

## Enquiring Inclusive City from Slum Perspective: Evidences from India

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### Abstract

It is believed that an inclusive city can cater in improving the quality of life of all citizens. Prevalence of slum contributes extensively in aggravating urban problems as well as denying the inclusivity of a city. In the era of rapid increase of slum population, it is very much pertinent to study the inclusivity of Indian cities and the study also focuses into that. Thus this study looks into the interrelation between growth of slum with urbanisation as well as economic growth. To analyse the growth rate of urbanisation and slum, data of two decades (2001 and 2011) are being studied with the help of tables, column diagrams and statistical tests. Later to see the interrelation of growth of slum with urbanisation and economic growth, line diagram, correlation and regression are used. The study finds that Indian cities are becoming less inclusive with time as slum population is growing higher than urban population out of total population. Moreover the study highlights that the growth of slum has positive relation with urbanisation and economic growth, indicating increased inequality. The reasons behind the above facts can be unplanned urbanisation without considering the existing infrastructure and failure of government policies in distributing the fruits of economic growth equally as well as integration of urban poor into growth process.

**Keywords:** Slum, Urbanisation, Economic Growth, Inequality, Inclusive City

### Introduction

The multi-dimensional inclusion directed towards ensuring access to affordable land, housing and basic services (spatial), rights to take part in society (social) and opportunities to contribute and share in rising prosperity (economic) for all citizens are the essence of Inclusive City (World Bank)<sup>1</sup>. On the contrary to the inclusiveness of city, slum is a *hazardous and environmentally degradable space*, manifesting poverty within the city *which is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city* (UN-Habitat, 2003)<sup>2</sup>. In India more than 65 million of the urban population are the slum population (census 2011) and the present trend of unplanned urbanization and high rate of migration<sup>3</sup> to urban areas,

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<sup>1</sup> World Inclusive Cities Approach Paper, World Bank (2015)

<sup>2</sup> The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements (2003), UN-Habitat

<sup>3</sup> For overall India, data shows urban migrants coming from rural areas out of total migrants has increased from 58.60% in 2000 to 59.20% in 2008 (Data source: NSSO reports on migration, 55th and 64th round).

both have been preventing slums to wither away. Rise in informal sector<sup>4</sup> due to the incapacity of economy<sup>5</sup> in generating adequate employment in spite of high rate of growth has also contributed in expansion of slum as it provides low-cost housing compared to higher house price within the city (UN-Habitat, 2003). In this paper, slum is referred as an indicator that hindering cities to become inclusive as spatial, social and economic dimensions of urban inclusion, *on negative path, interact to trap people into poverty and marginalization* (World Bank)<sup>6</sup>.

Thus, this paper is aimed to see whether Indian cities are getting inclusive in this era of urbanization. To fulfill the objective of the paper, extent of growth of slum population across states in India and degree of association of growth of slum population with urbanization and economic growth and their reasons are being explained.

### Methodology

In this study, data on slum, urban and total population has been collected for two decades i.e. 2001 and 2011 from Census. The variable 'share of slum population out of urban population' that has been generated from the data of slum and urban population constitutes proportion of slum population in urban areas; likewise the variable 'share of urban population out of total population' indicates urbanization. The data on Net State Domestic Product (NSDP), which signifies economic growth, has been collected from RBI archive for two years (i.e. 2001 and 2011) and for 23 states of India.

This study has eventually been made in two parts. The first part is meant to study the 'share of slum population out of urban population' and 'share of urban population out of total population' for two periods (2001 and 2011) across states. The growth rates of two variables are being studied to find out which one is growing at a higher rate. Higher the growth rate of share of slum population than that of share of urban population will denote that urban areas are becoming less inclusive over time. This part of the study has been explained with the help of tables, column diagrams and also a paired t test has been done to find out whether the difference in average growth rate between share of slum population to urban and share of urban population to total is significant. In the second part, the relation between share of slum population with urbanization and economic growth has been studied with the help of line diagram, correlation and regression.

### Analysis and Findings

#### a. Growth of slum and urbanisation:

Table 1 shows reduction in the 'share of slum population out of urban population' from 2001 to 2011 in the states like Haryana, Maharashtra, Gujarat, etc. But the share has increased for overall India and in all other states like Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, etc. Moreover it achieved an average decadal growth rate of 35.89% in 2011. The high variation (SD – 53.33) around the average growth rate indicates high fluctuations of shares of slum population across states. The share of urban population has also

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<sup>4</sup> informal sector employment grew from 342.6 million in 2000-01 to 387.34 million in 2009-10 (Data for 2009-10 : NSSO 66th round, employment & unemployment report and data for 2000-01 : NCEUS 2008)

<sup>5</sup> In 2009-10, the GDP growth rate was 8.59 (Source: CSO), whereas growth rate of employment was 0.92 (Source: Source: Ministry of Labour & Employment)

<sup>6</sup> Everyone Counts: Making the Cities of Tomorrow More Inclusive (Infographic), World Bank (2015)

gone up at clam rate in most of the states and for over all India. And average decadal growth rate of 15.35% of share of urban population in 2011 is lower than that of share of slum population indicates that Indian cities are getting less inclusive over time. However, variation of growth rates across states of the share of urban population to total (SD – 17.63) around the average is lower than that of the share of slum population to urban. So, higher variation of growth rates of the share of slums and negative growth rates of share of slum population in few states, apparently, indicates happening of inclusive urbanisation in those states. However, the major states (Maharashtra, Gujarat, Delhi, Chandigarh and Jharkhand) experiencing negative growth rates of share of slum population cannot be rapidly running in the opposite direction, as growth of slum is found to be increased in every census town and across India in 2011. Arbitrary slum displacement behind the official term ‘slum replacement’ or ‘slum rehabilitation’ may be one of the factors causing likely reduction in slum population, as a large number of cases of *Displacement for Development* are being reported in the mentioned states since 90s<sup>7</sup> (Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, 2016).

Table 1:

States	Share of slum population out of urban population		Decadal growth rate of share of slum population	Share of urban population out of total population		Decadal growth rate of share of urban population
	2001	2011		2001	2011	
India	14.88	17.37	16.71	27.86	31.14	11.79
Jammu & Kashmir	10.67	19.28	80.74	24.99	27.38	9.54
Punjab	14.03	14.04	0.08	34.02	37.48	10.19
Chandigarh	13.25	9.27	-30.05	89.74	97.25	8.37
Uttarakhand	8.97	15.99	78.31	25.70	30.23	17.65
Haryana	23.23	18.80	-19.06	29.01	34.88	20.24
Delhi	15.73	10.91	-30.65	93.64	97.50	4.13
Rajasthan	9.79	12.13	23.87	23.40	24.87	6.29
Uttar Pradesh	12.73	14.02	10.20	20.80	22.27	7.06
Bihar	6.12	10.53	71.95	10.48	11.29	7.82
Tripura	5.49	14.54	164.93	17.10	26.17	53.02
Meghalaya	19.01	9.64	-49.26	19.69	20.07	1.92
Assam	2.39	4.48	87.44	12.91	14.10	9.17
West Bengal	18.35	22.06	20.21	27.96	31.87	14.01
Jharkhand	5.03	4.70	-6.55	22.27	24.05	7.97
Orissa	11.42	22.28	95.10	15.03	16.69	11.01
Chhatisgarh	19.54	31.98	63.68	20.13	23.24	15.47
Madhya Pradesh	15.14	28.35	87.26	26.44	27.63	4.51
Gujarat	9.86	6.53	-33.82	37.41	42.60	13.85
Maharashtra	27.26	23.32	-14.46	42.48	45.22	6.45
Andhra Pradesh	24.93	36.10	44.81	27.48	33.36	21.42
Karnataka	7.81	13.93	78.36	34.06	38.67	13.53
Kerala	0.78	1.27	62.37	25.97	47.70	83.71
Tamil Nadu	10.43	16.61	59.20	44.25	48.40	9.37
Average	12.78	15.76	35.89	31.37	35.59	15.35
Standard Deviation	6.85	8.59	53.33	20.39	21.49	17.63

Table 2 shows the result of significant paired t test. It reveals significant difference between the average growth rates. More specifically, the average growth rate of share

<sup>7</sup>Almost 90% of people in India are estimated to be displaced by state-run development projects and by 2011, more than 6.5 million hectares of land had been diverted to ‘public interest’ projects. Pushed Aside, Displaced for ‘Development’ in India. (July 2016).

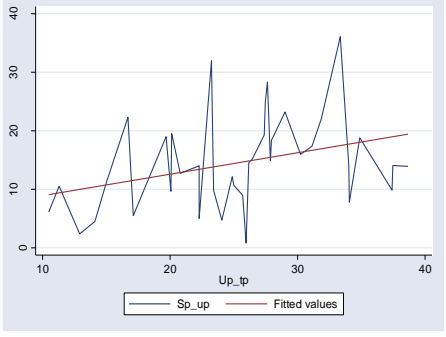
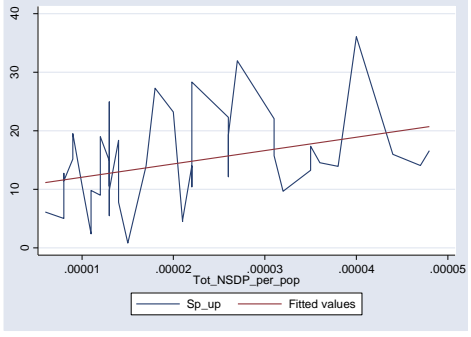
of slum population is significantly higher than the urban share out of total population. The result of Table 2 reaffirms the exclusiveness of Indian cities.

Table 2:

Paired sample statistics	Mean	Std. Deviation	Significance
Decadal growth rate of share of slum population out of urban population	35.89	53.33	0.05
Decadal growth rate of share of urban population out of total population	15.35	17.63	

b. Relation with urbanisation and economic growth:

Diagram 1 below illustrates positive and significant relation between share of slum population to urban and share of urban population to total. This indicates proportion of slum population is growing with urbanisation. Diagram 2 also illustrates positive and significant relation between share of slum population to urban and per capita NSDP. It means slum population is growing with growth of economy indicating unequal distribution of economic growth process

Diagram 1: Relation between share slum and urban population		Diagram 2: Relation between share of slum population out of urban population and per capita NSDP	
Share of slum population to urban population		Share of slum population to urban population	
	Share of urban population to total population		Per capita NSDP
Correlation results <sup>8</sup>	0.3390*		0.3397*
Data point <sup>9</sup>	38		42

Data source: Author's estimate

<sup>8</sup> Correlation is significant at 5% level. Otherwise the correlation is significant at 10% level if data point is increased to 45

<sup>9</sup> Few data point has been dropped due to outlier.

## Summary of the findings and concluding remarks

Summarising the above findings from both the parts of the study, it is found that growth rate of the share of slum population in urban areas is more compared to that of the share of urban population out of total population indicates 'urbanisation of poverty' (world bank, 2007). Thus, it is the type of urbanization that originates slum by causing spatial, social and economic exclusion of a large number of urban populations. On the other hand, increase in the share of slum population out of urban population with the increase in per capita NSDP indicates the exclusion of a large number of people from economic growth process and concentration of wealth among few hands. But, why the present processes of urbanisation and economic growth are not playing a key role in making Indian cities inclusive? And also, why such processes are augmenting the proportion of slum residents in urban areas instead of diminishing?

Unplanned urbanisation and limited existing infrastructure:

In a populous country like India, continuous migration from rural to urban areas due to regional disparity is adding huge number of descendents every year to urban areas (Lewis, 1954). This unprecedented growth of population in urban areas has overwhelmed the civic infrastructure by creating tremendous pressure on existing infrastructures that are insufficient to accommodate the growing population. As an obvious effect, urban poor are being forced to settle in hazardous peri-urban areas with lack of basic services. According to a report, civic infrastructure<sup>10</sup> facilities should rise up to 400% from existing facilities to cope with growing population in urban areas (FICCI, 2011). Thus state governments initiated a number of slum rehabilitation and up-gradation programmes to provide basic housing services to urban poor since 90s. But the reality is that slum dwellers have evicted from their previous place and got resettled due to these slum rehabilitation/up-gradation programmes. A number of researches have found slum dwellers to be worsened off<sup>11</sup> as a result of eviction as it increased community disintegration. In some cases, houses offered to them situated in fringe location without basic services or compensation received for resettlement were not enough to buy houses at a decent location. As a result, slum residents have continued to be exacerbated. Unless *after-the-fact solution* (slum up-gradation) is not accompanied with *proactive planning for future growth*, inadequate and unplanned civic infrastructure will continue interrupting multi-dimensional inclusion of all citizens (Word Bank).

Improper distribution of economic growth and Inequality:

Concentration of wealth in limited hands<sup>12</sup> (Walton 2010) due to unequal growth process increased inequality<sup>13</sup> (Thorat and Dubey, 2012) in urban areas- it is one of the major factors that impede inclusive urbanisation. This is the reason behind soaring

<sup>10</sup>Civic infrastructure means improved water and sanitary facilities, sufficient availability of power supply and efficient roads and communication networks (UN-Habitat report, 2012)

<sup>11</sup> The slum dwellers have reported the violations of different human rights, viz, adequate housing, land, work/livelihood, health, education, food, water, security of the person and home, participation, information, as well as the right to adequate remedy, including resettlement. Forced to the Fringes: Disasters of 'Resettlement' in India. Housing and Land Rights Network (2014), Page 10-11, accessed on 01-11-2018

<sup>12</sup> Wealth holdings of Indian Billionaires has increased from 0.8% to 23% of GDP between 1996 and 2008

<sup>13</sup> Consumption inequality in urban areas increased.

land and house prices in urban areas and buying proper houses in such prices has become an unfulfilled dream for slum dwellers (Chakraborty, 2013). Affording basic dwelling unit in 2010 has been beyond the capacity of more than 16 million<sup>14</sup> of slum household in India. The situation will be further exacerbating for slum household by 2030<sup>15</sup>.

Failure of Government in implementation of Slum Upgrading Programmes:

Although, *in-situ slum upgrading is a viable, low-cost and effective way to help the urban poor solve their shelter than resettlement of slum dwellers*, in India government did not emphasized much on that. (UN-Habitat, 2003, and World Bank, 2015)<sup>16</sup> Instead, to improve the living condition of slum, a number of slum upgrading programmes were undertaken; however mostly all these programmes failed to meet the need of slum household in terms of dwelling units. Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme is a flagship slum upgrading programme which has accomplished only 17% of total approved project even after spending 104% of total sanctioned project cost till August 2018 since its inception in 2005<sup>17</sup>. Another programme on providing affordable housing to slum dwellers, Rajiv Awas Yojana<sup>18</sup> introduced in 2011, has completed 46% of total sanctioned dwelling units whereas 70% of total sanctioned amount has been released till August 2018. Both the programme focused on construction of new houses within slum; but rehabilitation/relocation of slums during up-gradation<sup>19</sup> work has caused slum demolition, forced eviction and violation of multiple human rights.

Lack of government initiative on integrating urban poor:

Urban *inclusion is tackled through spatial lens too often* and the case of India is not different (World Bank, 2015)<sup>20</sup>. In India, only a few government programmes have been attempted to address the social and economic inclusion of urban poor. Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana<sup>21</sup> (SJSRY) is one of such schemes that performed very well as per report, but undoubtedly has left little impact on ground. There is hardly any government programme in India focused on integration of slum residents or urban poor community based organisations in better urban governance or through crime preventive programmes. Government has paid no or negligible attention towards inclusive economic empowerment of slum residents through generation of more formal jobs, skill development, improved access to institutional finance or cheap transportation services that can potentially bridge the slum and on-slum gap.

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<sup>14</sup> India's urban awakening: Building inclusive cities, sustaining economic growth, McKinsey Global Institute, April 2010, Page- 120-121, accessed on 01-11-2018,

<sup>15</sup> It has been estimated that around 30 million urban poor will not be able to afford basic housing facilities by 2030. McKinsey Global Institute, April 2010, Page- 121, accessed on 01-11-2018,

<sup>16</sup> World Inclusive Cities Approach Paper, World Bank (2015) and The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements (2003), UN-Habitat

<sup>17</sup> State wise Progress Report of JNNURM under IHSDP, dated 06-08-2018, accessed on 01-11-2018

<sup>18</sup> Rajiv Awas Yojana, State wise Progress Report, dated 06-08-2018, accessed on 01-11-2018

<sup>19</sup> List of Approved Rajiv Awas Yojana projects, accessed on 01-11-2018

<sup>20</sup> World Inclusive Cities Approach Paper, World Bank (2015)

<sup>21</sup> Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana, Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, dated 17-02-2012, accessed on 01-11-2018



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