

**School of Built Environment
Department of Planning and Geography**

**Adopting collaborative planning for redevelopment of built
environment as a means for capacity building of the urban poor**

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Declaration

I, **Neeti Trivedi** declare that this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

The ideas, beliefs and opinions conveyed through this project are completely mine and do not correspond to anyone.

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RESEARCH ABSTRACT

The study seeks to investigate whether community participation and collaborative planning strategies applied for redevelopment of the built environment could lead to capacity building of the urban poor; and how the success of these approaches could be measured. It explores how community's engagement experience could be utilised to empower them by enhancing their capacity to improve their socio-economic and living conditions.

The study has tested the practicality and implications of the application of capacity building process of the urban poor in the specific context of developing countries. It has sought to determine how the extent of capacity building achieved within specific projects hailed as successful in terms of community participation and collaborative planning strategies can be measured.

It was hypothesised that projects whose objectives are to empower the urban poor community by advocating community participation and democratic decentralisation in planning would build the capacity of the community and also promote good governance. It was assumed that good governance would engage the community in responding to their complex livelihood issues by improving their socio-economic conditions.

The conceptual framework built upon definitions of collaborative planning, urban poverty and their livelihood approaches, was used to analyse two case studies, reported to have successfully adopted democratisation in planning and redevelopment, namely, Yerwada Slum Up-grading Project (YSUP) in Pune and the Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP) undertaken in the slums of Ahmedabad. They have been analysed for:

- existing community capacities and livelihood assets – response to the local context and level of community engagement in the project;
- organisational and institutional performance – institutional outreach, partnerships and power-sharing; and,
- long-term sustainability of the project.

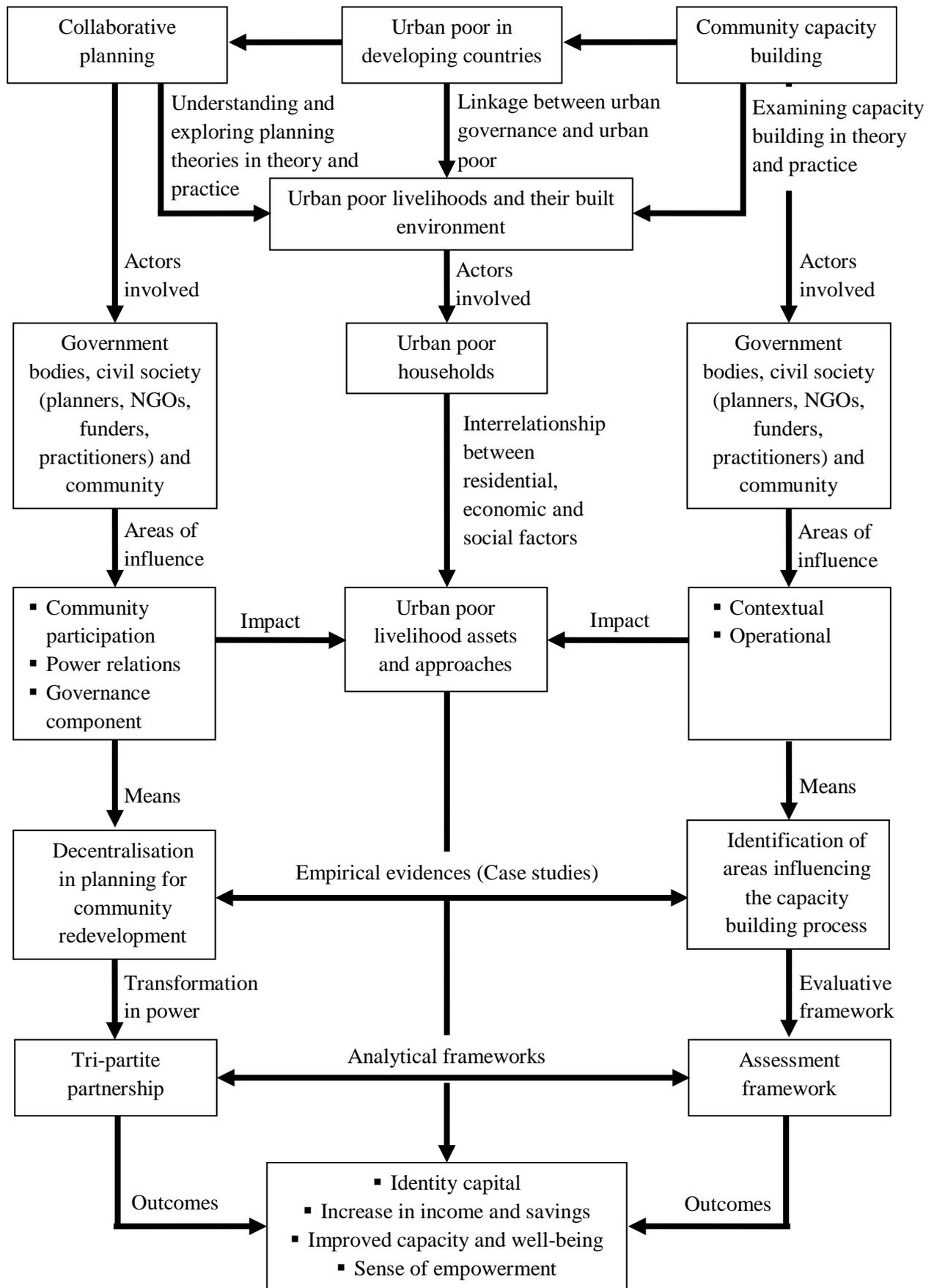
The success of community participation and collaborative planning strategies in terms of capacity building were analysed along three dimensions: firstly, the application of Tripartite Partnership Model to balance the power-relations between the key actors – government bodies, NGOs, and the community; secondly, the reflection of contextual factors affecting the urban poor’s livelihoods and their livelihood assets that contribute to their well-being; and thirdly, operationalising the key areas of intervention that influence the capacity building of the urban poor involved in a project, while enhancing their existing livelihood assets for long-term sustainability.

The research has contributed to formulating an analytical tool, a livelihood framework template and a conceptual assessment framework, to assemble and evaluate relevant contextual data required to draw comparative profiles of redevelopment projects seeking to apply the capacity building approach.

Household surveys, practitioners’ interviews, and group discussions were conducted to determine the potential of community participation and collaborative planning strategies and their realisation in the case studies. Urban governance challenges pertaining to the role of the key actors, their inter-relationship with the community and among themselves, and their perception of community capacity building process were identified. The study revealed a disconnect between theory and practice that not only highlighted the ill-conceived nature of ‘redevelopment’ projects, but also the ambiguity of perceived outcomes. The application of the assessment framework further revealed the lack of focus of the development agencies in building the community capacity that denied the community the power to participate and enhance their ability to make decisions for their own well-being.

The research has clearly identified the key challenges faced in implementing redevelopment projects for the urban poor from both practitioners’ and beneficiaries’ perspectives. It has also generated an assessment framework to measure the process and the outcome of projects focusing on capacity building and good governance for long-term sustainability of the project.

RESEARCH MAPPING (Figure I)



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ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AMC	Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation
AUDA	Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority
BRTS	Bus Rapid Transit System
BSUP	Basic Services for the Urban Poor
CAA	Constitutional Amendment Act
CBO	Community Based Organisations
CCHD	Catholic Campaign for Human Development
CDP	City Development Plan
CEPT	Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology
CHF	Co-operative Housing Foundation
CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
CKDAP	Central Kenya Dry Area Smallholder and Community Services Development Project
CO	Community Organiser
DFID	Department For International Development
DPR	Development Project Report
E.A.R.T.H.	Environment. Architecture. Research. Technology. Housing.
EuCDN	European Community Development Network
FCDL	Federation for Community Development Learning
FDAC	Focal Development Area Committee
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FRP	Fibre Reinforced Plastic
GI	Galvanised Iron
GIS	Geographic Information System
GKC	Governance Knowledge Centre
HBEA	Home-Based Economic Activity
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
ICPP	Innovation Centre for Poor Project
IDA	International Development Agency
IHSDP	Integrated Housing and Slum Development Program
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IIHS	Indian Institute of Human Settlement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
LDC	Less Developed Country
LEDC	Least Economically Developed Country
MASHAL	Maharashtra Social Housing and Action League
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MHT	Mahila Housing Trust
MoHUPA	Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NOC	No Objection Certificate
NRY	Nehru Rozgar Yojana
NSDF	National Slum Dwellers Federation
NTAG	National Technical Advisory Group
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PIU	Project Implementation Unit
PMC	Pune Municipal Corporation
PMIUPEP	Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PRIA	Participatory Research in Asia
PSUP	Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RCC	Reinforced Concrete Cement
SELCO	Solar Electric Light Company
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association
SNA	State Nodal Agency
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Research Centers
SRFD	Sabarmati River Front Development
UBSP	Urban Basic Services for the Poor
UCD	Urban Community Development
UIDAI	Unique Identification Authority of India
ULB	Urban Local Bodies
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UN-DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
YSUP	Yerwada Slum Up-grading Project

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Research background

Urban ‘redevelopment’¹, in recent years, has become one of the major concerns of urban planning in both theory and practice. In cities, where there is uneven urban development in terms of quality, redevelopment is an opportunity to address the situation and its negative impacts on the city and its citizens. It reflects a trend parallel to urban social studies and geography pointing towards the importance of considering socio-cultural, economic, political and physical factors in dealing with built-up and settled areas responsible for the uneven pattern of the urban development (Gotham 2001). A quick glance at the composition of urban centres in developing countries is likely to reveal several smaller urban areas, divided on the basis of whether the land use patterns cater to the rich and poor. These “dual geographies” (Sassen 2001) of the rich and the poor are quite explicit and represent an extreme upheaval of inequality produced by the uneven quality of development and growth of the urban built environment. In developing countries, the settlements inhabited by the urban poor have low quality of built environment and sub-standard of living conditions, mainly stemming from the informal legal status and/or structures. It is evident that the traditional planning practices are poorly served by the planning theories which have so far failed to meet the challenges of today’s “urbanising” world (Graham and Healey 1999). These challenges not only question the nature of ‘redevelopment’ projects, but also reflect on the urban governance framework towards proposing and planning ‘urban poor’² built environment interventions, strategies adopted for community development, and its perceived outcomes.

¹ Redevelopment projects include the process of demolition of existing structures and construction of new improved structures on the same site.

² ‘Urban poor’ is termed as poor, marginalised, disadvantaged, urban underclass, economically backward, etc. in different literatures; regardless of this the term is interchangeably used throughout the research.

Problematically, the development agencies often use the tools of redevelopment interventions – including master plans, development project reports, biometrics, spatial development plans, implementation plans, investment plans, so on and so forth. These redevelopment interventions are directed by conventional development theory, demand significant resources for execution, consume too much time, and are irrelevant to the realities and pace of the urban poor's way of living (Parashar et al. 2011; Zerah 2009; Hamdi and Goethert 1997). None of these tools of redevelopment assist the urban poor communities, which materialise to be the majority of urban population, to elevate them from their situation. Rather they tend to perpetuate the cycle of despair. These urban redevelopment projects are being compressed into a one-size-fits-all (Albrechts 2013), which serves the needs of governments and the interests of community leaders, development professionals and private enterprises.

The counterclaims are equally reasonable from a professional's perspective and on what one intends and how, and who is conducting the project evaluation (Albrechts 2013). Development agencies would claim that both strategic planning and redevelopment projects, when combined with technical know-how, subsidy, and material assistance, have been able to deliver appreciable benefits to all the strata of urban community. Improved access to housing, better sanitation, employment opportunities, legitimisation of illegal settlements, transportation, health and education facilities, water and power supply, are some of the benefits of redevelopment projects. It is noted, however, that in the process urban areas become more habitable, safer, and well-organised.

Furthermore, government and non-government organisations (NGOs) attain the ability to be more helpful and proficient at organising and delivering the services like, technical co-operation and financial assistance by means of these redevelopment projects to the urban poor communities. The development agencies claim that, "planning, as a development instrument, acts in the favour of community over private establishment's greed, transfers social and economic equity to the community which otherwise is not easily available" (Hamdi and Goethert 1997). Therefore, urban poor communities prefer redevelopment projects – an easy way to get more than they had before, regardless of the sacrifices.

These claims and counterclaims have been articulated and discussed over and over in the plethora of planning and development literature. In this dissertation, these current planning and governance theories and practices adopted for redevelopment interventions within urban poor dominated built environment³ have been reviewed. The idea is to identify the fundamental reason behind the increasing needs and despair of the urban poor communities which challenges the counterclaims.

In facilitating urbanisation, planning interventions often fail to critically address - 'what', 'where', and 'who' – questions. Not surprisingly, they often fail to produce an adequately robust and tangible approach to deal with problems of the urban areas. In the ongoing redevelopment discourse, areas inhabited by urban poor communities are mostly defined as, “deprived areas, concentrations of poverty and unemployment” (Craig 2010, 42), and “communities with social problems with no guarantee of progressive outcomes” (Mendes 2006, 247).

Thus World Bank promoted community participation to ensure that redevelopment projects “reached the poorest and the vulnerable in the most effective and economical way, by sharing costs as well as benefits, and through the promotion of self-help” (Craig and Mayo 2004, 2). However, over the years, these projects came to be better known for their effectiveness in safeguarding money by minimising political and social risk-taking by government bodies. This emphasis on financial safeguards and cost recovery led to further decline of the social and economic structures of the urban poor communities while appearing to promote the importance of ‘community’ (Craig 2007). In reality, the development philosophy that emerged, shaped largely by international development organisations, have not considered the socio-cultural context of developing countries and as such further undermined the rights of the poorest to contribute in the decision-making process. They seem to use emancipatory discourse for redevelopment whilst exerting power over the community through top-down planning, completely overlooking the principles and philosophies of practice

³ ‘Urban poor built environment’ or ‘urban poor areas’ can be annotated by different names in different regions of the world, for example *bastees*, *jhuggi-jhopdi*, *ahatas*, *gallies*, *cheris*, *tekro*, shanty settlements, slums, ghettos, squatters, public housing, disadvantaged neighbourhoods, notorious neighbourhoods, ill-fated neighbourhoods, blighted areas. These names vary distinctly, ranging from geographical to physical reasons. However, to avoid putting the research into one these brackets, a general interpretation of the urban poor communities will be used throughout the research.

for community development as described in the 2004 Budapest Declaration⁴. According to the Declaration, “community development is a way of strengthening civil society by prioritising the actions of communities, and their perspectives in the development of social, economic, and environmental policy. It seeks to strengthen the capacity of the local communities as active democratic citizens through their community groups and networks; and the capacity of institutions and agencies (government, non-government, and private) to work in dialogue with the citizens to shape and determine change in their communities” (Craig et al. 2004, 2).

Community (re)development is not only a practice, involving knowledge base and skills; it is also a channel for renewal and transformation in every sphere of action. It is also an aim, self-evidently the development of communities or, as it now happens to be in vogue to describe it, ‘building capacity’ of communities. The potential of redevelopment projects to enhance the capacity of the urban poor can be clearly understood only when redevelopment is acknowledged as an activity by the development agencies. This process of redevelopment involves the community and should value their decision-making ability, their local knowledge, individual and collective resources, as a large part of the process, rather than focusing on the product (Tiwari and Pandya 2014; Lossifidis and Payne 2012; Turner 2002). Redevelopment projects relying extensively on community participation and employing collaborative planning strategies are therefore expected to strengthen human resource and institutional capabilities (as stated in Agenda 21⁵, in the Rio Earth Summit in 1992) in addition to long-term sustainability of the development. Although national and international redevelopment projects all over the world widely

⁴ In 2004, the Hungarian Association for Community Development and the International Association for Community Development organised a conference entitled, *Building Civil Society in Europe through Community Development* on the significance of community development and on the struggles to strengthen civil society and resist social exclusion. The conference was attended by delegates from over thirty nations, across Europe, Asia, Africa and North America. One output of the conference was “The Budapest Declaration” (EuCDN 2014), which defined community development in terms of capacity building.

⁵ Agenda 21 is an outcome of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) that was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Agenda 21 was established to offer a pragmatic approach to applying sustainable development policies at the local and national level. The Agenda sought “to provide a comprehensive blueprint of action to be taken globally, nationally and locally by organisations of the UN, governments, and major groups” (UN-DESA 2012, 1). The Summit recognised capacity building as one of the means of implementation for Agenda 21. In that sense, capacity building is relevant to all chapters of Agenda 21 (UN-DESA 2012).

use the terminology of capacity building, empowerment, enablement, sustainability, and so forth, as project goals and objectives, its effect on practice and the well-being of urban poor has yet to be felt in any significant way (Kapucu et al. 2011; Bishop 2007). Another factor is the lack of an ‘appropriate assessment framework’ for evaluating capacity building (Kapucu et al. 2011; Sobeck and Agius 2007; Laverack 2001).

This study seeks to test these arguments further through empirical evidence collected from two case studies. The scope of the research was limited to developing countries, focusing on two Indian case studies - Yerwada Slum Up-grading project (YSUP), Pune and the Innovation Centre for the Poor Project (ICPP) undertaken in the slums of Ahmedabad. Through these case studies, it was sought to investigate the extent to which redevelopment projects carried out in urban poor dominated built environment can contribute positively towards capacity building of the urban poor communities. The criteria for selecting these cases was their being on record as having adopted democratization in planning and redevelopment, and having achieved international recognition as successful physical upgrading projects. Thus the intention of selecting democratic upgrading projects was not limited to improving the physical living conditions of the urban poor but also to use the community’s engagement experience to empower them by improving their capacity. This study, therefore, seeks to record the process of achieving improvements in the built form of the settlements of urban poor by redevelopment projects claimed to be successful – and then to determine the potential of these upgrading projects to empower the community.

Thus, the study explored the methods to test the practicality, applicability and implications of the collaborative planning strategies applied in upgrading the built environment of the urban poor in the context of the developing countries. The purpose was to understand the significance of implementation strategies and practices adopted by such participatory projects in building the capacity of the urban poor by improving their living conditions. Central to this study is capacity building and empowerment of the urban poor communities. To understand the meaning of this concept, the dissertation provides an interpretation of the key planning theories in the context of community redevelopment, and an assessment framework to analyse the capacity building process in regard to urban poor built environment redevelopment projects.

1.2 Research problem

Never before in history has the world witnessed such a rapid growth in urbanisation. In India alone, the population in urban areas has ascended to four million that is 32 per cent of the total population and is estimated to increase two per cent annually (World Bank 2015). As the rate of urbanization is increasing so it seems is the rate of urban poor in cities. The urban areas are dominated by the poor such that the rural-urban migration process can be referred to as the ‘urbanisation of poverty’⁶ (Bari and Efrogmson 2009). The concern here is that, “the speed of urbanisation and the enormous numbers involved make it one of the major development challenges of the 21st century” (World Bank 2000, cited in Marshall 2003, 22).

These urban areas – whether large or small – are responsible for rural ‘push’ and urban ‘pull’ that may be seen by many as areas where social, economic and political life evolves and knowledge, skill and expertise are created and shared, but for the urban poor these could be areas that deny opportunities. Tangible differences in the built environment of the rich and the poor result in creating an urban divide of unequal opportunities, socio-cultural exclusion and economic turmoil for the poor (Nijman 2010, cited in Tiwari et al. 2015). This urban divide is relentlessly widening, especially in developing countries (Chatterjee 2004). Inevitably, the rundown physical setting of the urban poor creates a socio-cultural gap between them and the affluent society. However, lack of basic services, employment and housing persists, encircling the disadvantaged and continuing the cycle of deprivation for the urban poor. It is clear that the constant flooding of the urban poor into un-planned and underserviced parts of the cities results in the extra burden on those infrastructures which are the least adept at dealing with the ever growing demands. Evidently, the rate of urbanisation is accelerating extraordinarily and it is difficult for government bodies to plan for and cope with this pace in order to provide basic infrastructures and make essential services available to the urban poor; this then leaves them in the state of increasing poverty (Tewari, Raghupati and Ansari 2007).

⁶ The United Nations defines urban poverty as a denial of choices and opportunities and as a violation of human dignity. This implies a lack of the basic capacity to participate effectively in society, and living in marginal or fragile environments without access to basic services such as clean water or sanitation (UN 2009; UNDP 2006).

Though the urban poor reside in ‘uninhabitable’ and ‘unliveable’ places, they provide a large urban labour force (Naik 2012). It is estimated by the UN-Habitat (2010-11) that about 85 per cent of new employment opportunities around the world occur in these urban poor areas creating informal economy. A closer look into these urban poor areas reveals the vibrancy, dynamics, and economic activities buzzing around. Data confirms that 70 per cent of the urban poor are said to be working in the informal sectors inside these closely-packed communities (Nijman 2010; Selja 2004), and entrepreneurship is everywhere. As per the latest estimation of a Sub-committee of the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS), the population living and working in these informal sectors are responsible for generating 50 per cent of the gross domestic products (GDP) to the national market (Kalyani 2016; NCEUS 2008).

Even so, hampered by the lack of infrastructure, housing and public services, the potential of urban poor to play a role in contributing to the national economy and stimulating the development of the country is often not recognised. Long running practices, prejudices, notions of the urban poor and deep-rooted traditions, predominantly of the organisational bodies, must be replaced with new practices and approaches towards reforming the situation of the urban poor (Buckley and Kalarickal 2005; Churchill and Lycette 1980).

Considering the livelihood, poverty, resources and vulnerability pattern of the urban poor, several global campaigns have joined hands to transform the urban environment in the developing countries, mainly by targeting urban poor settlements as problem spaces and harbingers of poverty. *Challenges of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements*⁷ launched in 2003 was one of the many attempts that advocated an inclusive participatory approach to eradicate the ‘slums’ from cities by providing subsidised housing, security of tenure, power connections, access to safe water and sanitation, and opportunities to improve livelihoods of their inhabitants (UN-Habitat 2003). These early community participatory programs were mostly ruled out for the reasons of “supply-driven/demand-driven” development (Mansuri and Rao 2004, 1),

⁷ The Challenges of Slums is a report on the global assessment of slums, highlighting their issues and prospects. The report has attempted to examine the underlying factors of slum formation as well as their social, physical, spatial, economic characteristics and dynamics. For details please see UN-Habitat (2003).

to be precise, the programs were based on the availability of land and income level of the inhabitants.

Among the few campaigns launched in recent years, the most resilient and effective was the Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme (PSUP), which was launched in 2008 and practiced the ideals of the 2004 Budapest Declaration. It helped the government agencies in redeveloping the urban poor communities by encompassing ideas of inclusion in its process and outcomes by encouraging them to participate and contribute in the redevelopment projects in ways that provide them with safety, security and conducive opportunities for self-improvement (Patel 2012). The participatory redevelopment of urban poor communities is widely considered as a best practice in current urban poor redevelopment policies. While this is an affirmative step towards redevelopment, the outcome of such campaigns may not be as effective as desired in the context of developing countries because these participatory campaigns were conceptualised around models of participation that have evolved in the 'West' (Swapan 2013). In addition, several development and planning researchers have reported unsuccessful attempts of community participation in developing countries which could add to both institutional limitations and increasing public indifference towards participation (Khan and Swapan 2013).

However, in the past decade, a new policy paradigm was introduced for community redevelopment, one that stressed urban governance and decentralised decision-making with the participation of the community. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) describes urban governance as “an exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to supervise society’s affairs where decision-making is jointly done between the state, the private sector and community represented by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs)” (Kampen and Naerssen 2008, 943). This conceptualisation assumes an ideal situation where there is an equal division of power among participants.

In the context of developing countries, Benjamin (2008) explains perhaps most clearly the complex workings of 'political society'. Benjamin states that, what is commonly simplified by academics and researchers as 'patron-clientelism' and derided by the leaders and high-level bureaucrats as 'vote-bank politics', in fact

should encompass a set of constructive interactions producing democratic outcomes for the impoverished urban poor. The repercussions of such socio-economic and political policies of the government bodies on the majority of the population living in abysmal conditions of developing countries aspiring to be ‘pro-poor’ is a development paradox. They often sought through measures like infrastructure-led growth strategy, by accelerating the pace of redevelopment schemes and initiating other programs along similar lines (Baud and De Wit 2009).

Community redevelopment is a quintessential sustainable concept and correct methodology and approaches need to be undertaken for this to be successful (Ahmad et al. 2015). All communities – whether geographic or communities of interest – have certain strengths or assets and that the development interventions need to build upon these to accomplish desired changes. The government bodies and other development agencies often forget to acknowledge existing community strengths in designing their projects and end up adopting a macro development approach with connotations of top-down approach with less emphasis on the needs of the community.

Over the years, even though several campaigns and policy changes have been made, resources and funds have been put; still there have not been any changes in the conditions of the urban poor communities. Community redevelopment projects should be seen as opportunities and potential for change; for the resources and funds to be used productively; changes in the policies are required as per the contextual strengths and needs of the community. Thus, there is a recognition that capacity building needs to be a focus to improve the lot. It is aligned with participation, decentralisation, and empowerment. Recognising the importance of capacity building, local Agenda 21, in the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, proposed ‘capacity building’ as means of implementation for the success and long-term sustainability of development. However, although national and international redevelopment projects all over the world widely use the terminology of capacity building, empowerment, enablement, sustainability, and so forth, as project goals and objectives, due to the complexity in the concept, development agencies face difficulty in putting it into practice.

Thus, in the landscape of redevelopment of urban poor communities in developing countries, there is a need to unpack the concept of capacity building into areas that

could be operationalised and assessed such that the outcome is community empowerment and well-being, increase in income and savings, identity capital, and sense of ownership. The impact of the redevelopment projects on the community measured along areas influencing the process of capacity building is the key to this study.

1.3 Field of study relevant to the research

This section demonstrates the relevance of the study by situating the research topic in literature concerned with urban poverty alleviation through collaborative planning strategies that direct community redevelopment through physical upgrading and community capacity building in the context of developing countries.

1.3.1 The concept of collaborative planning

Planning theory and practice continues to struggle in engaging community people in the redevelopment process. During the 1970s, much of the debate in planning theory focused on differentiating between substantial vs. procedural aspects of planning introduced by Faludi (1973), as a dichotomy of theories ‘of’ planning and theories ‘in’ planning. Over the past few decades, the field of planning has encouraged members of the community to participate in redevelopment projects (Roodt 2001, cited in Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie 2010), as it is considered to be both democratic and effective in terms of achieving redevelopment goals. It advocates to move from representational to direct community engagement and the right of third party to object (Skeffington Report 1969) as an essential characteristic of democratisation in planning. Primarily the intent was to strengthen the inclusion of both ‘epistemological’ and ‘methodological’ transformations within the field of planning (Beard 2002). The epistemological transformation meant an increased acknowledgement of other forms of knowledge and skills, such as, local and gender specific knowledge; whereas the methodological transformation meant taking into consideration unconventional means that fall beyond the state-regulated planning norms, for instance, oppositional or informal planning. The field of planning has shifted from the standardised norms that used to rely only on the expertise of the professionals to one that acknowledges the local expertise (Innes and Booher 2010; Forester 2009 and 2006; Sandercock 2004 and 1998; Healey 2003; Harris 2002; Beard 2003 and 2002; Douglass 1999; Friedmann 2003, 1992 and 1987).

Friedmann's (1987, cited in Craig 2007) seminal work describes planning as transfer of power in the hands of the community, which summarises the above mentioned epistemological and methodological transformations. He dichotomises planning as top-down planning (societal guidance) and bottom-up approaches (social transformations). Conceptualising the field of planning as social transformation, while discussing radical practices, has contributed significantly to the discipline of planning. However, the dichotomy created a gap between planning as societal guidance and planning as social transformation (Beard 2002).

Healey's (2007 and 1998) collaborative planning fills this gap, as it deals with both planning from above (i.e. the mechanisms of governance) and planning from below (i.e. the process of consensus building). Central to this purpose is the fact that traditional governance structures can influence how the community is engaged in the redevelopment process and consecutively have the potential to mould what the community is capable of achieving. Recognising these influences, community participation in redevelopment can be viewed as a continuum ranging from local inclusion in synoptic planning schemes formulated by the state authority (i.e., societal guidance), to collaboration between the community and established governing mechanisms, to participation in NGOs and CBOs action projects that seek inclusive changes (i.e., social transformation) (Beard 2002). Collaborative planning could thus be seen as a midpoint on this continuum – it conceptualises participation from the outlook of both, the community and the state actors involved. It is an attempt to revise the governance mechanisms in order to equalise the power between the state and the community (Brand and Gaffkin 2007). This theoretical understanding of planning is appropriate for redevelopment projects in the developing countries. Nonetheless, this theoretical contribution to planning assumes the existence of open-minded and democratic state structures and community expectations; therefore, collaborative planning has limited advantage and efficacy in non-democratic contexts (Beard 2002).

In practice, collaborative planning focuses on bringing together local agencies (NGOs and CBOs) and the state authority for effective partnerships with the sole intent of achieving desired redevelopment goals. This aimed at partnering not merely for material outcomes, but also for the processes through which strategies are designed for resource allocation and regulations are articulated and implemented. It

demands to move from representational to interactive and participatory forms of governance in such a way that reflection and decisions are made through a lot of “face-to-face interaction in real time” (Friedmann 1987, 482). In other words, the demand- and supply- side of policies and decisions need to “co-evolve” (Brand 2007; Leach et al. 1999, 226). The strength of collaborative planning is that it recognises the influence of structure and power of the agency, plus the synergy between the two. Time and again, collaborative planning has been treated as if its objective was to ‘neutralise’ power (Healey 2003 and 2006).

From empirical evidences of redevelopment projects, it has emerged that state’s recognition of its own deficiency in terms of its reach and ability, the advocacy of community participation in the redevelopment process, and the rise of multiple non-profit and private stakeholders are the three key phenomenon of collaborative planning (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). Underlying these evidences is the assumption that basic democratic expectations and structures of governance are firmly in place.

The critical annotations raised on the theoretical and practical aspect of collaborative planning in developing countries, are not only related to its procedures but also to its affinity with the un-collaborative world within which it has to perform. The critical discourse also sheds light on the nature of the professionals and government bodies towards redevelopment projects by assessing its effectiveness as to what development agencies ‘really’ do and can do (Brand and Gaffkin 2007). The decisive factor in this regard was the means by which people are included or excluded from the collaborative planning processes and the way the relationship between the community and professionals was directed (Roy 2009). Therefore, the practice of collaborative planning in developing countries needs more than just meticulous arbitration. Related to this is the power differentials, a reality well accepted by practitioners of collaborative planning cannot be suspended through reasonable argumentation (Moore 2007). Beyond the problem of power, there is a need to respond to the embodiment of the community, expressed in the narrative that allows “the whole person to be present in negotiations and deliberations” (Sandercock 2000, 26), and hence, the need for effective ‘community participation’⁸.

⁸ ‘Community participation’ is termed as ‘citizen participation’, ‘public participation’, ‘community engagement’ or involvement in different literatures; regardless of this they are used interchangeably in this research.

The need for effective community participation

Over the past decade, the World Bank has assigned nearly \$85 billion to community participatory redevelopment (Mansuri and Rao 2013). Underlying this enormous funding is the idea that involving communities in at least some phase of project design and implementation would be a progress towards sustainable urban development (Marfo 2007). Indeed, community participation is anticipated to attain a variety of goals like sharpening poverty targets, improving service delivery, providing employment opportunities, and strengthening demand for good collaborative governance (Mansuri and Rao 2013). In principle, a more engaged participation in decision-making processes promotes individuals to have a voice and be critical of top-down planning policies. In practice, however, little is known about how best to foster such engagement. Participation is a rich concept that fluctuates with its application and definition. The way participation is defined also depends on the background in which it transpires. For some, it is a matter of principle; for others, practice; for still others, an end in itself (Mathbor 2008).

Roodt (2001, 470) describes “participation as active involvement of people in community and developmental organisations, political groups and local government, with the intent of influencing decisions that concern their lives”. Mikkelsen (1995, cited in Sibanda 2011, 23) argues that “participation is the sensitisation of the community to increase their interests and capability to respond to development projects.”

In the context of this research, the term ‘participation’ refers to, “empowering the community to mobilise their own capacities, to be social actors, rather than submissive, to administer the resources, make decisions, and take charge of the activities that affect their lives” (Reid et al. 2010, 23). Community participation calls for the redistribution of control that facilitates the community in understanding the process of information dissemination, setting up of project objectives, resource allocation, management of programs, and to gain benefits for the future (Trivedi and Khan 2014).

Leading scholars such as Hall (1996 and 1992), Healey (2007), Sandercock (2004, 2000 and 1998), Forester (1989), and others have stressed upon the need for participatory, need based and socially acceptable planning instead of the traditional

top-down expert-driven approach (cited in Khan and Swapan 2010). ‘Community participation’ or ‘bottom-up approach’ is the new element that has steered planning theory and practice for community redevelopment projects for achieving effective outcomes (Amado et al. 2010; Azmat et al. 2009). It is evident that the main ingredients of community redevelopment projects are local community people and their issues. Community participation is not a ‘turn on’ and ‘turn off’ event; it builds the capacity of the community through a continuous process, which goes through different stages of community development (Creighton 2005). It is potentially a vehicle for social transformation where the community influences the redevelopment strategies and interventions. While community participation in theory is increasingly acknowledged as an axiomatic desirability of planning (Parker and Murray 2012); the reforms in practice do not propose a “revolution in practice” yet (Davies 2001).

Despite increasing interests in community participation in planning, “there is much less understanding of, and even lesser agreement on, what community participation means and entails, and under what conditions is it necessary” (Khwaja 2004, 428). Moreover, empirical evidences suggests that only a small number of citizens, irrespective of their socio-economic background, are interested or are stimulated in contributing with specific skills for effective participation (Mohammadi 2010). Apathy and lack of interest in planning and various forms of disagreements against the enactment of new policies and projects (Njoh 2002), seems to result from community dissatisfaction with planning procedures.

Community participation in the planning process is influenced by several aspects, which may be essential in determining the degree of participation. The degree of community participation (as shown in Fig. 1.1) may vary over the phase of the programme, location, and activities (Trivedi and Khan 2014). These aspects range from socio-cultural to political and “are spread over a seemingly endless spectrum” (Botes and Van Rensburg 2000, 42). It supports the autonomous forms of action through which community decides whether or not to participate and to “create their own opportunities and terms for engagement” (Cornwall 2002, 50). Factors affecting the community’s decision to participate can be classified into two types: external (such as legislative framework, political will, governance structure and role of planners) and internal (such as public awareness, social capital and economic condition) (Swapan 2014; Njoh 2002).

The United Nations Habitat (2006) identifies five stages of community participation designed to give the community an opportunity to manage and contribute to decision-making on issues related to the improvement of conditions in the community in which they live. It is a back-and-forth inter-related process wherein ‘consultation’ denotes the provision of information to the community, to ‘collaborate’ and ‘empower’, which may engage the community in creating an image and effectively contributing towards bringing it into reality.

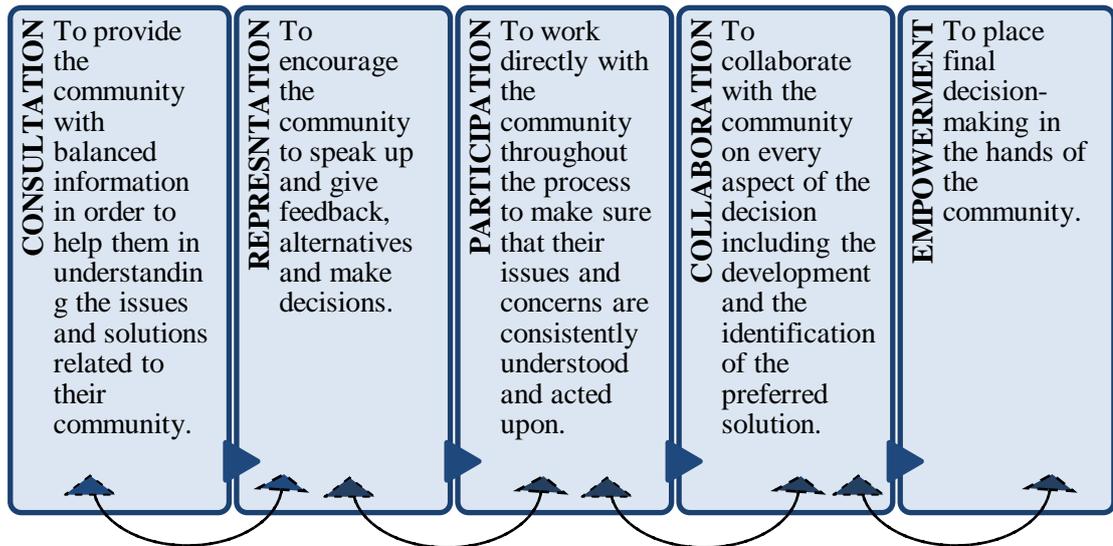


Figure 1.1: Community participation: Inter-relationships between consultation to empowerment

Source: Modified from Trivedi and Khan (2014) and UN-Habitat (2006)

The literature on participatory practice suggests that much importance has been given to institutional (external) aspects while less attention has been given to the socio-cultural considerations which are often the primary drivers at the local level (Tosun 2000). The misplaced importance may have resulted from preconceived ideas of professionals and planners that assume that socio-cultural issues are “ephemeral, intangible and time-consuming in comparison to the more easily managed technical issues” (Botes and Van Rensburg 2000, 47).

The concept of ‘development through participation’ is not a single actor’s or one-sided phenomenon; it is a pluralistic event that involves service providers and service receivers (Gaventa 2004); wherein, a planner’s role experiences a transition from expert to enabler and the community’s role switches from an observer to active

participant (Evans 2010). Community participation in a normative way helps to achieve good governance (Khwaja 2004), whereas in an actively involved way, it helps to bring about the capacity of the community, the synergies of which offer effective and sustainable development. Connected to this is the proposition that solutions to problems are best developed and implemented by those closest to the problem – “local solutions to local problems” (Trivedi and Khan 2014, 111). A summary of reasons for advocating effective community participation in urban poor redevelopment programmes are presented below:

- Local people know their community better, have fresh perspectives and can often see the problems in new ways (Trivedi and Khan 2014).
- Community participation helps to deliver programs that more precisely target local needs (Trivedi and Khan 2014; Chaskin 2001).
- Participation nurtures the accord within the community for being united in solving community issues (Perkins et al. 1996). Hence, the resulting projects are more acceptable to the local community.
- Program outputs which have been designed with input from local residents are likely to last longer because communities sense an ownership towards them (Ife 1995, cited in Black and Hughes 2001).
- Participation is a means to empower people and to avoid unwanted imbalances (Torres 2006).
- Participation can invigorate an ongoing learning process increasing the awareness of collective responsibility within the community, while building local organisational skills. This should be seen as an asset by professional agencies rather than a threat (Buchy and Hoverman 2000).

As a result, when residents of a community are enfranchised and encouraged to participate to manage and control their decisions, and contribute to the design and execution, both the process of developing self-confidence and stimulation of social and individual wellbeing is achieved (Mansuri and Rao 2004). Empowered community is a hallmark of the sustainability of community redevelopment. From a conceptual standpoint, community participation can be viewed as a process that serves the means to capacity building.

The notion of capacity building in the context of community redevelopment

“Give a man a fish and he’ll eat for a day. Teach a man how to fish and he’ll eat for his entire life.” (Lao Tze, old Chinese proverb)

The notion of ‘capacity building’⁹ is definite, clear and all-invasive in the rhetoric that illustrates and, to a certain degree, the actions that represents a broad range of modern-day community redevelopment efforts (Chaskin 2001). Analysis of redevelopment projects (Merino and Carmenado 2012; Di Tommaso et al. 2012 ; Schwarz et al. 2011; OECD 2006; Laverack 2005; Fukuda-Parr et al. 2002) consistently demonstrates that capacity building is one of the most important elements for developed and developing countries alike. The success of Millennium Development Goals and other identified national and international goals pivots on capacities of individuals, communities, and organisations to transform in order to accomplish their development goals (UNDP 2008). Fukuyama (2004) calls capacity building as the overall goal for collaborative redevelopment. The World Bank (2005) tagged it as the ‘missing link’ in development. International Development Agencies (IDAs) estimated that inculcation of capacity building into a project could make up at least a quarter of all the expenses (UNDP 2008). The reports of UN Millennium Project (UN 2006) have arrived to a similar conclusion: while monetary aid and formal development resources are essential for success, they are not entirely sufficient to uphold human development in a sustainable manner. Unless the project is backed with supportive schemes, policies and procedures, well-functioning development organisations and educated and skilled individuals, it will lack the foundation required to plan, implement and analyse their national and local redevelopment strategies. Capacity building helps to reinforce and sustain this foundation. It is the ‘how’ of making redevelopment work better (UNDP 2008).

The earliest sustained reference of ‘capacity building’ in the literature date from the 1992 Rio Earth Summit - the UN Commission on Sustainable Development – the UN

⁹ Capacity building is a considerable overlap between concepts such as empowerment (Alsop et al. 2006; Laverack 1999, 2006; Fawcett et al. 1995), competence (Chaskin 2001; Fawcett et al. 1995; Eng and Parker 1994), social capital (Thompson 2009; Woolcock and Narayan 2000), and so and so forth. This is for the reason that they are basically addressing the same issue - the inequalities in the distribution of power (decision making) and resources. The study uses the work of the authors listed above and others to support the underlying principle of designing an evaluative framework for the assessment of redevelopment and capacity building process of the case studies in Chapter 4 and its application in Chapter 6.

Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), wherein ‘capacity building’ was recognised as one of the means of implementation for Agenda 21. The UNDP suggested incorporating capacity building for putting together plans and strategies for sustainable development, encompassing the country’s human, scientific, technological, organizational, institutional and resource capabilities (Craig 2007; McGinty 2003; UNCED 1992). Capacity building has taken centre stage in a wide range of community redevelopment policies and programs. Most researchers and practitioners in the field of community redevelopment consider capacity building as a positive advancement in spite of the fact that the notion of ‘capacity building’ is rarely accurately defined in these policies and programs, and the methodology applied to indicate whether or not it has been ‘built’ are merely in the developmental phase (Hounslow 2002).

Capacity building, as both a concept and a strategy, has significance to all communities and to society as a whole. It is, however, most commonly linked to and applied to disadvantaged communities (Craig 2007), but is not limited to and includes institutional and organisational development as well (UNESCO 2010). Capacity building stresses upon community participation and a collaborative approach between different levels and sectors for redevelopment; it not only strengthens participatory democracy but also spreads the importance of democratic governance at all levels (Howe and Cleary 2001). As a result, it overtakes the conception of “government as steerer, not rower” that governed the planning policies until early 1990s, and affirms that the steering role should be jointly performed (Hounslow 2002).

Over the past decade, the terms ‘capacity building’ and ‘capacity development’,¹⁰ often have been used interchangeably in planning and development literature. In the context of this research, the concept of capacity building (as opposed to ‘development’) was established on the belief that all communities – whether geographic or communities of interest – have strengths or ‘assets’. This simple and self-evident understanding counterbalances the ‘deficit’ prism through which

¹⁰ UNDP (2008) defines ‘capacity development’ as ‘the process through which individuals, organisations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time’. Although ‘capacity development’ and ‘capacity building’ are related, they have different connotations.

disadvantaged communities are generally perceived. Furthermore, acknowledging that “interventions which take into account and build upon existing community capacities are more likely to be successful in accomplishing desired change than those which are adopted in a more traditional top-down manner” (Littlejohns and Thompson 2001, 37).

From this perspective, capacity building is the most recent manifestation of decentralisation in planning. While the rationale of building a community’s capacity is to achieve a specific outcome (such as improving the ability to participate in designing, planning, making decisions for their own benefit), many practitioners claim that it is also a desirable end in itself for the reason it plays a role in the creation and maintenance of active citizenship and social trust (Hounslow 2002). Capacity building can therefore be conceived as both a process and an outcome.

In the context of this research, the focus has been to build capacity for problem-solving – the means – as part of an attempt to enhance results and performance – the ends (Backer et al. 2010). Herein capacity building is viewed as an inter-related process repositioning itself in either direction along a continuum consisting of individual empowerment, development of communities, NGOs and, local and state government bodies (Laverack 2003; Labonte 1999; Rissel 1994). The outcome of capacity building is significant for an individual, group or community involved with the purpose of attaining control over the decisions affecting their lives. It is deemed to lead to collective action and therefore the outcomes of capacity building can take a long time frame to materialise (Raeburn 1993).

In this thesis, the concept and practice of capacity building, a part of the redevelopment conundrum was not perceived as the ‘missing link’ as suggested by World Bank (2005) in assessment of the two redevelopment cases. Some key questions addressed are as follows:

- What is the most helpful way of understanding and implementing capacity building in urban poor built environment redevelopment projects?
- Should capacity building be seen as a redevelopment means or an end?
- If capacity building is means to urban poor built environment redevelopment, what is its operational domain and areas of influence?
- How can its success be assessed?

- What evaluative framework do we use?

In order to answer these questions, the research designed a methodology to explain how capacity building can be incorporated in the redevelopment projects along with an assessment framework to assess its areas of influence for success (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). This methodology and assessment framework will be utilised to examine the case studies (discussed in Chapter 6) for long-term sustainability of the projects.

1.3.2 Developing country context

There is an ongoing debate in characterizing the terms ‘developing countries’, ‘the Third World’, ‘less developed countries (LDCs)’, ‘non-west countries’, ‘global-south’ (Slater 2004), ‘aid receiving countries’ (Laverack 1999), or ‘client countries’ (Farid and Lazarus 2008) among the national and international aid agencies. Realistically, it is a challenging task to group a large number of heterogeneous countries (in terms of demographics, size of the country, economic structure, culture, language, resource base, nature of the built environment) in a single category and justifiably draw a deviation line (McQueen 1977, cited in Ramirez-Faria 2011). Quintessentially, it depends upon the research aims and objectives to perform the classification as per the project requirement (Tosun 2000).

Researchers and aid agencies often use the term ‘developing countries’¹¹ and ‘developing world’ as shorthand to indicate poor countries of the world (Milner-Smith and Potter 1995, cited in Potter and Lloyd-Evans 2014). The fact that developing countries face similar challenges as the developed ones, but in a far more pressing form, and the gravity of the issues also differ sharply between nations within the so-called developing world. Problems of regional disparity and inequality, social polarisation, urban concentration, unemployment, inadequate housing, right to services, and structural poverty occur in all societies. Yet, they influence the poor in

¹¹ In this research, reference is made to developing countries/world/nations, which sits just below ‘developed countries’ (example – U.S. and Germany) and above ‘least economically developed countries’ (LEDCs) (example – Haiti and Mozambique) (Kuepper 2015). World Bank (2013) considers developing countries as where “... the majority of population makes far less income, and has significantly weaker social indicators, than the population in high-income countries ... [and] lives on far less money-and often lacks basic public services-than the population in highly-industrialised countries.” In order to generalise these characteristics of developing countries, the research refers to India in particular.

the poorer nations more than the relatively well-off and the poor in the developed nations (Potter and Lloyd-Evans 2014). It is important to note here that poverty is a relative, plus an absolute phenomenon, and if viewed from the perspective of social policy, it is the prevalence of inequalities which is more critical than poverty by itself. This inequality can also be seen in the form of urban hierarchy in contemporary cities of developing world (for example: Delhi, Mumbai, Manila, Dhaka, Jakarta, etc.). These cities are more an expression of a lack of economic development, rather than a sign of it (Smith 2000).

The factor that affects these cities most is their linkage with the global economy. Although there are several different links, the fact that these cities are structured around global capitalism in which developing countries have particular roles to play (i.e. demand and supply of urban labour, resulting in population growth) is important. Widespread economic and political forces are at work moulding these cities of the developing world in the form of high-rise city centres, burgeoning squatter settlements, flourishing informal sectors and the like (Smith 2000).

These contradictions between the developing and developed nations in terms of physical/structural inequalities of the global system need immediate attention (Johnston et al. 1996). Here the stress is on meeting socio-economic objectives, in order to meet the needs of the poor. Precisely, the focus is to ensure that the poor have access to sustainable and secure livelihoods, because it is the poor with no alternatives that picks short-term socio-economic benefits at the expense of the foreign aid (Smith 2000).

Urban planning systems in developing countries represents conventional methods of planning, dominantly characterised by top-down planning approach that is influenced by foreign financial assistance often employing donors' expert systems, theories and technologies which may at times, not be appropriate to the developing country's planning context (Hamdi and Goethert 1997). Moreover, developing countries also suffer from poor governance that could be accredited to an administrative system developed around highly politicized bureaucracy, corruption and non-democratic planning approach (Khan and Swapan 2013). Inefficient planning systems, flawed governance structure and unequal socio-political relations within cities conspire to ensure that democratic and collaborative redevelopment initiatives are difficult to

achieve in these countries. This uneven distribution of power and resources has resulted in the urban poor built environment which rarely matches the needs and desires of the mass urban population (Lowder 1993). However, several redevelopment cases in the developing countries (for example, the Participatory Budget Initiative, Brazil; Slum Networking Programme, India; Slum Improvement Project, Bangladesh; The Women's Development Initiative, Ethiopia; The Rural Water-Supply and Sanitation Project, Nepal; The Kecamatan Development Project, Indonesia; etc.) exhibit strong commitment of the community and governance structure acting collectively by participating in the process of collaboration and empowerment (Adhvaryu 2010; Ruth et al. 2006). Thus, the current research focuses on the redevelopment efforts made in India, in a developing country context, by studying two cases, one in Pune and the other in Ahmedabad to deepen the understanding of the nature of urban redevelopment and the impact of current policies, both from a governance and socio-economic perspective¹².

Why 'urban poor'?

Urban poor as a community in developing countries is central to this study. As people, the urban poor suffer pervasively from acute capability failure (Nussbaum 2001). A study of the urban poor allows an insight into their capacity and livelihood approaches, highlighting the problems they are able to solve or fail to solve.

Urban disadvantage is often place-based; extending beyond the deficiency of income or consumption, where its many dimensions relate to the vulnerability of the poor on account of their inadequate access to land and housing, physical infrastructure and services, economic and livelihood sources, health and education facilities, social security networks, and voice and empowerment (Desai 2010). The need to address urban poverty in order to foster urban social and economic development is too great to ignore. It is not merely a question of matching supply with demand, as the vast majority of the urban poor do not have the ability to pay in conventional terms (Blecic et al. 2013).

¹² The issues that normally come up in the context of India (such as, politics and divisions based on gender, income, and caste), were not apparent during household surveys and during both formal and informal discussions with the community and stakeholders, nor were brought up. Thus, while discussing the case studies or the impact of the projects on the communities, these issues will not be discussed.

The UN-Habitat report, *Inclusive and Sustainable Urban Development*, published in 2012, makes the case that tackling urban poverty and attending to its spatial manifestations is important to national economic and social development. The urban poor constitute both an enormous challenge and an opportunity: relieving the immense human suffering the urban poor experience (Belsky et al. 2013). They live in abysmal conditions exposed to health and safety threats that limit human potential, but, through their livelihood approach they subsist and generate informal economies. Harnessing the economic energy that already exists in urban poor settlements and building the human capital of their residents requires addressing the physical limitations and risks that characterize marginalised areas. Greater investments and support in the urban poor can accelerate development by tapping their entrepreneurial potential and building their human capital, while better planning can maximize the positive benefits of these investments and improve urban function.

A key to addressing these problems, and to advancing sustainable urban development that benefits all in society, is improved governance and planning – specifically, built environment dominated by the urban poor communities. By this we mean planning to redevelop the existing functioning of urban poor areas as well as to spur and direct future urban growth. Improving the functioning of urban regions demands an improvement of the living conditions of the urban poor to reduce negative externalities such as health, safety, and environmental problems (Chaudhuri 2015). It also demands the redevelopment of urban poor built environment to exploit opportunities to build the urban poor’s capacity for gainful employment and supporting economic and social mobility through education, health, and asset building. To be successful, these redevelopment projects must be inclusive and transparent; aimed at long-term social and economic sustainability; and ideally carried out at a regional level but in coordination with local planning and rooted in a national commitment to poverty alleviation (Belsky et al. 2013).

Role and limitations of urban governance

In the current globalised economy, cities are increasingly seen as hubs of economic expansion. Over the past two decades, there has been a worldwide inclination to improve the governance structure of cities, specifically those that are gateways to foreign direct investments (FDI), by decentralising administrative powers from the

upper tiers of government to the lower tiers (Bagchi and Chattopadhyay 2004). As a result, new patterns of urban governance were evolved, wherein ‘public participation’ was given more importance through the involvement of municipal and civil society groups. Consequently, ‘public-private partnerships’ (PPPs) became the preferred model to deliver major infrastructure projects (Chatterji 2013), including urban poor built environment redevelopment projects. But how these models are implemented into reality depends to a greater extent on the specific local contexts (Shatkin 2007). This key role of the decentralised governance regimes in mediating global influences is well established in the academic literature (Leftwich 2010). However, this subject is inadequately addressed in the Indian context (Chatterji 2013). Hence, to fulfil this gap in the literature and for the subject matter of this research, starting from its formation, to the role and limitation, urban governance has been dealt with in this study (for details see Chapter 2).

In India, the opening up of the economy to the world market resulted in the creation of cities, which with time became the engines of industrial and economic activities attracting foreign direct investments (FDI) as well as short term business investments (Bagchi and Chattopadhyay 2004). The rising flow of investments into the city necessitated sufficient infrastructure in the form of transportation, basic services and housing. During this period, the failure of state governments and private sector to deal with the requirements of fast growing cities became noticeable, generating alarm about the lack of infrastructure, scarcity of housing and of basic amenities in urban areas (Kim 1996). As a result, there was a need to devolve powers and authorities to the lower tiers of government – municipal bodies that are mostly accountable for the provision of infrastructure facilities within city perimeters.

Decentralised governance was established on the principles of autonomy, competitiveness and efficiency as a novel technique to confront the hardships faced by urban local bodies. Besides, the need for a new meaning of urban governance (fundamentally differing from ‘government’) integrated not only the system of government and associations between political and administrative institutions; but also included the relationships between state government, NGOs, private organisations, and civil society (Bhagat 2005). Urban governance often is used as an “umbrella concept” (Frischtak 1994, 15), under which intangible political processes and concerns, along with advantageous aims and value preferences, are incorporated.

Implicitly, urban governance stands for the relationship between the government and the governed revolving around the issues of reliability and empowerment, specifically of the socio-economically marginalised communities (UN-Habitat 2002; IIPO 2001).

With changes in the philosophy of government, the Indian Parliament enacted the Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) of 1992 granting lower tiers of the government or urban local bodies constitutional standing in the federal structure of the country¹³. This was a watershed development in urban policy initiatives in India. For the first time in the history of urban governance, municipal bodies were granted the constitutional status of the third tier of government (Leftwich 2007; Bagchi and Chattopadhyay 2004).

However, as per the stipulations of these constitutional adjustments, urban local bodies are now required to prepare their respective development plans and take charge in producing their own resources, besides receiving funding from the state governments. The realisation and implementation of this potential, certainly depends upon the commitment of the state governments to empower urban local governments politically and financially (Bhagat 2005). The Planning Commission of India (2002, 613) was conscious of this situation when it noted:

“... urban governance to-day is characterised by fragmentation of responsibility, incomplete devolution of functions and funds to be elected bodies and urban local bodies, unwillingness to progress towards municipal autonomy, adherence to outmoded methods of property tax and reluctance to levy user charges. State governments continue to take decisions on such matters as rates of user charges, property tax, octroi, role of parastatals in water supply and sanitation services, etc., with little reference to urban local bodies that are affected by these decisions.”

In spite of having a constitutional position, the urban local governments in India have to deal with poor finances, devolution of power, manipulation and an array of local interest groups, often intersecting with functional and geographical jurisdictions. The

¹³ The 74th CAA, 1992 came into effect on June 1, 1993. The constitutionally set deadline for passing the legislation for all state governments was June 1, 1994. The 74th Amendment adopted in the Constitution Act of 1992 can be accessed at <http://www.constitution.org/cons/india/tamnd74.htm> .

core purpose of decentralisation was to empower municipal bodies both administratively and financially for effective service delivery and development of urban areas under their jurisdiction. However, the discussion above is purely based on the theoretical understanding and limited empirical evidence.

As a result, keeping in view the inadequacy of pragmatic information available on the impact of decentralisation of governance and its effectiveness in the Indian context, the study carried out fieldwork in two ongoing infrastructure redevelopment projects in urban poor settlements in the cities of Pune and Ahmedabad in India (see Chapter 6).

Capacity building in developing countries

“Teach a man how to process and package fish and you have stimulated economic development.” (Jones 2007, 1)

Chapter 37 of Agenda 21 has seemingly made apparent the characteristics and significance of capacity building to attain the quest of sustainable development. It is the key to the Agenda’s successful implementation. Though the quest and significance of capacity building is extensively acknowledged, with regard to developing countries, attention needs to be diverted towards the identification and implementation of effective capacity building approaches (UNEP 2002).

The ultimate aim of capacity building should be to advocate the process of individual, community and governance change, and then gradually to facilitate urban local bodies, community groups and individuals to attain their redevelopment objectives (Jones 2007). All the capacity building activities throughout the redevelopment project need to be thoroughly designed, so they contribute towards this aim. In this process, it is also necessary to conduct a needs assessment of the community and record the existing capacities within the community, so as to refine the redevelopment and capacity building objectives.

Without the required capacity, developing countries or countries with economies in transition will be incapable of identifying and resolving their own development issues (UNEP 2006). However, instead of regarding capacity building simply as a component or derivative of redevelopment programmes, it should be embarked on as

a fundamental priority for all developing country activities (UNEP 2002) – for reasons as follows:

- Capacity building process makes the use of almost all the available local resources – people, skills, technologies, institutions – and builds on these resources.
- It favours sustainable transformations.
- Capacity building undertakes an inclusive approach to tackle issues of power and inequality such as rich and poor, mainstream and marginalised, irrespective of countries, groups or individuals.
- Capacity building favours long lasting changes through policy and institutional reforms.
- Values “best fit” for the context over the “best practice”; as one size does not fit all (UNDP 2009).

1.4 Research aim and objectives

The aim of this research is to examine the opportunities for capacity building of the urban poor through the medium of built environment intervention. It seeks to investigate whether community participation and collaborative planning strategies applied for redevelopment of the built environment could lead to capacity building of the urban poor; and how the success of these approaches could be measured. The study also seeks to determine whether the extent of capacity building achieved within specific projects that are hailed as successful in terms of community participation and collaborative planning strategies can be measured.

To address the research question, following research objectives were formulated:

- To develop an understanding of critical issues in applying effective collaborative planning and community participation strategies in built environment interventions in socio-economically disadvantaged areas inhabited by the urban poor.
- To identify, investigate and document the areas influencing the process of capacity building in conjunction with community participation and collaborative planning strategies applied in redevelopment interventions.

- To formulate a methodology for the assessment of the areas influencing capacity building process and empowerment of the urban poor engaged in collaborative planning through community participation.
- To apply the methodology to assess the phenomenon of capacity building in specific projects and to identify any limitations and challenges of applying the framework.

1.5 Research theoretical framework

The fundamental understanding and analytical framework of this study was based on the essence of theories and concepts related to appropriate urban planning theories, governance framework and community development - encompassing the socio-economic and development factors of the urban poor. Understanding these theories is essential in assessing the areas influencing the capacity building process of the urban poor. Due to the limitation of study period, the scope of the theoretical study was limited to planning issues of built environment managed by the urban local bodies, specifically relating to settlements predominantly inhabited by the urban poor. The study emphasises on the planning issues dealt at local government level because local planning agencies play an important role within the sphere of democratic participation and in shaping citizens' living environment (Swapan 2013; Yetano et al. 2010; Musso et al. 2000). The following section discusses the theoretical framework of this research:

1.5.1 Planning theories

Within the field of 'planning theory', the discussion has often veered between 'development' (urban and regional development, the design and planning of neighbourhoods and cities, balanced development results, the sustainability of community culture and practices, and built environment designs) and on 'governance processes' (their efficiency and effectiveness, their inclusivity and unbiased nature, their capacity to link past and present to influence future outcomes). The concept of planning continues to be associated to the governance capacity to reflect and then to act to bring potential development possibilities into being - the idea hinges on envisaging future urban forms. The concept evolves in a collaborative, co-evolving relationship between development and governance processes, between 'product' and 'process' (Healey 2010).

Pivoting on planning as a form of collaborative action of governance, Healey (2012, 199) expresses it as, “place governance with a planning orientation”. She emphasises on the planning attributes as a methodological dimension, encouraging attention towards the multifaceted ways in which certain problems, interest groups and events intersect into larger ‘wholes’ of structures and systems, demanding integrative capacity. These attributes represent the commitment of the governing bodies to create transparency in the issues at stake, and subject them to probing inquiry drawing on the available information. The concept of planning has a considerable large focus for development, which centres on how individuals manage to live in close connection with all kinds of other individuals, in a complex, dynamic, spatially differentiated places, and how processes of collaborative governance approach should evolve to address the challenges and issues that arise (Healey 2012). Bertolini (2009, 309) puts this view in a more stimulating and precise way,

“... planning (involves) the task of shaping conditions for other beings to be empowered, other imaginations to be expressed, other endeavours to unfold. It is the task of making the co-existence in space of a diversity of human projects and interactions possible.”

Therefore, for successful development, Innes (1996, cited in Mahjabeen et al. 2009) proposes the notion of consensus building by emphasising on the need for equality in the collaborative process. It suggests the need to take into account all stakeholders (including the community) equally within the collaborative process of decision making for development (Innes 1996). Nonetheless, equal participation of various stakeholders with varying interests and degree of power may lead to conflicting solutions (Hillier 2003, cited in Mahjabeen et al. 2009). Therefore, Healey (1999) refines the concept of planning theory in relation to development and collaborative approach by highlighting the importance of the community context and governance framework.

1.5.2 Urban governance framework

The shift from decentralisation of government to governance in past few years has created significant new opportunities for urban poor communities to get involved in the decision-making process that affect them (Taylor 2007). It is an act of promoting pluralistic and democratic decision-making by transferring power and authority to the

state, urban local bodies and civil society (Marshall 2007; Hutchcroft 2001), to primarily improve efficacy, equity, consensus and accountability, with enhanced community participation, ownership and commitment for the redevelopment process (Robins 2008; Davidson et al. 2007; Wallace 2006; Bradshaw 2003; Ribot 2002; McGuirk 2001; Kellert et al. 2000). Then again, theory of governance tends to distinguish between power used for ‘social control’ and ‘social production’. It shifts from the fixed ideas of power which is embedded in the policies of particular institutions to more adaptable, fluid ideas of power outlined and settled between partners. The devolving of power is in itself a well-established concept that mainly depends on the relationship between the actors - the government bodies (national, state, and urban local bodies), NGOs, and the community (Kumar and Paddison 2001; Innes and Booher 1999; Stoker 1998). It is this decision-making process that is typically modified as per the nature of the power shared between the above mentioned actors (Swapan 2013). However, globally, the government bodies have been typified as failing to effectively and satisfactorily devolve power and resources, and support the actors with capacity development, when transferring responsibilities (Armitage 2005; Lane et al. 2004; Paton et al. 2004).

In several situations, however, the urban local bodies and the community function as two different conflicting groups, varying in interests, background and concerns. As the community is basically diverse and comprises of a wide-range of people from different backgrounds and cultures (urban and rural, rich and poor), the community preferences should be adopted as a knowledge base (Lahiri-Dutt 2004). Nevertheless, there are also cases where governance as a system has included various components in favour of the community, such as, bottom-up planning, capacity to improve service delivery, meeting local needs, gaining trust, accountability, transparency, and building enabling relationships with the community (Swapan 2013).

Moreover, governance is identified as the fourth pillar of sustainable development by National Strategy for Sustainable Development (NSSD) (2006). Sustainable development, an integrative concept adopted by the WCED and United Nations in the *Brundtland Report*¹⁴ (1987), and its three pillars - environmental, social, and

¹⁴ In 1987, the Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, stating that “... the common theme throughout this

economic – do not emerge spontaneously (Hansmann et al. 2012). The three fundamental pillars of sustainable development need to be integrated with each other, and underpinned by systems of governance.

“... [Sustainable development and its three pillars] only emerge through deliberate strategic and operational interventions by government to achieve longer term durability of its policy programmes aimed at reshaping society in a more desired form. This can only be achieved through systematic attempts by government to achieve good governance outcomes that integrate the desired longer-term social, economic and environmental outcomes.” (NSSD 2006, 2)

Therefore, by highlighting the importance of institutions and systems of governance in implementing the concept and in oversight activities one can develop a strategy to achieve long-term sustainability.

Although the theoretical context of urban governance framework has been acknowledged, the intent of the study was not to pick the gaps or otherwise of the decentralised governance as an approach managing the redevelopment process. Rather, the purpose was to establish the significance of good governance and to identify the extent to which the ‘dispersal of power’ has occurred within the context of this research, that is, the relationship between the government bodies, NGOs, and the community. This exploration allowed the study to identify the organisation that exercise power or influence the decisions of the redevelopment process. The theoretical study is presented on the following subject in Chapter 2 and Chapter 6 presents empirical based research.

1.5.3 Community (re)development¹⁵

In acknowledging the theory of community development, it is essential to first understand the term ‘community’ associated with it. The word ‘community’

strategy for sustainable development is the need to integrate economic and ecological considerations in decision making. They are, after all, integrated in the working of the real world.”

¹⁵ The dictionary meaning of the term ‘development’ is the act or process of developing, while the meaning of ‘redevelopment’ is to re-build or repair the existing structures to improve or enhance their present condition. Thereupon, in the context of this research of examining the process of improving the built environment of the urban poor, ‘redevelopment’ is more appropriate and hence, will replace the term ‘development’ where necessary.

communicates a sense of connectedness between individuals. It could also be defined as a social informal space shared by heterogeneous individuals collectively for addressing common interests and needs (Laverack 2003; Casswell 2001). In relation to planning, 'community' again has many connotations such as in referring a geographical community within a well-defined space, a territorial community or a neighbourhood identified as per its vicinity such as urban poor community (Craig 2007). Globally, however, most significantly funded and assessed community development projects reported in the literature tend to deal with geographical communities. The two examples of community redevelopment projects examined for this research belong to this category.

Community development can be conceptualised as a big picture comprising of many aspects - some associates with the socio-cultural ways in which individuals interact within the community, while other aspects focus more on the physical setting or surrounds where the built environment is the focus. In the context of this research, community development refers more to redevelopment of the built environment pertaining to a particular site – focusing on the urban poor community and the settlements they live in. Herein, community redevelopment strictly refers to the improvement of built environment in the sense that the existing form of physical structure in the urban poor settlement – a geographical area, which is often characterised in terms of an array of indicators of deficit, such as, inadequate housing, lack of services, overcrowding, and urban deterioration – needs to be improved. From this point of view, community redevelopment can be seen as actions taking place within a site of interceding structures that mediate between the sphere of everyday life of urban poor interlinked with socio-cultural, socio-economic and political aspects (McKnight 1987, cited in Casswell 2001).

In the context of this research, community redevelopment projects mainly differ from community development projects in the degree to which the governing bodies focuses on the aspects to be built and aspects to be enhanced, for instance, alliance building, developing new organisations and leadership, establishing educational and training community programs, or improving (re-building) an on-site physical setting.

Many government bodies and international organisations undertake community redevelopment projects, although not always classifying them as such.

Redevelopment projects can vary in the scale and level to which they accentuate their outreach (in this case, to the marginalised and disadvantaged), and in the distinctness of actors involved in the collaboration (Craig 2007). The conception of community redevelopment projects may also vary based on who identifies and outlines the issues faced by the community as it may misrepresent or distort community priorities and preferences.

Taylor (2007) has remarked that the term ‘community’ is often used to flagship a project. It is at the community level that government can enact the societal legislations to test both, the prospects and purpose of it (Casswell 2001), in the criteria by which the projects are measured, while the community is barred from any effective control over the project because of the planned structures and top-down systems of decision-making established by the governance framework. The standard approach adopted by the government is to respond on the basis of their perceived notions of the needs of disadvantaged communities. Such an approach might have been effective earlier, but might not be suitable for the new or upcoming challenges. Acclaimed scholars such as Innes and Booher (2010), Forester (2006), Sandercock (2004, 2002, and 1998), Healey (2003) and others have emphasised the need for participatory, needs-based and socially acceptable planning instead of government’s conventional top-down planning approach which more often fails to take into account the issues specific to a particular community or its context. As noted by the Puppim de Oliveira et al. (2013), there is no “one-size-fits-all” model of governance.

Thus, community redevelopment could also be viewed as a versatile solution to exercise a stabilising effect on the community, such as harnessing local level planning to subdue broader social issues, in particular, power and control (Casswell 2001). Further in the research, the investigation of the two community redevelopment projects examines these processes for its positive and negative impacts, by evaluating the objectives of the projects and providing the evidence for the same (see Chapters 6 and 7).

1.6 Research structure

A research structure is a diagrammatic account of key concepts, process and relationships of the study, functioning together to achieve the research aim (Kitchin and Tate 2000). Accordingly, a well-defined and all-inclusive research structure was

prepared before initiating the study in order to understand the dynamics of the process of building the capacity of the urban poor through engagement in the collaborative planning of the built environment redevelopment intervention in the context of developing countries. The structure of the thesis was divided into three main topics based on its objectives (Figure 1.2). These are: concepts of collaborative planning; urban poor and their livelihood strategies in the developing countries; and, scope of capacity building in theory and practice.

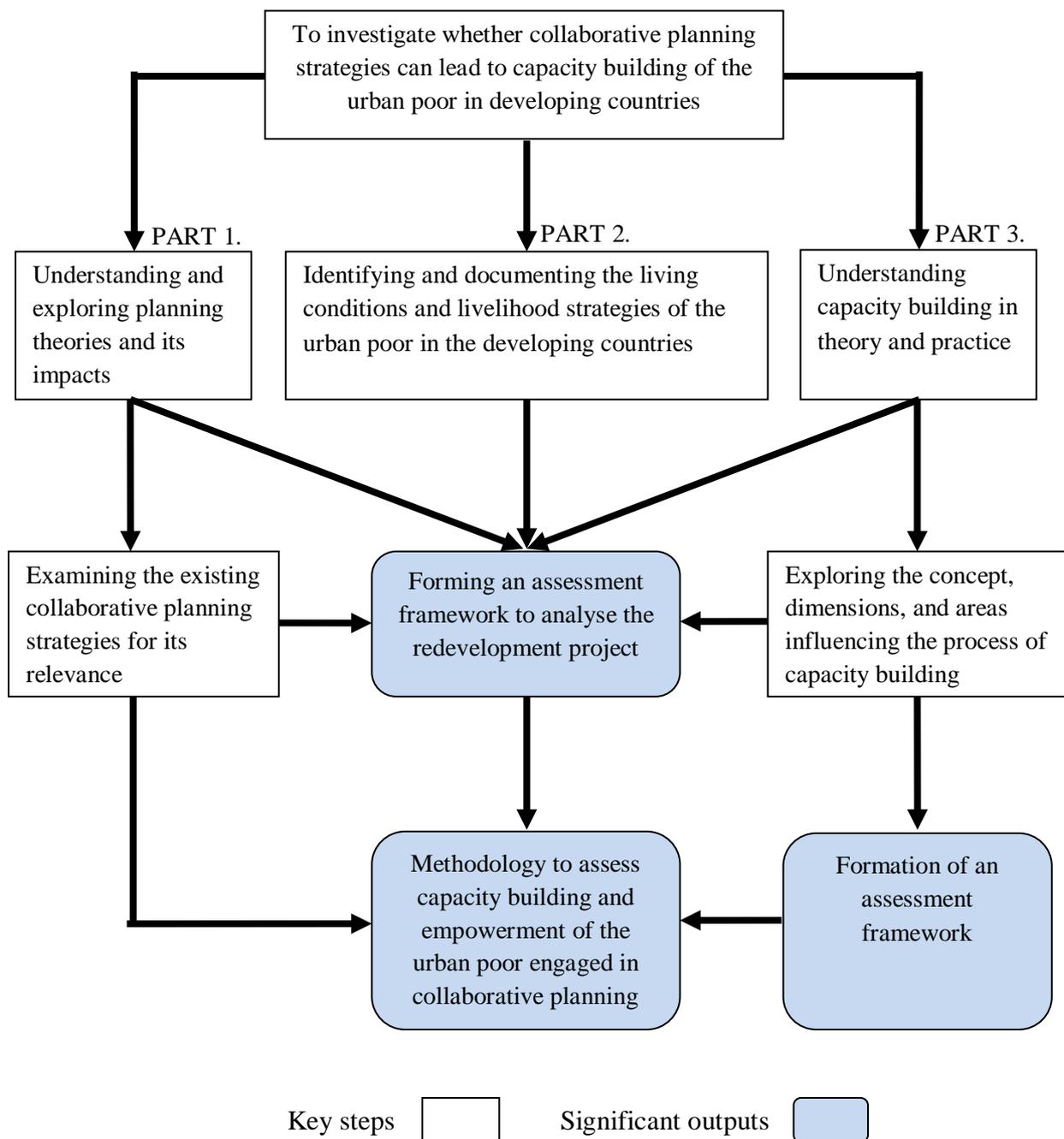


Figure 1.2: Research structure

Each part of the structure represented an objective to be fulfilled, starting from exploring the existing knowledge of planning theories and its impacts, to identifying and documenting the living conditions and lifestyles of the urban poor in developing countries, and finally understanding the concept of capacity in theory and practice. The research structure runs in two parallel tracks - one consists of collaborative planning strategies and the other consists of the means of capacity building – which combine to form an analytical framework to assess the redevelopment projects. The purpose was to get a clearer understanding of the redevelopment process so as to determine the areas influencing the capacity building of the urban poor engaged in collaborative planning at each step of the redevelopment. Based on this understanding, an assessment framework has been formulated and operationalised to test the two redevelopment projects, documented and analysed by the researcher in India (see Chapter 6).

1.7 Research methodology

The research methodology focused on each aim and objectives by integrating theoretical and empirical research to address the research questions. Consequently, the study utilised mixed methods consisting of both, qualitative and quantitative strategies to validate and triangulate the collected data. Literature review, desktop reviews, media scan, field observations, household surveys, practitioners' interviews, and group discussions, were some of the means utilised to collect the qualitative data, while quantitative research focused on the numbers and measuring variables to validate the qualitative information.

In order to provide a strong theoretical foundation to the research, literature review was conducted which helped in identifying key areas of the study and gave a better understanding of the research goals and objectives. The study further enabled in designing the questionnaires, in outlining a criterion to select case studies, and allowed for an interpretative analysis of the case studies.

The empirical analysis was conducted in two cities of India, Pune and Ahmedabad, to examine two real-world projects – Yerwada Slum Upgrading Project (YSUP) and Innovation Centre for the Poor Project (ICPP). The purpose of the empirical study was to investigate the process of redevelopment and to scrutinize the product. The field study was conducted in four different stages: getting approvals for field work;

field observations and pre-testing of questionnaires; household surveys and practitioners' interviews; and, group interviews.

220 residents residing in the Yerwada region of Pune and 60 residents of 22 different locations in Ahmedabad were interviewed for the study. Likewise, 20 practitioners' involved in YSUP and 16 in ICPP were interviewed. The empirical research was conducted to examine collaborative strategies adopted by the practitioners' for urban poor built environment redevelopment and to scrutinize its impacts on the capacity of the urban poor. The survey was sought to investigate the process of intervention by questioning the residents and the practitioners' for their views, contributions, and aspirations towards the redevelopment. The questions mainly focused on the capacity building and empowerment of the resident participants' in the redevelopment process. With a view to validate the collected data, triangulation was ensured through group interviews of the residents.

Primary data of the field visits are presented in the form of photographs. Additionally, tables and figures are used to present statistical information or to contextualise the data collected through survey/questionnaires, informal discussions with the community, structured interviews with the practitioners and group discussions. Chapter 5 *Research methodology* discusses the research methods and the techniques applied to collect the data in detail.

1.8 Why case study approach?

Case study approach was adopted in the research to closely examine the data within a specific context – a geographical area – that is, settlements dominated by the urban poor. This approach enables the production of evidence collected through mixed research methods (qualitative and quantitative) that could be used to answer specific questions and to test hypothesis. The role of case study approach in research becomes more important when issues with regard to sociology (Grassel & Schirmer 2006) and community-based problems (Johnson 2006), such as unemployment, poverty, etc. are being dealt with, and enables the researcher to examine data at the micro level.

Case study approach, in this research, allows the exploration and understanding of complex issues. The purpose of adopting the approach was to conduct an empirical inquiry that helps in investigating real-life phenomenon (Yin 1994, cited in Zainal

2007), through detailed contextual analysis of urban poor living conditions, their livelihood strategies, and their inter-relationships with the development agencies. The inclusion of case studies provides an empirical approach to the research that can explain both the process and outcome of the redevelopment case studies through detailed observation, reconstruction and analysis of the cases under investigation. The case studies will be subjected to the application of analytical framework developed to measure capacity building in real-life situation.

1.9 Research outcome and its significance

Developing countries suffer from degraded urban settlements, low levels of participation by stakeholders and lack of resources. Considering the resource scarcity and unequal power structure, an integrated, people-oriented and need based planning is crucial for long-term sustainable development. Realising the importance of this issue, the research seeks to develop an understanding of the implementation strategies and practices adopted by participatory planning and redevelopment projects that help build the capacity of the urban poor by improving their socio-economic conditions. Thus the research proposed a detailed study of two projects in India, a developing country, to investigate the extent to which redevelopment can contribute positively to the capacity building of the urban poor.

The idea was to understand the process of redevelopment and scrutinize the product not only in terms of physical improvements of the surrounds but also enhancement in the community capacity. To do so the research identified areas influencing the process of capacity building. This information was used to articulate a methodology for the assessment of case studies. The two case studies were also presented within an analytical framework of tripartite partnership model to understand the governance approaches towards urban redevelopment and inter-relationships between the three key actors (government bodies, NGOs, and the community).

The intent of research was to address the paucity of literature on two aspects of redevelopment: the relation between a community's involvement in a democratic and collaborative process of upgrading of surrounds and its sense of empowerment; and, the subsequent development of practical methodologies for the assessment of capacity building in built environment redevelopment projects.

Because the official data can be biased and misleading, the research provides a benchmark of impact of the redevelopment projects on the well-being of the urban poor. This research adds to the comprehensiveness of the planning theory in relation to participatory urban development. The research seeks to promote the learning of practitioners' and the community.

1.10 Dissertation outline

The dissertation is divided into nine chapters to stepwise address the key concepts, process and relationships of the study presenting its results in detail across the entire thesis. Each chapter is discussed below addressing a topic relevant to the study:

CHAPTER 1 *Introduction*, the current chapter, provides an outline of the thesis. The chapter introduces the purpose of the research, research issues and the questions to be addressed. It sets a background for the research to take up theories and other literature relevant to the study. Research objectives and scope and limitations of the research are also defined in this chapter. This chapter introduces and briefly discusses the theoretical orientation and the methods adopted for this research.

CHAPTER 2 *Conceptualising collaborative planning: Linking theory with practice* discusses development and planning ideas by reviewing the planning debate. The chapter commences with discussing the shifts in planning paradigm with time, and further studies the relationship between the use of planning standards within the top-down and bottom-up planning approaches. The chapter introduces collaborative planning and its theoretical underpinnings and antecedents. It focuses on governance processes and the challenges of institutional design for collaborative planning. It reveals that the structure and core of the collaborative approach towards spatial planning is a terrain of multifaceted power struggle between different interest groups and actors, carrying different structuring facets into the arena of policy development and implementation. The effect of these struggles is locally distinctive, depending on the mix of key players participating and the perspectives they bring into play (Healey 2003). Thus, in this arena of urban governance framework, the study proposes Tripartite Partnership Model to collaborate with the community to identify and manage affairs of communal concern.

CHAPTER 3 *Urban poverty and livelihood approaches: Literature review of developing countries* presents a review of literature on urban poverty and urban livelihoods from a developing world's perspective. The chapter defines 'urban poor' for this research and identifies the contextual factors (such as, social, infrastructural, economical and political) affecting the well-being of the poor. It focuses on the interface between urban poor households and their livelihood approaches, its relevance in the urban setting, urban governance, and significance of urban policy and planning. The chapter finally discusses urban livelihood approaches within an integrated framework, with the implication that household-centred methods of analysis must play a central role in developing an understanding of livelihood strategies and in project planning and evaluation. The framework outlined for analysis employs a bottom-up approach; drawing largely from contextual phenomenon, to ensure that the respondents own the data generated, enabling them to participate in policy debate and planning of the redevelopment project.

CHAPTER 4 *Empowering the community: Capacity building in perspective* explores and discusses the concepts of 'community' and 'capacity building' in order to clarify and situate the idea in practice. The chapter is divided into two parts. Part I presents the literature review, discussing the core characteristics of the community capacity building and simultaneously identifying the gaps between theory and practice. Based on the data collected in Part I, Part II attempts to outline a clear definitional framework of community capacity building and present a systemic structure to understand the concept. The definitional framework could be used to identify the areas influencing both contextual and operational areas of the capacity building process, and the mechanisms through which it operates. The chapter also seeks to identify potential opportunities that could be exploited while pointing out some limitations of the concept. The chapter concludes by formulating a methodology to assess capacity building process of a community in a program context. The focus is set upon urban poor built environment redevelopment interventions.

CHAPTER 5 *Research methodology* provides a detailed account of the techniques used to collect data for this research in Pune and Ahmedabad, India. The chapter also discusses at length the information collection process and draws on the methods used to strategically plan the field study. The empirical study involved mixed methods to collect both, qualitative and quantitative data to validate and triangulate the

information. Observations, household surveys, informal discussion with the community, structured interviews with the practitioners', and group interviews were some of the techniques adopted to obtain data.

CHAPTER 6 *Assessing the phenomenon of community capacity building: Case of Pune and Ahmedabad, India* discusses two empirical studies conducted for the research. The two case studies selected were - Yerwada Slum Up-grading Project (YSUP), Pune and the Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP) undertaken in the slums of Ahmedabad. These case studies have been used to investigate the extent to which redevelopment projects can contribute positively towards capacity building of the urban poor communities. The two case studies selected differ in scale, but are alike in their principles of concentrating on issues of public importance. The purpose of this chapter is to understand and assess the implementation strategies and practices adopted by the development agencies in such participatory projects, focusing on building the capacity of the urban poor while improving their living conditions. In other words, the aim is to determine the potential of these upgrading projects in empowering the community. The case studies were examined using the Tripartite Partnership Model for their inter-relationships and institutional collaborative capacity, and community capacity building assessment framework to assess the built capacity of the community involved in the two projects. Each case study in the chapter concludes with a discussion on the outputs of the projects leading to the assessment of the capacity building goal running parallel to the project.

CHAPTER 7 *Discussion of findings* discusses the findings of the two case studies examined in Chapter 6. This chapter refers back-and-forth to the narratives, approaches and outcomes of the case studies assessed using the assessment framework, showing how the areas influencing the capacity building process can be laid across a redevelopment project and policy interventions. Governance characteristics and role of the key actors in redevelopment interventions will be discussed that needs to be aligned to the structural application of the framework during planning, implementation, and evaluation of an intervention. Furthermore, the chapter proposes need for a coherent change in governance approaches by re-defining the Tripartite Partnership Model. Within this arrangement, the implementation process, need of capacity building, its intensity and challenges will

be addressed, such that good governance is the answer to community capacity building.

CHAPTER 8 *Conclusion and implications for further research and informed practice* concludes the dissertation and addresses the research questions. The chapter addresses the research aims and objectives set at the commencement of the study and correlates them to the overall research findings. It further discusses the implications of the findings at both theoretical and practical levels. It offers directions for future research in the field of developmental planning in regard to urban poverty from a socio-economic perspective. The chapter also presents suggestions and recommendations for practitioners involved in redevelopment projects based on the learning and analysis carried out in this study.

Versions of different chapters of this dissertation have been published and presented in international scholarly journals and conferences. An overview of these publications is given in Table 1.1:

Table 1.1: Publications of the thesis

Title of the paper	Peer-reviewed journal and conference proceedings	Chapter
Questioning the approaches of redevelopment interventions in the built environment of the urban poor: Case of Ahmedabad city (Trivedi 2015)	Lunn, J. (ed.) Proceedings of The Fourteenth Humanities Graduate Research Conference 2013, Black Swan Press , Curtin University, Perth, Australia. (IN PRESS)	3 and 6
Examining and testing the product to resolve home-based work issues in the slum settlements of Ahmedabad, India (Trivedi 2015)	Awarded ‘Best Paper’ in the theme Public Policy and Societal Change. Proceedings of National Conference on Innovating for Development and Sustainability , Navrachana University, Vadodara, India. (IN PRESS)	3 and 6
Community participation in the delivery of infrastructure: a cross-cultural examination of its impact on the capacity building of local communities (Trivedi and Khan 2014)	Imran, M., Ross, J. and Luxmoore, I., (eds.) Proceedings of the Australia and New Zealand Association of Planning Schools Conference (ANZAPS) 2014 , Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. (ISBN: 13 978 0 473 30329 7)	2, 4 and 6

Collaborative dialogue and action for home-based work issues in Indian slum settlements (Trivedi and Tiwari 2013)	Basson, S. and Glusac, T. (eds.) Reflections: Journal of Built Environment Research 2013 Peer-reviewed journal. (ISSN: 1835-8969)	2, 3 and 6
Redevelopment for urban poor: Assessing participatory strategies (Trivedi and Tiwari 2010)	Proceedings of 5th Australasian Housing Researchers' Conference 2010 , University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. (Peer-reviewed)	3 and 6

CHAPTER 2

Conceptualising collaborative planning: Linking theory with practice

2.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses development and planning ideas by reviewing the planning debate. In this thesis, the term ‘planning’ is used to refer to premeditated and value-driven, societal efforts to improve the built environment. Urban planning (and planning at other scales) is not necessarily always initiated by professional planners and governments, but also by the groups and agencies (such as, NGOs, CBOs, and private businesses), and the ‘planning system’ frequently integrates these actors in processes which are inevitably political (Watson 2009). Both planning processes and outcomes are incorporated in this explanation.

The chronicles of modern planning theory and practices shows just how challenging it has been both to conceptualise the development terrain and to establish government systems to address it (Healey 2012; Watson 2009; Low 1991; Friedmann 1987; Hall 1988; Boyer 1983; Healey et al. 1982). The challenge of conceptualisation lies in the administration of co-existence in shared spaces and search for forms of governance suitable within local decision-making processes for spatial development and outcomes. These issues related to urban planning have been a prominent subject in planning literature for at least the last two decades (Hillier and Healey 2008). There have been a few identifiable planning theories emerging from these debates, primarily informed by the Western countries. The aim of this chapter is not to trace the history of these debates; rather it focuses on the investigative and normative philosophy on the subject of state-community engagement for planning and urban development processes in developing countries to facilitate collaboration (Watson 2014). Thus the chapter intends to interlock the study of the dynamics of urban and regional change accompanied by new understandings of co-existence and governance practices.

The chapter commences with discussing the shifts in planning paradigm with time, and further studies the relationship between the use of planning standards within the top-down and bottom-up planning approaches. The chapter introduces collaborative

planning and its theoretical underpinnings and antecedents. It focuses on governance processes and the challenges of institutional design for collaborative planning. It reveals that the structure and core of the collaborative approach towards spatial planning is a terrain of multifaceted power struggle between different interest groups and actors, carrying different structuring facets into the arena of policy development and implementation. The effect of these struggles is locally distinctive, depending on the mix of key players participating and the perspectives they bring into play (Healey 2003). This is the arena of governance framework - collaborating with the community to identify and manage affairs of communal concern.

The discussion presented in the chapter further shifts from issues pertaining to the investigative mode to a normative agenda by discussing the governance dimension, looking specifically into the possibilities and implications of developing a collaborative approach in planning and governance framework. It seeks to explore the characteristics and opportunities for more pluralistic, democratic forms of governance. It analyses the effectiveness of formal institutions of government, seen not merely serving as the providers of economic and welfare services, but also collaborators with the civil society. Throughout the chapter the discussion proceeds by identifying problems in previous planning and development approaches, as a 'ground-clearing' exercise, to tidy up the conceptions which have little place in the new approaches; but simultaneously pointing out connections and resources in the former ideas, upon which new approaches are build (Allmendiger 2009). This chapter basically focuses on two theories of urban planning – the process-oriented theory of collaborative planning and the outcome-oriented theory of development.

2.2 Understanding the shifts in the paradigm of planning

The evolution of planning theory indicates the changing society and its changing demands in planning. The human society continues to evolve with the demand for new institutional arrangement, entailing the need to develop new planning theories. Even though there is a common core of concerns in planning theory and practice, the core itself is not established but mainly characterised by the changing world's demands. Particularly in the pluralistic modern society wherein multiple social development trends and the uncertainty of the unforeseeable social affairs takes place, the trajectory of planning theory evolution shows a non-linear pattern and

inappropriate planning approaches. The history of planning thus reveals that the development of planning theory is segmental, varied, and conflicting, rather than integrated, uni-directional, and linear (Zhang 2006).

In the early twentieth century, planning practice was comprehended through the theory of comprehensive rationality where urban demands and problems were technically resolved. The planning system when first put to practice was designed with the idea of integrated and self-sufficient local economies and societies in mind, not the open and globally-reaching connections which exemplify much of today's local economies and social life (Kobler 2009). Evidently, this is happening at a time when extra pressure is needed to reinforce a shift in the direction for planning. Lovering (2009) argues that the neoliberal model within which planning has been conceptualized and exercised for the past few decades, to the degree that planning "as we have known it" is at an end. He suggests, that the focus of planning on "providing private interests with public resources", will have to subside to demands that planning goes back to its previous intentions of ". . .protecting the needs of ordinary people rather than privileged minorities, the public rather than private interest, the future rather than the present" (Lovering 2009, 4). It certainly cannot be assumed that urban planning can 'solve' all 21st century urban problems. The field of planning has evolved through several paradigms that have their roots in political, sociological, anthropology, economic, psychological and environmental processes (Logan and Molotch 2007), that are considerably beyond the range of even the most efficient and effective planning systems (Watson 2009). Simultaneously, it is important to draw attention to the situations where urban planning is being used to directly aggravate urban issues. For instance, urban planning has direct effects on the economic and spatial exclusion of those incapable to take advantage of land ownership and development (Yiftachel 2006).

The situation within which urban planning functions today is widely divergent to what it was when planning emerged as a profession and task for the government; yet planning systems have transformed only modestly from these initial models. There appears to be a considerable 'mismatch', between well-established urban planning systems and the contemporary and future urban issues which planning should be tackling (Graham and Healey 1999). Nevertheless if the theory and practice of urban planning are to be investigated to establish if they can engage in an affirmative role

in rapidly changing urban environment, then it is essential to understand why, on the one hand, there are claims of cynicism with planning, while on the other, planning systems have been proven astoundingly robust and relentless (Watson 2014). However, it is quite significant that ‘modern’ urban planning has spread from its areas of origin to the rest of the world through the medium of colonialism and the ‘development’ agenda (Pissourios 2014).

Noticeably, while these development plans took the form of ‘old style’ of planning (Watson 2014), they have been the subject matter to a growing critique. Sandercock (1998, 129) explains,

“... planning as it operates, is caught between the procedures, actions and behaviours of planning practitioners, its context within the ever-changing urban environment, and its episteme as a rational human activity; between its promise, on the one hand, to enhance capitalism, and on the other, to reduce inequalities, between its tentative embrace of multiplicity and its ongoing fear of losing its ‘truth’ within the institution. It fears a thousand tiny empowerments, because it fears its professional death.”

Planning is seen as a technical activity, exclusively for skilled and trained professionals, architects or engineers (Taylor 1998). It uses the top-down planning approach, often overlooking the interests of communities and disregarding the present social capital. Planning is seen as production of master plans or ‘blueprints’ for an ideal vision of the city, without taking into account that the city is a ‘live functioning organism’ (Velychko 2013; Taylor 1998). However, many have condemned this approach of planning, opposing the development policies which are out of touch with the realities of the state of affairs and that they should be replaced with more malleable, adaptable and all-encompassing structure with premeditated and growth management plans (Peterman 2004; Brooks 2002; Innes 1996).

Nevertheless, rather than returning to the debates on ‘procedural’ and ‘substantive’ planning theory, as introduced by Faludi (1973), it is apparent from the above discussion that more thought has been given to conceptualising and theorising the planning base (Harper and Stein 1995; Forester 1993), than to the actual changing socio-spatial character of the areas being ‘planned’ (Filion 1996; King 1996; Lauria and Whelan 1995). Ed Soja (1989, 37) expresses his concern over the way

conventional geographical and planning approaches “... treat space as the domain of the dead, the fixed, the undialectic, the immobile – a world of passivity and measurement rather than action and meaning.” Such interpretations and planning is therefore a power-laden act which inevitably draws attention towards specific parts of the urban ‘story’ while disregarding others (Healey 2007). The outcome of such policies is that it becomes “ipso facto constructed in response to a real problems and take the form of providing physical solutions” (Cooke 1983, 39 cited in Healey 2006). This resonates with many of the development outcomes in modern planning theory (Healey 2006 and 2003; Innes 1995; Fischer and Forester 1993) and the debates on spatial order and sustainability (Hwang 1996; Beatley 1994). Noticeably, planning systems can be a ‘two-edged sword’ and can potentially be exercised as a tool to attain good, but can just as easily be exercised in a fashion which is domineering and oppressive: to uphold vested interests in politics, class, race or ethnic domination (Watson 2009; Yiftachel 1998).

However, faced with such critiques, some practitioners’ have come forward recommending that those engaged in planning activity do not need the facts and information put together by the social theorists, seeking to unravel the dynamics and links of social relations. Instead, what they need is to decipher the social world in specific situations, in order to develop theory-in-practice (Healey 2006). Such a view brings about the urging of Donald Schon (1983, cited in Healey 2006, 92) that “theory should be made in the context of practice, rather than a priori.” The danger of depending solely on the theorising-in-practice results in relying on the embedded ‘deep structures’ of power relations ruling their thoughts and belief system. Such thought process could unwittingly reinforce the power relations and driving forces restraining from the invention of new improved planning system (Healey 2006, 2003).

This planning debate sets a new challenge for the design of institutional mechanisms through which practitioners’ and other stakeholders can understand urban and regional change, drawing on recent developments in local economics and sociology. It seeks to develop an approach that designs the governance systems, focusing on the means to foster joint consensus building practices (Peterman 2004). As such it offers a way forward in the development processes for a ‘shared-power world’ (Bryson and Crosby 1992), and seizes a normative stance facilitating all stakeholders to have a

voice. This approach offers means of acknowledging change and activating for development through collective efforts by transforming ways of reasoning. It thus offers a way forward in recognising the significance of participatory democracy in pluralist society (Healey 2006 and 1992; Jones 1990). Such processes used by practitioners' to generate participation and joint consensus building practices typically fluctuates between top-down planning and bottom-up planning approaches (Larrison 1999; David 1993).

Therefore, in the context of this research, planning as a system has a crucial role to assist in outlining a median approach through which collective decisions are negotiated and maintained, for the purposes of mediating the challenges of today's diverse co-existence in a given place (Healey 2003). It is this approach that responds to the demands of several policy arenas, and takes a holistic and integrated standpoint for the communities being planned and developed simply through the power of voice.

2.2.1 From top-down to bottom-up planning theory: Exploring the median

It is widely accepted that urban planning is not a science or technique, but an investigative field, to be precise, an applied field that is inextricably correlated to the realm of politics (Lagopoulos 2009). Even so, the political facet of planning and the political function of planners have not been highlighted in the theories of the 1960s and the early 1970s, taking into account the systems view and the rational process of planning, during which planning was managed largely as a technocratic method of urban intervention. In effect to these methodologies, starting from late 1970s, planning theory started considering urban planning as a political dialogue (Pissourios 2013).

In brief history, planning theory was ruled by the rational planning model in the 1960s, which was deemed to have its foundation within a 'positivist epistemology', and was concerned mainly with bureaucratic planning problems (Watson 2011). In accordance to its foundation, the rational planning model believed that using "the application of scientific knowledge and reason to human affairs, it would be possible to build a better world, in which the sum of human happiness and welfare would be increased" (Healey 1992, 145), and that this could be attained by the use of a technocratic rational process by rational personnel, to be precise, the planners. Any kind of involvement of the stakeholders or 'communities' in to this process was not

much encouraged and the role of the planner was believed to be of significance as of technical expertise in managing the process (Watson 2009; Grant 2001).

The launch of the communicative planning approach in 1980s challenged rational planning. Corresponding to and related with the above discussed shift in planning theory, was the transition from a 'top-down' to a 'bottom-up' approach in urban planning (Sabatier 1986). In contrast to the rational planning approach, communicative planning displayed an idealistic, theoretical attempt to escape from the control of a 'positivist and individualist orientation in science', and to acknowledge that identity and expertise are created in social contexts, and are always inadequate without the capacity of personnel. It further persuaded that community action and civil society development in liberal democracies is the key to social transformation (Pissourios 2014; Larrison 1999).

Over the past fifty years, Patsy Healey (1996) has recorded these two dominant philosophies of urban and regional planning - first, there has been a philosophy towards centralism and de-politicizing decision-making plus a rise in the role and power of technical experts; and second, there have been stress on involving the community in decision-making, and demand for more responsible and accountable local politicians and officials. These two philosophies, which are quite contrasting from one another (see Table 2.1), have been identified as the 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' planning approaches (Pissourios 2014; Murray et al. 2009). The top-down planning approach (such as systems view and rational planning) shaped the theoretical directions and practice in planning until 1990s. Such planning was more concerned with planning outcomes instead of its process and actors. The second philosophy, bottom-up approach focuses more on effective and efficient planning process. Unlike the top-down approach, this alternative approach stresses the emancipatory participation through debate, negotiation and dialogue (Mohammadi 2010; Brownill and Carpenter 2007).

Table 2.1 Key differences between top-down and bottom-up approaches

	Top-down planning	Bottom-up planning
Primary decision makers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Central or State Government (eg. New housing scheme) ○ Agency representatives, business leaders – ‘appointed community leaders’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Municipalities, local agencies, involved in the policy implementation (eg. decision-making in the implementation of the housing scheme) ○ Indigenous appointed leaders
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Hierarchy, centralised, bureaucracy, clear lines of authority 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Decentralised system, participative, no distinction of authority
Critical factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No form of communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Consensus, coalition and policy networks
Orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Problem solving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Improve competency
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Clear and consistent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Unclear and ambiguous
Planning process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Less emphasis is given on the specifics of local context, often driven by concerns for economic efficiency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Approach is multi-dimensional and context specific, driven by local knowledge and concerns for economic equity
Roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Planners are experts, technical specialist and locals are beneficiaries ○ Service delivery and resource allocation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Locals are experts and outsiders are facilitators ○ Respond to the needs of community
Planning seen as -	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ An input 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ An output
Planning framework seen as	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Rigid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Flexible
Community ownership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Low 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ High
Effectiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Based on goals achievement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Based on reaching agreement or consensus among stakeholders
Evaluation criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Specific risk factors ○ Quantifiable outcomes and ‘targets’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Pluralistic methods documenting changes of importance to the community
Overall focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Pre-determined, concrete and empirically derived policy-maker’s intended policy results 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Strategic interaction among multiple actors in a policy network evolving outcome objectives
Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Reverence to government policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Adaptability to community needs

Sources: Modified from Pissourios (2014); Larrison (1999); Sabatier (1986)

Communicative planning theory cannot take all the pride for its relevance as a bottom-up approach, which is only effective in small scale practices that improve citizen responsiveness and mobilize community participation in planning procedures. Besides, the communicative approach has originated from the Habermasian philosophy and remains highly intangible and abstract (Allmendinger 2002) and as a result it is tough to decide whether to direct planning practice or to point to it as an optional planning theory (Healey 2006; Lehtonen 2005).

John Forester (1999) and others after him derived inspiration from social philosopher Jurgen Habermas to establish communication as the fundamental aspect of planning practice. Interaction and exchange of ideas with the community and stakeholders, debates and arguments over differences in understandings, and ultimately reaching consensus on a course of action replaces disconnectedness and expert-driven plan-making as the primary activity of planners. These ideas are developed in a more refined form by Patsy Healey (2006 and 1996) known as ‘collaborative planning’ (Mahjabeen et al. 2009).

Habermas has established in his theory that communication can be distorted in several ways and puts forth a series of norms, or discourse ethics, to steer collaboration processes: if processes are comprehensive, considerate, and open, and if the power relations between the participants can be neutralized, then the end result of such a process can be considered suitable and justifiable (Habermas 2001 and 1987). For collaborative planning, this implies that the purpose of planning is a just process and that if the process is just, the end result will be too (Watson 2011).

Collaborative planning reiterates Habermas’s trust in civil society as a basis of social equality, and as a medium to pressurize the state to perform more responsively. Healey mentions the ‘democratic deficit’ (the power gap between the state and civil society), and contends that planning “... seeks ways of recovering a new participatory realization of democracy and of reconstituting a vigorous, inclusive public realm that can focus the activity of governance according to the concerns of civil society” (Healey 1999, 119). The state is as a result demoted from the role of a player in comparison to the non-state actors, and civil society is seen as the main standard-bearer of democratization (Innes and Booher 2010).

For these reasons, collaborative planning differs from the traditional planning theory. (Murray et al. 2009). The expertise, technical skills, and finances required to assess and critique the urban context (such as, categorisation of urban spaces and their uses, the practice of zoning and utilisation of planning standards), are essential features of urban analysis and planning. These features are not wholly absent in collaborative planning practices unlike bottom-up planning (for example, self-help housing projects). Typical of this situation is the reality that it cannot be associated to well-established top-down planning practices, and neither to bottom-up approaches. This situation highlights the gap between top-down and bottom-up planning approaches that has been mentioned and discussed by different scholars during the last two decades (Pissourios 2014 and 2013; March 2010; Moroni 2010; Lauria 2010; Alexander 2010, 1999, and 1997; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2009, 2002, and 1998; Watson 2008; Harris 1997) and leaves the top-down systems and rational planning theories as the main guides of the current community development practices.

Even if planning practice is dictated by top-down planning theories, the pursuit of planning system that contemplates over the community needs and allows greater citizen participation constitutes an acceptable objective; per se the system handles some of the limitations of the top-down planning approaches. According to Paul Sabatier (1986, 30),

“... the fundamental flaw in top-down models, is that they start from the perspective of (central) decision-makers and thus tend to neglect other actors. [...] A second, and related, criticism of top-down models is that they are difficult to use in situations where there is no dominant policy or agency, but rather a multitude of governmental directives and actors, none of them preeminent. [...] A third criticism of top-down models is that they are likely to ignore, or at least underestimate, the strategies used by street level bureaucrats and target groups to get around (central) policy and/or to divert it to their own purposes.”

In such a setting of planning theory, where top-down approaches, despite their limitations and disadvantages, dominate planning practice and bottom-up approaches are incapable of designing an alternative methodology of urban intervention, the

chapter proceeds by discussing a median way in which these two opposite approaches can be combined in a planning practice model. The assumption that these differences can be accommodated in a consensus-seeking process remains (Watson 2011). Therefore, an advanced version of collaborative planning can be that median which fulfils the gap of top-down and bottom-up planning approaches. Given the main purpose of this chapter, to broaden the range of concepts, ideas and contexts of planning theories and practices for community development, it is important to highlight and re-configure just how different the array of stakes, power relations, planning processes can be, and how will it help generate dynamic state-community co-ordination which will assist in responding to the growing social demand for community-focused public policy, hence, collaborative planning in context.

2.3 Collaborative planning in context

“Our theories determine what we measure.” (Albert Einstein, cited in Innes et. al 2007, 412)

Collaborative planning was introduced in the early 1990s in response to the failures of rational (top-down) approach and communicative rationality (bottom-up) approach, introduced in the early 1980s to planning. Since then the idea of collaborative planning has received extensive acceptance from planning scholars and practitioners. Renowned scholars like, Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger assert that collaborative planning has received an “enthusiastic reception” (2010, 207); similarly, Innes and Booher observed that “collaborative planning is moving forward and spreading as a method” (2003, 24); even Innes (1995) chose the term “emerging paradigm” to express the position of collaborative planning in planning theory. Significantly, the paradigm gives an impression to have evolved out of former debates based on suitability, timeliness and efficacy of a range of planning dispositions in the late twentieth century, particularly of “the neo-liberal, anti-planning morass of the 1980s” (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 2010; Brand and Gaffkin 2007). Among all the scholars, from American (Innes, Booher, Forester, Friedman, Hoch, Fischer) and European (Albrechts, Swyngedouw, Hajer, Davoudi, Moulaert) context, Patsy Healey was the one who most prominently refined and introduced the concept of collaborative planning as a new planning paradigm. While a few describe it as a planning theory genre that covers a diverse and dynamic blend of particular planning theory type, others appear to consider it as a particular species

within the larger genre of communicative planning theories (Brand and Gaffkin 2007). It is irrelevant whichever category and hierarchy one subscribes to, each one regard collaborative planning with a different connotation, a theory (Healey 1997), a “strong programme” (Barnes and Bloore 1982, 278), a “world view” (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 2010, 214) or merely a “form of planning” (Harris 2002, 23).

The collaborative planning is an interaction-oriented type of planning, which encourages engagement and discourse with all stakeholders and seeks consensus through communication. An outcome of the Habermas’s theory, this new approach was formulated to encourage participation of the marginalised and distressed communities in planning and to get involved in the multi-dimensional framework where communication, learning and action co-exist to attain consensus. It epitomises an ideal model of ‘empirical knowledge to direct actions’ (Fainstein 2000; Healey 1992). It was based on the hypothesis that diverse preferences can come up with shared aims and beliefs through unobstructed discourse (Pellizzoni 2003). In practice this approach was positively received by the practitioners to address controversial subjects (Margerum 2002), to uphold commitment to implementation with innovative ideas, to improve social capital and reduce threats of social conflicts (Mahjabeen et al. 2009; Margerum 2002). Collaborative process “... seeks to address the interests of all, [including] public agencies, powerful private interests, and disadvantaged citizens – [who] are treated equally within the discussions” (Innes and Booher 2004, 426). The approach focuses on ‘formal institutionalised relationship between existing networks of institutions, communities, and/or individuals’ (Ladkin and Bertramini 2010). This makes collaborative process different from the other models of planning. It advocates bringing together both public and private sector in the process, who shows interests, to work on development projects related to collective welfare (Peterman 2004; Innes and Booher 2002). Besides, the approach entails planning ‘with’ stakeholders rather than ‘for’ stakeholders (Roseland 2005) thus bringing community participation to the forefront. Contrasting to conventional means of community participation that only facilitate one-way flow of knowledge and information, collaborative approach to participation encourages a “co-generative learning process” based on “joint fact finding” and “joint problem solving” (Innes and Booher 2004, 426; Forester 1999, 260).

Planning and development outcomes that arrive through such ‘co-generative’ processes are more effective and readily acceptable by the community. In such occasions, the community recognises and settles all conflicting local interests, and invigorates community development and empowerment (Watson and Odendaal 2013). Established as a tool for arriving at consensus (Peterman 2004; Innes and Booher 2002), collaborative planning is not about searching for an ideal solution that everyone agrees upon, but it is process through which distinct interests can appreciate their interdependence and find an outcome that they can all live with (Shakeri 2011; Roseland 2005).

The approach of collaboration is not new. While it has materialised only recently in the field of planning, collaboration as an approach has been in use since 70s in resolving environmental debates (Gray 1989, cited in Shakeri 2011). Advocates of collaboration perceive it as a strategy for dealing with disputes, disorders, and the fast changing society of today, (Healey et al. 2003; Innes and Booher 1999; Gray 1989) presuming that good processes will lead to good outcomes: for instance, consensus reached in a planning process will transform into a spatial intervention (or an intervention with spatial implications), with positive human and environmental outcomes (Watson 2011). Processes and outcomes are difficult to separate; both are of importance and are often methodically intertwined. It has been observed that collaborative projects are easy to adapt and continuously evolving, which makes it difficult to demarcate the scope or even the duration of the effort. Besides, the process is ‘uniquely defined’ from the perspective and profession of individual participants, be it from the political background, NGO, or from the community; which makes it difficult to assess the outcome based on the process definitions (Kobler 2009; Innes and Booher 2002). What is undetermined and is rather necessary to evaluate in the outcomes as opposed to processes, is how institutional and economical aspects mould and plan the development intervention. Susan Fainstein (2000) assesses collaborative planning theory critically for its intense focus on process and equivalently underestimation of the outcome. In response to this criticism, Patsy Healey (2003, 111) affirmed that “substance and process are co-constituted, not separate spheres” (Sokol 2012). This reasoning offers further validation for analysing the two research case studies in-depth (see Chapter 6).

The largely keen response that collaborative approach has received in the field of urban planning has begun to be accompanied by questions on theory and attempts to develop it further through minor alterations (Huxley 2011 and 2000; Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 2002; Hillier 2000; Phelps and Tewdwr-Jones 2000; Huxley and Yiftachel 2000). The attempt is not to challenge the underlying principles of the theory, but is to question the approach, its reasoning and the models presented in justification of the debate. There also appears to be an emerging discourse on where and when collaborative techniques are appropriate (Kobler 2009). Ever since the emergence of collaborative planning, it has encountered criticism on several occasions on its theoretical origin. Foucault can be deemed as one of the main critic of Habermas theory. Foucault disagrees with the fact that Habermas's theory is built on consensus, claiming it to be unrealistic within the existing societal power relations. Beyond the dilemma of power, it is important to acknowledge the role of the emotional and the personal, expressed in the narrative – “the whole person to be present in negotiations and deliberations” (Sandercock 2000, 6). Furthermore, the aim of reaching consensus may itself be over-ambitious (Hillier 2003). Pellizzoni (2001) also puts forth that consensus on the ‘best argument’ based on a collective validation is an option that cannot be reached, even in the most promising and impartial conditions.

Conversely, Healey (2003) reckons that the practice of collaborative planning, was often distant from displaying its inclusionary qualities of a potential collaborative process and this has led to the critical remarks from the planning theorists on the theoretical and practical significance of collaborative planning. She claims that several upcoming groups using participatory methods in project design and development were exploiting the collaborative label. And that ‘collaborative planning’ is being represented and misrepresented by politicians and policy-makers to portray their aspirations for a new form of governance (Shakeri 2011).

Healey (1999) responded to her critics on various such issues and provided some helpful justifications to clear the doubts. Since then the debate has moved forward, but some of these uncertainties are still noticeable and various interrelated subjects are continually being investigated by the academics. Some of the major concerns with the development of the paradigm are –

- the meaning of community participation;
- the power- relations and its affects; and
- the governance component (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002).

Up till now, mainstream planning theory has not provided much of guidance to planners working within such tensions and not many scholars to re-conceptualize the urban planning system. As a consequence to this, the most important task for urban planning scholars and theorists is to investigate the analytical, evaluative and resourceful ideas which could assist planners facing the challenges of conflicting rationalities between the rationality of governance and the rationality of community (Watson 2011; Osborne and Rose, 2004). Considering these concerns, assessing collaborative planning process and outcome for this research can be challenging for many reasons –

- It is difficult to compare and contrast collaborative and non-collaborative initiatives and keep all other variables constant.
- Each case or circumstance is unique in terms of concerns, debates, community interests, culture and occupation, stakeholder groups and organisational structures.
- Collaborative processes are lengthy and normally take several years to complete. Therefore, most of the studies are more focused on assessing the process of participation and not the implemented outcomes (Shakeri 2011).

It is known that ‘mainstream’ planning theory is grounded on hypothesis that do not always hold in varying contexts (Watson 2011), and that the gap between theoretical assumptions and urban realities (particularly in developing countries) is significant and expanding. Thus the chapter attempts to reduce this gap by drawing on the above mentioned three concerns to shape both analytical and normative issues about collaborative planning, and to further evaluate the case studies for the research.

2.3.1 The meaning of participation

In the past few decades, planning theory and practice has all of a sudden increased its focus on participation and engagement of the community in the planning process. This focus was exemplified by bringing about community participation in collaborative planning and radical planning, which when combined together, can be

understood as signifying a continuum of varying degrees of community involvement, community power, and social and political awareness (Beard 2002). This upsurge of interest in participation was a reaction to the highly centralized development strategies of the 1970s and 1980s, which shaped a general perception among NGOs and researchers that ‘top-down’ development planning strategies were deeply disconnected from the needs of the marginalised and disadvantaged communities. Underlying this shift was the belief that giving the disadvantaged a voice in decisions that influence their lives by engaging them in some facets of project design, management and execution would result in a close relationship between development aid and its intended beneficiaries (Mansuri and Rao 2013; Tandon 2008).

Community participation is a cornerstone of urban planning. It is a technique to attain a variety of goals, comprising of improving the well-being of the marginalised, building community-level social capital, and raising the demand for good governance. One of the main goals of participation is to incorporate community knowledge, skills and aspirations in the decision-making process. Participation is a broad term that covers a variety of activities, wherein the community can participate at different stages of the development process as per their ability to contribute -

- participation in decision-making through consultative processes without the authority to approve or disapprove distribution of resource decisions;
- the contribution of money, material commodities, or physical labour to construct or provide public services;
- the monitoring and approving of public and private service providers;
- the provision of information and interest in awareness raising activities;
- the establishment of community groups (for instance, to resolve local conflicts) and selection of local representatives (Mansuri and Rao 2013).

When the community participates and makes important decisions influencing their lives, participation turns out to be a self-initiated action - known as the “exercise of voice and choice” or “empowerment” (Mansuri and Rao 2004, 6). Besides, participation is not a one-sided affair; it is a process that engages service providers and service receivers (Waheduzzaman and Mphande 2014; Gaventa 2004). Thus, participation is likely to lead to an improved and well-designed development project, with more effective service delivery, and improvements in the targeting of benefits.

Ultimately, participation is expected to lead to a reasonable and unbiased distribution of community resources and to the decline in corruption and rent-seeking (Mansuri and Rao 2013; Albrechts 2003). These aspects of community participation in the decision-making process vary from case to case, but eventually the goal remains the same: to empower the citizens (Savini 2011). It is argued that a theoretical gap exists regarding how community residents engage in collaborative planning to attain social transformation and, simultaneously it questions, what constitutes planning within the context of non-liberal, non-democratic societies. This gap has appeared because of the close association between social transformation and the political expectations created by Western liberal democracies (Beard 2002).

Almost everyone understands community participation in planning through Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of participation*. This seminal work speculates different stages of participation ranging from non-participation to citizen power. Arnstein comprehends that the participatory process may fail to intensify the power of the community, presuming that the community people will be participating in a formal, institutionalized planning process (Fallavier 2007). Within this conceptualization, the community acquires power incrementally (Cornwall 2004). Another important factor of this conceptualization is the hypothesis that there exist – basic democratic structures that acknowledges community participation in debates with government officials and formalized planning agendas, with minimum levels of transparency.

Ever since the publication of Arnstein's (1969) seminal work, the conception of power sharing with the community, as part of the planning process, has been tailored to incorporate into the developing country's development projects. Several of these developing countries to which the concept of power sharing have been introduced do not possess Arnstein's presumed planning processes, political frameworks, or community expectations (Fallavier 2007 and 2002). Correspondingly, Peattie (1990), through her experiences during fieldwork in Lima, Peru, finds defects with applying this model of community participation to developing countries. She compares her fieldwork know-how with Arnstein's ladder and claims that planning needs a multifaceted conceptualization of participation. Community participation is more complex than a simple transfer of power from top to bottom (Tandon 2008). Researchers and scholars need to understand that community participation is an

element of socio-political actions which is complicated and constantly shifting, and in which multiple interpretations are usually possible (Savini 2011; Beard 2002).

In effect, community participation has become too mainstreamed. It is often been used to put forth pragmatic strategies, such as cost-effective delivery or low-cost services instead of using it as a means for radical social transformation, by modifying some of the expenses of service delivery to potential beneficiaries. In both Asia (Bowen 1986) and Africa (Ribot 1995), community participation is depicted in the form of forced labour, with the disadvantaged communities compelled into contributing far more than the privileged societies (cited in Mansuri and Rao 2013). Through examination of various participatory projects, Mosse (2002) claims that projects with high levels of participation often use 'local knowledge' merely as a construct of the planning context which disguises the underlying political beliefs of knowledge production and use.

Apart from condemning the weak links between political beliefs and its implementation, other critiques brings our attention to the quality of participation used in some of the development practices (Cooke and Kothari 2001). In examining the superficial use of participation in development projects, the critiques reveal how its meaning is permeated by the institutions using it. The planning and development agencies are insisted to first fully reflect on what participation means to them and what is the objective behind integrating participation in the development process. The critiques advocates the usage of the sets of tools and techniques more as means than as procedures to give the community an active voice in planning processes. Without prior reflection on the objective of the development process, it is unlikely that participatory processes can be adopted for the sustainability of the community development.

Participation as an approach enables people to take control of their own development process. In this sense, the community achieves "broad and deep participation" as described by Fung and Wright (2003, 27), through which the community collaborates with the authorities to improve their living conditions and provision of basic services (Gaventa 2004). By introducing participation as an imminent characteristic, collaborative planning process receives dramatic increase in their resources, extending their reach, and is much more effective. Consistent to the collaborative

approach is a generic understanding that it provides an arena (Forester 2012) where all the actors can express their uniqueness, exchange ideas, views, tensions, and principles (Oosterlynck, et al. 2011; Van den Broeck et al. 2010). In relation to this, Cornwall (2004) reminds us that spaces of participation are not neutral; rather they appear as the basis for exercising power which brings both positive and negative outcomes, challenges and dilemmas. Thus, the shared principles are likely to differ from the socio-political perspective and the power-relation between the state, the community, and the NGOs (Albrechts 2003). There are few researches available on power-relations reflecting the socio-political network, but studies regarding power-relations between the urban actors affecting participatory decision-making are totally absent (Khan and Swapan 2012; Bedford et al. 2002; Bardhan 2002). Therefore, the next section intends to investigate the nature of power-relations and how it affects decision-making, plus community participation in the development process.

2.3.2 Power-relations and its affects

Collaborative planning in practice is often treated as if the intent is to ‘neutralise’ power. It is deeply political in nature and expresses power. While power-relation is one of the concerns of collaborative planning, it is often presumed that collaboration can overcome power imbalances by engaging all stakeholders in a process that meets their requirements. On the contrary, there is a possibility that power relations may modify the outcome of collaborative approach or even preclude collaborative action.

Power is defined as the “ability to impose one’s will or advance one’s own interest” (Reed 1997, 567). Healey explains, “... power lies in the formal allocation of rights and responsibilities, in the politics of influence, the practices through which ‘bias’ is mobilised, and in the taken-for-granted assumptions embedded in socio-cultural practices” (2006, 151). Power involves a shift in the emphasis of control over decisions relating to changes at both the macro (socio-cultural, political and economic) and micro (individual and community) levels. These shifts in control in turn manipulate the opportunities to make decisions by an individual or community and can be complex and subtle. Power is therefore a challenging phenomenon with several interpretations (Laverack 1999). For instance, in disadvantaged communities, the recognition of bottom-up decision-making is mostly the effects of a governmental choice (top-down) which distributes technical, monetary, human and institutional

resources to enhance community participation (Wakefield and Poland 2005). It might or may not always “lead to undesirable outcomes that are not compatible with social and moral criteria” (Mohammadi 2010, 30). Nevertheless, this is not always about enforcing power over others but at times the dynamics are favourably contextual and are derived from the community tradition, histories, knowledge and practice. As Jamal and Getz assert that “power imbalances and legitimacy issues related to the stakeholders can inhibit both the initiation and the success of collaboration” (1995, 190-191). Power relations must therefore be addressed at all stages of a collaborative planning process (as shown in Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Power-relations in a collaborative process

Planning stages	Facilitating conditions	Steps to be taken
Problem setting	Shared access to power	Balancing power differences
Objective setting	Diffusion of power among stakeholders	Ensure power distributed among several stakeholders
Implementation	Redistribution of power as per the stakeholder expertise	Select appropriate structure for institutionalising process

Source: Modified from Wakefield and Poland (2005); Reed (1997) and Jamal and Getz (1995)

Key to the situation is the presumption that power-relations possess the differences between actors which appear only during the communication of ideas and can be prevailed through argumentation. Thus: “... the power of dominant discourses can be challenged at the level of dialogue; through the power of knowledgeable, reflective discourse; through good arguments; and through the transformations that come as people learn to understand and respect each other across their differences and conflicts” (Healey 1999, 119). Healey refines the idea of participation further to acknowledge that collaborating communities may function within different “systems of meaning”, which imply that “we see things differently because words, phrases, expressions, objects, are interpreted differently according to our frame of reference” (Healey 1992, cited in Watson 2011, 135).

The relationship between the community and the practitioners to existing power structures has always been a controversial one (Watson 2014). Analysis of power and its affects, thus, highlights the current character of power-relations, and acknowledges that the community is a homogenous body; imbalanced power-

relations also exist within communities (Tandon 2008). As Gaventa (2004) indicates, such analysis of power has to be multidimensional, for it to generate constructive ideas about participation as an emancipatory practice (also see Eyben et al. 2006; Cornwall and Coelho 2007). However, this approach often overlooks the different positions of sets of actors involved in community development. Conclusively, while differences of views and beliefs are acknowledged, difference in the level of power may not be (Wakefield and Poland 2005; Boutilier et al. 2000).

Unpacking the power-relations and affects on planning systems and practices, hence requires considering Luke's (2005) *Radical view of power*. It discusses the exercise of 'power-over' others and the 'power-to' to make things happen. Healey (2006, 84) recounts Luke's theory as, "the way this power works, in privileging some interests, some stakeholders and some forms of knowledge and reason over others, structures the practices of individual instances, and expresses the systematic nature of the constraints on those involved." Consecutively to understand how power-relations and its affects are exercised for community development in both positive (the sharing of control with others) and negative (the use of control to exert influence over others) way, for the purpose of this thesis, different forms of power are briefly discussed below:

- *Power-over*: This form of power is reflected upon as an unbalanced, traditional model of dominance where decision making is characterized by control, and instrumentalism in decision making and discourse, and is conceptualised as 'hegemony'. (Berger 2005; Weaver 2001)
- *Power-to*: This form of power represents approaches, procedures, and resources that practitioners may possibly apply to counteract or resist the dominance model. It is frequently described as a method to improve advocacy and promote the function and role (Weaver 2001; Grunig 2001).
- *Power-from-within*: This form of power refers to one's personal power; an inner strength that might comprise of identity and self-esteem (Berger 2005; Laverack 1999).

Nonetheless, collaboration for community development requires "a commitment to mutual relationships and goals; a jointly developed structure and shared responsibility; mutual authority and accountability for success; and sharing of

resources and rewards” (Mattessich and Monsey 1992, 39, cited in Massey 2011, 85). Such a partnership is “a mutually beneficial and reciprocal relationship among entities that share responsibilities, authority, and accountability for results” (Barnett et al. 2003). Yet, from the perspective of power-relations in a collaborative process, “the power dimension is viewed as a matter that can be transformed through a restructuring of power relations and social contexts, with individuals recognizing and identifying the distribution of power between those actors participating within a collaborative planning exercise. Power is therefore compartmentalised ... into a process to be recognised by stakeholders ...” (Phelps and Tewdwr-Jones 2000, 115). Therefore, the research introduces the fourth form of power, a neutral-value activity to the collaborative approach called ‘power-sharing’.

- *Power-sharing*: The fourth form of power is a balanced, two-way symmetrical model. It reflects an empowerment model where dialogue, inclusion, negotiation, and shared power direct decision-making. The process highlights the values of discourse, interaction, cooperation, and relationships rather than power conceptions (Berger 2005). Sharing responsibility, accountability and resources can be difficult, but can gradually be realized in the course of ongoing communication and cooperation. However, power-sharing between stakeholders (including, government bodies, NGOs, practitioners, private agencies) and community is far more challenging because of the inbuilt differences in power that already exists between the two parties. For instance, on one hand, stakeholders hold financial strength, political influence, technical expertise, and resources and, on the other hand, marginalised and disadvantaged communities, typically hold but one lever of power: the local, contextual knowledge. Here, power is observed as an apparatus to be administered and balanced.

Overall it is possible to address the issue of power by incorporating legitimate stakeholders and administrators, who have the rights and capacity to participate and manage the development process from the preliminary stage of collaborative planning (Reed 1997) (for example, sharing the power of the State with the local authorities to resolve the issues revolving around community’s development). In other words, influencing local decision-making, that is by redistributing rights, resources and power back to the people (Savini 2011).

2.3.3 The governance component

According to collaborative theory, planning is an “interactive process” that performs in the realm of governance (Healey 2006). The collaborative planning theorists, Innes and Booher, articulates that urban planning and governance takes place as a part of “complex adaptive system” in which “multiplicity of institutions, practices, and motivations jointly interact to shape the development” (1999, 142). They further say, “complexity is also reflected in growing interdependence among government players, as agencies find they cannot be successful, even on their own limited agendas, if they continue to work unilaterally” (2010, 197). Here the emphasis is on the importance of managing relations between different stakeholders for planning activities (Salet and Thornley 2007). Applying collaborative approaches to governance in complex, interdependent planning activities can foster ‘trust’ and ‘manage uncertainty’ (Innes and Booher 2010).

The solution to foster is to involve the community’s opinion, prior to handing over the project plans and policies back to the professionals to deliver, since the community has the contextual history, are aware of the problem, and can shape the content of project plans and policies more efficiently. Establishing common forums between the representatives of the state, the local authorities, NGOs, private sector and the community to collaborate through which they can achieve common goals, helps the development to proceed (Albrechts 2012). This is in accordance with Ostrom (1996, 1083), who believes, “... no government can be efficient and equitable without considerable input from citizens.” Besides, “[collaboration] cannot just be looked upon as delivery mechanism for services/goods. It also challenges more fundamental political issues through its implication for the distribution of power between citizen and state.” (Mitlin 2008, 345)

Thus, the role of government in development is narrowed down to merely granting of land and tenure entitlements and providing larger elements of infrastructure (Archer et al. 2012). It is not surprising why local governments in some cities support and collaborate with communities in the development processes, and in other instances not. Bebbington et al. (2010, 1320) suggest that these dynamics are mediative of “histories of state-society interaction, of perceptions of the state, development and political parties, and of the formation of individuals who subsequently emerge as

leaders, influenced by the culture that their own histories lead them to carry with them.” Dynamics can also mediate predictable events such as up-coming elections, and so these collaborations can be volatile and unstable (Watson 2014). Even though community development struggles are intrinsically political, they are not always succeeded by the most powerful. Even so Uphoff (1992, 273, cited in Woolcock and Narayan 2000, 238) points out, “...paradoxical though it may seem, ‘top-down’ efforts are usually needed to introduce, sustain, and institutionalize ‘bottom-up’ development. We are commonly constrained to think in ‘either-or’ terms - the more of one the less of the other - when both are needed in a positive-sum way to achieve our purposes.”

Since then new forms of networked and negotiated planning and governance have been developing in theory and practice to reinstate narrow hierarchical, adversarial and managerial methods (Pillora and McKinlay 2011). Ansell and Gash (2008, 543) call this approach ‘collaborative governance’ which “brings in public and private stakeholders together in collective forums with public agencies to engage in consensus-oriented decision making.” They define collaborative governance as:

“... governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets” (2008, 544).

Ansell and Gash used this definition in their research to analyse 137 case studies of collaborative governance in order to identify critical variables that effect successful outcomes. They affirm that background of the settings is of significance and that the main variables are power and resource imbalances, motivation to work together, and a past of conflict or cooperation. Facilitative leadership is essential in bringing different stakeholders to the table and getting them through the process. Furthermore, institutional design concerns are also of importance, such as incorporating all the key stakeholders and having clear and transparent system and processes. Most important is the quality of the collaborative process which Ansell and Gash (2008) describe as ‘achieving a virtuous cycle’ amid the following variables: face-to-face dialogue, trust building, assurance, mutual understanding, and intermediate outcomes (Abbott 2012).

Other researchers like, Emerson et al. (2012) have reviewed the work of Ansell and Gash and on the basis of an even broader research on public administration, urban planning, conflict management and environmental management, they have established ‘an integrative framework for collaborative governance’, which is defined as:

“... the processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished” (2012, 1-2).

Comparing the two definitions for further research, this definition is all-inclusive and less normative than that of Ansell and Gash. It does not restrict collaborative governance processes in engaging non-government stakeholders and encourages partnerships between governments or ‘multi-partner governance’ (Emerson et al. 2012, 3). It is more expressive and less directive as it focuses on all sorts of partnerships and not just on partnerships built on consensus. Given the focus of this research, the interaction between governments, NGOs and the community - collaborative governance process results in impacts which may transform the structural framework and the governance regime altogether. In support to these impacts, Innes and Booher (2010) assert that collaborative approaches have the capacity to bring changes in the larger systems to ameliorate the institutions to be more efficient and adaptive.

2.4 Decentralisation for community redevelopment: Participation, power-sharing and partnerships

A new policy paradigm to manage community redevelopment has emerged over the past decades, one that emphasises, decentralized decision-making by involving urban governance and the community. So far in the chapter, it is evident that “The collaborative approach to strategic place-making... is... unlikely to flourish without some changes in political culture and institutional design” (Healey 1996, 19). Other than this, among other concerns that has surfaced from the study, especially in context of developing countries, is the gap that exists between the community and the institutions that influence their lives. This brings our focus to, how the community

see the government. For example, the World Bank's *Voices of the Poor* (2000) study finds that urban poor globally identify large government institutions - particularly those of the state - to be distant, irresponsible, and fraudulent (Narayan et al. 2000). Similarly, in another study conducted by the Commonwealth Foundation in over forty countries also found an increasing cynicism of disadvantaged communities with their governments; it is built on their problems with corruption and lack of accountability towards their wants. Even though the "democratic deficit" is now broadly recognized (Gaventa 2004, 8), concerns about government responsiveness and questions about how the community engages and make demands with the state also come to the fore. Surrounding the discourse is a growing consensus that the way forward is to focus on decentralised planning, comprising of both, a dynamic and engaged community and a more approachable and effective state that can deliver required public services.

Decentralization in planning refers to efforts to strengthen community and local government on both the demand and supply sides (Mansuri and Rao 2013). On the demand side, it improves community participation in local governance, by the means of, for example, organising regular elections, expanding access to information, or promoting means for deliberative decision making. On the supply side, it aims at improving the ability of local government to deliver services by increasing their financial resources, fostering the capability of local officials, and reforming and rationalizing governmental role (Baud and De Wit 2009).

Community redevelopment and government decentralization share a common research and academic derivation, entrenched in the belief of participatory government with both intrinsic and instrumental value (Mansuri and Rao 2013). To formulate an operational measure of decentralisation for community redevelopment, it is important to understand the meaning of the very concept. Bagchi and Chattopadhyay (2004, 4) explain decentralisation as giving the powers to "... the sub-national (or sub-state) units of governments [who] have the discretion available to them to engage in effective decision-making affecting their area." Concepts of local power, partnership, participation and their discretion are keenly attached with this concept, wherein the three main groups of actors involved in the community redevelopment process are - the state in conjunction with the local authority, the civil

society¹⁶, and the community. Understood this way, decentralisation represents the relationship between the government and the governed encompassing the concerns of responsibility and empowerment, especially of the disadvantaged and the marginalized communities (Bhagat 2005; UN-Habitat, 2002).

Community redevelopment diversely labelled as community-driven development, community-based development, community livelihood projects, or social funds - comprises of the efforts to bring urban neighbourhoods, or other household groups into the practice of taking control of the development resources without relying on legally constituted local governments (Li 2007; Narayan 2002). But in the sphere of built environment redevelopment intervention - at the level of the community - projects are generally unplanned and are informal interventions that are incapable to unlock political opportunities for real social change. Local governments usually lack responsibility and transparency as compared to central governments as they lack the prerequisites for local accountability to work (Bardhan and Mookherjee 2006). In the absence of a supportive state, participatory engagement may perhaps be able to bring change, but projects instigated in such environments confront bigger challenges (Mansuri and Rao 2011). Therefore, the state government has to be more accountable than the local government to meet community demands; because decentralized community redevelopment programs usually come with constitutional mandates or other legal permits from the centre, they are reasonably permanent and are capable of bringing change to the socio-cultural, economic and political dynamics over the long term (Baud and De Wit 2009).

Thus, when the government directs and executes community redevelopment programs, the centre assigns resources to the state, by means of administrative norms to satisfy broad political economy concerns, such as by providing assistance to the urban poor communities or the need to ascertain horizontal equity (Shah 2006). Local governments have the informational and locational advantage and hence, they are assigned to identify the poorest, or the households inadequately provided with basic

¹⁶ Civil society consists of groups working outside government arena towards community redevelopment. It is also referred as, non-government organisations (NGOs), non-profit or voluntary sector. In this research, the term NGO will be more commonly used than civil society, for better understanding of the case studies. However, in this chapter, civil society is used to explain their rationale and relationship with the state and the community.

services, within their area of jurisdiction (World Bank 2004). Community characteristics – comprising of inequalities in assets, power imbalance, geographic isolation, and racial heterogeneity - appear to play a decisive role in this regard. Local government often conduct this exercise in conjunction with local NGOs and CBOs (Bardhan and Mookherjee 2006). Otherwise democratically selected local leaders are in charge for identifying beneficiaries when programs are executed via local governments.

But, for the purpose of this research, we need to specifically focus on the political decentralisation of India, wherein, the area of influence of the elected urban government is limited to merely maintaining routine public services, whereas the loci of power over the urban economy and governance rests in the middle tier - at the level of the state governments - for all practical purposes. The advent of multiparty coalitions at the centre, in conjunction with the rolling back of the central government's licensing and other authoritarian controls, have considerably strengthened the role of state governments in economic matters (Chatterji 2013). In the process of this decentralisation, the urban government was however facing extremely rough terrain. The most important step in this regard was the landmark 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (74CAA) of 1992, which granted constitutional status to urban government as the third tier in representative democracy, ascertaining election and security of tenure for the local councils in addition to providing a delineation of administrative power between local and state governments and promoting new institutional arrangements for sharing fiscal revenue between the two tiers (see p. 25 footnote 13) (Nandi and Gamkhar 2013). But the reluctance of state governments to follow these amendments weakened the functioning of the Act (Immerwahr 2010). As a result, even though elections to municipal councils are held regularly, their operational and financial domains remain limited to managing only basic services. Here as well, the municipal commissioner, state government appointed official, holds administrative power. This diarchic allocation of power often ends up in disagreements and tension when competing political parties are in power at the state and municipal levels (Chatterji 2013; Shah 2006).

Regardless of the clear intent of the 74CAA to transfer administrative power to the elected urban government, the state governments cite the technical capacity gap as the rationale for their inaction. Built environment redevelopment interventions are

still managed by urban development authorities or town planning directorates, which report to the state governments (Leftwich 1993). The state governments claim that, their keenness to hold onto these powers is neither due to their lack of knowledge of the economic potential of the urban areas, nor out of any particular interest in urban design, but to maximise the interests of the local government in the emerging state of affairs (Chatterji 2013).

Even so, it would be naive to overlook the reality of the struggle for scant resources in the developing countries like India - including the struggle of the urban government with limited funds at their disposal - and their continued dependency on patron-client relations. However, urban ‘governance’ was introduced in opposition to the ‘government’ in developing countries, which implies greater opportunities and space for community to participate in and initiate interventions within urban redevelopment programs. But while access to decision-making institutions and community participation are broadly accepted ideas within current urban planning strategies, they are limited in practice (Kampen and Naerssen 2008). Genuine participation demands a political course of action to engage people, to mobilize their resources, to strengthen their capacity to participate, and the transparency of urban policies (Abbott 1996). This phenomenon will be step-wise explored in the following sub-sections and used to analyse the empirical case studies in Pune and Ahmedabad city on Chapter 6.

2.4.1 Retracing government vs. governance debate

In relation to the evolution of collaborative planning followed by community participation and political decentralisation for community redevelopment, planning and political science theorists have been attempting to clarify the differences between ‘government’ and ‘governance’. The key debate surrounds the role of government and of community, which define where our notion of planning lies on the continuum between top-down and bottom-up planning.

Even though ‘government’ and ‘governance’ are at times used interchangeably, many researchers and scholars have drawn a clear distinction between these concepts (Weiss 2000). Osborne and McLaughlin (2002, 8) perceive governance as “... a process of multiplicity or plurality which emphasizes co-ordination among the public sector and various stakeholders through horizontal linkages.” The ADB (1996, 1)

views governance as, "... a process whereby elements in society wield power and authority, and influence and enact policies and decisions concerning public life, economic and social development." While governance is communicated as capacity, government is put across as scope. Governance is a disengaged dynamic quantity of government, and understood as norms, processes, mechanisms, and institutions that encompass the system of state. Governance is referred to have the steering quality manifested in the state's conduct of policy (Hyuk-Rae 2013; Frischtak 1994). In a more conventional language - government rules and controls, but in a state of governance, it orchestrates and directs (Carino 2008). For instance, local government would focus mostly on its service-delivery function, such as providing basic services, infrastructure, or on administrative tasks, while local governance will concentrate on bringing people together, to work towards an improved quality of life. Thus governance involves a paradigm shift from viewing community as customers or voters to seeing them as "partners, educators, and organizers of citizen action" (Boyte 2005, 537). Under this paradigm, a system of governance views "citizens as co-creators and democracy as a commonwealth, abundant in public goods" (Boyte 2005, 543). "Governance involves collaboration and empowerment more than hierarchy and control... It suggests an emphasis on the people involved, 'the tool-makers and tool users' as well as the tools" (Boyte 2005, 537).

Government, on the contrary, communicates closely with the organisations that formulate and implement laws and is thus irreconcilable with governance. As Stoker (1998, 34) says, it is the "formal institutional structure and location of authoritative decision making." The urban government exercises its "functional and political means in serving citizens, known for promoting elitist interests at the expense of the wider society" (Auclair and Jackohango 2009, 11). Unlike governance, government excludes the community representing "the public life of individuals and institutions outside the control of the state" (Harpham and Boateng 1997, 66). McCarney et al. (1995, quoted in Lange 2009, 16) highlight this distinction by pointing out "the relationship between civil society and the state, between rulers and the ruled, the government and the governed." The difference between government and governance is summarised in the table 2.3 below:

Table 2.3: Distinction between government and governance

Characteristics	Government	Governance
Role	○ Authority	○ Activator/facilitator
Planning approach	○ Top-down	○ Multi-layer
Model type	○ Linear model	○ Network model
Actors	○ Clearly defined actors working in association with the state	○ Mixed state and non-state actors (including NGOs and CBOs)
Primary objective	○ Seek common 'national interest'	○ Co-ordinate interrelated interests
Patterns of interaction	○ Command and control based on majority rule ○ Through formal institutions and procedures	○ Multiparty discussions to approximate positions ○ Through evolving and ongoing procedures
Level and scope of jurisdiction	○ Central level covering all affected areas ○ Applying command through rules or force to ensure universal acceptance of a decision	○ Practical agreements cutting across different levels ○ Acceptance and support for decisions by all actors arises out of wide participation in initial debate
Transparency	○ Simple and insightful representation of community members through elections	○ Power is dispersed or vague
Boundaries	○ Clearly demarcated and impervious	○ More flexible, adaptable and permeable

Source: Modified from Kobler (2009); Meehan (2003); Loughlin (2000), Eising and Kohler-Koch (1999)

To some extent, a balance between the government and the governance is required for the success of the intervention. Even though governance has the potential to address complex community issues, it still depends on the government to intervene for their legitimacy and support. Similarly, when the local government revenues fail to keep pace with increasingly complex social and environmental issues, governance initiates the community towards the completion of the project (Diers 2004). As the complexity and diversity of our communities grows, it is essential that the relationship between government and the community is timely restructured to recognize interdependence and common purpose (Kobler 2009).

Consecutively, shifting towards a system of good governance, the governing body must be keen to empower the community, facilitate and educate, and to view the

community as partners in building a better community. With this shift, government must become responsive to all of its electorate, not just to the powerful and elitist. This involves continuously engaging in a community-wide conversation about the future direction of the city, and working to build community capacity such that the community members can meaningfully participate in planning and policy-making.

2.4.2 A shift towards good urban governance

Governance refers to the forms of collaboration between the state, local authority in conjunction with the NGOs and private sector and community (Pierre 2002). Even though partnership between the state and other actors in the society has always been a part of development in some way or the other, the interest in new ways of development and their effects has become prevalent since the 1990s (Peters 2002; Stoker 2002). Until the early 1980s, the government was deemed as capable of devising and putting into practice the strategies and simultaneously governing the whole system. In an urban context, Rakodi (2003) describes this practice as a top-down planning approach for development dominated by public sector organizations. The urban government was primarily focused towards providing basic services and facilities to the community, such as infrastructure, health and safety measures, but this followed by a much profound debate on how efficiently they performed. The efficiency of the urban governance was critiqued “in terms of its technical competence, efficiency in the use of resources, financial viability and responsiveness to the needs of urban growth” (Rakodi 2003, 525). The role of NGOs, compassion towards the needs of the community and concerns for safeguarding the environment remained unresolved, resulting in increasing failure of redevelopment programs and growing community dissatisfaction.

In the early 1980s, prior to collaborative planning, urban governance and urban areas gained the attention of researchers and practitioners as a compelling force to initiate redevelopment in the developing world (Harpham and Boateng 1997). The significance of urban areas was re-assessed mainly for three reasons: the extraordinary ‘rural-urban’ migration; increasing importance of informal markets and trade and industry; and the realisation of the need for local governance for development (Stren 1993). Except the fact that “inefficiency of traditional approaches to urban planning, under-performance by local government and failures

of service provision” made urban areas ineffective in regulating sustainable urban growth (Rakodi 2003, 525). These factors highlighted the importance of improving ‘urban governance’ for enhanced management of the redevelopment programs while reconsidering the ways to improve the well-being on the community (Harpham and Boateng 1997, 67). This also gave rise to the promotion of managerial instead of blueprint planning approach to urban demands (Devas and Rakodi 1993 cited in Rakodi 2003, 525). The researchers examining urban governance recognised two main reasons behind this shift. The first reason is the neo-liberal economic belief that has led to macro-economic policies, giving rise to bottom-up approaches to decision-making process (Khan and Piracha 2009; Batterbury and Fernando 2006). The second reason is “rooted in dissatisfaction with the ability of existing political systems to respond to the views and needs of all social groups” (Rakodi 2003, 525). Rakodi (2003, 525-526) further explains:

“The emergence of broad social movements, the proliferation of new forms of social organisation and demands for increased political participation led to the dramatic (re-)democratisation of many authoritarian regimes in the late 1980s and early 1990s, ... [that refocused the] attention from formal political structures and governments as the locus of decision making authority to the role of civil society in exercising democratic rights and functions ... In towns and cities, recognition of the important role of non-state actors and civil society organisations in the production and management of the urban built environment, filling gaps in state provision of services, and holding formal democratic structures to account was coupled with renewed attention to democratic decentralisation.”

The concept of ‘urban governance’ received an additional impetus when International agencies like the UN, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank significantly tightened their “policy lines by imposing the condition of public sector reforms as a core element of its aid strategy” with a view to eradicate poverty and ascertain sustainable urban growth (Waheduzzaman 2008, 1). This effort particularly applies to tackling the old and new challenges which influenced the modification of several governance structures across developing countries aimed at ensuring maximum outcomes in development. The governance structures that were

successful in the past might not be suitable for the new upcoming challenges (Puppim de Oliveira 2011).

However, as Waheduzzaman (2008, 2) notes, “little emphasis is placed on issues of equity and community participation” and the modification initiative “[is] left with weak, demoralised public sector institutions, growth of rampant corruption and no significant economic development.” Following the failure of structural reform, international agencies introduced the ‘good governance’ agenda, stressing the involvement of the community along with different levels of actors in the decision-making process and to coordinate their actions in order to attain positive implementation of democratically agreed strategies (Bulkeley and Betsill 2005). A key challenge here is to establish a governance scheme in which all of the different local interests and voices are expressed and taken into account, including external agents, such as international agencies, NGOs and other public authorities. This scheme is very similar to the collaborative planning principles and varies from one urban context to another and is largely path-dependent (Puppim de Oliveira et al. 2013).

2.4.3 What is ‘good urban governance’?

Governance is putting political, economic and governmental power to effect to manage state affairs. It is through these complex processes, relations and governance structures the communities express their interests, use their rights, and settle differences. Governance covers every establishment and organization in the community, from households to state and embraces all methods - good and bad - to exercise power and manage community problems and resources. ‘Good governance’ is therefore a subset of governance, wherein community problems and resources are managed efficiently in response to their critical needs (Kaufman 2005). Good governance is thus the “desired standard of practice” (Taylor 2000).

Relevant to this research is Batterbury and Fernando’s (2006, 1853) conceptualisation of good governance which is, “... [an] umbrella term for any package of public sector reforms designed to create lasting and positive changes in accordance with the [democratic governance] principles.” These principles are composed of participation, transparency, accountability, consistency, efficiency and civic space. International agencies, in contrast, have established a directive and

passive outline to promote good governance in developing countries (Waheduzzaman 2008). Good governance, in developing countries, is thus seen as an essential method in order to diminish corruption, mobilize well-organised urban management and to undertake redevelopment programs efficiently. Besides, UNDP has identified nine core characteristics covering eight key urban issues to assess good governance - participation, rule of law, transparency and predictability, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and ethics in decision making and implementation, and a long-term strategic vision of community interest (Carino 2008; UN-Women 2005).

It is understood that good governance is not a responsibility of one actor in isolation. Thus decentralisation becomes a virtue of good governance, wherein it not only brings government closer to the community, but also makes them participants in their own governance (Carino 2008). Here, decentralization of power not only comes loose of the government structure; but also breaks down from the strong hold of the elite power structure to give way to the ideas and contribution of the previously excluded and marginalized, poor communities (Glemarec and Puppim de Oliveira 2012).

Most recently, UN-Habitat embraced good governance approach as the best available strategy for achieving sustainable urban growth and eradicating poverty (Taylor 2000). The Habitat has developed a set of operational principles for efficient urban governance. First, it advocates the principle of equity that ascertains the integration of all stakeholders into the decision-making process. The purpose was to promote equitable allocation of resources for all, irrespective of status, gender, ethnic group, occupation, religion or political affiliation (Auclair and Jackohango 2009). Second, transparency and accountability is promoted as a mandatory attribute of any form of governance. These attributes are deemed to be essential to diminish corruption and to build trust of the community towards government. Third is the principle of efficiency, which emphasises optimal usage and cost-effective management of resources. To acquire economic efficiency, the government was encouraged to involve private sectors to develop a favourable economic environment in the urban areas (Swapan 2012).

The administration of most urban areas in developing countries resists meaningful and constructive dialogue and participation of the NGOs (Auclair and Jackohango 2009). They fail to realise that NGOs and the communities share a 'tailor-made' relationship (Trivedi and Tiwari 2013). UN-Habitat thus promotes active participation of the NGOs as the fourth operational principle into the decision-making process, as it implies effective participation of the marginalised and disadvantaged communities (UN-Habitat 2002). Lastly, the principle of sustainability is listed to promote sustainable development of the community in all facets of urban living. It demands balanced social, economic and environmental needs of the present and future citizens (Auclair and Jackohango 2009).

Despite these established principles, 'good governance' is considered to be an exceptionally intangible objective (Gisselquist 2012). It implies different things to different organizations, and hence is difficult to construe whether these principles of good governance are acceptable by different organisations. For instance, the World Bank on good governance addresses economic institutions and public sector management, with transparency and accountability, regulatory reform, and public sector skills and leadership. The United Nations, European Commission and OECD, highlight democratic governance and human rights, aspects of political governance forestalled by the Bank (Gisselquist 2012).

Good governance lacks theoretical utility and has endless definitions. It complicates, rather providing assistance, in the formulation of theory (Gisselquist 2012). Gerring (1999), a political scientist contends that, the concept of good governance is so fluid that an analyst while analysing a redevelopment project can easily define it in a way that best fits their data. While, Gisselquist (2012), a research fellow in UN for 'Governance and fragility' shows her concerns over methodological discussions surrounding good governance which are often so obscure and impenetrable and mostly kept within scholarly circles. As these discussions have real world relevance attached to development policy, its outcomes are indeed of concern. Therefore, the question that arises here is, is good governance really necessary for community development and growth?

Is good governance necessary for development?

So far, it is established that the good governance agenda has defined policy reform objectives especially for developing countries. These objectives consist of reducing corruption, achieving responsive and democratic government, and implementing the regulations. However, Khan (2010) concludes from his empirical evidences that developing countries have actually improved governance with development, and that good governance is not a necessary prerequisite for development. It is observed that most of the developing countries do poorly on good governance indicators, though some function in a much superior way than others in terms of development (Fukuyama 2008).

Meisel and Ould-Aoudia (2008) contend that no presumptions of development, support the arguments of ‘good governance’ advocates, claiming that international agencies have instrumentalised ‘good governance’ as one of the key criteria for disbursing development aid to the developing countries. Implicitly, various good governance advocates assume a dual world in which all countries have similar characteristics, and that the developing countries perform poorly due to ‘pathologies’, such as corruption, inequality, state and market failures, that hinder them from ‘catching up’ with the developed countries (Sundaram and Chowdhury 2012). Enhancing governance to defeat these pathologies by improving their functioning capacity as a ‘good governance’ indicator – is thus believed to enable them to catch up. ‘Good governance’ is thus interpreted and imposed as a concept that is not locally developed.

But developing countries are not merely countries that would be “wealthy if they were not ill” (Sundaram and Chowdhury 2012, 10). They structurally and systematically differ from the developed countries, and thus analytically and rationally it is not constructive to typify development problems as ‘pathologies’. According to Meisel and Ould-Aoudia (2007), ‘good governance’ as a prescription has in fact had modest or no impact on growth universally. The enforcement of formal set of laws from developed countries on developing countries has not succeeded.

Kurtz and Schrank (2007, 552) construe that “[the] connection between growth and governance lies on exceedingly shaky empirical pilings.” They observe that a number

of developing countries, especially in East and South-East Asia, were unable to meet the most extensively exercised World Bank's good governance criteria, and yet have managed to perform well in terms of development, equity and structural transformation. Similarly, Goldsmith (2007) implies from his research in developing countries that transparency, accountability and community participation are often effects of the programs, and not a direct effect of development. Rodrik (2008) particularly refers to the cases of China, Cambodia and Vietnam for their swift development and growth, regardless of poor governance indicators.

Andrews (2010) gave statistical evidences citing that between 2000 and 2006, countries with efficient governance structure grew at an average yearly rate of less than two per cent, while countries with inefficient government in fact grew by an average rate of about four per cent yearly, in spite of facing extreme daunting challenges, for example, extraordinary population growth. On the contrary, efficient governance structure have higher domestic revenue resources, are independent of international trade taxes and are more reliant on direct domestic income taxes as compared to less efficient governments. Efficient government structure is also bigger in size in terms of municipal expenditure/GDP ratios, which ranged from 37-73 per cent in the mid-1990s and stood at between 35-55 per cent in 2004.

Aron (2000) explains that the relationship between governance structure and development is weak and that causality can run in both directions, from good governance to development and vice versa. She argues that a more reasonable and hence credible analysis of the outcomes of governance on development and economic growth would require a more rational, reliable and influential approach. Fukuyama (2008), on the other hand, acknowledges the possibility of two-way relationship between governance and development. According to him, there may perhaps be instances where growth was not a result of a strong developmental state but by a state with 'just enough' development accelerating governance. He points out that what may possibly seem like 'poor governance' may in fact reflect priority, rationality and perhaps efforts to overcome developmental blockages (Sundaram and Chowdhury 2012).

Although case studies and statistical evidences mentioned above accentuate the significance of good governance, they imply that a different set of governance

capabilities are required. Every development program possesses a different set of requirements and hence need their own governance indicators built intently on their focused aims and objectives (Labonte and Laverack 2010). Sundaram and Chowdhury (2012) claims that developing countries have attained major developmental transition in the past few decades and now portray strong governance capabilities; there is a high probability that they must have not performed well in terms of ‘good governance’ at the time of their launch or during a considerable period thereafter. Preferably, they prioritized on developing capabilities of the community to deal with specific, context related challenges and hence achieved the desired results. Therefore, Khan (2012) asserts that a careful evaluation of the incremental ‘process’ to capability development has to involve experimentation and trials of decisions between actors (the state, NGO and the community) with different priorities (Taylor 2000), and not the reproduction or adoption of blueprints drawn from dissimilar contexts. Khan (2012) describes such capabilities as developmental or growth-enhancing capabilities.

2.5 Role and capacity of actors for community redevelopment

Governance mainly focuses on the formal and informal actors and structures that are engaged in the operational and decision-making processes. The management of community redevelopment projects is not, and should not be regarded as, the exclusive domain of government. The concerns of government are the concerns of all. The societal issues are issues of all (Carino 2008). Usually actors of the governance system are decided by the intensity and spatial dimensions (e.g. rural or urban) of the area under jurisdiction. Herein the scope of the study is limited to community redevelopment project and its three key actors (Figure 2.1) are:

- State/Local – Initiates, allocates resources and funds, and sets standards for community redevelopment programs.
- Civil society – Implements the program, and, is usually employed by the State. It comprises of the NGOs, architects, planners, consultants, contractors, and so on and so forth.
- Community – Community residents are the program beneficiaries, who are encouraged to become participants and are responsible to maintain the development.

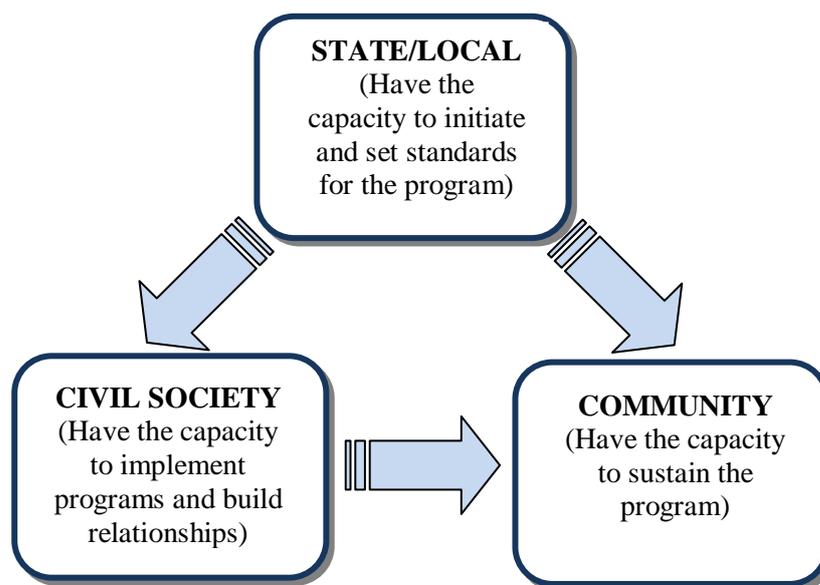


Figure 2.1: Role and capacity of actors in community redevelopment

Source: By author

The state/local is the wielder of power and the main actor in the governance structure. In a governance system, different organisations are involved in managing different community affairs. In spite of this the state does not disappear after its advent and continues to play the key role of assisting and enabling the involvement of other sectors of the community. The state is a resilient entity that acknowledges the importance and autonomy of other sectors without overwhelming them. It works in the background, creating an atmosphere that enables and facilitates the civil society to be innovative and to make their own influential contributions. The state as an enabler provides with legal regulatory construct and political order as per which organizations plans and acts. As David Korten (1984, 302 cited in Carino 2008) articulates, there is “an important distinction between government acting to meet a need for people and government acting to create an enabling setting within which people can be more effective in meeting those needs for themselves.” ‘To enable’ is to revolutionise the regulations and incentive structure and to develop community capacity, instead of managing resources or delivering services directly to the community (Carino 2008).

Specific to urban poor built environment redevelopment intervention, the state provides subsidy and security of tenure within the legal and regulatory framework, along with, power connections, access to safe water and sanitation, and opportunities to improve livelihoods of the inhabitants. Another major role of the state is to

facilitate the redevelopment project by providing resources to communities, which includes information, technical expertise, infrastructure, and grants through incentive schemes. But with civil society having the informational and locational advantage, the state has to rely on them to build trust and to connect with the community.

A resourceful and well-organised civil society is the social arena in which individuals voluntarily participate to manage and organise work for collective benefit. It is the space in which individuals become citizens. As described by the sociologist Jeffrey Alexander (2006, 4), civil society is –

“a world of values and institutions that generates the capacity for social criticism and democratic integration at the same time. Such a sphere relies on solidarity, on feelings for others whom we do not know but whom we respect out of principle, not experience, because of our putative commitment to a common secular faith.”

Civil society comprises of the groups working outside government system but in the community arena. It is also referred by other names, such as non-government organisations (NGOs), non-profit or voluntary sector. Civil society organizations represent the interests of the marginalised and the excluded while they attempt to organize them with the intention that they raise their voices on social issues and exercise their power for collective good (Mansuri and Rao 2004). Civil society gets involved in the governance system to the extent that they can question the power of the state or to show alternative ways to deliver services and policy formulation. Collaboration between the state and the civil society reshapes urban management by down-scaling the regulatory functions of the State (Jaglin 2008).

Modern researchers have gradually recognized how important civil society is to the development process. Bayly (2008), for instance, discusses that developing countries that have shown high rates of growth in recent years, such as India and Bangladesh, did not simply borrow ideas and technologies from the developed countries. In their ideal state, civil society encourages collective action, with equality as their core objective; ideally, it is built on the ideologies of reciprocity, open critique and dialogue. While the state is inclined towards politics and power, and depends on regulations to function; civil society, in contrast, motivates common interests and the principle of equality (Alexander 2006). Civil society also plays an important role in

generating economic activity (e.g. microfinance organisations, co-operatives) by creating an environment for the entrepreneurial class and trade groups to help the urban poor communities with credit and job opportunities (Mansuri and Rao 2013). Furthermore, civil society organisations assist the government's service delivery system to reach the communities unreachable by the bureaucracy. In return, the state provides the NGOs the essential scaling-up and recommendation for future projects (Eversole 2010). NGOs also serve as the source of policy ideas all the way to being the assessor of government schemes (Tandon 2008). Collaboration between the state and civil society is contribution by both in all stages of community redevelopment.

Civil society acts like a median between the state and the community. The state engages with the civil society to provide information, influence and control the community, and also depends on the civil society to prohibit the community from rallying or political organising against them. The state employs and attempts to develop civil society activities in order to jump-start participatory development process (Hickey and Mohan 2005). Nevertheless, an engaged civil society is critical to good governance, because if the government is transparent and responsible towards the community, the civil society is held responsible for its transparency (Zerah 2009). But then again, the civil society survives on the apathy, difficulties and struggle of the community.

In the context of community redevelopment, community engagement is central for inclusive and equitable development (Mansuri and Rao 2013). Redevelopment has no meaning unless the community defines the issues, and have substantial influence over the decisions concerning the community to which they belong (Labonte and Laverack 2010). From this point of view, redevelopment should lead to an equitable sharing of power, wherein the marginalised and the disadvantaged will have the highest level of power. Any redevelopment project is then a means of empowering the community such that they are able to take actions on their own and thus influence the processes and outcomes of the project. Consequently, the community can share the organisational tasks of the project by being responsible of the operations and by playing an active role in monitoring the progress of the project. This could lead to the sustainability of the project due to the enhanced level of community interest and competence in project management. Community contributing in the designing and implementation of the project, in the form of labour, cost-sharing and delivery of

goods and services, may lead to an effective and efficient delivery of the project. Involvement and interaction of the community with the implementing agencies (such as, architects', consultants, officials from the Municipal office, contractors, etc.) will help in reducing the delays, a smoother flow of project services will be achieved, and overall expenses will be reduced (Eversole 2010). Linking participation to power-sharing combines the energy and resourcefulness of the community, and is not just limited to those few who are elected or appointed to the government offices. Community participation also enhances the accountability and transparency of the elected and appointed government officials to the community at large (Tandon 2008; Leach and Scoones 2002; Holmes and Scoones 2000).

There is a widespread consensus in the literature that the knowledge and insights of 'local people' and 'local communities' balance, amend and/or provide alternative perspectives to the conventional 'scientific' or 'professional' expert knowledge that typically updates development guidelines and practice. This is because the community knowledge is grounded, in place and in context, in ways that the expert knowledge of professionals is not (Eversole 2010). It may perhaps be inadequate by the intellectual 'reach' of the community in question – for example, relevant information to understand and evaluate their options (Schilderman 2002) – yet what they do know is, they know in context. Therefore, while the knowledge of the communities is limited to exercise all by itself; nor is the professional expertise without community knowledge to ground it. Both are equally essential. Even as the boundaries amid 'expert' and 'community' knowledge are evidently permeable – experts subsist and function in communities, and communities make use of the resources of experts – in spite of this, their productive meeting points are convoluted with the assumption that the experts hold the only real 'knowledge' (Eversole 2010). Thus, while the current good governance process focuses on the devolution of power for redevelopment, there is a necessity and urgency of power-sharing to enable the community to contribute for sustainable growth and development as per their capacity, which is often disregarded for bureaucratic reasons.

To conclude, the three actors are co-dependent in their roles and capabilities, and need to work together to balance each other. On the same lines, Barr (1995, 124, cited in Laverack 1999, 71) points out that the partnership between the actors is mutually beneficial, in which all three become empowered. The ability to achieve a

desired outcome may become enhanced by such a partnership rather than the need of power to be transferred. Partnerships are an important step on the continuum of community redevelopment and empowerment. Thus, in analysing the ‘chequered history’ (Tandon 2008) of governance, the research proposes a subtle but important shift in planning and development discourse and practice set in the context of developing countries for sustainable community development called – Tripartite partnership model.

2.6 Building collaborative capacities: Tripartite partnership model

Starting the discussion from the main references used to evaluate the urban policies and implementation process of the ‘redevelopment’ projects, in order to distinguish the different terms and to verify both the sustainability and the usefulness of categorisation between different interventions. It is noticeable that every time a discussion relating to the transformations within a city or community is raised, a series of projects surface whose defining terms always begin with the prefix “re”. This indicates that the devising of a policy for the community basically involves innovative thinking, new ways of interpretation and new hypothesis, to be precise, a new process of (re)designing to something that already exists (Weidner et al. 2010). According to some authors, the term ‘redevelopment’ is related with the development of a new class of privileged communities (Le Gale’s 2002); the implementation of a new decision-making system and the creation of new urban governance structure or redevelopment of a process that leads to new forms of neo-liberalism (Jones and Ward 2002). In all the cases, the term ‘redevelopment’ leads to the introduced phenomenon of Tripartite Partnership Model.

The new partnership model derived from the boost given to urban redevelopment (Kaufmann et al. 2005) ascertains that the decision-making and the implementation process passes through the new forms of relationships between state and community, and through the strict ‘channel’ of State-NGO partnership. The new tools and the new approaches of actors are important for redevelopment but they are in hierarchical order (Weidner et al. 2011). As reflected in Arnstein’s (1969) theory, in the ‘Ladder of citizen participation’, community engagement can be differentiated by the levels of power and knowledge possessed by different actors from passive information provision to consultation, involvement and ultimately delegation (Burns

et al. 1994, cited in Dassah 2013). Corresponding to the Arnstein's theory, the developed partnership model proposes to delegate the power to the community members by having a genuine influence on the decision making. The model mirrors an organised process which will help the decision-makers to address the disagreement and intricacies over community engagement process.

Tripartite partnership model reflects the organisations, connections, and norms shaping the quality and quantity of social interactions, and is an important component to enhance a community's economic prosperity and sustainable development. The model includes actors from different creative networks, each with their own accounts and practices, bringing in diverse forms of expertise (Klijn and Teisman 2003) in the processes of assets creation and community development, in order that each reinforces the other (Harris 2003; Samii et al. 2002). The collaboration of actors is a main catalyst for the formation of this model, drawing on existing human and material resources, improving self-help and social supports, and having an inclusive empowering effect on the community and on everyone's well-being. Links between the tri-partners can also facilitate the mobilisation of government services; growth in economy; improvements in the infrastructure; and access to the wider markets and financial systems (Goddard 2005).

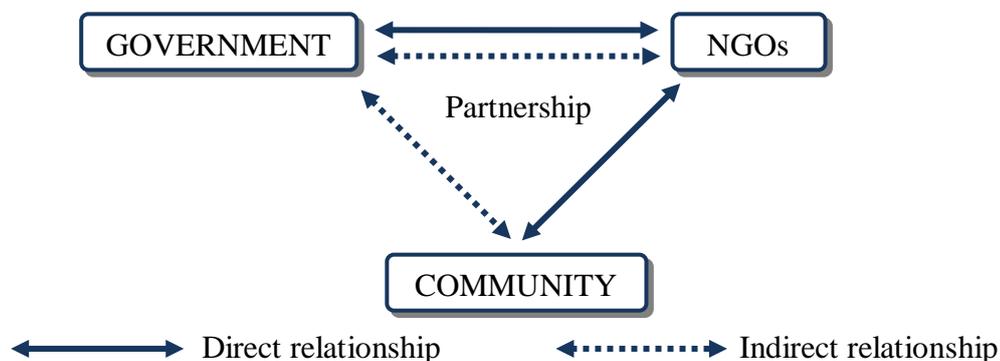


Figure 2.2: Tripartite partnership model

Source: By author

Another important characteristic of the model lies in the relations and partnerships between the government bodies, NGOs and the community, as shown in Fig. 2.2. Herein, the government and the NGO share a direct and mechanical relation, that is to say, a contractual relation for financing and risk allocation. Alternatively, the

interface between the government and the community is indirect but proactive, in order to meet the social needs. This interface offers new forms of transparency built on shared information, innovation, and satisfaction of the community. Similarly, meetings organised for community engagement should leave the community informed of the rationale behind any decision. The authority should plainly explain the planning principles, development bylaws and constraints, and practicality of the development. The community should be addressed and justified on why any inputs or requests cannot be inculcated and how the contributions of the community consultation have influenced the decision-making process. With different expertise, alternatives and voices, the community opinions should be gathered and combined with the inputs from professionals to reduce the disparity between stakeholders.

Combining the knowledge and experiences from local experts, this government-NGO-community partnership embraces the bottom-up planning strategies and promotes community participation for each stage of the project (Ahmed and Ali 2006), in order to improve community's capacity to resolve their issues. This partnership model is the vision and foundation to generate local economy and community infrastructure by involving the end-users' perspective. The process helps to clarify, meticulously, how community perspective and desires can be identified, implied and managed throughout the redevelopment process. The key is to link skills with jobs (World Bank 2011). The outcome of this study model indicate that the partnerships built with the objective of development gives flexibility and benefits to all the actors involved, irrespective of their position, and helps create the much needed infrastructure facilities; as opposed to top-down and bottom-up planning approaches (as seen in table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Key differences between top-down, bottom-up and tripartite partnership approach

	Top-down	Bottom-up	Tri-partite
Root/ metaphor	○ Individual responsibility	○ Community takes the responsibility	○ All actors take up or are delegated certain responsibilities as per their expertise
Strategy	○ Rational planning	○ Communicative planning	○ An amalgamation of both, rational and

			communicative planning
Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The community is weak, insufficient and needs help 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The community can gather strength to take up the project with expert, technical, and financial support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Every actor in the process of development is essential and needs to act, integrate, adapt and generate positive results
Orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Solve problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Improve competence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Improve community's capability to resolve their issues
Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Outside agents such as - ○ Government bodies, ○ practitioners, ○ NGOs, ○ planners, ○ private organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Synergy between top and bottom, a collaborative approach. The actors include – ○ Government bodies ○ Civil society – NGOs, planners, consultants, etc. ○ Community
Roles of actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Planners are experts, technical specialist and locals are beneficiaries ○ Service delivery and resource allocation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Locals are experts, outsiders are facilitators ○ Respond to needs of community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Local knowledge and technical expertise are both essential for development. ○ Respond to needs of community
Planning process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Often driven by concerns for economic efficiency, less emphasis given on the specifics of local context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Approach is multi-dimensional and context specific, driven by local knowledge and concerns for economic equity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Approach is multi-dimensional and context specific, driven by local knowledge, technical expertise, and concerns for economic equity
Primary vehicles for change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Education, improved services, lifestyle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Building community control, resources and capacities toward economic, social and political change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Empowerment and identity in par with the government agencies ○ Collective ability to perform
Primary decision makers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Agency representatives, business leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Democratically appointed leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Democratically appointed leaders

	– ‘appointed community leaders’		
Control of resources	○ Low	○ High	○ High
Community ownership	○ Low	○ High	○ High
Effectiveness	○ Based on goals achievement	○ Based on reaching agreement or consensus among stakeholders	○ Based on goals achievement with consensus among stakeholders
Evaluation	○ Specific risk factors. Quantifiable outcomes and ‘targets’	○ Pluralistic methods documenting changes in community priority	○ Changes in community priority recorded by the community
Outcome	○ Pre-determined, concrete and empirically derived	○ Evolving outcome objectives	○ Process and outcome in constant dialogue

Sources: Modified from Pissourios (2014); Zhang and Kumaraswamy (2012); Longa (2011); Ahmed and Ali (2006); Larrison (1999)

The tripartite partnership model has generated new possibilities to engage practical and positive engagement techniques and solutions, not only for the early stages of built environment design and planning, but also for implementation and management of economic and social reforms (Zhang and Kumaraswamy 2012). This partnership model is not a panacea, but it can be applied to form an improved risk allocation system between different stakeholders including the community, and to create new cost beneficial ways to formulate community services. By applying this model, the decision-making power shifts from the traditional policy makers at the centre, to a shared-powered network at the community level (Ahmed and Ali 2006). Such a paradigm shift is essential to reduce the perils of one-sided decisions (Wong and Wong 2013). This partnership model can therefore be beneficial to the state and the NGOs to effectively implement the redevelopment process by moving towards a more community oriented service production. Such partnerships result in deep, meaningful relationships and develop social capital that is ‘invested’ in the community and can be drawn upon in the future (Goddard 2005).

The distinguishing feature of this model from top-down and bottom-up approach is a shared governance structure and decision-making process, wherein the NGO’s

dynamism is combined with the state's custodianship for community's interest. In theory, it appears to be an ordinary and effortless merger of interests; but in practice, to attain this partnership, particularly within the institutional limitations present in developing countries, it is not easy. Moreover, the third tier - the community - drastically shifting in its role, from passive service receivers to active service partners; may not happen endogenously (Ahmed and Ali 2006). Since it is a conceptual model, further research needs to be conducted to establish whether the model is appropriate or lacks methodological rigour for urban poor built environment redevelopment interventions. It is believed that the emerging tri-partnership will unlock the community's capacity and organisational change within this new model (Goddard 2005) and may possibly run parallel to each other to balance the means and its outcome. However, where a huge change in the traditional approach is required, the researcher observes a need for the developed model to be a prerequisite for effective community engagement in built environment redevelopment intervention.

2.7 Conclusion

Planning and development debates on government-community engagement are now in a 'post-collaborative' phase, with interests shifting towards the challenges of these processes, plus to the contexts and stipulations within which participation takes place (Healey 2012; Brownill and Parker 2010). This expansion of interest and contexts has made itself evident in planning debates on participation in developing countries which have long pre-occupied the field of development studies (Beall and Fox 2009); calling for the development of methods to build capacities of ordinary people and tie discussion to implementation (Roy 2009; Yiftachel 2009).

The notions of collaborative planning, governance, capacity building and empowerment closely resemble one another in the processes and outcomes they promote (Watson 2014). This research examines these interrelationships, as an effort to build community capacity through collaborative planning programs and the effect it has on the urban poor well-being. From the literature review, it appears that in order for community capacity to be built, there must be a shift in the culture of governance (Kobler 2009). Previous studies have focused separately on understanding and examining collaborative planning and capacity building strategies, hence there is a lack of understanding about the effects of such initiatives (Innes and

Booher 1999), plus it is unclear whether the outcomes are improving the ability of government and the community to respond to growing conflict and change (Chaskin and Garg 1997). It is evident from the discussion above that tripartite partnership and capacity building are two-sides of the same coin and thus, should be aligned to each other in a project context. This research helps to fill in these gaps by employing the tripartite partnership model in examining the two urban poor built environment redevelopment projects for community capacity building. Thus, this study contributes to the body of knowledge by identifying how good governance can lead to community capacity building and vice-versa.

CHAPTER 3

Urban poverty and livelihood approaches: Literature review of developing countries

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature on urban poverty and urban livelihoods from a developing world's perspective. In spite of differences in history, circumstances and development patterns, urban areas in the developing countries predominantly face deprivation, disadvantage and marginality; this is because they are continuously experiencing urbanisation with no adequate development. This issue of urban poverty in the developing countries has been ongoing for decades, as the major urban centres continue to face enormous flows of population from rural areas, neighbouring cities and states. Responding to the growing concerns of this new urban geography, the World Bank and the UN-Habitat, along with other research studies, launched the *Cities without Slums Initiative* in 1999, with the intention of raising awareness and to enhance the conditions of the urban poor. Most of these research studies used macro level data to explain the trend and pattern of urban poverty. Some used micro-level data to explain the spatial and economic characteristics of the urban poor while a few studies focused on the coping mechanisms the urban poor used in adverse urban settings. This chapter attempts to explain livelihood approaches, which researchers have adopted to analyse and to explain the challenges posed by urban poverty and the strategies adopted by the poor in their households to cope with urban living.

The literature review covers the critical issues of urban poverty related to the research questions and objectives focusing on urban poor in India, a developing country. As indicated in Chapter 1, characteristics and factors influencing urban poverty, nature of the urban economy, access to urban housing and infrastructure, pattern of social and cultural organisation of urban poor and the nature and response of urban politics towards urban poverty form the basis of this chapter. The purpose of the chapter is to review the literature on urban poor households and their livelihood approaches, its relevance in the urban setting and significance of urban policy and planning. The aim is not to provide a blueprint to develop urban policy framework

responsive towards livelihood strategies of the poor, as the manner in which urban poor organise their lives is extremely unpredictable and diverse. Instead, the chapter aims to notify urban policy makers how the urban context and livelihood strategies should shape their decisions and decision-making processes for development and poverty reduction policies. The chapter also contends that urban policies will be more effective and equitable if it is planned with an understanding of household level strategies, its applications in an urban setting, the linkages between households and communities and the all-encompassing economic, social and political processes operating within and upon the city.

The chapter finally discusses urban livelihood approaches within an integrated framework for analysing urban poverty in developing countries. Livelihood strategies place urban poor households at the core of analysis, with the implication that household-centred methods of analysis must play a central role in developing an understanding of livelihood strategies and in project planning and evaluation. It incorporates both the material and non-material elements of poverty. The framework outlined for analysis employs a bottom-up approach, drawing largely from contextual phenomena capturing economic, infrastructural, social, and political context of the urban poor. This approach is meant to ensure that the respondents own the data generated, enabling them to participate in policy debate and planning of the redevelopment project. It will allow reflection on the structures and processes adopted by top-down approaches that facilitate and/or hinder urban development. The framework will assist practitioners engaged in future redevelopment projects to collect large scale contextual data and monitor household livelihoods, household assets, and then overall outcome, in order to plan and evaluate the project for community redevelopment.

3.2 Defining ‘urban poverty’

Two different approaches often used to define poverty and to recommend solutions are discussed here. The World Bank adopts an ‘Economic Growth’ view perceiving poverty as a deficiency in terms of people’s economic capacities to produce or consume. Whereas, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) focuses on the qualitative indicators of people’s capacity to lead a long, healthy, and creative lives, adopting a ‘Human Development’ approach (Fallavier 2007).

The economic growth approach

Until the early 1990s, economists worldwide largely associated the extent of a country's development with its economic growth. Economies with high growth rates were regarded as means to poverty reduction. This meant stressing upon the benefits of wealth and technology as a path to development with the presumption that well-being for all would result. The presumption gave little or no consideration to the social redistribution of its benefits, or to the consequences of development on the quality of human and natural resources (Rapley 2004).

Consequently, economists at the World Bank started viewing poverty in terms of the level of economic resources people possess to meet their material needs. They measured poverty through income levels, purchasing power, or levels of economic output (Rodrik 2007). This approach focused primarily on the monetary aspect of well-being - equating an individual's income or consumption level with a defined threshold or 'poverty line'¹⁷, below which that individual is deemed as poor. The poverty line can be 'relative' (that is, fifty percent of the country's mean income or consumption) or 'absolute' (that is, the cost of basic needs for a typical family) (DFID 2008).

The human development approach

This approach is supported by the UNDP, claiming that poverty is not only the lack of access to material wealth, but also the deprivation of access to superior quality of well-being that cannot be measured in monetary terms alone, or through combined indicators of consumption or production. It views low income as aspects of a broader set of social deprivations including low-levels of education, poor health, and lack of political consideration. It regards poverty as a factor for exclusion from access to basic services (safe housing, clean drinking water, health services) and from the means of improving economic productivity (education, skills training, productive capital) and from meeting higher social needs (acceptance as a rightful citizen) (Fallavier 2007; Wratten 1995). This results in limited opportunities for poor people

¹⁷ A poverty line is defined as an estimated minimum level of income required to secure the basic necessities of living. For the purpose of global cumulative and comparative data, the World Bank uses reference lines set at \$1.25 and \$2 per day (based on the 2005 Purchasing Power Parity terms). According to the most recent estimates, in 2011 by the World Bank, 17 per cent of the people living in the developing countries lived at or below \$1.25 a day (The World Bank 2015).

to enhance their prospects for well-being. Reducing poverty is in turn to facilitate Human Development - “a process of enlarging people's choices to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living” (UNDP 1990). This approach seeks to offer people the means to develop opportunities to improve their lives, and to uphold their accomplishments by acknowledging their rights as citizens.

Comparing the two approaches, it is noticeable that the two main international organisations central to development use different lenses to understand the concept of poverty, and the ways to deal with it. One sees increased income and consumption as an indicator of development and thus focuses on assisting economic growth to achieve that end. The other focuses on strengthening the capacities of individuals to not only improve their income and consumption, but also to live satisfactory lives in which they are economically, socio-culturally, and politically incorporated in the larger society they live in. These two notions lead to different techniques of planning that continuously challenge each other in the development debate. Dohlman and Soderback (2007, 22) have termed this debate as “hollow debate.”

Thus, Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2013) express their concern in their book ‘Urban Poverty in the Global South: Scale and Nature’ where the extent and depth of urban poverty in developing countries is exceedingly miscalculated because of improper definitions and measurements. “How a ‘problem’ is defined and measured obviously influences how the ‘solution’ is conceived, designed and implemented — and evaluated” (2013, 2). The use of improper poverty definitions that underestimate and misrepresent urban poverty explains why little attention has been given to urban poverty reduction by international development agencies. It explains the discrepancy of several poverty related statistics, which are quite misleading because “they have such a minimalist notion of survival that they generate a maximalist definition of poverty in terms of the derived income line” (Chandrasekhar and Ghosh 2013). About one in seven of the world's population lives in substandard, overcrowded housing, lacking provision for clean and adequate water, sanitation, and various other needs (Adama 2012). A significant proportion of these people are not considered to be poor by the estimated poverty line (Rakodi 2002).

Almost all official records on urban poverty are prepared with no or minimum dialogue with the people living in poverty with inadequate income. It is always the estimation of the ‘experts’, who identifies the ‘poor’ and then ‘targets’ them by some programme; eventually, they become ‘objects’ of government policy, despite the fact they have the resources and capabilities to contribute effectively towards poverty reduction programmes, but they are seldom seen as citizens with rights and legitimate demands (Mitlin and Satterthwaite 2013).

As a result, in case of this research, while assessing the multidimensional aspects of urban poverty a single indicator of income or productivity has no use, as it neither fully captures the nature and extent of poverty, nor portrays the situations people face. Besides, when poverty threshold is employed, the characteristics of poverty are often inaccurate to describe very poor and illegal urban populations who are excluded from society, and are rarely included in the official surveys used to produce quantitative and qualitative poverty measures. The definition of urban poverty needs to be broadened past conventional income-based definitions to include health, education, social, and environmental aspects of deprivation (Rakodi 2002; Wratten 1995).

Thus for the case studies of this research, apart from the literature review, a mixed (qualitative and quantitative), multi-faceted empirical approach was used to understand the issues faced by people living in poor urban settlements (discussed in Chapter 5). The methodologies employed to assess these case studies in Pune and Ahmedabad cities in India are described in length in Chapter 6.

The next section discusses the perceptions of urban poverty in developed and developing countries. Despite the fact that urban poverty and poverty threshold are defined and estimated as per international standards and by international development agencies, it is believed previewing the perceptions before proceeding will be beneficial.

3.2.1 Perceptions of urban poverty in developed and developing countries

A theoretical basis in the discourse of poverty and its perceptions is provided in Martha Nussbaum’s (2003) work, which is often, regarded as the most influential theoretical conceptualization of multidimensional poverty. It is important to mention

that her list of characteristics of poverty has been broadly received with cross-cultural consensus. For instance, in Germany, her list was used as a basis in the public advisors and scientific experts meeting, responsible for the development of the German Poverty and Wealth Report (Arndt and Volkert 2009).

Extreme poverty concerns exist in developed countries as well, and if not attended on time, the repercussions will further increase. In effect, there are some serious global trends such as migration, demographic transition and climate change that threaten human development, even in the developed countries, as do recession, financial crisis, budget severity and social cuts (Pogge and Rippin 2013). Relatively, inequality within countries is increasing, and data suggests that it will continue to increase if not vigorously counteracted (Kanbur 2009). Surveys conducted in the United States and Australia indicate that income inequality is significantly high (Rippin 2013; Norton and Ariely 2011; Neal et al. 2011), and the poorest segments of the population are being left behind, which is a crucial social problem and is intensifying the fact that the poor have little political voice even in some of the most distinguished democracies (Bartels 2005; Dahl 1961).

Apart from few exceptions (for example, United States), most developed countries, until recently had not defined an official poverty line or had prepared any sort of official action plan to reduce poverty in their own country (Rippin 2013). The fact that poverty is now being perceived as a global issue and a new profound attitude transformation is observed in most of the developed countries in regard to poverty in their own country, urban poverty perceptions and its characteristics in both developed and developing countries can be recorded. The following sub-sections focuses on the comparison of poverty perceptions in developed and developing countries.

Perceptions of urban poverty in developed countries

Unfortunately, so far, there are only a limited number of surveys on this topic to study and compare. The surveys revealed that income deprivation alone is rarely perceived as an issue in the developed countries. It is an important characteristic of poverty, but not the only one. Rather, respondents described poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon, comprising of economic, social, political and infrastructural issues.

In a brief overview of the surveys, *Poverty Pulse: Low-income Survey* was conducted four times by the Catholic Campaign for Human Development (CCHD) in the United States starting from 2000, and included only low-income respondents (CCHD 2005). Another survey conducted was in Australia, *The Invisible Australians: Conceptions of Poverty in Australia* by Johnson and Taylor (2000). The end results were built on focus group discussions with 170 participants and 400 random telephone interviews. Respondents were set apart by income into lower and upper socio-economic groups with 'lower' meaning that respondents were recipients of government benefits. In Europe, the European Commission conducted three different surveys on *Poverty and Social Exclusion*, the so called Eurobarometers, in 2007, 2009, and 2010 (EU 2007, 2009 and 2010).

Interestingly, the outcome of the surveys conducted in three different developed countries share the consensus with regard to the core characteristics of poverty that is, lack of adequate housing, poor quality of drinking water, unemployment, limited access to health services, poor clothing, and no proper food. However, when it comes to additional aspects of poverty, the respondents referred to poverty as a lack of choices, in addition to the emotional aspects such as anxiety and worthlessness. A comparison of the survey results reveals that there is a significant overlap of the responses. It is noteworthy that respondents from different geographical backgrounds perceive different characteristics of urban poverty in a similar way. The survey results from the United States, Australia and the Europe are presented under the column 'developed countries' in the Table 3.1.

Perceptions of urban poverty in developing countries

The studies conducted on the urban poverty perceptions in developing countries are more in numbers as compared to developed countries. One study that stands out as the most influential and comprehensive is the study conducted by The World Bank in 2000 titled *Voices of the Poor*. It comprises of 78 studies prepared in 47 developing countries (Narayan et al. 2000). The conclusion emerged from the study was an urban poor's concern of lacking a standing within the larger community.

Based on the findings, individual deprivation was measured in the form of, access to adequate shelter, financial status, nutrition, water, health care, education, resources, sanitation, control over decision making and access to supportive personal

relationships, adequate clothing and decent personal care, freedom from violence, contraception, a clean environment, voice in the community, adequate leisure time, and decent work status (Pogge and Rippin 2013). The urban poor are those who lack a regular job with adequate pay, those who lack friends or relatives from whom they can get support in an emergency, those who lack education facilities, assets and time to transform their lives. These social, infrastructural, economic and political factors constantly influence and are encountered globally, irrespective of developing or developed economic status of the country. This is reflected in the following comparison below in Table 3.1.

Table: 3.1 Comparison between urban poverty perceptions in developed and developing countries

Characteristics of poverty	Developed countries	Developing countries
Lack of adequate housing	●	●
Unemployment/ underemployment	●	●
Lack of basic necessities (food, water, sanitation, power supply)	●	●
Inadequate access to health services	●	●
Lack of basic education or vocational training facilities	●	●
Social exclusion	●	●
Discrimination	●	●
Lack of opportunities	●	●
Low self-esteem	●	●
Insecurity	●	●
Lack of income or assets	●	●
Vulnerability	●	●
Lack of access to financial services		●
Violence		●
Unhygienic environment		●
Lack of voice or chance to participate		●

Source: Based on the surveys and data collected by Special Eurobarometer 355 (2010); CCHD (2005); Nussbaum (2003); Johnson and Taylor (2000); Narayan et al. (2000)

In summary, though there are obviously differences between the scale of urban poverty in developed and developing countries, there is nevertheless a rather high level of congruence between the two (Pogge and Rippin 2013; Verrest 2007). The comparison gives a broad idea of what developed and developing countries need to

strive to achieve, but it fails to provide the minimum level of development defined precisely for a country (Nussbaum 2003). Setting satisfactory benchmarks for some of the characteristics of urban poverty, even with well-defined indicators, can be very challenging (UN Human Settlements Programme 2003). Hence, alternative perceptions on poverty have surfaced through planning, sociological, anthropological and geographical debates with the view that poverty comprises of multiple and overlapping factors influencing it, which are embedded in every local realities (De Haan and Zoomers 2005; Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002; Ellis 2000).

Development is usually discussed in relation to ‘developing countries’, but as a matter of fact, it is a global concept which relates to all parts of the world at every level, from individual to global transformations (Potter et al. 1999). However, when both developed and developing countries are to be compared by international standards of welfare and when each country strives locally to achieve a higher level of development for its people, human development or capabilities approach developed by Amartya Sen (1999) can provide an effective all-inclusive, normative way for local development. The use of capabilities in development is typically comparative to the Human Development Approach of the UNDP (discussed in Section 3.2). As a result, the levels of health service or educational provision that a particular society would deliver as the basic right of all depend on the capacity of its citizens. This view is indicative, but basically tacit (Nussbaum 2003).

3.2.2 Characteristics of urban poverty

It is quite recent that efforts to propose a more quantitative and qualitative definition of urban poverty have been initiated. It is not because of contradictory views of the international development agencies as to what comprises the key determinants of urban poverty, but because of several determining aspects of the concept. Urban poverty is multidimensional in nature. Earlier, when urban poverty was defined with reference to a poverty line, it provided a biased description of the factors influencing poverty and deprivation. Poverty line analysis uncovers the characteristics of poor urban households as those with low educational levels, lack of skills, poor health and insecurity of tenure (Rakodi 2002). It does not reveal the fundamental causes, in particular the process of political and social exclusion, and does not examine the relationships between labour market, health and environmental conditions (Songsore

and McGranahan 1998). The utilisation of poverty lines may also imply that the poor are inertly waiting to become beneficiaries of economic growth or external interventions, when in reality they are active agents, adopting positive strategies to cope with the economic failure and to secure improved well-being (Rakodi 2002).

The physical characteristics of urban areas where poor households congregate are largely influenced by their poverty. Residing in urban poor areas could exclude the residents from accessing opportunities that would influence their chances of being trapped in poverty (Rakodi 2002). The sites referred to as ‘urban poor communities’ are also annotated by different names in different regions of the world, for example *bastees*, *jhuggi-jhopdi*, *tekro*, shanty settlements, slums, ghettos, squalor, squatters, illegal, informal, irregular, public housing, disadvantaged neighbourhoods, notorious neighbourhoods, ill-fated neighbourhoods. The names vary distinctly, the reasons for which could range from the geographical to the physical, but all share a similar root source – the expression of poverty. Some categorise these places as disordered areas while others describe them as ‘blighted areas’ (Das 2000). The names are generally associated with the visual impact of the settlements based on their physical settings. The negative impact of these settlements is often further highlighted by the urban development encircling them. This often leads to their being labelled as ‘eye sores’.

Recent global studies on urban poverty has revealed that regardless of which of the names is used, their residents cope with similar living conditions and are perceived as ‘stigmatised’ (Patterson 2000) by the rest of the urban community on the basis of where they live (Fallavier 2007). Urban poor settlements are often built on marginal lands that is often unsafe land, alongside public roads or waterways, on slopes, that offers barely any attraction to private real-estate developers, or on the periphery of the city, out of reach of basic services like, clean drinking water, sanitation, and power networks (Chatterji 2013). Their shelters are mostly made of low-cost materials, including tarpaulin sheets, dry leaves, scraps of corrugated iron sheets, or mud. The settlements are often overcrowded, and living conditions are unhygienic and unsafe due to absence of waste collection systems, open sewers, lack of adequate water, sanitation facilities, electricity supply, surfaced roads and footpaths, street lighting and rainwater drainage (Chandrasekhar and Ghosh 2013).

Typically, inhabitants of urban poor settlements live there with no clearly established ownership titles or security of tenure which makes them vulnerable to eviction. A number of definitions regard lack of security of tenure as a main characteristic of urban poor communities, and considers lack of any formal document entitling the inhabitant to occupy the land or structure as evidence of illegality. Many definitions stress upon both informality and the non-compliance of settlements with land-use plans (Andavarapu and Edelman 2013).

Urban poor livelihoods depend largely upon the informal economy. Many of them are self-employed in small trading, building, or repair activities; are daily labourers on construction sites, domestic help, markets, or loading docks; taxi drivers; factory workers; or low-level civil servants. Few of their jobs allow a single person to provide for an entire family, and often even children work part time to help parents. With low, irregular incomes, and no space to cultivate their own food, poor urban households are susceptible to shocks - from illness, loss of work, natural disaster, or casualty of a family member - that can trigger extreme poverty (Revi and Rosenzweig 2013). In addition to lack of security of tenure or certified business, urban poor also face difficulties accessing loans to invest in productive capital and are often subjected to exploitation from public authorities who charge them all sorts of unofficial fees to let them live and work in their informal settlements (Fallavier 2007).

From a policy perspective, urban poor are further excluded from larger urban communities and are often not acknowledged with the same civil rights and privileges as formal inhabitants. They often do not have access to basic public services, to health and education, and in some instances they do not even have rights to vote. They are even stigmatized as being the root of crime, violence, vandalism and environmental degradation (Satterthwaite 2001).

Poverty is not an inherent characteristic of urban poor, but a 'cause' and to a greater extent, an 'outcome' of the state of the urban poor (UN Human Settlements Programme 2003). Urban poverty is characterised by cumulative deficits, that is, one facet of poverty is often the cause or contributor of another facet (Baharoglu and Kessides 2002). Urban poor conditions are mostly tangible, wherein statutory manifestations create barriers to human and social development. The experience of

‘living in an urban poor community’, according to its inhabitants, is an amalgamation of multiple characteristics and not just one (The World Bank 2000). Thus the definitions of urban poverty do not do justice in defining the challenges faced by the urban poor every day.

Ever since the early 1990s these definitions and perceptions of urban poverty have been increasingly criticised by scholars such as Robert Chambers (with Conway 1995 and 1991) and Amartya Sen (1988 and 1985). A first critique of these established conventional approaches was the concern of lack of attention to other characteristics of poverty besides shortage of income. Second, conventional analysis of poverty was criticised for their restricted focus on the state of poverty and deprivation. They lacked attention to processes of economic failure or the need of increased welfare or exclusion, and the aspects causing these changes (Krishna 2004; Rakodi 2002). Finally, conventional poverty conceptualisation failed to acknowledge the uneven distribution of poverty over different groups in society (Verrest 2007).

Based on the above discussed characteristics of urban poverty, the categorisation of urban poor is not difficult on paper. It is, however, cumbersome to geographically locate and identify individual households based on the poverty line. Therefore, to avoid the definitional complexities of urban poverty, this study assumes that people living in the urban poor settlements lack basic facilities, necessary nutrition and other supporting infrastructure services and hence they are poor. In this research, therefore, the spatial concentration of poverty is defined based on the ‘built environment’ of urban poor community.

3.3 Urban poor and their built environment: The interrelationship between residential, economic and social factors

Urban areas are the engines of economic growth. They are the locations for complex interrelated activities central to basic human functions of living and working (Kellett and Tipple 2000). The tangible and perceived economic opportunities available in urban areas of fast developing cities attract major population movements from juxtaposed regions – rural, intra-national and within the urban region itself (Laquian 2007; Soja and Kanai 2007), to seek work and in anticipation of improving their lives (Meikle 2002). The most vulnerable or the least skilled engage themselves in a range

of marginal activities in the informal industry in the urban poor settlements. Despite living in the city, a significant number of urban dwellers live in poverty as they earn little for their social well-being, and as a result, become the ‘new poor’ (Hossain 2006).

The expansion of urban poor settlements is an outcome of 20th- and 21st century urban growth and represents the very essence of the developing countries. The urban poor settlements are exemplified by the precarious nature of its built environment and have become one of the most noticeable aspects of urban poverty. The urban poor resort to their own emergency solutions to urban integration problems, and they do so at the micro-level at which these problems are positioned – most commonly a plot of land, the house, and then the region. But the urban poor settlement is much more than just a survival strategy: it can in fact be seen as a ‘hothouse’ of cultural resourcefulness, economic invention and social innovation (Bolay 2006). An investigation of the literature on built environment inhabited by the urban poor reveals the character of space and how it is balanced and transformed from social to economic and vice-versa. A closer look at the livelihoods of the urban poor explains the connections between the community and their built environment.

As Nijman (2010, 7) describes,

“... the core of most urban poor settlements is part-residential with narrower lanes, suitable for walking or for two-wheelers only. Compared to the main roads, the inner locality is often less noisy apart from the sounds of radio, television and machinery used for home-based work. Men and women can be seen engrossed in their routinized home-based works or house chores and an outsider can be easily distinguished. Inside, it is difficult to differentiate exterior and interior, public and private spaces and accessible to inaccessible.”

Manufacturing, packaging, retailing, wholesaling, along with cultural activities, are all performed in one place, unlike in formally planned settlements where the different land use are segregated. Economic activities combined with socio-cultural activities not only define the characteristics of these settlements but are also the key to their survival.

Urban poor settlements such as those found in India are a mosaic of people from different socio-cultural and ethnic mixes, sometimes residing in clusters within the settlements based on their skills and expertise. In some settlements, the social structure¹⁸ is further complicated by the politics and divisions based on caste, gender, income, etc.

For urban poor, eviction from these clusters means embracing tension, insecurity and apprehension (Pendse 1995). Housing is an asset that allows the owners to feel stable and secure (Masika 2002 and 1997) sometimes even if their legality is unclear; it is a source of sense of belonging, ownership, community, relations and status for urban poor (Trivedi and Tiwari 2013; Vora and Palshikar 2003; Pendse 1995).

In addition, housing is also an important productive and economic resource for the urban poor (Kellett and Tipple 2002; Gilbert 1988; Strassman 1987). Household¹⁹ or operating home-based economic earnings are the primary source to access savings for the livelihood (Nahiduzzaman 2012). Apart from this, productive assets include livestock, machinery, tools, and household goods. A house is the socio-cultural and economic structure for the urban poor (Hendriks 2011; Meikle 2002). Other constructive use of the house through renting out rooms or running home-based economic activities are considered as the most important activity after labour, both for productive and reproductive purposes (Verrest 2007; Amis 1999). Lack of access to housing is then regarded as a condition of extreme vulnerability, while suitable and secure housing offers more than just shelter to ensure well-being (Beall and Kanji 1999; Moser 1998; Gilbert 1988).

Perceptions of the importance of urban poor settlements are mixed. On one hand, there is a positive admiration for the probabilities these household livelihoods provide in poverty reduction and economic opportunities to the urban poor that relate to their needs and capabilities (Tipple 2006; Ghafur 2000; Moser 1998). On the other

¹⁸ These issues were not apparent during household surveys and during both formal and informal discussions with the community and stakeholders, nor were brought up. Thus, further in the Chapter or while discussing the case studies or the impact of the projects on the communities, these issues will not be discussed.

¹⁹ The terms 'household' and 'family' are synonymous terms, but in regard to this research the terms refer to different concepts. Herein, 'household' refers to the basic unit of co-residence and 'family' to a set of relationships. It is, however, in the context of household that family strategies are discussed (Roberts 1995).

hand, however, there are views that reject this appreciation and highlight the illegality and hidden nature of these livelihoods within the urban poor settlements. They also emphasise that household livelihoods does not match the standards of employment, health and safety measures, or environmental sustainability, and they contend with regular production businesses in an unfair manner by escaping taxation and licensing (Tipple 2006; Kellett and Tipple 2000; Strassman 1987). Within these debates on urban livelihoods, productive use of houses is encouragingly valued as it provides employment opportunities to the urban poor that help them to fulfil their needs based on their potentials. This difference is very much related to the dual vision of informal sector activities and economy. The informal industry is based on household labour and thus is closely related with household strategies. Conventional ideas emphasise upon its self-exploiting and exclusive character whereas recent assumptions stress upon the capability and entrepreneurial character of these settlements (Sookram and Watson 2007; Portes and Itzigsohn 1997; Portes and Schauffler 1993).

Even the most superficial look at small household economic activities reveals the absolute interchangeability of time, space and money between economic and domestic spheres (Lipton 1980, cited in Kellett and Tipple 2000). Kellett and Tipple (2000, cited in Verrest 2007, 10) describe an instance from their experience in urban poor settlement, wherein, "... an entrepreneur lives with her family behind a shop, prepares supper while she waits for customers and gives her son money from the cashier to pay for his transport to go to school." This is a fair example of converting domestic resources into economic resources and vice versa, while operating activities socially, financially and spatially integrated in private households (Kellett and Tipple 2000; Strassman 1987). The capability of converting labour, space and funds from one use to the other, makes home-based industries an attractive and lucrative approach to resort to. This is crucial for the survival and profitability of the urban poor living in informal settlements (Verrest 2007; Strassman 1987).

In the ongoing urban planning studies on informal industries, researchers like Afrane (2000), Mahmud (2003) and Tipple (2006) have mainly focused on the operational practises of these industries, the connections with the formal sector, and their profitable outcomes. These studies paid attention to the utilisation of space and largely focused on the characteristics of business while overlooking the household

contribution (Sinai 1998). It shows concerns over the consequences of informal industries on urban planning and the other way around, including issues of tenure and local governance (Tipple 2004; Gough et al. 2003). In addition, urban planning studies also discuss the issues of locational strengths and weaknesses, for instance, proximity related aspects and the type of neighbourhood (Verrest 2007).

While urban poor settlements are often enmeshed within the formal city and appear chaotic and marginal in economic terms; they are usually intertwined in politics of urban place identity and are situated where they are because they have easy access to jobs and public transport (Vora and Palshikar 2003). A third of the urban poor workforce is usually engaged in work related to provision of services to the formal city. Therefore, any scheme or development proposal that recommends the urban poor to be relocated and resettled on cheap land on the city periphery is highly likely to be unsuccessful because it will aggravate poverty of those relocated and will reduce the city's workforce (Dovey 2013).

Urban poor settlements represent household strategies of sociability and economic production that are often difficult to maintain if their settlements are transformed to formal housing (Hendriks 2011; Meikle 2002). They have a particular dependence on the street for domestic production that spills into public space (Nijman 2010). Formal housing often standardises private space into tiny apartments that are separated from street networks and common spaces that are less flexible to perform productive and household activities (Dovey 2013).

The informality in the built environment of the urban poor facilitates flows of information, goods, resources and practices at the local level in certain ways that create income opportunities and make life sustainable under conditions of poverty. These locally integrated household practices spatially adapt themselves to prosper under poor built environment conditions of the urban poor. Households approach to livelihood strategies should not therefore simply focus on identifying and quantifying poverty. It needs to be realised that poverty itself is 'undeniably a resource for managing poverty' (Dovey 2013).

A focus on the livelihood approaches of urban households contributing to the urban economy is to draw attention to the vast pool of human resources available globally. This shift in the focus on the available human resources is not to obscure the

vulnerabilities of people living in poverty, or to stress upon the options available to them to earn incomes. A critique of the livelihoods approach is that it focuses too narrowly on what people have rather than what people need. This involves a possibility of overlooking those people that have nothing (Rakodi 2002). Furthermore, there is a need to view the lives of the urban poor as dynamic and adaptable, adjusting to varying conditions and options. Many of these urban poor do not have many options to choose from, other than one or two not so practical options to pick from. It is exactly this lack of alternatives that symbolises their deprivation and reduces their future livelihood possibilities. They often struggle to pursue these ends that influence their urban living. As opportunities available to urban poor are mostly shaped and constrained by urban contextual forces, overlooking these forces will present an unreal picture of the urban poor livelihood strategies (Verrest 2007).

3.4 The urban context and livelihoods of poor people

Livelihood strategies are often criticised for their “constructed myth of survival” (Gonzalez de la Rocha 2007, 46), assigning excessive weight to asset bases and placing full responsibility on the poor at individual household level for their own deficit in assets and marginalisation (Bebbington 2010). It needs to be noted that assets could be either material or non-material resources; the poor may perhaps not have cash or other savings, but their health, their labour, their knowledge and skills, and their social networks are considered to be their assets (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002; Sen 1999).

Contemporary scholars believe that the urban context comprises of several interrelated economic, infrastructural, social and political factors, which are embedded in complex local realities (De Haan and Zoomers 2005; Rakodi and Lloyd 2002; Ellis 2000; World Bank 2000; Bebbington 1999). The livelihoods of the urban poor are largely determined by the context in which they inhabit and the limitations and opportunities their location offers to them. This is because the urban context primarily determines the assets available to urban poor, how they can utilise these assets for their benefits, and thus their capability to obtain secure livelihoods (Verrest 2007).

It is the context that makes an urban livelihood unique. Both urban and rural contexts are dynamic and multifaceted, but the urban context is more convoluted and provides

a range of opportunities as compared to the rural context. In urban areas dealings in cash are more common, as urban poor are dependent on daily wages and often lack access to the public facilities, such as water, power and fuel (Hendriks 2011).

The urban context also determines the vulnerability and deprivation of the urban poor household. The contextual factors not only influences the long-term stresses and short-term shocks affecting the urban poor livelihoods, but they also manipulate how urban poor households can act in response to such impacts (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002). Every factor of urban context, with regard to the urban poor, contributes to the complexity and dynamics of poverty. These contextual factors defining the local reality have implications on how urban poor live and adapt to their urban livelihood strategies. Figure 3.1 depicts the various contexts that impact upon and shape urban livelihood. Characteristics of the economic, infrastructural, social and political context in which urban poor live are discussed below.

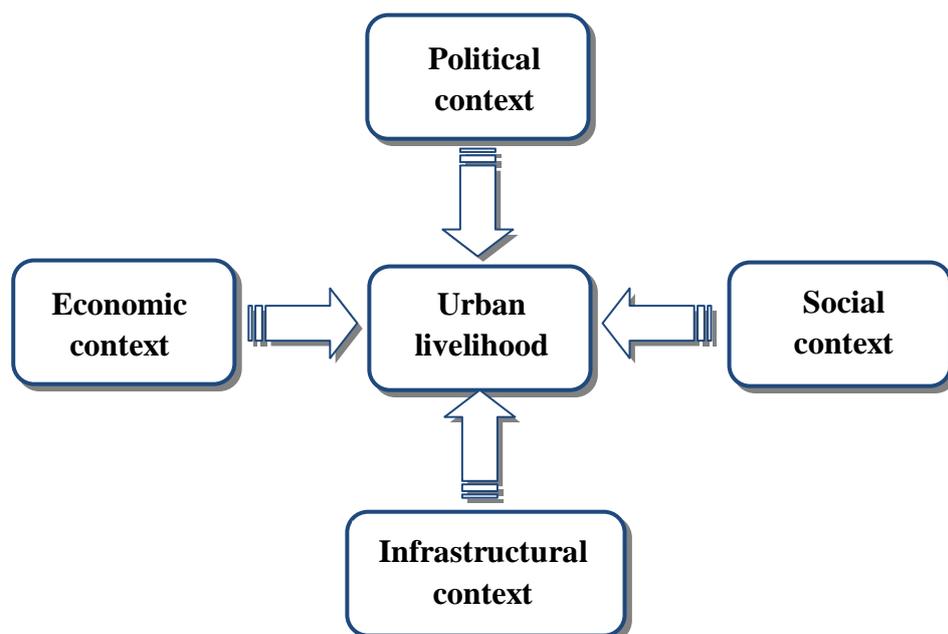


Figure 3.1 Relationship between urban context and urban livelihood

Economic context

Urban poor areas have a buoyant economy as compared to rural areas (Meikle 2002; UNCHS 1996; Harris 1992). They are the locations for activities necessary to basic human functions of inhabiting and livelihood that operate by drawing on the skills and labour of the inhabitants (Mattingly 1995). The actual and perceived economic opportunities available in urban areas attract migrants and unemployed to these

informal sectors in the urban areas in pursuit of employment and a chance to improve their lives. Local businesses, small and medium-sized, are considered to be the key provider of employment (Angelelli et al. 2006; DFID 2005; World Bank 2004). While small and medium sized businesses employ people, household livelihood create opportunities for self-employment and is believed to be an important way out of poverty (World Bank 2000). Thus contemporary policies on development and poverty reduction call for our attention towards the importance of these informal sectors for economic growth (Rahman 2004; Simons 1995), by promoting sustained growth, by channelling support, often through recognised NGOs, skills development, technology acquisition and access to credit at market rates (Forbes and Lindfield 1997; Portes and Itzigsohn 1997). Part of the belief is to stimulate the economic self-reliance and autonomy of the urban poor.

However, the urban economy does not function in isolation. It is influenced by national and international policies (Pryke 1999; Douglass 1998). Such global forces have mixed impacts on poor household livelihoods (Beall and Kanji 1999; Moser 1998; Katepa-Kalala 1997). Such policies perceive informal sectors as vulnerable and less skilled in comparison to the formal businesses. Lack of access to financial services, markets, technical and business skills and their informal character are some of the specific problems faced by the household livelihoods.

Today, many national and international organisations such as the World Bank, United Nations, and DFID, aim at development and poverty reduction by creating access to financial services for the poor, particularly micro-finance²⁰ and microcredit²¹ as one of the means to poverty reduction (Verrest 2007). A loan, as small as \$25 can help the urban poor in developing countries to start a business, buy goods to sell, open a shop, or simply improve their home-based industry. It is believed that micro-finance can offer development prospects to the vulnerable groups to fulfil their aspirations, to invest in assets and gain economic, social and political standing. Hence, micro-finance can be the means to transform urban poor from being

²⁰ In 1974, Mohammad Yunus came up with the concept of micro-finance with 'Grameen Bank', winning him a Nobel Peace Prize in 2006 for dramatic global impact of his idea. The World Bank estimates more than 500 million people have benefitted from micro-finance till date (Neumann 2012). Micro-finance refers to financial services available to people from low-income background in the form of loans, investments, insurance, transfer services, and micro-credit loans.

²¹ Micro-credit is a small amount of money given on loan to a client by a bank or other institution.

vulnerable and dependent to being capable and self-sufficient with increased livelihood opportunities (United Nations 2004; Yunus 1999). UNCDF's 2005 Micro-credit program developed and implemented by Maggie Nielson, from the Global Philanthropy Group, outlined in a Forbes article by Neumann (2012) states that:

“People just want access to the same financial tools we have so that they can help themselves. They don't want someone else to build them a big project or give them a handout. They are perfectly capable of creating their own success even though they weren't born into the same circumstances. That is the kind of assistance anyone can give. You can literally change someone's life.”

Even so, micro-finance has few critical drawbacks. Firstly, the organisations focusing on the provisions of micro-finance, lack other facilities, for instance, insurance. Secondly, the celebrated success of micro-finance is built on loan repayment, which is reflected on the statistical report of the institutional performance, but not through its impact on the patrons (Verrest 2013). In addition to this, micro-finance does not reach the poorest and thus is not the most successful tool in reducing poverty. Rahman (2004) examines the results of the impacts of micro-finance and concludes that some households find themselves in huge debt after using micro-finance. High repayment rates and constant pressure to repay the loan in the given time, has resulted in increased violence, crime, and sense of worthlessness. They fail to understand that household livelihoods of the urban poor are demand and supply driven and they simply need micro-credit to survive.

Infrastructural context

Shelter is a basic right for all, but it is increasingly recognised as a social asset. It is considered to be a means to fully participate in the society. Furthermore, a house is also a commodity that has market value and can accommodate income-generating activities. This takes place directly as in household livelihoods and indirectly when it is used as a security for credit. Correspondingly, housing finance and the subsidies which assists urban poor with micro-credit has recognised housing as an economic asset and stimulates social consent (Beall and Kanji 1999).

Nevertheless, urban poor living conditions are vastly inferior (Meikle 2002; Cairncross et al. 1990). Because of their low-incomes, urban poor households are

forced to live in a location with access to livelihood-generating assets at affordable costs. They live in poor quality, high density, and environmentally poor locations, which leaves them with polluted and unsafe land which is close to industries, toxic waste, solid-waste dumps, contaminated water, railway lines and roadways or on sloping sites which are at risk of landslides and flooding. Thus they suffer from diseases and illnesses, caused due to contaminated water and food, poor drainage and solid-waste collection, proximity to toxic and hazardous wastes and exposure to air and noise pollution.

The poor infrastructural context is not only the result of rapid urbanization, industrialization or limited resources, but critically of a lack of political will and individuals who do not want to invest for the reasons of uncertainty and fear of eviction. In most urban areas, the poor even lack the power to influence their community development scheme. There is no strong enough reason for the appalling infrastructural conditions in which urban poor live; the infrastructural context of urban poor is far from satisfactory when their health is put at risk and they have to allocate time to obtain daily supplies like drinking water (Douglass 1998), which could otherwise be used for productive income-generating work (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002). In spite of this, the urban poor survive in an unsafe environment and learn to adapt to the urban context to channel their social and economic relations.

Social context

The literature review of social context of the urban poor is essential to understand urban poverty and their livelihoods. The social context of the urban poor is often described as a group of family networks. Amongst the urban poor there is no formal community structure or local authorities or methods of internal control. Co-operation and support within the family networks is the basic pattern of social interaction (Lomnitz 1997). Tacoli (1998) claims that the strong linkages based on kinship or other ties exist between urban households which rely on each other for support in response to crisis or shocks. However, a key asset for the urban poor is social capital, which Coleman (1988, cited in Putnam 1995, 167) describes as:

“... features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinating actions. Further, like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making

possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence. For example, a group whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another will be able to accomplish much more than a comparable group lacking trustworthiness and trust.”

It is extensively acknowledged, by the development professionals and by the urban poor themselves that social capital is an important and beneficial resource for their well-being, especially in the times of emergency and socio-economic change (Hossain 2006; Dersham and Gzirishvili 1998; Douglass 1998). There is evidence that due to the existence of informal social networks, the urban poor perceives themselves less vulnerable in terms of their livelihood, financially or housing conditions (Dersham and Gzirishvili 1998; Moser 1998).

Many studies confirm that when rural migrants first move to the city, they are received by their kin, offered food and shelter, are introduced to the urban context, and a joint effort is made through social networks to help them find work to earn living (Putnam 2001; Hossain 2007, 2006; Gugler 1997; Majumder et al. 1996; Siddiqui et al. 1993). Roberts (1995) explains how former migrants share information and strategies with the new arrivals to cope with problems and forthcoming difficulties. This cohesive pattern of common origin, fortified by mutual feelings of responsibility and long-term interest in the future for their home and community, encourages individuals of the same origin to form closely-knitted housing clusters.

Thus, it is tricky to categorise the general characteristics of social capital in urban areas, as the notion is deep rooted in relationships between a specific individual and group, attached to a specific location (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002). However, an ongoing debate on the social context of the urban poor is concerned with, whether the urban poor are apprehensive of family/community breakdown and social disintegration or they rely on strong cohesive networks between groups and individuals.

Even in the recent studies, urban poverty is characterized in these dual terms. On one hand, notions of urban blight, linking poverty to family break-up, drug use, domestic violence and social disintegration defines urban poor social context, which undermines the social capital of the poor (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002; Wratten 1995). On the other hand, there are scholars who describe the existence of strong community and household networks of the urban poor, and ‘social capital’ as an

important asset to them (Beall and Kanji 2002; Douglass 1998; Dersham and Gzirishvili 1998). The reason given for this duality is that, some households are able to enhance their living conditions through kinship and community networks; while some urban poor households only receive internal cohesion, but are excluded from the wider social network, depending on the heterogeneity of the household, their needs, livelihoods and practiced survival strategies (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002).

Political context

It is important to analyse the political contexts in which the urban poor live for their political marginality. The urban poor inhabit substandard housing and working environments and, because of the disjointed and diverse social setting of urban areas, it is unlikely for the urban poor to have any institutional support. Because of the illegality or lack of clarity about the legality of their context, relationships between the urban poor, local governments, NGOs, professionals and other actors in the political context become critical to their well-being (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002). The urban poor are interdependent with the governance structures for the delivery of infrastructure and services, and for the impact of local, state and national level policies on their household livelihoods (Beall and Kanji 1999; Katepa-Kalala 1997). As described in IIED (2000, 3) editorial, municipal authorities have a significant impact on the livelihoods of the poor:

“Urban poverty is much influenced by what city municipal governments do – or do not do; also by what they can or cannot do. This is often forgotten – as discussions of poverty and the best means to reduce poverty tend to concentrate on the role of national government and international agencies. One reason why the role of local government has been given so little attention has been the tendency to view (and measure) poverty only in terms of inadequate income or consumption. As an understanding of poverty widens – for instance to include poor quality and/or insecure housing, inadequate services and lack of civil and political rights – so does the greater current or potential role of local government to contribute to poverty reduction.”

The existing urban poverty research has drawn the attention towards the limitations of local government and their incapability to address the needs of the poor (Meikle 2002). IIED (2000) highlights four concerns in regard to which local government can

address the needs of the urban poor. First, the local government have very limited power, resources and capacity to raise revenues. Second, they need the consent of higher level authorities about local level investments and have no influence over complex political economies in their own area of jurisdiction. The third relates to how municipalities undertake inappropriate anti-poverty approaches without understanding the needs of the poor which in turn can affect the low-income groups living in their jurisdiction. Lastly, there are a wide range of political structures in urban areas, which are accountable and receptive to the needs of urban poor, but the legal status of the urban poor can be ambiguous and hence, the relationship between the poor and urban institutions are problematic (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002). A number of studies confirm that urban inequality and political incorporation of the poor communities in fast growing cities is the outcome of adoption of pro-rich urban policies (Hossain 2005; Beall et al. 2002).

Recently, there has been a change in state-community relationships, with a renewed interest in decentralisation, democracy and citizen participation (Leftwich 2010). This is correlated to both democracy and to the attempts of the state to delegate responsibility to the poor to pay for their own infrastructure and services. This delegation has further augmented the development of NGOs in developing countries to act as substitutes for government incompetency (Leftwich 2007; Banuri 1998). NGOs have a significant role in urban areas in fostering citizen participation and assisting in all-encompassing development strategies (Beall 2001; Mitlin 1999; Douglass 1998). For instance, India has an extensive NGO community attempting to create tangible partnerships between community and local, state and national governments in order to stimulate citizen power to actively participate in political, economic and social policies affecting them (Lewis 2004). Nonetheless, efforts of NGOs are not always positive in reducing urban poverty; some may even have a neutral or even a negative impact on the urban poor (Hossain 2006; Mitlin 1999).

In spite of all the shifts in the government policies and their impacts on the urban poor, the collaborative action and responses of the urban poor by infusing self-help activities to overcome the complex urban situations, need to be explored for the pro-poor development policies in developing countries (Beall 2001). At the household level, the urban poor adapt to the economic adversity by increasing household productive activities, by compromising on the quantity and quality of their family

ration (Beall 2000). Under these circumstances, social capital helps in coping with the survival. Recently, the social capital has taken a formal character and led to the establishment of community-based organisations (CBOs), whose members participate in political decision-making and are autonomous of the state or local government (Beall 2000). De Soto (1989, cited in Hossain 2006), in his study has praised the household livelihoods as ‘heroic’, in securing better living conditions and services, and efficiently boosting the economy of the country, in spite of living in informal settlements.

The transformative potential of the urban poor in developing countries demonstrates their urban livelihood strategies challenging the structural aspects and power relations in the current political context which is supposedly beyond their control. However, for Schneider (1991) hope lies at the level of local political engagement, wherein decentralisation of political power and the re-democratisation of local government ensures a political space for community participation (Hossain 2006).

Thus, from the literature review above on the current urban context influencing the livelihoods of the urban poor, it is apparent that there is a need to improve the condition of poor people; to design policies based on the purpose, rationality and priorities for development; and to plan interventions with an intent to achieve success in poverty reduction. The intent is to situate the urban poor and their households, in which they live at the focal point of the development process, starting with their transformational potential, that is their capabilities and assets, rather than with their problems. However, the situation of urban poor livelihoods is ascertained not just by their own resources but by the economic, infrastructure, social and political context in which they live: global and local economic forces, poor living conditions, social and cultural change, policy and government action (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002). Thus the focus on urban poor and their livelihoods has to be situated within a wider context.

3.5 Positioning ‘urban livelihood approaches’

How professionals and researchers evaluate and comprehend the impact of the urban context depends to a great extent on how they understand poverty and act in response to it. The livelihood approach has a distinguishing standpoint on understanding poverty and on how to intervene to improve the conditions of the poor. The

livelihood concept basically originated to analyse the rural livelihoods and has been recently applied to the urban context (Verrest 2007; Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002; Moser 1998). The intent of the urban livelihood approach is to increase well-being and promote capabilities, as the ability to recover from shocks and stresses and to maintain and enhance assets (Hendricks 2011; Rakodi 2002). Livelihood approaches acknowledges poverty as a state of insecurity rather than merely a lack of wealth (Hendricks 2010; Meikle et al. 2001). Within this conceptualization, poverty refers to the lack of opportunities for attaining basic needs, and is closely bound both to a particular context in which it evolves and to the point of views and capacities of the individuals experiencing it (Parkinson and Ramirez 2006). It is a combination of both material and non-material factors of poverty (Sen 1999; Chambers 1995). This implies that poverty is not just a product of material conditions, but also of a set of intertwined factors, which includes social segregation, vulnerability to shocks and stresses (such as illness, natural disasters or job loss) and powerlessness. The poverty of a household is related to its resource endowments, its organisational capacity to direct and organise its resources, its state of workforce, and the mechanisms available to cope with the external or family emergencies that influence it (Rakodi 2002; Roberts 1995).

Key to the understanding of livelihood approach is to understand that poverty is not a constant, permanent or static condition. The poor constantly moves in and out of relative poverty and distress depending on their response to the opportunities, shocks and stresses related to the social, economic, infrastructural and political context (Moser 1998; Chambers 1995). The poor continues to live in their precarious conditions by taking up diverse livelihood or survival strategies (Rakodi 2002; Wratten 1995). Such livelihood strategies are complex as urban poor makes use of their assets (UNDP 1999; DFID 1998; Moser 1996) which are both tangible and intangible (Sen 2005; Meikle et al. 2001; Moser 1998; Chambers 1995). Thus, Carney (1998, cited in Farrington et al. 2002, 7) has defined livelihood approaches as,

“... the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide Livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and

which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term.”

This definition can be disaggregated into five key elements, each unfolding to a wider literature with techniques of assessing outcomes. The first three elements focus on livelihoods, relating to concerns of employment and skill with broader issues of adequacy, security, well-being and capability. The last two elements brings the sustainability element, examining the flexibility of livelihood approaches and the natural resource base on which they partially rely (Scoones 1998).

The livelihood approach offers both a theoretical and operational framework for poverty reduction. Unlike other conventional approaches that attempt to deal with poverty by conducting needs assessment of the urban poor, the livelihood approach seeks to enhance the lives of the urban poor by fostering on what they have — their assets (UNDP 1999). As explained by the DFID (1999, cited in Scoones 2009, 10):

“Firstly, the approach is ‘people-centred’, in that the making of policy is based on understanding the realities of struggle of poor people themselves, on the principle of their participation in determining priorities for practical intervention, and on their need to influence the institutional structures and processes that govern their lives. Secondly, it is ‘holistic’ in that it is ‘non-sectoral’ and it recognises multiple influences, multiple actors, multiple strategies and multiple outcomes. Thirdly, it is ‘dynamic’ in that it attempts to understand change, complex cause-and-effect relationships and ‘iterative chains of events’. Fourthly, it starts with analysis of strengths rather than of needs, and seeks to build on everyone’s inherent potential. Fifthly, it attempts to ‘bridge the gap’ between macro- and micro-levels. Sixthly, it is committed explicitly to several different dimensions of sustainability: environmental, economic, social and institutional.”

Here, the rationale is that the better this is understood, the more relevant designing policies and programs tackling poverty will be in the areas identified for intervention. Nevertheless, the livelihood framework advocates a methodical analysis of the factors that causes urban poverty (such as adverse trends, lack of basic assets, or poorly functioning policies and institutions), and scrutinises the correlation between them. The livelihood framework can thus be used to:

- re-assess ongoing interventions and programs
- updating research
- identifying, planning and assessing new interventions

The livelihood framework collectively seeks to bridge the gap between macro policies and micro realities (and vice versa). By utilising both participatory and policy tools, the livelihood framework highlights the inter-linkages between livelihood systems at the micro level and the macro policies which impact on these livelihoods (Majale 2002; UNDP 1999). Conversely these, by and large, coincide in a way that they either correlate with the livelihood concepts of increased sustainability or increased vulnerability, as seen in Figure 3.2 below in the livelihood framework.

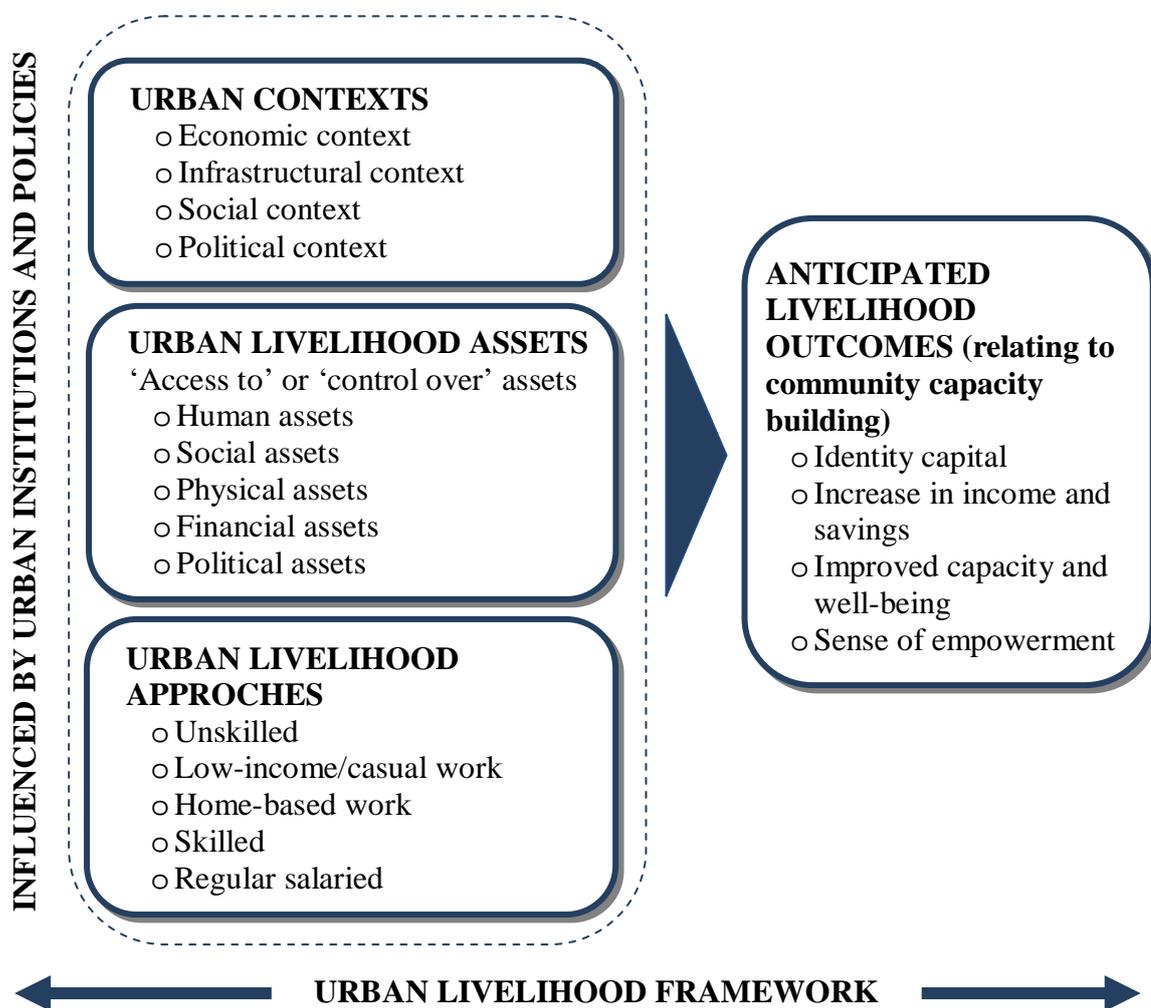


Figure 3.2: Conceptual framework for urban livelihood analysis

Source: Hendricks (2011); Scoones (2009); Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002); Farrington et al. (2002); UNDP (1999); DFID (1999)

3.6 Urban livelihood assets: Combining household resources

Livelihood approaches suggest that assessing household resources in terms of strengths or assets is crucial to finding a solution to poverty, rather than viewing the urban poor as ‘passive’ or ‘deprived’ (Narayan and Pritchett 1999). Fundamental to the approach is the need to acknowledge that urban poor might not have money or other savings, but may have other material or non-material assets, such as their health, labour, knowledge and skills, family and social relations. Livelihood approach seeks to explore the practicality of these household assets in order to recognise the opportunities or limitations they may offer. Advocates of livelihood approaches argue that it is conceptually appropriate, empirically reliable and feasible to analyse strengths as opposed to analysis of needs of the urban poor. Nonetheless, there is also a possibility that this emphasis may constrain policy and actions to households that have assets to build on and neglect the poorest and the needy, who may be in fact those with no assets at all (Hendricks 2011).

In the urban context, assets available at household, community and societal levels are said to comprise a stock of capital: “... stuff that augments incomes but is not totally consumed in use” (Narayan and Pritchett 1999, 871). This capital can be stored, accumulated or traded to generate a flow of income or other benefits. The trade-offs between different types of assets characterises urban areas and rural areas, wherein the pattern and conditions that emphasise on factors affecting the accessibility of these assets for the urban poor, tend to be different from those of the rural poor (Scoones 2009). For instance, direct access to and the use of natural capital is, to an extent, less significant to the urban poor. Even though land and security of tenure are major issues for the urban poor, urban land may not perhaps be conceptualized as ‘natural capital’. Thus, natural capital is not identified as a livelihood asset in this research. With reference to various livelihood models found in the literature, relevant assets have been identified for this research. Table 3.2 presents relevant categories of assets.

Table 3.2: Identified livelihood assets for the research

Chambers (1995)	Moser (1998)	Hendriks (2011); Meikle et al. (2001); DFID (1999)	Scoones (2009)	Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002); UNDP (1999)	Livelihood assets identified for this research
	Labour	Human	Human	Human	Human
Intangible – material, moral or practical support; access to resources	Social	Social	Social	Social	Social
		Natural	Natural	Natural	
	Housing	Physical	Physical	Physical	Physical
Tangible – stores of (food, jewellery) resources	Economic and social infrastructure	Financial	Financial	Financial	Financial
				Political	Political

Sources: Combined from Hendricks (2011); Scoones (2009); Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002); Meikle et al. (2001); UNDP (1999); DFID (1999); Moser (1998); Chambers (1995)

In reality, the urban poor often do not own or are in full control of all the assets they utilise in implementing their livelihood strategies. For instance, ‘social capital’ cannot by definition be possessed by individuals or households, but implies a negotiated relationship. Likewise, services supposedly made available to the urban poor through local or state government programs may or may not be accessible to them due to institutional and policy barriers. This could affect the extent of ownership of the political asset by the urban poor.

For this reason, it is essential to analyse and distinguish between ‘access to’ and ‘control over’ assets. ‘Control over’ resources denotes more than use, it indicates power and influence over decision-making about how and when the resource should be used or distributed. Chambers (1995), however, builds upon the distinction between tangible and intangible assets to distinguish between ‘access to’ and ‘control over’ resources. He discusses tangible assets as physical assets which are owned,

while intangible assets are like social capital or political capital to which urban poor have 'access to' but they do not directly own or have 'control over'.

The various categories of assets vary considerably in terms of their value and significance. Assets should be distinguished based on their availability and necessity. Some assets particularly may be expensive and out of reach for the urban poor but are still highly sought after because they may be crucial for survival. Housing is one such type of physical asset (Farrington et al. 2002; Rakodi 1999; Moser 1998).

The next section, examines the identified household assets of the research, to capture the dynamics of changing access to assets, to explore inclinations of different assets and communities, their sources and different trajectories, and an overall study to understand the pattern and order of assets and livelihood strategies which result in the economic failure of some households, but increased security and improved well-being of others (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002; Carney 1998).

Human assets

Human assets, specifically, manpower, are deemed to be the most important livelihood asset for urban poor (Meikle 2002; Rakodi 1999). It indicates quantitative and qualitative aspects of labour resources (Hendricks 2011), available in households and considered as human capital or capabilities (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002). Both are essential for the fulfilment of productive and reproductive purposes. Human capital signifies knowledge, skills, physical strength and ability to work, together which facilitates urban poor to engage in various livelihood strategies for their well-being. At a household level, quantity and quality of human capital available varies according to the household size, level of skill, health status, leadership, and so on and so forth. Human capital is of an intrinsic value with a generic framework; it is essential in order to put into effect any of the other four livelihood assets (DFID 1999); it acts as a building block; and is a way to achieve livelihood outcomes.

The capability of households to cope with their human assets and benefit from the prospects available for economic activity could be limited: firstly, by low levels of skills and expertise, lack of education, and the health status of household members; and secondly by the obligation and demands of household maintenance (Hendricks 2011; Moser 1998). Thus, urban poor households usually counteract to such

economic and survival stress by resorting to low-return subsistence activities or underemployment (for instance, putting in more hours in low-paid labour work or in unsafe industrial production work). Lack of expertise and education affects the ability of the urban poor to secure their livelihood more directly in urban labour markets through human asset than in rural areas (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002).

Social assets

Social capital, corresponding to civil virtue comprises of a community or group of individuals with similar interest or profession (Putnam 1995). Narayan (1997, 50) explains social capital as "... the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives." It refers to the dynamic and multifaceted social relations and networks in which urban poor households and their communities engage themselves in. In the context of urban areas, social capital is defined as "reciprocity within communities and between households based on trust deriving from social ties" (Moser 1998, 4).

For social relations and networks to be termed as 'capital', social capital must be enduring, helping in development (for example, of trust or knowledge), through which urban poor can grow, even if the social interface is not everlasting (Collier 1998). The extent of social capital and social networks involved varies in space and time. They may repeatedly fluctuate due to shocks (such as famine), economic crisis or insecurity (such as violence and crime) (Booth and Richard. 1998; Moser 1998). It appears that social capital and social networks are not very effective and kind to the poor and are normally less robust in urban areas, because of the mobility and heterogeneity of their populations (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002).

For this reason, mainstream literature further subdivides social capital into three corresponding roles, namely, bonding, bridging and linking capital (Grootaert et al. 2004; Woolcock and Narayan 2000). 'Bonding' signifies strong ties with immediate family members, neighbours and close friends to meet every day needs and safeguard against the vulnerability of poverty. The 'bridging' of ties encourages alliance with people in the community of different ethnicity, geography and profession in order to advance and create communal benefits (Granovetter 2005). 'Linking capital' provides urban poor the chance to exhibit their work and skills to the authority and

professionals for future prospects. In the urban context, social capital is more diverse, less associated to the extended family, more individualistic and less group-oriented as compared to the rural context. Some researchers have revealed that while social capital comprises of the benefitting and accommodating characteristic, it is also ineffective and unproductive for others (Portes 2014). Additionally, barring of outsiders, excessive constraints on individual freedom, and downward-levelling rules are some of the negative aspects of social capital (Hendricks 2011).

Physical assets

Physical assets comprises of tangible, household, productive assets, such as machinery, tools, livestock, household goods, housing and infrastructure, as well as stocks (such as jewellery) (Meikle 2002). For urban poor, renting out rooms or operating home-based economic activities are regarded as one of the most important activity after labour, both for productive and reproductive purposes (Farrington et al. 2002; Amis 1999; Beall and Kanji 1999; Moser 1998). Productive use of households for income-generating activities are generally considered less vulnerable because of better access to subsidy and financial institutions and a stable source of income to invest in education, health and maintenance of housing (Hendricks 2011; Verrest 2007). Several need assessment programs in the urban poor communities have revealed that lack of housing and infrastructure is the main reason of poverty in urban areas (DFID 1999). Though infrastructure is primarily a public rather than a private asset, it is collectively important for both urban poor household maintenance and for their livelihood income. Thus, physical assets are crucial for health and social relations, contributing to human and social capital, and also facilitate urban poor to access and directly support income-generating activities (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002).

Financial assets

Financial assets consist of savings, loans, credits, earnings, pensions and remittances. Urban areas being extremely monetised need regular income and availability of financial services for the subsistence of urban poor households and for their long term investments. Financial asset is a requisite for the urban poor households to protect themselves from shocks, to ease expenditure, and invest in productive assets, like family well-being, skills training, investment in business and housing (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002). But, for urban poor households, household earnings is the primary

determining factor for access to loans and subsidy through formal institutions (banks, credit unions, micro-finance institutions), semi-formal institutions (hire, purchase) and informal institutions (family, friends and money lenders) (Hendricks 2011; Rakodi, 1999). Financial asset is probably the most versatile of the five assets: it can be easily changed into other four types of assets, and desired outcomes can be directly achieved and almost certainly it is also the least available to the poor. Undeniably, it is the lack of financial asset that other four types of assets are so important to the urban poor. Besides, there are also desirable outcomes that might not be attainable through the medium of money (DFID 1999).

Political assets

Political capital, as summarised by Baumann and Sinha (2001, 3) is, "... the ability of urban poor to influence political processes which determine decision-making through which men and women can build up and draw on." Regardless of this, in India, a number of success stories of the CBOs influencing the state actions have been documented, wherein the capacity of the urban poor to make demands on the state is mixed. It is revealed that the informal or illegal status of the urban poor settlements or communities often restricts their rights to influence formal political processes (Farrington et al. 2002). Even though livelihood approaches is a holistic approach, it has failed to address the issues of power (Norton and Foster 2001).

While examining the asset-based frameworks for urban poverty, it was realised that not all urban poor lack social networks and support systems, but they are restricted and hindered from building up the assets for their livelihood security and well-being. It is for the advantage of the local political group or self-absorbed community leaders who keep the networks closed with the intention that they can continue to dominate and control community's resources (Banks 2014). Closely related to social capital is political capital, based on access to the political process and decision-making, best understood as "... a gatekeeper asset, permitting or preventing the accumulation of other assets" (Booth et al. 1998, 79, cited in Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002, 11).

In conclusion, the livelihood framework suggests that there is a connection between all the household resources, by means of which any adversity and insecurity can be tackled. Furthermore, the available household assets have the ability to influence the extent for it to improve well-being of the household, both directly by increasing its

security and indirectly by strengthening urban poor's capability to question the urban institutions and policies which govern access to assets and outline livelihood options (Farrington et al. 2002). However, De Haan and Zoomers (2005) challenge the livelihood theory as too optimistic and impractical for the urban poor. Questions on equal exchange of social capital are raised, as it is not a resource one possess but rather utilizes. Moreover, research on urban poor household and their aspirations unreservedly emphasises on economic and materialistic motives (Hendricks 2011). Thus, to reinforce this broad view of assets, Bebbington (1999, cited in Rakodi and Lloyd 2002) makes two distinctions. The first is concerning assets as providing a means of seeking a livelihood and assets as giving meaning to an urban poor's world, in turn shaping their livelihood decisions. The second is concerning assets as resources that urban poor utilise to build a livelihood and assets as sources of capability to act, connect and enhance their well-being.

3.7 Urban institutions and policies: Transforming structures and processes

Urban institutions and policies refers to different institutions and levels of government institutions, both public (political, legislative, governmental) and private (commercial, civil, NGOs) practices and policies, as well as economic institutions (banks, international aides) that operate in society. These institutions commonly address similar social and political processes which together decide a series of rules and regulations that mobilises the livelihood strategies and influence livelihood choices (Rakodi 2002). Processes are what affects or alters how individuals and urban institutions exchange ideas - formally or informally. These urban institutions demonstrate power and politics, the capacity to influence governance implications (Scoones and Wolmer 2003), access of assets to the poor, and significance of the assets. They also influence urban poor entitlements and constrain their access, whether intentionally or unintentionally (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002). Evidently, an argument could be made that even though the concept of livelihood is quite appropriate to set a context for urban poor livelihood strategies; there is an overlap between urban institutions, policies, and its processes with the urban poor vulnerability context. As Scoones (2009, 10) has stated, "power [is] everywhere" –

from contexts, to production and access to capitals, as interceding urban institutions guide the selection of strategies, decisions and outcomes.

In many ways it is the relationship between urban institutions, policies and its processes that determines the choices and influences the scope of urban poor's 'access to' or 'control over' assets (Farrington et al. 2001). One major critique of the livelihood framework in linking micro-realities with macro policy is that, the main contextual issues affecting urban poor's access to assets and livelihood strategies are fused into the 'box' of urban institutional policies, to the extent that it gets too broad to be handy and practical to analyse (Norton and Foster 2001). Thus, it might be helpful to label, classify and use different institutional policies and processes specific to the case, keeping in mind that the policies and processes are not set in stone.

Urban institutional policies and its processes are mostly decided at different levels of government, which affect the urban poor households in decision-making or in utilising the livelihood assets available to them (Messer and Townsley 2003). The urban poor are bonded into the structures of governance because of their dependency on the delivery of infrastructure and services by urban institutions (Beall and Kanji 1999; Katepa-Kalala 1997). However, few pro-poor urban institutional policies and their impacts on the urban poor livelihoods, in the context of India, are outlined below.

In India, since the seventh Five Year Plan, which was the first to openly address the needs of the urban poor, intended to improve the access of the urban poor to facilities such as education, health care, power supply, sanitation, and clean safe drinking water (Guha Sapir 1996). Since then, several policies and programs have been initiated with the aim of improving the living conditions of the urban poor. These included the Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY 1989), Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP 1992), the Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Program (PMIUPEP 1995), Swarna Jayanti Shahri Rozgar Yojana (1997, to replace overlapping NRY, UBSP and PMIUPEP), Environmental Improvement for Urban Slums, National Slum Development Program, and the most recent, Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM 2005). Such programs had a significant impact on the access to facilities and resources for the urban poor. As per the program estimation, over 7.5 million beneficiaries were reached by the UBSP and

almost a million by the NRY. Still standing at 76.3 million beneficiaries in 1993-94, the coverage of these policies and programs was not enough to reach the majority of the urban poor households (Srinivas 1999).

In addition to this, many a times pro-poor programs also fail to reach the poorest. For instance, in India, the government subsidised fair price shops to stock good quality grains and pulses to avail the poor, but it was still unaffordable for the poor despite subsidies (Mendelsohn and Vicziany 1998, 152). Due to the failure of the pro-poor policies in reaching the urban poor, other urban policies and processes were accused of working against the interests of the poor. For example, even though 63 per cent of employment in Delhi is in the informal sector, these informal sectors are largely unrecognised and discriminated during planning processes (Dhar Chakrabarti 2001).

In addition to the impact of policies on the livelihoods of the poor, a number of researchers have drawn attention towards the weakness of local and state governments of being unable to address the needs of the urban poor and in some instances have actively, excluded and discriminated against the households that are categorised as illegal or informal – often the majority of poor households. In view of the incapability of the state to deliver, there has been a renewed interest in decentralisation and community participation, indicating a major shift in state - community relationships (Banuri 1998). It should be noted that this shift is linked to both democratisation and for the state to delegate their responsibility to the poor, such that they pay for their own housing, infrastructure and other services.

The urban institutions, policies and processes are important to livelihood strategies to function at all levels, from the household to the global arena. Economic and labour market conditions, programs of support for livelihood activities, community development, tenure and shelter policies, healthcare and environmental sanitation programs, spatial planning, access and infrastructure policies, and governance structures are the key policies and processes in an urban context (Farrington et al. 2002). Decentralising the links between livelihood approaches and development of the urban poor, by stressing on the importance of building the accountability of public sector organisations by improving urban poor's access to information, participation in decision making, and listening to the needs of the most vulnerable, is the key to human, social, financial, physical and political assets.

3.8 Urban livelihood outcomes

The application of livelihood approaches to capacity building targets on livelihood outcomes. If capacity is built, outcomes in terms of identity capital, increase in income and savings, improved capacity and well-being, and sense of empowerment are expected to be achieved. Outcomes are not just the results of the current form of employment, but are also impacted by contexts and assets they may have built upon. It is the interaction between the livelihood opportunities and household resources that influences both, the strategies they adopt and their outcomes. These outcomes can be combined and distinguished based on their position on the continuum between security and vulnerability. In other words, livelihood outcome is the consequence of people's success or failure in transforming their assets into income, basic goods or services, by means of their livelihood approaches (Moser 1998). The anticipated livelihood outcomes relating to community capacity building are discussed below.

Identity capital

Identity capital denotes an individual's non-refundable livelihood assets in terms of 'who they are' and 'where they are'. These assets relate to the extent the individual has established and made developmental transitions from being poor, to being self-sufficient through their livelihood strategies (Cote 2002). Building identity is an ongoing process and can be transformed through processes of capacity building and development (Adams and Marshall 1996). Thus, identity capital resource fluctuates in the degree of tangibility and intangibility. Tangible attributes are more likely to be evident in the actions and behaviour of individuals, while intangible attributes comprise of individuality. Tangible attributes include financial assets (including parent's financial capital), educational or vocational skills (human capital), social competencies, fraternity and club memberships (social capital), and social status in terms of house and family enterprise (infrastructural capital). Intangible attributes comprise of psycho-social capacities such as self-control, capacity to self-monitor, self-esteem, a sense of purpose in life and, analytical and ethically thinking abilities. The strength of these attributes is that they give individuals the ability to understand and negotiate social, professional, and personal problems and opportunities (Cote and Schwartz 2002). It is important to highlight here that the attributes linked with

identity capital are context-specific and may or may not be effective in any given context (Cote 2002).

Increase in income and savings

Although measuring poverty strictly in terms of income is much criticised, it is difficult to deny that increased income and savings of an urban poor household boosts the economic stability of their livelihoods. It relates to the measures urban poor continues to seek to increase the net returns of their livelihood strategies they undertake in order to increase the flow of money into the household.

Improved capacity and well-being

Improvement in capacity is a process of learning in action (Oswald and Clarke 2010). It is a process that concerns ‘power-from-within’ and evokes people to take responsibility for the process themselves. For urban poor, improved capacity means taking responsibility of the process, which involves a shift in their identity and power. It is a two-way learning process wherein the capacity development of the state and the community is shared to establish and implement pro-poor growth policies. Even so, in practice, many stakeholders are hesitant or disregard livelihood approaches by enforcing their own analysis while trying to control the urban poor opportunities, strategies and the process of intervention. The reason is to avoid the shift in power and relationships that improved capacity and well-being brings with it (James 2010). It is anticipated that facilitating capacity in a redevelopment project can prove to be more effective when it balances both sides of a policy equation of supporting urban poor’s well-being to demand their rights, and simultaneously assisting state and local government to respond effectively to their demands. Thus, facilitating the development of capacity of the urban poor to have a voice, access to services, political enfranchisement, self-esteem, sense of control and inclusion, empowerment and pro-poor growth, capacity to critically analyse, monitor and assess context-specific issues and processes is believed to be an outright livelihood outcome of the urban poor livelihood approaches (OECD 2012).

Sense of empowerment

“... empowerment is like obscenity, you don’t know how to define it but you know it when you see it.” (Strandberg 2001, 3)

As a livelihood outcome, the task of conceptualising or defining empowerment is important for the purposes of monitoring and assessing when empowerment is used as a means to contribute towards redevelopment. Empowerment has several definitions in relation to power, participation, capability, autonomy, and choice. Empowerment materialises when an individual or community, collaboratively, perceives, defines, practices and takes control and ownership of their livelihoods (Csaszar 2005; Rowlands 1997).

Gaining control and ownership, is one such method which requires a range of opportunities to pick from (Strandberg 2001); this understanding of empowerment coincides with the concept of human development when defined as “a process of enlarging people’s choices” (UNDP 1997, 13-14, cited in Alkire 2010, 2). Another method from a pro-poor growth perspective is the change in power relations between the urban poor and the government - to gain and exert power over the political, economic and social processes that decides and limits their livelihood opportunities. Both concepts here describe methods, where human development entails increasing the choices, another involves the process of acquiring the capability to pick from the enlarged choices (Kabeer 2012). Empowerment is an upright outcome of livelihood approaches that strengthens economic, social and political facets. They allow urban poor to move out of poverty by participating in, contributing to and benefitting from growth processes that acknowledge the worth of their contributions, respect their dignity and makes it possible for them to negotiate a fairer division of the benefits of growth (Strandberg 2001).

Empowerment is essential for urban poor’s growth. Without empowerment chronic poverty persists and people are included into political economy in which they are both excluded from growth and made to contribute to wealth creation without themselves gaining from it. Economic empowerment (better and impartial access to resources) is a primary need for poor growth and when merged with political empowerment (rights, voice, and collective action) and social empowerment (extended human capabilities, inclusion, and non-discrimination) their impacts are superior. The different forms of empowerment interconnect and together strengthen each other. The state and local government also play an important role in creating a facilitating environment for empowerment and in providing support to the urban poor to take actions to empower themselves. Empowerment as a livelihood outcome

depends on the strength of the core foundations within the community, including the nature of the bond between the state and the community, the importance given to transparency and accountability to citizens, the degree to which laws are imposed, and community meetings and rights are valued (OECD 2012). Conclusively, to achieve fair livelihood outcomes, the focus of the redevelopments interventions need to be sharpened on the governance policies and processes, in order to reinforce both the voice of urban poor and the competence of the government bodies to take action.

3.8.1 Application of livelihood framework to assess the case studies

Evidently, an array of issues needs to be considered in planning and design of any new project. The livelihood framework, as an analytical tool, provides a clear picture on vulnerability and deprivation and also policy approaches concerning redevelopment interventions (Rakodi 2002). Although, from the discussions in the chapter above, a number of operational issues related to policy and practice have been spotted, and it has been realised that there is limited or no research on the operations or assessment of urban redevelopment projects developed within a livelihoods framework. However, for the purpose of this research, a methodological framework is developed to present the collected qualitative and quantitative data to analyse the case studies for this research. In view, relevant concepts that have been gleaned from the literature, the following framework has been prepared as a template for the profile of case studies. This template will help the profile of the case studies to come together in one format and assessed accordingly.

The urban livelihoods framework provides a bottom-up understanding of the characteristics of urban poverty and deprivation that does not impose preconceived ideas. The urban livelihood framework provides a means for holistic and integrated analysis of the livelihood approaches adopted by the urban poor through which they achieve (or fail to achieve) sustainable livelihoods. Scrutinising each aspect presented in the framework - from contextual factors to livelihood assets to strategies and outcomes – is in itself a challenging task. The key principle here for any intervention in support of livelihood approaches is to recognise and categorise the major trade-offs (between, for instance, types of assets, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes) for different groups of people and across a range of scales and sites having a variety of livelihood pathways available. The procedure of putting

livelihood framework together is based on existing contextual data; it is developed on the basis of data collected through participatory approaches and is anticipated to provide positive people-centred outcomes for the urban poor households. It starts with auditing urban poor's resources and identifies ways of building on them, aligned to expectations from redevelopment projects.

The urban livelihood framework, as a methodological consideration, discussed in this chapter will be used to investigate the case studies by acting as a simple checklist and to present the assets from the survey by bringing about the interconnections and linkages between the various elements. The template allows to have a comprehensive view of the situation of the community and the impact of the project. Systematic presentation will allow the profile of the case studies to come together in one format and assessed accordingly (see Chapter 6). It should be noted that the livelihood framework will only be used to present the case studies for better recognition of the livelihood activities most crucial to the poor.

Table 3.3 Urban poor livelihood framework to analyse the research case studies

Livelihood framework - Template			
NAME OF THE CASE STUDY			
Community profile	Discussion and analysis	Methodological tools applied to collect data	Means for the triangulation of data
Livelihood context			
Economical			
Infrastructural			
Social			
Political			
Household assets			
Human			
Social			
Physical			
Financial			
Political			
Urban institutions involved			
Institutions involved in the project			
Livelihood approaches			
Distribution of livelihood strategies in			

percentage			
Livelihood outcomes			
Project outcomes			

3.9 Conclusion

Livelihood approaches places the urban poor at the centre stage and investigates the characteristics of their livelihoods which are normally neglected in conventional planning and development of a project. These characteristics include the multidimensional nature vulnerability and the complexities in accessing both the capital assets and services provided by the state and other developmental agencies. Adopting livelihood approaches in the planning of redevelopment programmes is comparatively costlier than conventional approaches. They are also time-consuming and gradually build up with few entry points (Moser and Norton 2001). Alternatively, there is growing evidence of their benefits - they generate better projects as they enhance the 'process' by collaborating with staff from all relevant agencies from different disciplines, and encourages all to focus on the poor and their situations. This results in an improved articulation of knowledge of urban poor's livelihood options, and influences the design of new policies and programmes (Banks 2014).

Nevertheless, the livelihood framework provides a bigger picture of the situation than any other evaluation method (Stoll et al. 2003). The danger of employing a conventional evaluation method is that, especially if they are the only source of data, they may represent only one facet of the larger picture and perhaps reflect the bias of the researcher. On the other hand, a more holistic framework such as the livelihood framework encourages a thorough analysis that would negate preconceived notions and provide a complete and clearer understanding of the situation. Of course, livelihood approaches are not free from its critics. One important criticism has been that it could exaggerate the idea of self-help for the urban poor populations. It can also understate the significance of macro-economic and political issues affecting the context (O'Laughlin 2004; Toner 2002). While livelihood approach may not be the be-all and- end-all for development impact assessments, it is a useful, practical, and powerful analytical tool that needs be brought into practice.

CHAPTER 4

Empowering the community: Capacity building in perspective

4.1 Introduction

Capacity building has become the most frequently used term within national and international development and planning agencies. Capacity building objectives also appear with increasing frequency in development planning reports (DPRs) and policy documents issued by government agencies, especially those dealing with redevelopment and poverty eradication (Merino and Carmenado 2012). By December, 2015, World Bank alone had more than 4000 projects mentioning capacity building in their project documentation. In spite of this, there is little clarity and fewer consensuses about the meaning of capacity building, both analytically and operationally. The term ‘capacity building’ thus presents challenges for constructive dialogue. Besides, inadequate data is available on the practical feasibility and constraints of assessing and tracking progress made toward community capacity building.

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part I presents the literature review, discussing the core characteristics of the community capacity building and simultaneously identifying the gaps between theory and practice. Based on the data collected in Part I, Part II attempts to outline a clear definitional framework of community capacity building and present a systemic structure to understand the concept. The definitional framework could be used to identify the areas influencing both contextual and operational areas of the capacity building process, and the mechanisms through which it operates. The chapter also seeks to identify potential opportunities that could be exploited, while pointing out some limitations of the concept. The chapter concludes by formulating a methodology to assess capacity building process of a community in a program context. The focus of the investigation is set on urban poor built environment redevelopment²² interventions.

²² The term ‘redevelopment’ (the process of modifications of existing built form or demolition of existing structures and construction of new improved structures on the same site) is used more frequently in this thesis, instead of the term ‘development’ (act or process of developing) because, it is believed that any disadvantaged area with regard to the built environment that needs development is

PART I

4.2 Understanding ‘community’

In understanding the concept of community capacity building, we need to address, even though briefly, the term ‘community’ associated with it. The word ‘community’ communicates a sense of connectedness between individuals. It could also be defined as a social informal space shared by heterogeneous individuals collectively for common interests and needs (Laverack 2003; Casswell 2001). In relation to development and planning, ‘community’ again has many connotations such as in referring a geographical community within a well-defined space, a neighbourhood identified as per its vicinity or a territorial community (Craig 2007). Globally, however, most significantly funded and assessed community redevelopment programs reported in the literature tend to deal with geographical communities. The two case studies of community redevelopment projects examined for this research also belong to this category.

The emphasis on community as a redevelopment project is generally as a site of action, a site of interceding structures that mediate between the sphere of everyday life of individuals interlinked with socio-cultural, economic and political aspects (McKnight 1987, cited in Casswell 2001). It is at the community level that government can enact the societal legislations to test both, the prospects and purpose of it (Casswell 2001). Taylor (2011) has remarked that the term ‘community’ was often used to flagship programs. The program would often characterise the geographical area in is characterised in terms of an array of indicators of deficit, such as, inadequate housing, lack of services, overcrowding, and urban deterioration. Despite this the community is often barred from taking any effective control over the program because of the planned structures and top-down systems of decision-making established by the government. The standard planning approach adopted previously by most government agencies was to respond on the basis of their perceived notions of the needs of disadvantaged communities. Such an approach might have been acceptable earlier, but might not be suitable for the new or upcoming challenges.

basically a ‘redevelopment’ project. The disadvantaged areas that exist are already developed in that specific location and needs further up-gradation.

Leading scholars such as Friedmann (2011), Labonte and Laverack (2010), Sen (1999), Sandercock (1998), Nussbaum (1993) and others have emphasised the need for community capacity building for comprehensive community-based and community-led redevelopment process. Even though the fundamentals of capacity building for community redevelopment are universal, the issues being identified and addressed are mainly contextual. All communities are on a continuum of development, each with its inherent challenges (Singh et al. 2014). Thus, one universal key component of community capacity is the contextual knowledge and social relationships available to them (Innes and Booher 2002; Chaskin 2001; Healey 1998). A community, if understood as a geographical area or a site of action, needs to be considered within the context for capacity building, for it is a transformative experience that can occur within that given area only (Smith et al. 2014).

4.3 What is community capacity building?

Capacity building puts forth the notion of potential. If a community has ‘capacity’ it has potential to accomplish something, although what that something is will often remain vague. Apparently, a community functioning below its optimal level would need external assistance to facilitate it to achieve its potential (Atkinson and Willis 2006); hence capacity building enables a community to accomplish more.

From this perspective, capacity building may be distinguished from community development, where a “problem” is identified and a “treatment” is recommended (Ife 2010, 68). Starting a development project, by perceiving the community as “having” a “problem”, is not an ideal way to start working with the community, as it discourages the people in that community, and gives the bureaucrat or policy-makers ‘power-over’ (discussed in Chapter 2) the community. Furthermore, identification of the “problem” by an external actor leaves a negative impact on the community. This is a flawed characteristic of community development, wherein “somebody outside the community decides that something is ‘wrong’ with the community that needs to be ‘fixed’” (Ife 2010, 69).

This is not the case with community capacity building. Community capacity building is based on a community’s potential and strengths, wherein its goal is to build ‘capacity’ to strengthen that community, instead of amending its weaknesses (Noya et al. 2009). A genuine capacity building or assets-based approach will begin not by

enquiring what ‘capacity’ is lacking in a community, but rather what are the strengths, or assets, of a community, and finding methods in which those assets can be utilised and developed further, using the resources of the community (Ife 2010). Plus, in a capacity building approach, the community recognises, validates and uses its own strengths as a basis for development, led by the community itself.

4.3.1 Importance and scope of community capacity building

The notion of ‘capacity building’ is definite, clear and all-invasive in the rhetoric that it demonstrates and, to a certain degree, the actions that represent a broad range of modern-day community redevelopment efforts (Chaskin 2001). Analysis of redevelopment projects (Merino et al. 2012; Di Tommaso 2012; Schwarz et al. 2011;; OECD 2006; Laverack 2005; Fukuda-Parr et al. 2002) consistently demonstrates that capacity building is one of the most important element for developed and developing countries alike. The success of Millennium Development Goal and other identified national and international goals pivots on capacities of individuals, communities, and organisations to transform in order to accomplish their development goals (UNDP 2008). Fukayama (2004) calls capacity building as the overall goal for collaborative redevelopment. The World Bank (2005) tagged it as the ‘missing link’ in development. International Development Agencies (IDAs) estimated that inculcation of capacity building into a program could make up at least a quarter of all the expenses (UNDP 2008). The reports of UN Millennium Project (UN 2000) have arrived to a similar conclusion: while monetary aid and formal development resources are essential for success, they are not entirely sufficient to uphold human development in a sustainable manner. Unless the project is backed with supportive schemes, policies and procedures, well-functioning development organisations and educated and skilled individuals, it will lack the foundation required to plan, implement and analyse their national and local redevelopment strategies. Capacity building helps to reinforce and sustain this foundation. It is the ‘how’ of making redevelopment work better (UNDP 2008).

Since the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, capacity building has become a central objective in a wide range of public policies and programs. Since then, several attempts have been made to outline a definition of capacity building (Chaskin 2001; Honadle 1981). The concepts have been variously defined to focus on certain qualities, ranging from

the survival ability of an individual, community, or an organization to its ability to deliver. For the purposes of this research, we particularly refer to the definitional framework outlined by Robert Chaskin (2001, 292-293), for he has specifically identified four defining elements of capacity building:

“(1) the existence of resources (ranging from the skills of individuals to the strength of organizations to access to financial capital), (2) networks of relationship, (3) leadership, and (4) support for some kind of mechanisms for or processes of participation by community members in collective action and problem solving.”

Chaskin (2001, 295) thus proposes the following definition:

“Community capacity is the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a given community. It may operate through informal social processes and/or organized effort.”

Community capacity building has relevance to all communities, both as a concept and a strategy. It is, however, most commonly linked to and applied to disadvantaged communities (Craig 2007). It can be applied within communities residing in both developing and developed countries; only different disciplinary perspectives need to be applied (Smith et al. 2014). In a developed country’s context, capacity building comprises of “...a raised level of psychological empowerment among members, a political action component in which members have actively participated, and the achievement of some redistribution of resources or decision-making favourable to the community in question” (Rissel 1994, 41). In a developing country’s scenario, however, capacity building may have a dissimilar interpretation; it tends not to be an individual’s or solitary phenomenon but rather initiatives performed in unison, with family or community (Erzinger 1994). It is therefore important to understand that applying the concept of capacity building to a particular community is relevant only in the context of that community, especially when considering redevelopment interventions in the built environment.

The *Institute for the Study of Global Prosperity* (2008) concluded that, community capacity building, irrespective of the context, at some point faces latent barriers that obstruct an individual's participation, due to their economic, social, cultural, or psychological circumstances. These barriers also include political issues, like government-community relationship, inadequate capacity of the government staff to deliver and the undefined role of the civil society. If these barriers are addressed through collaboration with the community, ways of overcoming other barriers can also be found (Singh et al. 2014). Linked with this view of capacity building are a range of factors such as ownership, commitment, innovation, partnership, institutional development, decentralisation, participation, training, accountability, performance improvement and so forth (UNDP 2008). That is, capacity building can be extended to cover everything from micro interventions at the level of community to the macro at the level of state or even national capacity. While micro interventions focus on the means to work with communities, to identify and build on their assets, abilities and interests, and to offer them the resources they require for their growth (Reilly 2011); macro level interventions are executed from the bottom or at least from the intermediate level rather than from the apex of a society (UNDP 2008). From this point of view, macro and micro are interconnected. These recurring issues of macro versus micro, that could relate to top down versus bottom up approaches to planning are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

Furthermore, it is assumed that capacity building is an uncomplicated process that can be examined and assessed with ease, and tweaked to accomplish any project goals. The development agencies have also failed to realise that the relationship between community and government bodies are dynamic qualities and not static properties, and are partly dependent on the competency of the civil society (Hawe et al. 2000; Jackson et al. 1999; Labonte 1996).

The process of community capacity building depends on the relationship between three key actors (see Figure 2.1 and 2.2):

- Government bodies (national, state and local government) – Initiate, allocate resources and funds, and set standards for community redevelopment programs.

- Civil society – Implements the program and is usually employed by the State. It comprises of the NGOs, architects, planners, consultants, contractors, and so on and so forth.
- Community – Community residents are program beneficiaries, who are encouraged to become participants and are responsible to maintain the development.

Viewed from this perspective, the notions of community capacity building and collaborative planning closely resemble one another in the processes and outcomes they promote — decentralisation in planning. Capacity building directs towards the transformation of social, cultural, economic, psychological and political factors which not only promotes democratization, but also strengthens the civil society organizations and builds an efficient, accountable governance system. Thus, the concept of community capacity building is not only applicable for the local community in question, but is also relevant for the involved civil society, policymakers, and the professionals. As Smith et al. (2014) point out, where responsibilities and risks are collectively shared, mutual accountability emerges, and partnerships are created that adds to sustainable development.

4.3.2 Community capacity building in a developing country context

There is a strongly shared emphasis on the importance of community capacity building in developing countries (Mitchell and Macfie 2003). Community capacity building is believed to be one of the most effective approaches towards increasing the well-being of the disadvantaged communities (Marlier et al. 2014; Hawe et al. 1997). According to Howe and Cleary (2001), community capacity building is a response to the increasing recognition of geographically based disadvantaged communities that has surfaced due to the economic restructuring and social change of 1980s. Thus, community capacity building has materialised when conventional methods of poverty and disadvantage have been augmented by a multidimensional approach to understanding its causes and effects (discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter 2).

Community capacity building implies working with communities to identify and build on their assets, abilities and interests. Empowering communities with skills, and education, builds their capacity to create resilient and sustainable community outcomes and respond to their own livelihood challenges and opportunities (Reilly

2011; Robeyns 2006; Nussbaum 2001; Sen 1999). Community capacity building has its influence at five levels:

- Community capacity building has great potential to increase community participation, build partnerships and improve overall quality of the program (Vail 2007).
- It shows considerable potential for including the poorest that are least expected to get involved in the planning and development process (Marlier et al. 2014).
- It influences the practitioners' level of performance by enhancing their knowledge and skills (Verity 2007).
- It motivates the government agencies, to expand their support and perform responsibly (Verity 2007).
- Finally, it has an impact on the partnership level by building and strengthening the collaboration between different actors involved in the redevelopment (Marlier et al. 2014).

It is not difficult to understand why development agencies and practitioners are interested in community capacity building. As Smith, Littlejohns and Thompson (2001, cited in Smyth 2009, 30) put it, “when faced with the daily pressures to provide ... services to people accustomed to having government ‘do for’ them it is not hard to join the growing chorus of those who argue that community capacity building is our future.” In an attempt to clarify the term, Smith, Littlejohns and Thompson (2001, cited in Smyth 2009, 31) say that community capacity building is about “foster[ing] initiation of actions by community members ... a process of working with a community to determine what its needs and strengths are, and to develop ways of using those strengths to meet those needs.”

Here, the agenda of capacity building discourse is to provide a new outlook to some of the long standing problems relating to coordination, integration and partnership (Ansari et al. 2012). Parallel to the attempts of achieving collaborative governance in redevelopment programs (discussed in Chapter 2) is the desire to build community capacity to facilitate collective solutions to local issues influencing the urban poor communities in developing countries.

Howe and Cleary 2001) and Sen (1999 and 1994) acknowledge the importance of capacity building in the urban poor communities as a response to the uneven impact of the structural changes that caused disadvantage and inequality in developing countries; though it is not clear if the idea of capacity building is widely shared or borne out in practice. The next section of the chapter considers this debate to determine whether redevelopment initiatives being undertaken under the cloak of capacity building have the capacity or scale to tackle the change required.

4.4 Existing approaches to community capacity building in a project context

It is debateable that all communities have some capacities - constructive or deconstructive (for instance, capacity for violence, racism, drug abuse, etc.). Almost certainly, deconstructive capacities are not the aim of ‘capacity building’. Even so, a more constructive list of capacities is not easy to outline, and any such listing is likely to be contentious. Then, the most important point in a programme context is, who specifies what capacities need to be built?

Generally, the capacities in a programme context are outlined by the government bodies, private funders, politicians and practitioners (Kenny and Clarke 2010). It is not usually made clear in the discussions while planning for capacity building, but it is inherent in the agenda what capacities are to be built, and so what strengths the community should develop, and what things it should be capable of doing (Ife 2010). This inherent ‘top-down’ agenda in planning for community capacity building is illustrated in the following definition of capacity building by the UN’s Economic and Social Council (2006, 7):

“... the creation of an enabling environment with appropriate policy and legal frameworks, institutional development, including community participation, human resources development and strengthening of managerial systems ... UNDP recognizes that capacity building is a long-term, continuing process, in which all stakeholders participate (ministries, local authorities, non-governmental organizations, professional associations, academics and others).”

The list of external stakeholders in the definition is overwhelming and leaves little or no scope for the community members to own and control the process. The definition also specifically itemises the capacity that is desired from the program: "... policy and legal frameworks, institutional development ... human resources development and strengthening managerial systems" (Ife 2010, 71), all characteristic elements of top-down planning. Community participation is given less significance in the definition, by using the word 'including', making it a subset of 'institutional development'; therefore institutionalising the development process, prioritising the administrative imperatives and leaving no scope for community engagement or control. Communities aspiring to develop capacities, such as, capacity to engage in political action, to establish and manage local economy, to take responsibility of the local situation, or to protect their rights, would find this definition restraining rather than providing opportunities or assistance to build on assets (Ife 2010), contrary to the idea of capacity building.

Many communities have been subjected to the 'top-down' - government driven - capacity building program delivering government agendas. Programmes have also been delivered under different 'labels' other than community capacity building and the terminologies have continued to expand (Craig 2010). Thus, community capacity building have been alternatively presented as: community engagement (Clear Plan UK 2008); community empowerment (Clarke 2005); community participation (Williams 2006); community involvement (Beaumont 2003); community upgrading (JNNURM 2013); neighbourhood renewal (Klein 2004); public participation (Burton 2004); user participation (Simmons and Birchall 2005); community building (Hughes 2004); inclusive citizenship (Lister 2007); developing community strengths (Skinner and Wilson 2002); promoting community voice (Oakman and Smart Consultancy [Scotland] Ltd. 2007); community planning (Isaacs 2006); and, community protest (Mooney and Fyfe 2006). Irrespective of the label applied to the capacity building program, it is important to focus on up to what extent community actually participates or contributes in the program. Perhaps, the term capacity building in a program context has become distorted, predominantly in its use by the government bodies in outlining and executing the program goals, which showcases little or no liability towards community empowerment or even meaningful participation. This issue is particularly significant in relation to the urban poor communities.

Capacity building programs are an effective route for the government bodies and practitioners to know the community up close and personal, work with them, train them and learn from them. It is a channel for the government bodies to grow their capacities simultaneously on a parallel track along with the community. It is for the government to be responsive to the community, and allow them to meaningfully contribute and participate in shaping public policies and social reforms. Fischer (2006) states that for community capacity to be built, both a participatory project at the bottom level and a strong political support at the top is required. Thus, a community's capacity will be built when the government seeks community inputs and provides them with the resources and appropriate knowledge for the community to participate in and shape public policies (Kobler 2009). Such processes depend on the collaboration of a diverse range of stakeholders for the program to be more inclusive and self-organising, and to ensure equality (Healey 2003; Innes and Booher 2002). According to Innes and Booher (2002, 9), capacity can be built at four levels in a community: "within members; within their relationships; within their organizational structure; and within the programs they sponsor." Or, as Chaskin (2001, cited in Kobler 2009, 5) outlines it, "capacity is built through individuals, relationships, organizations, and governance." Thus, for the purpose of this research, four new levels are introduced and their clear roles and responsibilities are discussed below.

4.4.1 Alignment with participatory approaches

Recently, almost all capacity building initiatives are being overlapped with participatory approaches and vice versa within the bottom-up or top-down dichotomy. There have been a range of collaborative and participatory approaches devised to assist the community in the undertakings, for example, Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Bergold and Thomas 2012; Kemmis and McTaggart 2007; Green 1995; Eng and Parker 1994); Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Chambers 2008), Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) (Chambers 2008); Participatory Learning Research (Chambers 2008); Self-help programs (Turner 1972) and so on and so forth. These different alternatives have been in use by the external agents to assess the program outcomes using their predetermined indicators (Laverack 2010; Laverack 1999). Consequently, so far in the redevelopment of the urban poor communities, participatory, collaborative and stakeholder involving approaches have

been used in bottom-up programs considering it to build capacity and empower the communities. Seemingly, the notion of capacity building is inextricably intertwined with empowered citizen participation in the processes of collaborative planning and policy making (Elwood 2002; Healey 1998). This raises the question of how to distinguish between participatory and capacity building approaches in a program context and if aligning these two entities instead of misinterpreting them for each other is an option?

According to James (1995), participatory approaches in a program context is an effective means to improve the quality of the program, but its impact to build capacity of the community depends on the extent to which organisations understand and define capacity building. James (1995) indicates that community participation generates an enormous amount of contextual information that is helpful in the redevelopment process, but it does not always address the underlying structural issues of the community, like conflicts, domestic violence, gender inequalities, and resource control. In other words, participatory approaches does not offer means to the community to transform information into action. This is of importance to build capacity of the community, or else the redevelopment process simply becomes one of needs assessment and participation. Thus, the key to identify between participatory and capacity building approaches in a program context lies in the agenda and purpose of the redevelopment process (Laverack 1999).

In contrast, capacity building approaches have a clear agenda to bring about social, economic, physical, psychological and political changes, and this is personified in their sense of freedom, hard work and community action (Innes and Booher 2010). As a result, community participants gain power and control in their inter-personal relationships and over the decisions which affects their lives. It is the participants themselves, who accomplish these outcomes by gaining power and control through a process of identifying their community problems, devising solutions to these problems, and putting it into practice to solve community problems. It is the transformation of information into action that differentiates community participation from capacity building approach. Additionally, participatory approaches do not necessarily seek emancipation or empowerment (Laverack 2010). Participants may get involved in and contribute toward the programme, but it may only be limited to their household or family members (for instance, Yerwada Slum Upgrading Program

and Innovation Centre for Poor Project, India, discussed in detail in Chapter 6), and not towards the community to gain control through social and political action. Here, the intent should be to give more power and control to the community for the implementation of the redevelopment program and over decisions which influence their lives, which can be achieved by aligning community participation and capacity building approaches in a program context to attain benefits of both the entities.

4.4.2 Role and responsibilities of the civil society

Capacity building and participatory approaches, helps in redefining the role and relationship between the community and the civil society (NGOs, practitioners, professionals). The role of the civil society has been usually perceived as one of 'expert' or 'professional' or as an evaluator, one who judges merit or worth (Patton 1997, 157). But, this role needs to be changed to build capacity of the urban poor community to be one who facilitates, assists, or as Fetterman and Wandersman (2007) describe it, coaches and guides, the community in the undertaking. The process itself becomes an empowering experience for the civil society by building capacity, skills, and competencies with the community. Stevenson et al. (1996) suggest, in order to benefit from the capacity of the civil society in a redevelopment program, their roles and responsibilities should be clearly specified at an initial stage of the program.

The benefits of involving civil society are numerous. Civil societies with capacity are able to respond to change quickly. They are well networked and work collaboratively, both internally and externally. Information within the network flows in various directions, and not just top down (Innes and Booher 2010). Civil societies are closely linked to social capital generated within the community, based on the relationships that community members and organizations, mainly NGOs and CBOs create. Such relationships may include vital linkages that enable collaboration with the government bodies and funding agencies.

4.4.3 The role of social capital

Various studies on urban poor communities suggest that communities with higher levels of social capital may be more empowered, more politically engaged and enjoy improved well-being. It remains to be resolved, however, whether having social capital empowers the community, or empowered people are more likely to generate

social capital. Even so, it is a challenge for social capital to address the issues and enhance the ability of socially excluded groups within the community. Enhancing the capacity of excluded and disadvantaged urban poor communities such that they could handle their own problems could be achieved through community capacity building. Community capacity building needs to be seen as, “local solutions to local problems,” which facilitate socially excluded communities to cope with their problems, without depending on external resources (Atkinson and Willis 2006, 2).

Social capital is an important element for community capacity building which provides that essential bridge between the excluded and the resources available through external agencies (Ansari et al. 2012; Woolcock and Narayan 2000; Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998; Putnam 1995). Social capital is believed to facilitate community self-help, allowing the communities to work together to solve collective problems (Kawachi 2002). It relies on sharing information through constructive discourse (Westwood 2009), and demonstrates the capabilities of the community to develop relationships with different partners based on mutual respect and recognition (Wakefield and Poland 2005). This relationship with regard to community is interdependent and implies an exchange of services or engagement in a joint venture with a clear intent towards a collective goal of social and political change. The purpose of social capital is to allow community to grow beyond their local concerns and to take power and control of broader issues by exchanging ideas and building relations (Laverack 1999). To be precise, social capital is perceived as an important facilitator - and outcome - of community capacity building (Wakefield and Poland 2005).

Furthermore, the World Bank (2006 cited in Ahmad et al. 2013, 440) state,

“...increasing evidence shows that social capital is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital when enhanced in a positive manner, can improve project effectiveness and sustainability by building the community’s capacity to work together to address their common needs, fostering greater inclusion and cohesion, and increasing transparency and accountability.”

In summary, social capital promotes social cooperation and social relationships, and is inclusive of collaboration between community, civil society and the government (Healey et al. 2003; Innes and Booher 2002).

4.4.4 Role and responsibilities of the government

The role of government, as a dispenser of social policies, can in fact create tensions with the community capacity building processes (Craig 2010). These tensions usually originate due to government's contrasting tendencies: the tendency of government to show willingness to involve community members in the redevelopment processes (to limit the democratic deficit), and at the same time, to drive 'top-down' community capacity building initiatives. The government tends to create boundaries for the community capacity to grow, as they often presume that communities have no capacity for self-determination (Cavaye 2002). Additionally, government bodies consider capacity building initiatives as a 'service' to the community members, while aiming at improving the performance of local government and increasing agencies' cohesion (Noya and Clarence 2009). These government initiatives certainly do not give the communities power and greater control over decision-making.

Nonetheless, despite criticising the government's community capacity building initiative, one can focus on what the government can offer, in its strong role in delivering community capacity. According to Innes and Booher (2002), governance system with capacity is characterised by its collective action. To ensure the capacity of governance is meaningful, the actors representing the governance system that have a role in creating policies and affecting decisions, needs to be empowered with appropriate resources, tools, contextual information and means to interact with the community to enable them to participate. The governance system relies on a "distributed intelligence system" through which actors can collaborate with the community (Innes and Booher 2002, 120).

Thus, from the local government's standpoint, to build governance capacity is to a certain extent a process that acknowledges the presence of a diverse range of local knowledge and altering approaches to tap into that knowledge. What makes an urban governance process 'knowledgeable' is the collective capacity to establish arenas and dialogues that facilitates interaction and is sensitive to different ethnicities in ways of thinking and assessing, and ways of communicating. On the whole, this indicates that the governance system need to recognize that they have access to but one of many 'forms of knowing and valuing' (Healey 1998). Thus, the system has the capacity to

constantly evolve, and can respond to changing conditions promptly, if performed responsibly.

4.5 Critical analysis of capacity building in theory and practice

Considerable ideological confusion surrounding the term community capacity building in theory and practice still persists, same as with the terms community and community development. This confusion subsists due to the fact that there is no data available to confirm whether community capacity building actually works (Craig 2010), or the methods to assess the data. Even the community development researchers (Craig 2010 and 2005; Skinner and Wilson 2002) have begun to question its effectiveness. In this section of the chapter, community capacity building has been critically analysed in order to outline a working definition and to identify and interpret the areas influencing the capacity building process in a redevelopment program context, such that the case studies of the research (discussed in chapter 6) can be assessed for its effectiveness.

To begin with the critique, development agencies use the concept of community capacity building insignificantly – as a ‘spray-on additive’ – to a variety of redevelopment programs, many of which have little or no intention of development. Community capacity building is used by various development organisations, to depict what are in fact ‘top-down’ interventions where local communities are required to engage in programmes with predetermined goals which is far from ‘bottom-up’ community redevelopment interventions (World Bank 2001).

On the same lines, Diamond (2004) notes that new governments use capacity building initiatives as a new terminology in the policy programmes in order to dissociate themselves from their predecessors’ programmes. They ignore the fact that community capacity building has deep roots and are steeped in old practices (McGinty 2003), and that “the ideas behind community capacity-building are not new ... from the 1970s there has been a strong community development school in the non-profit sector ... ” (Hounslow 2002, 20). Changing terminologies and changing structures does not alter the power differences inherent in the communities, where community members are stereotyped as ‘dependents’ by the redevelopment managers seeking to meet the performance targets.

Furthermore, Mowbray (2005, 263) examines community capacity building programs and is least critical of the way in which activities within this initiative are developed, but of how government “restrains their scope and rhetorically reconstructs their character and impact.” To be specific, government makes funding available only to those communities who have existing well-established structures, ensuring that any activities that might be regarded as political was ruled out from the framework of the initiative to claim recognition for the action plans of participating communities. In essence, the capability of the community to perform on its own and to take control of the issues identified by them was compromised by the government to advance its own social and political agendas.

This government tendency is familiar to many NGO workers and practitioners’ both in developed and developing countries (Craig 2010). Thus, *Federation for Community Development Learning (FCDL)* (2004, 3) responded to the review of government’s support for community capacity building by saying that:

“... the experience of many communities is that ‘community capacity building’ programmes (with a myriad of titles), have been imposed on them; with perceived needs, desired outcomes and preferred methods part of the package which they have not had the opportunity to identify, develop or agree ... the ‘community’ (often not self-defined) is exhorted to play its part in an environment where inequalities of resources, power, information and status are not even acknowledged, never mind addressed.”

The FCDL (2004) further claimed, in resonance with Mowbray (2005), and Banks and Shenton (2001), that the impact of community capacity building have resulted in an increase in the inequalities between established ‘communities’ and communities striving for resources. For instance, the overwhelming economic restructuring and social change of 1980s has had a very uneven effect of benefitting some communities, while depriving others. Similarly, the promotion of community capacity building have resulted in continuing these economic and social transformation, thus increasing the gap between the rich and poor communities with even more deeply entrenched pockets of disadvantage in the 21st century (Hounslow 2002).

Another critique appropriate here related to the groups representing the powerless, is the cultural difference that "... is viewed as a weakness and not strength, a capacity deficit to be rebuilt or a problem to be 'solved'" (Tedmanson 2003, 15). Tedmanson (2003, 15) inferred this from his study of community capacity building projects working with Aboriginal Koori people in Australia. He noted that:

"This new capacity-building jargon signifies an entrenchment of notions of what constitutes capacity, who defines capacity and what constitutes the relationship between the dominant culture capacity-builders and those identified as capacity deficient ... The term community capacity building will have little ... meaning to ... the Anungu peoples of Central Australia where concepts such as Yerra ... are cited as encompassing reciprocity and community obligation. Supporting, helping, sharing, giving of time and resources, cultural affirmation and taking care of country are responsibilities not viewed as special individualized effort but as cultural competencies ... discussions of community capacity-building in indigenous contexts must avoid the paternalistic construction of a 'deficit' in the Aboriginal domain."

The most fundamental critique of community capacity building is that it is established on the notion of communities being 'deficient' – in skills, knowledge, assets and experience. Beazley et al. (2004, 6) scrutinises this gap and claims that, "... it pays no attention to the capacity of institutions to overcome inherent barriers to engagement" that is to say, that the problem lies not only with communities but also with the development and government agencies, their policies and processes. In the same vein, Craig (2005) contends that community capacity building is a "term invented by social managers. It explains the lack of 'buy-in' to their regeneration schemes by implying a lack of skill on the part of members of deprived communities ... neighbourhoods are deprived and regeneration schemes don't work because of an analogous lack of 'capacity' in the inhabitants. A nice form of blaming the victim." He implies that the term capacity building might seem useful only when it is applied evenly to the lack of capacity of both, the community and development agencies.

In addition, Beazley et al. (2004, 6) questions the theory and practice of capacity building that it "gives no indication of an endpoint or is it an end in itself?" This question has weighed down the theory and practice of capacity building and is

indicated in the lack of means to measure the programmatic outcomes which are so far quantitatively defined rather than on the basis of community process and outcomes. Essentially, even though it is feasible to distinguish the characteristics of improved and resilient communities in skills, knowledge, assets and organisations, the primary intent of community capacity building is to ensure that greater political power is with the community. The endpoint might thus be “less comfortable, more empowered and awkward but self-determined communities” (Beazley et al. 2004, 6) and a process that preserves that situation.

In this section, various critiques about adopting and applying capacity building as a means to long-term sustainability of the project have been described. However, there is a strong case for employing the concept of community capacity building in a redevelopment project context. Firstly, in the words of Beazley et al. (2004, 6), “community capacity building allows local community members to be ‘good citizens’ and for the government bodies in power, it poses no threat.” Secondly, community capacity building can be easily aligned with the tri-partite partnership model proposed in Chapter 2, for sustainable urban poor built environment redevelopment. Additionally, it serves and supports the status quo of all three actors in the model – government bodies, civil society, and the community.

PART II

Drawing from the data discussed in Part I, Part II of this chapter begins by proposing a definitional framework of community capacity building to record the relationships among its components and to understand how it may be built. The intent of this section is to identify and discuss the various challenges that need to be resolved in making capacity building effective and operational in a program context.

Starting from developing a definitional framework, Part II focuses on the areas influencing the capacity building process, and explores the means to integrate community capacity building in a planned intervention, operated by government bodies, civil society, and the community, for each to perform a particular function in the process. Such processes may lead to both increased community capacity and other, more targeted community outcomes. The findings of this section will facilitate the research in analysing and assessing the empirical case studies of this research and for the development agencies to effectively exercise the capacity building initiative in future.

4.6 Developing a definitional framework for community capacity building

Capacity building in theory and practice has many meanings, models, modes and methods (Craig 2010; Labonte et al. 2002; Banks and Shenton 2001; Crisp et al. 2000; O'Shaughnessy 1999; Hawe et al. 1997). Even though it has its roots within community development, development agencies (state and local government, NGOs, practitioners', project managers, funding bodies) have always found it difficult to define it. For example, O'Shaughnessy (1999, cited in Simmons et al. 2011, 196) comments,

“... capacity building is a term which has become pervasive in development terminology. Yet, to define capacity building invites a myriad of statements, definitions, theory and practice ranging from technical skill development to institutional development of civil society. The capacity building debate is dynamic and widespread, yet it lacks clarity, holds many ambiguities and has mixed and ultimately conflicting agendas.”

More often, practitioners' on the field give an impression of understanding and consensus of the concept but hold varying views in their definition (Hawe et al. 1997). Nevertheless, outlining and using a universal definition of community capacity building is not an appropriate option; for it is necessary to develop a working definition relevant to the program context and culturally appropriate to the community (Laverack 1999). Thus considering a plethora of definitions available for 'capacity building' and the confusion surrounds it, this section attempts to formulate a pattern to develop a definitional framework of community capacity building. Herein, the research utilises a tabulation method introduced by Simmons (2009) in her doctoral research.

The definitions of 'community capacity building' were obtained for analysis through 'a methodical search' (Harden 2002) limited to the literature relevant to the redevelopment of urban poor communities in developing countries. The term 'urban poor' was included in the search to capture a wide range of redevelopment projects related to the urban poor. While the keywords used in the search engine were limited, the search was conducted on a large scale to include definitions, characteristics, conceptual framework, processes and outcomes of capacity building. Books, online journal articles, government reports, conference papers, case study reports, so on and so forth assisted in the search. The term 'community development' is often seen as synonymous with capacity building (Simmons et al. 2011). Hence, 'community development' was intentionally excluded from the search.

A total of 70 articles were reviewed. Not all articles offered a definition. Some articles offered description of capacity building (e.g. Eade 2007; Hawe et al. 1997), while others were based on field experiences (Casswell 2001; Laverack 2003 and 1999) or had quoted other author's work (Kobler 2009; Laverack 2003). A total of 24 definitions of capacity building from different articles and reports are presented in alphabetical order in tabular format in Table 4.1. The tabulation method helped in collectively examining the definitions, by breaking them into smaller parts. This process was used to evaluate, whereupon a common pattern was recognised in all definitions. These commonalities are identified in the table below.

Table 4.1: The concepts contained within the definitions of capacity building assembled according to their processes, areas of influence and ultimate rationale

Author(s), date	Definition	Breakdown of definitions		
		Process	Areas of influence	Rationale
Arole et al. (n.d.)	Strengthening the ability of a community through increasing social cohesion and building social capital...members of a community can work together to develop and sustain strong relationships, solve problems and make group decisions, and collaborate effectively to identify goals and get work done.	○ By working together as a community	○ Social cohesion ○ Building social capital	○ To strengthen the ability of the community ○ To develop and sustain strong relationships, solve problems and make group decisions, and collaborate effectively to identify goals and get work done
Aspen Institute (1996)	It is the combined influence of a community's commitment, resources and skills that can be deployed to build on community strengths and address community problems and opportunities.	○ By combining the efforts of the community	○ Community's commitment ○ Resources ○ Skills	○ To build on community's strengths and address community problems and opportunities
Atkinson and Willis (2006)	The networks, organisations, attitudes, leadership and skills that allow communities to develop according to their own priorities and needs.	○ By taking part in the decision-making process	○ Community networks and organisations ○ Attitude ○ Leadership ○ Skills	○ The power to choose based on their priorities and needs.
Backer et al. (2010)	To develop the internal resources (technological equipment, management expertise) a non-profit needs to accomplish its mission.	○ By developing internal resources or by training the community	○ Technological equipment ○ Management expertise	○ To implement and take charge of the project.

Bopp et al. (2000)	A community's ability to carry on the work of community development...the individual and collective capacities that a community needs in order to be able to effectively address the primary determinants of well-being affecting those people in that place.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By working together as a community and utilising individual and collective capacities for the benefit of the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Social cohesion ○ Community networks ○ Community participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To effectively address the primary determinants of well-being of the community
Brown et al.(2001)	The abilities to carry out activities to improve the lives of the poor, to improve the capacity of implementing organisations and to strengthen the position of organisations in their society.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By combining skills and resources to carry out activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Skills ○ Community resources ○ Community participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To improve the lives of the poor ○ To improve the capacity of implementing organisations ○ To strengthen the position of organisations in their society
Bullen (2003)	Improving the abilities of communities to enhance their quality of life and, assisting disadvantaged groups in communities to participate in these processes and obtain their fair share of the benefits.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By strengthening the abilities of the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Skill ○ Community participation ○ Transparency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To enhance the quality of life of the disadvantaged groups in communities
Bush et al. (2002)	A collection of characteristics and resources which, when combined, improve the ability of a community to recognise, evaluate and address key problems...the work that is done to develop the capacity of the network of groups and organisations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By combining community abilities and skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Participatory monitoring ○ Evaluation ○ Community network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To improve the ability of a community ○ To strengthen community networks

Chaskin (2001)	It is the interaction of human capital, organisational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems, and improve or maintain the wellbeing of that community. It may operate through informal social processes and/or organised efforts.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By connecting with individuals, households, or community groups to combine efforts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Knowledge, skills and labour ○ Links with external organisations ○ Community networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To solve collective problems ○ To improve or maintain the wellbeing of the community
Easterling et al. (1998)	The set of strengths that residents individually and collectively bring to the cause of improving local quality of life.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By combining efforts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Community skills ○ Resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To improve the local quality of life
	... Mix of skills, relationships, propensities for actions and openness to learning.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By combining efforts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Skills, ○ Relationships ○ Inclination to learn and contribute 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Promote well-being
	... Promote well-being through initiatives that strengthen the relationships among individuals and organisations within the community; allow more effective problem solving around wellbeing issues; and more generally, allow a community to recognise and make the most of resources that exist within it.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By initiating community activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Social cohesion ○ Problem-solving ○ Critical thinking ○ Resource mobilisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To promote well-being ○ To strengthen relationships within the community
Enemark and Ahene (2002)	The development of human resources (knowledge, skills, individual and group attitudes) for the purpose of developing and managing certain areas in society.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By developing human resources... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Knowledge ○ Skills ○ Individual and group attitudes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ For the purpose of developing and managing certain areas in society
Enemark and Williamson	The process by which individuals, groups, organisations, institutions and societies increase their abilities to: Perform core functions, solve	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By working together to learn and develop 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Participate ○ Network ○ Links with 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ To perform core functions ○ To develop the ability to solve problems

(2004)	problems, define and achieve objectives; Understand and deal with their development needs in a broad context and in a sustainable manner.	oneself	external organisations	
Goodman et al. (1998)	1. Characteristics of communities that affect their ability to identify, mobilise, and address social and public well-being problems.	○ By identifying and using community ability	○ Problem assessment ○ Critical thinking	○ To resolve community well-being problems
	2. The cultivation and use of transferable knowledge, skills, systems and resources that affect community- and individual-led changes consistent with the community well-being goals and objectives.	○ By cultivating and using	○ Knowledge ○ Skills ○ Techniques and resources	○ For community wellbeing goals and objectives
Healy and Hampshire (2001)	The capabilities that exist within communities and within the networks between individuals, communities and institutions of civil society that strengthens individual and community capacity to define their own values and priorities and capacity to act on these.	○ By strengthening the existing capacities	○ Community networks ○ Skills	○ To develop the power to define their own values and priorities and capacity to act
Labonte and Laverack (2001)	A generic increase in community groups' abilities to define, assess, analyse and action on development concerns of importance to their members.	○ By combining community abilities and collectively making decisions	○ Skills ○ Resources ○ Leadership ○ Monitoring and evaluation	○ For issues important to the community
Lavergne (2004)	The process whereby individuals, groups, organisation and societies enhance their capacities in terms of human, organisational, institutional and social capital.	○ By working towards strengthening the existing capacity	○ Knowledge, skills and labour ○ Links with external organisations	○ To develop human, organisational, institutional and social capital

			○ Community networks	
Merino and Carmenado (2012)	It is defined by the existence of resources, networks, leadership and group process skills and capacity building is a cyclical concept related to the development of human, organisational, institutional and social capital.	○ By using and strengthening the exiting capacities	○ Resources ○ Networks ○ Leadership ○ Skills	○ To develop human, organisational, institutional and social capital
Morgan (2006)	It is that emergent combination of attributes that enables a human system to create developmental value.	○ By combining community attributes	○ Community attributes	○ To create developmental value of the human capital
OECD (2005)	The ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully.	○ By combining efforts	○ Program and relationship management	○ To enhance inter-relationships within community and with the actors
UNCED (1992)	Skills, knowledge and technical know-how at the individual and institutional levels are necessary for institution-building, policy analysis and development management, including the assessment of alternative courses of action with a view to enhancing access to and transfer of technology and promoting economic development.	○ By combining community assets and resources	○ Skills, knowledge and technical know-how ○ Problem assessment	○ Institution-building, policy analysis and development management ○ To enhance access to services and for economic development
UNDP (2002)	The ability of individuals and organisations or organisational units to perform functions effectively, efficiently and sustainably.	○ By combining abilities of individuals and organisations	○ Skills ○ Community resources ○ Links with external organisations	○ To perform functions effectively, efficiently and sustainably

Source: Compiled by the author

It was inferred from the breaking-up of the definitions of community capacity building in the table above that together they have a common pattern with three identified features. First, the definitions establish that community capacity building is a process. Second, they reveal that capacity building is not one definite entity but a set of areas that influence capacity building. Lastly, they have an end point, or as Laverack (2003) may call it, the rationale for capacity building. The breaking-up of the definitions here clearly shows that community capacity can be construed as a process on a set of areas for a certain rationale.

From Table 4.1, it can be observed that the process and the areas are fairly similar in most of the definitions, but the rationales differ. The rationale for capacity building is dependent on the context of the communities (geographical, cultural, socio-economic, etc.) in which it is established. To an extent, it also depends on the rationale inherent in the definition of the core actors (government bodies, civil society and the community) implementing the capacity building initiative. Therefore it can be argued that even though there is a diverse range of definitions (Banks and Shenton 2001), they do have a common pattern incorporating three features.

Here, highlighting the common pattern is important. Even though, the actors lack consensus of definition (Crilly 2003), they certainly agree that community capacity building is of contextual nature (Banks and Shenton 2001). In applying this pattern to a redevelopment project, the government, NGOs and the communities can collaborate to identify the set of areas required for building capacity specific to their context and rationale, such that there is transparency and sharing of power. Applying this pattern before initiating the redevelopment program, would make a good start to the capacity building process of a community. For capacity building to be meaningful to the community, the process of defining their own needs can be their first step as ‘transformation in capacity’ (Simmons et al. 2011), which raises the question – community capacity building is a process or an outcome? This complexity raises concerns over assessment of capacity building, and most importantly, how can community capacity building process be part of a program?

4.6.1 Is community capacity building a process or an outcome?

As indicated in the discussions above, it can be inferred that the government bodies have a tendency to see capacity building as a resultant in outcome-focused

development instead of process-oriented development. The imperatives of the government bodies to undervalue the process of capacity building and to value outcome makes the means used to achieve it less important (Laverack 2003; Laverack and Wallerstein 2001). Hence, there is a clear division between means and ends, wherein the end rationalises the means, with the only decisive factor of means being, to be effective.

There is a tendency for ambiguity between means and ends in dealing with capacity building. Capacity is in one sense a means – the capacity to accomplish something – but in the context of ‘capacity building’ it becomes an end in itself (Ife 2010). Thus, it may be meaningless to treat ends and means separately, when ends can become means and means can become ends. As quoted by Ife (1995) in Beilharz (2002, 30),

“The process is part of the outcome; the outcome is the result of the process.”

Subsequently, in a program context, the development agencies need to be cognizant of both means and ends. A singular focus on ends or means, could generate unnecessary confusion. Such rationalisation of means can lead to domestic violence, drug abuse, or unfair social and economic policies. Unpleasant or criminal acts can be performed on the basis of the end rationalising the means, as the choice of means is never value-neutral and cannot be only based on being effective. This may seem an extreme criticism, but it does draw the attention towards the problems it may create in a program context. Damage can be done to a community by eliminating the process and over-concentrating on the outcomes, wherein the outcome of ‘enhanced capacity’ may be achieved through conventional imperative structures and practices, which certainly does not meet the principles of ‘good governance’ (Ife 2010). Thus, as stated above, ‘capacity’ is not a neutral concept, and when defined by the government agencies or program manager, capacity ‘building’ may prove to harm the community, particularly when the end (capacity) is given more preference over the means. To which Friedmann (2011, 150) says,

“Process, by which I specifically mean democratic procedures, is no less important than desirable outcomes.”

Community capacity building is predominantly concerned with outcomes, and with offering communities the means to attain their desired outcomes (Alsop et al. 2006).

This is regardless of the fact that the term ‘capacity’ is oriented towards means, but appears to support the community’s capability to meet indefinite ends (Ife 2010). Thus, community capacity building is conceived as both a process and an outcome; as both a method to function and a value in and of itself (Simmons et al. 2011; Crilly 2003), but it also has varying implications in a program context.

Although the definitional framework discussed above gives a clear pattern to build community capacity, but its implementation is complex and non-linear. Given the complications and intricacies of the concept, it is not surprising that the capacity building process is constrained by the areas influencing it and that it has practical limitations in assessing the outcomes. In a program context, the outcome is limited by its long time-frame and contingent nature (Laverack and Wallerstein 2001, Raeburn 1993). However, by assessing community capacity building as a process, it is possible to monitor changes in the livelihood conditions at the individual household level during the time-frame of the program, and community level changes through their well-being, health, and interpersonal arrangements. It is the process that offers most insight into the ways in which people are enabled through the program to maximize their potential and to progress from individual action to collective social and political change. It is therefore the process of community capacity building that will be assessed for effectiveness.

Community capacity building is ‘not’ a linear process

Several researchers have claimed capacity building process to be linear or in the form of a ‘continuum’ (Laverack 2003; Rissel 1994; Jackson et al. 1989). From the discussion above, however, the relationship between process and outcome - as a means to the end of building community capacity and capacity building as a means to the end of program outcomes – shows capacity building as a non-linear, cyclic, and an ongoing dynamic process.

Capacity building is the interaction between human capital (community members), organisational resources (government bodies and the civil society), and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a given community (Chaskin 2001), as illustrated in Figure 4.1. There is likely to be an ongoing learning and sharing process between each actor as they interact over the life of the project and beyond. Thus, it

represents a non-linear, cyclic, and ongoing process of dynamic experiences, options and knowledge which “may not mean the same thing for every individual, organisation or community everywhere” (Zimmerman 1995, 587). To be precise, the outcome of capacity building process may perhaps mean different things to different people. To explain it further, capacity building process is fluid and the level of social and political impact of an empowered individual or community will fluctuate as per their circumstances and their ability to judge situations. Rappaport (1987, cited in Laverack and Wallerstein 2001) further explains that it is difficult to label outcomes of capacity building with full certainty, for the reasons that it is not consistent with any particular goal and takes on a different form in different communities and contexts.

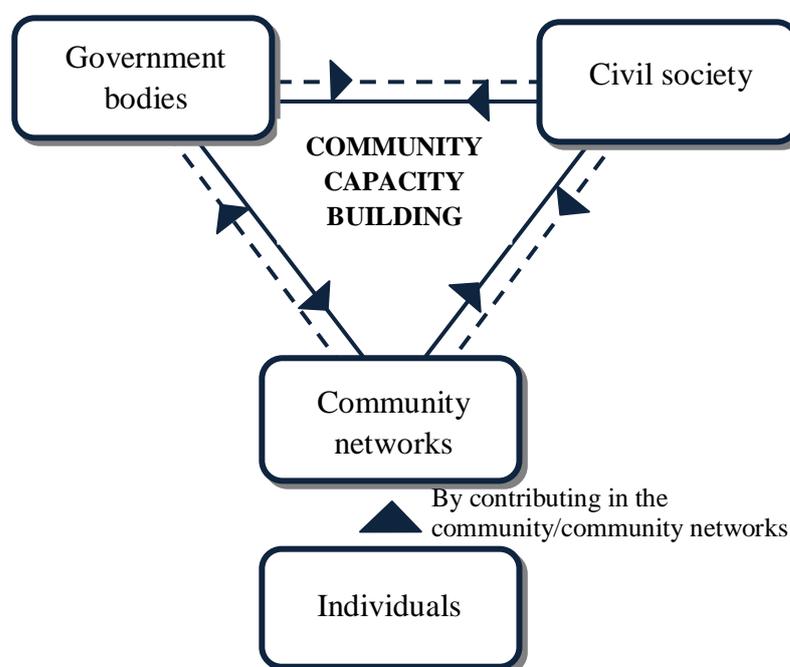


Figure 4.1: Community capacity building: A non-linear process

Thus, the process of capacity building is cyclic and never complete. It is the process that is most consistently viewed in the literature, in the form of “...a social-action process that promotes participation of people, organisations and communities towards the goals of increased individual and community control, political efficacy, improved quality of life and social justice” (Wallerstein 1992, cited in Laverack 2013, 19). It is the process that speaks of both, contextual complexities and the areas

influencing the social change, on one hand, and building a broader community capacity, on the other.

4.6.2 How can community capacity building process be part of a project?

As discussed in the section above, the definition of community capacity building as both a process and an outcome has implications in a program context. It is the analysis of community capacity building as a process that offers most insight into the ways in which the community is enabled through the program to maximise their potential and to progress from individual action to collective social and political change (Laverack 2003; Laverack and Wallerstein 2001). A key feature of capacity building in a program context is that it is demand driven and focuses on the improvement and strengthening of existing capacities of the community participants, emphasising on the importance of collaborative and participatory processes (Craig 2010; AusAID 2006; Pearson and Craig 2001).

One way of making the collaborative process easy in a program context is by promoting the formation of community groups comprising of individuals and households with shared concerns and interests (Brimblecombe et al. 2014; Foster-Fishman et al. 2001; Roussos and Fawcett 2000), also described as collaborative partnerships, community coalitions and community alliances. This collaborative process serves as a platform for community people with various talents, ideas and capacities, to connect, to express their opinions, and share their experiences (Butterfoss 2006; Jackson et al. 2003), to utilise these to identify their needs, make-decisions, and formulate methods and solutions to bring change within community organisations and development agencies (Butterfoss 2006). This process is basically for the community participants with different views to participate with an equal relationship and engage with each other through dialogue and interaction. The process is believed to be an empowering experience for the participants, which acts as a driving force for them to convert the information collected into action through strategic planning (Cooke and Kothari 2001). By providing the community with a medium to enhance their capacities through participatory planning, decision-making, community networking, program management, implementation, and commitment, outcomes will be better realised and sustained. Evidence however on the effectiveness of the program outcomes is limited and mixed, due to the long time-

frame of the program (Collie-Akers et al. 2013; Roussos and Fawcett 2000); but intermediate benefits of capacity building process can be assessed for its significant signs of change in the level of community power and control. Capacity can therefore be built into the design of the program by allowing collaborative and participatory approach (Simmons et al. 2011; Chaskin 2001).

In this respect, to achieve program goals of community redevelopment, the program aims and objectives needs to be aligned with community capacity goals and vice-versa. Having some capacity does not mean that program performance improves, or that better outcomes are achieved. For instance, the engine of a bus may have all the parts required to run smoothly, but the bus would be of no use without fuel and a driver (UNDP 2008). Thus, though some capacities may be in place, but without program resources and incentives, it will be difficult to put capacity building process into action to achieve desired outcomes (Brimblecombe et al. 2014). Even so, it should be kept in mind that capacity building is not a substitute for program goals or objectives, but runs parallel to it (Gibbon et al. 2002). Understanding the areas influencing the community capacity building and means to assess the process could therefore support the program to achieve its desired and sustainable outcomes.

4.7 Identification and interpretation of key areas influencing the process of community capacity building

Capacity building is a burgeoning concept evolving through the pushes and pulls of the areas influencing it. Following the literature review, the research identifies the areas influencing the process of capacity building. These have been categorised as contextual and operational areas, as illustrated in Figure 4.2. The capacity of a community obtains much of its standing by forming an interface with these two areas within which it is embedded. Identifying and listing each area influencing the capacity building process is similar to outlining a ‘do’s and don’ts’ for the governance structures for planning and implementation. Nevertheless, typical of this view in a program context is the constantly asked question – ‘capacity building for what’ – problem-solving or improving performance of the urban poor communities.

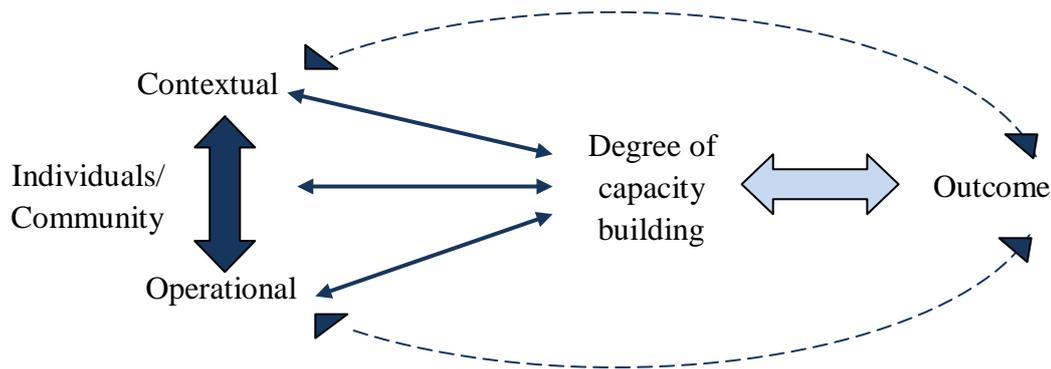


Figure 4.2: Areas influencing the capacity building process and outcome

Source: Modified from UNDP (2008) and Alsop et al. (2006)

Using the approach of identifying and outlining the areas influencing the community capacity building process allows facilitate practitioners and the community to get a better understanding of these different areas before commencing a program. This can also help individuals and community groups to better identify their problems and solutions to their problems through collective action. Providing the practitioners and community members with a set of identified areas was to assist them with predetermined factors to build community capacity. On the contrary, there was also a probability that the predetermined factors might not fit exactly or might exclude the areas relevant to the community. Thus, this approach of identifying and interpreting the areas was designed to be flexible enough to allow the community participants or practitioners' to alter the set of areas as per the need.

Below the interpretation of both the main areas will be discussed. Contextual areas will be briefly discussed before focusing on the set of identified operational areas, the latter being utilised to assess the research case studies.

4.7.1 Contextual areas

Changes in community redevelopment planning policy occur when the development agencies fail to acknowledge the contextual factors (Goodin and Tilly 2006). The contextual areas of influence describe the broader context in which a program develops and may vary from program to program and over time. A review of the literature led to the identification of the following contextual areas:

- The social, economic, cultural, and demographic contexts are of significance at a community level. The nature and degree of social and economic

inequality and the composition and diversity in the demography impacts both, community participation and social capital. This inequality and social heterogeneity affects the cultures and norms of cohesion that develops within a community. These norms strongly affect the nature of collaborative action and also the role of local leaders (Mansuri and Rao 2013).

- Contextual geography of a community is also of importance. Location of the community, topography, harsh weather conditions, can lead to increased vulnerability of the community, resulting in ineffectual development. Both diverse population and geography have effects on the community's capacity for collective action. Urban poor communities' consisting of families from same or different regions also creates behavioural challenges for collaboration.
- Political structures play an important role in the development of a community. It is the concept of power that uses leverage to raise the position of one group over another (Allen 2006). The government policies and urban institutions believe to have the authority to influence the responsiveness of civil society to community mobilization, which affects social inclusion and the incentives for collective action (Mansuri and Rao 2013). Changing the equilibrium between the state and local government can also hamper the development process. As discussed in Chapter 2, breaking this nexus of power between the government bodies, civil society, and the community, can make the state more responsive to the needs of the community and effective participatory development.

4.7.2 Operational areas

Community capacity building is a process that is fundamental to community development and still putting this concept into effect has proven to be difficult. Irrespective of the discipline, extensive body of literature on the theoretical and philosophical issues of capacity building is available (Marlier et al. 2014; Merino and Carmenado 2012; Simmons et al. 2011; Ife 2010; Craig 2010 and 2007; Noya and Clarence 2009; Kenny and Clarke 2010; Robins 2008; Meyer and Stensaker 2006; Simpson et al. 2003; Casswell 2001) wherein very few of them have attempted to identify the areas influencing the community capacity building process (Maclellan-Wright et al. 2007; Laverack 2006 and 2003; Norton et al. 2002; Chaskin 2001;

Easterling et al. 1998; Goodman et al. 1998; Kubisch et al. 1997; Eng and Parker 1994; Rifkin et al. 1988), fewer have discussed the practical assessment of community capacity building (Laverack 2005; Minkler 2000; Goodman et al. 1998; Eng and Parker 1994;; Bjaras et al. 1991; Jackson et al. 1989; Rifkin et al. 1988), and none in recent times. The intent of looking at the literature from different disciplines²³ was to gather information concerning the assessment of the concept, which is insufficient in the planning literature and the discussion mostly stops before assessment.

Assessing community capacity in a program context is difficult. The multi-layered concept of capacity building, its inter-connecting facets, and long time frames increases the complexity to assess its progress. As a result, the research breaks the capacity building process into manageable sections referred as the areas of influence, which makes it easy to assess the intermediate outcomes of a program. It will also make it easy for the practitioners' and the community in a program context to figure out the gaps in the process and to rectify it. This section of the chapter thus starts with identifying and interpreting the areas influencing the process of community capacity building by making this concept more operational in a programme context.

Extensive literature review assisted in identifying a variety of tangible and intangible areas. Tangible areas included technical expertise, knowledge, capabilities, strengths, norms of trust and reciprocity, social networks and a desire to learn and share. Leadership, partnerships, accumulating resources, human capital, social capital, organisational resources, better infrastructure and policies were also identified. The intangible areas included determination, dedication, inclination to participate and contribute, learning attitudes, so on and so forth (Crilly 2003). Thus, it was revealed that, the areas that influence or factors that help build community capacity were as vast as capacity building definitions (Simmons et al. 2011).

²³ 'Community capacity building' as an area of discussion is an inter-disciplinary subject, spread across the literature dealing with community development, rural development, community health and well-being, community psychology, so on and so forth. Inter-disciplinary literature was chosen to increase the area of scope of study and for better understanding of the subject. Even though, the disciplines differ to some extent, they have a common definitional pattern and even the process, areas of influence, and rationale are same, focusing on the well-being of the community.

Even though there is a considerable similarity between these areas of influence, there is a lack of consensus in the literature on the areas or which particular combination of areas is most operational for community capacity building. The operational areas are basically for the communities to take responsibility for their own development, instead of depending on top-down planning approaches for their well-being (Trivedi and Khan 2014). If communities attempt to overcome their deficiencies, the best they can do is by building their existing capacities to help themselves.

For the concept of capacity building to be operational in a program context, it needs to be exercised as a development method for discovering, drawing out and applying skills that may already be there but perhaps hidden or unacknowledged (Taylor 2007). To explain this, Taylor (2011, 187) has quoted Warburton (2009, 27), “what is needed is not a redressing of the inequalities of abilities, but a redressing of the inequalities of resources and opportunities to practice and develop those abilities in ways which others in society take for granted.” Based on this understanding, ten key operational areas have been extracted from the literature (Table 4.2) that influence the community capacity building process especially in a program context. Out of the ten areas, four (participation, leadership, community networks and resource mobilisation) were commonly identifiable areas from the general knowledge of the literature. The other six areas (problem-assessment, critical thinking, links with external organisations, program management, community skills, and participatory monitoring and evaluation) were picked with further literature investigation and in-depth analysis.

Table 4.2: Operational areas influencing the capacity building process of the urban poor

Rifkin et al. (1988)	Eng et al. (1994)	Shrimpton (1995)	Kubisch et al. (1997)	Goodman et al (1998)	Gibbon et al. (2002)	Laverack (1999, 2001, 2003, 2006)	Maclellan-Wright et al. (2007)	Areas of influence identified for this research
	Participation and machinery for facilitating participant interaction and decision making		Citizen participation	Participation	Representation	Participation	Participation	Participation
Leadership		Leadership	Expanding leadership base	Leadership	Leadership	Leadership	Leadership	Leadership
Organisation	Social support	Organisation	Effective community organisations and institutions	Sense of community, an understanding of community history and community values	Organisation	Organisational structures	Community structures	Community networks
Resource mobilisation		Resource mobilisation	Resource mobilisation	Resources	Resource availability	Resource mobilisation	Resource mobilisation	Resource mobilisation

Needs assessment		Needs assessment/ action choice			Needs assessment	Problem assessment		Problem assessment
	Self-awareness and clarity of situational definitions		Shared understanding and vision	Critical reflection		Asking why	Asking why	Critical thinking
	Management of relations with wider society			Social and inter-organisational networks	Linkages	Links with others	Links with others	Links with external organisations
Programme management		Programme management			Management	Programme management		Project management
	Conflict containment	Training	Individual skills	Skills			Skills, knowledge and learning	Community skills
	Commitment	Monitoring, evaluation and information exchange	Consistent goal					Participatory monitoring and evaluation

Source: Compiled by author

The ten areas identified in the table above, were selected on the basis of their generic ability, practicability, influence, applicability, utilisation and effectiveness to build community capacity in a program context. The areas identified by the research were first outlined through in-depth literature review to understand capacity building approaches to be applied in a program context. These areas were then compared and validated by areas identified by renowned scholars (as shown in Table 4.2), whose work has been referred by practitioners' worldwide, explicitly and implicitly, in capacity building approaches. However, it was noticed that meaningful integration of these areas in a program context so far has not been attempted (Mowbray 2005).

The operational areas identified by the research were specifically to assess the community capacity building process in a program context, which as per the non-linear cyclic approach of capacity building, were indirectly also dependent on the governmental structures. These areas also provided a linkage between other elements of the cycle such as, individual control, social capital, and civil society, and the contextual areas such as socio-cultural, political, and economic conditions of the program. Social elements like social capital, sense of community, community connectedness, etc., were not included in the list as other identified areas already act as a substitute to them. For instance, having a functional leadership, supported by the community networks with the participation of the community members who efficiently mobilise the resources and their skills, and have the ability to implement, monitor and self-evaluate the process, indicates a strong cohesive community (Laverack and Labonte 2000). Thus, the identified set of key operational areas were kept generic, such that they represented only those aspects of the community capacity building process that allowed the community to share-power with the government agencies in the redevelopment process.

Moreover, these identified set of operational areas were designed flexible enough for the communities and the practitioners' to alter or modify these set of areas as per the relevance to the context. While identifying these key set of areas, it was acknowledged that the areas appropriate in one intervention might not be appropriate in the other intervention. Nevertheless, "there is no definitive set of characteristics that describe a capable community; but neither do such capabilities vary infinitely by each community or situation" (Labonte and Laverack 2001, 117). With this

realisation, the research has attempted to balance the diversity by outlining a simple set of areas.

Therefore, even though the areas may vary with intervention, this key set of areas identified by the research allows for discussion of capacity building within a project context and in different locations. The research also acknowledged that an individual or a group can experience change in relationships and position, and different level of influence of capacity building in different context as the project unfolds. This might affect the significance of the areas, depending on the level at which the individual or group is operating. This acknowledgement is crucial in a project context to assess both, capacity building and for figuring out what the project should focus upon (Alsop et al. 2006).

There have been attempts made earlier in developing these sets, which have been criticized for being too generic (Mohamad et al. 2012; Verity 2007; Liou 2004; Gibbon et al. 2002; Bopp et al. 2000). Outlining these set of areas influencing community capacity building process in a project context was not an easy task. But then again, inadequate capacity building understanding within the development agencies and lack of a tool to assess the process in today's world, compensates the criticisms of the generic set of operational areas. The intention of keeping the key areas simple and generic was for the community and practitioners' to understand the concept and its application easily. Also, the purpose of selecting ten different areas in the set was to attain intermediate benefits and to cover the entire process of redevelopment from start to finish. These areas will be used in Chapter 6 to assess two case studies of different scales, which can give the practitioners' a clear idea of the application and usage of the set. Further on, the next section will discuss each area with an example, to explain its significance and extent in development practice, such that its usage is not only limited to theoretical discussions for conceptual underpinnings.

Participation

In the broadest sense, community participation is a key channel to community capacity building that can be effectively facilitated on the ground. Participation may entail individual, household, or collective action. But, for community development, participation should always be perceived as a collaborative venture and should also

include individualised iterations as required for certain tasks. Community can participate directly or indirectly, ranging from simple day-to-day tasks to broad social and political processes (Michels and De Graaf 2010; Buckley 2000). The act of participation is important and is encouraged, so that the community people transform themselves from being passive objects to subjects active in managing the development within their communities. Oakley and Marsden (1987, cited in Mathbor 2008, 9) give an inclusive and useful definition of participation in the context of capacity building, "... the process by which individuals, families, or communities assume responsibility for their own welfare and develop a capacity to contribute to their own and the community's development."

In a program context, community participation refers to an active process whereby the community is engaged from the initial stage of problem identification to the execution of the project, instead of simply being a recipient of project benefits (Bhattacharyya 2004). Even as individuals are able to influence and control the implementation of a project through their contribution and active participation, this alone does not build a community's capacity (Lane 2005). According to Buckley (2000), the degree of participation depends on the ideas and the goals of the development agencies.

Mansuri and Rao (2011) agree with this analysis and indicate that for participation to build community capacity it must not only involve the knowledge and skills of the community but must also lead to social, economic, and political development, such that the community and government agencies share equal power. Thus, the community will be able to share operational responsibility and management tasks of the project equally (Baum 2008). For instance, the community might undertake stronger forms of participation, by implying control over decisions, priorities, plans, and implementation; or assisting in formation of groups to achieve collective goals, design their own methods of change, and combine their resources to resolve community problems (Allmendinger and Haughton 2011; Michels and De Graaf 2010; Mathbor 2008; Arnstein 1969). Any redevelopment project is then a means of building community capacity such that they are able to initiate actions on their own and thus influence the processes and outcomes of redevelopment even in future. Participation then implies that the needs of the community are acknowledged and met (Gomez and Nakat 2002). This interprets increased community satisfaction

through project processes and outcomes, and greater chances of success. Developing community capacity through participation could also contribute to the sustainability of the project beyond the disbursement period due to the enhanced level of community interest and competence in project management (Mansuri and Rao 2011; Gomez and Nakat 2002; Gross et al. 2001), as shown in the Box 4.1 below.

Box 4.1: The Yacupaj project: Community participation promotes community capacity

The Yacupaj project in Bolivia (1991-94) integrated community in the project, which was one of the reasons analysts have found for its success and sustainability. The project commenced by responding to the demands of the community. The development agencies initiated by strengthening the community through co-ordinated training, by creating awareness and promoting health and hygiene, and demonstrating the role and responsibilities of the community in the project. The community eagerly participated in the project by identifying their needs, defining their level of participation, sharing the resources and costs, and managing the project. Local masons were trained in toilet construction and maintenance and were employed by local households for the construction of their private toilets. Health and hygiene awareness and promotion was identified as a key factor in ensuring effective and sustained use of the services. The Yacupaj project was a subsidised project, wherein over 50 per cent of funding was provided by the community. A study conducted in 1995 showed 82 per cent of toilets were still in use. Trained local masons continue to use their expertise in constructing toilets with direct responsibility to the patron with no external support. The process has empowered and dramatically improved the outlook and sense of ownership of the community.

Source: Pareja (2007); Soto (1998)

Leadership

“No amount of dreaming can result in an alternative future as long as the major actors and factors that can make or break a city remain unchanged” (Constantino-David 2002, 131).

Local leaders and strong leadership are an indispensable set for fostering strong communities (Onyx and Leonard 2010). Participation and leadership are inter-linked. While leadership requires a strong participant base, participation requires strong leadership to assist community participants in setting up directions and priorities, to organize community groups that function well, to maintain community interest and purpose and to put action on-the-ground. Lacking in these qualities, unable to take charge for getting things done, to deal with conflict, and in providing a direction to the community, may perhaps result in disorganisation. From a critical point of view,

local leaders may also demonstrate hierarchy and control (Avery 2004), and have the capacity to exclude marginalised groups and represent only the elite (Kirk and Shutte 2004). Leadership should not be perceived as an individual operating in isolation and influencing the followers, or who plans intervention and controls individual behaviour (Plowman et al. 2007). In a program context, leadership should be seen as an emergent phenomenon that arises from interactions and events (Onyx and Leonard 2010; Lichtenstein et al. 2006).

Different researchers have categorised leadership into various types, such as: Considine (2004) introduced ‘distributed’ leadership, leadership that makes use of different kinds of expertise available in the community. Falk and Mulford (2001) discovered leadership ranging from ‘autocratic’ (domineering) to ‘enabling’ (encouraging and supportive of the community). Guzzo et al. (1993) identified another important type of leadership known as ‘transformational leaders’, who have the ability to increase the potency of participants and develop confidence in them for them to succeed. IRED (1997,14) has summarised in their book *People’s Empowerment: Grassroots Experiences in Africa, Asia and Latin America* that “...the most successful leaders have been those who have facilitated the sharing of power and institutionalising internal democracy within NGOs and people’s movements.” One such example has been discussed in Box 4.2 below.

Generally in an urban poor community, local leaders are democratically elected to represent the different groups in the community. Because local leaders are experienced, knowledgeable, good orators, sometimes educated and sometimes belong to a wealthy family, their role as a mediator between development agencies and the community are easy to establish. Other roles and responsibilities of a local leader includes: decision-making on different issues concerning the community; problem solving; conflict resolution; advocacy; acting as a liaison between government bodies, NGOs and the community for financial and technical assistance; monitoring and evaluation of projects for proper implementation; to support community development projects in the area. It is suggested that government bodies and practitioners’ should establish good partnership and work hand-in-hand with the local leaders to benefit from them in stimulating community participation, because they have high influence on the people (Ozor and Nwankwo 2008). This can result in better project outcomes, with greater chances of success.

Box 4.2: Curitiba: Towards sustainable urban development through good leadership

In a city that is constantly growing and changing, the IPPUC has a presence of permanency throughout Curitiba's transformation (Pierce 2000). The leadership and good management of the IPPUC have triggered a flow of interconnected, interactive, and evolving solutions – mostly formulated and implemented through the collaboration of private organisations, NGOs, local municipal government, community groups, and individuals. The initiative for change was undertaken by the local government, Curitiba Research and Urban Planning Institute (IPPUC), launched by the municipal authority with a need to direct and control the growth of the city. Investigations were commenced by IPPUC through development schemes for the integrated planning of the Curitiba municipal region; this helped generate an influential environment for the people to participate in the implementation process and provided a foothold for the continuity of the project at a regional, state and national level (Moore 2007). Jamie Lerner, the president of IPPUC, city planner and mayor of Curitiba for 25 years, played a key role in the success of Curitiba; he considerably increased the powers and responsibilities of IPPUC, thus putting into action the elements identified by the community as important for the development of Curitiba (Mang 2009).

Together with 'responsible IPPUC governance and vital entrepreneurship' (Moore 2007), Curitiba has been the on-going centre for creating contemporary and innovative design ideas. The initiative of IPPUC of encouraging entrepreneurship has led to "measurably improved levels of democratic participation" and has provided an innovative mark in urban renewal approaches (Hawken et al. 1999, 382). Curitiba's planning strategy has always focused on positioning people first (Lerner 2003); the effects and changes are evident in all characteristics of the city.

Source: Mang (2009); Moore (2007)

Community networks

Community network theory and analysis with its links in social capital has been considered by several community development authors who have expressed network approaches for community capacity building (such as, Ennis and West 2013; Gilchrist et al. 2010; Gilchrist 2009). These authors have articulated that developing and maintaining positive relationships between different groups of people and organizations in a community can facilitate easy exchange of ideas and open up access to resources and information (Ennis and West 2013).

Networking is a behavioural characteristic of humans and is a fundamental element for community capacity building because it creates robust, yet flexible forms of collaborative action (Gilchrist 2000). Community groups and voluntary organisations (Chanan and Miller 2013), social movements (Tarrow 2004), and effective local participation in multi-agency collaborations (Taylor 1995) are some of its examples. These community organisations are important for the subsistence of disadvantaged

communities, particularly when access to resources and services is uncertain and limited. The organisations helps communities to come together to socialise and tackle their concerns and problems, distribute risks across the group and reduce scarcity and uncertainty over a period of time (Monbiot 1994). According to Munshi (2014) community networks provide the most useful way to cope with the high levels of ambiguity.

Community network is a social structure comprising of two basic elements: actors and ties (Ennis and West 2010). A community network in a project is not as much interested in the actors and their attributes, as on the relationships between the actors (Ennis and West 2012). Drawing on the work of sociologists such as Bourdieu (1986 and 1977) and Giddens (1984), community networks in a project can assist the practitioners in understanding not only the internal capacities and resources of the community, but also how community level networks can combine to create and/or challenge external broader level government structures that impact their capacity building process. One such example is discussed in Box 4.3 below.

Box 4.3: Orangi Pilot Project: Case of effective community networking

Orangi is Karachi's largest slum settlement. Before the project, the streets were filled with filth, excreta and waste water, creating health hazards for the inhabitants and outsiders. Typhoid, malaria, diarrhea, dysentery, and scabies were out of control in the area. Pearce (1996) recounts that the residents of Orangi were aware of these issues, but they did not take an initiative to resolve them because: they believed that it was the responsibility of the government to provide them with proper infrastructure and services; they did not have the technical expertise to construct the sewage system; they lacked community networks to undertake collective action; and, they could not afford the costs of the construction of sewage system. Petitions for government-funded schemes were ineffective.

Thus the Orangi Pilot Project of Karachi in Pakistan was initiated in 1980. The project was established by Akhter Hamid Khan, to provide the slum settlement with sanitation, which the local government failed to provide. In order to provide low-cost waste disposal service, participatory sanitation was introduced to the people. The project organized local people into street committees, with each committee comprising of twenty to forty households living in the same lane. Subsidy was provided to each committee to buy raw material for their sewage facility. Residents of each lane democratically elected a project manager and contributed cash and voluntary labour to get their own sewage installed. Uphoff (1998) informs that almost 100,000 households now have sewage facilities for between thirty and forty dollars each, including labour and management charges. Moreover, local management capabilities developed through lane committees have provided the foundation for housing, health, family planning, community-financed education, women's work centres, micro- enterprises, and other community well-being related activities (Uphoff 1998), thus challenging the local government structures.

Source: Mathbor (2008)

Resource mobilisation

Resource mobilisation refers to all community activities involved in acquiring new and additional resources for the community. It also involves making better use of, and capitalising on the existing community resources (Seltzer 2014). Resource mobilisation is a dynamic process for the community members, which reinforces their solidarity and improves the community's collective negotiating power in comparison to the mainstream society (Jana 2012). Thus, the ability of the community to mobilise resources both from within and from beyond itself is an indication of a high degree of community organisation and skill (Jana 2012; Goodman et al. 1998).

Resources can be categorised into internal and external. Internal resources are raised by the community and include skills, local knowledge, social networks, agricultural land, home, etc. External resources are brought into the community by the outside agent and include funds, technical expertise and equipment. Fukuyama (1995, in Pretty and Ward 2001) has discussed resources in terms of 'traditional capital' such as property and funds, and 'social capital' in terms of trust, commitment, and ability to co-operate with other community members. Usually, communities possess both traditional and social capital which is often disregarded by the outside agents or development agencies who try to instil in the community perceived necessary resources for the project.

A review of case studies by Rifkin (1990) discovered that at the beginning of a program it was often required for the outside agents to offer support to the community to mobilise resources, while the community was only expected to provide limited voluntary labour and funds for the material and minor-services. This underpins community's sense of dependence on the outside agent (Jana 2012). It is therefore, suggested that resources raised by the community and control over decisions relating to their allocation and utilisation must be collectively carried out by the community to avoid paternalistic relationship that can occur between the primary and secondary stakeholders (Campbell 2014), and to promote local ownership of the services and resources ensuring the sustainability of the project initiatives.

Box 4.4: Addressing poverty through mobilisation of community resources in Kenya

In the dry areas of central Kenya, the sparse availability of water is a major concern for the communities, affecting their health, sanitation, agriculture and food security. The Central Kenya Dry Area Smallholder and Community Services Development Project (CKDAP) introduced an inclusive and participatory approach of providing assistance to establish new health care facilities, irrigation and domestic water supply schemes, and to promote farming technologies. An innovative structure made up of representatives from the communities, the Focal Development Area Committee (FDAC), was set up to manage the operations of community action plans. Community resource mobilisation has been the most significant element in promoting local ownership of the services ensuring the sustainability of the project's initiatives. Through community participation in over 1,096 thematic groups, beneficiaries received training and guidance focusing on sustainable farming techniques, construction and maintenance of water facilities, basic health care and the management of small projects, that improved their knowledge and skills and built their capacity to positively transform their livelihoods and living conditions. Thus, the process facilitated in building the capacities of the local communities such that they can take control of their own development. The success of the project is the resultant of community involvement and mobilisation of local financial, natural and human resources.

Source: Gbossa (2011)

Problem assessment

Problem assessment is one of the most empowering processes for the community, when the identification of problems, solutions to the problems and actions to resolve the problems are carried out by the community. It involves identifying the reasons behind the problem, identifying possible solutions for it and a plan for action (example discussed in Box 4.5). The difference between 'problem assessment' and 'needs assessment' is that needs-focused assessment may unintentionally create one-dimensional image of the community, characterising individual demands instead of their needs. Substantiated by Sharpe et al. (2000), needs-based approaches can have negative effects on the capacity building process even when positive change is anticipated in a community because they compel community leaders to highlight their communities' worst side in order to attract resources.

Part of the rationale for promoting problem assessment is for the community members to take ownership towards the problem to be addressed and the identified solution. The process will not only strengthen the role of the community in designing the project, but they will also take ownership of the upcoming change. Sometimes the underlying cause of the problem may be a result of social or political system or may be ingrained in a behaviour or situation that may not be apparent for a community to identify, but may perhaps be easy for the development organisations as an 'outsider'

to distinguish and understand the relationships between different community problems. These might include the availability or lack of services, information and support; the degree of accessibility and obstacles to avail livelihood opportunities; social, economic, and other benefits of change; and other overarching factors such as poverty, poor living conditions, government policies, and economic conditions. In order to assess a problem, sometimes the community may have to acquire new skills, reasoning and competencies. Thus in the context of a project where these skills do not exist or are weak in a community, it is the role of the development organisations (local government or NGOs) to assist the community in assessing their problems. The process then takes the form of a 'dialogue' between the community and the development organisations, where the knowledge and priorities of both are established and can be used to decide an appropriate direction of the project.

Box 4.5: Demonstration of problem assessment capacity by SEWA women

SEWA (Self-Employed Women's Association) is a trade union of nearly a million women in Gujarat, India. Like most self-employed workers (such as, vegetable vendors, rickshaw pullers, tailors, and kite makers) these women also lived and practiced their trade in poor vulnerable conditions. Often harassed by local authorities, with no insurance or other social security and forced to take loans at exploitative rates, these women collaborated to increase control over their lives. For instance, vegetable sellers and growers collaborated to start their own vegetable shop, eliminating the exploitative middle man, for mutual gain.

Gradually, SEWA women got organised and started their own bank, and solved the problem of access to credit, avoiding the huge interest rates demanded by private loan agents. Collectively, they also organised health insurance services to pay for their family welfare, which earlier used to drive them further into poverty. SEWA women also organised child-care centres for their infants and young children, and also started a campaign with state and national level authorities for child care as an entitlement for all women workers.

Source: WHO (2008)

Critical thinking

Critical thinking is the ability to reason logically, analyse arguments and assess information. Critical thinkers have the capability to raise important questions, formulate them clearly, collect and evaluate relevant information, use conceptual ideas, think open-mindedly, and communicate effectively with others (Duron et al. 2006) (as discussed in the example in Box 4.6). Laverack (2001) has termed this process as 'critical awareness', 'critical thinking' and 'critical consciousness'.

Several researchers over the years have defined critical thinking. One of the definitions relevant here is Kuhn's (1999, 23) definition, "...critical thinking involves reflecting on what is known and how that knowledge is justified." To achieve this control of their own thinking is perhaps the most important way in which people both individually and collectively can take control of their lives. Thus, Paulo Freire (1983), the educationalist, proposed the approaches of 'learning' and 'emancipation' through which, people become the focus of their own learning through a process of critical reflection and investigation of the situations in their lives. Another approach to critical thinking that can be inculcated in the community entails 'disposition' (Perkins et al. 1993), in the sense of habit, such that the community get used to thinking just as they are in the habit of exercising high standards of personal hygiene (for instance). Humans are not just creatures of habit; their belief system plays an important role in shaping their behaviour. Eventually, the community starts thinking carefully and reflectively not out of habit, but because critical thinking becomes a part of their beliefs and they are certain of the value of doing so (Kuhn 1999).

In order to empower the community, it is important to instil the community with the capacity of critical thinking in an attempt to encourage the community to reflect and take action of challenging assumptions and creating change toward the meaning of democratic participation and equality in a project context (Goodman et al. 1998). It involves challenging perceptions of development agencies, and analysis of individual and community values of integrity as part of development for change. It is imagined that communities that create means for self-reflection, for building their own identity, and for analysing social conditions will have greater community capacity to maintain change and improve community well-being.

Box 4.6: Ganokendras – People's Learning Centres in Bangladesh

The Ganokendra program was set up in 1992 by the Dhaka Ahsania Mission, a Bangladesh NGO. The intent was to take a literacy-based approach to alleviate poverty and empower women. The idea was to train the local community, especially women, to reflect on their situation, communicate effectively with other community members, and plan a solution. Ganokendras managed by the local community members organised a range of activities in response to locally identified problems. The Ganokendras act as community centres to understand and discuss important community issues. They also initiated activities and training programs linked with social and environmental issues, made micro-credit services available and provided employment opportunities. Ganokendras have brought community people together to network with each other and with NGOs and government agencies, enabling improved access to basic services.

Source: WHO (2008); UNESCO (2008); Alam (2006)

Links with external organisations

Links with external organisations is important for the communities to mobilise and to gain access to resources. Community links with external organisations are usually termed as partnerships (Panet-Raymond 1992), coalitions (Butterfoss et al. 1996) and voluntary alliances (Korsching and Borich 1997). These external organisations comprise of the NGOs, local government bodies, funders, private stakeholders, builders, so on and so forth. In a program context, these organisations have been recognised in playing an important role in enabling action through infrastructural development (Constantino-David 1995), skills development (Minkler and Cox 1980), raising the level of critical awareness (O’Gorman 1995), technical expertise (Hildebrandt 1996), and the provision of subsidies (Mathbor 2008). They also facilitate community mobilization, community capacity building for collaborative action, and ensure adequate community participation. Nevertheless, the external organisations need to be culturally and politically sensitive, be charismatic leaders and honest trainers. Despite their centrality in a program, it is difficult to generalise their role (Mansuri and Rao 2004).

Moreover, beneficiary communities are often too poor to fund their own community development (Finnbogadóttir 2012; Cleaver 1999). Maintaining links with the external organisations, especially with the government organisations, can increase the support from private organisations or NGOs with technical expertise, maintenance investment, and trained staff to continue project benefits (Mansuri and Rao 2004). Such close links can also result in new proposals for the benefit of the community, micro-credit services, and the generation of resources resulting in improvements for most of the community.

Community links with different external organisations can also generate partnerships within through sharing of information, collaborative decision making and being involved in the planning, implementation and assessment of program (Laverack 2001, 1999). Portes and Landolt (2000) contends that such partnerships are built on horizontal relationships because of the disparity of power, based on mutual respect, cooperation and shared interests and concerns, which automatically builds capacity of a community (Box 4.7 provides one such example).

Box 4.7: Links with external organisations – The Grameen Bank

The community-based Grameen Bank started in 1976 in Bangladesh is an institution that empowered women through micro-financing. In total, 35, 568 villages out of 68, 000 across Bangladesh have borrowed US\$1,662 million, and despite their meager incomes, have repaid an astonishing 98 per cent of it (Fuglesang and Chandler 1993). The success of the project and loan repayment is attributed to the mutual respect between the poor and the Bank, solidarity of small community organisations, social support and the financial advantage offered by the loan. The Bank's primary belief was that if the poor are provided credit on reasonable terms, they themselves know how to increase their incomes; they understand their needs and their capability than anyone else. Because of the unparalleled success of the Grameen Bank, it has been copied in 53 other countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, China, Australia, India, and other developed and developing countries.

Source: Mathbor (2008)

Project management

Project management builds the capacity of the community by giving them control and power of all the operational work which includes, problem identification, decisions on planning, implementation, evaluation, finances, administration, reporting and conflict resolution (Ahmad and Talib 2015). The process transfers the power and accountability from development authorities to the local community. Clearly, the role of development organisations then is limited in the preliminary stages of the project as facilitators of a process, and as points of intersection in an extending network of the community with the external agents (Mathie and Cunningham 2003).

In a project managed by the community, the community members are in both supply and demand side and are perceived as actors. It is the community itself that plays an important role in providing inputs, implementing the process and using outputs. The core ingredients of a community's development are its hardware and software components hidden in the context of the community with its connections in the socio-cultural norms, values and characteristics of the community (Williams 2004). Context is an important component in carrying out different kinds of development activities (Meekers and Stephen 2005); community redevelopment does not happen in a vacuum, it is influenced by ground reality (Munford and Walsh-Tapiata 2006), and is linked with common social attributes, cultural values, community structure and both individuality and communism (Baroi and Rabbani 2011).

Thus, community managed projects are more successful because they understand local needs, are built on the strengths and resources available with the community, defines the changes needed, have increased efficiency and are cost-effective (Mansuri and Rao 2004). Involving community members in the redevelopment process and transferring power to them is a way of stimulating individuals' and building their capacity towards joint control and responsibility for community-wide issues and needs (Labonne and Chase 2011). Community participants then take a collaborative approach to facilitate a community's capacity to ascertain and address its own needs, objectives and solutions to its problems. This bottom-up approach of project management reflects a central value base of community capacity building for the community (Mendes and Binns 2013; Kenny 2011) (See example in Box 4.8).

Community skills

Community skills can be categorised into two themes for community redevelopment. First is an individual's livelihood skill that can be used in a project to maximise cost-benefit ratio. Cook (1987, cited in Goodman et al. 1998) suggests that exercising exchange of resources and skills that participating individuals, groups and organisations have to offer in a project for certain benefits can apparently maximise cost-benefit ratio, in favour of the urban poor. The type of resource and skill exchange can vary from simple exchange of ideas among participants to bringing together of efforts, wherein participants collaboratively plan and incorporate services and activities, based on the available resources and skills of the participants toward activities to achieve common goals. Each participant has an optimal level of resource and skill available for exchange, depending upon what is being given and received, and what aspect of capital (in terms of money, or social, human) is being offered and required. In a project, it is desirable for interpersonal and inter-organizational relations to assist community participants to express the expected exchange transactions to optimize their own cost-benefit assessment for successful collaborations. It is important to perceive cost-benefit ratio as a constructive component for development, such that the community participants maintain a positive view of the collaborative endeavour and maintain their participation by contributing human and social capital resources (Goodman et al. 1998). These resources and skills offered by the community participants in the exchange extend to be a part of the existing knowledge on what community redevelopment projects need

to be based or planned to put into practice. These participant skills are contextual, relevant to the community needs, and know their way to work around the limitations of inadequate resources of the community (Mendes and Binns 2013).

Second category of community skills are project based. It includes problem assessment skills, engendering community co-operation, strategic long-term planning, and education, and promotion. Through these skills, community participants are expected to organise meetings, plan community activities, and be proactive in community initiatives. These skills are basically developed through networking, engagement, collaboration, leadership, community dynamics, and sometimes needs external assistance (Mendes and Binns 2013). These skills are essential and given importance because the level of community capacity may be lower in the absence of these skills to produce and implement quality plans, and might not be able to exercise skills from the first category.

Through these skills, community is strengthened by the ability to effectively assert and enforce rights (Chatterjee 2004). In Appadurai's (2004, cited in Ballard 2012, 8) terms, "skilled individuals have a more developed capacity to aspire and thus divert resources according to their interests" (See example in Box 4.8). For instance, in the city of Tiruppur, India, it was not the elite class who flourished in the changing environment of clothing manufacture, but the working-class communities whose skills and local knowledge made possible for them to accumulate capital and survive (Chari 2004).

Participatory monitoring and evaluation

In recent years, participatory monitoring and evaluation has gained sudden popularity due to the acknowledgement that community should not only be involved in identifying the problem but also in accumulating, evaluating and interpreting the data for project development and analysis (Holte-McKenzie et al. 2006; Estrella 2000). Most researchers working on the subject of participatory monitoring and evaluation stress upon the significance of enabling community participants to both define what is being assessed and how it should be assessed (Patton 2002; Blauert and Quintanar 2000; Cornwall and Jewkes 1995). Some of the main reasons for participatory monitoring and evaluation is it involves contextual knowledge into the process (Patton 2002), facilitates positive interaction (Holte-McKenzie et al. 2006),

collaborative learning (Smits and Champagne 2008), builds analytical capacity of participants to assess their own needs and concerns (Narayan-Parker 1993), assists participants gain the abilities to evaluate their own needs, analyse their own priorities and goals, and undertake action-oriented planning to solve their own problems (Estrella and Gaventa 1998). It also demonstrates characteristics of self-efficacy, self-respect, internal locus of control, and emotional stability within the community (Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller 2011).

It is a process through which the community learns to take control of the project by identifying and expressing needs, establishing goals and a plan of action to achieve them, identify resources, make realistic choices from various alternative courses of action, take appropriate steps to pursue objectives, evaluate short-and long-term results (including reassessment of plans when required and taking necessary detours), and continue in the pursuit of those goals. The process develops an individual's capacity in varying degrees and is enhanced or weakened by these developmental factors. The process creates a baseline against which the community can monitor future progress – at personal and community level. It also helps in formulating goals and milestones to aim for in the future, and stresses on the importance of recording progress toward self-selected goals.

Participatory monitoring and evaluation is also a liberating process for the community, wherein the individuals take control of their lives and learn useful ways to evaluate themselves, which liberates them from conventional expectations in a project (Fetterman 1994). The process also enables the community to find new opportunities, see existing resources in a new light, and redefine their identity and their future roles.

A study has revealed that accuracy and usefulness of self-ratings improved dramatically in a project when monitored and evaluated by the community participants, in comparison to the evaluation and data analysis conducted by the project managers (Holte-McKenzie et al. 2006). However, there is a need to involve development agencies in the monitoring and the evaluation process, so as to enhance learning, to utilise the findings for change, and to widen the perspective of evaluation by raising appropriate questions (Patton 2002). Judge and Kammeyer-Mueller (2011) assert that by training community people in the evaluation techniques and by

carrying out activities that are geared towards capacity building, there will be a greater sense of empowerment and increased chances that the evaluation outcomes will be put to use in future. However, on a practical level, community participants are characteristically more in touch with the critical variables linked with their daily life and their effectiveness or ineffectiveness than any external party. Participatory monitoring and evaluation is thus essential for the project to respond to local realities and to ensure that results are utilised for change. It is a significant process because it establishes the success of the project by building capacity of the community for decision making and to undertake action-oriented planning in the future (Bradley et al. 2002). (See example in Box 4.8).

Box 4.8 Ramdev Pir Tekro Development Project, Ahmedabad, India

The positive aspect of the Ramdev Pir Tekro development project was to take a comprehensive and innovative slum development approach. The effort was not just to provide the slum dwellers with essential services or by developing the physical environment. The idea was to create a self-sufficient community that advances and integrates the community as a key stakeholder in the wide-ranging activities in collaboration with other stakeholders of the project such that the project can operate in various dimensions. Thus, the designing and planning of the project components were built, rationalised and capitalised upon the existing physical features, community characteristics, and the occupations of the community. Involving active participation of local communities in all stages of the project becomes essential for its success: ‘the people know their community and its issues; they have to live with the results, and can, want and have the right to participate.’

An interesting part of the whole process was that special skills and building techniques were examined and studied by the design team in the settlement before designing the different building elements. These techniques were used in construction in a re-interpreted way so as to ensure the settlers’ involvement during construction periods and also their ability to maintain their own houses. As a result, the Manav Sadhana Activity Centre project was initiated.

Manav Sadhana Activity Centre was constructed as a strategy for community development in response to the community’s profile and vision for the future and in order to resolve concerns of the community. This strategy was intended to support physical, socio-cultural, and economic objectives of the community and to be sustainable beyond the life of the project. The activity centre has encouraged community people with a sense of hope and enthusiasm between the community members. The centre has created an atmosphere of care and respect for the neighbourhood and the people. The activity centre has given the community a sense of ownership and belonging, increased their awareness of the area and increased community pride in the physical environment.

Source: Trivedi and Tiwari (2010); Pandya (2008)

In response to the critical analysis of community capacity building in theory and practice discussed in Section 4.5, methods to outline a definitional framework of

capacity building and a list of areas (contextual and operational) that influence the capacity building process are identified in the sections above. These areas when appropriately incorporated in a redevelopment project can indeed build the capacity of the community effectively (as explained through examples). In the context of a project, these areas form an analytical framework for capacity building, and also emphasises their active role in improving development outcomes. These areas also demonstrate an underlying link between capacity building and the development outcomes, providing reasons to foster capacity building in redevelopment interventions starting from policy levels. Thus, given the increased emphasis on local participation and decentralisation for effective capacity building and equitable redevelopment, it is important to build a body of method to assess the effectiveness of the areas as specific modalities of community collaboration. It is also important to reiterate that an effective qualitative and quantitative (mixed methods) evaluation must proceed with some understanding of a project's trajectory and the timeline over which an impact on specific project outcomes is likely to be observed (as the case studies will be discussed in Chapter 6).

4.8 Assessing community capacity building in a project context

“The purpose of measuring capacity ... needs to be for all partners to learn and understand more deeply what needs to be healed, learned or developed in order to achieve [re]development goals.” (Smith et al. 2003, 45)

The last and final stage of planning and development is determining how project and community capacity building outcomes can be assessed. Community capacity building can be a lengthy and time-consuming process, and by definition, almost never ends. Particular expected outcomes in the community capacity building process may perhaps not materialise for years, sometime not within the given time frame of the project. More importantly, capacity building objectives for project participants may change over time as their experiences of capacity and power increases by engaging in the project. As Smith et al. (2003, 48) explains, “... when capacity is built along one dimension, it often lays the groundwork for other forms of capacity building.” This ‘learning-in-action’ in a project demonstrates bottom-up or capacity building approaches. Thus, assessment of community capacity building within the project time frame assesses changes in the process rather than any defined outcome

(Stone 2002; Zimmerman 1995). In effect, the process becomes the outcome depicting the areas identified above.

Thus a systematic methodology is required to assess the areas influencing the process of community capacity building during the project period. For the purpose of this research, per se it allows for clear articulation of how a particular built environment redevelopment project, and the agencies involved, contribute to the broader capacity building concerns of community members participating in the planning.

Then again, the concept of capacity building is concerned with the experiences, views, and knowledge of the community. It is context dependent and is concerned with development of individuals and community beliefs and ‘truths’ (Smith et al. 2003). Some outcomes may be inherently difficult to measure. Most assessments, for instance, are likely to overlook subtle shifts in perceptions or beliefs that could develop over the years into effective civic activism or an inclusive society (Mansuri and Rao 2013). Thus, the selection of an appropriate assessment methodology for community capacity building needs to take into account different individual experiences to ensure that the assessment is democratic.

This study has developed a rating scale to enable communities to assess capacity building as a process that also offers a non-technical and uncomplicated way of demonstrating the impact of a project. The purpose of promoting democratic rating of the capacity building process by the community is empowering for the community. Participatory monitoring and evaluation techniques that apply an objective rating scale can enhance the accuracy, credibility and practicality of the assessment. The rating scale uses people’s perceptions about their community redevelopment collected through mixed research methods. Overall, it is not the final rating that is important but the dialogue through mixed research that occurs and the knowledge that is shared - the process – makes a difference.

An extension of the assessment rating scale is in the form of a visual representation of the distribution (Table 6.21 and 6.22) and a bar diagram (Figure 6.5 and 6.6) to present the intensity of the ratings of areas influencing the community capacity building process the most and the ones failing to do so. The table representing the distribution is to make data look easy to understand, even for the practitioners’ and the community for future projects. The intent is to point out how radically different

or similar each household's perceptions can be towards the redevelopment project. The diagram is used to indicate the cumulative rating of capacity building that occurred based on the community ratings given to each area influencing the capacity building process. Community members (220 in YSUP and 60 in ICPP - during the household surveys) were asked to rate the intensity of capacity building measures adopted in the project by selecting one of the five descriptors placed along a continuum scale of 1 to 5 (1 reflecting the lowest form of capacity building and 5 being the highest form).

4.8.1 Application of the assessment rating scale

The use of a rating scale in a project context can facilitate the community participants' understanding and discussion of the situation, the strengths, weaknesses and areas which need improvement. The intent of using rating scale was to assess the operational areas that influence the capacity building process of a community during a project period. It is the interpretation of the community that would provide most insight into the assessment of the competencies and capacities developed through the project.

The scale assessing each operational area consists of five descriptors of the performance (for example, Table 4.3 below), representing situations moving progressively from one with the least potential to build community capacity to five with the highest potential for capacity building. In the household surveys, 220 in YSUP and 60 in ICPP, community members were asked to match or rate the performance in each operational area with reference to five descriptors of the situation expressed as short statements. These questionnaires were pre-tested before commencing the final household surveys to make sure the questions closely related to the situation of the community and the redevelopment project. In the survey, community participants' were asked to select the statement (descriptor/rating), based on their knowledge and experiences that most closely related to the process of their community redevelopment project. The pattern was repeated for each operational area. Group interviews were also conducted to triangulate and validate the ratings of capacity building indicators.

These assessments are also important for the practitioners' to understand why the statement was selected of each area. The mixed methods used to collect the data for

assessment could assist practitioners in keeping a record of the quantitative data for re-assessment of the process of the program every 3-6 months. The qualitative data will help practitioners understand how the project was experienced by the community and also the potential for capacity building that may have been insufficiently exploited. By seeking to understand in more detail the reasoning behind the selection of the descriptors by the community, development agencies could improve their focus on capacity building.

Table 4.3: Layout of the table showing descriptors for rating ‘Participation’ influencing the capacity building of the community (in, for instance, YSUP case study)

Rating scale	1	2	3	4	5
PARTICIPATION (Area of influence with descriptors)	Not all community members participated in the activities (submission of documents, biometrics, etc.) and meetings organised by the agencies for the project.	Community members attended the meetings but did not participate in the discussion. Submitting documents, timely money and co-operation with the biometrics was the only involvement.	Community members participated in the discussion but did not take decisions on planning. Supervision of individual house construction was the only contribution.	Community members involved in planning and implementation. Skilled individuals (plumber, painter, electrician, etc.) worked on their own houses.	Community members participated in the project from decision-making stage to implementation to maintenance. Also, contributing outside the community.
No. of respondents (N)					

4.9 Conclusion

As discussed in the chapter, capacity building as a concept is now well known and is used in development projects in both developed and developing countries, in spite of whether these projects are being operated through international agencies, local government or community-based organisations. Yet, the concept has different meanings and applications, and is often confused with community development. For instance, at times capacity building as a program objective is simply used as a piece of rhetoric to give credibility to the implementing agency. It is generally adopted as a ‘buzzword’ similar to development, without any appropriate review.

In the past few decades, capacity building has certainly established its significance within the development vocabulary that carries with it a specific cache that motivates development organisations world-wide to monetarily support developmental activities attached to this label. While there are a few researchers who suggest abandoning the term and replacing it with the older term ‘community development’; others advocate ‘capacity building’ as it offers a specific lens to view the qualities of the community, ranging from survival ability to self-sufficiency, collective self-determination and the awareness of human rights.

Thus, the chapter acknowledges that through the projects, plans and policies the capabilities of the urban poor communities could be expanded. The research also recognises that through programs a wider margin of opportunity opens up for the urban poor communities. But, the actors responsible for alleviating the urban poor conditions through a program are impatient for change and therefore often indecisively adopt new approaches that seem to offer solutions to these pressing needs. Application of such new approaches precludes that the community is lacking or deficient. It is similar to a pathology viewpoint, where a ‘problem’ is diagnosed and a ‘treatment’ is prescribed (Kenny and Clarke 2010).

Capacity building promotes asset-based approach which means assets that already exists within the community. While planning a project to build capacity of the community, it is important to check or recognise existing assets and strengths, including knowledge, skills, networks and resources available within the community. Building capacity can be a difficult, long process that has almost certainly never assessed for its success. Due to the influence of the external organisations, difficulty

in operationalising and measuring the process of capacity building over time, lack of field records and means to triangulate the experiences, especially in a program context has so far failed the process. Thus capacity building was critically analysed to understand its limitations as a development concept, and also as a development practice for the purpose of this research.

As discussed in Part II of the chapter, specific approaches, strategies and methodologies were designed to assess the capacity building process for the purpose of empowering the individuals and communities such that they are able to anticipate and influence change; identify their problems; make informed decisions; develop programs to resolve their issues and put those solutions into practice; manage and use resources effectively; and, monitor and assess ongoing activities to guide future action. In the process, it was realised that the concept of capacity building is abstract and multidimensional, and there is still no consensus in the definitions, or whether it is a means by itself or an outcome to be achieved; however, a common pattern to all the definitions was figured, consisting of the elements – the process, areas of influence and the rationale. It was also recognised that capacity building is ‘not’ a linear process with set outcomes, in opposition to several researchers, and that it is an interaction between the individuals, community networks, civil society, and government bodies.

Contextual and operational areas were also identified, to be used in a program context that influences the capacity of the community, by aligning the capacity building process with the program. The ten identified operational areas were specifically to be used in a program context to analyse the critical elements of capacity at each level (individual and community) in the program that promotes success over time. Through these areas changes in capacity can be analysed by assessing the process for an outcome. The context was another important element to take into account in the analysis, as it was unique for every program. The democratic assessment framework was designed in a way that it could be used at different points of the project cycle: in the formulation phase to assess the community capacity, in the planning phase in order to build on existing capacity and improve the weak elements and in the monitoring and evaluation phase to check the changes in capacities and the effects of the program, to understand to what extent a program is a good medium to develop the capacity of involved community participants. Further research is needed

to validate the assessment rating scale, and determine the relationships between areas and between them and the expected outcomes (Chapter 6 and 7).

CHAPTER 5

Research methodology

5.1 Introduction

Research method refers to the tools and techniques used to acquire and analyse data for the rationale of research. It is a strategy to plan, to guide a set of procedures and outline the research under wide range of assumptions (Petty et al. 2012). By large, research design is categorised on the basis of what, how and why, that is, research question, research methods, and research implications (Creswell 2009). According to Ragin (1994 cited in Flick 2007, 36) ‘research method’ is,

“... a plan for collecting and analysing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions he or she has posed. The design of an investigation touches almost all aspects of the research from the minute details of data collection to the selection of the techniques of data analysis.”

A clear focused research method built around the posed research question results in the success of the research project. A good design has the capacity to concise the study to the key point for answering the question. It is the sum of the research objectives, consisting of conceptual context, methods, and significance (Maxwell 2005). A planned research method makes the research manageable in terms of time and resources (Flick 2007); directs it in a chronological and rational order; ascertains credibility and validity of the collected data; and open avenues for future research (Creswell 2009). In this research, the method involves proper planning, reflection, and essential decisions about the sequence of building up the study, by establishing research question, highlighting the conceptual context (Creswell 2009) by involving the intersection of literature, approaches of inquiry, data collection methods, data analysis and interpretation of data for further creation of knowledge. This chapter is composed on the experiences at the field of research and the strategies adopted for the field work. The chapter starts with discussing the conceptual context based on the research perspective of the study, reflecting at the strategies to be adopted for the research field work. The next section on the empirical research details out the adopted research methods, procedures of data collection, and techniques of data

analysis used in this research. The chapter will conclude by discussing the limitations and ethical considerations.

5.2 Preliminary Research Concepts and Selection of Methods

In a social research as this, it is common to employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Creswell (2009) has specified this phenomenon as three types of methods, namely, qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods. Selection of a methodology for the study is done on the basis of the aims and objectives of the study, expected outcome, and the nature of study within a specific conceptual context (Nahiduzzaman 2012). Both qualitative and quantitative research methods are two ends of a continuum, where qualitative research is concerned with ‘understanding and exploring human behaviour ascribed to social or human problem’ (Creswell 2009), while quantitative research seeks to ‘discover facts about social phenomenon’ (Nahiduzzaman 2012). Mixed method is, however, a mixture of the approaches to inquiry that combines both qualitative and quantitative methods used to understand and investigate a problem deeply and widely (Denzin and Lincoln 1998).

In a research as this, where the redevelopment interventions are being investigated and assessed for collaborative planning strategies and their effectiveness in capacity building of the urban poor community, selection of a research method is highly influenced by the need to demonstrate tangible outcomes from the field work. While quantitative research is often perceived to provide with the most unprejudiced and reliable form of measuring project effectiveness, is easy to understand, and the outcomes can be standardised and target tested (Snape and Spencer 2003); it lacks the causal form to address and examine the complex nature of the community redevelopment with regard to community behavioural issues (Judd and Randolph 2006). The in-situ redevelopment projects discussed in this research (Chapter 6) are dealing with the effects of disadvantage that are highly localised, but their sources and antidotes seldom are. Therefore, selection of research methods is fraught with doubt about the influence of external factors and its impact on the quantitative information.

It is in resolving these kinds of complex causal doubts that qualitative research can add considerable value. Qualitative methods can provide better understanding of the underlying social and behavioural dynamics associated with the redevelopment and

neighbourhood transformations. It acknowledges that planning knowledge and its strategies are not universal, instead, they should be composed differently based on the circumstances (Kitchin and Tate 2000). It is comparatively flexible and includes a range of approaches. The approaches that can be used to gather qualitative information are informal discussions, structured or unstructured interviews, focus group discussions, descriptive case studies and observational techniques. These methods when employed un-wrap causes through narratives or textural information, whereas effects of the transformations can only be recorded through numerical data. Qualitative information can describe the experiences and perceptions of the residents and practitioners', and reveal how the impact of the redevelopment has affected them. Qualitative methods also have the power to generate an understanding of the wider social impacts asserted by the redevelopment interventions and profound information into the processes of redevelopment and changes. While quantitative data may show trends, qualitative data offers explanation. Even so, qualitative information is often considered less dependable as it is considered the researchers' interpretation of results (Jones and Seelig 2004). Therefore, for the assessment of a redevelopment project, combining the two research methods is more reasonable, where the validity of the qualitative information can be established through data-driven approaches.

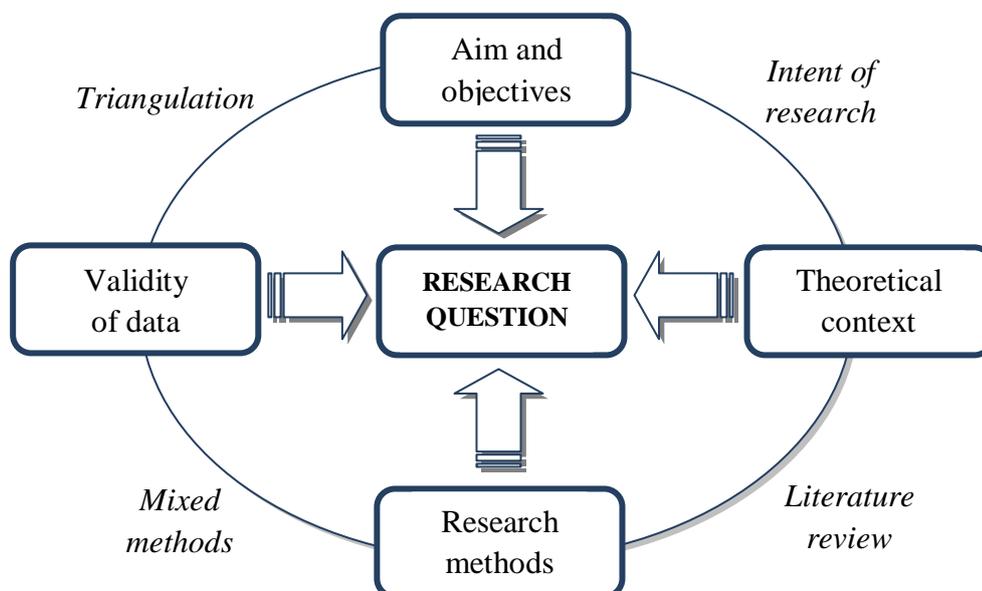


Figure 5.1: An interactive framework of research design

However, instead of seeing qualitative and quantitative methods as opposing methodologies, they need to be regarded as complementary and, if used in juxtaposition, can facilitate triangulation of findings that can contribute to greater consistency and ease to comprehend complex outcomes. In a study where the intent is to investigate whether collaborative planning strategies applied for redevelopment interventions can lead to capacity building of the urban poor, the assessment of the impacts needs to shift from a numerically driven concern to a more holistic understanding of broader outcomes (Judd and Randolph 2006). Integrated methodologies incorporating both, qualitative and quantitative approaches are more appropriate for the study. Therefore, a combination of both, qualitative and quantitative, representing mixed methods is applied for this study.

5.3 Need of Theoretical Context for the Research

Theoretical research is one of the preliminary tasks in developing a body of knowledge which in effect begins with searching existing literature relevant to the same field of interest to get acquainted with and to understand how deep researchers have gone through the subject (Kumar 2005). Theoretical research was included in the study as a fundamental component of the entire research process as it makes significant contributions at almost every step of the study. Starting from strengthening the theoretical roots of the study, to clarifying the background, outlining the selection criteria of the case studies, designing questionnaires and developing methodologies; literature review also serves in the later stages of the research by improving and combining the knowledge base and assists in the assimilation of the research findings with the existing body of knowledge.

Literature covering everything written on the relevant subject in the form of books, journal articles, newspaper articles, magazines, reports, government publications, theses and media scan – were studied to understand the field of inquiry and to plan the inquiry at the field. Literature review was initiated with the questions on the field of inquiry limited to the scope of research, such as -

- what has already been done on the topic;
- who are the key researchers' or theorists;
- what are the predominant theories and hypotheses surrounding the topic;
- what are the prevailing questions being asked on the subject;

- what methodologies have been adopted or what methods are suitable and effective.

The literature review helped in identifying the key areas of the study by giving an overview of the problems of urban poor starting from physical, socio-cultural, socio-economic, and psychological issues. The literature review facilitated in defining and understanding the fundamentals of social housing and urban theory (Turner; Davis), collaborative planning (Healey; Innes and Booher), community participation (Hamdi; Innes and Booher), joint planning (Innes and Booher), capacity building (Chaskin; Craig; Gibbon), social capital, urban governance, redevelopment projects and policy analysis. The literature review assisted in comparing and examining the conditions, practices, views, aspirations, and characteristics of the urban poor on the field. The study provided a structure to bridge the gap between the general hypotheses regarding the condition of the urban poor, their built environment, socio-cultural aspects, livelihood practices, their views and expectations from the redevelopment projects, their relationship with the practitioners', and on-site strategies applied for transformations.

The literature review laid the foundation for the field observations and assisted in designing questionnaires, outlining a criterion to select case studies, to critically evaluate, to examine, to develop techniques to measure the capacity of the urban poor and evaluate well-being of the urban poor at a broader level.

5.3.1 Selection criteria for the case studies

The case studies chosen for assessment were selected on the basis of their context, characteristics, and issues that are most relevant to the aims and objectives of the research. The criterion of selection of the case study was bounded by a specific country, India, a developing country. Within India, Pune and Ahmedabad, are considered 'typical' cities (Garrett and Downen 2001), representing overall the Indian economy. The two cities are an amalgamation of contemporary, traditional and migratory population; have significant heritage, ample employment opportunities, and renowned educational institutions. Currently, both cities have been included in the city planning scheme of Smart Cities and BRTS (Bus Rapid Transit System). Due to its social and economic dynamics, the urban poor in both cities are confronted with a range of livelihood problems within the city.

The two case studies selected for field work were Yerwada Slum Upgrading Project (YSUP) in Pune and Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP) in Ahmedabad; former being a large-scale project and the latter being a small-scale project. The main criterion for selecting these cases was the key principle of these projects of incorporating democratization in planning, wherein the community was involved in the planning process, in-situ carried out up-gradation, and the impact of the projects on the community were envisaged in terms of longer-term sustainability. The on-site physical upgrading in Ahmedabad is recently completed while the project is still ongoing in Pune. The projects were selected primarily for their scale, their recorded success, and their claim to have the qualities of transferability and applicability in other locations – from local to global scale. Self-enumerations, community mapping, community mobilization, sweat equity, and decision-making were some of the key features of these two projects asserted in the project reports. Both the projects were designed within the methods of planning procedures that adapted existing built-up footprints, accepted new negotiation patterns with the residents of the community, considered the financial condition of the residents, their socio-cultural background, acknowledged the role of state and public-private partnership and has/had a longer term planning perspective. Although, the principles applied in both the projects are similar, the level of formality in the implementation process is different. YSUP has received national award and international recognition for its performance, while ICPP has managed to grab international attention.

Two case studies from two different cities were selected for the research because two was deemed to be an appropriate number to help understand, investigate, analyse, and conclude. Time constraint was another reason for the selection of only two cases for field visits. Both the cases were analysed using same format, even though YSUP is a large-scale project with multiple actors and institutions involved, and ICPP is a small-scale project with a single institution involvement. (For more details, see Chapter 6).

5.4 Rationale for Empirical Research

The intent of the research is to investigate the process of in-situ redevelopment interventions in the urban poor built environment and scrutinize its impacts on the urban poor. Empirical research typically involves case studies with constructs

(theoretical roots of the study), observation (to recognise and record facts), facts (events that can be directly, repeatedly observed), and inferences (conclusions derived from constructs, observations and facts) (Robson 2011). The field work was conducted in two cities of India, Pune and Ahmedabad, to examine two real-world projects – Yerwada Slum Upgrading Project (YSUP) and Innovation Centre for the Poor Project (ICPP). The purpose of the empirical study was to investigate the two cases from the developing country, India, to assess the process of redevelopment to scrutinize the product. It is to comprehend, document and evaluate the redevelopment projects and to check whether the collaborative planning strategies can be adopted to track the capacity building of the urban poor. A detailed itemisation of the purpose of empirical study is as follows:

Table 5.1: Rationale for conducting empirical research

No.	Objectives of the study	Purpose of empirical study
1.	To develop an understanding of the critical issues in applying the collaborative planning strategies applied in built environment interventions of the urban poor.	1. To understand the planning theories, its characteristics, dimensions and its impacts. 2. To understand the process and strategies adopted by the practitioners' for collaborative planning in discourse and practice. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Power relation and transparency between the community and the practitioner. ▪ Level of interaction between the community and the practitioners'. ▪ Extent of community awareness about the process of the project.
2.	To identify, investigate and document the areas influencing the process of capacity building in conjunction with community participation and joint planning strategies applied in redevelopment interventions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To understand capacity building in theory and practice. ▪ To examine the theory of capacity building for its characteristics, dimensions and areas of influence to be considered in a redevelopment programme context. ▪ To identify the indicators of capacity building to assess the effectiveness of the planning strategies applied in the redevelopment intervention.

3.	To formulate a methodology for the assessment of capacity building objectives and empowerment of the urban poor engaged in collaborative planning through community participation and joint planning.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To form an analytical framework to assess the redevelopment projects. ▪ Methodology to assess capacity building and empowerment of the urban poor engaged in collaborative planning.
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5.5 Empirical Research Techniques

The empirical study was conducted in two different stages in 2014 – 2015 with a gap of six months to verify and analyse the data for strengths and weaknesses. 220 residents residing in the Yerwada region of Pune and 60 residents of 22 different locations in Ahmedabad were interviewed for the study. Likewise, 20 practitioners' involved in YSUP and 16 in ICPP were interviewed. The residents involved in the survey were specifically from the redeveloped households constructed under the project guidelines in Pune and *Ujasiyu* model installed in the houses in Ahmedabad. The empirical research was conducted to examine collaborative strategies adopted by the practitioners' for urban poor built environment redevelopment intervention and to scrutinize its impacts on the capacity of the urban poor. The survey was sought to investigate the process of intervention by questioning the residents and the practitioners' for their views, contributions, and aspirations towards the redevelopment. The questions mainly focused on the capacity building and empowerment of the resident participants' in the redevelopment process. The following sections below will discuss in detail the methods and processes involved in the study –

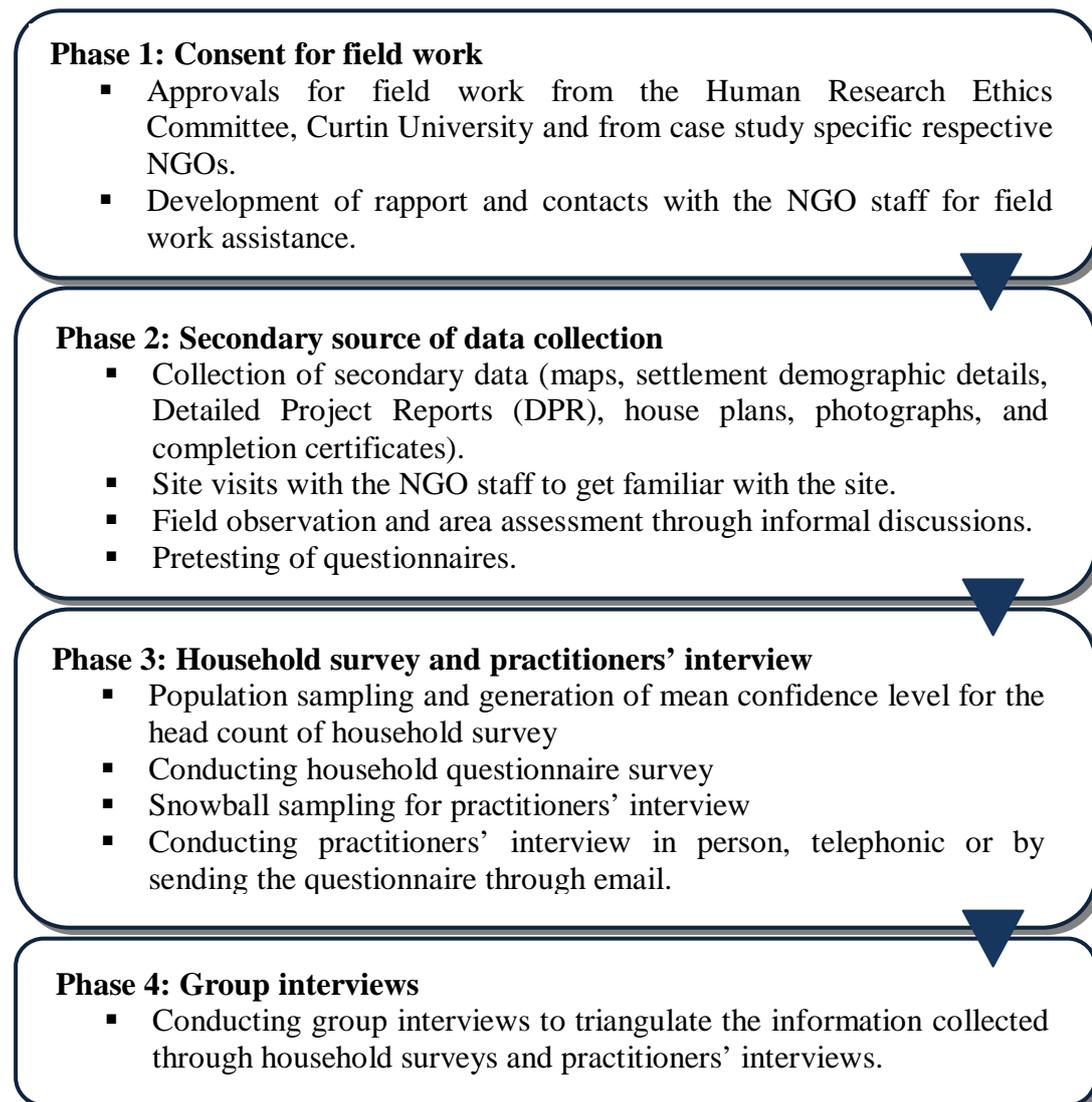


Figure 5.2: Research methods

The methods and process adopted for the field work was divided into four different phases (Figure 5.2). The data was acquired through mixed methods at different stages of the research within the stipulated time. The use of mixed method facilitated the collection of a wide range of resident and stakeholder perceptions engaged in the redevelopment programs. The method selected for research was based on the principles and guidelines of Ethics Form A (Application for Ethical Approval of a Research Project Involving Humans), considered by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of Curtin University, which advocates research undertaking a rational and morally enhanced approach, and being thoughtful of the cultures and traditions of the residents of the community. An approval on the field work protocol was obtained from the Committee prior to any engagement with the resident

beneficiaries'. Simultaneously, consent was obtained by meeting the NGO chiefs, in-charge of the (YSUP and ICPP) redevelopment project, in person, in order to develop contacts and build rapport for field work assistance and for the collection of secondary data. Research information sheet, draft questionnaire and research proposal was also handed to the NGO chiefs to communicate research aim, objectives, requirements, and procedures. The mixed methods and process adopted for field work are further step-wise unfolded in the remainder of this chapter.

5.5.1 Secondary source of data collection

After obtaining the approvals from the Human Research Ethics Committee of Curtin University and the respective NGOs, preliminary arrangements were made with the NGO staff for the collection of secondary data and for field support.

Document analysis

Secondary form of data on both (YSUP and ICPP) the redevelopment projects, written and in graphical form was obtained from the NGO offices to review the course of documentation of the projects. The relevant documents collected were in the form of maps, Detailed Project Reports (DPR), government reports, settlement demography reports, home-based industry details, archives, house plans, before and after photographs, and house completion certificates. These policy related documents of the project were analysed to know-how the context, evolution pattern, aims and objectives, institution involvement, their contribution, community engagement approaches, and future projections of the project before visiting the site. Media scan on the two cases was also done to identify with the image of the settlements from an outsider's perspective, and whether it has changed after on-site physical upgrading.

Fundamental to document analysis is identifying the context of the document, establishing who composed it and for what purpose (Robson 2011). The objective of document analysis was to establish a framework to comprehend the outcomes of the field study and to outline important information to carry out comparative analysis between institutional and residents' perspectives. The documents also provided with essential project information which was incorporated to enhance the research structure with substance to amplify the research implications. The findings derived from document analysis strengthened the base to undertake the field work and

assisted in comparing the published information with ground realities, materialising to be a part of the triangulation process and adding to the reliability of the research.

Field observations and informal discussions

First visit to the site was organised as per the availability of the NGO staff to get introduced to the site. The field observations were conducted for a rapid area assessment, to understand the urban poor environment and the phenomenon. Rapid area assessment allowed the researcher to build an inclusive, multidimensional picture of the livelihood status of the urban poor within the neighbourhood. Standard of living, housing conditions, every day practices, and means of engagement with the larger community, were some of the areas assessed to get an overall understanding of the life of the urban poor. As stated by Patel (2012, 1),

“... data is never precise, it is often out-dated, and is rarely comprehensive.”

In informal settlements, where the rate of education is low, it is difficult to access well-documented accounts and data. Therefore, field study was conducted in person, to recover accurate information. Field observations enabled the researcher to view the primary and secondary data in action (Bryman 2012), enabling to further document the project and provide first-hand information of the processes. The data collected during field observations was captured by photographs, field notes, settlement mapping, and sketches. While observations enabled the researcher to see (and hear) exactly how individuals act and interact in a given situation, there is a slight possibility that the presence of the researcher may influence their behaviour (Petty et al. 2012). Keeping this in mind, the field observations were conducted in the role of a ‘participant observer’ with the NGO staff, to portray oneself as part of the NGO team and merge in the group of stakeholders. During these visits, the area was assessed by exchanging pleasantries and by engaging into informal discussions with the residents. Observational assessments and informal discussions particularly helped the researcher in refining the draft questionnaires by gaining the information specific to the area of intervention in order to acquire customised information to meet the demands of the research. This step especially was vital because data available from primary and secondary sources often only encompass bigger perceptible issues with supporting aggregate data, obscuring ‘behind the scenes’ data of the redevelopment projects (Garrett and Downen 2001).

Pre-testing of the questionnaire

Pre-testing of the questionnaire was basically done to evaluate the questionnaire before commencing final household surveys. The purpose of testing the questionnaire was to check the variation in the questions, to establish whether the questions are phrased correctly, whether the flow of the questions is proper, whether the questions communicate the desired meaning, whether the respondents are able to interpret the question's meaning, whether the alternatives provided in multi-response questions are adequate, and how much time a single interview requires. The questionnaires were most importantly assessed to know whether the questions generate the information crucial to comply with the study's purpose. Pre-testing of questionnaire was carried out in 10 redeveloped households under the YSUP guidelines in the Yerwada region of Pune. Similarly, 5 residents of the households having *Ujiyasu* installed from *Khanpur*, Ahmedabad were interviewed to pre-test the questionnaire. The questionnaire set put under test also included an information sheet in the national language, Hindi, which was read out to the participants' before commencing the interviews (attached in the appendix). Each interview took around 30 minutes and was hassle free. Pre-testing of questionnaires basically aimed at improving the consistency of the survey data and to gain maximum information.

Questionnaire design

A questionnaire design involves thinking ahead the research problem, what the concepts mean and the methods to analyse the data. The questionnaire needs to reflect both theoretical understanding and knowledge of data analysis (De Vaus 2002). Constructing questionnaires is a central part of data collection process (Baker 1997), where 'what' relates to the event the project is referring to, the concerns guiding the interview, the subject matter of questions, and the significant information communicated by the respondent (Holstein and Gubrium 1997).

Correspondingly, the questionnaire formulated for this research (attached in the appendix) was divided into six themes to address the research question in accordance with the objectives of the research, namely –

1. **Household information** – Socio-demographic information of the household (age, gender, household income, level of education, employment status,

household ownership pattern, time spent within the neighbourhood, family size, and family composition).

2. **Project information** - Background information of the settlement and implementing agencies, preparation of the detailed project report, project costs, unit/model costs, government subsidy, beneficiary contribution.
3. **Execution of the project** – The development of the project (limiting to the extent to which it involved the participation of residents), settlement mapping, documents procurement process, the survey of eligible households, collection of the biometric data, management of the construction (including whether temporary accommodation was provided during building).
4. **Participation in the project** - The different project phases and the involvement of the community in the advancement, intervention designs (housing designs, settlement layouts, and infrastructure).
5. **Improvements in the capacity** – Means of resident contribution, change in the status of individual's social capital, resident's aspirations for enhanced participation, areas of improvement with regard to resident well-being, learning experience by getting involved in the project, transfer of tenure.
6. **Expectations from the project** – Resident experience in dealings with the implementing agencies, experience in participation, factors affecting participation, reasons behind satisfactory and unsatisfactory project outcomes.

The issues investigated through the questionnaires were not sensitive issues or posed threat to any individual and had been approved by the HREC of Curtin University. The questionnaire was a compiled set of open-ended and close-ended questions. Open-ended questions were used to stimulate respondent's free flow of thoughts; while close-ended questions with multiple-responses were used for more uniform answers (Taylor-Powell 1998). A scale to rank the level of project satisfaction was also used as a part of multiple-response questions, to determine respondents' opinion on the redevelopment project implemented by the planning agencies. Few decisive factors recognised in the primary and secondary data were also included in the questionnaire to understand the factors effecting collaborative planning and capacity building of the residents'. A structured questionnaire, arranged in sequential order is essential for the respondent's flow of thoughts and for the researcher to collect maximum information in the restricted timeframe.

5.5.2 Household survey

The household surveys were conducted in Yerwada region of Pune and in 22 different neighbourhoods of Ahmedabad in consultation with the respective project NGOs. A total of 220 residents were interviewed in Pune and 60 in Ahmedabad (as shown in table 5.2). Only those residents' were interviewed whose house was redeveloped under YSUP and ICPP guidelines. The purpose of conducting interviews by visiting each and every house was to make sure the resident is comfortable in his/her surrounding and is not under any kind of stress. The advantage of conducting household survey is that the resident is not expecting the researcher and is not prepared with the answers. Coincidentally more women participated in the survey than men in both the case studies (in YSUP, distribution in male and female participation was 35 per cent and 65 percent; while in ICPP, it was 20 per cent and 80 per cent), as the survey was conducted during working hours. Women spend more time in the house and in the neighbourhood, therefore, the coincidence was considered beneficial for the study. The objective of conducting household surveys was to explore resident experiences and views in-depth about the redevelopment process. The residents were explicit and relaxed to discuss their opinions, because the researcher was a student and did not belong to any organisation. The households interviewed for the research were statistically representative of the entire redeveloped community and provided household-based data to enhance and support the field assessment data. The integration of the household survey data with the previous collected data proved useful in confirming community-wide perceptions, in helping to explain statistical findings and in pointing out areas requiring further exploration, especially when results seemed ambiguous.

Table 5.2: Household survey location and population sampling

Number of locations	Total number of household participants
Yerwada Slum Upgrading Project (YSUP), Pune	
1	220
Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP), Ahmedabad	
22	60

Sample design

In this research, population sampling implies the households coming under the redevelopment projects. Sampling refers to the selection of a particular section of the population for investigation (Bryman 2004). Sampling is often associated with selecting the 'right' cases from a known population through random sampling or purposive sampling, depending on the research design (Creswell 2009; Flicke 2007). Here, the goal is to investigate the perceptions, experiences, views and aspirations of the residents' and the practitioners' engaged in the redevelopment projects. The purpose of sampling is not to generalise a population, but to expand an in-depth exploration of a central phenomenon (Creswell 2009). There are two types of sampling techniques – random sampling and purposive sampling (Creswell 2005; Walliman 2005). Random sampling is generally used for social research to select a sample. This technique selects representative individuals from a population, generalizing them to the entire population for their characteristics, perceptions, attitudes, behaviours, and experiences. On the other hand, purposive sampling seeks out 'information-rich cases' (Johnson and Waterfield 2004; Sandelowski 1995; Patton 1990), targeted for specific purpose and specific population. In the case of this research, since the households are homogenous in terms of research investigation of a single issue, random sampling is appropriate. In contrast, interviews with the practitioners' were targeted and focused to certain institutions, departments and professions; therefore, purposive sampling technique was applied.

Selecting a sampling technique to choose the respondents in such a way that they represent the total population is as crucial for the research as choosing the correct sample size. A sample that is too big results in the wastage of resources such as time and money, while a sample size that is too small will not give reliable insights. Accuracy of the research findings largely depend on the sample design and size. However, for an accurate and reliable data, a sample size was calculated for this research.

The sample size refers to the number of residents' to be interviewed in the survey. An appropriate sample size for a household-based survey is mainly decided by the population size, margin of error and confidence level (Samii 2005). It is considered that smaller the margin of error and higher the confidence level, a more precise

sample size can be achieved. In applied practice for large (YSUP) and spread out (ICPP) population, 5 per cent is set as the margin of error between the opinions of the respondents and the opinion of the entire population (Field, 2013), assuming the confidence level to be 95 per cent (which is pretty much standard for a quantitative research) (Dierckx 2013). Confidence level is always expressed in percentage and represents the percentage of the population within the margin of error (Field 2013). Based on the decided margin of error and confidence level, the sample size for both the case studies was calculated, as shown in the Table: 5.3.

Table 5.3: Calculating the sample size for household survey for YSUP and ICPP

Case study	Population size (completed houses)	Confidence level = 95%	Required sample size	Round figure
		Margin of error		
YSUP	474	(±) 5%	213	220
ICPP	120	(±) 5%	92	100

Sample size of 220 households for YSUP and 100 households for ICPP²⁴ was calculated considering the size of the population and level of confidence required for a valid research and reliability of data. The issue of limited resources was also taken care of.

Process of household survey

All household surveys were conducted face-to-face by the researcher and no secondary body or team was appointed for the purpose. The households selected for the survey were randomly selected, provided the houses were redeveloped under the YSUP and ICPP guidelines. No prior notice of the visit was given to the respondents. The participants were first read out the information sheet in the national language, Hindi (document attached in the appendix), because there was a high possibility that most of the residents of the urban poor settlements will not have any form of formal education. The information sheet gave them a clear idea of the intent of the survey.

²⁴ Even though the sample size in Ahmedabad was 100 households, the data was collected through only 60 households in 22 different urban poor settlements spread across Ahmedabad. Due to time constraints and distance between each settlement, it was difficult to interview 100 households (sample size) to reach the confidence level of 95%. However, group interviews were conducted for triangulation and validity of data.

The participants were also informed that the participation in the survey was voluntary. Before commencing the interview, the participant were verbally asked if it was alright to continue. No questions were asked until a verbal consent was obtained. If the participant did not want to participate, next household was approached. Same steps were followed until the target sample size was achieved.

In each household, the head or the available resident of the household was interviewed provided the respondent was above 18 years of age. A combination of open-ended and close-ended questions was prepared for the survey (questionnaire attached in the appendix). All the participants were asked the same questions for cross-examination and triangulation for the later stages. High levels of flexibility was maintained during the interview to document participant's experience and views in details. Data collected through household surveys is sensitive to the desires and perceptions of the resident towards the redevelopment of their houses and community. At such instances, the researcher was careful to document resident concerns for further analysis.

5.5.3 Practitioners' interview

To investigate the collaborative planning and capacity building approaches adopted in both, YSUP and ICPP redevelopment projects, professionals and practitioners' who were actively involved in the projects were interviewed. The aim was to discover the practitioner's own framework of meanings associated with the projects. Same set of questions used for household survey were used for practitioners' interview, focusing on the critical issues of the research, to record the practitioners' standpoint and perspective. 20 key practitioners' involved in YSUP and 16 in ICPP were interviewed. These key respondents were selected through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a purposive sampling technique where participants nominate other potential participants for the study (Petty et al. 2012; Atkinson and Flint 2001).

Table 5.4: List of the interviewed key respondents

Type of respondent	Number of practitioners' interviewed
Case study 1 – Yerwada Slum Upgrading Program (YSUP)	
NGO Head	2
Area Corporator	1
Architect/planner from a consulting firm involved in the project	2
Construction contractors	6
Project co-ordinator	1
Consultant	2
Settlement surveyors/project supervisors	4
Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) authorities	1
Junior Engineer from the PMC	1
TOTAL	22
Case study 2 – Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP)	
NGO consultants	2
Architect from a consulting firm involved in the project	1
<i>Ujijyasu</i> model installer/Material transport in-charge	1
SEWA community members	12
TOTAL	16

Prior appointments were made to meet the key practitioners' of the projects depending on their preferences and availability. An overview of the research with working title, aims, research objectives, research questions, the purpose of the study, were appropriately communicated with the authority of the organisation, keeping in mind the research protocols and the ethics guidelines. Through the information sheet it was established that all the responses to the interview would be collated and only the aggregated results would be produced ensuring complete anonymity of the respondent.

Questionnaire comprising of open-ended questions with few multiple-response questions with ranking scale was prepared for practitioners' interview (attached in the appendix). While no formal interviews were conducted with the practitioners', informal and detailed face-to-face discussions were held with the practitioners' available in the office. The fact that the professionals and practitioners have busy

schedules contributed to the choice of the interview design. Each interview took 30-45 minutes. Practitioners' who were unavailable for meetings were later requested to contribute their views and perceptions through email questionnaires. Email questionnaires were considered equally satisfactory to face-to-face interview, for the reasons that it provided more time and space for the individual to contemplate and reflect on the questions, and the responses received were of high quality. The practitioners' could also express their opinions and add new information to support their answers. Moreover, until a certain period, frequent dialogues were exchanged with the NGO heads and with the email respondents. This exchange of dialogues through emails was very helpful at the time of the analysis of the answers from the informal and detailed discussions.

At the time of the interview it was realised that even though these practitioners' are working for the same project, their approach towards a specific project related goal varied, due their diverse backgrounds. Therefore, based on their ranking responses inferential frameworks were established for analysis.

5.5.4 Group interviews

Group interviews were conducted after the surveys and practitioner interviews were completed, so that the researcher had a good understanding of the redevelopment project. Group interviews were conducted to get answers for the big questions regarding the specific objectives of the redevelopment project, outcomes of the redevelopment project, and community expectations. The intent of group interview was to bring community people together, to respond to a question in turn, to interact, ask questions, exchange anecdotes and comment on each other's experiences, wherein the researcher takes a back seat, but also instigates the debate to continue beyond the point where it might have otherwise ended. The advantage of this technique is that, groups are not always inhibiting and gives voice to marginalised community members in discussing concerns common to the group (Kitzinger 1995). Group interview sessions were conducted in the community, such that the group members feel comfortable and stress free in a familiar setting.

Two group interviews were organised for both, YSUP and ICPP. For each case, the first group comprised of around 3-4 NGO staff involved actively in the project (as listed in Table 5.4). This was followed by a separate group interview comprising of

4-5 community representatives (residents), who were engaged in the redevelopment project. For YSUP, selection of location for the interview was not a difficult task, as the project under examination is based in only one location in Pune. Conversely, for ICPP, which is spread across Ahmedabad in 12 different locations, site for conducting the interview was selected on the basis of maximum number of houses in the location with *Ujijyasu* installed. Same questions and procedures were followed in all four (2 – YSUP and 2 - ICPP) sessions. Each session took an hour to conclude. Each question was put up for a five-minute discussion by the group (in the manner of brainstorming sessions). The outcome of brainstorming exercises was sorted out by the researcher with input from the group – to formulate a comprehensive response to each question. This exercise was in order to record the perceptions of both the parties in regard to the same project.

The researcher also came across an over-riding concern of the logistical difficulty in organising a larger group for the interview. Due to difference in schedules, preferences and availability, two separate sessions were conducted for both the cases. There were also a number of benefits in having smaller groups. It helped the researcher to guide, facilitate, and make notes of the entire discussion simultaneously all by herself.

5.5.5 Data management and analysis

The data collected from the household survey and practitioners' interview was managed through the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS version. 18) software, a powerful data management tool. The responses were categorised for analysis purpose based on the qualitative and quantitative nature of the data. SPSS techniques of coding, statistical analysis (using mean, percentage, frequency charts, cross-tabulation and multiple response frequencies), and graphical illustrations (in the form of bar diagrams, pie charts, and line charts) were used to depict the results. The graphical presentations were done to convert numeric data to pictorial data to help the readers to understand the distribution and trend in the data easily. These quantitative results were then combined and construed using empirical evidence, case studies, and discussions augmented during surveys and interviews.

5.5.6 Triangulation of data

Triangulation is described as ‘the combination of different techniques of collecting data in the study of the same phenomena’ (Minichiello et al. 1990). This study has used primary and secondary data collection, surveys and interviews as the triangulation techniques. In the triangulation of methods, no technique is considered better or advanced, for each will have its own strengths and weaknesses. However, the study has used some technique as a major source and some as a minor source for the fieldwork. For instance, household surveys provided more insightful and useful data than group interviews. But, both the techniques were employed to cross-check the obtained data for reliability and validity. Triangulation of data gave the researcher confidence in the findings and also demonstrated the researcher’s impartial attitude.

5.5.7 Reliability and validity of data

A research is reliable and valid can be decided over an assessment of the interpretations, implications and conclusions put forth by the researcher. A researcher’s own experience and subjectivity influence along with a multitude of factors involved in the phenomenon under investigation cannot be tracked or explored in all its complexity. Interpreting such complexity is challenging, hence, a number of strategies were used to facilitate the reliability and validity of the data.

Reliability refers to ‘the consistency and dependability of the findings’ (Nelson 2008); while validity refers to ‘the accuracy, authenticity, credibility and transferability of the theory and its investigation’ (Robson 2011). However, the issue of reliability and validity differs when the data under scrutiny is qualitative and quantitative. In a quantitative research, validity implies that the researcher’s approach and insights were consistent throughout the data collection process. In contrast, qualitative researchers’ are people, context and case specific and the researcher adopts several approaches to ascertain the validity of the research with the passage of time (Guba 1981, cited in Petty et al. 2012).

Data analysis is a dynamic process and becomes challenging when the research is a mixed method research. Therefore, in the case of this research, an ‘audit trail’ was used to capture the unavoidable change, and variation in the practitioners’ and community representatives’ perspective to provide ‘trackable variance’ (Guba 1981). The strategies used to establish the reliability and validity of data are as follows:

- Triangulation refers ‘to collecting a variety of data from different perspectives to cross check interpretations’ (Petty et al. 2012). The verification of information by collecting data on the same set of questions, but from different source by using different methods is essential to accuracy.
- Collecting data that improves understanding of the context such as published documents and photographs (referential adequacy materials).
- Testing the consistency of the findings by searching for contradictions and considering unconventional and competing explanations.

5.6 Ethical Considerations and Data Storage

Research involving humans as participants are complied with current Australian ethical standards. Ethical standards for research involving humans are set by the National Health and Medical Research Council (the NHMRC) and National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research. It is mandatory to get approval from the HREC of Curtin University before commencing the research involving humans as participants, to ensure that the researcher is abided by the rules and is maintaining the standards by using appropriate methods. HREC (2013, 3) states that:

“The aim of ethical review of human research is to ensure that participants in research are not put at risk of harm, are not disadvantaged and are made aware that they may withdraw without prejudice. Broadly, the process of ethical review concentrates on three main areas: a) Gathering informed consent to participate in research projects; b) Protection of privacy and confidentiality of records; and c) Risk of harm to subjects or to groups in the community.”

As this research involves human participants for survey, ethics approval (HR 67/2014) was acquired from the HREC of Curtin University. The researcher was aware that household surveys will raise ethical questions relating to the nature of data collection, right to privacy, the need for consent, and the need for information. Following tasks were carried out to comply with the ethics guidelines prescribed by HREC, Curtin University:

- Prior to commencement of field work, consent was obtained from the head of the NGO involved in the project. An overview of the research with working

- title, aims, research objectives, research questions, the purpose of the study, were appropriately communicated with the authority of the organisation.
- While conducting the practitioners' interview, information sheet was handed over to them. This information sheet was to invite them to participate in the survey to make contributions to the research.
 - For household surveys, information sheet in the national language, Hindi, was read out to the participants. Through the information sheet the participants' were informed about the intent of the research. The participants' were informed that the involvement in the survey was voluntary and non-participation will not have any negative implications. Verbal consent was obtained from the participants' before commencing the survey.
 - The secondary data collected for the research (published or unpublished) was either collected from the NGO office or from the database publicly accessible to all. For example, blogs, newspaper articles, online news published on the NGO website, etc.
 - The data collected through the survey and interviews was not sensitive to any personnel and does not pose any threat to any individual.
 - Responses from the interviews were collected on a confidential basis without having any name or any other form of identifying information of the respondent. All the responses to the interview were collated and only the aggregated results were produced ensuring complete anonymity of the respondent.

All the collected material from the survey and interviews during the study were kept in a safe and secure place. Only researcher and the Supervisor had access to the material collected from the field. This material would be securely stored for the next seven years after completion of the degree.

5.7 Conclusion

The current *Research Methodology* chapter presented research strategies, preliminary research concepts, data collection methods and approaches involved in the research. A mixed approach involving both qualitative and quantitative method was used along with the theoretical context of the research and secondary data to know-how the context of the case studies. Random and purposive snowball sampling was employed

for household surveys and practitioners' interviews, respectively, to collect information on the field. Group interviews were conducted after the surveys to triangulate the collected information for reliability and validity. Statistical software (SPSS) was used to analyse the data and to produce frequency charts, cross-tables, and graphical illustrations. The case studies and findings of the research are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively.

CHAPTER 6

Assessing the phenomenon of community capacity building: Case of Pune and Ahmedabad, India

6.1 Introduction

This chapter on 'case studies' discusses the two empirical studies conducted for the research. The two case studies selected were - Yerwada Slum Up-grading Project (YSUP), Pune and the Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP) undertaken in the slums of Ahmedabad. These case studies have been used to investigate the extent to which redevelopment projects can contribute positively towards capacity building of the urban poor communities. These case studies were selected mainly because they are on record as having adopted democratization in planning and redevelopment and have achieved international recognition for successful physical upgrading of the urban poor community. The purpose of this chapter is to understand and assess the implementation strategies and practices adopted by the development agencies in such participatory projects, focusing on building the capacity of the urban poor while improving their living conditions. In other words, the aim is to determine the potential of these upgrading projects in empowering the community.

Each case study in the chapter concludes with a discussion on the outputs of the projects leading to the assessment of the capacity building goal running parallel to the project. Each case study was assessed according to their stages of development. In order to establish the context, each case study project was studied using a livelihood framework analysis. The idea was to prepare a framework within which practitioners could assess the livelihood conditions and implement the project accordingly to effectively empower the community and ensure the sustainability of future redevelopment projects. This process helps in answering the research question of - whether community participation and collaborative planning strategies applied for redevelopment of the built environment lead to capacity building of the urban poor; and how the success of these approaches in terms of capacity building could be measured? Central to this study was capacity building and empowerment of the urban poor communities. Both case studies were carried out in accordance with

research ethics and methodologies. Thus minimum reference has been made to the identities of respondents in this chapter.

6.2 Criteria for selection of YSUP and ICCP

Theoretical investigation into the key areas of research helped in realigning the concepts and gave a better understanding of the research goals and objectives. This study further enabled the selection criteria of the case study projects to be outlined, the questions to be framed, and allowed for an interpretative analysis.

It was understood that the case studies to be chosen for the assessment should adequately correspond to the context, characteristics, and issues that are most relevant to the aims and objectives of the research. The criterion of selection of the case study was bounded by a specific country, India, a developing country (Image 1). India represents a growing economy and rapidly emerging infrastructure, and it has the second largest population in the world, inhabiting Asia's largest slum settlement (Urban Census²⁵ of India data 2011-Planning Commission of India 2013). It is second on the United Nations (UN) – Millennium Development Goal (MDG) list with interests of poverty reduction (UN-Habitat Report 2012). Within India, Pune and Ahmedabad, are considered “typical” cities (Garrett and Downen 2001), representing overall the Indian economy. The two cities are an amalgamation of contemporary, traditional and migratory population; have significant heritage, ample employment opportunities, and renowned educational institutions. Currently, both cities have been included in the city planning scheme of Smart Cities and BRTS (Bus Rapid Transit System). Due to its social and economic dynamics²⁶, the urban poor in both cities are confronted with a range of livelihood problems within the city.

The two case studies selected for field work were Yerwada Slum Upgrading Project (YSUP) in Pune and Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP) in Ahmedabad;

²⁵ Definition of Urban Census: All statutory places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or an advisory town planning committee, fulfilling the following three criteria at the same time: a minimum population of 5, 000; at least 75 per cent of male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and a density of population of at least 400 per square kilometre.

²⁶ The issues that normally come up in the context of India (such as, politics and divisions based on gender, income, and caste), were not apparent during household surveys and during both formal and informal discussions with the community and stakeholders, nor were brought up. Thus, while discussing the case studies or the impact of the projects on the communities, these issues will not be discussed.

former being a large-scale project and the latter being a small-scale project. The main criterion for selecting these cases was the key principle of these projects of incorporating democratization in planning, wherein the community was involved in the planning process, in-situ carried out up-gradation, and the impact of the projects on the community were envisaged in terms of longer-term sustainability. The on-site physical upgrading in Ahmedabad is recently completed while the project is still ongoing in Pune. The projects were selected primarily for their scale, their recorded success, and their claim to have the qualities of transferability and applicability in other locations – from local to global scale. Self-enumerations, community mapping, community mobilization, sweat equity, and decision-making were some of the key features of these two projects asserted in the project reports. Both the projects were designed within the methods of planning procedures that adapted existing built-up footprints, accepted new negotiation patterns with the residents of the community, considered the financial condition of the residents, their socio-cultural background, acknowledged the role of state and public-private partnership and has/had a longer term planning perspective. Although, the principles applied in both the projects are similar, the level of formality in the implementation process is different. YSUP has received national award and international recognition for its performance, while ICPP has managed to grab international attention.

Two case studies from two different cities were selected for the research because two was deemed to be an appropriate number to help understand, investigate, analyse, and conclude. Time constraint was another reason for the selection of only two cases for field visits. Both the cases were analysed using same format, even though YSUP is a large-scale project with multiple actors and institutions involved, and ICPP is a small-scale project with a single institution involvement.

- In 2011, there were 3 cities with population greater than 10 million and 53 cities (including, Pune and Ahmedabad) with population greater than 1 million. Over 833 million Indians live in 0.64 million villages, but 377 million live in about 8, 000 urban centres.
- Pune and Ahmedabad are also among the top 10 largest cities, and are estimated to produce about 15 per cent of the GDP, with 8 per cent of the population and just 0.1 per cent of the land area (IIHS Analysis 2011; Census 2011; Planning Commission of India 2011).

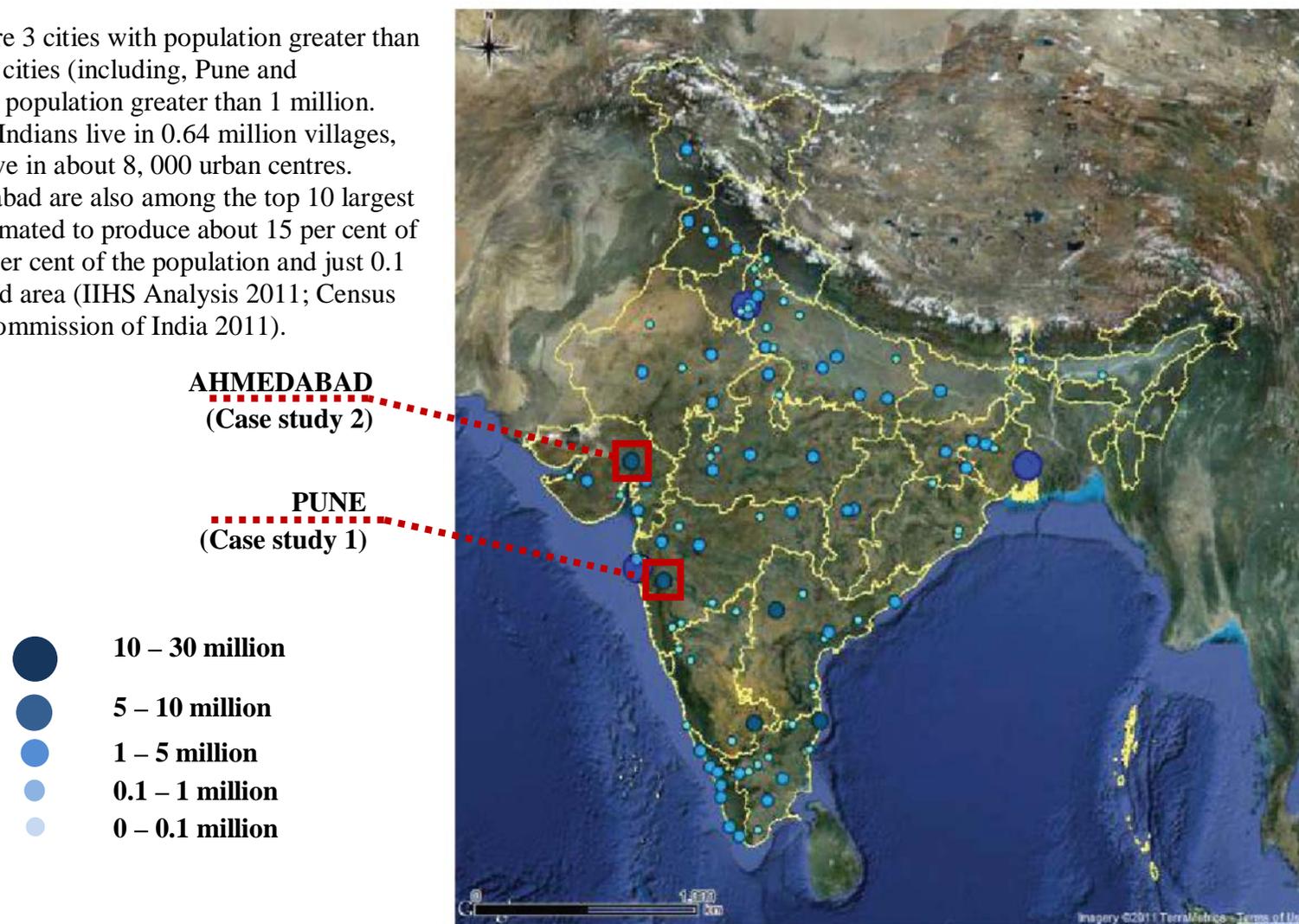


Image 1: Details of urban India from the last Census data

Source: IIHS Analysis of Census data (2012); Satellite map, Google Inc. (2011)

PART I

CASE STUDY 1: Yerwada Slum Up-grading Project (YSUP), Pune

6.3 Overview of Pune

Pune is a rapidly growing, flourishing city and is the second largest urban agglomerate in the state of Maharashtra, India. Pune is India's seventh largest city and benefits economically from its location close to Mumbai and the Mumbai - Pune industrial corridor (PMC 2006). The city has emerged from a small town into a city accommodating 3.8 million people over the last four decades with a range of IT, biotechnology and other industries, and many notable educational institutions (Patel 2013; Cantu 2010; Menon 2007; PMC 2006). Pune has emerged as a fast growing industrial hub of the country, and is also known as the 'Detroit of the East' (Nair and Kasabe 2006). Its transformation into a modern mega city is now a subject to the interest of the global economy and has attracted several multinational corporations from around the world (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen 2008; Siddiqui 2007), making the city increasingly required to undergo major structural transformations. Meanwhile, the traditional spatial form has evolved around the informal sector where the urban poor inhabit and contribute to the economy.

It is, therefore, essential to acknowledge the different characteristics of a major city, wherein urban poverty is structurally a part of its uneven development. In the same way, slum settlements have gradually become a part of Pune, as Pune intensifies its global integration. Currently, 40.56 per cent of Pune population that is 1.25 million people live in the 564 identified slum²⁷ settlements (353 declared and 211 not declared) scattered across the city (as seen in the image 2) (Patel 2013; PMC 2013; SPARC 2012; MASHAL 2011; Census of India 2011). This gradual increase in

²⁷ The term 'slum' is commonly used in India to refer to informal settlements. 'Slums' are defined as illegal settlements on privately owned or government owned lands; which is further complicated by the process of 'declaration'. Under the Maharashtra Slum Improvement Act (1971), when a settlement is characterised by the following features: a lack of formal recognition of the settlement and its residents by the local government; the absence of secure tenure for residents; inadequacies in provision for infrastructure and basic services; overcrowded and sub-standard dwellings; and location on land less suitable for occupation; the settlement is 'declared' or 'notified' under the Act. Once declared, a slum is entitled to receive basic services like water supply, common toilets, paving, electricity and drainage. In practice, many slums with poor living conditions have not been declared; whereas a declared slum eligible for basic improvements, only applies to the area of the slum which lies within the declared boundary (PRIA 2012; Patel 2013; Joshi et al. 2002).

population has put a lot of pressure on the land available in the city and the city's limit has been pushed towards the adjacent villages (Box 6.1) (Shekhar 2005).

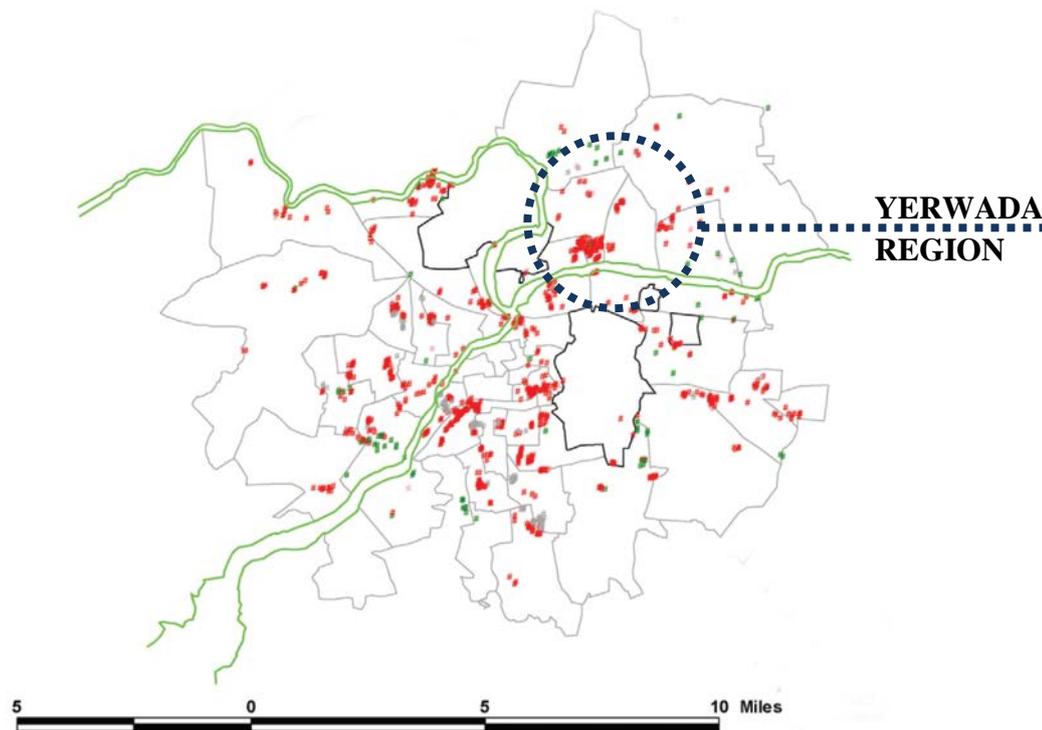


Image 2: Map of Pune showing informal settlements in red, scattered all over the city

Source: Lall et al. (2008); Sen and Hobson (2002); World Bank (2001)

Box 6.1: Pune slum settlements

In Pune, slums are handled separately from the rest of the city, under the Pune Municipal Corporation's (PMC) Slum Clearance Department. Many slum settlements were 'declared' during 1970s, but now due to expansion of city limits, most of the settlements have extended significantly beyond the boundaries drawn at that time. As a result, certain areas of the settlements are serviced, while extended areas are completely un-serviced. Thus, the significance of the 'declared' boundary is questionable; when more than 50 per cent of the settlement may fall outside these limits.

Slum settlements are further affected by the Government of Maharashtra legislation which distinguishes certain entitlements of the slum dwellers, who can ascertain that they were residents in the city on 1 January 1995. This legislation further complicates development for slum settlements, as part of a settlement may be 'undeclared' according to its limits, but its residents may be considered legitimate city dwellers.

Source: Joshi et al. (2002); Sen and Hobson (2002)

As a result, the urban growth continued without any appropriate planning leading to encroachments, lack of basic services and inadequate infrastructure. Thus the city has not been able to keep up with the rapid pace of urban growth and suffers from

insufficient infrastructure prerequisite, which is reflected in the slum settlements of the city (Lall et al. 2008; Joshi et al. 2002). Moreover, inefficient road networks, dysfunctional telephone and electricity lines, and poorly maintained drainage, water and sewerage networks can be observed throughout the city. Some areas completely lack these facilities, which are important for a city to function efficiently.

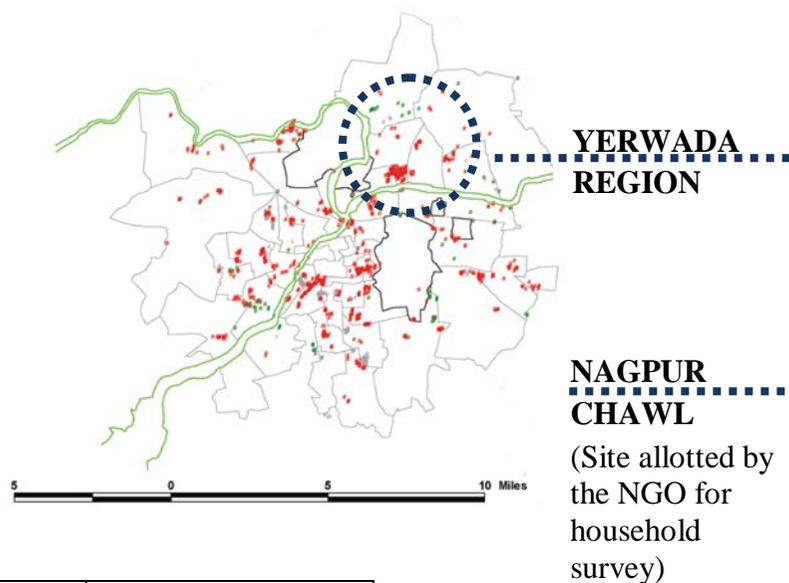
Therefore, a number of high-profile planning projects were proposed in recent years in Pune to maintain its position in the global economy. Some of them are light-rail system, large-scale riverfront improvement scheme, and Prime Ministerial Smart City project (TOI 2016; Sen and Hobson 2002; Shelter Associates and SPARC 1998), for which plans and development project reports (DPRs) have been put forward. Besides, roads are being widened and resurfaced, BRTS is in operation, and there are plans for high-capital investment in sewage and water treatment plants.

Nevertheless, looking at the history of failure of PMC initiated urban planning activities in relation to the urban poor settlements (for example, Mutha River Improvement Project, initiated by PMC in 1998); the research has critically analysed YSUP. The empirical analysis of YSUP draws on the household survey data collected during March, 2014 to April, 2015. For the survey, 220 households were randomly selected through sampling in the area called Nagpur Chawl, in the Yerwada region, allocated by the NGO MASHAL to the researcher for the survey (see Image 3). Nagpur Chawl is one of the twelve slum pockets in Yerwada assigned to the NGO for the in-situ slum upgrading project under JNNURM for PMC.

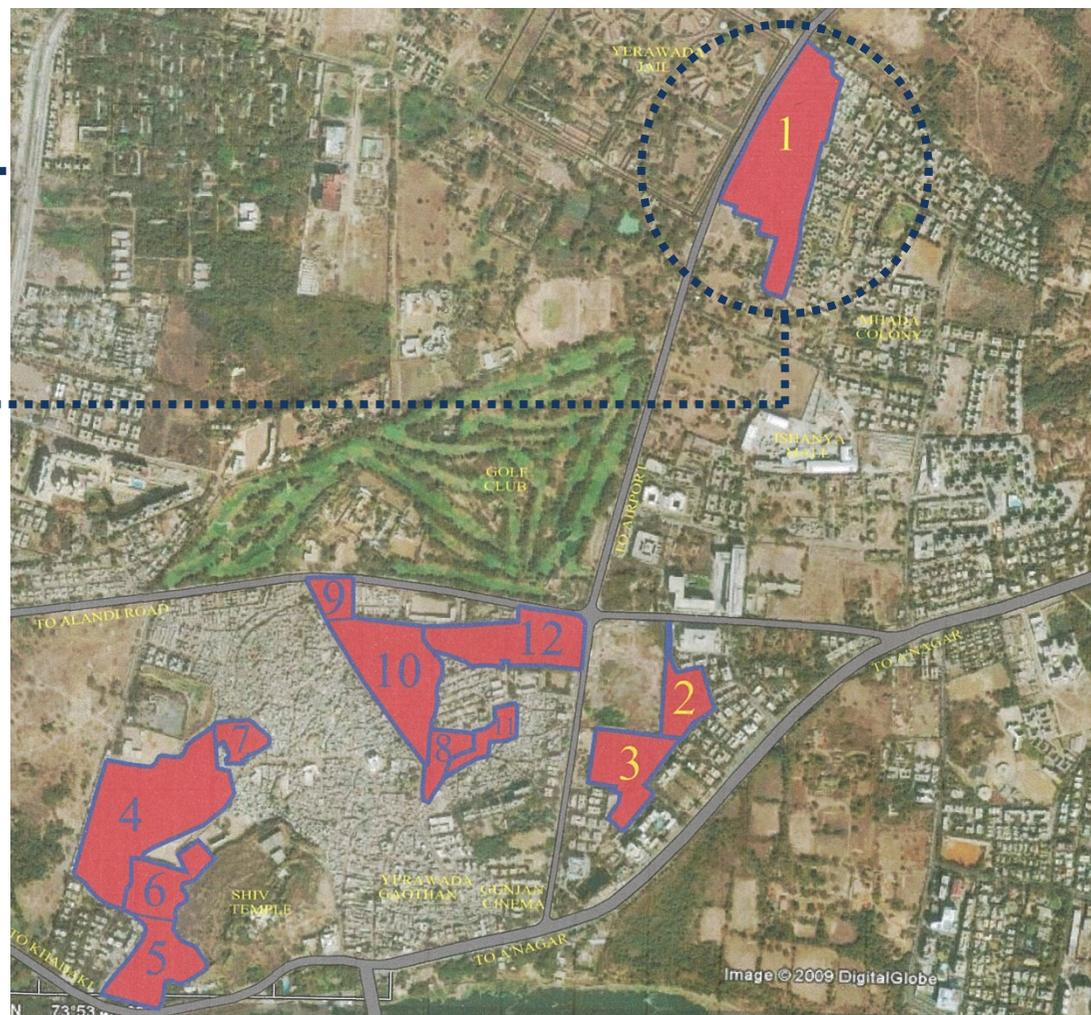
6.3.1 Settlement profile: Nagpur Chawl

Yerwada is a major slum settlement in Pune (Image 2), with twenty-two slum pockets (MASHAL 2012; PMC 2009-2010). The work in these twenty-two pockets is divided between three NGOs. Out of the three, only NGO MASHAL allowed the field work. MASHAL was allocated twelve communities for redevelopment. These twelve communities are listed in the Image 3 below.

But, through observational study, informal discussions with the residents of other communities (including the ones under different NGOs), and the primary data, it was revealed that all NGOs working for YSUP had followed the same process. Hence, a common conclusion can be claimed.



NO.	SLUM NAME
1	Nagpur Chawl
2	Jay Prakash Nagar
3	Gandhi Nagar
4	Jayjawan Nagar
5	Pandukamal Vasti
6	Ram Nagar
7	Laxmi Nagar
8	Janata Nagar
9	Balaji Nagar
10	Ganesh Nagar
11	Jijamata Nagar
12	Subhash Nagar



(Slum pockets with yellow numbers are the sites where MASHAL has started working for in-situ housing under JNNURM)

Image 3: Slum pockets in Yerwada region where NGO MASHAL is working
Source: MASHAL (2009); Lall et al. (2008); Sen and Hobson (2002); World Bank (2001)



Image 4: Former scenario of Nagpur Chawl

Photos taken by the author (2014 and 2015)

However, the analysis of case study has been limited to the specific community - Nagpur Chawl, because it was assigned by the NGO for the survey. Nagpur Chawl is the largest community among the twelve communities with highest number of houses allotted for redevelopment, with a mixture of *kuccha*²⁸ and *pucca*²⁹ houses, and at the time of the visit, had both completed and houses under construction (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Details of Nagpur Chawl (reproduced from the BSUP – DPR, prepared by Omkar Associates and submitted by PMC)

Name of the slum	Land area (in sq. m)	Total slum families	List of houses based on initial contract (07/09/2009)	Finalised list of houses (12/01/2015)
Nagpur Chawl	68, 480. 74	1554	254	477

Source: Rawoot (2015); MASHAL 2014

Nagpur Chawl is located on the state owned land and comprises of mostly residential structures. Even though the dwellers of the Chawl have been living in the area for more than fifty years, they do not have any legal tenure as the land belongs to the government. Before the initiation of the project, all the houses were closely packed together (Images 4.1 and 4.3); there was no provision of basic infrastructure, electricity and water supply, toilets, or drainage. But, gradually, with the effort and

²⁸ ‘Kuccha’ houses is a Hindi term used for impermanent houses in weak and feeble condition, made out of pieces of corrugated sheets and are held together with ropes or nails (as seen in the Image 4.2).

²⁹ A ‘Pucca’ house is a Hindi term used for permanent houses, made out of good construction material like brick and concrete.

influence of the Corporator³⁰ the community has been actively improving. Infrastructural improvements included, closed drainage systems, underground electricity and water supply and telephone connections. In fact the Chawl was quite organised in terms of 9 metres wide main roads, 6 metres wide secondary roads and only a few internal roads are 3 metres wide, providing easy access to emergency vehicle like an ambulance. The Chawl had piped water supply at every household level with the tap ratio of 1:1 and electricity to 95 per cent of houses. The sanitation condition was however lacking. There were 6 toilet blocks and 72 stalls with a ratio of 55:1. The residents also had access to 2 government hospitals, 1 private hospital, and primary health care centres within the Yerwada region. Government and 3 private schools, private computer classes, a daycare, vegetable markets, and shopping areas are all in the vicinity of Chawl. Residents also have access to public transportation and use city bus system for their regular commute (Data collected during the survey 2015). Both *kuccha* (Image 4.2) and *pucca* houses, few in relatively good condition were noticed in the Yerwada region during observational study. However, due to high-interest loans and lack of housing tenureship, the Chawl dwellers continued to live in the sub-standard conditions (Images 4.1, 4.2, 4.3), until YSUP, a government subsidised project, was introduced to the community.

6.3.2 Approach to study

Yerwada Slum Upgrading Project (YSUP), a government subsidised project, was introduced in Nagpur Chawl to improve the urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms for the community. YSUP sought to empower the community by involving them in the project, improve the accountability through decentralised local governance and introduce collaborative planning for long-term sustainability of the project (discussed in detail in section 6.4). Thus, this case study examines the strategies and practices adopted by the development agencies in fulfilling this agenda of involving the community in decision-making and determining the potential of this upgrading project in building the capacity of the community for longer-term sustainability.

³⁰ Corporator is the local leader of the community (denoted as ward, at the local government level) and is elected through democratic elections.

The next section gives a complete picture of the livelihood assets of the households of Nagpur Chawl. The community data was collected through a survey of 220 household. The sample size of 220 households for YSUP was calculated based on the total number of houses upgraded in the Chawl, and level of confidence required for the validity and reliability of the data. To make data comprehensive to assess, each parameter is discussed separately. The intent was to understand the livelihood approaches of the community, before moving on to the project description.

Community livelihood assets

The purpose of this section is to identify and acknowledge that the urban poor community of Nagpur Chawl might not have money or other savings, but they do have other material or non-material assets, such as their health, labour, knowledge and skills, family and social relations, and the natural resources available in their surroundings. The intent is to explore their livelihood approaches and the functionality of their household assets in order to recognise the opportunities or limitations they may offer. It is believed that recognising livelihood approaches of the community before commencing and analysing the project will be conceptually appropriate, empirically reliable and feasible to analyse strengths as opposed to analysis of needs of the urban poor. Thus, the 220 household survey data will represent the community of Nagpur Chawl, in regard to their human, physical, financial, social and political assets.

Human assets

Human assets indicates quantitative and qualitative aspects of labour resources (Hendricks 2011), available in the community or households and are considered as human capital or capabilities (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002). It is an important livelihood asset for the urban poor, for productive and reproductive purposes, and signifies their knowledge, skills, physical strength and ability to work. Together it facilitates the urban poor to engage in various livelihood strategies for their well-being. The section deals with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. This includes demographic characteristics such as age, gender, educational level, and distribution of livelihood categories over the community.

Age: The age distribution of the sample population is important to establish that a large proportion of the Nagpur Chawl dwellers were in the working age group. As seen in Table 6.2 below, for both male and female population, a majority of population were between 18 and 60 years of age, with close to or more than half the sample population falling in this age group.

Table 6.2: Age structure of the community population

Age distribution (in percentage)	0 – 17 years	18 – 60 years
	28.30	71.70

Gender: It should be noticed in the Table 6.3 below, that in the distribution of male and female population, the percentage of females is moderately higher than the males. Also, it is to the advantage of the research that the percentage of the female respondents was higher than the male respondents, for the reasons that women spend more time in the house and in the community, and have more contextual information than men.

Table 6.3: Gender distribution within the community population

Gender	Male	Female
Gender distribution within the community (in percentage)	48	52
Gender distribution of respondents within the sample population (in percentage)	35	65

Level of education: A way out of the dilemma of poverty for the urban poor would be to improve the productivity of the workforce, and this can be done through education. Most of the community residents had discontinued their education after completing high school (as seen in Table 6.4). Male child in the family was compelled to join the workforce at a very young age and the female child was expected to get married to follow the socio-cultural norms of the society. This might explain why poorer education status of the urban poor communities leads to higher proportion of workers being employed as casual labour in unskilled service jobs, which eventually leads to low incomes.

Table 6.4: Level of education in the community

Level of education (in percentage)	No formal education	Basic literacy	Formal education			
			4 th -8 th Std	SSC	HSC	Graduate
	6.8	15.5	10.4	31.5	22.2	13.6

It is hardly surprising that the average income appears to rise in correlation to higher educational qualifications. Thus, the qualitative data collected through interviews to supplement the survey data revealed that the elderly people of the households are now keen to improve their economic status, and encourages and ensures that their future generations are better educated. This is relevant only to the community members of age group 30 – 60 years. The upcoming generation of the community, that is 35.8 per cent of the residents between 18 – 30 years of age, had either graduated from school or from college (Table 6.4) and hence, the percentage of formal education in the community was reasonably high (as seen in Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Level of formal education in the community

Level of education (in percentage)	No formal education	Basic literacy	Formal education
	6.8	15.5	77.7

Sources of livelihood and employment status of the community: The share of the community to the pool of labour resources within the city is in line with their presence within the city. From the discussion in the Table 6.6 below the distribution with regard to the nature of livelihood category gives further insights into the contribution of the community to the employment scenario of Pune city. It is clear from the Table that a majority of the community members were unskilled and unemployed, and during interviews showed interest to work. The second highest category in the employment distribution of the sample population was of the low-income workers, who are mostly engaged in unskilled work like domestic help, casual labourers, junk dealers, etc. The next highest category included skilled workers who had acquired skills and livelihood knowledge in diverse fields as painting, electrical repair, plumbing, carpentry, gardening, masonry and so on and so

forth. The prevalence and high percentage of these three categories within the community shows the availability of informal labour resource in the community.

Table 6.6: Distribution of livelihood strategies and employment status of the community

Livelihood categories	Employment status (in percentage)
Unskilled, unemployed, housewife, casual labours	38
Unskilled and low-income jobs – Domestic help, construction worker, labour, rickshaw puller, junk dealers, shop helpers, petty traders	22
Home-based worker – Tailoring	7
Skilled jobs – Painter, electrician, plumber, carpenter, gardener, tailor, barber, driving, mechanic, masonry	20
Regular salaried service jobs – Teacher, driver, security, clerk in offices, housekeeping staff, nurse, retailer	11
Retired	2

The role of the urban poor community with regard to employment and subsistence in urban areas is critical. In urban poor communities such as Nagpur Chawl, the requirement for jobs, goods and services is increasing at a challenging rate that cannot be provided for by the formal sector. It has been argued that the creation of productive employment is an effective means of poverty reduction in urban poor communities, and thus, it is important to look at education status, while analysing the distribution of the livelihood categories within the community in terms of the extent to which they avail the opportunities and their capacity (or lack thereof) to convert the opportunities into beneficial result for their households (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7: Distribution of employed respondents through their educational qualifications and skills

Livelihood categories	Level of education			TOTAL
	No formal education	Basic literacy	Formal education	
Unskilled, unemployed, housewife, casual labour	4	10	70	84
Unskilled and low-income jobs – Domestic help, construction worker, labour, rickshaw puller, junk dealers, shop helpers, petty traders	10	18	20	48
Home-based worker –	1	0	14	15

Tailoring				
Skilled jobs – Painter, electrician, plumber, carpenter, gardener, tailor, barber, driving, mechanic, masonry	4	14	26	44
Regular salaried service jobs – Teacher, driver, security, clerk in offices, housekeeping staff, nurse, retailer	0	5	19	24
Retired	0	0	5	5
TOTAL RESPONDENTS				220

Employment is essential for ensuring the identity, dignity and level of confidence of an individual. For women, specially, access to income is even more important as it increases their negotiating position within the household and may perhaps lead to other desirable gender equitable outcomes. The distribution between male and female work participation is indicative of the gender differences and their level of dependency in the household. As seen in Table 6.8, women's share of self-employed work, that is combining both home-based work and skilled work, is higher in proportion to any other livelihood categories. Second highest category is the low-income jobs contributed by the women. The low levels of education of the females in the community have excluded them from participating in high income or regular salaried jobs. However, self-employed and low-income activities are more favoured by the women for the reasons that they do not have a fixed schedule, they have flexibility to work, can operate from home, can look after their children, and it does not conflicts with their traditional perceived roles as a mother and homemaker. But, in the context of this research case study, it should be noticed, that the highest incidence of labour resource is unemployed or is employed in low-income jobs.

Table 6.8: Labour resources and work participation rate of male and female within the community

Employment status	Male	Female	TOTAL
Unskilled, unemployed, housewife, casual labour	17	67	84
Unskilled and low-income jobs	13	35	48
Home-based worker	1	14	15
Skilled jobs	25	19	44
Regular salaried service jobs	16	8	24

Retired	5	0	5
Total	77	143	220

Physical assets

Physical assets comprises of tangible, productive assets, such as machinery, tools, livestock, household goods, and housing and infrastructure. For urban poor, renting out rooms or operating home-based economic activities are regarded as one of the most important activity after labour, both for productive and reproductive purposes (Farrington et al. 2002). Insecure housing tenure severely limits urban poor household's ability to mobilise household capital, and limits their expenditure capacity for the improvement of housing. Moreover, because of the uncertainty and illegality of their housing tenure, urban poor experience vulnerability and insecurity.

This is in contrast to the urban poor community of Nagpur Chawl. During the household survey, it was revealed that 100 per cent of the respondents had no fear of demolition or eviction, nor had ever received any legal eviction document from the local authority in 30 – 55 years of occupancy of the house. Ten of the respondents were living on rent in the Chawl, even though the previous occupant had no Possession Certificate or Occupancy Right³¹. The respondents felt secure in their houses and still, had never worked towards the improvement of their houses or the community.

Financial assets

Urban areas being extremely monetised need regular income and availability of financial services for the subsistence of urban poor households and for their long term investments. With this understanding, it is essential to understand the labour market in which the residents of Nagpur Chawl engage themselves, and the employment category will further help with the analysis. Thus, the true extent of the labour resource available in the sample population was examined based on their employment status and livelihood categories (as seen in the Table 6.6, 6.7, and 6.8

³¹ Possession Certificate or Occupancy Right refers to the state transferred right to occupy land or property. This category could also refer to the leasehold type of private tenure, which gives the rights to the complete possession of the land or property that is transferred for a consideration or rent, for a limited period of time or it could also be valid for as long as 99 years, in which case this form of ownership is almost indistinguishable from the freehold-type tenure.

above). It can be seen that the highest occurrence is of the unemployed, unskilled, and casual labours (38 per cent), and the second largest proportion is of unskilled, low-income workers (22 per cent), which makes a sizeable proportion of the community lacking in financial assets. This also increases the already wide gap between different socio-economic groups and leads to 'a large growth in the demand for low-income workers and jobs that offer few growth possibilities' (PRIA 2012). Due to the lack of regular salaried income, the respondents also pointed out that they cannot access bank loans for education, setting up business, or for the ongoing subsidised housing project.

Social assets

The socio-economic networks cultivated in urban poor communities act as means for increasing social and economic mobility. The social capital available in the urban poor communities have two distinct characteristics – they might be means of social support that allows an urban poor household to get by in times of difficulty and scarcity, or they might be agents for social leverage that helps the households to surface from their plight. Either or both of these characteristics might be related to social capital of an urban poor community.

The research highlights some evidence on the occurrence of social inclusion in the Nagpur Chawl from our sample population. During the survey, respondents were asked whether they belonged to any community group or if they helped each other in some way or the other during the project implementation. The answers were indicative of the extent of social ties and networks that exist in the community. The responses recorded showed a very low number of social inclusion or rather social belonging. The community lacked any kind of community groups and mostly, helped their extended families living in the same community or occasionally their neighbours with information of community meetings. It was noticed that a large proportion of the respondents were somewhat occupied with their own regular salaried jobs, families, and lacked sense of community.

Political assets

Participation in the democratic process through voting does not convert into political power, which holds the ability to influence policy. The lack of political influence has been mentioned as one of the many reasons behind urban poor settlements existence

as deprived and badly serviced places in cities. The biased voter ratio inhabiting urban poor settlements often leads to political setups to flatter them with job creation, access to welfare benefits, improvement of infrastructure, and tenure security. Nevertheless, the urban poor are politically very aware. Though they are often won over by false promises of local powerful agents and act in their favour, they have strong political views and understanding. Even though the urban poor are seriously affected by urban policies developed to regulate them, their participation in decision-making is very limited. They consider themselves to be vulnerable and powerless and as a result do not participate in decision-making processes.

In case of Nagpur Chawl, the community is very much dependent on their local leader. The local political leader of Nagpur Chawl, Dr. Siddharth Dhende, acts as a patron to the community, and is responsible for influencing the participation of the community in YSUP. Out of 92.7 per cent of the respondents who stated that they were informed about the project, 87.7 per cent of them claimed that they were informed by a representative from the local leader's office. While most of the respondents gave credit to the local leader for the project, others believed this to be his political act to gain votes from the community and to increase his power in the political party he belonged. Moreover, 11 per cent of the respondents complained that the local leader was not accessible after the commencement of the project or heard their complaints about the project.

The next section of the chapter discusses the YSUP project implemented in the Nagpur Chawl of Yerwada, funded under the government of India's Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) program – with particular attention paid to the extent of collaborative planning, community participation, and capacity building of the community. The project description includes a review of the documentation prepared by the government bodies and NGOs, in the form of reports and articles. The following sections, will involve the assessment of the case study entirely based on the observations, household surveys and group interviews conducted for the research. A common set of questionnaire was prepared and used in household surveys, interviews with the local government bodies and implementing agencies (NGO representatives, professionals and other stakeholders), and group interviews. The intent was to ensure that same issues were covered in the survey and interviews. The questions were basically to gather the background information of the community; to

understand the implementation process of the project (to record the extent to which it involved the community members); and to identify the provisions made available to the community for asset management and asset creation (means used for community capacity building) within the project guidelines. The assessment also looked at the management of the construction process, housing designs (settlement layouts, quality of construction, and unit costs), and transfer of tenure.

6.4 YSUP: Project description

The Central Government of India under the Ministry of Urban Development launched a major initiative, Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), in the year 2005 with the aim of creating economically productive, effective, equitable and responsive cities by a strategy of upgrading the social and economic infrastructure in cities, to deal with the growing challenges of urbanization. To minimize the challenges for the Mission, JNNURM was further sub-divided into:

- Urban infrastructure and improved governance in municipalities, to be managed by the Ministry of Urban Development; and,
- Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP), to be managed by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA) (Patel 2013).

The intent of introducing BSUP was to make an important break from the sole focus of developing hard infrastructure and bring in-situ housing up-gradation for slum communities like Yerwada, to a larger urban governance agenda. JNNURM - BSUP mandates a transfer of power from the state to the local government as a method of decentralising power and advocates community participation. Although power-sharing has already been reconstituted in the constitution as per the 74th Amendment in 1992, it allowed the state to preserve the authority to delegate roles to municipalities, as a result maintaining its share of power. The mandate also requires the state to allocate planning and implementation responsibility to the municipality as a prerequisite from the central government to bring the decentralisation in planning and practice. It also reinstates the importance of social mobilisation, community participation, and collaboration between the local government agencies, NGOs, and the community for successful implementation and sustainability of improved housing for the urban poor.

The main mission and objective of launching JNNURM – BSUP, is as stated in the official documents (JNNURM 2012; BSUP 2009), is discussed in the Box 6.2 below. JNNURM – BSUP was sought to support slum upgrading projects by providing the slum dwellers with affordable housing, basic services like water, sewage, sanitation, electricity connections, education and security of tenure, by involving the community in the development process. Evidently, the idea was to develop the community and improve the dwellings in the same locations, as relocation has been widely proved to be unacceptable as a solution for slum upgrading.

Box 6.2: JNNURM – BSUP: Mission and objectives

Mission Statement: The aim is to encourage reforms and fast track planned development of identified cities. **Focus is to be on efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation, and accountability of urban local bodies (ULBs)/Parastatal agencies towards citizens.**

Objectives of the Mission:

The objectives of the JNNURM - BSUP are to ensure that the following are achieved in the urban sector,

- Focussed attention to integrated development of infrastructure services in cities covered under the Mission;
- **Establishment of linkages between asset-creation and asset-management through a slew of reforms for long-term project sustainability;**
- Ensuring adequate funds to meet the deficiencies in urban infrastructural services;
- Planned development of identified cities including peri-urban areas, outgrowths and urban corridors leading to dispersed urbanisation;
- Scale-up delivery of civic amenities and provision of utilities with emphasis on universal access to the urban poor;
- Special focus on urban renewal programme for the old city areas to reduce congestion; and
- Provision of basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply and sanitation, and ensuring delivery of other existing universal services of the government for education, health and social security.

Source: JNNURM (2012); BSUP (2009)

To seek funding from JNNURM, each city was required to meet certain reform requirements, which included preparing a detailed development project report (DPRs), city development plan (CDPs) and a timeline to undertake the project. The cities selected for BSUP funding were categorized on the basis of their population,

that is, more than 4 million (7 cities), 1-4 million (28 cities) and others (JNNURM Report 2012). With a population of 3.8 million (Census of India 2011; PMC 2006), Pune was selected under the second highest population category. To avail the funding, the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) came up with

“...a unique community driven in-situ slum up-gradation project to be executed under the BSUP scheme of JNNURM. This project recognises the prevailing concerns of the urban poor and thereby integrates the community in its planning and implementation process. The uniqueness of the project lies in its in-situ design that allows the locals to have houses with all the basic amenities in their own settlements without bearing the brunt of being uprooted to a government imposed outskirts. Every household was designed in consultation with the future residents of the houses. The project gave special emphasis on the sanitation, hygiene, ventilation and lighting requirement of the community. The highlight of the project is its provision of secure tenure for the slum dwellers, otherwise living with the constant insecurity of being uprooted by the government.” (GKC 2012, 1)

Subsequently, PMC received the funding under BSUP from the Central government of India and 4000 households for in-situ up-gradation under JNNURM – BSUP were sanctioned (MASHAL 2014; GKC 2012); out of which 3601 households were from the seven high density slum areas of the Yerwada region. The project was launched in 2009 with the target of improving *kuccha* houses. As per the parameters of JNNURM, the criteria defined for selecting slum settlements were – the slums had to be in the notified slums category and should be located on government land which is neither reserved for any civic purposes nor is an ecologically valuable space. Under this in-situ slum up-gradation project, one of the provisions was that the slum settlement after the successful implementation of the project will be de-notified as a slum and will receive a Possession/Occupancy Right Certificate. After which the residents will be legally accountable to pay the property taxes. While the benefit of the project was limited to those living in *kuccha* houses, the households that were already *pucca* could not avail the housing subsidy, but were given a grant of INR 15,000 (USD \$220) for constructing toilets (Patel 2013).

As per the BSUP guidelines, the cost of an individual in-situ upgraded house of 270 square feet (25 square metres) was approximate INR 3, 00, 000 (USD \$4480), shared between the central government, state government, local government and the community (as seen in the Table 6.9). Later on, it was added in the PMC DPR that the housing subsidy was provided for the provision of “water and sewerage connectivity to the municipal network from the unit and the total cost of the dwelling unit would be (cost of construction of the home + infrastructure) INR 3, 31, 884 + INR 19, 917 = INR 3, 51, 801” instead of the earlier figure of INR 3, 00, 123 per unit (Rawoot 2015; SPARC 2012; JNNURM 2008). An addition of the staircase or change in the plan of the house was charged an extra INR 1,500 (USD \$22) and INR 1,000 (USD \$15), respectively, from the beneficiary (Household survey 2014-15).

Table 6.9: Cost sharing for the construction of a single unit

Stakeholders	Central government	State government	Local government (PMC)	Community	
				Open category	Weaker/minority category
Cost sharing (in percentage)	50	30	10	12	10
Cost sharing (in INR and USD)	INR 3, 00, 123 (USD \$4480)			36, 000 (\$537)	30, 000 (\$448)

Source: Household survey (2014-15); SPARC (2012)

6.4.1 Actors involved

Considering the scale of the project (a total of 4,000 units up-gradation) PMC announced a tender for interested NGOs and private contractors with sound technical expertise in social mobilisation and building construction to bid for the project. The tender had clearly reinstated its requirements of, ‘developing units in different packages with individual or cluster wise wholesome approach, stress on social mobilisation and community participation, and that the 4000 houses will be developed by multiple parties each selected to construct 250-500 tenements’ (PMC 2013). The intention of breaking the project into smaller pockets was to support local NGOs and contractors. Thus, local NGOs were selected for the project for their strong community presence, previous work experience of working closely with the urban poor communities, and for their rapport with the locally elected

representatives. Consequently, PMC appointed four NGOs - MASHAL, SPARC and Mahila Milan, VRP, and SEWA - to implement the project in the Yerwada region (as seen in Table 6.10) and to act as a conduit between PMC and the community. The NGOs were given the responsibility of conducting biometric and socio-economic surveys in the settlements; conduct meetings with the community; appointing architects, contractors, consultants, and supervisors; implementing and monitoring the construction process; devising financial strategies; ensuring effective community participation; and equitable distribution of resources.

Table 6.10: Work allotted by PMC to different NGOs in Yerwada region (*in later stages of the project, number of houses was added to MASHAL’s scope of work as NGO SEWA, initially assigned to these settlements, resigned from the project.*)

Name of NGOs	MASHAL	SPARC (in alliance with Mahila Milan, NSDF, and CHF-International)	VRP	SEWA
No. of houses allotted (in 2009)	943	750	394	750
No. of houses allotted (by 2015)	2010	1125	466	-

Source: MASHAL 2014

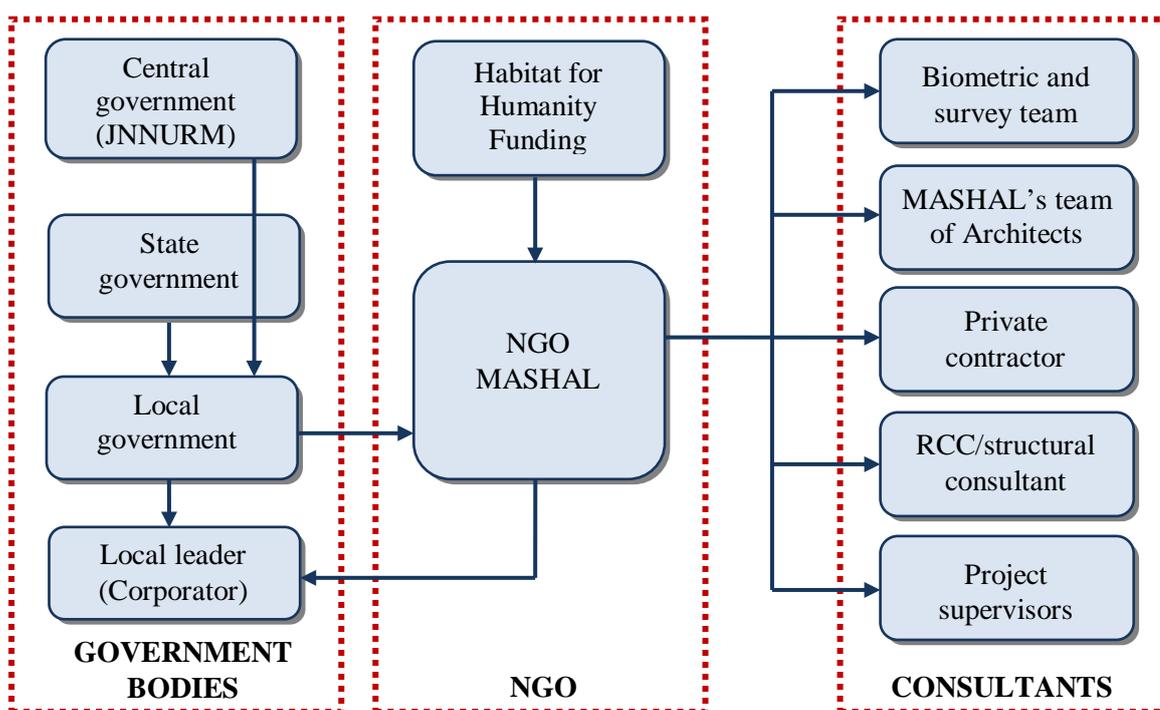


Figure 6.1: YSUP’s institutional arrangement

Inter-relationships between the actors

It is interesting to note that a tripartite partnership agreement was signed between the PMC, NGO, and the beneficiary, for individual household participation in the project, wherein PMC was supposed to be the implementer and NGO, a link between the PMC and the community (JNNURM 2008). The attempt was to create a governance structure that would sustain and develop by decentralisation planning, that is from the state to the city, thus bringing the local government and their community closer. But, NGOs became the primary implementers on the project and retained contractors for the construction work while working with the local Corporator to build community consensus for the project. Tripartite model defines that the decision-making and the implementation process passes through the new forms of relationships between state and community, and through the strict 'channel' of State-NGO partnership. But, looking at the project institutional organisation and the tripartite partnership model below, the community was not an integral part of it, but a mere beneficiary (Figure 6.1 and 6.2).

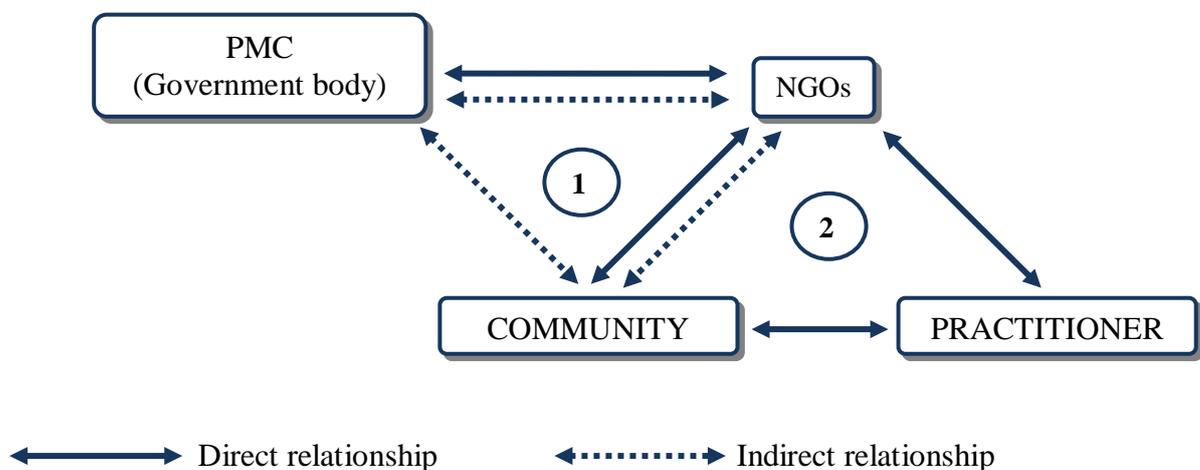


Figure 6.2: YSUP's Tripartite Partnership Model

Basically, the PMC and the NGO shared a direct and indirect relation, that is to say, a contractual relation for financing. As the project started developing, MASHAL directly collaborated with the local Corporator to setup large community meetings in the settlements to explain the project, its advantages, its timeline, parameters, subsidy and community's contribution requirements, and individual household's financial capacity to arrange a transit accommodation during in-situ housing up-gradation. The interface between the NGO and the community was limited to the meetings and was

more mechanical. The MASHAL team had also established a close working relationship with the junior engineers at the PMC to help set up project standards and documentation processes. They also regularly escalated larger project problems to the senior PMC officials and local Corporators to put forward the issues in the standing committee meetings (comprising of Officials from the Central government, State-level Ministers, and appointed Officials for JNNURM - BSUP) for assessment and resolution.

The community related itself more to the practitioners' (contractor and supervisors), because they were working within the community and with individual households, even though they were working for the NGO. Even so, although consultants have technical knowledge, they do not have experience to work closely with the community. From the survey, it was gathered that an extensive number of households were unhappy with the work of contractors. The respondents believed that because it was a subsidised project, the contractor felt that the power and control of the construction of the house was in his hands and the beneficiary is not liable to make any demands or request changes in the plans. Some even complained that because it was a government project, a contractor was working on 15-20 houses at a given point of time, was not concerned of the quality of the construction and was merely focussed on completing the job.

Then again, the project provided ample opportunities for the community to get involved to make their own decisions and for the PMC to build relationship with the community. Even though the DPR recognised the importance of collaboration and community participation, and a desire to involve communities was expressed by the local government, in reality, interface between PMC and the community was indirect but proactive, limited to financial needs and provision of basic services.

6.4.2 Project initiatives and approaches

It is important to discuss the implementation process of the project to understand the stages applied by MASHAL in Nagpur Chawl of the Yerwada region. The intent is to record the extent to which the community was involved in the project, and to identify the means made available to the community for asset management and asset creation (means used for community capacity building, for longer term sustainability of the project) as per the JNNURM – BSUP mission and objectives. This section will

discuss step-wise - how biometric and socio-economic surveys were conducted; community meetings organised and whether community priorities, needs and problems were established; housing designs; process of house demolition, transit accommodation and construction; and transfer of tenure. It is crucial to discuss this section in detail to assess the phenomenon of capacity building of the community.

Community surveys

Though slum settlements to be taken for in-situ up-gradation were selected before the preparation of the DPR, the selection of eligible households, biometric surveys and socio-economic surveys were conducted only after the procurement (GKC 2012). The first survey for BSUP, a GIS (Geographic Information System) based survey, was conducted in partnership between MASHAL, Urban Community Development (UCD), and CHF's (Co-operative Housing Foundation) Utthan project (SPARC 2012). Since the DPR did not offer detailed criteria for classification of *kuchha-pucca* houses, MASHAL prepared a classification system based on the observational study during the survey, which included houses made out of corrugated GI (galvanized iron) sheets (as seen in Image 5) or houses made out of brick but with GI sheet roofs supported on L-shaped angles. As soon as the criterion of assessment was approved by PMC, it was used as a basis for house classification by all the NGOs working for YSUP. The sorting helped in identifying and listing the beneficiaries, and for preparing project estimates.



Image 5: Biometric and identification of *kucha* house survey conducted by MASHAL

Source: MASHAL

Once the list of beneficiary was prepared, the beneficiaries were asked to submit a list of documents as proof of residency. The list included copy of the government issued *Aadhar*³² card, ration card (public distribution system in India) showing names of all members of the family, election card, and electricity bill with residential address. Consideration was given to people who lacked possession of documents and were allowed to show hospital receipt with house address as a proof of residence. No cut off date was considered in classifying eligibility of the household’s residency. Once documents of residency were provided, beneficiary consent for participating in the project was obtained and bank accounts were opened.

Organisation of community meetings

Initially, the community meetings (Image 6) were organised weekly by MASHAL in collaboration with the local Corporator to explain the government scheme, its advantages, its timeline, parameters, subsidy and community’s contribution requirements, and individual household’s financial capacity to arrange a transit accommodation during in-situ housing up-gradation (Image 7).



Image 6: Community meeting organised in the community

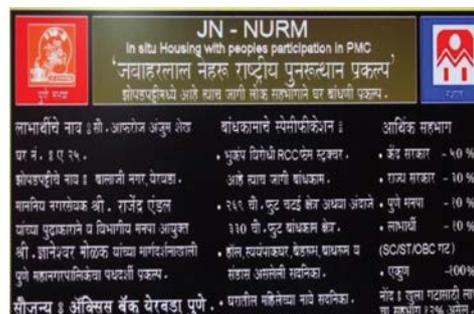


Image 7: Banner displayed in the community with the details of the project

Source: MASHAL

As the project started developing and information dissemination was completed, community meetings were reduced to fortnightly or monthly meetings. Even though MASHAL designed the houses on individual basis, following the same pattern, information regarding the housing design was given in the meetings. Many respondents claimed that until the demolition of their house, they had not seen the

³² Aadhar card is a 12 digit identification number issued by the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) on behalf of the Government of India, and was introduced by Nandan Nilekani. The purpose of this number was to serve as a proof of identity and address anywhere in India.

plan of the house. While others asserted that the meetings were only inform the community about the project, and not to take any inputs from them in regard to their needs or problems.

Project design and planning

After completing community-mapping and verifying *kuccha* and *pucca* structures on the site, regulatory approvals on the drawings from PMC were acquired. The construction process was then co-ordinated between three professional agencies - structural consultant, project management agency for quality control of construction work and MASHAL's in-house architect team developed planning and architectural designs. The team had the responsibility of explaining the design and parameters of the structure to the beneficiaries and incorporating their suggestions.



Image 8: In-situ house up-gradation by MASHAL in Nagpur Chawl, Yerwada
 Photos taken by the author (2014 and 2015)

Individual houses with minor adaptation to the building footprint were designed by MASHAL's team of architects. The houses were designed keeping the existing fabric of the community in mind. As per the BSUP guidelines, each *kuccha* house was to be rebuilt with durable materials; with extra floor space added to make all the houses a minimum of 270 square feet (25 square metre), which normally went up to G+1 structure. The house design included an internal staircase (Images 8.1, 8.2, 8.5, 8.6), one multi-purpose room (Images 8.2 and 8.5), a bedroom (Image 8.1), one cooking alcove (Image 8.3 and 8.4) with wash area (Images 8.7), and an internal toilet and bathroom (door visible in Image 8.6). Each house was provided with a 500 litre overhead water tank (Image 8.8). Electrical layouts and fittings for the whole house and a base connection point were provided, but each beneficiary had to make their own arrangement to install the meters.

Project implementation

For the implementation of the project, MASHAL hired contractors and each contractor was given 15-20 houses at a given point of time. MASHAL's contract with the contractor was based on stage wise payments for the work completed, as was the case with MASHAL's agreement with the State Nodal Agency (SNA). Basically, slum redevelopment in terms of in-situ upgrading only meant demolition of the existing structure and constructing a contractor built, government funded housing. The project suffered long delays due to various issues such as, the need to achieve individual household consent, changes due to unanticipated site conditions, delays in disbursement of funds, delays in approvals from the PMC officials, inadequate manpower and extra work load on the PMC officials and contractors. These delays extended the projects scheduled for completion from 18 months to an average of 3-4 years for most beneficiaries. There was no provision of transit accommodation for those whose homes had been demolished or rental support, and the beneficiary had to arrange it for themselves. Due to delays in the project, the beneficiary had to bear the cost escalation of INR 2-3, 00, 000 (USD \$2985-4478) in rent, excluding the payments for the construction. Communities were not prepared for such escalations and were finding it extremely difficult to bear two costs at the same time. Some households ended up squatting in nearby locations in worse conditions to save the rent and travelling money. No provisions were made at any level in the form of loans to help the communities with cost escalations, which led to a cycle of delays. Once

the house were complete, MASHAL in co-ordination with the PMC provided 'No Objection Certificate' (NOC) to the beneficiary for the use and occupancy of the house till a Completion Certificate was issued officially.

6.4.3 Project findings and discussion

In this section, YSUP will be evaluated for its response to the local context; effective community participation; institutional capacity, its decentralisation in planning and adopted collaborative approaches; and sustenance of the project. The evaluation is based on the observational surveys, primary and secondary data, informal discussions with the community, household surveys, and interviews with the practitioners (consisting of local leaders, contractors, consultant, project surveyors/supervisors, project coordinator, NGO head, and project architects) conducted for the research. Group interviews were also conducted for triangulation and validity of the data. The findings of the survey are discussed below:

Response to the local context

The DPRs and the tenders produced by the PMC were prepared in a great deal of urgency and lacked important information on the eligibility criteria of the selected slums and the households; project implementation process; set regulatory building standards of the redeveloped houses; required manpower; and estimated cost escalations; due to which considerable confusion and delays occurred in the project implementation. During the observational study, it was noticed that the community had good infrastructure and most of the houses were constructed of bricks and only the roof needed to be replaced (Image 9.1), in comparison to the other poorer urban poor settlements observed just a few kilometres away from Yerwada (Image 9.2). Moreover, 100% of the respondents during household survey had responded that they had no fear of demolition or eviction, and felt secure in the houses. Thus, it was revealed during the data collection that the selection of slums was a highly politicised process influenced by the local Corporators and approved by the Mayor of the city.



(1)



(2)

Image 9: Questioning the selection of slums
 Photos taken by the author (2014)

The selected slum settlements and the beneficiaries were informed about the project once the planning and designs were developed and tenders had already been awarded to the NGOs. As per the BSUP policies, each *kuccha* house was to be rebuilt on its original footprint with minor adjustments. To provide each household with a minimum of 270 square feet (25 square metres) of floor space, often additional floors with cantilever projections over the access lanes was provided. These design provisions not only retained the narrow streets, but also restricted access for the emergency evacuation and services (Images 10.1 and 10.2). The cantilevered projections also reduced natural light and ventilation into the houses, resulting in usage of artificial lighting even during the daytime (Images 10.3, 10.4, 10.5, and 10.6).



(1)



(2)



(3)

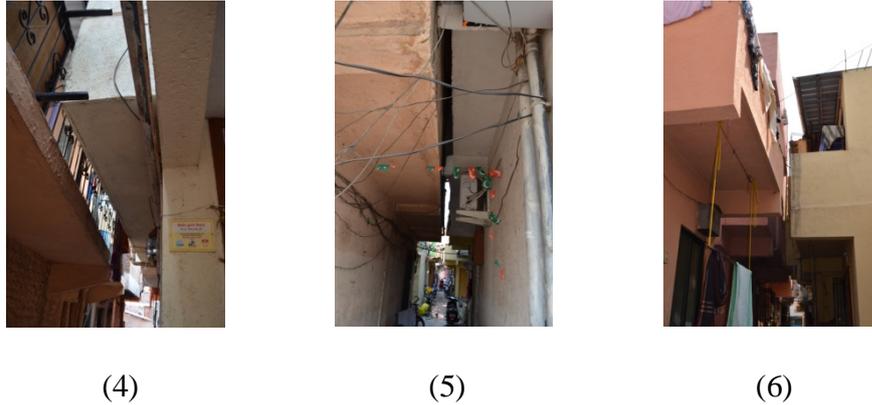


Image 10: Gaps in designing and planning

Photos taken by the author (2015)

This is not only harmful to the health of the residents, but is also energy inefficient, uneconomical, and an unsustainable solution. In addition to this, several respondents complained that the water pressure is so low that they had to install water pump to pump water up to the overhead water tank provided. Due to the excessive consumption of electricity, their cost of living has considerably gone up, which is difficult for a low income household to bear. Some people have again started washing their dishes and clothes in the open in communal taps to avoid additional costs.

Moreover, a majority of cases were noticed, where community members had disregarded the BSUP policy mandates that allowed a maximum of 270 square feet only to be built. However, several households had built additional floors with external stairs by entering into direct contracts with the local contractor with complete knowledge of the local Corporator and the NGO supervisors (Image 11). These additional floors have been constructed unsupervised by the technical team and signifies illegal construction. While the structural consultant interviewed showed concern over the structural stability and suggested that sloping roofs could have restricted this problem, the Supervisor alleged that,

“... the project does not have set building standards and regulations that can enforce or control such uncertified construction.” (Survey 2015)



Image 11: Disregard of BSUP policy mandates

Photo taken by the author (2014)

Another private consultant during his interview said that,

“... the project has been implemented in extremely scattered manner, which still leaves the settlement in an organic form. The land resource has been very inefficiently used. This was a good opportunity for the government organisations to work together and resolve the issues of narrow lanes and emergency access. It appears that there has been no form of joint approach within the government portfolios to resolve the most visible and important issue of the slum.” (Survey 2015)

In essence, the standard of living of the community in terms of physical living conditions has definitely improved (for instance, each house has a toilet now), but there is no change in the living conditions of the community, for their expenditures have further increased. In fact the project clause is holding the community together. Otherwise there were already 10 respondents in the Chawl who were living on rent in the newly redeveloped houses, and the owners had shifted to a different urban poor settlement, so that they can earn extra income from the rent. Therefore, here too the government authorities have missed the opportunity of effectively redeveloping the community.

Community involvement

The BSUP recognised the importance of community participation and expressed it in its mission and objectives for the local government bodies to involve the community members or individual households in the in-situ housing redevelopment project. The intention was to decentralise the project, build relationships between the local

authorities and the community, and share power. The project reports and practitioners' acknowledge the importance of participation, but lack the organisational capacity and tools to effectively engage the community on the site. There were no means introduced to involve community at any stage of the project (surveys, planning, implementation, supervision, or evaluation). The communities were not even involved in the decision making process of their house designs, decisions on terms and conditions of their repayment capacity, construction process, or were asked about their needs or problems (such as, capacity to contribute financially, livelihood strategies, size of the family living under one roof, usage of internal space, home-based earnings, etc.). It was perceived during the survey that there was no connection between the proposed project and the ground reality. During the survey, a 51-year old woman resident stated,

“... our contribution was only in the form of time and money. Even though we gave our timely inputs in the community meetings, our house is ‘contractor built’ with the same old bureaucracy system.” (Survey 2014)

Small, construction labour work, or involvement of local skilled workers in the project could have helped with major circulation of the funds in the settlement, while assisting the households with employment and livelihood activity. Perhaps there is a lack of awareness and knowledge of the benefits of community participation at PMC and community level. Most of the professionals interviewed perceived ‘community participation’ as simply providing information to communities through meetings in order to obtain consent for implementation of the project; and in-situ slum upgrading was meant demolishing the house on the site and redevelop the new house through private contractors. 96.2 per cent of respondents claimed that no problem assessment survey was done and there was limited or no engagement even during the designing of their houses. A 36-year old housewife said,

“...we were told during the community meetings that we could suggest/discuss minor changes, like the position of the toilet and bathroom in the house, with the contractor before the commencement of construction. But, the contractor declined and now, our toilet and bathroom is right next to the entrance. It is difficult to use the toilet when we have guests, plus, the stench stays in the front room, which we find quite embarrassing.” (Survey 2014)

The respondents asserted dissatisfaction in any kind of co-operation from the contractor and expressed the need of grievance redressal.

Response to collaborative approach

A tripartite agreement between the PMC, NGO and the beneficiary was signed to encourage a collaborative environment for decision-making and joint problem-solving throughout the project. The PMC was expected to take on the joint responsibility as an implementing agency along with the NGO to create a shared sense of responsibility between them. Thus, a distributive investment structure was introduced between the central government, state government, local government and the beneficiary (see Table 6.9). This co-investment in the project was believed to facilitate inter-institutional co-ordination and power sharing; instead it resulted in long bureaucratic disbursement of funds. Initially, regular meetings between all the stakeholders were organised to discuss problems, to exchange information, to make collective decisions, and to establish policies for the project. Direct access to the PMC officials made it easier for the NGOs to discuss site problems and seek clarifications when required. The NGO and Corporator also interacted on a regular basis to discuss any sort of disputed claims between the beneficiaries. The active collaboration between these agencies enabled the successful implementation of the project. But, internal power struggles persist as a result of change in roles and responsibilities from the state to the local government for planning and implementation of the project.

During an interview with the MASHAL head (2014), when questioned about the delays in the implementation of the project, it was suggested that the manpower issues at the PMC level was quite serious for the BSUP. Early on a new cell was planned for BSUP in PMC comprising of a team of 6 Project Implementation Unit (PIU) staff. But, the team never got hired, as the state government insisted on influencing this team, but the PMC refused to accept any team from the state. Ultimately, the Yerwada project was handled by the Zonal ward office team of 4 Junior Engineers.

The Junior Engineers received no training or guidance regarding regulatory procedures and standards to be followed for project approvals or supervision for a government-funded in-situ slum upgrading project, which was quite different from

their regular work and had no precedent to follow. The Engineers had other duties at the ward level and were assigned to handle 4000 houses. Thus, extreme delays in receiving the commencement certificate for construction work was experienced. It was noticed that although PMC had sufficient clerical staff available, there was a very limited technical staff available to take on the project. Moreover, a qualified Engineer should mainly working on quality checks on the site and technical approvals, instead due to excess work pressure they end up spending a lot of time in completing paperwork for approvals (Rawoot 2015).

Local Corporator was another important link in the implementation of the project. Even though the Corporator was not assigned a role in the project or was part of any contract, they had a strong hold on the community and helped in bringing the community together and building community consensus for the project. In the initial stages of the project, Corporators collaborated with the NGO in organising community meetings and raising awareness of the benefits of the BSUP. Gradually, through subsequent stages of the project implementation, the Corporator stayed involved in the project, and helped mediate to resolve conflicts and discrepancies between community members and/or NGOs. Through their intervention they provided important channels of communication with the community. Their contribution in the project was beneficial and negative in some aspects. Through these projects, the Corporator saw the opportunity in gaining political mileage by fronting the project and playing an active role in advocating for the benefits of BSUP to the community. While the NGOs were helped in their task of developing consensus by the Corporator, some influences of political bias and favouritism cannot be ruled out. 28.2 per cent of respondents during the survey confirmed this issue.

Overall, the major issue observed in collaborative planning and executing the project, apart from the power struggles between the state and the local government, was BSUP contract's joint venture restrictions. The challenges of lack of technical knowledge, manpower issues, and experience in implementing and construction could have been controlled, if the contract did not had restrictions on subcontracting, and restrictions on partnerships between NGOs and private developers. Capitalising on the existing relationships and building inter-departmental relations should have been considered for a smooth and effective implementation of the project.

Sustenance of the project

Although tenure security was not a concern of the Chawl residents, the project was commenced on the grounds of providing security of tenure to the households whose houses were redeveloped under BSUP. However, the residents were provided with ‘Possession Certificates’ that is lease for 99 years to rehabilitate the house, which still leaves the residents with inadequate documentation for legal ownership of the house. Moreover, there is no adequate plan for the asset management and asset maintenance as mentioned in the objectives of BSUP.

Tenure security is a big concern for residents some city agencies have given pattas (long lease titles) for 30-90-99 years to rehabilitate communities but most have neither given titles to the individual owners and or de-notified the slum settlement. Most agencies do not have a process in place for de-notification of slums. Thus a lot of people still live with the anxiety of lack of adequate documentation for legal ownership of the property. A 38-year old, teacher, born and brought-up in the Chawl, said in her interview that,

“...nothing much has changed in the community ever since the project has been initiated. Even before, most of the houses here had electricity connection and water supply with the help of our Corporator; and our house was already made of brick and mortar, except for the roof, which was still in a very good condition as we had changed it just a few months before the project was announced. As far as security of tenure is concerned, we never had any trouble. But, in the meetings it was stressed upon that after in-situ up-gradation of the houses, we would be given house ownership certificate. But, based on the certificate we cannot apply for education loans or personal loans. The project has not made any major positive change here for us, what we need here is employment more than anything else.” (Survey 2015)

Another woman said,

“... I lost my husband after we moved into this redeveloped house from the transit accommodation. I still have some payments to make for the house, but after my husband’s death, no one in the house is employed. I have to feed a family of four and I have no means to do that. I even asked for help from the

Corporator, but he did not care much. Looks like, an individual's plea is of no value to him, as it does not boost his political career. Now, we have a house to live in, but nothing to eat.” (Survey 2015)

If the community would have been employed in the construction directly, with some technical and financial support, the skill of managing and maintaining their own houses would have helped in achieving the BSUP's purpose, as stated in BSUP's mission and objectives. Additionally, the subsidies would have reached a larger number of households, and the challenges of lack of finances and manpower could have been easily subsided. Moreover, the dissatisfaction of the contractor built houses with all sorts of problems due to poor quality of construction and building material, such as, tilted columns (Image 12.1), water seepage from the walls and roofs (Image 12.4 and 12.5), chipping paint and plaster from the walls (Image 12.2), broken tiles (Image 12.3), etc. could have been avoided. The poor quality of construction of the houses raises serious questions on the sustenance of the project.



(1)

(2)

(3)



(4)



(5)

Image 12: Poor quality of construction

Photos taken by the author (2015)

Alternatively, there are no adequate plans to maintain assets created through BSUP, such as, community organisations or co-operative societies. Apart from the lack of knowledge of ‘community participation’, the implementers also lack the importance of ‘social capital and social cohesion’. With the increase in the household expenditures, the only clause holding the community together is the BSUP policy that hinders the community from putting their house on rent. But, there is no such arrangement made to keep a check on that, and 4 years into the project, 10 respondents the researcher came across during the survey were already living in the house on rent from 1-1.5 years.



Image 13: Lack of sense of ownership in the community

Photo taken by the author (2015)

In essence, the standard of living of the community in terms of physical living conditions has definitely improved (for instance, each house has a toilet now), but with lack of sense of ownership and lack of social cohesion within the community, the sustenance of the project cannot be guaranteed (Image 13).

The next section, Part II of the chapter, discusses case study 2 Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP) in the same format as case study 1 discussed in the Part I above. Analysis, lessons learnt, and conclusion of both the case studies will be discussed together in Part III.

PART II

CASE STUDY 2: Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICCP), Ahmedabad

6.5 Overview of Ahmedabad

The city of Ahmedabad is the financial and industrial capital of the state of Gujarat (Chatterjee 2011). Ahmedabad is the seventh largest metropolis in India, with a population of 5.5 million, of which about 0.9 million reside in 710 urban poor settlements scattered around the city (Image 14) – nearly 26 per cent of its urban population (Table 6.11) (Sharda 2014; TOI 2010; BRTS Plan 2008). The main feature of the city - Sabarmati River – divides the city into two parts: Eastern walled city and Western Ahmedabad on either side of its banks. In 2009, the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and the Institute for Competitiveness ranked Ahmedabad the seventh most liveable city in India on a National Liveability Index, ranked after six major metropolitan cities of India – Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Bengaluru, Kolkata, and Hyderabad (Mahadevia et al. 2014).

Table 6.11: Details of urban poor population in Ahmedabad

Total city population	Total urban poor population	Details of urban poor population		
		No. of urban poor settlements	No. of urban poor households	% of urban poor population to total population
5.5 million	0.9 million	710	1, 76, 754 ³³	25.77

Source: Sharda (2014); AMC (2012)

Despite its industrial decline from 1980s-1990s, Ahmedabad has emerged as a city buzzing with industrial, trade and commercial activities and has become the nerve centre for economic growth in India. The city acts as a terminal on the Ahmedabad-Mumbai Golden Corridor, which is an important development axis in Western India (AMC 2012). The city accounts for 21.5 per cent of factories in the state employing 18 per cent of workers (AMC 2002). Ahmedabad is also responsible for contributing

³³ The number of households residing in the slums of Ahmedabad was calculated through a survey conducted by SEWA and SAATH. The total slum population was calculated considering a family size of 5. As per Census of 2001, a population of 4, 39, 843 resides in slums. This figure has not been considered in the Table 6.12, as it includes only those slums which have clusters of more than 60 houses.

about 14 per cent of the total investments in all stock exchanges in India and 60 per cent of the total productivity of the state (Lazar 2002). Ahmedabad is also home to several scientific and educational institutions of national, regional and global importance, and is known for its ‘entrepreneurial spirit and inventive nature’ (Carr 2011). There is no doubt that Ahmedabad is a prosperous city.

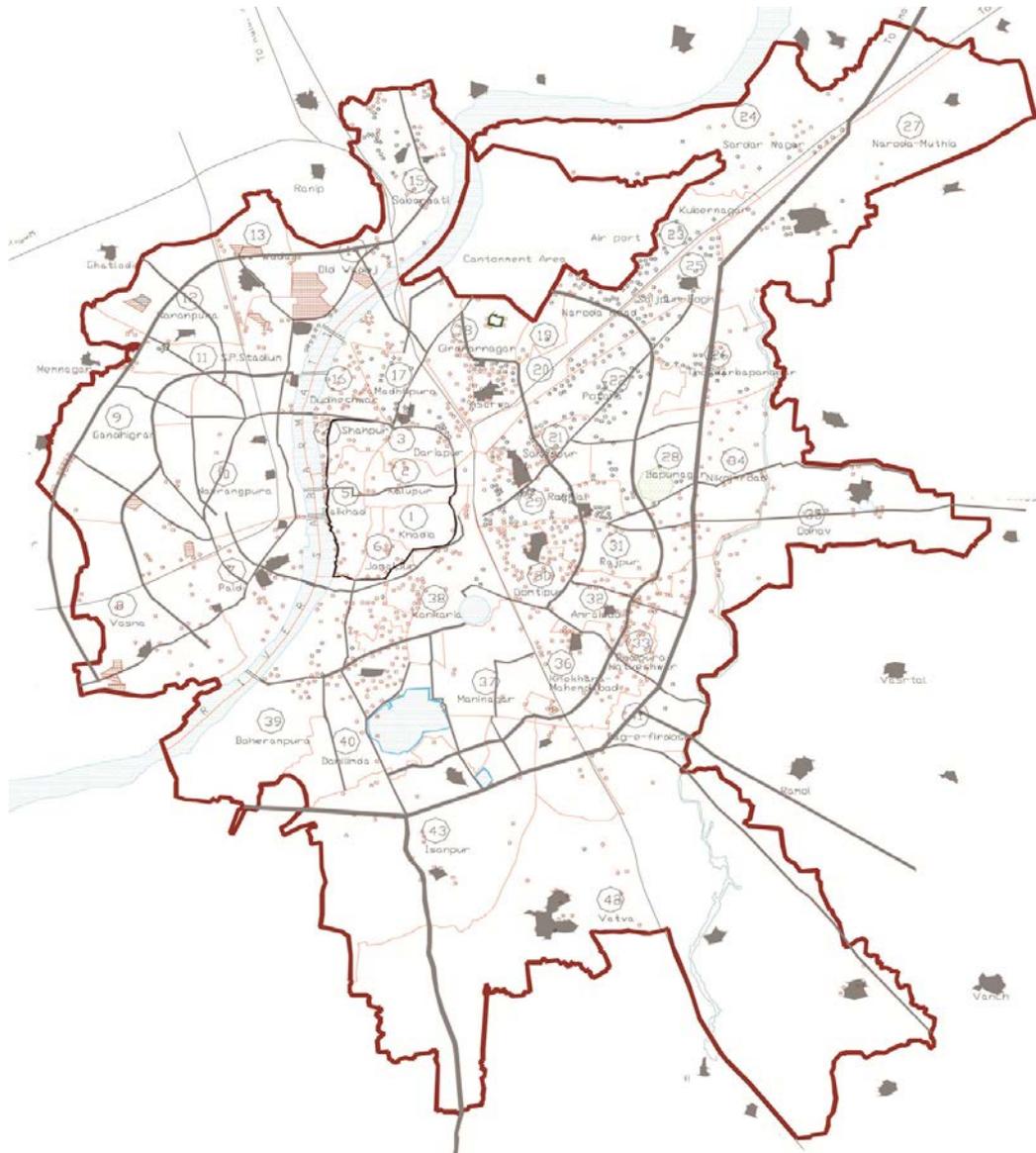


Image 14: Map of Ahmedabad showing urban poor settlements in dots, scattered all over the city (the grey areas in the image are the urban villages)

Source: AMC, AUDA and CEPT development report (2012)

In the recent years, the city’s real estate market has also registered about 250 per cent – 300 per cent increase, with swift construction of mega malls, flyovers and highways, BRTS, and Sabarmati River Front Development Project (SRFD), along

with several gated communities (Bhatt and Shah 2010; Mahadevia 2002). However, the current economic and visible physical development continues to attract the poor from surrounding rural areas and states into the city with the hope of new livelihood opportunities. Consequently, the city is not equipped to accommodate the influx; a lack of basic services, employment and housing, and cycle of deprivation continues to encircle the lives of the urban poor.

6.5.1 Settlement profile

Ahmedabad suffered a severe setback from late 1980s to late 1990s during which her main economic base, cotton textile mills closed down and a large section of labour force was displaced from organized to unorganized sector (Mahadevia 2002). Today, 75 per cent of the total workforce of Ahmedabad of 1.5 million, works in the informal sector (Mahadevia 2014), and generates 47 per cent of the total city income (Unni and Rani 2007). These numerous small and medium informal industries (such as, incense-stick making (Image 15.1), *bidi*-making³⁴ (Image 15.2), tailoring (Image 15.3), kite-making) are set up in unpleasant, unplanned, densely populated, urban poor settlements based within their homes (Samad 2006).



Image 15: Women from the urban poor settlements involved in home-based work in inadequate light and ventilation

Photos taken by the author (2010 and 2014)

The initial documentation of urban poor settlements conducted in 2010³⁵, was stretched all over the city of Ahmedabad, limited to slum settlements having home-

³⁴ Bidi is a Hindi term for a thin, Indian cigarette, filled with tobacco flakes wrapped in a leaf and tied with a string.

³⁵ This documentation of the urban poor settlements (limited to the settlements with home-based industries) was conducted in early 2010 throughout the city of Ahmedabad under 'India Slum Action project' by the planning students of Curtin University and the author as the Research Assistant for the project. This project was funded by Australia-India Council Grant and was executed under the guidance of Dr. Reena Tiwari and Architect Yatin Pandya.

based industries. Throughout it was noticed that the housing pattern of these settlements was very congested with inadequate infrastructure, narrow lanes, lack of basic services, and extremely unhygienic living and working conditions which was affecting their livelihood, productivity, and consequently their quality of life. But, the most common feature observed in these home-based industries was the lack of natural light and ventilation (Image 16.3), and the health hazards caused by it. Most of the houses were adjoining each other on two sides or sometimes three (Image 16.1); had no windows; had undersized doors (Image 16.2); and the roof was mainly made out of tin or asbestos corrugated sheets (Image 16.1). Additionally, the houses consisted of only one room, used for different purposes at different times of the day (such as, cooking, home-based activities, sleeping, studying) (Image 16.3). Thus, the dweller ended up using artificial light for at least 10-14 hours a day, which affected them with huge electricity bills. Thereupon, concerned with the urban poor livelihood conditions, an urgent need for a comprehensive development strategy was felt.



(1)

(2)

(3)

Image 16: Poor infrastructure of the urban poor settlements in Ahmedabad

Photos taken by the author (2010)

6.5.2 Approach to study

Innovation Centre for Poor Project (ICPP) is one such effort that was initiated to improve the living and livelihood conditions of the urban poor households by ensuring longer-term sustainable development of the urban poor through mobilisation of local community and local resources (discussed in detail in section 6.7). Development with such an agenda requires a collaborative effort with the urban poor as partners in the process. Thus, this case study examines the strategies and practices adopted by the development agencies in fulfilling this agenda of empowering the community by involving them in improving their living conditions. The purpose was

to understand and assess the implementation strategies adopted by ICP in overcoming one of many issues of urban poor settlements of Ahmedabad and then to determine the potential of this upgrading project in building the capacity of the community for longer-term sustainability.

However, in order to understand and assess this collaborative effort, it is important to first get a clear understanding of the livelihood assets available with the urban poor households in the settlements of Ahmedabad. The data discussed in the next section was collected through 60 household surveys in 22 different urban poor settlements spread across Ahmedabad. Due to time constraints and distance between each settlement, it was difficult to interview 100 households (sample size) to reach the confidence level of 95 per cent. But, group interviews were conducted for triangulation and validity of data. To make data comprehensive to assess, each livelihood parameter is discussed separately. The intent was to understand the livelihood approaches of the community, before moving on to the project description.

Community livelihood assets

The purpose of this section is to identify and acknowledge that the urban poor communities with home-based industries in Ahmedabad might not have money or other savings, but they do have other material or non-material assets, such as knowledge and skills, their health, labour, family and social relations, and the local resources available in their surroundings. The intent is to explore the livelihood approaches and the functionality of their household assets in order to recognise the opportunities or limitations they may offer. It is believed that recognising livelihood approaches of the respondent households before commencing and analysing the project will be conceptually appropriate, empirically reliable and feasible to analyse strengths as opposed to analysis of needs of the urban poor. Thus, the 60 household survey data will represent the 120 urban poor households with ICP intervention in Ahmedabad, in regard to their human, physical, financial, social and political assets.

Human assets

Human assets indicate quantitative and qualitative aspects of labour resources (Hendricks 2011), available in the community or households and are considered as human capital or capabilities (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002). It is an important livelihood asset for the urban poor engaged in home-based industries and otherwise,

for productive and reproductive purposes, and signifies their knowledge, skills, physical strength and ability to work. Together it facilitates the urban poor households to engage in various livelihood strategies for their well-being. The section deals with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. This includes demographic characteristics such as age, gender, educational level, and distribution of livelihood categories over the community.

Age: The age distribution of the sample population is important to establish so as to know the proportion of the productive age group. As seen in Table 6.12 below, for both male and female population, a majority of the population was between 18 and 60 years of age, with 3/4th of the sample population falling in the productive age group.

Table 6.12: Age structure of the population

Age distribution (in percentage)	0 – 17 years	18 – 60 years
	25	75

Gender: It should be noticed in the Table 6.13 below, that in the distribution of male and female population, the percentage of females is moderately higher than the males. Also, it is to the advantage of the research that the percentage of the female respondents was higher than the male respondents, for the reasons that women spend more time in the house and in the community, and have more contextual information than men.

Table 6.13: Gender distribution within the population

Gender	Male	Female
Gender distribution within the community (in percentage)	46	54
Gender distribution of respondents within the sample population (in percentage)	20	80

Level of education: A way out of the dilemma of poverty for the urban poor would be to improve the productivity of the workforce, and this can be done through education. In contradiction to this, households with home-based industries in Ahmedabad considered engaging children in the home-based work at an early age by

discontinuing their education so as to increase their workforce, production of goods, and improve their financial assets (as seen in Table 6.14). 42.7 per cent of households discontinued education of their children after middle-school and only 18 per cent completed their high-school. It is startling that not a single person from 60 households went to college. Usually, male child in the family was compelled to join the home-based work at a very young age and the female child was expected to get married to follow the socio-cultural norms of the society. Poor education status of the households does not leave them with any choice, if in case, due to any kind of loss they are forced to change their occupation, and may perhaps end up as a casual labour in unskilled service jobs, which eventually will lead to lower incomes.

Table 6.14: Level of education

Level of education (in percentage)	No formal education	Basic literacy	Formal education			
			4 th -8 th Std	SSC	HSC	Graduate
	9.8	11.5	60.7	18	0	0

Sources of livelihood and employment status of the community: The share of the community to the pool of labour resources within the city is in line with their presence within the city. From the discussion in the Table 6.15 below, the distribution with regard to the nature of livelihood category gives further insights into the contribution of the households to the employment scenario of Ahmedabad city. It is clear from the Table that more than half of the respondents worked in home-based industries acquired from their ancestors. Even though, the respondents had no kind of professional or vocational training, they certainly had some skill or the other to contribute, if required. The second largest category in the employment distribution of the sample population was of the workers, who were mostly engaged in unskilled, low-income work like domestic help, casual labourers, junk dealers, etc. The next highest category comprised of unemployed and unskilled people who showed interest to work during interviews. The prevalence and high percentage of these three categories within the community shows the availability of informal labour resource in the community.

It has been argued in previous case study, that creating productive employment is an effective means of poverty reduction in urban poor communities, however, with 57 per cent of the respondents engaged in a productive employment, they certainly have

the capacity with little technical input to avail the opportunities or to convert the opportunities into beneficial results for their households.

Table 6.15: Distribution of livelihood strategies and employment status of the households

Livelihood categories	Employment status (in percentage)
Unskilled, unemployed, housewife, casual labours	15
Unskilled and low-income jobs – Domestic help, construction worker, labour, rickshaw puller, junk dealers, shop helpers, petty traders	23
Home-based worker – Tailoring, incense-stick making, kite making, <i>bidi</i> -making, body brush making, rope makers, cleaning dates, industrial fabrication work	57
Skilled jobs – Painter, electrician, plumber, carpenter, gardener, barber, mechanic, masonry	0
Regular salaried service jobs – Teacher, driver, security, clerk in offices, housekeeping staff, nurse, retailer	5
Retired	0

Moreover, with 80 per cent of the women respondents out of which 57 per cent engaged in home-based work is indicative of lack of dependency of women in the households. Employment is essential for ensuring the identity, dignity and level of confidence of an individual. For women, specially, access to income is even more important as it increases their negotiating position within the household and may perhaps lead to other desirable gender equitable outcomes. Additionally, during the interviews it was recognised that self-employed and low-income activities are more favoured by the women for the reasons that they do not have a fixed schedule, they have flexibility to work, can operate from home, can look after their children, and it does not conflicts with their traditional perceived roles as a mother and homemaker. But, in the context of this research case study, it should be noticed, that the highest incidence of labour resource was skilled.

Physical assets

Physical assets comprises of tangible, productive assets, such as machinery, tools, livestock, household goods, and housing and infrastructure. For urban poor, renting out rooms or operating home-based economic activities are regarded as one of the most important activity after labour, both for productive and reproductive purposes

(Farrington et al. 2002). Unstable housing tenure severely limits urban poor household's ability to mobilise household capital, and limits their expenditure capacity for the improvement of housing. Moreover, because of the uncertainty and illegality of their housing tenure, urban poor experience vulnerability and insecurity.

This is in contrast to the urban poor households interviewed for the research. During the household survey, it was revealed that 100 per cent of the respondents had no fear of demolition or eviction, or had ever received any legal eviction document from the local authority in average 50 years of occupancy of the house. During the interview 46 per cent of the respondents claimed that they own the house, while 54 per cent said that they were living on rent in the same house from 40-50 years. The average rent paid was INR 500 per month (USD \$7.5 per month). Moreover, almost all the households who claimed of owning the house did not have any legal proof of the ownership. The respondents felt secure in their houses and still, had never worked towards the improvement of their houses or the community.

Other than the structural quality of the houses, on an average 10 of the urban poor settlements out of 22 visited, did not had in-house taps and toilets, and had to use communal taps and toilets. Most of the settlements also complained about waste disposal system and lack of storm water drainage, causing problems of water clogging and affecting their home-based work.

Financial assets

Urban areas being extremely monetised need regular income and availability of financial services for the subsistence of urban poor households and for their long term investments. With this understanding, it is essential to understand the labour market in which the urban poor of Ahmedabad engage themselves, and the employment category will further help with the analysis. Thus, the true extent of the labour resource available in the sample population was examined based on their employment status and livelihood categories (as seen in the Table 6.15 above). It can be seen that the highest occurrence is of the home-based workers (57 per cent), which makes a sizeable proportion of labour with some skill. However, an average family size of the respondents recorded was 5, and 69 per cent of the households had more dependents than earners. From the official SEWA bank reports, it was found out that only 23 per cent households of the total urban poor population of Ahmedabad saved

on an average INR 451 per month (USD \$6.75 per month) (Stanwix 2009). The remaining population had no financial asset.

With 75 per cent (Table 6.12) of the population in the working age group, it is surprising to see how low the income brackets are and how high is the rate of unemployment. Additionally, while the urban poor of Ahmedabad are responsible for contributing about 60 per cent of the total state productivity to the national market (Lazar 2002), they themselves live in sheer poverty. This also increases the already wide gap between different socio-economic groups and leads to ‘a large growth in the demand for low-income workers and jobs that offer few growth possibilities’ (PRIA 2013). Due to the uncertainty of the regular income, the respondents also pointed out that they cannot access bank loans for education or setting up business.

Social assets

The socio-economic networks cultivated in urban poor communities act as means for increasing social and economic mobility. The social capital available in the urban poor communities have two distinct characteristics – they might be means of social support that allows an urban poor household to get by in times of difficulty and scarcity, or they might be agents for social leverage that helps the households to surface from their plight. Either or both of these characteristics might be related to social capital of an urban poor community.

The research highlights several evidences on the occurrence of social capital in the communities visited in Ahmedabad for the survey. During the survey, respondents were asked whether they belonged to any community group or if they helped each other in some way or the other during the installations done by ICP. The answers were indicative of the extent of social ties and networks that exist in the community. The responses recorded showed a comparatively high level of social inclusion in the communities as compared to the Nagpur Chawl of YSUP. Since most of the households interviewed had their relatives or people from the same village living adjacent to them, or most of the households were involved in the same occupation and were comfortable working together, it was easier for them to share information with each other. Each community also had a women representative of the NGO SEWA, and was assigned to conduct meetings with other community women, share information and keep everyone involved in the community.

Political assets

Participation in the democratic process through voting does not convert into political power, which holds the ability to influence policy. The lack of political influence has been mentioned as one of the many reasons behind urban poor settlements existence as deprived and badly serviced places in cities. The biased voter ratio inhabiting urban poor settlements often leads to political setups to flatter them with job creation, access to welfare benefits, improvement of infrastructure, and tenure security. Nevertheless, the urban poor are politically very aware. Though they are often won over by false promises of local powerful agents and act in their favour, they have strong political views and understanding. Even though the urban poor are seriously affected by urban policies developed to regulate them, their participation in decision-making is very limited. They consider themselves to be vulnerable and powerless and as a result do not participate in decision-making processes.

In case of the urban poor settlements visited in Ahmedabad, the researcher did not come across any local leader; neither any political influence was noticed. Since the communities had a strong social capital, sharing the information or benefits of the project through word of mouth was found to be effective. 97 per cent of the respondents stated that they got information about the project through community members or their relatives. 85 per cent of the respondents also gave credit to the woman representatives of SEWA residing in their community and others who visited from the offices to organise meetings with the women in the community.

The next section discusses the ICP Project implemented in the urban poor settlements of Ahmedabad, with particular attention paid to the extent of collaborative planning, community participation, and capacity building of the community. The project description includes a review of the documentation prepared by the NGOs, in the form of reports and articles. The following sections, will involve the assessment of the case study entirely based on the observations, household surveys and group interviews conducted for the research. A common set of questionnaire was prepared and used in household surveys, interviews (with the NGO representatives, professionals, and personnel involved in the implementation of the project), and group interviews. The intent was to ensure that same issues were covered in the survey and interviews. The questions were basically to gather the background

information of the community; to understand the implementation process of the project (to record the extent to which it involved the community members); and to identify the methods adopted to empower the community. The purpose is to assess the longer term sustainability of the project in regard to capacity building of the community.

6.6 ICPP: Project description

ICPP was initiated in the year 2009 and since then has been implemented in different phases with different contributors, until recently in 2012, when the product, *Ujasiyu* (skylight in local language), was finalised and installed (as seen in Image 17 and 19). Basically, ICP is a sister concern of Mahila Housing Trust (MHT) and SEWA (Self-Employed Women's Association) Bank that works in the urban poor settlements and lower income groups of Ahmedabad. The project was initiated with a focus of understanding and improving the working and living conditions of the households with home-based industries and for domestic purposes. The aim of ICPP was 'to empower the urban poor by providing them with innovative solutions for improved earnings and enhanced quality of life'. The objective of ICP was to ensure long term sustainable development of the urban poor through mobilization of local community and local resources. The idea was to incorporate local people, local resources, local tools, labour and techniques in the process so as to achieve an outcome that is innovative and stimulates reciprocity (Survey 2014).

Development with such an aim and objective requires a collaborative effort with the urban poor as partners in the process, and with professionals with different expertise. In the initial stages of the project, students, volunteers, and interns from national and international universities and organisations were involved, to conduct needs assessment surveys, observations, and documentation of the settlements by engaging dwellers in informal discussions. Documentation of urban poor settlements was stretched all over the city of Ahmedabad, limited to the settlements having home-based industries, but later on the product was sold even for domestic purposes.



Image 17: ‘Ujasiyu’ installations on the roofs of the urban poor households in Ahmedabad

Photo taken by Ahmed (2012)

A total of 120 modules were sold (more details of the module in section 6.7.2). These modules were purchased by the urban poor households, when the product was on a subsidised rate that is until 2012. From 2009-2012, SEWA Bank served as the financial intermediary, providing subsidy and loans to the households who wanted to participate in the project. An interest free financial package scheme was introduced by the Bank, such that the households can repay the loan in 3-5 easy instalments. The total cost included the price of the module, delivery charges, and its installation. However, there was a substantial downfall in the purchase of the installation after the end of the subsidy period and incremental rise in the price from INR 2, 650 (USD\$ 40) to INR 4, 500 (USD\$ 67.20) (as seen in the Table 6.16 below).

Table 6.16: Cost of a single ‘Ujasiyu’

Stakeholders	SEWA Bank	Individual household	TOTAL
Subsidised rates (2009-2012)	INR 1,000 (USD \$15)	INR 1, 650 (USD \$25)	INR 2, 650 (USD \$40)
Non-subsidised rates (present rates)	-	INR 4, 500 (USD \$67.20)	INR 4, 500 (USD \$67.20)

6.6.1 Actors involved

The ICPP is a collaborative effort between the NGOs – MHT (Mahila Housing Trust), SEWA (Self-Employed Women’s Association) Bank, and SELCO (Solar Electric Light Company); Foot Prints E.A.R.T.H (architectural consultancy in India); academic researchers; architecture students; micro energy auditors; SEWA representatives; and skilled labour (fabricators/manufacturers and installers) (as seen in Figure 6.3). Each partner in the project participated and contributed their ideas, limited to their expertise, with a common goal of benefitting the urban poor.

MHT, SEWA Bank, and SELCO emerged as key partners from the first stage of the project. While MHT handled the housing portfolios, SEWA Bank and SELCO provided financial services and micro energy auditors to the urban poor and were the main bodies behind ICPP. The job of the auditor was not just to audit the energy usage of the households, but they also explained the households the importance of saving energy and acted as the marketing in-charge of the *Ujasiyu*. The fabricators and installers were also hired by SEWA.

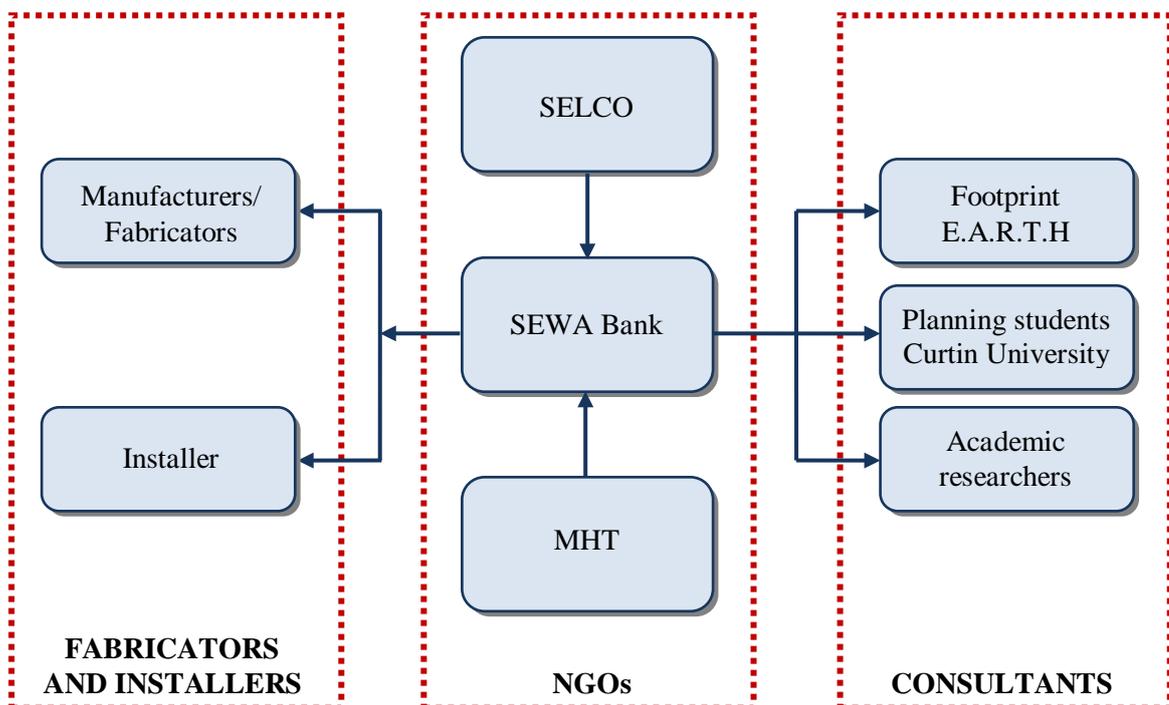


Figure 6.3: ICPP’s institutional arrangement

The team of consultants was also involved in the project by the NGO SEWA at different stages of the project. Initial documentation, needs assessments,

observational study of the urban poor settlements, and preliminary design and planning ideas was executed by the team of consultants. However, the consultants in the project that is the local architect, planning students, and academic researchers, acted mostly as external advisory team and did not had major influence on the decisions, except for technical inputs and assessment of the installation. Furthermore, even though the main objective of the project was to mobilise and empower the community, the participation of the community was limited to the compensation of funds and feedback.

Inter-relationships between the actors

Tripartite model defines that the decision-making and the implementation process passes through the new forms of relationships between state and community, and through the strict 'channel' of State-NGO partnership. But, looking at the project institutional organisation and the tripartite partnership model below, the community was not an integral part of it, but a mere beneficiary (Figure 6.4). In view of the imbalance in the decision-making process of ICPP, a tripartite partnership model for ICPP (Figure 6.4) was prepared to understand the inner linkages between the actors and for easy assessment. It can be seen that the actors involved in the project make a third tripartite partnership triangle, wherein the NGO is the key link between the community, practitioners', and the fabricators/installers (triangle 2 and 3). Each actor was stage wise involved in the project by the NGO.

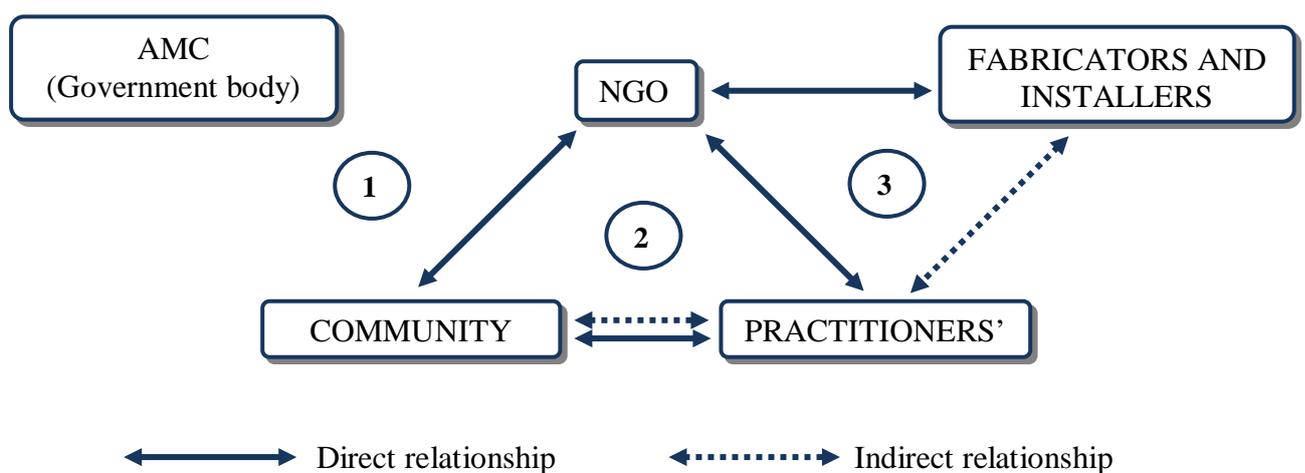


Figure 6.4: ICPP's Tripartite Partnership Model

The team of practitioners' was only involved for initial documentation of the settlements, and for preliminary design ideas. The practitioners' were engaged with the community only in the initial stages of the project, and hence, a direct and indirect connection between them is shown in Figure 6.4. It can be seen that the practitioners', who had technical expertise were indirectly involved with the fabricators and installers, and the NGOs acted as representative of the team of practitioners'. Even though the local architect from Footprints EARTH had a major role in designing the module, he showed dissatisfaction towards the installations during the interview and claimed that he was not the key decision-maker (Interview 2014).

Although it was a small-scale project, involving the local government body, Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) could have helped the project with more financial stability, better marketing, mass production of the module, and sustenance of the project. The NGOs could have easily avoided the third triangle of the ICPP tripartite partnership model by making dividing ICPP into several small-scale projects of capacity building. For instance, the community could have been involved through skill development programs in manufacturing, welding, and installation of the module.

6.6.2 Project initiatives and approaches

It is important to discuss the implementation process of the project to understand the stages applied in ICPP. The purpose is to record the extent to which the community was involved in the project, and to identify the means used to empower the urban poor (means used for community capacity building, for longer term sustainability of the project) as per ICPP aims and objectives. It is crucial to discuss this section in detail to assess the phenomenon of capacity building of the community.

Project design and planning

From an interview conducted with the professionals in 2014, it was revealed that before the initiation of the project, apart from the shortage of houses, deficiencies in the provision of basic urban services, the most critical problem observed was the problem faced by the urban poor involved in the home-based work, mostly related to the infrastructure, light and ventilation, shortage of space, and the health hazards caused by it. Overcoming the issues and securing services for the urban poor was a

complicated task, and taking local factors into account was not easy either. The services planned had to be designed within the existing built-up footprint, with new negotiation patterns with the residents of the community, considering the financial condition of the residents, their socio-cultural background, and a long term perspective. Therefore, self-enumerations, community mapping, community mobilization, and community decision-making were some of the key features adopted for the project (Interview 2014).

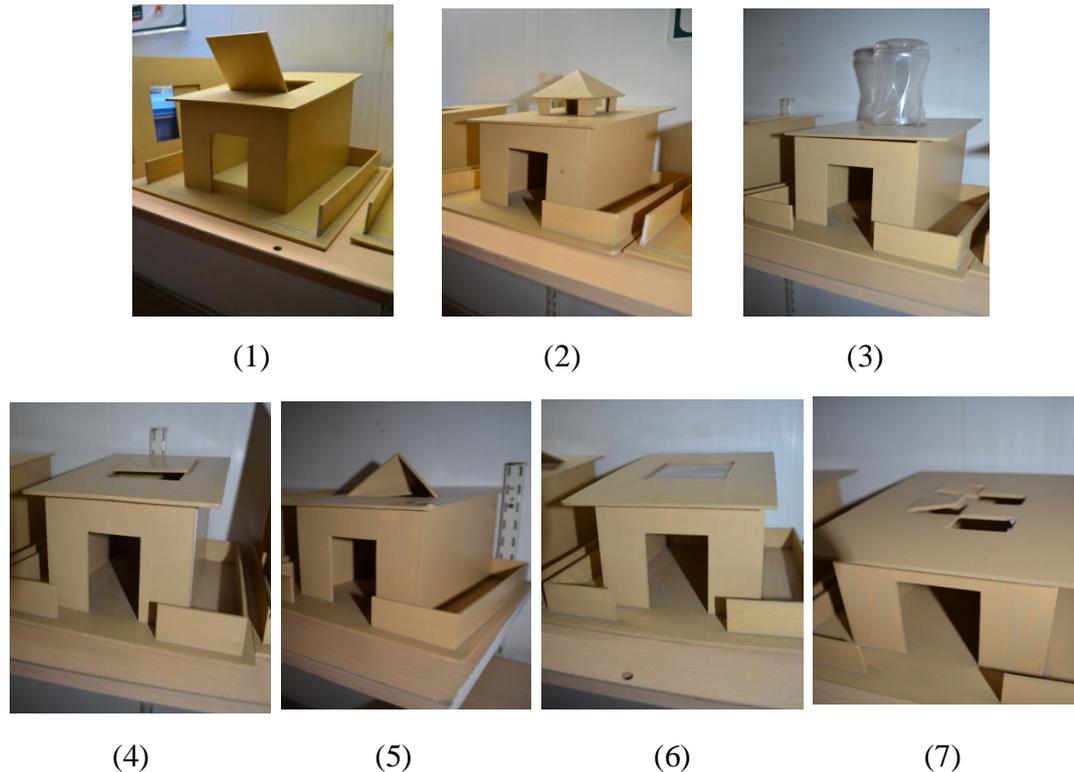


Image 18: Models of seven shortlisted designed modules (Image 1 – Roof panel attached to a hinge and rope solution; image 2 – Dome roof solution; image 3 – Upside down bottle ‘bulb effect’ solution; image 4 – Sliding roof solution; image 5 – Conical roof solution; image 6 – Opaque sheet fixed on the roof for light solution; image 7 – Alternate ‘liftable’ roof panel arrangement)

Photos taken by author (2014)

Based on the analytical data collected throughout the survey, it was decided that a skylight was the most suitable option for light and ventilation of the houses, considering their housing conditions. With the help of architect and students with a design and planning background, permutations and combinations of the designs were performed on the site to test the strength of the roof, direction of the light and air to avoid it getting blocked from the neighbouring houses, and size of the opening to

prevent cats entering the house. Each house having a different requirement, it was difficult to provide case specific solutions. Therefore, seven design modules (Image 18) were shortlisted and were installed in the houses for a period of one year to test their strengths and weaknesses given the extreme weather conditions of Ahmedabad. Out of these seven modules, one roof module was finalised based on the dwellers feedback and assessment.

Project implementation

Ujasiyu, the finalised product, is a combination of the seven shortlisted architectural solutions incorporated in one all-inclusive prototype (Image 19). *Ujasiyu* is a pre-fabricated product made out of FRP (Fibre Reinforced Plastic) corrugated sheets for easy installation and is fastened on the existing corrugated sheets typically used as roofing in the urban poor settlements of Ahmedabad (Image 19.1). These FRP sheets have leaf patterns embedded on it (Image 19.2), to avoid direct and extreme white light during summers. It is a conical shaped product with a curvature, with wire mesh fixed on the larger opening side for easy ventilation (Image 19.3).

The welding and fixing of the module on the roofs was earlier outsourced to a fabricator and a welder. Using an auto-rickshaw, the module, machinery to fix it, ladder, and the welder were initially transported to the site. Gradually, the auto-rickshaw driver who used to help the welder learned the trade – installation of the modules on the roofs. As it turned out, paying the auto-rickshaw driver for transportation and for installation was more economical than paying to the welder alone. Thus, the NGO hired the driver for almost all the installations.



Image 19: *Ujasiyu* – The finalised product installed on the roof

Photo taken by author (2014)

The installation on the roof provides enough light during day time and creates ventilation through air flow. The installation has helped the urban poor households with reduced electricity bills of up to 25 per cent. The installation has also helped households with home-based industries. For instance, women are now able to work sitting inside their homes while monitoring toddlers and children's schoolwork unlike prior to the installation of prototype. Furthermore, since the installation of redesigned roof prototype, they are able to work regardless of rainfall, which adds to extra savings. Besides, due to direct entry of natural light into their homes, the output/production is more in comparison to before the installation of *Ujasiyu*. Another significant benefit was in the improvement of indoor air quality. For instance, women making incense-sticks suffered from respiratory problems as there was no ventilation for the powder in the air to escape; after the installation, the powder escapes through the wire mesh in the roof improving indoor air quality and preventing health issues.

Marketing of the product

The marketing of *Ujasiyu* was brought into effect by training and sending a team of Micro Energy Auditors from the NGOs SEWA and SELCO to spread awareness among the urban poor. The team of auditors conducted door to door energy audits and educated local households on the importance of energy conservation. The team also informed the households about the new specifically designed module for better light and ventilation in the house and reduction in the electricity bills. In a year, almost 60 modules were sold with the help of auditors and another 60 had exposure to the modules at a relative or neighbour's house. As discussed earlier in Table 6.18, the modules were sold for INR 2, 650 (USD\$ 40), which included INR 1, 000 (USD\$ 15) subsidy from the SEWA bank. Total investment of a household was INR 1, 650 (approximate, USD\$ 25) only, which could be easily recovered in few months through savings made in the electricity bills. However, there was a substantial downfall in the purchase of the installation after the end of the subsidy period and incremental rise in the price from INR 2, 650 (USD\$ 40) to INR 4, 500 (USD\$ 67.20). The project is on-going and is currently looking for more purchasers' of the product. This raises the question, whether the NGOs will invite private investors so as to reduce the price of the product or will put an end to the project, which has been

running from past 5 years and is a combined effort of various organizations and professionals.

The whole process of having a dialogue with the dwellers and reflecting over it was to design simple, innovative, case-specific, rational, economical, and functional solutions. ICP project has been successful towards attempting and understanding the lifestyle, needs and working conditions of the urban poor settlements. However, NGOs involved in the project have lacked foresight. The solution and installation is simple enough for the dwellers to understand and perform it themselves. As the architect has stated during his interview (2014),

“...a product based solution has spearheaded the NGOs efforts rather than bringing the urban poor one step forward to help themselves to improve their living conditions.”

The next section discusses a critical analysis of ICP for its process and examines the product for its effectiveness. The data below is based on the survey conducted by the author.

6.6.3 Project findings and discussion

In this section, ICPP will be evaluated for its response to the local context; effective community participation; institutional capacity, its decentralisation in planning and adopted collaborative approaches; and sustenance of the project. The evaluation is based on the observational surveys, documentation in the form of photographs, primary and secondary data, informal discussions with the community, household surveys, and interviews with the practitioners (consisting of NGO head, project architect, NGO representatives in the community, installer, university students) conducted for the research. Group interviews were also conducted for triangulation and validity of the data. The findings of the survey are discussed below:

Response to the local context

ICP project’s approach towards development was particularly designed as a response to existing housing and economic conditions and the needs of the slum dwellers. The objective of ICP was to ensure sustainable development through mobilizing local resources. It has been able to create workable architectural solutions with the help of

the community by modifying technology to suit the project delivery ideals. Even though the project has emerged locally, the setback of the project is that neither the local skilled craftsmen, unemployed men, nor the housewives, were utilized for their labour and skills. The product developed in the project, which could have incorporated recycled materials and simple hand operated tools produced and used by the urban poor in the home-based industries instead of FRP sheets and technologically advanced machinery for installation would have reduced the price of the product to a greater extent.

Community involvement

ICP project is an example of the tailor-made relationship between the NGO and the urban poor community. The process of participating in the dialogue and conducting need assessment with the community to understand the lifestyle, living conditions and needs in itself shows effectiveness of the professionals involved in the project. But, the process should have been to involve, train or use the skills of the dwellers in the installation, instead of subsidizing the module. The subsidy has reduced the capacity of the urban poor to think, act and resolve their own issues.

Response to collaborative approach

The ICP project has been collaboration between various local bodies, practitioners' and international organizations. All the efforts to make this project successful were channelled through the NGOs and the input of the local government was negligible. Involvement of local government bodies in such projects is essential to reorient planning and finances to facilitate resident involvement in meeting their own needs. It has been observed that due to the illegality of the urban poor settlements, the government bodies are hesitant to participate in any such redevelopment projects, but then again investing in skill development or capacity building programs implemented through the NGOs does not imply offering security of tenure to the urban poor households.

Sustenance of the project

Through this project the NGOs have demonstrated a new form of collaborative dialogue and action that has filled the gaps in many ways, which formal institutions have failed to achieve despite this being their statutory responsibility. Nonetheless,

even the NGOs failed to involve the community and be a representative of them. The NGOs, as the key decision-making body, had the power to collaborate with the local government for financial stability, and divide the project into several small-scale projects of capacity building. For instance, the community could have been involved through skill development programs in manufacturing, welding, and installation of the module. But, from the approaches adopted by the NGOs, it seems that the NGOs were more interested in getting recognised for a product-based outcome than a process-based outcome. The project architect stated something similar in his interview,

“...the increment in the cost of the product and consequent decline in the purchase gives an impression that the focus of the NGOs was to give a product based solution rather than actually resolving the home-based industry issues” (Interview 2014).

The next section, Part III, summarises the two case studies in the same format and then assesses the phenomenon of capacity building in them.

PART III

6.7 Summary of case studies

The urban livelihood framework, as a methodological consideration, will be used to investigate the case studies by acting as a simple checklist and to present the data collected from the survey. The template provides a comprehensive view of the current situation of the community and the impact of the project. Systematic presentation will allow the profile of the case studies to come together in one format and assessed accordingly. It should be noted that the livelihood framework will only be used to present the case studies for better recognition of the livelihood activities most crucial to the poor.

Table 6.17: Livelihood framework of Nagpur Chawl for YSUP

Livelihood framework			
YERWADA SLUM UPGRADING PROJECT (YSUP), PUNE			
Community profile	Discussion and analysis	Methodological tools applied to collect data	Means for the triangulation of data
Livelihood context			
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ A sizeable proportion of the community lacks in financial assets. ○ 38 per cent of the community members are either unemployed, unskilled, or casual labourers, while another 22 per cent are low-income workers. ○ 60 per cent of the community are looking for employment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observations ○ Media scan, desktop reviews, and NGO reports. ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys ○ Practitioners' interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group discussions with the community members
Infrastructural	<p>Conditions prior to the project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The Chawl is located on state owned land and comprises of mostly residential structures, both <i>kuccha</i> and <i>pucca</i> houses, with no legal tenure. ○ Most of the houses were constructed of brick and mortar and only needed roof replacement. ○ Prior to the project, only few houses had electricity and others had to purchase or get the connection on rent. ○ Due to high-interest loans and lack of housing tenure, the Chawl dwellers continued to live in the sub-standard conditions. ○ Even though the urban poor community of Nagpur Chawl had no legal document of house ownership, 100 per cent of the respondents had no fear of demolition or eviction. ○ The Chawl had a total of 6 toilet blocks with 72 stalls with a ratio of 55:1. ○ The Chawl had a proper sewage and drainage system. ○ 9 metres wide main roads, 6 metres wide secondary roads and only a 		

	<p>few internal roads are 3 metres wide, providing easy access to emergency vehicle like an ambulance.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The residents also had access to 2 government hospitals, 1 private hospital, and primary health care centres within the Yerwada region. ○ Government and 3 private schools, private computer classes, a daycare, vegetable markets, and shopping areas are all in the vicinity of Chawl. <p>Conditions after the project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Each household interviewed owned a 270 square feet house which normally went up to G+1 structure. ○ Each house had a toilet and bathroom. ○ A 500 litre overhead water tank was constructed for each house. ○ All houses had water supply, electricity, and closed drainage system. ○ 10 respondents were living on rent in the Chawl, even though the previous occupant had no Possession Certificate or Occupancy Rights. ○ Even after the completion of the project, the residents only have a completion certificate and no legal ownership document. ○ 9 metres wide main roads, 6 metres wide secondary roads and only a few internal roads are 3 metres wide, providing easy access to emergency vehicle like an ambulance. ○ All houses have water supply, electricity, and closed drainage system. ○ The residents also have access to 2 government hospitals, 1 private hospital, and primary health care centres within the Yerwada region. ○ Government and 3 private schools, private computer classes, a day-care, vegetable markets, and shopping areas are all in the vicinity of Chawl. 		
<p>Social</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The community lacks community groups and mostly, helped their extended families living in the same community or occasionally their 		

	neighbours with information of community meetings. It was noticed that a large proportion of the respondents were somewhat occupied with their own regular jobs, families, and lacked sense of community.		
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Democratically elected local leader ○ With the influence of the local leader, infrastructural improvements were made few years before the project 		
Household assets			
Human	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 71.7 per cent of the population are in the working age group that is between 18-60 years of age. ○ Gender distribution of the population within the community is 48 per cent male and 52 per cent females. ○ Average household size of the sample population is 5, with a minimum of 2 earners in each family. ○ 77.7 per cent of people have some form of formal education. Only 15.5 per cent have basic education and 6.8 per cent have no formal education. ○ 20 per cent of the community members are skilled and 60 per cent of the community are looking for employment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Household surveys 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group discussions with the community ○ Group discussions with the practitioners'
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The households rely on their extended families living in the same communities and occasionally their neighbours. ○ The Chawl lacks any kind of social group or organisations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observations ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys 	
Physical	<p>Prior to the project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Most of the houses were constructed of brick and mortar and only needed roof replacement. ○ The houses did not have toilets and had to use public toilets. A total of 6 toilet blocks with 72 stalls with a ratio of 55:1 were available. ○ Even though the urban poor community of Nagpur Chawl had no 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observations ○ Media scan, desktop reviews, and NGO reports, DPR. ○ Informal discussion with the community 	

	<p>legal document of house ownership, 100 per cent of the respondents had no fear of demolition or eviction.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Prior to the project, only few houses had electricity and others had to purchase or get the connection on rent. ○ The Chawl had a proper sewage and drainage system. <p>After the project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Each household interviewed owned a 270 square feet house which normally went up to G+1 structure. ○ Each house had a toilet and a bathroom. ○ A 500 litre overhead water tank was constructed for each house. ○ Even after the completion of the project, the residents only have a completion certificate and no legal ownership document. ○ All houses had water supply, electricity, and closed drainage system. 	<p>members.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Household surveys ○ Practitioners' interviews 	
Financial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 38 per cent of the community members are either unemployed, unskilled, or casual labourers, while another 22 per cent are low-income workers. ○ Due to the lack of regular salaried income, lack of access to bank loans for education, setting up business, or for the ongoing subsidised housing project was reported. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys ○ Practitioners' interviews 	
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The community is very much dependent on their local leader. ○ The local political leader acts as a patron to the community, and is responsible for influencing the participation of the community in the project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys ○ Practitioners' interviews 	
Urban institutions involved			
Institutions involved in the project	<p>Government bodies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Central government ○ State government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Media scan, desktop reviews, and NGO reports, DPR. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group discussions with the community ○ Group discussions

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) ○ Local leader NGOs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ MASHAL ○ SPARC and Mahila Milan ○ VRP ○ SEWA Consultants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Biometric and survey team ○ Architect and Planner ○ Private contractor ○ RCC/structural consultant ○ Supervisors 		○ Practitioners' interviews	with the practitioners'
Livelihood approaches				
Distribution of livelihood strategies in percentage	○ Unskilled, unemployed, housewife, casual labours	38	○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys	○ Group discussions with the community
	○ Unskilled and low-income jobs – Domestic help, construction worker, labour, rickshaw puller, junk dealers, shop helpers, petty traders	22		
	○ Home-based worker – Tailoring	7		
	○ Skilled jobs – Painter, electrician, plumber, carpenter, gardener, tailor, barber, driving, mechanic, masonry	20		
	○ Regular salaried service jobs – Teacher, driver, security, clerk in offices, housekeeping staff, nurse, retailer	11		
	○ Retired	2		
Livelihood outcomes				
Changes due to project	Positives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All the newly redeveloped houses now have toilets, which has empowered the households. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observations ○ Informal discussion with the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group discussions with the community ○ Group discussions

	<p>Negatives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No change in income and savings. Some complained towards more expenditure in electricity bills. Construction of additional floors and cantilevered projections has reduced light and ventilation in the houses, which has resulted in usage of artificial lighting even during the day. ○ No change in the capacity and well-being of the community. ○ No change in the employment status. ○ The project has resulted in more illegal constructions. ○ No change in the tenure of the land or house. However, with no threat of eviction, the community feels safe and secure. 	<p>members.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Household surveys ○ Practitioners' interviews 	<p>with the practitioners'</p>
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Table 6.18: A combined livelihood framework of the urban poor communities in Ahmedabad for ICPP

Livelihood framework			
INNOVATION CENTRE FOR POOR PROJECT, AHMEDABAD, INDIA			
Community profile	Discussion and analysis	Methodological tools applied to collect data	Means for the triangulation of data
Livelihood context			
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ A sizeable proportion of the community lacks financial assets. ○ 69 per cent of the households had more dependents than earners. ○ Most of them rely on their home-based industry (such as, kite-making, incense-stick making, <i>bidi</i>-making, etc.) for income, which is conducted outside their houses in common areas. These industries close down during rainy season, due to lack of space and water clogging. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observations ○ Media scan, desktop reviews, and NGO reports. ○ Informal discussion with the community members. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group discussions with the community members
Infrastructural	Conditions prior to the project:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Household surveys 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The housing pattern of these settlements was very congested with inadequate infrastructure, narrow lanes, lack of basic services, and extremely unhygienic living and working conditions which was affecting their livelihood, productivity, and consequently their quality of life. ○ Most of the home-based industries were conducted in no natural light and ventilation. Thus, the dweller ended up using artificial light for at least 10-14 hours a day, which affected them with huge electricity bills. ○ The houses consisted of only one room, used for different purposes at different times of the day (such as, cooking, home-based activities, sleeping, studying). ○ Other than the structural quality of the houses, on an average 10 of the urban poor settlements out of 22 visited, did not had in-house taps and toilets, and had to use communal taps and toilets. ○ The settlements lack waste disposal system and storm water drainage system, causing problems of water clogging and health hazards. <p>Conditions after the project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ There is no change in the infrastructure of the community. ○ The <i>Ujasiyu</i> installed in the houses had 25 per cent reduction in their electricity bills. ○ They are able to work regardless of rainfall, which adds to extra savings. Due to direct entry of natural light into their homes, the output/production is more in comparison to before the installation of <i>Ujasiyu</i>. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Practitioners' interviews 	
<p>Social</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Most of the households are from the same village living adjacent to each other. ○ Most of the households are involved in the same occupation and are comfortable working together. It is easier for them to share 		

	<p>information with each other.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Each community also had a women representative of the NGO SEWA, and was assigned to conduct meetings with other community women, share information and keep everyone involved in the community. ○ 97 per cent of the respondents stated that they got information about the project through community members or their relatives. ○ 85 per cent of the respondents also gave credit to the woman representatives of SEWA residing in their community and others who visited from the offices to organise meetings with the women in the community. 		
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Urban poor settlements visited did not have any local leader; neither any political influence was noticed. ○ Since the communities have a strong social capital, sharing the information or benefits of the project through word of mouth was found to be effective. 		
Household assets			
Human	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 75 per cent of the population are in the working age group that is between 18-60 years of age. ○ Gender distribution of the population within the community is 46 per cent male and 54 per cent females. ○ Average household size of the sample population is 5, with a minimum of 2 earners in each family. 69 per cent of the households had more dependents than earners. ○ 78.7 per cent of people have some form of formal education. Only 11.5 per cent have basic education and 9.8 per cent have no formal education. ○ 57 per cent of the community are engaged in home-based industry and have some form of skill and 38 per cent of the community are 	○ Household surveys	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group discussions with the community ○ Group discussions with the practitioners'

	looking for a job.		
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Most of the households are from the same village living adjacent to each other. ○ Most of the households are involved in the same occupation and are comfortable working together. It is easier for them to share information with each other. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observations ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys 	
Physical	<p>Prior to project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 46 per cent of the respondents claimed that they own the house, while 54 per cent said that they were living on rent in the same house from 40-50 years. ○ The average rent paid was INR 500 per month (USD \$7.5 per month). ○ Almost all the households who claimed of owning the house did not have any legal proof of the ownership. ○ The respondents felt secure in their houses and still, had never worked towards the improvement of their houses or the community. ○ The houses consisted of only one room, used for different purposes at different times of the day (such as, cooking, home-based activities, sleeping, studying). ○ Other than the structural quality of the houses, on an average 10 of the urban poor settlements out of 22 visited, did not had in-house taps and toilets, and had to use communal taps and toilets. ○ The settlements lack waste disposal system and storm water drainage system, causing problems of water clogging and health hazards. <p>After the project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 120 <i>Ujasiyu</i> were installed in 22 urban poor settlements across Ahmedabad. ○ The installation on the roof provides enough light during day time and creates ventilation through air flow. ○ The <i>Ujasiyu</i> installed in the houses had 25 per cent reduction in their 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observations ○ Media scan, desktop reviews, and NGO reports, DPR. ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys ○ Practitioners' interviews 	

	<p>electricity bills.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ They are able to work regardless of rainfall, which adds to extra savings. ○ Due to direct entry of natural light into their homes, the output/production is more in comparison to before the installation of <i>Ujasiyu</i>. 		
Financial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 23 per cent households of the total urban poor population of Ahmedabad saved on an average INR 451 per month (USD \$6.75 per month) and remaining have no financial asset. ○ With 75 per cent of the population in the working age group, it is surprising to see how low the income brackets are and how high is the rate of unemployment. ○ The <i>Ujasiyu</i> installed in the houses had 25 per cent reduction in their electricity bills. ○ They are able to work regardless of rainfall, which adds to extra savings. ○ Due to direct entry of natural light into their homes, the output/production is more in comparison to before the installation of <i>Ujasiyu</i>. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys ○ Practitioners' interviews 	
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Each community also had a women representative of the NGO SEWA, and was assigned to conduct meetings with other community women, share information and keep everyone involved in the community. ○ 85 per cent of the respondents also gave credit to the woman representatives of SEWA residing in their community and others who visited from the offices to organise meetings with the women in the community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys ○ Practitioners' interviews 	
Urban institutions involved			
Institutions	NGOs	○ NGO reports.	○ Group discussions

involved in the project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ SELCO ○ SEWA BANK ○ Mahila Housing Trust (MHT) <p>Consultants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Architect – Footprint E.A.R.T.H. ○ Academic researchers ○ Planning students <p>Fabricators and Installers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Manufacturers/Fabricators ○ Installers/Welder 	○ Practitioners' interviews	with the community ○ Group discussions with the practitioners'	
Livelihood approaches				
Distribution of livelihood strategies in percentage	○ Unskilled, unemployed, housewife, casual labours	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Informal discussion with the community members. ○ Household surveys 	○ Group discussions with the community
	○ Unskilled and low-income jobs – Domestic help, construction worker, labour, rickshaw puller, junk dealers, shop helpers, petty traders	23		
	○ Home-based worker – Tailoring, incense-stick making, kite making, <i>bidi</i> -making, body brush making, rope makers, cleaning dates, industrial fabrication work	57		
	○ Skilled jobs – Painter, electrician, plumber, carpenter, gardener, tailor, barber, mechanic, masonry	0		
	○ Regular salaried service jobs – Teacher, driver, security, clerk in offices, housekeeping staff, nurse, retailer	5		
	○ Retired	0		
Livelihood outcomes				
Changes due to project	<p>Positive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No significant change in income and savings of the households with <i>Ujasiyu</i>. However, in the long run, after the payment of the installation is complete, increase in income and savings is possible. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Observations ○ Informal discussion with the community members. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group discussions with the community ○ Group discussions with the 	

	<p>○ The installation on the roof provides enough light during day time and creates ventilation through air flow. The quality of the air indoor has significantly improved, preventing health issues.</p> <p>Negative:</p> <p>○ No change in the employment status.</p> <p>○ No change in the capacity of the community.</p> <p>○ No change in the tenure of the land or house. However, with no threat of eviction, the community feels safe and secure.</p> <p>○ The production and purchase of the module, <i>Ujasiyu</i>, has been stopped after the increase in the price. With only 120 purchases, there is no guarantee of long-term sustainability of the project or change in the economic context of the communities.</p>	<p>○ Household surveys</p> <p>○ Practitioners' interviews</p>	<p>practitioners'</p>
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6.8 Assessing the phenomenon of capacity building in YSUP and ICPP

The aim of YSUP was to improve the urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms for the community. YSUP sought to empower the community by involving them in the project and by improving the accountability through decentralised local governance – with particular attention paid to collaborative planning and community participation. One of the objectives of the project was to make means available to the community for asset management and asset creation for long-term sustainability of the project, which could be directly translated into capacity building of the community. Similarly, in case of ICPP, the aim was to empower the urban poor by mobilizing them into the redevelopment process for long-term sustainable development. The objective of incorporating local people, local resources, local tools, labour and techniques in the process so as to achieve an outcome that is innovative and stimulates reciprocity could be translated into capacity building process.

With collaborative planning and community participation as the key features adopted by both YSUP and ICPP, excluding the assessment of capacity building phenomenon from the process is similar to studying the monitoring inputs instead of its effects on the project objectives. It reflects a situation similar to what Gaarder and Bartsch (2015) describe as counting the number of schools built rather than education attainments. The complexity of capacity building as a concept and process tends to discourage many development agencies from attempting to assess and monitor it. Thus, impact evaluations with specific reference to capacity building are remarkably few. They tend to be more result oriented, tend to be biased towards avoiding discussion of shortcomings of the process, and tend not to audit the capacity building processes that could be aligned with project objectives (Ravallion 2016; Goldstein 2014). This study has developed a rating scale to enable communities to assess capacity building as a process. The purpose of promoting democratic rating of the capacity building process by the community is empowering for the community. Participatory monitoring and evaluation techniques that apply an objective rating scale can enhance the accuracy, credibility and practicality of the assessment. The rating scale uses people's perceptions about their community redevelopment collected through mixed research methods. Community members (220 in YSUP and

60 in ICPP - during household surveys) were asked to rate the intensity of capacity building measures adopted in the project by selecting one of the five descriptors placed along a continuum scale of 1 to 5 (1 reflecting the lowest form of capacity building and 5 being the highest form). The assessment rating scale method is particularly effective for pointing out how radically different or similar each household's perceptions can be towards the redevelopment project depending on their contextual areas.

The concern here lies in how the development agencies in YSUP and ICPP have strategized and functioned, a subject to which we will attend to in the next chapter, Chapter 7. Thus, the assessment rating scale formulated for this research focuses and allows the community/household respondents to make an independent assessment, based on their knowledge and experiences, of each operational area of influence (discussed in Section 4.8 and 4.8.1).

6.8.1 Analysing the community interpretation of each operational area

The assessment rating scale assesses the operational areas that influence the capacity building process of a community during a project period. It is the interpretation of the community that would provide most insight into the assessment of the competencies and capacities developed through the project. The scale assessing each operational area consists of five descriptors of the performance, representing situations moving progressively from one with the least potential to build community capacity to five with the highest potential for capacity building.

In the household surveys (220 in YSUP and 60 in ICPP), community members were asked to match or rate the performance in each operational area with reference five descriptors of the situation expressed as short statements (Table 6.19 and 6.20). These questionnaires were pre-tested before commencing the final household surveys to make sure the questions closely related to the situation of the community and the redevelopment project. In the survey, community participants' were asked to select the statement (descriptor/rating), based on their knowledge and experiences that most closely related to the process of their community redevelopment project. The pattern was repeated for each operational area. Group interviews were also conducted to triangulate and validate the ratings of capacity building indicators.

Table 6.19: Descriptors for rating operational areas influencing the capacity building process of the community in case of YSUP (*The ratings are compiled from 220 household surveys*)

Rating scale		1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
Areas of influence with descriptors	A PARTICIPATION	Not all community members participated in the activities (submission of documents, biometrics, etc.) and meetings organised by the agencies for the project.	Community members attended the meetings but were not involved in the discussion. Submitting documents, timely money and co-operation with the biometrics was the only involvement.	Community members participated in the discussion but their ideas and needs were not taken into consideration. Supervision of individual house construction was the only contribution.	Community members involved in planning and implementation. Skilled individuals (plumber, painter, electrician, etc.) worked on their own houses.	Community members participated in the project from decision-making stage to implementation to maintenance. Also, contributing outside the community.	
	No. of respondents (N)	0	138	82	0	0	220
Areas of influence with descriptors	B LEADERSHIP	The community does not have a local or a political leader.	Political leader is democratically elected and works for the benefit of the community. Community trusts the leader and agreed for the government project confiding in the	The leader helped in organising meetings with the community before the initiation of the project. But, fails to hear and take action against the complaints and problems of the	The leader encourages the community to participate in the implementation of the project. Organises community meetings and workshops to inquire, monitor and evaluate the project	The leader takes complete initiative of the project. Links with the outside agents to gain resources for the community.	
	No. of respondents (N)						

			leader.	community members after the project implementation.	progress.		
	No. of respondents (N)	0	27	193	0	0	220
C Areas of influence with descriptors	COMMUNITY NETWORKS	Community has no voluntary organisations, groups or committees.	Community has informal links with their neighbours and other community members, but are not active or have any established purpose.	Community has informal links established within the community that are active, and helps each other at the time of need.	Inter-dependent and defined community networks, with interests in community development. Based on mutual respect and actively involved in and outside the community.	The community has a strong social structure that is fundamental for collaborative action. During a program, the network assists the practitioners' with community resources and internal capacities, and if required can challenge large-scale domineering governing structures that affects their internal capacities.	
	No. of respondents (N)	0	173	47	0	0	220
D	RESOURCE MOBILISATION	Community depends on the outside agents to mobilise resources.	The community does not have the ability to recognise the resources they	The community recognises their resources, but lacks the social or	The community has gained solidarity and has improved the community's	The community has the ability to mobilise resources from within and	

Areas of influence with descriptors			possess or have the ability to capitalise it.	collective network to mobilise it. Resources raised have limited or no benefit to the community.	collective negotiating power to discuss the distribution of the resources.	from outside the community, and controls the decisions over allocation and utilisation of the resources. Resources fairly distributed.	
No. of respondents (N)	80	91	49	0	0	220	
Areas of influence with descriptors	E PROBLEM ASSESSMENT	No problem assessment survey undertaken before the initiation of the project.	Community members focus on their personal well-being. They lack the understanding, skills, and awareness to identify problems, and rely on the development agencies to decide for them.	Community has the ability to differentiate between problems and needs. Can identify and prioritise community problems, but were not involved in the decision-making process.	Community has the ability to identify problems, solutions to the problems, and plan of action to resolve it. Community's problem assessment was used to strengthen community redevelopment project.	Community continues to identify and is the owner of problems, solutions and actions.	
No. of respondents (N)	212	0	8	0	0	220	
Areas of influence with descriptors	F CRITICAL THINKING	The community completely rely on the local leader/ representative to do the thinking for	Community meetings were organised to inform the community about community	Community meetings were supposed to raise questions, problems, collect	Community meetings are organised to start a dialogue with the community assess their contextual areas,	The community has the ability to reflect, critically analyse and take action for	

Areas of influence with descriptors		them. They lack the ability to reason, analyse and assess information.	issues and the action being taken to resolve it. The community lacks the ability to challenge those issues.	and evaluate information, and communicate effectively with the community, but instead was organised to inform the community about the project.	identify solutions, critically analyse it, and communicate with others to exchange ideas.	community well-being, and does not rely on the local leader or an outside agent.	
No. of respondents (N)		82	111	27	0	0	220
Areas of influence with descriptors	G LINKS WITH EXTERNAL ORGANISATIONS	Community lacks partnership with the external organisations. Development agencies control finances, resources and evaluation of the project.	External organisations in control of resources, but discusses with the local leader before allocating them. No decision was made by the community. External agents act on behalf of the community to produce outputs.	External organisation and the community work collectively and make joint decisions for the benefit of the community. Role of the external agents is mutually agreed.	Community makes decisions with support and guidance from the external agents. External organisations facilitate change in the community by training programs and support.	Community links with the external organisations to facilitate change as per the decisions made by the community. The external organisations work on behalf of the community for infrastructural development, skills development, to raise subsidies and funds, and for technical expertise.	
No. of respondents (N)		140	80	0	0	0	220

H Areas of influence with descriptors	PROJECT MANAGEMENT	By external organisations.	By external agents in discussion with the community.	Project managed by the community under supervision of the external agents. Decision making mechanisms mutually agreed. Roles and responsibility clearly defined. Community has not received skills training in program management.	Project plans, policies, implementation and management performed by the community with limited assistance from external agents. Developing sense of community ownership.	Community independently managed the project and were accountable for it.	
No. of respondents (N)		220	0	0	0	0	220
I Areas of influence with descriptors	COMMUNITY SKILLS	Community does not have any skills.	Community possess livelihood skills and resources (including home-based work, casual labour), which were not considered or taken into account during the project implementation.	The community has the ability to recognise the benefits of exchanging ideas and sweat-equity for community redevelopment to maximise cost-benefit ratio, but are not heard by the development agencies.	The project is planned based on the human and social resources available with the community, to increase community participation, sense of belonging and ownership within the community, and to maximise cost-benefit ratio.	The community collaboratively planned and incorporated services and activities based on the resources and skills available in the community for their mutual benefit.	

No. of respondents (N)		0	143	77	0	0	220
J Areas of influence with descriptors	PARTICIPATORY MONITORING AND EVALUATION	The community has no knowledge of the project aims and objectives and only focuses on their personal gains.	The community is only informed about their personal gains through the project and the compensation required from them. The community monitors and evaluates only their result based personal gains.	The community is not directly involved in project monitoring and evaluation, but their feedback is given importance.	As the community possess the contextual knowledge, the development agents involve the community to evaluate the project for its success.	The community not only identifies the problem, but also accumulates, evaluates, and interprets the data for project development and analysis.	
	No. of respondents (N)	17	203	0	0	0	220

Table 6.20: Descriptors for rating operational areas influencing the capacity building process of the community in case of ICPP (*The ratings are compiled from 60 household surveys*)

Rating scale		1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
Areas of influence with descriptors	A PARTICIPATION	Not all community members participated in the initial survey and meetings organised by the agencies for the project.	Community members participated in the discussion but their ideas and needs were not taken into consideration.	Community members attended the meetings but were not involved in the discussion. Timely compensation and co-operation was the only involvement. Supervision of individual house construction was the only contribution.	Community members involved in planning and implementation. Skilled individuals (plumber, painter, electrician, etc.) worked on their own houses.	Community members participated in the project from decision-making stage to implementation to maintenance. Also, contributing outside the community.	
	No. of respondents (N)	0	25	35	0	0	60
Areas of influence with descriptors	B LEADERSHIP	The community does not have a local or a political leader/ NGO representative.	Political leader/ NGO representative works for the benefit of the community. Community trusts the leader/ NGO representative and agreed for the project confiding in	The leader/ NGO representative helped in organising meetings with the community before the initiation of the project. But, fails to hear and take action against	The leader/representative encourages the community to participate in the implementation of the project. Organises community meetings and workshops to	The leader/representative takes complete initiative of the project. Links with the outside agents to gain resources for the community.	

			the leader/ NGO representative.	problems (price hike) of the community members after the project implementation.	inquire, monitor and evaluate the project progress.		
No. of respondents (N)		0	9	51	0	0	60
C Areas of influence with descriptors	COMMUNITY NETWORKS	Community has no voluntary organisations, groups or committees.	Community has informal links with their neighbours and other community members, but are not active or have any established purpose.	Community has informal links established within the community that are active, and helps each other at the time of need.	Inter-dependent and defined community networks, with interests in community development. Based on mutual respect and actively involved in and outside the community.	The community has a strong social structure that is fundamental for collaborative action. During a program, the network assists the practitioners' with community resources and internal capacities, and if required can challenge large-scale domineering governing structures that affects their internal capacities.	
	No. of respondents (N)	0	12	48	0	0	60
D	RESOURCE MOBILISATION	Community depends on the	The community does not have the ability	The community recognises their	The community has gained solidarity and	The community has the ability to	

Areas of influence with descriptors		outside agents to mobilise resources.	to recognise the resources they possess or have the ability to capitalise it.	resources, but lacks the social or collective network to mobilise it. Resources raised have limited or no benefit to the community.	has improved the community's collective negotiating power to discuss the distribution of the resources.	mobilise resources from within and from outside the community, and controls the decisions over allocation and utilisation of the resources. Resources fairly distributed.	
No. of respondents (N)		57	2	1	0	0	60
Areas of influence with descriptors	E PROBLEM ASSESSMENT	No problem assessment survey undertaken before the initiation of the project.	Community members focus on their personal well-being. They lack the understanding, skills, and awareness to identify problems, and rely on the development agencies to decide for them.	Community has the ability to differentiate between problems and needs. Can identify and prioritise community problems, but were not involved in the decision-making process.	Community has the ability to identify problems, solutions to the problems, and plan of action to resolve it. Community's problem assessment was used to strengthen community redevelopment project.	Community continues to identify and is the owner of problems, solutions and actions.	
No. of respondents (N)		0	5	55	0	0	60
Areas of influence with descriptors	F CRITICAL THINKING	The community completely rely on the local leader/	Community meetings were organised to inform	Community meetings were supposed to raise	Community meetings are organised to start a dialogue with the	The community has the ability to reflect, critically	

Areas of influence with descriptors		NGO representative to do the thinking for them. They lack the ability to reason, analyse and assess information.	the community about community issues and the action being taken to resolve it. The community lacks the ability to challenge those issues.	questions, problems, collect and evaluate information, and communicate effectively with the community, but instead was organised to inform the community about the project.	community assess their contextual areas, identify solutions, critically analyse it, and communicate with others to exchange ideas.	analyse and take action for community well-being, and does not rely on the local leader or an outside agent.	
No. of respondents (N)		26	25	9	0	0	60
Areas of influence with descriptors	G LINKS WITH EXTERNAL ORGANISATIONS	Community lacks partnership with the external organisations. Development agencies control finances, resources and evaluation of the project.	External organisations in control of resources, but discusses with the local leader/community before allocating them. No decision was made by the community. External agents act on behalf of the community to produce outputs.	External organisation and the community work collectively and make joint decisions for the benefit of the community. Role of the external agents is mutually agreed.	Community makes decisions with support and guidance from the external agents. External organisations facilitate change in the community by training programs and support.	Community links with the external organisations to facilitate change as per the decisions made by the community. The external organisations work on behalf of the community for infrastructural development, skills development, to raise subsidies and funds, and for	

						technical expertise.	
No. of respondents (N)	5	14	41	0	0	0	60
H Areas of influence with descriptors	PROJECT MANAGEMENT	By external organisations.	By external agents in discussion with the community.	Project managed by the community under supervision of the external agents. Decision making mechanisms mutually agreed. Roles and responsibility clearly defined. Community has not received skills training in program management.	Project plans, policies, implementation and management performed by the community with limited assistance from external agents. Developing sense of community ownership.	Community independently managed the project and were accountable for it.	
No. of respondents (N)	0	60	0	0	0	0	60
I Areas of influence with descriptors	COMMUNITY SKILLS	Community does not have any skills.	Community possess livelihood skills and resources (including home-based work, casual labour, low-income workers), which were not considered or taken into account during the project implementation.	The community has the ability to recognise the benefits of exchanging ideas and sweat-equity for community redevelopment to maximise cost-benefit ratio, but are not heard by the	The project is planned based on the human and social resources available with the community, to increase community participation, sense of belonging and ownership within the community, and to	The community collaboratively planned and incorporated services and activities based on the resources and skills available in the community for their mutual benefit.	

				development agencies.	maximise cost-benefit ratio.		
No. of respondents (N)		3	57	0	0	0	60
J Areas of influence with descriptors	PARTICIPATORY MONITORING AND EVALUATION	The community has no knowledge of the project aims and objectives and only focuses on their personal gains.	The community is only informed about their personal gains through the project and the compensation required from them. The community monitors and evaluates only their result based personal gains.	The community is not directly involved in project monitoring and evaluation, but their feedback is given importance.	As the community possess the contextual knowledge, the development agents involve the community to evaluate the project for its success.	The community not only identifies the problem, but also accumulates, evaluates, and interprets the data for project development and analysis.	
No. of respondents (N)		5	55	0	0	0	60

The Tables 6.19 and 6.20 above give a descriptive account of the ratings given by 220 and 60 respondents in YSUP and ICPP, respectively. The responses (ratings) by 220 and 60 community members have been generally consistent, spreading over 2 or a maximum of 3 contiguous rating options. Ratings are not wildly dispersed across the rating scale. This data is thus transcribed in Tables 6.21 and 6.22 below, visually representing the distribution of the community ratings of operational areas. Visual representation below provides a quick picture of the strengths and weaknesses within the community in a concise, measurable and easy to interpret format.

Visual representation may also prove to be a useful tool for the practitioners' to make a representation of the analysis over a specific timeframe, to compare between two communities in the same program, and also in a way that can be understood by all the program stakeholders.

Table 6.21: Community ratings of operational areas in YSUP: Visual representation of distribution

Areas of influence	Indicators of capacity building				
	1	2	3	4	5
Participation					
Leadership					
Community networks					
Resource mobilisation					
Problem assessment					
Critical thinking					
Links with external organisations					
Programme management					
Community skills					
Participatory monitoring and evaluation					

Table 6.22: Community ratings of operational areas in ICPP: Visual representation of distribution

Areas of influence	Indicators of capacity building				
	1	2	3	4	5
Participation					
Leadership					
Community networks					
Resource mobilisation					
Problem assessment					
Critical thinking					
Links with external organisations					
Programme management					

Community skills					
Participatory monitoring and evaluation					

Highest rating	
Medium rating	
Lowest rating	
Zero rating	

Even though the responses (ratings) of 220 and 60 respondents in YSUP and ICPP is consistent, spreading over 2 or a maximum of 3 contiguous rating options, an average of the ratings of each operational area influencing the capacity building process needs to be calculated. Thus, to compute the final rating of each operational area, a formula has been devised below:

$$\frac{(N \times 1) + (N \times 2) + (N \times 3) + (N \times 4) + (N \times 5)}{220} = \frac{S}{220} = \text{Final ratings of YSUP}$$

$$\frac{(N \times 1) + (N \times 2) + (N \times 3) + (N \times 4) + (N \times 5)}{60} = \frac{S}{60} = \text{Final ratings of ICPP}$$

where, N = number of respondents and S = cumulative score of the responses and ratings.

Table 6.23 Final ratings of the operational areas influencing the capacity building process of the community in case of YSUP

Areas	Rating scale	1	2	3	4	5	Score (S/220)	FINAL RATINGS
A	No. of respondents (N)	0	138	82	0	0	522/220	2.4
	(N x Ratings)		138 x 2 = 276	82 x 3 = 246				
B	No. of respondents (N)	0	27	193	0	0	633/220	3
	(N x Ratings)		27 x 2 = 54	193 x 3 = 579				
C	No. of respondents	0	173	47	0	0	487/220	

	(N)							2.2
	(N x Ratings)		173 x 2 = 346	47 x 3 = 141				
D	No. of respondents (N)	80	91	49	0	0	409/220	1.8
	(N x Ratings)	80 x 1 = 80	91 x 2 = 182	49 x 3 = 147				
E	No. of respondents (N)	212	0	8	0	0	236/220	1.1
	(N x Ratings)	212 x 1 = 212		8 x 3 = 24				
F	No. of respondents (N)	82	111	27	0	0	385/220	1.75
	(N x Ratings)	82 x 1 = 82	111 x 2 = 222	27 x 3 = 81				
G	No. of respondents (N)	140	80	0	0	0	300/220	1.4
	(N x Ratings)	140 x 1 = 140	80 x 2 = 160					
H	No. of respondents (N)	220	0	0	0	0	220/220	1
	(N x Ratings)	220 x 1 = 220						
I	No. of respondents (N)	0	143	77	0	0	517/220	2.35
	(N x Ratings)		143 x 2 = 286	77 x 3 = 231				
J	No. of respondents (N)	17	203	0	0	0	423/220	2
	(N x Ratings)	17 x 1 = 17	203 x 2 = 406					

Table 6.24 Final ratings of the operational areas influencing the capacity building process of the community in case of ICPP

Areas	Rating scale	1	2	3	4	5	Score (S/60)	FINAL RATINGS
A	No. of respondents (N)	0	25	35	0	0	155/60	2.6
	(N x Ratings)		25 x 2 = 50	35 x 3 = 105				
B	No. of respondents (N)	0	9	51	0	0	171/60	2.85
	(N x Ratings)		9 x 2 = 18	51 x 3 = 153				
C	No. of respondents (N)	0	12	48	0	0	168/60	2.8
	(N x Ratings)		12 x 2 = 24	48 x 3 = 144				
D	No. of respondents (N)	57	2	1	0	0	64/60	1.1
	(N x Ratings)	57 x 1 = 57	2 x 2 = 4	1 x 3 = 3				
E	No. of respondents (N)	0	5	55	0	0	175/60	3
	(N x Ratings)		5 x 2 = 10	55 x 3 = 165				
F	No. of respondents (N)	26	25	9	0	0	103/60	1.72
	(N x Ratings)	26 x 1 = 26	25 x 2 = 50	9 x 3 = 27				
G	No. of respondents (N)	5	14	41	0	0	156/60	2.6
	(N x Ratings)	5 x 1 = 5	14 x 2 = 28	41 x 3 = 123				
H	No. of respondents (N)	60	0	0	0	0	60/60	1
	(N x Ratings)	60 x 1 = 60						
I	No. of respondents	3	57	0	0	0	117/60	

	(N)							2
	(N x Ratings)	3 x 1 = 3	57 x 2 = 114					
J	No. of respondents (N)	5	55	0	0	0	115/60	2
	(N x Ratings)	5 x 1 = 5	55 x 2 = 110					

Community’s interpretation of the ratings calculated in Tables 6.23 and 6.24 above strengthens the validity of the assessment ratings. The average of the community responses calculated above gives the exact position of the operational areas on the rating scale, giving an insight into the assessment of the competencies and capacities developed through the project. The purpose of calculating the final rating was to identify definitive level of the operational areas on the scale, indicating the failure and success of the capacity building process. The group interviews conducted enhanced the credibility of the ratings by allowing the community members to identify their own underlying reasoning of the ratings and maintain it. The intensity of the final ratings on the scale in the form of a bar diagram is shown in the Figures 6.5 and 6.6 below.



Figure 6.5 Intensity of the final ratings of the operational areas in case of YSUP



Figure 6.6 Intensity of the final ratings of the operational areas in case of ICPP

The intensity of the ratings on the scale shown in Figures 6.5 and 6.6 is based on the final rating each operational area carries. The highest rating in both, YSUP and ICPP is 3, given to ‘leadership’ and ‘problem assessment’, respectively. The degree of the ratings reflected on the scale is shared by the community and is based on their knowledge and experiences that are most closely related to the process of their community redevelopment project.

In case of YSUP, the assessment indicates community’s response towards good leadership of their local leader is stronger (rating 3), as compared to the other 9 areas of influence, that has failed to traverse beyond rating 2.5. This proves that the local leader of Nagpur Chawl was merely encouraging the community to participate in the project for their houses to be re-build, and not be a key actor in the project by taking charge of it.

On the other hand, ICPP performed comparatively well by crossing 2.5 in at least 5 out of 10 areas. However, the most striking gap is that when ICPP is entirely based in urban poor settlements with home-based industries, with 57 per cent of skilled labour and 38 per cent of unemployed and casual labour available (discussed in Section 6.6.2), still ‘resource mobilisation’ and ‘project management’ could not go beyond rating 1.1 and 1, respectively.

Altogether, the assessment outcome of YSUP and ICPP (see, Chapter 7 for discussion of findings), confirms that the 10 operational areas identified in the research are multifaceted, inter-connected and inter-dependent, and can influence the effectiveness of the process of community capacity building and long-term sustainability of the project. Overall, the analysis of the case study points out, that the development agencies have concentrated more on the redevelopment of built environment whereas the human development components were not focused upon and that there are some major gaps to be fulfilled. Improving the standard of living of the community in terms of physical living conditions (for instance, each house has a toilet now) is not sufficient if the community lacks of sense of ownership and social cohesion within the community. In such circumstances, sustenance of the project cannot be guaranteed. If the development agencies work accordingly, prioritising the local needs, investing appropriate resources, connecting with the livelihood aspirations and attempting to build the capacity of the disadvantaged communities, it is possible to reverse the trend of failure.

6.9 Lessons learnt from YSUP and ICPP

- Long term projects, such as YSUP and ICPP, must not be bounded by any standard and customary sets of rules, and must remain flexible enough, such that they can be remoulded to the given circumstances for the good of the community.
- Community based human and social resources must be explored, before planning a project.
- Existing relationships must be capitalised (for example, local leaders or NGOs must be used to liaise, coordinate, and share information with community), and technical expertise of the civil society should be utilised effectively.
- An accountability structure and project implementation units should be set up at the start of the project. Well-qualified and experienced members should be appointed, such that, different challenges that occur from preparation of DPR to completion of the project can be effectively handled.
- There should be an active involvement of the community on decisions affecting their livelihoods and they should be consulted for their needs and problems before planning the project.

- Effective mechanisms should be developed for community involvement at all stages of the project, starting from data collection, selection of projects, design of housing units and settlement layouts, construction, monitoring and maintenance.
- The implementing agencies need to educate the community regarding the scheme and for their individual contribution in the project as a beginning towards participation. The communities must be trained and involved in the projects. More community development officers should be appointed in the field to interact with the families.
- Government bodies need to step away from the ‘demolish and rebuild’ or ‘one size fits all’ approach. A needs based approach must be incorporated depending on the housing and infrastructure conditions of that particular settlement. One urban poor settlement might have a wide range of possibilities in terms of design and planning — some houses to rebuild, some to only upgrade and some to shift.
- Criteria must be developed to identify the most vulnerable urban poor settlement to be taken up for upgrading. Political influences must not impact the decisions.
- Land ownership, norms and other issues ought to be cleared prior to DPR preparation.
- Inter-departmental relationships need to be strengthened at the local government level.
- It is encouraged for the policy makers and officials from the municipal offices to regularly visit the site.

6.10 Conclusion

Government authorities, NGOs, practitioners’, and international organizations need to recognize that urban poor redevelopment is not limited to built environment up-gradation but is a myriad of social, economical, psychological, and emotional domains that needs to be addressed holistically. Improving the living conditions of the urban poor is only a part of the solution. Preference should be given to the development of the urban poor that are based on collaboration and community participation, that require development in the sense of generating local skills, local leadership, project management capacity and sense of responsibility. The process

may take longer to deliver envisaged project outcomes in terms of built environment improvements, but will ensure the longer term sustainability of the outcomes. Here it is important to remind ourselves that built environment redevelopment projects are best considered vehicle to bring about community wide benefits, globally.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion of findings

7.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses the findings of the two case studies examined in the previous chapter - Chapter 6. The case studies were examined using the Tripartite Partnership Model for their inter-relationships and institutional collaborative capacity (formulated in Chapter 2), and community capacity building assessment framework (formulated in Chapter 4) to assess the built capacity of the community involved in the two projects. The examination of different operational areas at two different project scales has demonstrated the flexibility with which the framework can be applied to different contexts with appropriate understanding of urban poor livelihoods and the nature of power. The case studies also contributed to the understanding of how a built environment redevelopment project is perceived by the development agencies and how operational challenges can influence the capacity building process.

In consequence, this chapter has sought to illustrate the applied use of the assessment framework, showing how the areas influencing the capacity building process can be laid across a redevelopment project and policy interventions. Governance characteristics and role of the key actors in redevelopment interventions will be discussed that needs to be aligned to the structural application of the framework during planning, implementation, and evaluation of an intervention. Furthermore, the chapter proposes need for a coherent change in governance approaches by re-defining the Tripartite Partnership Model. Within this arrangement, the implementation process, need of capacity building, its intensity and challenges will be addressed, such that it can facilitate 'evidence-based' project planning and policy making, based on the urban poor livelihood trends and patterns. By means of this review, future practitioners will have an accurate directive for their work.

7.2 ‘Redevelopment projects’ as viewed by the development agencies

“... a redevelopment project should not state, ‘how many millions were spent on the project, but how many millionaires were made in the process’...”
(Goethert 2014, Lecture series)

Despite the recent upsurge in interest, redevelopment projects and policies is beset with a lack of conceptual clarity. From the discussions and assessments in the previous chapter of case studies, it can be seen that allocations of finances and resources are justified by the project mission and objectives, such as ‘longer term project sustainability’, ‘establishment of linkages between asset-creation and asset-management’, ‘empowering the urban poor’, ‘improving accountability of urban local government’, ‘community participation’, ‘building social capital’, and ‘improving the demand side of governance’. Part of the conceptual challenge lies in understanding what these notions mean to the development agencies (that is the state government, local government, NGOs, practitioners, professionals, etc.), how they fit within broader conceptions of development policy, and how they bring it into practice.

Findings from our case study analysis show that improving built environment conditions for the most disadvantaged is widely accepted as the cornerstone of any credible redevelopment project. Majority of these redevelopment projects are initiated by the outsiders, and are hardly ever founded by the community itself. For instance, one of the community members from Yerwada region (case study I) remarked that,

“... they [the development agencies] always know what needs to be done. They already had a plan when they came here. Before them, few people visited, took photos, measured the streets, looked around, and only saw what is not here...” (Interviews for YSUP 2015)

It was implied by the community member in the quote above that the development agencies does not determine community problems or needs for the project, because they already have a preconceived proposal submitted for funding. The paternalistic role of the development agencies relying on the ‘best practice’ templates and tending to ignore the context that affects the political and social settings at the community

level is in line with the observations in YSUP (case study I). This is also in line with Harriss (2002) and Cooke and Kothari (2001), who argue that development agencies dominate decision-making and manipulate, instead of facilitating, development processes. This could be explained by the fact that practitioners' are often disconnected from the social reality and predominantly apply their technocratic approaches in ways that disempower and tell other people what they should do and think. This has contributed to practitioners' regarding themselves as the sole owners of development wisdom and having the monopoly of solutions which consistently underrate and under-value the capacities of local people to make their own decisions as well as to determine their own priorities. It is therefore difficult for development agencies to view community needs and opportunities through 'the eyes of end-beneficiaries' (Ahmad and Talib 2011).

For instance, in case study I - YSUP, even though community participation was part of the project mission, the community was involved only after the project was already approved by the central government and BSUP authorities. 96.2 per cent³⁶ of the respondents claimed that no problem assessment was done and there was limited or no engagement even during the designing of their houses. For the development agencies of the project, community participation was rather an attempt to inform the community of their preconceived proposal. By not attempting to ensure community choice in selecting appropriate development options freely suggests that it was not a genuine attempt to empower the community. This suggests that the process was not an attempt to ascertain the outcome and priorities, but rather to gain acceptance for an already assembled package prepared for the central government and BSUP authority. Consultation with the community was simply to justify existing decisions that is to tell the community what is going to happen by asking them what they think about it. In YSUP, involving the community was not much more than an attempt to convince the beneficiaries what is best for them. This entire situation resembles with the Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation*.

However, to defend themselves, the practitioners' involved in YSUP asserted during their interview that,

³⁶ Data discussed in Chapter 6 collected during field study in Pune for case study I – YSUP.

“... there is always a debate between the urgency of delivery, completion of the project in the given time, to manage the project within the budget cost, and to meet the planned performance goals or the end-product. In the midst of all this tension, involving the community at every stage of the project adds to the cost of time. Excessive pressures for immediate results, mounting up from the products and services delivered, often undermine attention to empowerment and make it difficult not to address to the well-being of the poor. This pressure compelled the practitioners’, contractors, and other implementing agencies to take matters into their hands instead of involving the community and completing themselves. The pressure also curtails the creativity of the practitioners’ and forces them to perform in clear, well-defined standard ways planned from the beginning.” (Interviews for YSUP 2015)

This process and product debate is a never-ending debate when there is an imbalance in power between the actors, and the sole discussion-maker of the project is the central or state government body who may have no knowledge of the local needs. Then again, this explanation stands incorrect in case of ICPP (case study II), where the NGOs, as established in Chapter 6 while discussing case study II, shared a compatible relationship with the community, had the sole power of the project. A practitioner involved in ICPP said during his interview that,

“... the NGOs are not after the product, we [NGOs] want to implement the process, involve and empower the community. But, the people [local community] and [external] organizations tend to focus only on the product. The resultant outcome of every project decides the success of the project. Moreover, without any sign of delivery, the community gets impatient, feels nothing is happening other than a lot of discussion, and that the time and money is lost. Hence, the community loses trust in the development agencies and does not co-operate in future redevelopment projects.” (Interviews for ICPP 2014)

Nevertheless, to make a case in point – 57 per cent³⁷ of the households visited in the urban poor settlements of Ahmedabad, had some form of skill and home-based industry and almost all the households relied on their social assets for resilience while living in vulnerable conditions. The argument here is, even though the NGOs in collaboration with practitioners' attempted for a responsive and responsible development by striking a balance between economic and community demands through innovative approaches for successful and sustainable outcome, no attempts were made to evaluate the community's available skill resources or assets. They forgot to consider that development should be led by people within their own communities. Despite the fact that the NGO had good rapport with the community and good relationship with the government bodies, they could have used this project as an opportunity for long term sustainable development, for community capacity building. The NGOs having the power to make the decision could have extended their time-line and involved the local government for supplementary resources. The practitioners' involved in the project could have been used as facilitators and mentors to anchor the knowledge base of the target population. These practitioners' could have sown the seeds of innovation and change, but ultimately, all decisions and actions could have been taken by the community people. Demonstrating an understanding of the culture and context would have improved the relationship between the development agencies and the community for future projects, and the capacity and potential induced in the community people could have helped their livelihood businesses to grow in a manner that is compatible with the local context. To conclude, even NGOs with good ranking and position, succumb to pressure of delivery and are overwhelmed by the private funding bodies.

Thus, a re-orientation in development planning and policies is required (as discussed in Chapter 2), which not only alters the thinking of development agencies towards redevelopment projects, but also adopts the motto of planning with and not for the people. Introduction of these key elements (discussed in Chapter 2) in development planning and policies is not new (taking note of its application in the case studies), but the challenge lies in recognising where, when, and how to maintain a balance in power.

³⁷ Data discussed in Chapter 6 Section 6.6 collected during field study in Ahmedabad for case study II – ICPP.

The next section discusses the challenges of redevelopment project related to the difference in power between the actors involved in both the case studies. Thus, the research proposes need for a coherent change to build collaborative capacity of the actors through decentralisation in planning and defined roles of the actors sharing tripartite partnership – government body, civil society, and the community – for a long term sustainable project.

7.3 Assessment of governance characteristics in an intervention: Discussing the role of key actors in the case studies

“... we not only want a piece of the pie, we also want to choose the flavour, and to know how to make it ourselves....” (Bhatt 1992, cited in Scheyvens 2009, 241)

Referring back to Chapter 2, from the perspective of collaborative capacity building of the actors involved in a redevelopment project – participation, power-sharing, and partnerships – is at the heart of this discussion. The purpose is to review the non-project realities and underlying power dynamics of a governance system that allows the unintended impacts to take place as reviewed in the case studies in Chapter 6. This section discusses the decentralisation and democratisation in planning through the case studies of the research, which also sheds light on how power operates in and through a project in reality. It is also important to stress upon how different roles of the actors feeds debates on the planning process and how meaningful, defined, and balanced role of each actor in Tripartite Partnership Model can respond to all the challenges and assumptions on the field.

7.3.1 Discussing the role of the government in the case studies

Redevelopment projects, particularly when they are as large as the YSUP (case study I - redevelopment of 9225 houses in 12 slum pockets), are usually initiated by the central authority, who sets the basic parameters of the project and creates the mechanisms to allocate funds. However, the effectiveness of the projects depends largely on the work done by the project implementers at different levels. A crucial point from the perspective of the study of decentralisation is that it is often associated with a significant transfer of responsibility for the implementation of national policies and projects from central government to state/local authorities (discussed in

detail in Chapter 2 section 2.4). Similar undertaking was attempted in YSUP (case study I), wherein the central government transferred the responsibilities of the project implementation to the PMC, the local government body; and the state government was involved only in the project funding structure. The intent was that the local government work directly with the community.

However, BSUP's joint venture contract between the state and local government resulted in some major project delays due to the power struggles. The contract had major implications for the state government for the reasons that they are used to implementing their own policies and projects, in terms of authority and control. State government was simply unwilling to 'let go' of responsibilities, and was not prepared to recognise the comparative advantage that local authorities have in the delivery of services. Furthermore, it seemed that the state government was unaware of the decentralisation legislation and had reservations towards the capacity of local government to manage the project. For these various reasons, conflict was reported between the state and local authorities during the project, which resulted in both the project and decentralisation policy not being fully and effectively implemented. Thus, some of the potential synergies to be gained from both the processes went wasted in the conflict.

Moreover, despite the local government's assigned centrality in the project, there was practically no evidence of their role in the project initiatives. Rather tenders were issued by the local government for the NGOs to participate and implement the redevelopment project. Referring back to the YSUP's Tripartite Partnership Model (Chapter 6 Section 6.4.1), the NGO, further went on and hired the facilitators/practitioners' (architect, consultants, supervisors and the contractors) for the project. The hired practitioners' with no experience and understanding of the socio-cultural and political sensitivity of the community became the frontline facilitators and worked directly with the community.

From the analysis of YSUP (case study I), it was recorded that among the practitioners', the contractors were involved till the end in the main implementation process of the project and were mainly driven by the incentives they deal with, and that these incentives were often not aligned with the project objectives or needs. It was also noted that the project beneficiaries were quite vulnerable to manipulation

and control by their local leader and later on by the contractor because the contractor made them feel inadequate, and that they should be obliged that they are part of a government-based subsidised project (YSUP interview 2014).

Here, the problem with delegating the project implementation task and on-site relevant decisions to the practitioners' is that, in making those decisions, they may pursue their own benefits and interests – which may not coincide with either the beneficiaries or the government. Practitioners' are often self-employed, with their income being directly related to the amount of the service they provide, they may promote their incomes by expanding the number of houses and hence their budget. A similar situation was reported in YSUP, wherein each contractor was working on 10-15 houses at the same time, which resulted in project delays and poor quality of work. On the other hand, the site supervisors employed by the NGO had monthly incomes indirectly related to the level of service provided. Thus, the supervisors tried to reduce their work-loads by under-reporting the poor quality of construction or not paying any attention at all.

Local government failure to implement YSUP corresponds with the *Wolf's Theory of Government Failure* (1989, cited in Le Grand 1991), and with the earliest typology of government failure developed by O'Dowd (1978, cited in Byrnes et al. 2001). Wolf identified this self-interested behaviour of government agents and practitioners' restrained by a commitment to the public interest or by professional ethics; while O'Dowd (1978, 242) has classified this behaviour into "inherent impossibilities", "political failures" and "bureaucratic failures". Justifications for government interventions are complicated by the fact that governments themselves are prone to failure, because of problems of coordination, commitment, and information asymmetries — locally as well as at the centre. Failure at the local government level cannot be differentiated from central and state government level. They too consists a mix of allocative inefficiency, productive inefficiency and distributional inequity. The power exercised by government reflects and reproduces inequality not only at the societal level, but also at different government levels. For instance, even though the central government had given major powers to the local government to implement YSUP, local government had to bear allocative inefficiencies since the relatively small size of municipal budgets had to make trade-offs between appointing extra Junior Engineers, or overloading the Junior Engineers already working in the

office and putting up with the delays in the project. Undoubtedly, competitive tendering and out-sourcing was strongly favoured at the local level of the government.

The failures of redevelopment can no longer be attributed solely to the inability of a single institutional body in charge of implementing the project. Even though decentralisation and power-sharing was attempted in YSUP, complex political, technical and administrative challenges were not taken into consideration. While adopting decentralisation and diversifying the sources of service delivery offers many advantages, it is important to recognise that central, state, and local governments may agree on project goals, but might perhaps have different priorities and strategies - demanding strong institutional management capacity to guide the process forward.

7.3.2 Discussing the role of the NGOs in the case studies

NGOs play a crucial role in both the case studies - YSUP and ICPP. Thus, the research retreats from viewing NGOs merely as an organisational embodiment of the civil society, and hence, they will be discussed detail in both the case studies as a single separate entity.

NGOs, in their role as service providers, offers a broad spectrum of services across multiple fields, ranging from livelihood interventions, health and education service to more specific areas, such as democracy building, capacity building, conflict resolution, human rights, helping with micro-credit finance, environmental management, and policy analysis. Interests in the contribution of NGOs to service delivery did not rise only because of the enforced rollback of state services, but also because of their perceived comparative advantages in service provision, including their ability to innovate and experiment, their flexibility to adopt new projects quickly, and most importantly, their linkages with the community that offer participation in project planning and implementation, thereby fostering self-reliance and sustainability.

Linkages and rapport with the community are, after all, the reason NGOs are appointed to work through local partners, recognising that objectives and priorities of government organisations may not reflect those at the community level, and closer

proximity at this level is necessary for more effective community participation and long term sustainability of the project. In the wake of disadvantages of top-down development (discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1), NGOs were seen to have the capacity to offer the sole organizational forms that could implement ‘bottom-up’ development. While their role in as “democratisers of development” (Bebbington 2005, 725) highlights their role as means of participation and advocate for the urban poor, generates bottom-up people-centred approaches to development, reflecting local-level capacity building in the long run and fostering a stronger democratic culture of local communities and disadvantaged groups. But, looking at their efforts along a broad spectrum, most NGOs seek capacity building and empowerment as an indirect outcome of their wider service delivery activities.

Batley and Rose (2011, cited in Banks and Hulme 2012, 10) add to this argument saying that, “NGOs pursue advocacy by stealth, by working in partnership with the government through which they can demonstrate strategies and methods for more effective service provision.” Likewise, a number of critical issues were noticed in both the case studies, such as problems of representativeness, limitations to effectiveness and empowerment, and difficulties remaining loyal to their distinctive ideals. Issues that have certainly undermined the authenticity and have made the NGOs involved in YSUP and ICPP, increasingly professionalised and service-oriented.

To explain this argument in detail - in case study I, in YSUP, the role of the NGOs should have been to make the voices of the poor to be heard in project design and implementation, instead the reality was, that under government funding the NGOs were operating target-oriented services directly, by turning into implementers or contractors for the government development policy, rather than representing the local community of Yerwada. The shift from long term sustainable development of the urban poor in YSUP through process-based development to project-based and target-oriented goals with a strong focus on material poverty, has led to the erosion of broader social goals of the NGO MASHAL (including SPARC and Mahila Milan working in other pockets of Yerwada) into political nature of operations, drawing the government development activities “into the safe professionalised and often de-politicised world of development practice” (Lewis and Kanji 2009, cited in Banks and Hulme 2012, 22).

Few researchers like Fowler (2011) and Tvedt (2006) have backed the NGOs by saying that, this shift in the ideals of the NGOs might be because, NGOs are independent organisations and are highly dependent on external funding, relying on government or international aid donor funds for around 85-90 per cent of their income and risk collapse without continued support. Such dependency has distorted the alignment of NGOs away from beneficiaries and towards government in terms of accountability. Thus, the NGOs locate themselves as per the socio-economic and political agendas of the funding organisation, rather than those of local urban poor communities whom they are meant to represent. For instance, NGOs that previously co-operated and shared a learning culture with each other, competed against each other to attain a lucrative contract of YSUP (case study I) that was put out on tender by the PMC (local government body) to redevelop and provide public services to the Yerwada community, as a result “an opportunity for one quickly became a threat for others” (Eade 2007, 207). For the NGOs, it is a concern of financial sustainability and organisational survival as they expand.

ICPP (case study II) is a good example to explain this situation, wherein the NGO have simply adopted the development agendas and in doing so, have become yet another system of aid managers and disbursers rather than development agents. When ICPP was initiated, the project began with participatory and bottom-up development approaches reflecting local contexts needs and realities. But, soon after, the ICPP goals of community empowerment were replaced by measurable outputs, in the form of a product – *Ujasiyu*. ICPP was an open opportunity for the NGOs to promote community capacity building and empowerment through the means of long-lasting ingredients for sustainable development, such as community initiative, resilience and cohesion, self-reliance, and resourcefulness. But, the rush to achieve substantial and quantifiable measures of development dominated the original unique ideals of the NGO. Institutional imperatives of organisational survival and growth were dominated over the development principles of the NGOs.

Good governance is not a concept limited to government reforms and actions. It is also essential for the NGOs to maintain its credibility, and to operate in a transparent, accountable and participatory manner. NGOs must move from development as delivery to development as leverage while providing local government with the means of getting in touch with its constituency, and of integrating them in the

planning and implementation of economic and social development; by helping the urban poor with the means of becoming aware of their own capacities and responsibilities of the local government; by stimulating meaningful community participation in design and implementation within the project context; and establishing a process whereby the community and government work together to solve local problems. NGOs so far have failed to realise the power they possess in playing an intermediary role between government and the community in regard to participation and development. As Pearce (2006, 20) says, “[NGOs are] useful fig-leaves to cover government inaction or indifference to human suffering.” NGOs fail to realise the fact that they have won a position in development in between the government and the community.

7.3.3 Summarising the critique of the role of development agencies in the case studies

The course of action taken in YSUP and ICPP leads to a number of conclusions on current governance approaches. To begin with, it is not easy to convert ambitions into actions in local administration, such as, implementation of the ambitions that were formulated at the central/state level (in case of YSUP) or by executives sitting in their offices (in case of ICPP) which had to be performed by municipalities and local actors in both the cases. Local government or local actors then became the key institutions to carry out the planning initiative, in consultation with the practitioners’ and other private actors on individual aspects of the project. Intensive and formalised forms of co-operation were attempted in both the cases, where the NGOs, practitioners’, and private actors had formally signed contracts and were systematically involved in the interaction. Though the intent of contracts was to divide and define the responsibilities of each actor for smooth execution of the project, a dominant pattern was observed among the actors.

In the beginning of the projects, the actors came together to undertake collective action, but it did not result in collective outcome. There was a clear separation of priorities between the actors in both the cases, in which each of the actors were concentrating on their own tasks and had no genuine afterthought for long-term sustainability of the project. The actors were more concerned about their short-term political gains than long-term economic costs. This is either because actors hesitate to

commit themselves to each other or collaborative efforts and the fundamental objectives of the project become incoherent at a later stage or both.

The inability of the actors to develop partnerships and share power lies in the complexity of actor composition, institutional factors, and strategic planning and implementation approaches adopted by the government bodies and NGOs. As a consequence, the concept of tripartite partnership (discussed in Chapter 2 Section 2.6), an integrated and combined investment of three key actors (government bodies, NGOs, and the community), was converted into a set of loosely linked relations of various actors in both the case studies (discussed in Chapter 6 Section 6.4.1 and 6.7.1). The government bodies and the NGOs were far too pre-occupied with their own procedures and internal issues to be able to act as partners or to involve the community in the project. The fact that decision-making in the projects had to be linked to different actors, arenas and networks constituted in not only an organizational problem in terms of management, but also in a domain problem. It is this segregation between the key actors that act as barriers against collaboration.

This attitude of the development agencies has worked against the project aims and objectives which require innovation and community development of high-quality for long-term sustainability. Here, in both the cases, conflict is apparent between the aspirations of actors and the needs of the community on the one hand, and the existing institutional structures and chosen strategies of actors on the other hand. Furthermore, since the actors in YSUP and ICPP were not willing to relinquish their own domain, the institutional disintegration resulted in lack of managerial skills, uncertain financing and unpredictable adjustments, increased complexity in decision-making, and substandard display of transparency and accountability in both the projects. This effect calls for a change in behaviour of development practitioners and within development agencies.

Thus, the next section discusses this need for a coherent change in the roles of the government bodies and the NGOs for long-term sustainable development of the urban poor by re-establishing the approaches of governance. The negative influences on community participation grounded in the organisational interests of the government and NGOs observed in both the case studies need to be re-imagined. For the government bodies and the NGOs to take collaborative planning and

implementation seriously, they need to start sharing power over decision-making and allocation of resources with the community. They need to adopt tripartite partnership, and understand that all three spheres are interdependent and are needed to balance one another – to create a virtuous cycle. They need to understand, that without greater commitment to the community, their context and their livelihood strategies, there is no means through which redevelopment projects can be aligned with local realities and brought closer to the goals of capacity building and long term sustainability of the project (as discussed in Chapter 3).

7.4 Need for a coherent change in governance approaches: Re-defining the Tripartite Partnership Model

Typically, the concept of decentralisation of power is associated with different forms of government or with NGOs, practitioners', and other private sectors, but never with the community. In both the case studies, there has been a fundamental lack of concern about the community's perspectives in the project planning and development process, starting from decision-making during the early stages of the project. This noticeable lack of community's perspective in the infrastructure planning and delivery in both the case studies, characterises bureaucracy of centralisation of authority, especially financial control and standardisation of rules, recommendations and actions that may not facilitate in building the capacity of the urban poor communities. Hence, it was felt that it is better to aim at changes in institutional approaches and partnerships in key organisations than to directly focus on building the capacity of individuals. Not only does this lead to improvements in institutional performance, but the impact on the individuals is more beneficial. Thus, the development agencies need to consider the implementation of decentralization policy from a comprehensive strategic planning process by recognising the political, social, economic, and infrastructural context of the community in question; and, by promoting participation of beneficiaries in the formulation, implementation and maintenance of projects.

Analogous to this is the tripartite partnership model formulated from the theoretical study in Chapter 2 (in Section 2.6), that encourages the delegation of power to the community by having a genuine influence on the decision-making instead of just executing consultation exercise on a routine basis. But since, the inter-relationships

between the primary key actors and secondary peripheral actors in the case studies was unbalanced and inequitable, this section aims to amend the model from empirical experiences for future partnerships. This will be done by discussing the inter-relationships of the actors in the YSUP and ICPP, and then re-defining tripartite partnership model by involving the secondary peripheral actors and establishing their links with the key actors for a successful project.

In case of YSUP, the inter-relationships between the primary and secondary actors were as depicted in the Figure 7.1 below. In YSUP, even though JNNURM - BSUP mandated transfer of power and responsibilities from the state to the local government to bring decentralisation in planning and practice, the state preserved the authority to delegate roles to municipalities, which created disagreements and delays in the project. The link between the central government and local government was one-way, where the central government was accountable for 50% of funds allocation to the local government for the project. The direct and indirect link connecting the local government and the NGOs shows the contractual relationship between them, through which the local government gave project implementation powers to the NGOs but reserved building sanctioning authority to itself. The sole purpose of making NGOs the primary implementing organisation was for the relationship they share with the community. Nonetheless, the NGOs outsourced work to different practitioners' and other private sectors, and controlled the powers to collaborate with the community. The direct and indirect relationship between the NGOs and the community depicts how the NGOs focused on target-oriented services instead of representing the local community of Yerwada. The NGOs were involved with the community only in the beginning, while introducing the project with the help of the local leader. Later on, secondary private actors like, contractors and supervisors, were directly involved with the community, who had no knowledge or experience to deal with the community needs; and the NGOs merely acted as project administrators from their offices. The local leader of the community though involved with the NGOs in promoting the project and encouraging the community to participate, had personal political interests in doing so. Hence, co-dependent relationship is shown between local leader and the community, and between local leader and the NGOs. The intent of decentralising the project was to build trust and alliance between the local government and community. But, they shared an indirect relationship, wherein

monitoring and supervision by the Junior Engineers of the construction work was the only physical relation of the local government with the community.

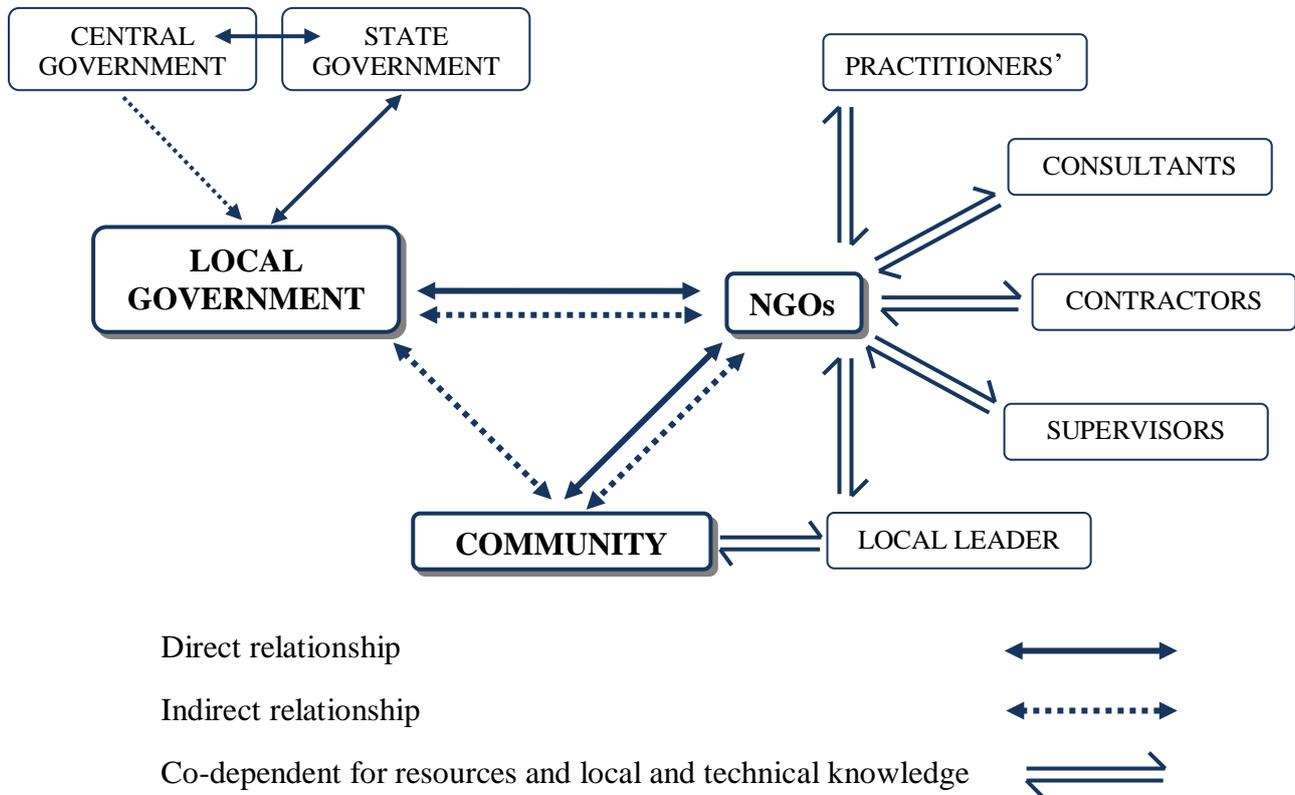


Figure 7.1: Inter-relationships between actors in YSUP

Almost all, primary and secondary actors had a role to play in the YSUP, except the community, who should have been the key decision-making entity. Thus, from the theoretical review in Chapter 2, the partnership between the actors in YSUP did not meet the imperatives of decentralisation for long-term sustainable development of the community. Though the inter-relationship between the primary and secondary actors was able to provide the community with basic services and redeveloped infrastructure, they lacked efficiency in governance, in showing compassion towards the livelihood needs of the community, and in responding to the needs of the local context, thus, resulting in increased failure of the redevelopment project.

Next, taking into consideration the discussion of the inter-relationships between the primary and secondary actors in ICPP is as depicted in the Figure 7.2 below. Here, the NGO was the only primary decision-making actor, collaborating with the secondary actors. The team of secondary actors were involved by the NGO in different stages of the project and were co-dependent on the NGO for decision-

making and resource allocation, while NGO was dependent on the secondary actors for their local and technical expertise. The NGO acted as representative of the secondary actors, when the secondary actors should have been directly involved with the community throughout the project to devise locally responsive designs appropriate to the community’s livelihood approaches. Although direct relationship is shown between the NGO and the community, the NGO’s decision making officials were not directly involved with the community, but the NGO representatives or SEWA members living in the settlement and working with the NGO were directly involved. The community being the key entity of the project was only involved during the documentation of the settlements, when instead their livelihood skills and approaches could have been utilised in the project.

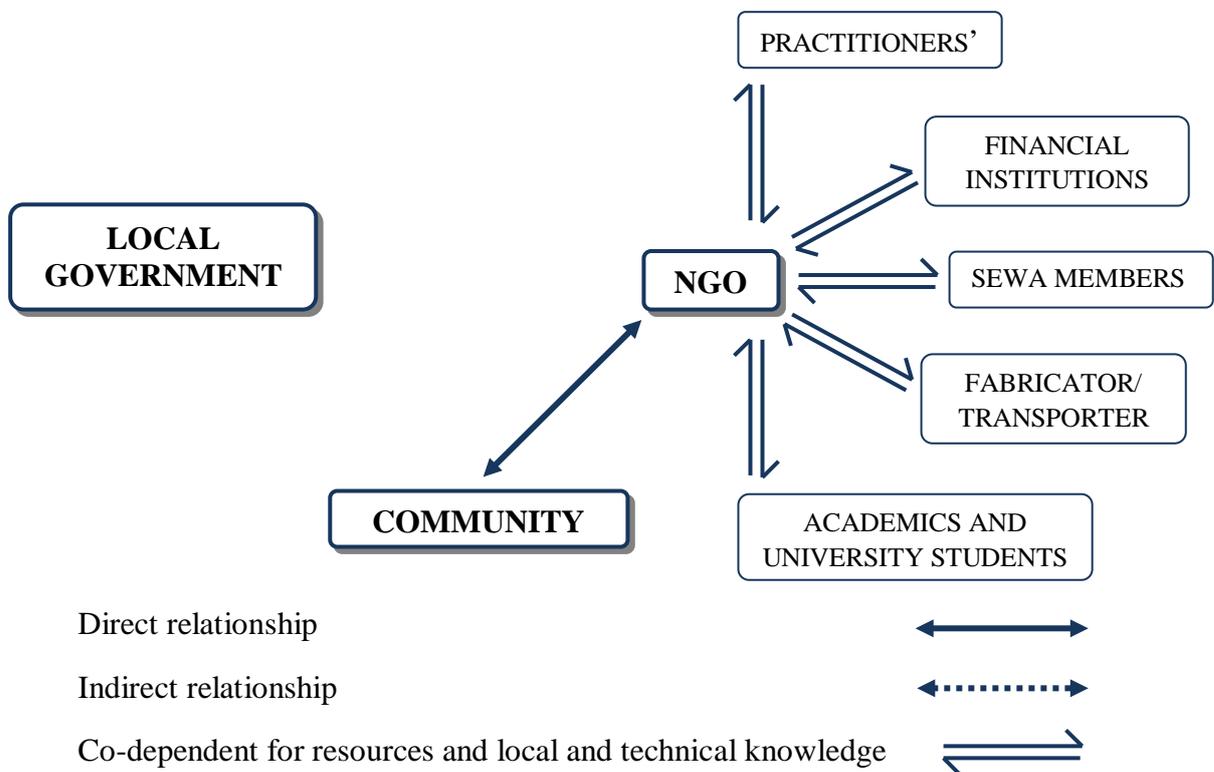


Figure 7.2: Inter-relationships between actors in ICPP

The most critical aspect here is that the NGO did not collaborate with the local government. The NGO could have easily built partnership with the local government body, Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC), for financial stability and long-term sustainability of the project. Having 100 per cent no fear of eviction or demolition of their houses (from household survey, discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.6), assuming that the houses were not illegal constructions; the AMC could have

been easily a primary actor in the project. Nonetheless, the NGO was more concerned to get recognition for a product-based outcome than a process-based outcome.

It is commendable that the NGO was able to single-handedly manage the project, collaborate with the secondary actors, and were able to provide the households with home-based industries with means to improve their health and earnings; but they failed to abide by the policies of decentralisation, power-sharing, and collaborative planning for long-term sustainability of the project. Adopting good governance is not just the responsibility or limited to government reforms and actions. It is also essential for the NGOs to maintain its credibility, and to operate in a transparent, accountable and participatory manner. In view of that, the NGO failed to use ICPP as an opportunity to help the urban poor with the means of becoming aware of their own capacities; to collaborate with the local government and integrate them in the planning and implementation of economic and social development of the urban poor community; in stimulating meaningful community participation in design and implementation that responds to the community context; and establishing a process whereby the community and local government work together to solve local problems.

Moving on, the knowledge and experiences from the literature and field study combined has helped the research in re-defining the Tripartite Partnership Model formulated in Chapter 2. The new proposed re-defined model refers to formalised partnerships between public and private organisations, aiming at introducing innovation, institutional stability, alignment of goals, effectiveness of collaboration between all the actors involved, and mobilisation of good governance reforms. The purpose of re-defining the model was to involve and position the secondary actors alongside primary actors in order to strategically plan and decentralise the power from the beginning of the project, such that all the actors collaboratively embraces bottom-up approaches and keeps community participation at the centre of planning and policy making. With a view to efficiency and effectiveness, the collaborative efforts of primary and secondary actors when combined will produce an effect that is greater than the sum of the individual actors' contribution to the project. The research thus promotes Tripartite Partnership in particular for the synergy it can create whose by-product will be built capacity of the community.

As depicted in the Figure 7.3, the local government, the NGO, and the community are shown as the primary actors, co-dependent on the secondary actors.

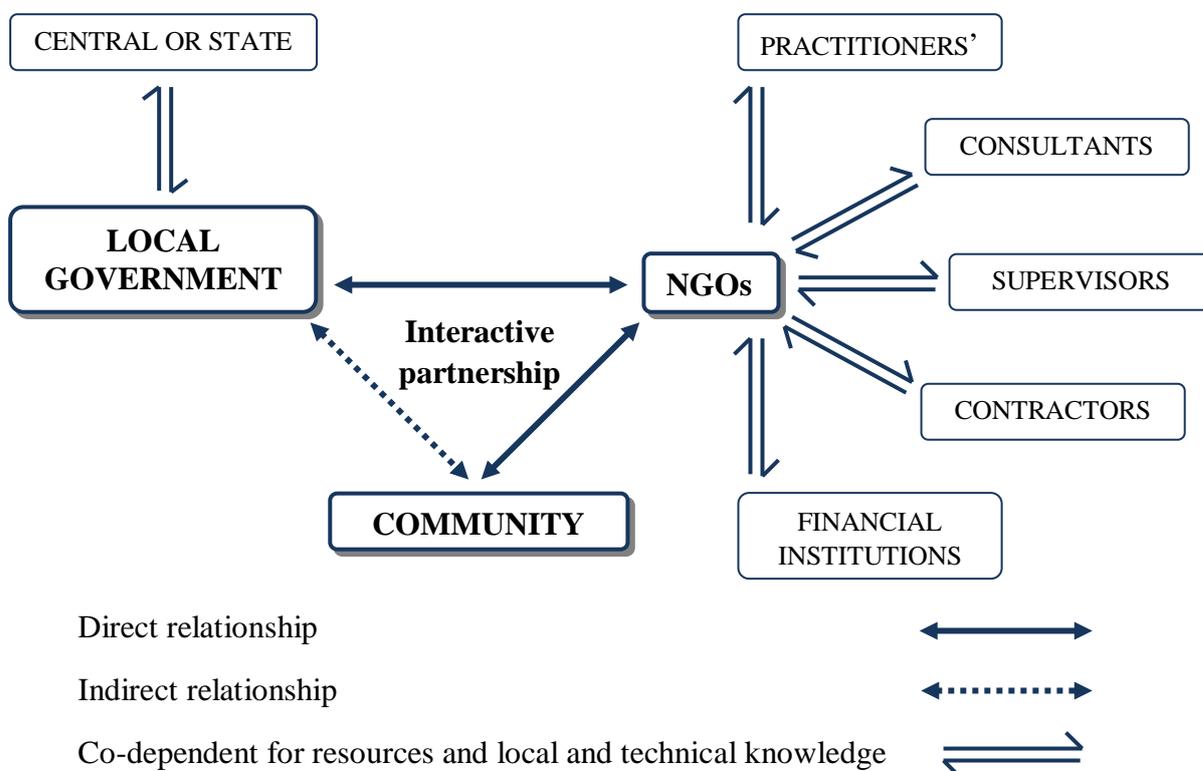


Figure 7.3: Re-defining the Tripartite Partnership Model – Positioning the secondary actors

In the figure above, the primary actors – the local government, NGO, and the community – are shown sharing a balanced and interactive partnership with each other, and are co-dependent on the secondary actors. Although the central, state, and local government have hierarchical arrangement, the three government bodies are shown co-dependent to each other in the figure above. The local government is dependent on the central and state government for financial support, and they depend on the local government to manage central or state government initiated projects (for instance, YSUP) in their respective constituency. Further on, the local government and the NGO shares direct, formal, and contractual relationship, through which the local government shares decision-making power with the NGO. The NGO being the central connecting link between all the actors holds the decision-making power to further collaborate with the secondary actors for project implementation. The interface between the community and the local government is indirect, limited to subsidy support, monitoring, and supervision of the progress of the project; and with

the NGO, it is informal but pro-active – such that community views and livelihood needs can be identified and managed throughout the project. The new secondary connections added within the model serve to tackle the complexity of actor engagement in infrastructure development.

All findings from this study indicate that Tripartite Partnership based project gives flexibility and benefits to all stakeholders and helps create desirable facilities and results. A collaborative partnership based redevelopment process can create possibilities for engaging new proactive and positive engagement methods and solutions, not only in the early stages of built environment planning and design, but also for construction, operation and management of economic and social infrastructure of the urban poor community. By applying the newly re-defined model, the decision making power will shift from the policy makers traditionally sitting at the centre, towards a shared-powered network of the general community. Such a paradigm shift is needed to reduce the risk of unilateral decisions by creating clear rights and responsibilities and offering openings for community inputs. A more constructive environment can thereby be generated where secondary actors with different interests and expertise can join forces to define an integrated development and planning. Although this model is not a panacea, it can be used to avoid the critical setbacks experienced in both the cases and establish equal risk allocation between all the actors (government, NGOs, practitioners', developers, and most importantly, the community) to create innovative and cost beneficial ways to produce local community services. The re-defined Tripartite Partnership Model thus can be of value to the government bodies, NGOs and the community to effectively implement their individual strategies by keeping transparency, inclusiveness, and stability towards the community.

Based on the findings of the case studies, the new re-defined Tripartite Partnership Model should be complemented with few fundamental principles that need to be considered and implemented to effectively integrate the community into the entire cycle of the project and for long-term sustainability of the project.

- The project needs to be locally owned and facilitated by those who are committed to the objectives of good governance. External experts like practitioners', consultants, supervisors, etc. are not responsible and

accountable to create sense of ownership within the community. It must be a local process, undertaken by the local government in partnership with the NGOs. Such local ownership will reflect local needs, priorities, and interests, and will avoid being driven or imposed by the central, state or international donors. This process will also ensure and strengthen the relationship between the local government and the local community people.

- The core objective of the governance approach should be to empower those who are most affected by bad governance and poverty; and should establish means to provide equal opportunities for all to access resources and to have a voice in political processes.
- The project should be designed with respect to the context of the community – socio-cultural, political, physical, and economical. Strong built-in systems of social interactions, networks, and political systems all have a strong influence over the outcome of the project. Showing sensitivity towards the livelihood assets and strategies of the urban poor, and the willingness and ability to amend the project objectives accordingly are critical in successful implementing of projects.
- Most importantly, before initiating the project, it should be ensured that adequate financial resources are available to meet the community capacity building goals and to implement the project to its fullest potential.
- From the experiences of the field study, it is believed that all communities have a stock of ‘social capital’ that should be appropriately channeled for the benefit of the community. Engaging community people in implementing and supervising the infrastructure development, in monitoring service providers and government tasks, and in management of resources, will create an enabling environment to build community capacity.
- A project should be first harnessed based on the local capacity across local government sector and civil society. Building on existing local capacity will reverse the value and reliance upon external or international experts over local knowledge.
- Lastly, for governance approaches to implement effectively, institutional reforms need to focus on enhancing organisational and social services, promotion of participatory decision-making, enforcing ethical behaviour and adopting effective measures to combat corruption, undertaking of judicial

reforms, and the promotion of an enabling environment for the civil society to flourish.

7.5 Good governance is directly proportional to community capacity building

“The surge of interest in governance is a return to a realistic, holistic way of looking at development.” (Nelson 1991, cited in Harpham and Boateng 1997, 65).

As the literature suggests in Chapter 2, the notions of collaborative planning, good governance, and capacity building closely resemble one another in the processes and outcomes they promote. Through the case studies, the research has examined these interrelationships, as an effort to build community capacity through collaborative planning programs and the effect it has on the urban poor well-being. From the analysis of the case studies discussed in the previous sections, it can be concluded that for community capacity to be built, there is a need for coherent shift in the culture of governance.

Drawing from the assessment of community capacity in the case studies (discussed in Chapter 6), exceptionally low ratings on all the 10 areas of influence (determined in Chapter 4 – participation, leadership, community networks, resource mobilisation, problem assessment, critical thinking, links with external organisations, project management, community skills, and, participatory monitoring and evaluation) is the statistical proof that good governance is a critical prerequisite for achieving long-term sustainable development. Plenty of evidence of bad practice (collected from household surveys and community ratings – in Table 6.19 and 6.20) and weak institutions (collected from household surveys and practitioner interviews - discussed in the sections above) in both, YSUP and ICPP, were the key factors constraining the probable capacity of the community to be built. The Figure 7.4 below gives a comparison of the ratings in both the case studies.

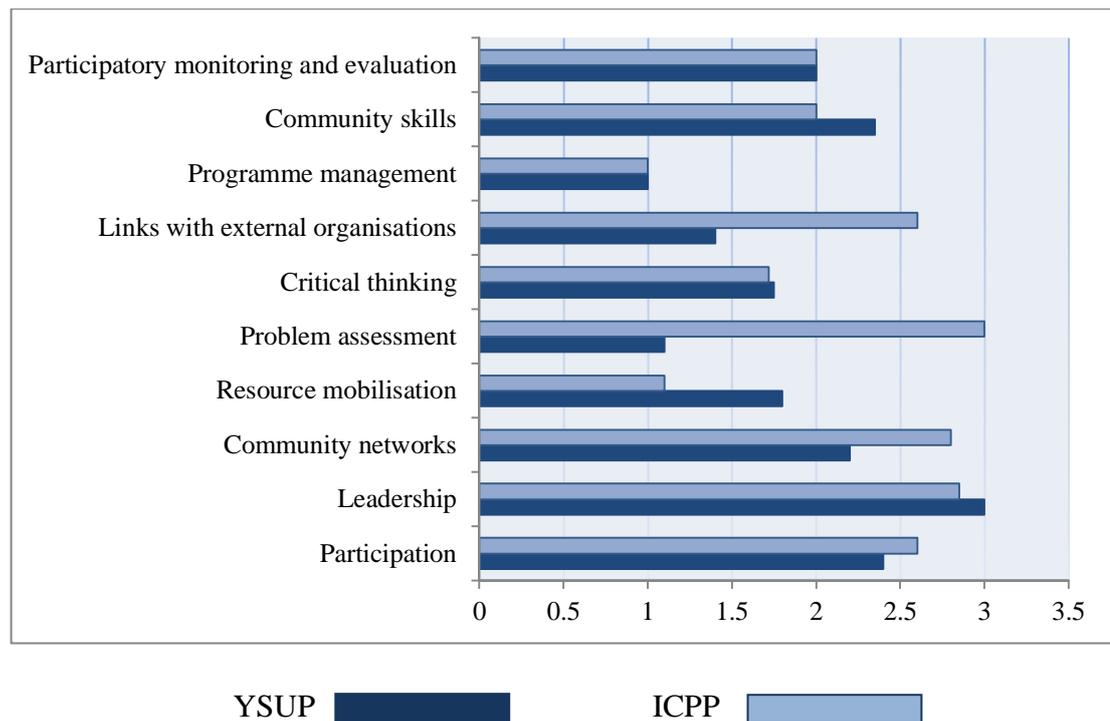


Figure 7.4 Comparison of ratings in YSUP and ICPP

In case of YSUP, except 'leadership' no other area was rated above 3 (as calculated in the Table 6.23 in Chapter 6). As per the final ratings, the community's capacity to assess their own problems and manage project has been rated 1 and 1.1, while capacity to mobilise resources, links with external organisations, and critical thinking was rated 1.8, 1.75, and 1.4, respectively; through which the research can only infer to why 'leadership' was rated 3. It is evident that the people of Nagpur Chawl (allotted site for the study in Yerwada region) were solely dependent on their local leader to make decisions for them. Even though the local leader influenced the community to participate in the project for their benefit before the initiation of the project; soon after, the leader's political intent was revealed. The local leader has demonstrated 'autocratic' leadership that is control and hierarchy over the community; where enabling the community should have been the leader's priority (discussed in Chapter 4 in Section 4.7.2). If the local leader's leadership in YSUP had been 'transformational', the other 9 areas influencing the community's capacity would have definitely scored more than 'leadership'.

Furthermore, community's participation, networks, skills, and project monitoring and evaluation have been rated between 2 and 2.85. These areas if taken seriously can channel and unlock an individual's capacity building process. The technocratic

approaches adopted for the project discredited the link between good governance and policy reforms on the one hand, and capacity building and its effective use on the other. The development agencies lacked the long-term vision centred on a genuine consideration of the livelihood needs and socio-economic development of the urban poor communities. Substantial increased funding in governance structures, systems and tools can deliver better services to the poor communities oriented towards efficient organisational processes, but these processes will not be effective if the investments are not oriented towards human capital, focusing on building capacity and stimulating enhanced community participation.

In such supply-driven projects, the combination of constraints and incentives offered to the urban poor communities act to situate them, ensuring that any small support or improvement in their well-being is a sizeable relief to them from urban poverty, which also quickly dissipates. Scoring high ratings in all 10 areas that influences the community's capacity in the process is expected to be that big push in a redevelopment project context that appreciably relaxes urban poor livelihood constraints and helps beneficiaries to move to an entirely different trajectory by unlocking their poverty trap. Thus the effects of the project would seem sustainable, supporting and strengthening the position of the community members versus government administration.

Similarly, considering the final ratings of ICPP, the governance in this project was comparatively better than YSUP. Even in this case, the ratings did not go beyond 3, but has scored above 2.5 in 5 different areas – participation, leadership, community networks, problem assessment, and links with external organizations - whereas, community skills and participatory monitoring and evaluation scored 2. Furthermore, resource mobilization, critical thinking, and project management was rated below 2. It is ironic to see urban poor households with home-based industries and extraordinary social capital (discussed in Chapter 6) with such poor ratings, when the urban poor themselves have the ability to think and overcome precarious situations through their livelihood approaches; obviously so, the NGO failed to invest in meaningful way in capacity building using their own human and financial resources.

It is worth recalling the initiation and dynamism of ICPP, when the development agencies attempted to move away from the blueprint approach normally associated

with the planning and implementation of an intervention, and attempted to understand the context, livelihood strategies and the community's settings. Subsequently, external expertise was invited principally for the transfer of knowledge and techniques, based on which project objectives were set. Determining community knowledge and expertise was not given a priority, which would have been the best approach of identifying what the community actually want to do and, therefore, what they want capacity for, that is to say, identifying existing capacity deficits and addressing the right initiatives for capacity building.

Perhaps, the NGO focused on improving the credit access, by providing subsidy on the product, but failed to realise that same credit was offered on different menu of assets and that there were poorest of the poor also who were struggling to repair the roofs of their houses. That is, for an urban poor person, availing to the benefits of the subsidy or *Ujasiyu* for their home-based industry does not seem to generate the kind of sustained gains that ICPP has offered, suggesting that providing subsidy alone is not the explanation for growth and development for an urban poor household.

Analysing YSUP and ICPP is different from other built environment redevelopment projects where the households need to repay the microcredit loans. Here, the households did not need to repay and were offered substantial subsidy by the government organisations and the NGOs. This might have encouraged the community members to participate in the projects and invest the remaining amount in their housing redevelopment. Or these members may perhaps have been in a different economical position with extra economical asset to invest. Development agencies, financial institutions, and international donors need to understand that people gaining out of subsidy or free credit already have an occupation and an income and are merely trying to expand their assets, not building a new asset.

In a nutshell, issues and problems of good governance and capacity building have a human dimension and imply human choice. While building community capacity is the ultimate goal, sustained good governance is the critical input for achieving that goal. Good governance carries immense significance because it is a fundamental constituent in devising any development approach, and when systematically planned can bring transformation at the individual, community, and institutional levels. Correspondingly, building capacity not only means to develop skills of the

individuals, but also to help build up self-sufficient communities and institutions, and an environment where individuals can fulfil their own needs. Thus, from empirical evidences, 'good governance' and 'capacity building' are deemed to be relative themes for long-term sustainable development.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion and recommendations for further research and informed practice

PART I: Conclusion

8.1 Research summary

This chapter concludes the dissertation and addresses the research questions. The chapter also presents suggestions and recommendations for practitioners involved in redevelopment projects based on the learning and analysis carried out in this study.

The research commenced with the aim of examining the opportunities for capacity building of the urban poor through the medium of built environment intervention. The purpose was to understand the significance of implementation strategies and practices adopted by such participatory projects in contributing to the building of capacity of the urban poor by improving their socio-economic conditions. The research also focused on the urban governance framework towards proposing and planning urban poor built environment interventions. Throughout the research, it was evident that conventional planning practices were poorly served by planning theories. The disconnect between theory and practice not only highlighted the ill-conceived nature of 'redevelopment' projects, but also ambiguity of their perceived outcomes. These challenges were comprehended by recognising the intricacies of decentralisation and democratisation in planning, and by understanding the inter-relationships between the urban poor built environment and their livelihood approaches. This was done by analysing the strategies adopted by the actors for urban poor growth and development, the role of the actors, their relationships with the community and within themselves, and their overall perception of community capacity building process.

In brief, the research was divided into three main topics based on its objectives: First, the research studied closely the concepts of collaborative planning (Chapter 2). The intent was to understand the shifts in the paradigm of planning, while exploring the meanings of participation, power-relations and its affects, and the governance component involved in urban poor built environment redevelopment projects. Second, the research reflected upon poverty and livelihood approaches adopted by

the urban poor in developing countries (Chapter 3). Thorough investigation into the inter-relationships between residential, economic and social factors of the urban poor was carried out to understand the contextual factors affecting their livelihoods, and their livelihood assets that contribute to their well-being. Lastly, the research examined the scope of capacity building to clear the assumptions and misunderstandings surrounding the concept in specific project contexts (Chapter 4). The primary purpose was to identify and operationalise the areas that can influence the capacity building of the urban poor involved in a project, while enhancing their existing livelihood assets for long-term sustainability. Understanding these three main topics was essential to develop a framework whereby the success of collaborative planning and community participation in terms of capacity building could be measured.

Thereafter, the two case studies, YSUP and ICPP, in India (Chapter 6), were selected based on the understanding of the three key topics discussed above. The rationale of selecting these cases was that they have been extensively reported as successful projects. Mixed research methods were applied (Chapter 5) to record the improvements achieved in the built form of the settlements of urban poor, and then to determine the potential of community participation and collaborative planning strategies applied in these redevelopment projects by using the community's engagement experience (Chapter 7). Thus, the second question of the study arises - could the extent of success of these projects focusing on capacity building be measured by applying community participation and collaborative planning strategies?

This dissertation will thus conclude by answering the research questions:

- **How can the success of capacity building be measured in terms of collaborative planning and community participation?**

From literature review on capacity building (discussed in Chapter 4), it has been recognised that capacity building is not a substitute for project aims and objectives, but is a separate process that needs to be aligned with the project operations. Moreover, from the empirical analysis and its outcomes (discussed in Chapter 6), the answer to this question will also validate the answer to the second research question.

The emphasis in this dissertation has been on the results based on the empirical analysis of planning practice. Throughout the research it was observed that an exceptional amount of literature from across the world in this field was based on the deductive reasoning and theories formulated on the normative notions of planning and development. Moreover, the literature extraordinarily lacks examples from the community and practitioners' engagement experience.

This research has thus contributed to the existing knowledge base of capacity building by formulating an assessment framework. The assessment framework was formulated to capture and assess capacity building strategies in a project context. These included encouraging community to express their views on local issues; to provide community with means to identify their needs and assess their problems; to let them make informed decisions about their priorities and resources; and help them establish a wide range of participation and representation structures. All these factors built into a project are believed to empower, encourage reciprocity, competence and improved well-being of the urban poor communities.

To be precise, to assess the empirical situations in a project, ten specific operational areas influencing the process of capacity building were identified, namely – participation, leadership, community networks, resource mobilisation, problem assessment, critical thinking, links with external organisation, program management, community skills, and participatory monitoring and evaluation – detailing each activity stages. The assessment framework introduced in this research provides both a premise of social change that explains the contextual value of capacity building and an operational method with which capacity building interventions and means to assess the impact of these interventions can be planned. The areas identified for the assessment was an outcome of in-depth literature review, which were compared and validated by the areas identified by renowned scholars whose work has been referred by practitioners' worldwide seeking to adopt capacity building approaches (discussed in Table 4.2). However, it was noticed that meaningful integration of these areas in a program context so far has not been attempted.

In this research, the assessment rating scale was compiled with data generated from household surveys and was arranged on a scale consisting of five descriptors of the situations. Each descriptor represented situations moving progressively from one

with the least potential to build community capacity to one with the highest potential for capacity building. Community members were asked to rate the intensity of capacity building measures adopted in the project by selecting one of the five descriptors placed along a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being the lowest form of capacity building and 5 being the highest form). The assessment framework allowed the community to make independent assessment by rating the descriptors - representing community's interpretation of their experiences of the project. The series of descriptors were the outcome of in-depth enquiry conducted using interactive techniques of data collection and substantiation (discussed in Chapter 5).

Through this framework, lack of focus on development of community capacity in certain operational areas could be identified that denies community the power to participate and make choices that influences their ability to make decisions for their well-being. Thus, from the application of this democratic assessment framework it can be concluded that the suggested structure of assessment is also useful in evaluating community participation and collaborative planning practices.

- **Could the extent of capacity building be measured within specific projects that are hailed as successful in terms of community participation and collaborative planning strategies?**

The answer to this question is inconclusive.

In order to address this research question, the research focused on two built environment redevelopment interventions deemed to be successful (discussed in Chapter 6).

Both the case studies, YSUP and ICPP, were selected because they have been reported as successful projects that have tended to emphasise specifically on the redevelopment of urban poor built environment which shared the objectives and policies focusing on capacity building. The primary objective of YSUP was to focus upon decentralisation in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, promoting community participation and accountability of urban local bodies. It sought to establish linkages between asset-creation and asset-management through a slew of reforms for long-term sustainability of the project. In case of ICPP, the aim was to empower the urban poor households by providing them with innovative

solutions for improved earnings and enhanced quality of life that ensures long-term sustainable development of the urban poor.

It was hypothesised that projects whose objectives are to empower the urban poor community by advocating community participation and democratic decentralisation in planning would build the capacity of the community and also promote good governance. It was assumed that good governance would engage the community in responding to their complex livelihood issues by improving their socio-economic conditions. The framework for this research drew heavily from the conceptual definitions of collaborative planning, urban poverty and their livelihood approaches, and capacity building. Based on this conceptual framework the case studies were analysed for (Chapter 6) –

- existing community capacities and livelihood assets – response to the local context and level of community engagement in the project
- organisational and institutional performance – institutional outreach, partnerships and power-sharing, and,
- long-term sustainability of the project

However, in contrast to the hypothesis and project objectives and policies, the orientation of the development agencies was “to get things done” (World Bank 2005). Both the projects should have been tailored as per the infrastructural, political, social, and economic context of the communities identified by development agencies involved. However, in both projects, this was not attempted. Instead of focusing on encouraging community participation, the focus seemed to remain on rushing to execute the project. In the process, the development agencies lost their perspective and purpose.

In carrying out the redevelopment project, in case of YSUP, for instance, the need to involve the community in making decisions in planning and designing their houses was glossed over by the community’s 10-12 per cent monetary contribution in the redevelopment of their houses. Perhaps the development agencies measured community participation in term of monetary contribution or willingness to pay. Most of the PMC officials interviewed also interpreted ‘community participation’ as simply providing information to communities through meetings in order to obtain consent for implementation of the project. Perhaps there is a lack of awareness and

knowledge of the benefits of community participation among the local government officials.

Nevertheless, NGOs did not lack this understanding. In the interviews the consultants mentioned that the community participated in designing their own houses, by helping in loading/unloading of building materials, by watering (curing) the new construction, and a skilled painter even painted his own house. As implementers, the NGOs could have easily involved the community into the project not just for decision-making, but also by providing them livelihood activities. If the NGOs could negotiate and discuss with the PMC officials about cost escalations and delays, they could perhaps have also been in a position to discuss ways to involve the community in capacity building tasks. It could be said, that NGOs are not powerless and could have insisted in involving the community in decision-making. It is to be kept in mind, however, that NGOs may feel the pressure of meeting timelines and ensuring quick delivery of product based outcome.

Another shortcoming identified during analysis was that whilst YSUP and ICPP aimed for asset-creation and improved earnings of the urban poor households, throughout the project, the development agencies did not consider integrating any existing community capacity or means of socio-economic development through built environment redevelopment. Using ICPP as an example here, it was observed that no real attempt was made to formulate the policies to support the home-based industries or the unemployed through vocational training, to integrate the households in the physical improvement of their houses. Even though there are claims that the installation has helped the urban poor households with home-based industries and reduced electricity bills by up to 25 per cent, it does not guarantee a long-term solution. In this regard, the development agencies involved in ICPP failed to implement their project objectives – neither have they adequately built the capacity of the households nor their innovative solutions have improved their socio-economic conditions for long-term sustainability.

Additionally, both the projects failed in building up institutional linkages (as seen in the YSUP and ICPP Tripartite Partnership Model – Figure 6.2 and 6.5). This failure of consolidating a partnership between the government bodies, civil society and the community is apparent at various levels, ranging from the negligence during

mundane tasks of project implementation, measures to ensure maintenance of the improvements made, to overall planning and budgeting of the project. The development agencies seem to have lacked the foresight and have failed in using these projects as an opportunity to improve the well-being of the urban poor on a broader scale. In fact, neither of the two case studies has addressed the most basic issues of the urban poor settlements related to densification, spatial planning, restricted access to emergency evacuation, and housing tenure. Similarly, other issues related to political and urban institutions, such as, the nature of power and decision-making, role of the government or local leader, and most importantly, the specific role of practitioners have been disregarded in both the case studies.

The analysis of implementation strategies adopted in both the case studies suggests that the answer to the second research question is inconclusive. While the research examined the two case studies as a litmus test for effective community participation and collaborative planning strategies that can lead to capacity building of the urban poor, the governance challenges faced by the development agencies to implement those strategies also came forward (discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.2). These limitations and obstacles in implementing the projects were conveyed through practitioners' interviews.

In positive light of this research, though the answer to this question was not entirely achieved, but challenges of implementing urban poor built environment redevelopment projects have been explicitly established from both, beneficiary and practitioner's perspectives (discussed in Chapter 7). The findings also provided useful information that can be applied by researchers and practitioners engaged in capacity building work. Thus, for long-term sustainable development – a sustained effort to build the capacity of the urban poor is required by providing a balance between – means (process) that justifies the ends (outcome).

In conclusion, this research has provided an assessment framework to measure the process and the outcome (discussed in Chapter 4 and 6), which stands representative of the capacity building process and the approaches of good governance for long-term sustainability of the project. The next section will discuss the means to operationalise the capacity building process in a project context, representing a modest effort to redress 'process and outcome' imbalance.

PART II: Recommendations

8.2 Operationalising community capacity building: From means and outcomes perspectives

Despite the growing interest in development policies, agencies are still increasingly concerned about demonstrating outcomes, measured from the seemingly objective standpoint of the external evaluator. From the case studies discussed in Chapter 6, it can be seen that development agencies in both the cases have focused on smaller things and have completely missed out on the big picture. In order to get a ‘tick’ on the physical improvement consolidation from the government bodies or funding bodies, the development agencies have failed to take the opportunity to build the capacity of the community in the process.

While community capacity building is increasingly being used by the development agencies as a project objective, there is a vast variety in the demonstration and the definition of capacity building in the project implications. These varied definitions of capacity building, however, do follow a common pattern comprising of processes, areas of influence, and context/rationale of capacity building (as discussed in section 4.6). Variety in interpretation of definitions is probable for a relational concept like capacity building, unless it is rooted in concrete principles and in a well-articulated scheme of social change. Despite that, there is an absence of research examining how community-based capacity-building occurs over time.

Thus this research has contributed to the existing knowledge base of capacity building by formulating an assessment framework, by describing specific areas influencing the process of capacity building, while detailing each activity stages, relevant to contextual factors, and means to assess them. The assessment framework introduced in this research provides both a premise of social change that explains the contextual value of capacity building and an operational method with which capacity building interventions and means to assess the impact and outcomes can be planned. The framework goes beyond income and utilitarian approaches of urban poor, “in which real incomes are presumed to translate unproblematically into well-being via utilitarian consumption choices” (Evans 2002, 57). The three major categories are (as seen in the Figure 8.1 below):

1. recognising the role of the context and the uniqueness of the community members (discussed in Section 8.2.1 below);
2. recognising that capacity building is not a substitute for project aims and objectives, but is a separate process that needs to be aligned with the project operations (discussed in Section 8.2.2 below); and,
3. recognising the benchmark of community capacity building by applying the assessment framework (discussed in Section 8.2.3 below).

Through this framework, differences in community capacity can be recognised that denies community the power to make choices that influence their ability to make decisions for their well-being. Thus, the case studies analysed for this research, first focused on the process of the project and then on the outcome, which is representative of the capacity building process. Together, the findings of the case studies also demonstrated the operations of capacity building process and have provided useful information that can be applied by researchers and practitioners engaged in capacity building work (as seen in the Figure 8.1 below).

community, to understand individual actions and to learn how to manage projects efficiently. In this research, context refers to infrastructural, political, social, and economical areas affecting urban poor livelihoods (as discussed in section 3.4). Understanding the context also acts as a critical factor in influencing both how to plan a project, that is the designing and the means of decision making, and the type of issues that will have to be dealt with during the planning process (Khan 2005; Engwall 2003).

The planning of a project is a complicated and uncertain undertaking (Khan 2005). Drawing to the research case studies, importance was given to the contextual conditions during analysis, to understand the planning and implementation process, and the phenomenon of community capacity building. However, it was revealed from the analysis that both the case studies were in fact oriented towards political and administrative gains. Claims were also made that both the case studies are radical, emancipatory and democratic projects, but instead were driven by the interests of the government bodies, practitioners, and NGOs, which caused overlapping of interests and delays in the project. Montemurro et al. (2013) has verified this behaviour of the development agencies by noting that, ‘during initiation of a project, these power holders typically come equipped with formal ‘universal’ knowledge, and unintentionally and unknowingly exploit the local strategies and knowledge for their own advantage.’ As stated by Kalb (2006, cited in Goodin and Tilly 2006, 583)

“... experts are minimally the midwives of local knowledge, but sometimes rather the godfather or godmother.”

Moreover, development agencies only pay attention to the ‘stage setting’ and not the actors (Hamilton and Bean 2005; Nord and Fox 1996).

What development agencies often tend to forget is, urban poor livelihood strategies and their contextual knowledge is not a conditional product, but is generated and situated within complex local life-worlds; it refers to the know-how of dealing with local complexity and constraints. By meaning, it is the embedded knowledge, set of situated experiences, and practical insights transformed into dynamic, shifting social relations and institutions of production and reproduction. It is also suffused by routines, preferences, duties, and virtues that stem from its social and practical character, and alter if circumstances demand. It is their strategies for place-based

social survival. It is these livelihood strategies, in James Scott's (1985, cited in Goodin and Tilly 2006, 13) words, that "serve as a weapon for the weak." Then again, urban poor communities must not be seen merely as an urban problem; they should also be seen as an urban resource. Urban resource because they are malleable, amid their economic and social problems they bring about social interaction, self-management and mutual aid networks (Blecic et al. 2013).

Referring again to the case studies of the research, it is evident that, community is an ideal entry point for projects, plans and policies to work, and have a wider margin of opportunity to expand the existing capabilities of an urban poor community (Montemurro et al. 2013; Blecic et al. 2013); provided that the idea of redeveloping the community is by understanding the nature of their assets, by identifying ways of building on them, and by agreeing on what to expect from a redevelopment project. Also, by acknowledging the importance of the economic and political context, by stressing upon the multidimensional nature of deprivation and livelihood strategies, and by the urban poor at the centre of analysis and action, are clearly positive attributes of a long-term sustainable project (Purcell and Scheyvens 2015).

This, in turn, means that even though both the research case studies, YSUP and ICPP, were quite similar in their aims and objectives, they varied considerably due to differences in contextual factors affecting urban poor livelihoods. Hence, they required a different set of planning strategies and organisational solutions. Thus the approach of study (discussed in Section 6.3.2 and 6.6.2) employed in this research tapped effectively into the livelihoods of the communities and identified two realistic entry-points for capacity building strategies in a project based on the contextual factors and determined by the distribution of livelihood strategies in the community:

- In case of YSUP, the capacity building strategies incorporated in the project could have been 'flexible and responsive' as a consequence of distribution of the livelihood strategies and employment status of the community in the Yerwada region (analysed in Table 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8). By creating productive employment and vocational training opportunities a stimulus for further development and change could have been created.
- While in case of ICPP, the capacity building strategies could have been incorporated through 'project design and planning' for 57 per cent of

households involved in the project were skilled and 38 per cent of the households were either unemployed or casual labours (analysed in Table 6.17). By incorporating viable and comprehensive initiatives that emphasises capacity for project to function effectively could have strengthened the capacity of some while generated learning exercises for scaling up for some.

Recognising and accommodating livelihood strategies of the urban poor, in the form of their contextual knowledge and skills in a redevelopment intervention has the capability to transform the context that exacerbates vulnerability and provide opportunities, as long as the project approaches are particularly designed to improve household assets directly. Thus, it is crucial to establish “... a firm foundation for reproductive system of skills, knowledge, and human competence — by strengthening the capacity to build capacity” (World Bank 2005, 3).

As a result, incorporating and giving importance to the contextual factors in operationalising projects, plans and policies is essential for long term sustainable development as “... development that promotes the capabilities of the present generation without compromising the capabilities of future generations” (Sen 2001, cited in Blecic et. al. 2013, 276). An effective and enduring solution to urban disadvantage can be found only if the value of urban poor livelihood practices is recognised, specifically their capacities, which will not only give them the ability to lead change, but will also “resonate with the community’s sense of who it is” (James Wolfensohn 1996, quoted in Frankland 2003, 301).

8.2.2 Aligning the assessment framework to project operations and analysis

In this research, the case studies were used as a distinct form of inquiry to understand contextual conditions related to the phenomenon of interest, that is capacity building of the community. In corroboration with Yin (1994, 18, in Montemurro et al. 2013, 464), the case studies were employed to “investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” and usually “relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion.” Thus, the assessment framework was designed to assess the capacity building phenomenon of the community by using mixed research methods (Montemurro et al. 2013).

To formulate the assessment framework, specific aspects of capacity building were examined in relation to defining the concept, relationship between the process and the outcome, areas influencing the process, integration and sustainability of the projects (discussed in Chapter 4). Additionally, means to operationalise and previously attempted methods to measure the strategies associated with capacity building approaches were also studied. It was realised that approaches that maximise existing community assets are of immense value and have the ability to exert influence at multiple levels including individual, household, community, organizational and public policy level. Capacity building in a project context is the interaction between human capital (community members), organisational resources (government bodies and the civil society), and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a given community (Chaskin 2001) (as discussed in Chapter 4 and illustrated in Figure 4.1).

Even so, from the analysis of the case studies, it was observed how the development agencies undervalued the implementation process and focused on the outcome. Capacity building was seen as a resultant in outcome-focused development instead of process-oriented development. Development agencies need to understand that capacity building is not an alternative for project aims and objectives, but is a separate process with separate set of objectives that needs to be aligned with those of the project.

Thus, in order to align capacity building with a project, it is important to ensure that both, the project and capacity building processes are co-ordinated and synchronised during each progressive stage of the project. Accordingly, ten operational areas that influence capacity building of an individual in a project context were identified (as discussed in Table 4.2). By adopting meticulous research methods including in-depth literature review and textual analysis the ten areas were identified, namely –

1. Participation,
2. Leadership,
3. Community networks,
4. Resource mobilisation,
5. Problem assessment,

6. Critical thinking,
7. Links with external organisation,
8. Project management,
9. Community skills, and
10. Participatory monitoring and evaluation.

These areas can be used as a practical guide by the development agencies throughout the project, particularly during planning, implementation and evaluation. Even though the operational areas are shown in the second phase in the Figure 8.1, the arrows represent a non-linear, cyclic, and ongoing process of dynamic experiences, options, knowledge, and activities, wherein the process of capacity building operates back-and-forth. For instance, moving back-and-forth these operational areas makes it possible to monitor changes in the livelihood conditions at the individual/household level during the time-frame of the project, and at community level through changes in their well-being, health, and interpersonal arrangements. The operational areas also offer insight into the ways in which people can be enabled through the project to maximize their potential and to progress from individual action to collective social and political change. A central feature of this process of capacity building is the involvement of the target community in all stages of the project.

Evaluating success at each stage is an effective way to track progress, particularly in the early stages when the project is less structured. This can back up development and help to establish next steps. As a process it is incremental and evolutionary, and requires long-term sustained investment. Nonetheless, the outcome of capacity building process can mean different things to different people at different stages of the project. To explain it further, capacity building process is fluid and the level of social and political impact on an individual or community fluctuates as per their circumstances and their ability to judge situations. Additionally, it is difficult to label outcomes of capacity building, for the reasons that it is not consistent or same for all with any particular target and takes on a different form in different communities and contexts (as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.6).

Thus, the next section discusses ‘what is the benchmark of community capacity building?’

8.2.3 Redefining benchmarks of community capacity building

From the findings of this study, it was comprehended that if capacity building process was aligned with a redevelopment project, it would have sustained effects on the livelihoods of the urban poor households. It was anticipated that positive people-centred outcomes would appear, indicating improved incomes, improved well-being, reduced vulnerability and inequalities of power, improved security and increased capability of the poor to take responsibility of their well-being. By developing a collective understanding of the urban poor characteristics and contextual knowledge of poverty and deprivation, the research identified four livelihood outcomes (discussed in Chapter 3, Figure 3.2): identity capital, increase in savings and income, improved capacity and well-being, and, sense of empowerment. These four livelihood outcomes were found to be relevant in both case studies as well.

This was done by recognising urban poor's contextual resources and identifying ways of building on them. These livelihood outcomes materialised from assessing and documenting the conditions of the community, and by understanding people's priorities and their outlook. Detailed database was prepared by conducting extensive household surveys and group interviews in the communities involved in the projects. Thus, within the context, these anticipated benchmarks for YSUP and ICPP were established.

But, as the development agencies of both, YSUP and ICPP, had negligible documentation and problem-assessment of the community done, they had no point of reference or benchmark to be assessed. From the learning of capacity building, a project benchmark is an impact based outcome and not a product, which has been the resultant in both the case studies. The concept of capacity building implies that the relationships and positions of individuals change with time; thus the benchmark for individuals, community and community networks also shift with time or as the project unfolds.

Hence, the answer to one of the research question examining the case studies is inconclusive. The research examination had no benchmark to authenticate the findings. To explain it further, at a practitioner level, failure to establish an appropriate benchmark that corresponds with a community's context is unlikely to have a positive impact on that community and is apt to show low impacts from the

intervention. On the other hand, for researchers, it will result in an inconclusive research showing zero impact when a positive impact was possible if the contextual areas of the community were thoroughly diagnosed (Wydick 2016).

Too often development agencies overlook the importance of community mapping. As Ravallion (2016, 86) puts it, there is a “risk of ivory-tower” that is segregating development agencies and policy-makers from the community and its contextual reality. Kremer and Miguel (2007, cited in Clemens and Kremer 2016, 20) claim that apart from adopting traditional planning processes, development agencies also perceive one-time infusion of funds to generate “sustainable impact” in the sense that after one-time infusion of funds, the project will put the community on the path of sustained growth while addressing poverty. This “illusion of sustainability” has distorted policy decisions.

As a consequence, the primary argument of the research is to compel development agencies to move beyond the comparative use of projects to construct a normative political proposal. It is to make the development agencies understand that contexts vary and a standard cannot be set. Each community has a different profile with a different set of benchmarks that need to be established for long-term sustainability. The process of developing a benchmark is analogous to the field of capacity building that cannot be seen as an ‘either-or’ where ideas associated with traditional planning values battle it out; it is a ‘both-and’ norm that needs to be developed (Nussbaum 2001).

The starting point of a redevelopment project is for the development agencies to recognise the heterogeneity and nature of the community by communicating and building a rapport with the community. As a part of this process, it is required by the development agencies to identify and develop an inventory of existing community assets, capacities, personal attributes and skills, in addition to the problems and concerns identified by the community itself. On similar lines, Dani Rodrik’s (2010) argues in his work on diagnostics that, ‘the science of diagnosis ought to be a primary instrument in the toolkit of the development.’ Learning to properly utilize documentation in development practice and research is the key to lead to both more efficient use of development resources and to poverty interventions with higher average impacts (Wydick 2016). Thus, the development of appropriate benchmarks

needs an understanding of the context and prioritizing of processes indicating successful impacts. This needs to be done through mixed research methods – qualitative and quantitative – that measures progress of the project operations from different perspectives.

Below are some of the underlying principles, key approaches and a number of steps for the development agencies to facilitate the process of developing a benchmark. These underlying principles and key approaches were put together from personal experiences and findings of the research.

Underlying principles

- Benchmarks need to be developed within the context and should be developed with consent and knowledge of every actor from the start of the project, including the community, such that every actor knows what to expect from the redevelopment project.
- The benchmarks developed should be used as a rationale in formulating clear and effective objectives within which plans and strategies could be established.
- The use of benchmarks for planning or assessment should not be a tick-box exercise, but a process for the community to participate.
- Developing benchmarks should be seen as an entry point in the community, to understand, create rapport, and build partnerships.
- The development agencies need to keep in mind that a project benchmark will not be applicable across different contexts, themes, and starting points of a different redevelopment project. But, it can be used to compare or share experiences and stories of strategies adopted for a successful implementation. Nonetheless, any use of benchmarks for comparing progress across different projects should take into account the context in which it is being implemented and the starting point within which it is operating.

Key features and approaches of developing a benchmark

- Document and understand community for their composition, needs, priorities, tensions, strengths, existing networks, etc. Make an inventory of the

capacities and assets of individuals, households, and local groups, not limiting to the relationships, social networks and kinship.

- Build on these assets and social relationships for mutually beneficial problem-solving of the community.
- Mobilise community's assets for economic development and information sharing purposes.
- Simultaneously, build an effective community group that strengthens the community, influences community to participate in the activities, ensures social inclusion, and carries the process forward - creating community control and ownership.
- Organise core representative group that brings investments, and resources from outside the community to support asset, locally defined community redevelopment.
- Most importantly, acknowledge that each community member participate from a different starting point and cultural experience and hence has implication on how they contribute.

Community participation and consultation is a significant contributor to developing a benchmark for community capacity building. It is through these means that the project can be shaped to meet the actual needs of people in the community, rather than being imposed upon them as a solution determined by outsiders.

As an approach to develop a benchmark, it rests on the principle that the recognition of strengths, gifts, talents and assets of individuals and communities is more likely to inspire positive action for change than an exclusive focus on needs and problems. Seeing the glass half-full as well as half empty is not to deny the real problems that a community faces, but to focus on strengths and capacities in one way in which communities can outgrow a problem, or redefine its solution as a product of renewed collaborative action. It would be misleading to underestimate the challenges of accomplishing this, however. Power imbalance, the intrusiveness of different ideas, and varying levels of commitment to the process may all hinder effective exchange of ideas.

In spite of this, (Mathie and Cunningham 2003) argues that the process seems to offer community members a more-powerful opportunity to get involved on a more

equal basis. Role reversals take place in such settings, at least for the duration of the inquiry. Power imbalance in the routine of everyday life may return, but “the object of the inquiry is to splice stakeholders so firmly in the process that when pre-inquiry hierarchies are re-established, they are in fact qualitatively different. The old ground is simply unavailable.”

8.3 Future redevelopment interventions: From urban poor livelihood perspective

Evidently, an array of issues needs to be considered in planning and design of any new project. From the readings of literature and actual experiences through case studies, various accounts of urban poor vulnerability and deprivation also came forward. Thus, this section suggests that certain specific aspects of urban poor livelihoods should be considered while planning for urban poor built environments and designing redevelopment intervention.

Treating urban poor as an asset

There has been a tendency among development agencies to condemn urban poor as a group of insignificant and passive people. The urban livelihood framework (discussed in Chapter 3) demonstrates that urban poor are active agents building their livelihood strategies and responding to social and economic change. The potential of urban poor needs to be recognised and they should be treated not simply as clients but as citizens with basic rights to democratic accountability and a role to play in decision-making about urban management. Development agencies and policy-makers need to further understand that while the urban poor have human capabilities, they also suffer from vulnerabilities and deficiencies. As a result, in order to utilise the full potential of the urban poor in the development, proper legislation and resources need to be provided to the poor if such initiatives are to be successful.

Housing as a key asset

In the debates on livelihood approaches in urban areas, one key area that is frequently highlighted is the significance of housing as an asset and consolidation of houses as a strategy for reducing vulnerability for the urban poor. In an urban redevelopment intervention, access to housing usually symbolises home-based income generating

and reproductive activities, especially carried out by women as an informal income earning activity. Additionally, research indicates that housing also has major impacts on other asset bases, including social capital (based on their residential and community networks), human capital (the impact of housing on health), financial assets (the importance of housing location for access to employment), and political capital (the importance of CBOs in making demands from the state).

Significance and recognition of livelihood strategies

Urban poor households adopt livelihood strategies to expand their earnings and to increase their security. Grierson (2012) draws attention towards the need to improve the capacity of the urban poor to access economic opportunities through self-employment, by improved access to education and vocational training that enhances their skills for specific tasks that are relevant to the fast-changing labour markets. Rutherford et al. (2002) suggests that along with bringing reform in primary vocational education, support programs for home-based or small-scale enterprises should be initiated to reduce artificial risks, such as harassment by local leaders, and to provide safety nets in case of unfortunate events or business failure. Also, easy access to financial services is required for household management, business development and risk reduction.

Political linkages of urban areas

The livelihood concept presents a pro-poor participatory and decentralized agenda, in opposition to the traditional urban institutional practices and processes. In fact, urban areas are highly politicised and it becomes a task for the local urban institutions to tackle various state-level government agencies from the outset of any redevelopment project (Farrington et al. 2002). The local urban institutions or municipal authorities provide services across several sectors and are in close proximity to the urban poor to enhance the opportunities by influencing their livelihoods approaches through the policies and programs they devise. The municipal authorities should use these political linkages as an opportunity for the advantage of the urban poor communities. The municipal authorities can improve the well-being of urban poor by facilitating their access to basic services, and by the design and operation of regulatory frameworks related to land, construction and economic activity (Rakodi and Lloyd 2002). For the ability of municipal authorities to be realised, appropriate powers,

financial resources and capable staff, supported by well-designed systems for the generation and use of revenue need to be made accessible to them, if redevelopment interventions are to be successful. Therefore, livelihood approaches in urban areas emphasizes on the probable role of collaborative governance, involving political decision making built on a good understanding of the situation and needs of the poor, commitment from local leaders, dynamic NGOs and a self-motivated community.

Thus, from the study, we can identify the crucial roles each key actor/stakeholder needs to play in the successful implementation of a redevelopment project, in terms of community capacity building (as discussed in table 8.1 below).

Table 8.1: Suggested roles of different stakeholders in good governance

COMMUNITIES	NGOS	LOCAL GOVERNMENT (MUNICIPALITIES)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Should take responsibility and action for their own well-being. ○ Be stimulated to improve their livelihoods and circumstances. ○ Apply their livelihood strategies to maximise resources. ○ Participate enthusiastically in the development process. ○ Take efforts to collaborate and communicate with NGOs and local authorities in the management and implementation, and take ownership of the process. ○ Identify, include and work towards strengthening marginalised groups within the community. ○ Treat redevelopment projects as opportunities for capacity building. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Be more approachable and responsive to people-centred action to motivate the community. ○ Show total commitment, interest and be receptive to innovation. ○ Proactively engage marginalised individuals of the community. ○ Show more flexibility while working with the poorest. ○ Collaborate with the local government bodies to share contextual knowledge of the community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Understand the local context, share knowledge, and communicate with all stakeholders before embarking on the project. ○ Recognise responsibilities in providing local services. ○ Align infrastructural development to the local livelihood strategies and capacity building. ○ Conduct meetings, organise forums/meetings with the community and NGOs to communicate mechanisms for redevelopment. ○ Conduct problem assessment surveys with the help of NGOs to prepare livelihood framework of the community to give a clear picture to the government bodies of the community. This is to communicate the needs of the community with the State and National Government bodies for funds and other resources.

8.4 Overcoming the challenges of good governance: From the practitioners' view

By emphasising the practitioners' perspective, the intent is to enrich the dialogue about good governance and means to overcome its challenges. This section adds to the dialogue from the data collected during practitioners' interviews on the importance and purpose of good governance and the procedures in which practitioners work: because good governance emerges from interaction between multiple actors with multiple interests, beliefs and values; there are multiple perspectives about 'good' depending on individual interests and values (Rijke et al. 2012). However, taking a holistic view, the 'good' from practitioners' perspectives may give a good indication of the challenges attached to it.

From practitioners' view, too often, development agencies fail to adopt and implement policies that they know are necessary for sustained development. They are encumbered by unfavourable political incentives, which prevent them from selecting good policies and do the right thing. Even when technically sound policies are selected by developing agents, implementation can run into perverse behavioural norms and "free-riding" (Devarajan and Khemani 2016, 9) attitude among public officials and citizens, who seek to extract private benefits from the public sector. Such behaviour might be supported by widespread beliefs that corruption is the norm. Indeed, these are binding constraints on governance performance, which need strategic thinking on what can be done and how it is to be implemented.

It seems international development institutions and policy-makers have all ascribed failure of development projects to bad or inadequate governance that reduces even the best policy to nothing. Most would find these arguments convincing. But many would question the ability of the government bodies to perform this role. It would seem that we have moved from a widespread belief, prevalent in the 1950s, that the government could do nothing wrong, to a strong conviction, fashionable in the 1990s, that the government could do nothing right (Nayyar 2016; Sumner 2016). Since all acts of poor design of institutions and their improper working can be considered as governance failure, the debate is neither an explanation of development failure in a causal sense nor particularly useful from the point of bringing about change in government performance. There is a need for an institution, which can reflect on

redefining the government's role and engage in long-term strategic thinking about development, and it seems rational solution to the problems confronting us.

Thus, looking back at the discussion on good governance in Chapter 2 and 7, it can be argued that tri-partite partnership, a combination of top-down and bottom-up planning strategy can help in redefining the role of the government and engage in long-term strategic thinking about development. The pressures of sharper departmental divides and shorter time horizons, which makes it necessary to think big and to think long in terms of ideas, can be performed easily through tri-partite partnership between the government bodies, NGOs, and the community. Faith in the tri-partite partnership model can help in co-ordinating policies, building capacities, and achieving resilience through decentralisation and power-sharing.

Even though the three actors have the ability to complement each other and can adapt to one another as time and circumstances change, there are certain tasks that only government can and must do. Indeed, good governance needs effective government, or as Deepak Nayyar (2016) has stated in his online news article, "... it is not possible to provide 'maximum governance' with 'minimum government'. We need 'good government' for 'good governance'."

8.5 Empowering the community: From the resilience perspective

The dissertation has presented a rationale for capacity building which enables government and community members to work in partnership such that the policy changes are determined by its resilience and governance environment. Throughout, the research has advocated mobilisation of communities that can take collective action; development based on the knowledge and livelihood practices of the communities; and collaboration with government bodies. It has indicated that the ability to build organised, informed communities that can influence decision-making is as important as technical skills and knowledge to promote the community well-being. In essence, developing individual and collective capacity will respond to and influence change, to sustain and renew the community and to develop new trajectories for the communities' future (Skerratt and Steiner 2013; Magis 2010).

In unpacking the literature of community capacity building, a recurring message has been that social relations within the urban poor communities provide opportunities

for mobilizing growth-enhancing resources, that social capital does not exist in a political vacuum, and that the nature and extent of the interactions between communities and institutions hold the key to the prospects for development in a given community (Woolcock and Narayan 2000).

Each day urban poor communities deal with localised, recurring livelihood issues that are the results of their persisting poverty, poor infrastructure, social marginalisation, and other contextual issues. The livelihood strategies that the urban poor communities adopt to manage or overcome risk are poorly understood by the government and other development agencies. In order to plan and redevelop a community effectively, the development agencies need a thorough understanding of their context; their adaptive capacities; and social innovations that they rely on, on a daily basis. They need to identify, capture and maintain inherent human and social capital of the community for long-term sustainability.

It is proven from the empirical evidences that both the case studies failed to utilise collective and community resources for community redevelopment and individual benefit or product based outcome was given more importance. For instance, in case of YSUP, the development agencies focused on individualisation instead of social capital of the community. Firstly, the consent was obtained at individual level and no community building organisation (CBO) was formed. The development agencies focused on individual benefits and disregarded the mechanisms to negotiate public goods for the future benefit of the community. Second, the project policies disenfranchised the renters from the policy benefits by promoting an ownership-only model of benefits and did not offer any protections like rental caps or substitute rental housing, hence leaving some of the most vulnerable community members unprotected. Third, even though the local leader played an important role in introducing the project to the community, the project policies failed to define the role of local leader and, as the case reveal, these exert significant positive and negative influence on the implementation.

The empirical evidence above thus confirms that neither the local government bodies nor the NGOs had the impetus for social transformation. Individual empowerment of the type delivered by the development agencies in the both, YSUP and ICPP, do not necessarily lead to participation in the wider political system or create the long-term

conditions for a more participatory and democratic society. Moreover, in the absence of CBOs, it is only once that individual capacity building can be complemented with collective action involving cross-sectoral linkages that the urban poor can begin to build up their ability to express voice and to press for social change. Development efforts initiated directly by the power of the people are more likely to have a sense of ownership towards their community and to be sustainable over the longer-term. In essence, community social capital is a key to keep governments and development agencies accountable and provide a much-needed counterweight to the institutional tinkering and interests which have undermined capacity building efforts so far. Subsequently, it is important, that the development agencies not only help the urban poor communities develop technical and organisational capacities, but directly help strengthen community's power.

The agenda for planning and development presented in this dissertation is an ambitious one involving a series of conceptual, governmental, institutional policy, and civil society reforms. In an ideal world, changes would occur in each of these domains. Yet, even if progress is made in one of them, there could be positive effects on the other. Even though the research has concentrated on capacity building of the urban poor communities through collaborative engagement and its operationalisation in built environment redevelopment projects, whether capacity is built will depend on the ability of the development agencies largely by the need of self-perpetuation, as well as of the beneficiaries to develop a longer-term vision of their interests. As discussed in the dissertation, this will not be an easy task nor is it these actors' natural inclination. However, there is no denying that much progress has already been made in the area of urban poor redevelopment through good governance and, if sufficiently pressured, additional reforms may also be carried out, even if not in their immediate interest.

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APPENDIX

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – updated March 2014. The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262), Approval Number #HR67/2014.

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of Built Environment
 CURTIN UNIVERSITY
 Perth, Western Australia

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

NOTE: The questionnaire is designed to collect data from the households under the jurisdiction of Yerwada Slum Upgrading Program, Pune/ The Innovation Centre for the Poor Program, Ahmedabad, India. It is to get citizens' response and opinion in regard to in-situ redevelopment project in their respective areas. This household survey is a part of the PhD research and survey responses/data will be used for academic research purposes only without displaying any participant identification.

ETHICS APPROVAL NO. HR 67/2014**I. HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION**

1. Profile of the respondent:
 - Age:
 - Gender: M/F
 - Level of education:
 - a) No formal education (Can't read or write)
 - b) Basic literacy (Can read and write)
 - c) Formal education (Please specify highest level of education):
 - Monthly income:.....
 - a) What is the most difficult expense you face every month?
 - Family size: Family composition:.....
2. For how many years have you been living in this house/area?
3. Household ownership pattern: a) Owner b) Tenant c) Other
 - For how long have you lived in this house (years)?.....
4. In your opinion, how secure is your tenure in comparison to neighbouring settlements? (Certainty of demolition/eviction = 0%, No fear of demolition or eviction = 100%):

5. Have you ever received any legal document from the Municipality for eviction? a) Yes b) No

II. PROJECT INFORMATION

THE QUESTIONS SEEK TO DETERMINE THE EFFECTS OF REDEVELOPMENT CARRIED OUT IN YOUR AREA.

6. Were you informed about the development project? a) Yes b) No
- If yes, what were the means of communication?
 - a) Legal document
 - b) Booklet/leaflet
 - c) NGO correspondent
 - d) Local leader
 - e) Community member
 - f) Community meetings
 - g) Other (Please specify):
7. What was the redevelopment project meant to deliver?

8. What were the major problems of the settlement before the initiation of the redevelopment project?
- a) Rundown housing
 - b) Lack of basic services
 - c) Narrow streets, open sewage, no street lights, etc.
 - d) Unemployment
 - e) No educational facility
 - f) Lack of vocational training facility
 - g) Disruptions in operating home-based industries
 - h) All of the above
 - i) Other (Please specify):
9. Was physical up-gradation a necessity for the settlement? a) Yes b) No
- If no, what was the most important factor that necessitated attention?

10. Were you asked by the NGO personnel about your needs before receiving the project notice? a) Yes b) No c) Unsure (Why?):

11. Has your experience with the redevelopment project changed your view about the need of the project? a) Yes b) No c) Unsure (Why?): _____

III. EXECUTION OF THE PROJECT

12. Were there any delays in the initiation or the completion of the project? a) Yes b) No
- If yes, what were the reasons? _____
13. How was the project funded? _____
14. How much did you pay? _____
15. Who managed the project finances? _____
16. During the execution of the project, has the management of project finances changed?
- a) Yes b) No
17. Did you find the payment rates reasonable? a) Yes b) No
18. Was the payment method user friendly? a) Yes b) No c) Not applicable
19. Was there enough transparency for you to know how the money was collected and spent? a) Yes b) No
20. What are the benefits associated with this project?
- a) Security of tenure
 - b) Better health and hygiene
 - c) Improved housing
 - d) Value of the property has increased
 - e) More schools/hospitals/banks have come up
 - f) Other (Please specify): _____

IV. PARTICIPATION IN THE PROJECT

21. Were you or any member of the family involved in the decision-making of the physical upgrading of your settlement? a) Yes b) No
- If yes, were you satisfied with the input? a) Yes b) No
 - If no, would you like to participate in the future? a) Yes b) No
22. Were community meetings organised regularly for consultation?
- a) Yes b) No
- If yes, how often?
- a) Weekly b) Fortnightly c) Monthly d) Other (Please specify): _____

23. Do you think the number of meetings were – a) Too many b) Very few c) Just right
24. Were you timely informed of the changes/additions made to the project?
a) Yes b) No
25. How did you or any member of the family contribute to the redevelopment of your settlement and to what extent?

MEANS OF CONTRIBUTION	RANK (1=lowest level) (5=highest level)					COMMENTS
	1	2	3	4	5	
Through consultation meetings	1	2	3	4	5	(How many?)
Participated in survey	1	2	3	4	5	(How many?)
Helped the NGOs/local leaders in accumulating community data	1	2	3	4	5	(What were the means used?)
Contributed in the physical planning process	1	2	3	4	5	(How?)
Implementation/ construction process	1	2	3	4	5	(How?)
Other (Please specify)	1	2	3	4	5	

V. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CAPACITY

26. What is your occupation? _____
27. Do you have any home-based income activity? a) Yes b) No
 ▪ If yes, what is it?
28. Did the redevelopment work affect your home-based work or living conditions?
 a) Yes b) No
 ▪ If yes, did it affect positively or negatively? _____

POSITIVE AFFECTS	NEGATIVE AFFECTS

29. Are there any changes in the level of income due to the project?
 a) Yes b) No

30. Did you or any member of the family take up the manual work of the project?

a) Yes b) No

- If yes, what kind of work?
- How many hours/days of work?

31. Were there any skills imparted or training involved in the process? a) Yes

b) No

- If yes, what kind of training was given to you?

- a) Administration
- b) Data collection
- c) Supervision
- d) Management of community finances
- e) Construction work
- f) Other (Please specify):

32. Did this training/skill help you to get job outside the project boundary or after the completion of the project? a) Yes b) No

33. Do you personally feel, participating and contributing in the planning and implementation process of the project has improved your well-being in regard to physical and socio-economic improvements? a) Yes b) No c) Not applicable

- If yes, what are the areas of improvements?

AREAS OF IMPROVEMENTS (E.g. level of income, skill, employment opportunities, improved home-based work, better health and hygiene, improved homes, security of tenure, empowerment, etc.)	RANK (1=highest magnitude of impact; 2, 3, ... = comparatively lower magnitude of impact)

34. Have you learned anything useful from this redevelopment project?

a) Yes b) No

- If yes, what have you learned?

VI. EXPECTATIONS FROM THE PROJECT

35. Are you satisfied with the project outcome? a) Yes b) No c) Unsure

- If yes, what are the factors responsible for the success of the project?

FACTORS (E.g. Good governance, good planning, skilled Ngo staff, need assessment, timely inputs, transparency, adequate funds, encouragement and motivation for participation, etc.)	RANK (1=highest level of improvement; 2, 3, ... = comparatively lower level of improvement)

- If no, what are the factors responsible for the failure of the project?

FACTORS (E.g. Lack of funds, no skilled staff, conflict between the staff and the residents, free-rider attitude of the residents, etc.)	RANK (1=highest level of issue; 2, 3, ... = comparatively lower level of issue)

36. Do you think the project has achieved the target of redevelopment?

a) Yes b) No

- If no, what do you think is still lacking? -----

Name of the surveyors:

1. -----
2. -----

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE NGO STAFF, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND PRACTITIONERS



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of Built Environment
 CURTIN UNIVERSITY
 Perth, Western Australia

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE NGO STAFF AND PLANNING PROFESSIONALS

NOTE: The questionnaire is designed to collect opinion of the NGO staff/professionals in regard to Yerwada Slum Upgrading Program, Pune/ The Innovation Centre for the Poor Program, Ahmedabad, India. The survey is a part of the PhD research and the responses/data will be used for academic purposes only without displaying any participant identification.

ETHICS APPROVAL NO. HR 67/2014

THE QUESTIONS SEEK TO DETERMINE THE EFFECTS OF REDEVELOPMENT CARRIED OUT IN THE AREA.

37. What were the main aims and objectives of the redevelopment project?

38. What was your role in this particular project?

39. Were any skills imparted or training given to the NGO staff before the initiation of the project? a) Yes b) No

▪ If yes, what were you trained in? -----

40. How did the community contribute to the project? List the main areas of contribution.

AREAS OF CONTRIBUTION	RANK (1=highest level of contribution; 2, 3, ... = comparatively lower level of contribution)

41. Was the community involved in the decision-making process in regard to the physical upgrading of the settlement? a) Yes b) No c) Not sure
42. Were there community meetings organised regularly for consultation?
 a) Yes b) No
 ▪ If yes, how often?
 a) Weekly b) Fortnightly c) Monthly d) Other (Please specify): _____
 ▪ If no, how many meetings did you attend? _____
43. Were any skills imparted or training given to the community members to contribute in the redevelopment project? a) Yes b) No
 ▪ If yes, what kind of training was given to the participants’?
 g) Administration
 h) Community survey (Community mapping)
 i) Data collection (Manual/digital)
 j) Supervision (Please specify): _____
 k) Management of community finances
 l) Construction work (Please specify): _____
 m) Other (Please specify): _____
44. Do you think the redevelopment project has impacted positively to the well-being (physical and socio-economic improvement) of the community?
 a) Yes b) No
 ▪ If yes, what are those positively impacted areas?

AREAS OF IMPROVEMENT (E.g. level of income, skill, employment opportunities, improved home-based work, better health and hygiene, improved homes, security of tenure, empowerment, etc.)	RANK (1=highest magnitude of impact; 2, 3, ... = comparatively lower magnitude of impact)

45. Do you think the project has achieved its desired outcome? a) Yes b) No

- If yes, what are the factors responsible for the success of the project?

FACTORS	RANK (1=highest level of improvement; 2, 3, ... = comparatively lower level of improvement)

- If yes, what are the main strengths of the project?

- What is the most important thing that the project has delivered to the community?

- If no, what are the factors responsible for the failure of the project?

FACTORS	RANK (1 = highest level of difficulty; 2, 3, ... = comparatively lower level of difficulty)

- If no, what is the most important thing the project failed to deliver?

46. What are the indicators of success of this project?

INDICATORS OF SUCCESS	RANK (1=highest level of improvement; 2, 3, ... = comparatively lower level of improvement)

47. Do you think the project has achieved its desired outcome? a) Yes b) No

- If no, what do you think is still lacking? -----

APPENDIX 3A: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM FOR THE RESIDENT PARTICIPANT



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of Built Environment
CURTIN UNIVERSITY
Perth, Western Australia

INFORMATION SHEET FOR THE PARTICIPANTS OF HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

- My name is Neeti Trivedi. I am presently conducting research for my doctoral degree at Curtin University, Western Australia.
- The aim of the research is to examine the effectiveness in terms of capacity building of on-site physical upgrading of areas through projects that adopt self-governing and participatory planning processes.
- This information sheet is to invite you to participate in the questionnaire survey to make contribution to my research. The survey seeks to determine your experience during the implementation of the redevelopment project and afterwards. The interview process will take less than fifteen minutes.
- Your involvement in the survey is entirely voluntary. You also have the liberty to withdraw from participation at any time without any obligation or penalisation. It is also ensured that non-participation will not have any negative implications.
- You will not be asked any personal questions. The information you provide will not be directly identifiable to you at any stage of the research or in any subsequent publication. Your response to the questions will be collated with the community's response and only the aggregate results will be produced ensuring complete anonymity of the respondent.
- The interview sheet/record will not have your name or any other identifying information on it. In accordance with the University policy and Ethics parameters, the interview records will be kept in a locked cabinet for seven years, before it is destroyed.

Further information:

This study has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number HR 67/2014). The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors and pastoral carers. If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning 9266 2784 or by emailing hrec@curtin.edu.au

If you have any further questions about this study, please feel free to contact me on +61-0405462878 or by email: neeti.trivedi@postgrad.curtin.edu.au or neetirtrivedi@gmail.com . Alternatively, you can contact my Supervisor Dr. Shahed Khan on +61-8-9266 3276 or s.khan@curtin.edu.au.

Thank you for your participation in the survey. Your contribution is appreciated.

APPENDIX 3B: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM FOR THE RESIDENT PARTICIPANT (HINDI TRANSLATION)



Curtin University

शहरी और क्षेत्रीय योजना विभाग, निर्मित पर्यावरण विद्यालय
कर्टिन विश्वविद्यालय पर्थ, पश्चिमी ऑस्ट्रेलिया

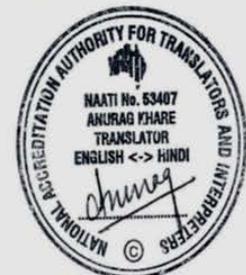
घरेलू सर्वेक्षण के प्रतिभागियों के लिए सूचना पत्र

- मेरा नाम नीति त्रिवेदी है. मैं वर्तमान में कर्टिन विश्वविद्यालय, पश्चिमी ऑस्ट्रेलिया में अपनी डॉक्टरेट की उपाधि, के लिए अनुसंधान कर रही हूँ.
- इस शोध का उद्देश्य क्षमता निर्माण के सन्दर्भ में लोकतांत्रिक और सहभागितापूर्ण नियोजन प्रक्रियाओं को अपनाने वाली परियोजनाओं के माध्यम से शहरी गरीब लोगों के रिहाइशी क्षेत्रों के स्थल पर भौतिक उन्नयन की प्रभावशीलता की जांच करना है.
- इस सूचना पत्रक का उद्देश्य मेरे शोध के लिए, प्रश्नावली सर्वेक्षण में भाग लेकर शोध में योगदान देने के लिए आमंत्रित करना है. यह सर्वेक्षण आपकी जन सांख्यिकीय जानकारी, परियोजना में आपकी भागीदारी की स्थिति, पुनर्विकास परियोजना में कर्म करते हुए आपके अनुभव, परियोजनाओं के पूरा होने पर जीवन स्तर में परिवर्तन, सामाजिक - आर्थिक तबके में सुधार क्या परियोजना ने अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त किया है और आपकी राय में स्थल पर किये जाने वाले पुनर्विकास परियोजनाओं को किस तरह और प्रभावशाली और शहरी विकास के लिए स्थायी बनाया जा सकता है, का पता लगता है. साक्षात्कार प्रक्रिया में एक घंटे से कम समय लगेगा.
- सर्वेक्षण में आपकी भागीदारी पूरी तरह स्वैच्छिक है. आप प्रश्नावली का एक सिंहावलोकन करके यह तय कर सकते हैं कि आप भाग लेना चाहते हैं या नहीं. आप किसी भी समय इस प्रक्रिया से बिना किसी बाध्यता या दंड के बाहर निकल सकते हैं. यह सुनिश्चित किया गया है की भाग न लेने के कारण किसी तरह का नकारात्मक प्रभाव नहीं होगा. सहमति प्रपत्र (इस पत्र के साथ संलग्न) पर आपके हस्ताक्षर इस बात का प्रमाण हैं की आप भाग लेने के लिए सहमत हैं और दी गई जानकारी का उपयोग मेरे अनुसंधान में करने की अनुमति देते हैं.
- आपसे कोई निजी या संवेदनशील सवाल नहीं किया जाएगा. आपके द्वारा प्रदत्त जानकारी से अनुसंधान के किसी भी चरण में या बाद में किसी प्रकाशन से आपकी सीधे पहचान नहीं की जा सकेगी. प्रश्नों के आपके उत्तरों को समुदाय के उत्तरों के साथ मिला दिया जायेगा और उत्तरदाताओं की गुमनामी सुनिश्चित करने के लिए सिर्फ सामूहिक परिणाम तैयार किये जायेंगे.
- साक्षात्कार पत्र / रिकॉर्ड पर आपका नाम या कोई भी अन्य जानकारी नहीं होगी जिससे आपकी पहचान की जा सके. विश्वविद्यालय की नीति और नैतिकता के मानकों के अनुसार, साक्षात्कार रिकॉर्ड सात वर्षों तक एक तालाबंद अलमारी में रखने के बाद नष्ट कर दिया जाता है.

और जानकारी:

यह शोध की कर्टिन विश्वविद्यालय, मानव अनुसंधान आचार समिति द्वारा समीक्षित है और (अनुमोदन संख्या :) द्वारा अनुमोदित है. यदि इस अध्ययन के बारे में आपको कोई प्रश्न या चिंता हो तो कृपया बेहिचक मुझे +61-0405462878 पर संपर्क करें या neeti.trivedi@postgrad.curtin.edu.au या neetitrivedi@gmail.com पर ईमेल करें. वैकल्पिक रूप से, आप +61-8-9266 3276 या s.khan@curtin.edu.au पर मेरे पर्यवेक्षक डॉक्टर शाहेद खान से संपर्क कर सकते हैं.

सर्वेक्षण में अपनी भागीदारी के लिए धन्यवाद. आपके योगदान के लिए मैं आभारी हूँ.



APPENDIX 4A: INFORMATION SHEET



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of Built Environment
CURTIN UNIVERSITY
Perth, Western Australia

INFORMATION SHEET FOR THE OFFICIALS OF THE ORGANISATION

- My name is Neeti Trivedi. I am presently conducting research for my doctoral degree at Curtin University, Western Australia.
- The aim of the research is to examine the effectiveness of on-site physical upgrading of areas inhabited by the urban poor through projects that adopt democratic and participatory planning processes in terms of capacity building.
- This information sheet is to invite you to participate in the questionnaire survey to make contributions to my research. The survey seeks to determine your roles and responsibilities, strategies adopted to engage the community in the planning and implementation process, and whether the project has achieved its target of effective in-situ redevelopment of the settlement. The interview process will take less than one hour.
- Your involvement in the survey is entirely voluntary. You can take an overview of the questionnaire and can decide whether you would like to participate or not. You also have the liberty to withdraw at any time without any obligation or penalisation. It is also ensured that non-participation will not have any negative implications. Your signature on the Consent form (attached to this Sheet) will certify that you have agreed to participate and have allowed me to use the data in my research.
- You will not be asked any personal or sensitive questions. The information you provide will not be directly identifiable to you at any stage of the research or in any subsequent publication. Your response to the questions will be collated with the community's response and only the aggregate results will be produced ensuring complete anonymity of the respondent.
- The interview sheet/record will not have your name or any other identifying information on it. In accordance to the University policy and Ethics parameters, the interview records will be kept in a locked cabinet for seven years, before it is destroyed.

Further information:

This research has been reviewed and approved by Curtin University, Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval number: HR 67/2014). If you have any questions or further concerns about this study, please feel free to contact me on +61-0405462878 or by email: neeti.trivedi@postgrad.curtin.edu.au or

neetirtrivedi@gmail.com . Alternatively, you can contact my Supervisor Dr. Shahed Khan on +61-8-9266 3276 or s.khan@curtin.edu.au.

Thank you for your participation in the survey. Your contribution is appreciated.

APPENDIX 4B: INFORMATION SHEET (HINDI TRANSLATION)



Curtin University

शहरी और क्षेत्रीय योजना विभाग, निर्मित पर्यावरण विद्यालय
कर्टिन विश्वविद्यालय पर्थ , पश्चिमी ऑस्ट्रेलिया

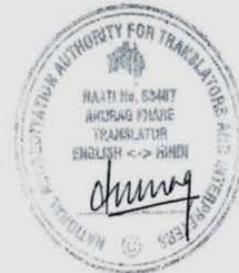
संगठन के लिए सूचना पत्र

- मेरा नाम नीति त्रिवेदी है. मैं वर्तमान में कर्टिन विश्वविद्यालय, पश्चिमी ऑस्ट्रेलिया में अपनी डॉक्टरेट की उपाधि, के लिए अनुसंधान कर रही हूँ.
- इस शोध का उद्देश्य क्षमता निर्माण के सन्दर्भ में लोकतांत्रिक और सहभागितापूर्ण नियोजन प्रक्रियाओं को अपनाते वाली परियोजनाओं के माध्यम से शहरी गरीब लोगों के रिहाइशी क्षेत्रों के स्थल पर भौतिक उन्नयन की प्रभावशीलता की जांच करना है.
- इस सूचना पत्रक का उद्देश्य मेरे शोध के लिए, प्रश्नावली सर्वेक्षण में भाग लेकर शोध में योगदान देने के लिए आमंत्रित करना है. सर्वेक्षण आपकी भूमिकाओं और जिम्मेदारियों, समुदाय को योजना और कार्यान्वयन की प्रक्रिया में संलग्न करने के लिए अपनाई गई रणनीतियों के बारे में पता लगाता है, और क्या परियोजना ने उस बस्ती के अपनी जगह पर पुनर्विकास के अपने लक्ष्य को हासिल किया है या नहीं. साक्षात्कार प्रक्रिया में एक घंटे से कम समय लगेगा.
- सर्वेक्षण में आपकी भागीदारी पूरी तरह स्वैच्छिक है. आप प्रश्नावली का एक सिंहावलोकन करके यह तय कर सकते हैं कि आप भाग लेना चाहते हैं या नहीं. आप किसी भी समय इस प्रक्रिया से बिना किसी बाध्यता या टंड के बाहर निकल सकते हैं. यह सुनिश्चित किया गया है की भाग न लेने के कारण किसी तरह का नकारात्मक प्रभाव नहीं होगा. सहमति प्रपत्र (इस पत्र के साथ संलग्न) पर आपके हस्ताक्षर इस बात का प्रमाण हैं की आप भाग लेने के लिए सहमत हैं और दी गई जानकारी का उपयोग मेरे अनुसंधान में करने की अनुमति देते हैं.
- आपसे कोई निजी या संवेदनशील सवाल नहीं किया जाएगा. आपके द्वारा प्रदत्त जानकारी से अनुसंधान के किसी भी चरण में या बाद में किसी प्रकाशन से आपकी सीधे पहचान नहीं की जा सकेगी. प्रश्नों के आपके उत्तरों को समुदाय के उत्तरों के साथ मिला दिया जायेगा और उत्तरदाताओं की गुमनामी सुनिश्चित करने के लिए सिर्फ सामूहिक परिणाम तैयार किये जायेंगे.
- साक्षात्कार पत्र / रिकॉर्ड पर आपका नाम या कोई भी अन्य जानकारी नहीं होगी जिससे आपकी पहचान की जा सके. विश्वविद्यालय की नीति और नैतिकता के मानकों के अनुसार, साक्षात्कार रिकॉर्ड सात वर्षों तक एक तालाबंद अलमारी में रखने के बाद नष्ट कर दिया जाता है.

और जानकारी:

यह शोध की कर्टिन विश्वविद्यालय, मानव अनुसंधान आचार समिति द्वारा समीक्षित है और (अनुमोदन संख्या :) द्वारा अनुमोदित है. यदि इस अध्ययन के बारे में आपको कोई प्रश्न या चिंता हो तो कृपया बेहिचक मुझे +61-0405462878 पर संपर्क करें या neeti.trivedi@postgrad.curtin.edu.au या neetirtrivedi@gmail.com पर ईमेल करें. वैकल्पिक रूप से, आप +61-8-9266 3276 या s.khan@curtin.edu.au पर मेरे पर्यवेक्षक डॉक्टर शाहेद खान से संपर्क कर सकते हैं.

सर्वेक्षण में अपनी भागीदारी के लिए धन्यवाद. आपके योगदान के लिए मैं आभारी हूँ.



APPENDIX 4C: CONSENT FORM



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of Built Environment
CURTIN UNIVERSITY
Perth, Western Australia

CONSENT FORM

- I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.
- I have been provided with the participant information sheet.
- I understand that my participation in this research study is voluntary and I have the liberty to withdraw at any time without assigning any reason.
- I understand that no personal identifying information like name or address will be used in any report/publication resulting from the study, and that my confidentiality as a participant will be maintained.
- All the information collected from this survey/interview will be securely stored for seven years before being destroyed.

I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give my consent to participate in this study.

Participant's signature: Date:

Contact information:

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact me on +61-0405462878 or by email: neeti.trivedi@postgrad.curtin.edu.au or neetirtrivedi@gmail.com . Alternatively, you can contact my Supervisor Dr. Shahed Khan on +61-8-9266 3276 or s.khan@curtin.edu.au.

APPENDIX 5: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS



Department of Urban and Regional Planning, School of Built Environment
CURTIN UNIVERSITY
Perth, Western Australia

QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

NOTE: The focus group discussion will be conducted to collect opinion of the residents and of the NGO staff regarding Yerwada Slum Upgrading Program, Pune/ The Innovation Centre for the Poor Program, Ahmedabad, India. The discussion is a part of the PhD research and the responses/data will be used for academic purposes only without displaying any participant identification.

ETHICS APPROVAL NO. HR 67/2014

THE DISCUSSION SEEKS TO COMPARE THE PERCEPTIONS OF THE BENEFICIARIES AND THE PRACTITIONERS TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE TARGETS OF THE REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT.

1. What are the factors responsible for the success of the project?
2. What are the factors responsible for the failure of the project?
3. What are the main strength and weaknesses of the project?
4. What could be done to improve the situation?