and collector's land here, but considered separately while filtering.
6	relocation status	No relocation so far	0	relocation to land	1	relocation to flats	2								
7	PMAY intervention	present in list of 'slums' Not phased yet	0	Phase 1	1	Phase 2	2	Not present in list central scheme sites	3	Not present in list (not central scheme sites)	4				
8	IDP land use	Residential Existing		Residential Proposed		Green zone/buffer.park/regional park		Transport		Public/semi public (ex and pro)		Mixed	M (x+y+z)	To be filled (incomplete information as of yet)	A few entries are still pending. Will be completed soon.
9	Other features in IDP (F1 and F2)	Along river		Along tributary		Along lake/pond		Along road/cut across by road		Along railway line					Water bodies and roads have been marked here to take into account NGT rules and road widening possibilities.

ANNEXURE 4

A matrix of settlement weights against each main indicator from data analysis phase II. Refer section 3.2 from report for methodology of arriving at 1-20 weights.

Name of Settlement	structural adequacy (1-10)	spatial adequacy	basic services	tenure	EXPERIENCES	social amenities	farthest distance from work	PLANS FOR STRUCTURE	investment	income
Chandmari Bhatta	14	14	17	8	10	16	17	17	10	10
Ahri Khesi	18	12	18	13	8	14	10	2	9	14
Niranjanpur Nayi Basti	17	12	17	14	12	15	9	12	9	10
Lodha Colony	17	10	14	17	9	19	11	18	10	12
Sabnes Bagh	18	13	20	15	11	19	8	4	14	12
Shiv Nagar	19	13	19	14	11	18	12	5	10	11
Rahul Gandhi Nagar	19	11	20	15	12	14	7	8	11	12
Bhuti Tekri	19	13	10	15	8	15	7	8	13	9
Professor Colony	17	10	20	14	12	11	12	5	8	11
Moratha Basti	17	7	18	19	15	18	10	10	7	11
Kala Mohalla	16	14	16	16	12	14	13	2	9	10
Ishwar Nagar	18	11	17	15	12	18	10	1	11	11
Indraeet Nagar	18	12	18	16	13	19	14	1	13	10
Choti Bhamoni	16	13	19	14	11	15	10	6	8	13
Nipaniya Kankad	16	13	14	17	9	12	10	4	11	8
Harijan Colony	17	12	20	17	13	19	12	3	9	8
Arjun Nagar	16	11	20	18	12	13	13	11	9	14
Indira Ekta Nagar	17	13	18	19	11		10	14	11	10
Babu Murayl Colony	16	13	19	16	11	15	10	8	11	13
Shakkar Khedi	17	13	17	16	9	13	14	12	11	10
Joshi Mohalla	16	8	19	17	10	16	10	11	8	13
Bukhari Bagh	17	11	20	18	8	18	11	10	14	15
Chitra Nagar	16	13	20	10	11	15	10	7	15	10
Rahul Gandhi Nagar, L	17	11	12	17	11	12	11	2	13	14
Soniya Gandhi Nagar	19	10	12	13	8	15	7	1	8	14
Sharjah Colony	18	18	18	15	12	12	6	1	15	10
Annabhau Sotbe Nagar	12	9	17	18	13	10	4	1	6	12
Anant Nagar	18	12	19	16	10	7	10	1	17	9
Asharti Nagar	18	11	19	15	13	14	9	1	10	13
Kanju Colony	19	9	18	10	12	16	8	16	7	12
Bhawna Nagar	16	13	15	17	11	18	7	8	11	9

ANNEXURE 5

A matrix of settlement weights against each main indicator and respective sub-indicators from data analysis phase II. Refer section 3.2 from report for methodology of arriving at 1-20 weights.

SETTLEMENT	STRUCTURAL ADEQUACY				SPATIAL ADEQUACY						
	material typology	latest addition	cumulative	Material typology 2	Occupants /DR	Floor Area/occupant	unit density	settlement level density	opensides + width	open space within premises	cumulative
Chandmari Bhatta	20	12	14	17	7	20	14	20	12	7	14
Ahir Khedi	20	17	18	11	8	13	10	20	12	8	12
Niranjanpur Nayi Basti	19	16	17	14	12	17	15	7	11	7	12
Lodha Colony	20	16	17	17	10	15	12	7	8	5	10
Sabnees Bagh	20	17	18	17	16	18	17	7	10	5	13
Shiv Nagar	19	19	19	15	15	18	16	14	10	4	13
Rahul Gandhi Nagar	20	19	19	19	11	16	14	7	10	2	11
Bhuri Tekri	20	19	19	16	10	18	14	7	14	12	13
Professor Colony	18	17	17	9	9	13	11	7	10	10	10
Maratha Basti	19	16	17	14	8	8	8	7	7	1	7
Kalali Mohalla	18	15	16	14	14	18	16	20	10	5	14
Ishwar Nagar	20	18	18	18	12	14	13	7	10	5	11
Indrajeet Nagar	20	18	18	17	12	16	14	7	10	9	12
Choti Bhamori	20	14	16	16	9	17	13	20	10	7	13
Nipaniya Kankad	20	14	16	15	10	20	15	14	11	6	13
Harijan Colony	20	16	17	20	12	18	15	7	9	5	12
Arjun Nagar	19	14	16	14	12	16	14	7	9	1	11
Indira Ekta Nagar	20	16	17	17	14	20	17	14	8	2	13
Babu Murayi Colony	20	15	16	19	14	20	17	14	8	2	13
Shakkar Khedi	18	17	17	17	11	10	11	20	15	10	13
Joshi Mohalla	20	15	16	17	6	14	10	7	7	1	8
Bakshi Bagh	20	16	17	17	15	15	15	7	8	1	11
Chitra Nagar	20	14	16	20	11	16	14	20	11	1	13
Rahul Gandhi Nagar. L	20	15	17	15	15	13	14	7	9	1	11
Soniya Gandhi Nagar	19	20	19	12	8	13	11	7	12	5	10
Sharjah Colony	20	17	18	20	14	20	17	20	14	5	16
Annabhau Sathe Nagar	20	9	12	9	8	8	8	14	9	5	9
Aman Nagar	20	17	18	20	12	18	15	7	10	9	12
Asharfi Nagar	20	17	18	18	9	17	13	7	10	3	11
Katju Colony	20	19	19	12	11	12	11	7	10	2	9
Bhawna Nagar	20	15	16	18	13	16	14	7	14	9	13

SETTLEMENT	ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES					SOCIAL AMENITIES					
	Water Supply	Sanitation	Power Supply	Solid Waste	cumulative	access to education (school)	access to health (hosp)	Access to open Space	access to community centre	Access to aanganwadi	cumulative
Chandmari Bhatta	17	15	20	20	17	20	20	10	1	20	16
Ahir Khedi	8	18	19	18	13	18	1	10	10	20	14
Niranjanpur Nayi Basti	15	17	20	20	17	20	10	1	10	20	15
Lodha Colony	10	16	19	16	14	20	20	10	20	20	19
Sabnees Bagh	19	20	20	20	20	20	20	10	20	20	19
Shiv Nagar	20	17	20	20	19	20	10	20	10	20	18
Rahul Gandhi Nagar	20	20	20	20	20	18	1	10	10	20	14
Bhuri Tekri	2	18	20	17	10	15	10	20	20	1	15
Professor Colony	20	18	20	20	20	13	1	20	10	1	11
Maratha Basti	17	20	17	20	18	20	10	20	10	20	18
Kalali Mohalla	19	13	8	20	16	20	20	1	1	1	14
Ishwar Nagar	15	20	20	20	17	20	10	10	20	20	18
Indrajeet Nagar	19	17	16	20	18	18	20	20	20	20	19
Choti Bhamori	20	17	20	10	19	20	1	20	1	20	15
Nipaniya Kankad	10	18	20	20	14	12	18	9	9	18	12
Harijan Colony	20	20	20	20	20	20	10	20	20	20	19
Arjun Nagar	20	20	20	20	20	13	10		10	20	13
Indira Ekta Nagar	16	19	20	20	18						
Babu Murayi Colony	19	18	20	20	19	20	1	10	10	20	15
Shakkar Khedi	16	18	15	20	17	15	1	10	10	20	13
Joshi Mohalla	19	18	20	20	19	20	10	1	20	20	16
Bakshi Bagh	20	19	20	18	20	20	20	20	20	1	19
Chitra Nagar	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	10	1	1	15
Rahul Gandhi Nagar, L	8	9	5	2	12	15	1	10	10	20	12
Soniya Gandhi Nagar	6	9	6	2	12	18	10	10	10	20	15
Sharjah Colony	17	18	20	20	18	18	1	10	1	20	12
Annabhau Sathe Nagar	20	12	10	20	17	13	1	10	10	1	10
Aman Nagar	19	18	20	20	19	5	10	10	1	20	7
Asharfi Nagar	19	20	20	20	19	18	1	10	10	20	14
Katju Colony	17	19	20	20	18	20	10	10	10	20	16
Bhawna Nagar	10	20	20	20	15	20	10	10	20	20	18

SETTLEMENT	TENABILITY					INVESTMENT			DISTANCE FROM	
	proof of tenure	land ownership	land use	property tax	cumulative	cost of construction	monthly income of HH	cumulative	least distance from work	farthest distance from work
Chandmari Bhatta	8	4	3	16	6	10	10	10	18	17
Ahir Khedi	9	17	10	1	13	5	14	9	14	10
Niranjanpur Nayi Basti	1	14	20	10	14	9	10	9	15	9
Lodha Colony	12	14	20	4	17	9	12	10	16	11
Sabnees Bagh	12	16	10	20	15	15	12	14	16	8
Shiv Nagar	10	17	13	1	14	10	11	10	16	12
Rahul Gandhi Nagar	12	17	10	20	15	10	12	11	18	7
Bhuri Tekri	3	14	20	1	15	15	9	13	12	7
Professor Colony	1	14	20	1	14	6	11	8	16	12
Maratha Basti	16	17	20	1	19	5	11	7	14	10
Kalali Mohalla	2	19	20	1	16	8	10	9	14	13
Ishwar Nagar	2	13	20	8	15	11	11	11	17	10
Indrajeet Nagar	10	10	20	4	16	14	10	13	18	14
Choti Bhamori	2	14	18	20	14	5	13	8	20	10
Nipaniya Kankad	9	16	18	16	17	13	8	11	14	10
Harijan Colony	6	16	20	15	17	10	8	9	15	12
Arjun Nagar	12	15	20	17	18	5	14	9	16	13
Indira Ekta Nagar	12	19	20	8	19	11	10	11	13	10
Babu Murayi Colony	9	20	13	16	16	10	13	11	17	10
Shakkar Khedi	4	17	20	1	16	12	10	11	15	14
Joshi Mohalla	8	14	20	12	17	5	13	8	15	10
Bakshi Bagh	12	16	20	3	18	13	15	14	13	11
Chitra Nagar	9	17	3	16	10	17	10	15	14	10
Rahul Gandhi Nagar, L	11	15	20	5	17	12	14	13	16	11
Soniya Gandhi Nagar	6	17	10	7	13	5	14	8	10	7
Sharjah Colony	8	10	20	1	15	18	10	15	13	6
Annabhau Sathe Nagar	16	17	20	1	19	3	12	6	10	4
Aman Nagar	9	10	20	14	16	20	9	17	14	10
Asharfi Nagar	9	10	20	5	15	9	13	10	11	9
Katju Colony	1	4	20	1	10	4	12	7	13	8
Bhawna Nagar	12	17	18	1	17	12	9	11	13	7

SETTLEMENT	EXPERIENCES	PLANS FOR STRUCTURE
Chandmari Bhatta	10	17
Ahir Khedi	6	2
Niranjanpur Nayi Basti	12	12
Lodha Colony	9	18
Sabnees Bagh	11	4
Shiv Nagar	11	5
Rahul Gandhi Nagar	12	1
Bhuri Tekri	9	8
Professor Colony	12	5
Maratha Basti	15	10
Kalali Mohalla	12	2
Ishwar Nagar	12	1
Indrajeet Nagar	13	1
Choti Bhamori	11	6
Nipaniya Kankad	9	4
Harijan Colony	13	3
Arjun Nagar	12	11
Indira Ekta Nagar	11	14
Babu Murayi Colony	11	8
Shakkar Khedi	9	12
Joshi Mohalla	10	11
Bakshi Bagh	8	10
Chitra Nagar	11	7
Rahul Gandhi Nagar. I	11	2
Soniya Gandhi Nagar	8	1
Sharjah Colony	12	1
Annabhau Sathe Nagar	13	1
Aman Nagar	10	1
Asharfi Nagar	13	1
Katju Colony	12	16
Bhawna Nagar	11	8

ANNEXURE 6

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Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) is a non-profit development organisation committed to enabling vulnerable groups to access their rights and address human rights violations. YUVA supports the formation of people's collectives that engage in the discourse on development, thereby ensuring self-determined and sustained collective action in communities. This work is complemented with advocacy and policy recommendations on issues.

The Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS) is a national education institution committed to the equitable, sustainable and efficient transformation of Indian settlements.