

Mumbai Development Plan Implementation and its Biases

From the Perspective
of the Urban Poor



Researched And Written by :

Aravind Unni, Dhanraj Khare

Published by :

Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action, February 2013

Room No.5&6, New Naigaon Municipal School,

Opp. Saraswati Vidyalaya, Dr. Ambedkar Road,

Naigaon, Dadar(E), Mumbai-400014.

Tel:91-22-24116393/94

Email : info@yuvaindia.org

Web site : www.yuvaindia.org

Acknowledgements

We would like to extend our sincere thanks to Sitaram Shelar, Mohan Chavan, Shilpi Syal, Sumati Beladi, Suryakant More, Jagdish Patankar and other representatives of Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) for their guidance and support.

Nalini Vaz for editing the book. And Maju Varghese for Guidance.

Copy Left

Any part of this booklet may be copied or adopted to meet local needs without permission from the authors or publishers provided the material is distributed on a not for profit basis and the contribution of the sources are acknowledged. For any reproduction done commercially, prior permission must be obtained from YUVA.

Only for private circulation.

Foreword

The majority of the citizens in Mumbai live in informal settlements; 60% of its people live on about 6-8% of the land. And yet, Mumbai – “India’s financial capital” - aspires to become another shanghai, and not an equitable city. The gaps in provision of affordable housing have resulted in proliferation of informal settlements in urban areas mostly on public land with lack of basic services. Forced evictions are an everyday occurrence, resulting in increased vulnerability, homelessness and poverty. And interestingly, the city is now full of shanghai-like skyscrapers revealing the neoliberal policies that are enacted by the state, which allows such contradictions to exist in the same space.

The many forces that oppose such development are fighting a divided battle, and are adopting fire fighting methods to ward-off the state’s excesses on its poor denizens. Mass displacements and rehabilitation schemes have resulted in ghettoization of the urban poor, and land which is precious and integral component for the development of the city and could be used for affordable housing is open to manipulation by the market forces. There is an urgent need to tackle the issues in an integrated manner; the revision of the Development Plan (DP) seems to be the appropriate time to change our methods, our actions and more importantly, it is an opportunity to collectively change our city for the better.

We in YUVA have a clear understanding that issue of affordable housing, better amenities, better access to health care and open spaces cannot be dealt with at the scale of an informal settlement level. It has to be planned and participated at the level of the city, for which we adopted a multi pronged approach, one of them being the “Ground Truthing” study that we have carried out in P North ward. The study aims to be a document that reveals the actual ground conditions and examines how the past 20 years of the last DP has fared for the people of this specific ward, and in turn - the city. It breaks and challenges the usual notions of the poor being the 'encroacher' and 'benefactor' of the lax state planning. We in our study argue and highlight the plight of the urban poor, who because of non-implementation of DP have been the worst hit and remained marginalized. This report generates our demands and recommendations on the DP revision process, and we hope it paves the way for a just and equitable Mumbai.

YUVA

Contents

Introduction	–	1
Chapter 1: The Housing scenario in P/N ward	–	5
Chapter 2: The Health care in P/N ward	–	14
Chapter 3: The Schools or the lack of it in P/N ward	–	21
Chapter 4: The Open Space crunch in P/N ward	–	27
Conclusions	–	34
Recommendations	–	35
Endnotes	–	37

Introduction

The world has predominantly become urban. According to United Nations, over 51% of the world lives in urban areas as of 2010. Urbanization is a global phenomenon which has brought new issues into the foreground. In India, according to Census of 2001 about 24 % of the population lives in urban areas. Out of these, 14% live in three 10 million plus urban agglomerations of Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata.¹

In Mumbai, more than 55% of the population lives in less than 6% of the land², one third of Nagpur lives in 446 slum settlements.³ One major issue identified with rapid urbanization is the lack of affordable housing for people who provide services to the city. According to the 11th Five Year Plan, the housing shortage as on 2007 is estimated to be 24.7 million tenements of which 99% belong to EWS / LIG section of the society.⁴ The gaps in the provision of affordable housing have resulted in the proliferation of slums and informal settlements in urban areas mostly on public land with lack of basic services. Forced evictions are common resulting in increasing vulnerability, homelessness and poverty. Urban development like roads and infrastructure projects displaces the urban poor who have settled in once open spaces or reserved lands.

The government has been criticised for its fragmented and piecemeal approach in tackling the issue of affordable housing. The official response of the government towards urban slum dwellers remains in the fire fighting mode with mass displacement and rehabilitation resulting in the ghettoization of the urban poor (most of the resettlement in Mumbai was done in one ward where the Human Development Index is the lowest).⁵⁶ The wider discussion on equity in distribution of land, housing and services is often ignored. This has resulted in the loss of precious land to market forces which could otherwise have been used for affordable housing. There is an urgent need to tackle these issues in an integrated manner, wherein the 'Development Plan' (DP) can play an important role.

A development plan is an aspect of town and country planning comprising a set of documents that set out the local authority's policies and proposals for the development and use of land in the area. The development plan guides and informs day-to-day decisions as to whether or not planning permission should be granted, under the system known as *development control*. In order to ensure that these decisions are rational and consistent, they must be considered against the development plan adopted by the authority, after public consultation and having proper regard for other material factors. The DP defines land use in the city and envisages its future growth prospects in infrastructure development, housing, development control, transport, environmental management, sanitation and beautification.

Development Plan in Mumbai

The Mumbai Town Planning Act of 1954 made it obligatory for local authorities to prepare the Development Plans for the area for a period of 20 years. The first DP of Mumbai was implemented in 1967 followed by the next in 1991, but only 5% to 7% of actual plan got implemented. In addition, actual urbanization happened in the areas for which no planning was done. Moreover, the population projections were surpassed leading to huge pressure on the land. Presently the DP of Mumbai is being revised and BMC is working to mould the new one before it is implemented in 2014.

It is this colonial model of planning which creates conflicts between slums versus space for road or slum versus open space, etc. Often these plans do not consider ground realities and ignore already existing informal settlements. Even after the tenure of two plans, the provisions of the plans have not been executed and illegal encroachment is cited for non-implementation of those plans.

Mumbai city is divided into 24 administrative wards, with varied demographics, living conditions and facilities. This study specifically looks into the implementation of 1991 Development Plan in context to P/N ward of Mumbai.

Rational of the Study

The revision of Development Plan in Mumbai is an opportunity to demand for changes in reservations to 'Residential Use' in settlements of the urban poor. It is an opportunity to realize the entitlements of communities who have been excluded from the planning process. It is an opportune time where the urban poor could demand rights over land and housing along with basic services. This study focuses specifically on the land use pattern of P/N ward in context to housing, health centres, schools and open spaces and its impact on urban poor communities.

Methodology

In an effort to understand the land use pattern of the P/N ward "Ground Truthing" was conducted in the P/N ward, which is located in the western suburbs of Mumbai and has one of the least HDI in Mumbai with about 63% of its populations living in slums.⁷ The primary source of the study was DP maps acquired from the ward office. The primary data was collected by the team through ground visits and surveys. The secondary source for the information included articles in newspapers, magazines, exhibitions and various books.

Primary data was collected by a survey carried out using the DP maps of P/N ward as the base map to study the various types of reservations such as

housing, amenities available like schools, dispensaries, health centres, hospitals and open spaces. The data was collected through actual field visits and unstructured interviews with the people around. Every plot of the land mentioned in the DP was visited physically and to verify the same, the team also used Google earth and satellite images. In many cases “Right to Information” tool was used to gather information from government departments. The analysis is primarily quantitative. Based on its characteristic the data is further classified into various parameters for the ease of comparisons.

As per the geographical spread, P/N ward is segregated into different zones.(Refer map No.1) The analysis includes certain new parameters which are mentioned in respective chapters. To calculate the actual size of the land for the chapter on housing, free open software has been used.

The scope and limitations of the study are as follows:

- Considering the financial and human resources the study has been limited to P/N ward.
- While the findings of P/N ward will provide an understanding in context to land use reservation and implementation in Mumbai, they cannot be generalized to other wards of Greater Mumbai.
- There are possibilities of discrepancies, pertaining to the plans and maps procured from BMC.
- The study is concerned with the land reservation and implementation under the Mumbai Development Plan 1991.
- Standards are used as per UDFPI, TCPO, COPP and other guidelines as recommended by various official bodies.

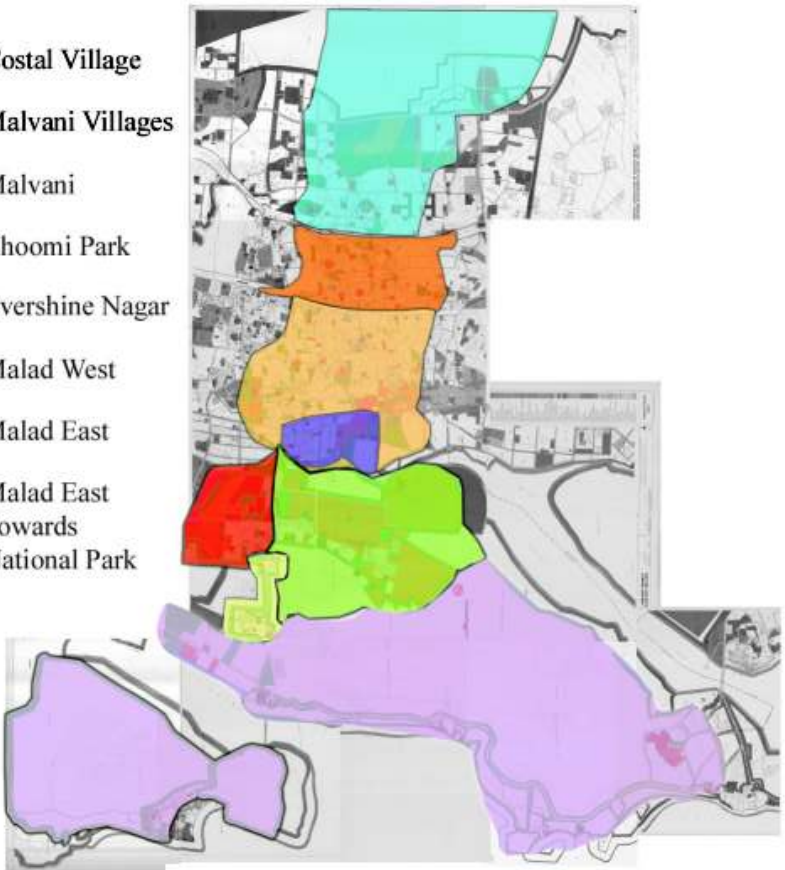
The first chapter deals with Housing in the P/N ward, where the focus is on the implementation of various housing reservation types, mapping the deficiencies in the housing scenario. The next chapter deals with educational infrastructure in P/N ward, its relation to the DP. The following chapter explores the lack of social amenities in the P/N ward and analyses private development that is usurping land in Mumbai. And finally the last chapter focuses on the open spaces in Mumbai from the perspective of the urban poor.

Mumbai

■ P/N ward



- Costal Village
- Malvani Villages
- Malvani
- Bhoomi Park
- Evershine Nagar
- Malad West
- Malad East
- Malad East Towards National Park



Map No.1 (Different zones in P/N ward)

The Housing scenario in P/N ward

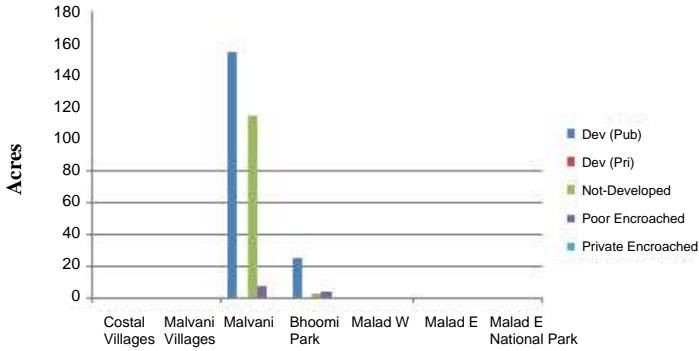
Introduction

Housing situation in Mumbai has been in crisis since the seventies. More than 60% of its citizens live in the slums, and millions more live without a roof over their heads. Many studies have estimated that about 10 million of the city's population lives in sub-standard or unsafe housing conditions under continuous threat of displacement. The deteriorating housing scenario has evolved in parallel with the liberalization of land and finance markets, where a highly regulated housing scenario has given way to a booming private real estate sector. The very rich are able to afford prime real estate like the reclaimed lands facing the bay, the mill lands, or other locations that can give Tokyo and New York a run for the money. While the "other (lot more than) half", live in ill-serviced and cramped informal settlements that are increasingly being sidelined, both physically and metaphorically.

Housing supply by public agencies remains far below the requirement. Legislation regulating land ownership and use has been made flexible. In addition, building controls have been amended to make them more market friendly. Mumbai has evolved as a city of 'haves' and 'have-nots' over the past Development Plan. It is in this context that this study will examine existing housing reservations in P/N ward. Given that 60% of its population lives in informal settlements and it would be important to determine the reasons for the failure of the DP. The study also indicates future areas of growth to provide affordable housing for the urban poor.

The analysis of settlement patterns in this ward reveals the discrimination in the allotment of Housing reservations types and its execution. Housing reservations favour private development like HDH in well-off localities with provision of better infrastructure, while those for the urban poor like HD are usually not serviced, and clubbed into faraway inaccessible plots. It is these structural differences and deficiencies in housing reservations that this section points to. The parameters being studied include various types of housing reservations like PH(Public Housing), MH(Municipal Housing), PH/ HDH (High Density Housing), Govt. Quarters/ HD(Housing For Dis-housed) / DG.(Dhobi Housing) For further comprehension this is contrasted with other assumed implementation parameters like "developed, public", "developed, private", "not developed", "poor encroached", "private encroached" etc. These parameters are used as basic assumptions to decipher non execution of DP housing reservation, the discrimination in DP and the privatization of housing provision in Mumbai. All areas are measured in acres.

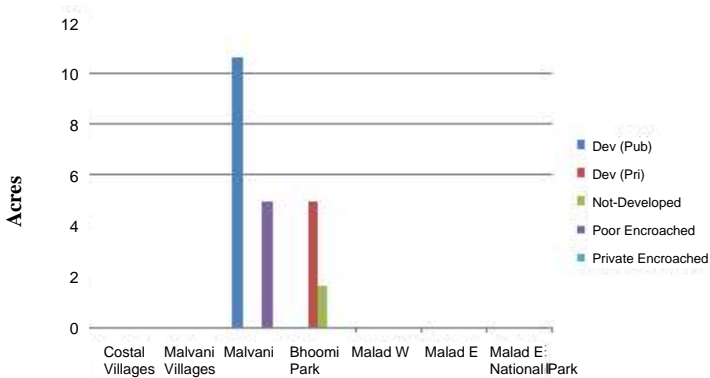
Public Housing (PH)¹



Analysis

- The execution of PH scheme in P/N ward is only about 58.27%.
- About 90% of PH scheme in P/N ward is concentrated in Malvani area.
- Areas other than Malvani and Bhoomi Park, other areas of P/N ward are relatively free of PH scheme, thereby suggesting biases in DP planning.
- In Malvani, only about 56.159 % is executed in PH scheme and areas like OCC, NCC falling under the PH reservation are not developed in P/N ward.

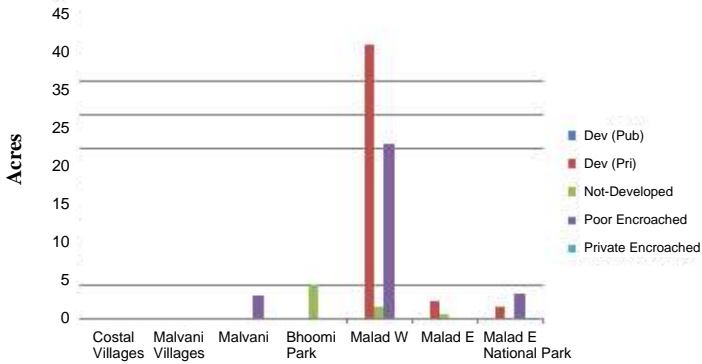
Municipal Housing (M)²



Analysis

- Municipal Housing (M) reservation in the DP is primarily concentrated in Malvani and Bhoomi park areas, with other areas of P/N ward completely left out.
- 1/3rd of the development is carried out by private developers, and about 76 % of (M) housing in Bhoomi park area is executed by private developers.

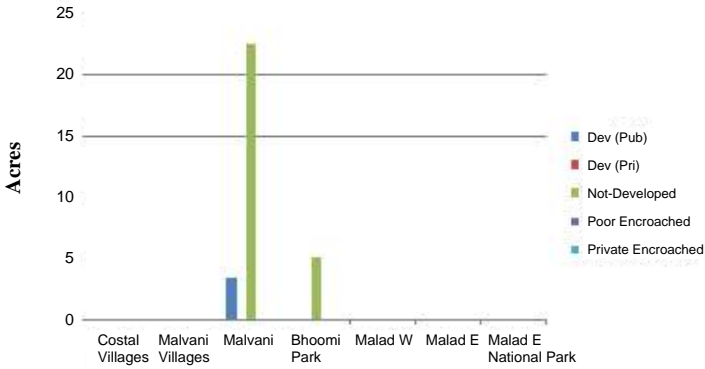
PH/ High Density Housing (PH/HDH)³



Analysis

- Out of the total area reserved for PH/HDH, about 52.46% is developed through private developers and the state is shying away from development.
- The PH/HDH scheme is concentrated more in upper-class Malad (W) area, which holds about 79.45% of the total PH/HDH schemes in P/N ward.
- About 38.55% of the PH/HDH reservation is under encroachment.

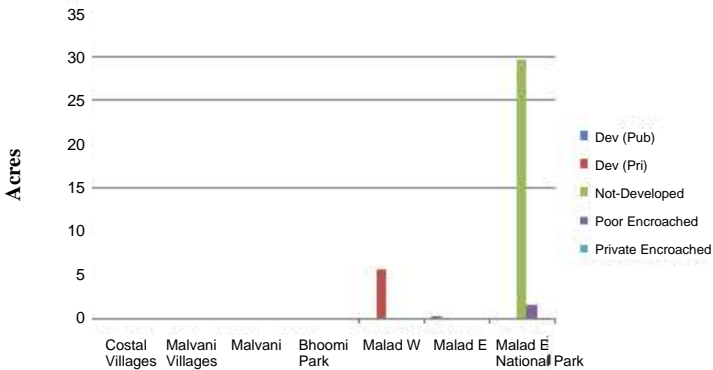
Govt. Quarters Housing⁴



Analysis

- About 89% of plots reserved for staff colonies remain unexecuted with the land lying vacant. All the plots reserved for Staff quarters are clustered in Malvani and the adjoining areas of Bhoomi Park.

Housing for Dis-housed (HD)⁵

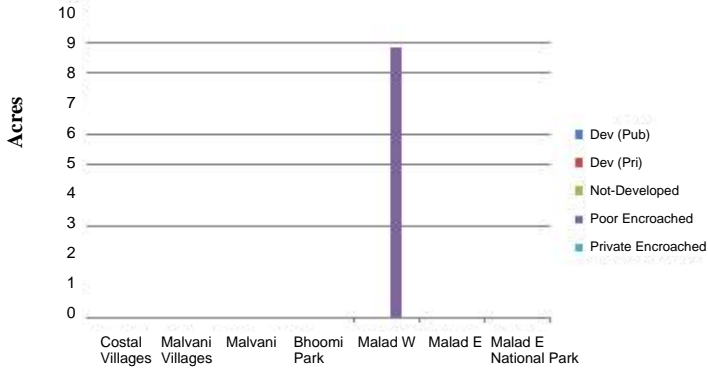


Analysis

- Only 0.43 acres out of 37.51 acres have been developed, ie. an abysmal 0.01 % of HD has been executed.
- About 79% percentage of the HD reservation has been crowded into

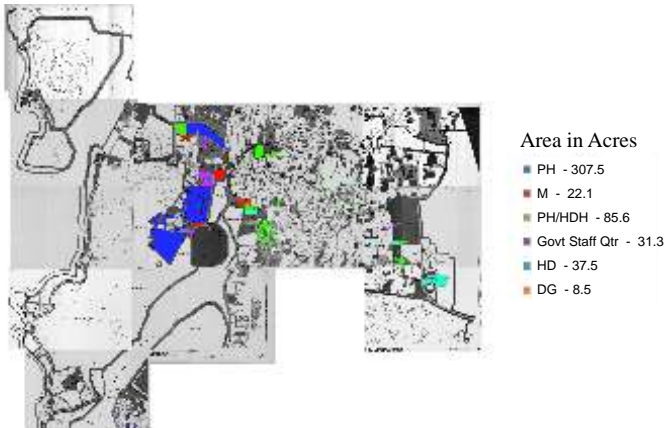
the Eastern sections of the P/N ward. Adjoining the Malad E National park area, only resettlement has been carried out versus development.

Dhobi Housing (DH)⁶



Analysis

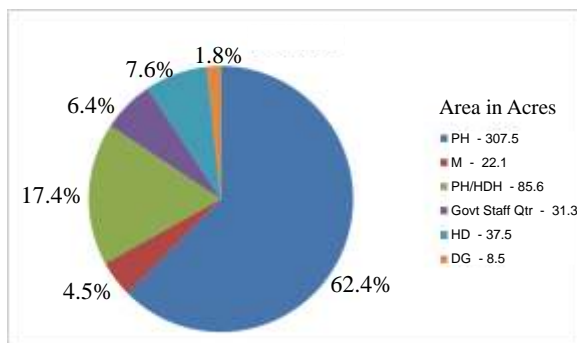
- All the plots with DG reservation are occupied by informal settlements and state intervention in this reservation is practically non-existent.



The PN ward map with the various Housing reservations.

Findings

- Total area of P/N ward in acres 11925.31 (100%)⁷
- Total housing reservation in acres 492.94 4.13%
(Excluding residential zone (R))



- The housing reservations for the poor have been distributed disproportionately. Most of the housing for poor is clustered in areas with huge informal settlements that are already deprived of basic infrastructure, like Malvani in the western side and similarly Pathanwadi, Appapada on the eastern side. This disproportionate allocation has resulted in the ghettoization of the poor and deprived them of further benefits that might have come with DP implementation.
- From the housing for the poor perspective, the coastal villages are not addressed in the DP maps. There seems to be no vision for the future in the past DP, thereby leaving these villages without any resource allocation.
- The PH reservations, even though substantially more than other types, has been executed less. It is particularly noted that in cases of neglected areas like Malvani the PH schemes are never developed, but only allotted.
- PH/HDH schemes, allotted in the upper-middle class areas of Malad(w) have mostly been developed by private developers, with very few benefits for the EWS/ low income segment. Therefore, it is imperative that we question the PH/HDH policy and its distribution in the market friendly, upper class areas of P/N ward.
- HD reservation is only 7.6% of the whole housing reservation, and

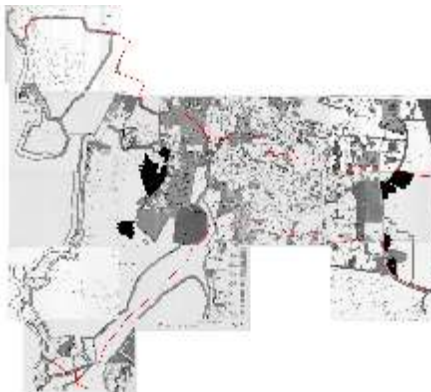
its execution is close to nil. It is important to give this a higher priority in allocation and execution.

- Large amounts of unused land in the Govt. Staff housing lies vacant and can be used for EWS/ low income housing.
- There is a need for a in-depth study of the current policies regarding housing reservations which encourage private development of projects, and eventually leave the poor out of its schemes. This is especially so for reservations like PH/HDH where the state is non-active and promotes privatization of housing supply.

The analysis of Informal Settlements in P/N ward⁸



Informal settlements on
PH/M/HDH/HD/DH
reservations
203.899 acres



Informal settlements on
NDZ in P/N ward
315.30 acres



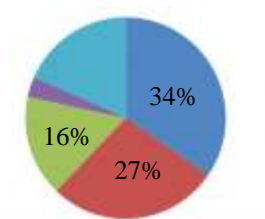
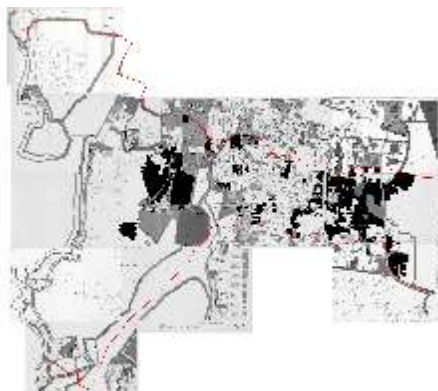
Informal settlements in
Residential zone (R)
383.555 acres



Informal settlements on
Open Spaces
187.276 acres



Informal settlements on
Amenities
37.889 acres



Total Informal settlements in P/N ward

1126.072 acres

- Informal settlements in Residential zone (R) 0383.555 acres (34%)
- Informal settlements on NDZ in P/N ward 0315.30 acres (27%)
- Informal settlements on Open Spaces 0187.276 acres (16%)
- Informal settlements on amenities 0037.889 acres (3.2%)
- Informal settlements on PH/M/HDH/HD/DH 0203.899 acres (18%)

Findings

- Total area of Informal Settlements in P/N ward 1,126 acres
- Total area of P/N ward 11,680 acres
- Total population of P/N ward(2011 census) 9,58,000
- Total population in Informal Settlements of P/N ward (Assuming 70% of the total) 6,70,600
- Informal Settlements in P/N ward occupy only about 10% of the total area and house about 70% (conservative estimate) of its population.
- Most of the informal settlements are systematically ghettoized, and are clustered in the remotest and inaccessible parts of P/N ward, making their deprivation starker.
- The area covered by Informal Settlements in P/N ward breaks the myth of ‘slums’ as encroachers of open spaces and amenities, as hardly 20% of Informal Settlements are located on open spaces and amenities, while the rest are on residential (34%), housing for poor or high density housing (18%) and NDZ (27%).

The Health care in P/N ward

Introduction

With more than 13 million inhabitants, Mumbai is the most populous city in India. Being the commercial hub of India it continues to grow and attract thousands from all over the country. This has resulted in a spike in urban poverty, and concurrently health issues generating from impoverishment. Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) - the largest municipal corporation in India - is the major provider of public health care services in Mumbai.¹ BMC has allocated about Rs 2400 cr. for health care and ancillary services, constituting about 7.5% of the 2012 - 2013 budget; not surprisingly, a decrease from the 8.2% of 2011-2012.² This study aims to compare the DP findings with health care issues plaguing the city, to determine whether the allocation and execution of DP is directed at the right levels and places of the already existing infrastructure.

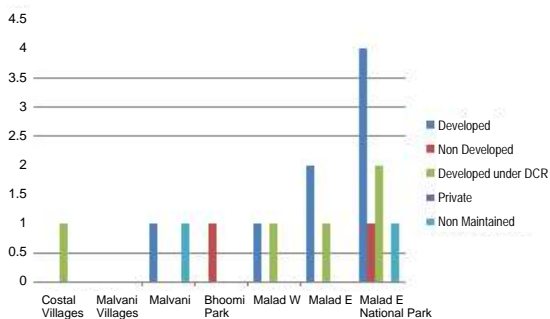
Although Mumbai has a vast public health infrastructure (BMC), comprising of 3 (three) tertiary hospitals (which are also medical colleges) 13 peripheral hospitals with maternity wards, 25 maternity hospitals, 167 health posts (primary health centres situated in slum areas) and 150 dispensaries, the functionality of these health infrastructure is questionable.³ As many surveys point out, in Mumbai, public health agencies reach only about 30% of the urban poor.⁴ The lower rung of health care facilities are neglected and not developed according to health standards. These results in major health care establishments being better utilized than minor ones like dispensaries and maternity homes, overcrowding the upper levels of the health care system.⁵ In addition, these major health infrastructure facilities are concentrated in the South Mumbai, leaving suburban populations at the mercy of private enterprises with a monopoly in these areas. Therefore, the state needs to strengthen the foundation of the health care system rather than solely concentrating resources at the higher levels of health care infrastructure.

Mumbai's Rafique Nagar slum in Mankhurd is the perfect example of how marginalization and lack of health care manifests as malnutrition, illness and abject poverty in children. A NGO working with the rag pickers and their children have recorded scores of deaths due to malnutrition. Shockingly it was also later reported that M-Ward in Mumbai has one of the lowest Human Development Indices in the country and an infant mortality rate that is as poor as Sub-Saharan Africa.⁶ This is happening despite the fact that the urban poor do not suffer income poverty to the extent that people do in rural areas. They face other forms of deprivation that have a direct impact on their health,

highlighting the fact that, no primary healthcare system exists in cities. Mumbai has outstanding multi-speciality hospitals, but no basic healthcare system. The state run dispensaries, maternity homes and immunisation centres are both few and understaffed.

This study examines the health care and other welfare provisions in the DP. In doing so, it attempts to critique the development strategies employed and the discrimination in its execution. While mainly quantitative, it stresses on the basic health care infrastructure required to strengthen the (lower-rung) public healthcare system to maintain equilibrium in health outcomes across different population subgroups. The parameters used are those demarcated in DP, namely, Dispensaries, Maternity homes, Hospitals, Welfare Centres, Libraries etc.

Dispensary / Health Post

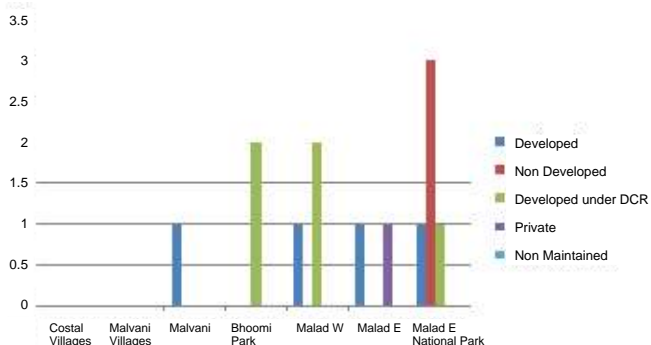


- As per the norms of COPP ⁷ there should be one health centre for every 20000 population. Considering the population of P/N ward (958000), 48 health posts are required only 4 are maintained by the BMC, whereas 3 are developed under the DCR No. 9.⁸ This indicates a requirement off an additional 41 health post/ dispensaries in P/N ward.
- 5 out of 9 health posts are located in upper-middle class areas indicating disproportional planning and implementation of the DP.
- It is noted that development under DCR no.9 is being carried out by private developers especially in places where the real estate is high. DCR no. 9 thus appears to be mostly just a pretext for more construction oriented development.



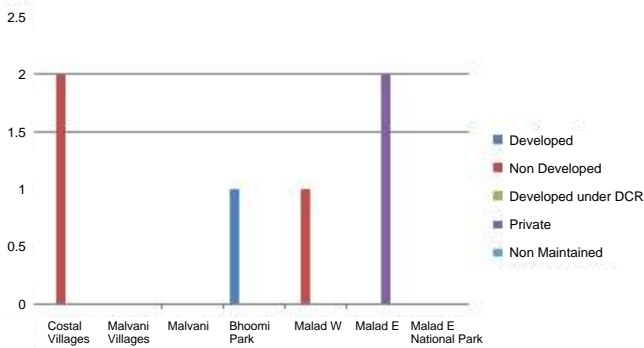
Abandoned Public health centre
in Malvani

Maternity Home



- As per the UDPFI guidelines, one maternity home is required for a population of 45,000. Given the P/N ward population of 9, 58,000-21 maternity homes are required.⁹
- In reality only 10 MHs are functioning, out of which 4 are maintained by BMC, 5 are developed under DCR no.9 and one is privately run.
- Coastal zones and Malvani villages are left out of the health care loop and are without any MHs. People from these areas are forced to avail of private facilities in case of emergencies.

Hospitals

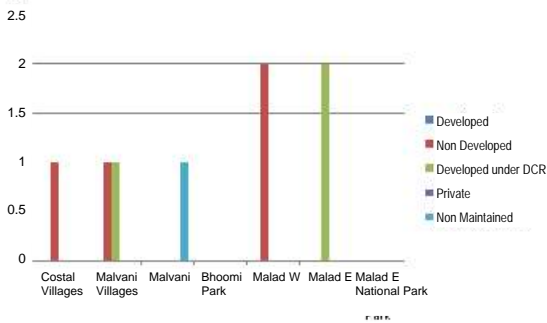


- As per the standards of UDFPI guidelines for a population of every 2.5 lakhs one peripheral hospital is required. P/N ward requires at least 4 hospitals. However only one public hospital exists against this requirement. Private hospitals are profiting from the lacuna of government services leaving the urban poor are out of the system.
- The coastal villages are host to 2 non-executed hospitals, depriving the poor of basic health services.
- As the tertiary hospitals are located in the south of Mumbai, the poor from P/N ward find it difficult to access these services for major health problems.



Desai Hospital in P/N ward

Welfare Centre



- 8 plots are allotted for WC in P/N ward which according to the present population is most inadequate. Of the 8 allotments, 3 are developed under the DCR no.9 regulation and the rest are non-developed or not maintained. DCR regulation no.9 can be construed to be promoting construction, and signalling the state's withdrawal from welfare activities.
- Most of the welfare halls are underused or leased for marriages, or rented to private enterprises, thus becoming a tool for commercial purposes rather than the welfare of community.

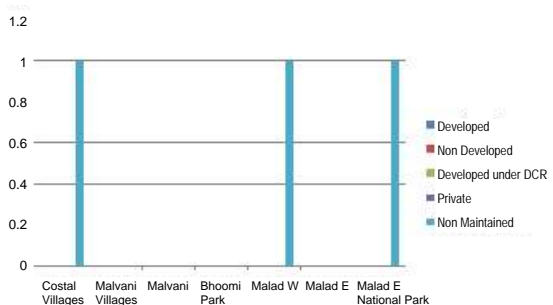


Abandoned Welfare Centre in Malvani



Welfare centre being used as a party hall

Library



- All the above libraries are developed under the Development Control Regulations no. 9. These libraries are not maintained either by the BMC or any other organization.
- As per the standards a population of 8500 requires a library. Data reveals that the whole ward has only 3 libraries which are not maintained.

Suggestions

- State should provide and also manage (not lease out) the required number health posts and maternity homes according to the future predicted population. This will hopefully stem the growth of private (sometimes illegal and ill-equipped) nursing homes that cater to about 70% of the poor.
- Equitable distribution of health care services in P/N ward.
- Develop hospitals and basic health care services in the neglected areas of the coastal villages in P/N ward, before floating plans of making them TDZ (tourist development zones); people need basic health care services rather than resorts.
- Scrutinize DCR regulation no. 9 and study its impact to alter it to benefit people and state, rather than a mechanism for more construction.
- Organize health camps in slum communities of P/N ward.

Conclusion

There is a need to create a well-structured organisation of urban primary health care aimed at providing basic health and family welfare services to the population within one-two kilometres of their dwellings. It would be important to link primary, secondary and tertiary care institutions in

geographically defined areas, to limit non-availability or under-utilisation of available primary health care facilities and consequent over-crowding at the secondary and tertiary care centres. More importantly, all this has to be incorporated in the Development plan and its process.

The privatization of the health care, especially at the lower end of the healthcare infrastructure, needs to be stemmed by providing 41 dispensaries, 21 maternity homes and health centres and at least 2 hospitals in the P/N ward alone. DCR regulations that benefit private developers have to be scrutinized and modified accordingly. The provision as well as effective functioning and maintenance of infrastructure is a pressing requirement of the urban poor.

The Schools or the lack of it in P/N ward

Introduction

This chapter deals with the accomplishment of the primary as well as secondary school reservations in the DP in P/N ward. It places the importance of school reservations in DP in the context of right to education (RTE) debate that makes it imperative for the state to provide primary education for children in India. We question the discrimination in equitable distribution and development of school reservations, and how the state can argue for RTE when the basic school reserved plots are not developed.

Both primary and secondary school parameter are studied, and for further comprehension the other implementation parameters are assumed to be “developed”, “not developed”, “encroached”, “public schools”, “private schools”, “Before DP”, and “after DP”. These parameters are basic assumptions that were important to compare and decipher various issues like non execution of DP, discrimination in DP and privatization of education in Mumbai.

Context

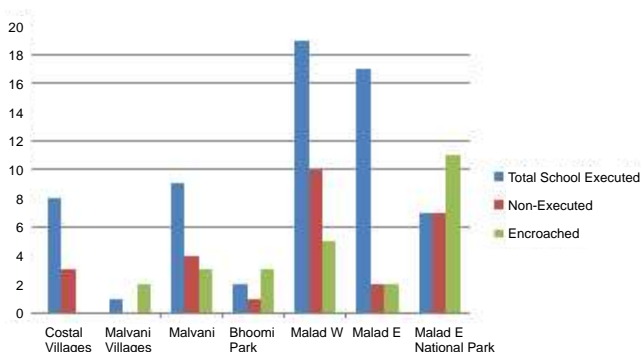
“The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all citizens of age six to fourteen in such manner as the State may, by law, determine.”

--Constitution of India, Article 21-A¹

This study is situated amidst the right to education debate that is currently raging in the country. Education in India is supposed to be the state's responsibility and any child from the age of 6-14 is entitled to education. The government has provided assurances that no child will be left out of the educational system. This study examines ground reality, viewed through the DP and its (lack-of) implementation.

This report exposes the myth of 'access' to education in public schools by using the school to population ratio. While RTE advocates for the right to education for children, it does so without the basic infrastructure in place. The second major parameter is the privatization of education and how it is spatially skewed. The BMC is investing about Rs. 1700 Cr. in education and is attempting to ensure the maximum enrolment, with about Rs. 2000 being spend on a single child in a month.² With substantial resources at stake and the imminent DP revision, it is crucial to review imbalances in resource allocation.

Data of Schools in P/N ward



- Of the 116 school plots, about 63 are developed, 27 not-developed, 26 encroached.
- The data shows that 54% of the reserved plots for schools are developed and being utilized for educational institutions.
- 46% reserved school plots remained not-developed (or abandoned) and encroached.
- One cannot draw a trend in any of the areas; all of the areas have a good degree of encroachment as well as non implementation of the DP reservations for schools.

Primary School Data Base

Area	Public			Private	Total (B)	Total (Functioning)
	Executed	Non-Executed	Total (A)			
1	3	4	7	2	9	5
2	0	1	1	0	1	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	6	10	16	3	19	9
5	2	2	4	2	6	4
6	2	7	9	1	10	3
7	2	3	5	1	6	3
Total	15	27	42	9	51	24

- Only 47% of primary schools are developed.
- In Malvani and Malad E National park areas combined, only 8 out of 19 primary schools are functioning, which amounts to 42% of the proposed schools. In the huge informal settlements of Appapada, Pathanwadi in Malad E National park area, less than 30% of allotted primary schools are developed.

- Malvani villages are without any schools or educational infrastructure, and they depend upon schools in nearby areas.
- Of the functioning 24 primary schools about 9 are private, thus making 37% of the functioning schools private entities.
- It is to be noted that in P/N ward, the developed primary schools are shared by both private and BMC in the ratio of 9:15, suggesting that public sector still has a major stake in primary education.

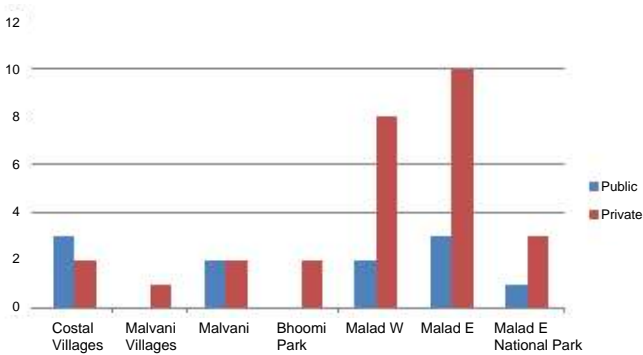


A good example of functioning Govt.School in Malvani, P/N ward



Private aided school in the Run down Government School in poorer sections of Malvani, P/N ward

Secondary School Data of P/N ward

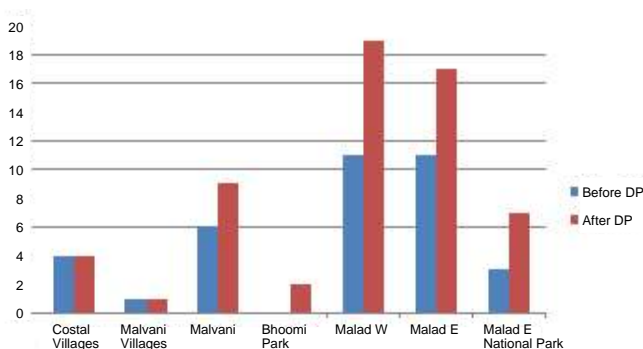


- Of the 39 functioning secondary schools about 23 are situated in the upper-middle class areas of Malad W to western express highway in Malad E, i.e.: almost 60% secondary schools are situated in well-off localities limiting the access of low income segments to secondary education.
- The rich or the well-off 1/3rd population have access to 60% of the secondary schools in P/N ward.³
- Malvani has only 4 secondary schools of which 50% are private, while 80-90% of secondary schools are private in upper middle class areas suggesting the increasing privatization of secondary education.
- It is to be noted that in P/N ward, the functioning secondary schools are shared by both private entities and BMC in the ratio of 28:11. This figure is a marked contrast with the primary school figure that shows substantial public sector presence. This becomes a mere 28% at the secondary level.



High end private schools in the upper-middle class areas of P/N ward

Prior to DP and after DP development of Schools



- Only 27 new schools have been added in the past 20 years of the development plan execution, which also means that of the 63 present in P/N ward, 58% existed prior to DP.
- Of the additional 27 new schools, 14 have been established in the rich middle class areas of the Malad W and between the railways to western express highway in Malad E.



Private school leasing space to a party hall for rent

Findings

- The state and the private mechanisms are both unable to meet the demand for educational infrastructure in P/N ward defeating DP vision for development over the coming decades.
- The population of P/N ward is 9,58,000 (2011 census)⁴ and according to TCPO standards one primary school is mandatory for a population of 4000.⁵ This means that P/N ward requires at least 240 primary school against the present 24, which is 10% of the required number of schools. It has to be noted that we are only considering the DP reservations and its on-site development.
- The official data reveals that there are about 23 Primary schools buildings in P/N ward that houses about 77 Primary schools which

indicates that only about 32% of required schools are developed.⁶

- According to UDFPI standards, for a population of 7500 population one secondary school is mandatory.⁷ P/N ward requires at least 128 secondary schools against the present 39, which is 30% of the required number of schools.
- If BMC secondary schools are considered for the required population, then the present number of schools will be 8% of the required 128.

Conclusion

The findings from the analysis reveal the development biases in the planning and the (lack of) implementation of the DP in the period 1991-2011. This study reveals how planning- a tool for equity- is used to reinforce institutionalised discrimination and differences in society. Firstly, there is a huge demand for primary schools. The state is not able to provide for more than 10% of schools required for the population. It urgently needs to improve access to primary education by meeting the stipulated standards of provision. In the case of secondary schools, diminished state presence is clearly visible, and suggests the rampant privatization of higher secondary education that further limits access of the urban poor. 23 of 39 secondary schools as the report reveal, i.e. 60% of the schools are accessible to 30% of the ward population, while the rest are privatized and uncontrolled educational institutes or badly overstrained government schools. This indicates negligence the implementation of the DP plan and the promotion of privatization in education.

The state via the implementation of DP revision needs to consider the urban poor living in the informal settlements, the coastal villages and the other excluded sections of the society, who are being pushed towards the de-facto privatized schools due to the severe shortage of public presence in such communities. The planning thus should attempt to allocate school reservations in accordance with RTE regulations that recommend a primary school within 1km of the residence, and 3km for secondary school, and thus can rightfully aim to achieve 100% primary education of children.

The Open Space crunch in P/N ward, Mumbai

Introduction

The city of Mumbai has grown by leaps and bounds, to a city of more than 13m inhabitants. It boasts a higher density than any other city in the world with 30,000 people crowded into one sq. km and some areas like Dharavi, touching the phenomenally abnormal mark of 2,00,000 people per sq. km.¹ In a city where its citizens have started using malls for their morning walks, the lack of open space is felt tremendously, in the recent past the city has seen its already limited open spaces increasingly being privatised or beautified or both.² In this context, it is unfortunately it is the urban poor-who are perceived as encroachers and become unwilling targets of predominantly elite NGO networks who claim to be fighting for open spaces.

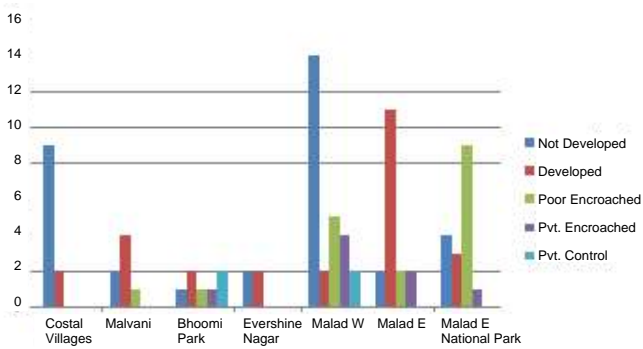
Of the numerous surveys on open spaces conducted by many groups, the latest estimates that 0.5% of the city has been reserved for parks and gardens. Another 0.8% has been reserved for playgrounds 1.6% has been reserved for recreational grounds. This means 2.9% (or around 14 sq km) of Mumbai's 482.7 sq km has been reserved for open spaces, like gardens, parks, recreation grounds and playgrounds. If 14 sq km is divided by 12.4 million (Greater Mumbai's population), then Mumbai has an average of around 1.1 sq m or 0.03 acre of open space per 1000 persons.³ The National Commission on Urbanisation (1988) suggests that the ideal ratio of open spaces is 4 acres per 1,000 persons. New York City has 6.3 acres per 1000 residents or 25% of its area as open space.⁴

To add to the open space woes, encroachment, both by rich and the poor is eating-away a lot of usable open space. According to the NGO, Action for Good Governance and Networking in India (AGNI), records in the BMC's Development Plan Department show that the city has seen the maximum number of de-reservations of open spaces in the last five years with a total of 12,738 sq metres, 1/7th the size of Oval Maidan, and essentially land meant for playgrounds and gardens, were de-reserved in that period.⁵ In this tussle between the elite and the urban poor, the poor find themselves on the other side of the fence. The public open spaces for the "people" are shrinking, replaced by more privatized, sanitized, beautified and exclusionist "open public" spaces like malls, shopping centers etc.

Mumbai, now more than ever, needs "real" open spaces; accessible to all. This report examines the reserved open space plots of P/N ward in Mumbai which

also reports the highest number of encroached open spaces.⁶ The study dispels the general notions about the conditions, distribution and encroachment of open spaces in Mumbai, by selecting a specific site such as P/N ward using the DP as the base map. It narrows the reasons why and how open spaces are being developed or encroached and its correlation with the DCR. The open spaces in the DP are classified into (RG) recreational ground, (PG) playground and (G) garden. The data is mainly quantitative, but will be further classified into “maintained” or “developed”, “encroached” and so on.

(RG) Recreational Ground



- Only 13% of the RG spaces can be considered as developed.
- 45% of the total RG spaces in P/N ward are undeveloped.
- 33.77% plot reserved for RG spaces were encroached, of which 46% is of were encroached or under control of private bodies
- 44% of RG reserved plots in Bhoomi park area - north of Malwani were controlled (both encroached and control) by private bodies



RG near liberty garden being used by private entities for commercial use.



Goregaon Sports club



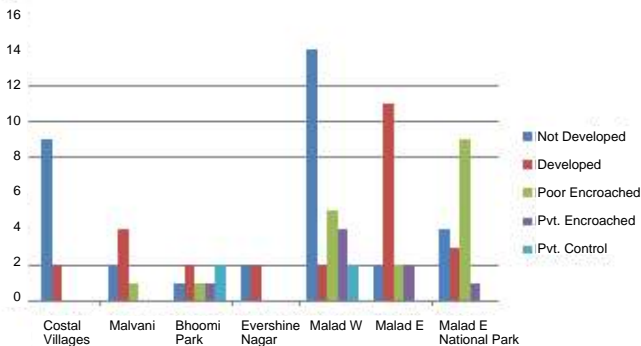
Infinity mall

Goregaon sports club and Infinity mall are both developed on RG reserved plots. The former has been developed as a elite gymkhana on a RG commercial plot with no public access for the non-built 50% of the site, while infinity mall stands in a RG reserved plot as an epitome in a city where malls have become the substitute for the green open spaces.⁷⁸⁹

Findings

- RG reserved plots are vulnerable to manipulation with the highest private encroachment ratio in all the open space categories. This might occur as no clear demarcation/ definition of activities listed under RG category.
- The caretaker and adoption policy for the open spaces in Mumbai is promoting an elitist class of open spaces which offers access only to the upper middle classes.
- 57% of reserved plots for RG in P/N ward are allotted to the upper middle class areas.

(PG) Playground



- 42% of the playgrounds have been developed and maintained in P/N ward mainly due to the proximity of the PG to a school. This also has a downside as some of the above mentioned open spaces have restricted access.
- Out of 39 developed PG plots about 29 plots, ie: about 75% are between the middle-upper class areas of Evershine Nagar in the west to the western express highway in the East, whereas densely populated areas like the coastal villages and informal settlements have only the rest of 10 PGs. This is an indicator of the distribution of schools and its development, as PGs are intrinsically connected to the number of schools.

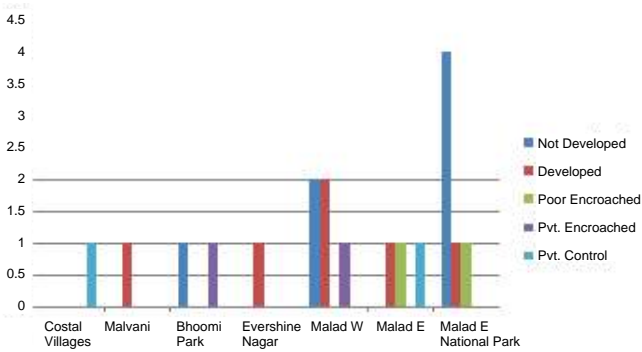
Findings

- Most of the reserved plots for play grounds are attached with schools and hence protects the PG plot from other uses.
- Attachment with school automatically restricts access.
- Sometimes the schools use the reserved plot to raise funds, i.e. by leasing the open place for marriages and other occasions.
- Disparity in the planning and distribution of open spaces.



Pathetic condition of PG in Malvani village

(G) Garden



- 21% of Garden spaces in P/N ward are under private control.
- 37% of reserved garden plots are not developed.
- Only one out of 6 reserved garden plots in the towards Malad E National Park area of P/N ward has been developed.



Liberty garden in Malad (W)

Findings

- It has been observed that gardens are one of the major beneficiaries of the beautification drive, resulting in a higher percentage of private control and restricted access.
- It appears that the local authority is unable to maintain gardens and leasing the open space to private entities.

Suggestions

- Necessity of (re)defining the usage and allotment of RG plots.
- Altering (or even cancelling) the adoption and caretaker policy for maintaining the open spaces.
- Change in the policy regarding PG and neighbouring school relationship, so as to open up the locked PG spaces to the common man on stipulated hours.

Conclusions

This analysis can become the first step towards claiming open spaces that the people of the city deserve. The knowledge of open spaces, the types, the DCRs that control them and the survey reveals startling realities regarding the situation in P/N ward. Only about 30% of the development plan (ward open spaces) is executed and that too in a fragmented manner. RG is the most manipulated segment and liable to encroachment by the by private developers in well-off areas and by the poor in neglected areas. The report also dispels notions of slum dwellers being the only encroachers, as the study clearly shows that a substantial encroachment or control over DP reserved open spaces are exercised by the upper middle class. The DCRs that allow any sort of construction to come up on site based on adoption and caretaker policy have to be scrutinized and altered.

To conclude, before the state envisions transforming Mumbai to world class status and revising the DP, we have to grapple with one more calculation. As stated in the report, the city allows about 0.03 acre per 1000 persons. When we compare the scenario in informal settlements like Malvani, the total developed open space is around 20,000 sq m which is around 5 acres of land catering to a settlement of about 2 lakh people, ie: about 2.5×10^5 . In other words, this is about 100000 times worse-off when compared to a “worldclass” city and about 100 times worse-off than Mumbai in general.¹⁰ It is this appalling disparity that the majority in the city are living with that the DP must address.



Beautified gardens in the Upper-middle class areas with extensive money and resources spent in maintaining the gardens.



RG being used as private marriage/ function ground.

Conclusion

The study of the DP and its implementation in P/N ward reveals the biased planning and execution of the plan over the past 20 years. The report from the perspective of the urban poor reveals that the majority living in informal settlements in P/N ward have not benefitted from the existing DP, and the only impact it seems to have had is of being another official document that marks the existence of the urban poor as illegal. The present DP has never accepted their existence; the informal pockets are nothing but blank unmarked spaces in the official maps until now. The hollowed out spaces that house 70% of the city, were left out of the implementation of the DP. Most of the low income areas; both formal and informal are ill-serviced with infrastructure falling apart and the reservations meant for amenities are either not implemented; or if at all executed are maintained in sub-standard condition, whereas the higher income localities in the P/N ward had relatively better off DP implementation highlighting discrimination in the DP and its execution.

The DP considered a tool of equity building, has lead to the formation of huge ghettoized communities in the most undeveloped parts of P/N ward, thus signalling that the housing reservations for the poor were clubbed to form huge reserved plots without any accompanying reservations for amenities, infrastructure, or other HIG/ MIG housing nearby. This nature of planning perpetuates a cycle of deprivation, ghettoization, and poverty. The reservations in the DP for the urban poor have now become imperative to alleviate the living conditions for 70% of the poor living on hardly 10% of the land. Such disparity and inequality in access to land and infrastructure is unsustainable for any city, and the revised development plan will have to address this as a major issue. While according housing need in the city is of paramount importance, but additionally, housing reservations must be clubbed with the social infrastructure and amenities to achieve holistic development, which most state policies like the SRA have failed. The revisions in the DP we hope will change all this, and become the blueprint that improves access to affordable housing and amenities as well as recognizes the urban poor as one of the legitimate stakeholders of the city.

Recommendations for the revision of Development Plan

City level guidelines

1. Reduce the duration of the development plan to 5 years (from 20 years), and develop a framework to monitor and modify the plan at regular intervals.
2. Rework the standards and guidelines to actually make the city liveable for the urban poor, given that 70% of the city's population lives in informal settlements unassisted by the state.
3. Recognize through the planning process the informal settlements in the city and reflect their needs in the DP.
4. Ensure that land reservations for both housing and social infrastructure are provided for the poor, bridging the gap between the formal and informal Mumbai.
5. Use the DP as a tool for equity building rather than to divide, exclude, and ghettoize.
6. The state to accept responsibility of providing amenities and social infrastructure rather than private providers.
7. Recognize the natural assets and landscape of the city, and formulate guidelines for their protection.

P/N ward level recommendations

1. Since P/N ward has about 70% of its citizens living in informal settlements with some living precariously in unsafe areas prone to flooding or under CRZ, more HD reservations for the poor are required in the ward.
2. Make modifications in the DCR, where the PH/HDH type of reservation is scrutinized and eliminated if necessary, as it is not addressing the issue of affordable housing but is promoting the proliferation of private builders.
3. A new reservation should be introduced for the poor in the city and ward; the existing informal settlements that account for 10% of the ward may be included in this. For future reservations for affordable housing appropriate land must be reserved, which can be obtained by de-reserving the NDZ land and allocating it to the poor.
4. According to the current 2011 census, 216 plots reserved for primary schools are required in the ward. The reservation should be inter-spaced and equally distributed throughout the ward. Similarly, 89 plots are to be reserved for the development of secondary schools in P/N ward.

5. According to the 2011 census, and taking into account the existing amenities in P/N ward, 41 dispensaries, 21 maternity homes and health centres and at least 2 hospitals are required in P/N ward alone.
6. DCR regulations that benefit the developer from the inflated real-estate of the city have to be re-evaluated and modified accordingly. For e.g. DCR-9, and other policies like the caretaker policy.
7. DCR needs to clarify its open space components and ensure that open space is not encroached in the form of clubs, private gardens or in the guise of beautification. This is especially relevant in the case of RG reservations.
8. The research strengthens the idea of open spaces attached to schools being the best looked after and hence we advocate for some regulation/ framework of guidelines that encourages the use of school play grounds for the benefit of the local community.
9. All reserved open spaces in the coming DP should not be allowed to be built upon.

Endnotes

Introduction

1. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/53-of-urban-population-lives-in-small-towns/articleshow/5729437.cms>
2. <http://www.pkdas.com/pdfs/Nationalconsultation-Slums.pdf>
3. Slum Atlas of Nagpur 2008, CHF International, Nagpur Municipal Corporation and ESAF
4. http://planningcommission.nic.in/aboutus/committee/wrkgrp11/wg1_housing.pdf
5. Staking a claim- Housing rights of poor in Mumbai, YUVA, TISS, Dignity International, April 2010
6. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite statistic used to rank countries by level of "human development". The HDI is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, and standards of living of a country. It is a standard means of measuring well-being, especially child welfare. It is also used to distinguish whether the country is a developed, a developing or an under-developed country, and also to measure the impact of economic policies on quality of life. There are also HDI for states, cities, villages, etc. by local organizations or companies which have interest in the matter.
7. Mumbai human development report 2009

Chapter 1

1. Public Housing, reservation type, as mentioned in the Development plan
2. Municipal Housing, reservation type, as mentioned in the Development plan
3. High density housing, reservation type, as mentioned in the Development plan
4. Staff government housing, reservation type, as mentioned in the Development plan
5. Housing for Dishoused, reservation type, as mentioned in the Development plan
6. Dhobi Housing, reservation type, as mentioned in the Development plan
7. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_divisions_of_Mumbai#Ward_P_North
8. Break-up of the land occupied by informal settlements in P/N ward

Chapter 2

1. Demand for Public Health Services in Mumbai, T. R. Dilip, Ravi Duggal
2. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/India-news/Mumbai/Budget-increased-by-7-45-BMC-to-add-807-beds-in-civic-hospitals/Article1-828549.aspx>
3. Disaster Risk Reduction in Greater Mumbai project of the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai
4. <http://www.armman.org/mumbai>
5. <http://infochangeindia.org/urban-india/cityscapes/the-medical-emergency-of-the-urban-poor.html>
6. <http://www.firstpost.com/mumbai/stories-from-mumbais-forgotten-m-ward-154789.html>
7. Committee on Plan Projects for Industrial Townships (COPP)

8. Know your ward -PNorth ward, MCGM
9. Urban Development Plan Formulation and Implementation Guidelines

Chapter 3

1. <http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/amend/amend86.html>
2. BMC schools' learning levels low: Study, Published: Thursday, Dec 2, 2010, 0:50 IST , By Manoj R Nair | Place: Mumbai | Agency: DNA
3. Population distribution is our approximate assumption
4. Data as received from the ward office
5. Town and country planning organization,
6. Education_Officer_RTI_E18
7. Urban development plan formulation and implementation Guidelines

Chapter 4

1. http://www.dharavi.org/B._Introduction
2. <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/morning-walk-at-malad-mall/623089/>
3. [http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/You-have-just-1-1-square-metres-of-open space/articleshow/13585198.cms](http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/You-have-just-1-1-square-metres-of-open-space/articleshow/13585198.cms)
4. http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/2723/8/08_chapter%203.pdf
5. Why Loiter? Women and Risk on Mumbai Streets By Shilpa Phadke, Sameera Khan, Shilpa Ranade
6. http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-11-01/news/30345722_1_open-spaces-dp-department-recreation-groundshttp://www.hindustantimes.com/India-news/Mumbai/Not-caretaker-focus-on-adoption-policy-activists/Article1-837666.aspx
7. http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-04-24/mumbai/31392368_1_caretaker-policy-open-spaces-ngo-citispac
8. Citizens' Objections to MCGM's new caretaker policy
9. The term “worldclass” as defined by Vision Mumbai – Transforming Mumbai into a world-class city – A summary of recommendations. A Bombay First – McKinsey Report - 2003

Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action:

Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA), a voluntary development organization, was founded in 1984 to create access and enable process to a gamut of rights and opportunities for the marginalised, within the human rights framework. YUVA's mission is to empower the oppressed and the marginalised by facilitating their organizations and institutions towards building equal partnerships in the development process, and ensuring the fulfilment of the human right to live insecurity, dignity and peace.

Website : www.yuvaindia.org



YUVA Centre

Sector 7, Plot 23, Kharghar,
Navi Mumbai - 410 210. Maharashtra
Phone : +91 22 27740990/80/70/60.
Fax : 91 22 27740970