State, NGOs and Urban Community Development

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No modern state, how-so-ever exploitative it may be, can afford to ignore the necessity of projecting itself as the benefactor of all people. While continuing to serve the interests of the dominant classes, for the protection of whose interests it has come into existence, the state tries to extend its hegemony by accommodating the interests of the dominated classes and groups, of course, to the extent its vital interests are not threatened. Legitimacy is an essential requirement of the state in all regimes which have well developed civil societies. For gaining legitimacy the governments, on behalf of the state, make necessary policies, initiate development programmes and implement various welfare schemes benefitting the poor and the down-trodden. Once it becomes confident of its own authority and feels no threat to its existence, the state even makes certain political concessions to the underdog by delegating certain powers, usually at the lower rungs of the political and administrative hierarchy. The Indian state is no exception to this general principle.

Ever since the national bourgeoisie captured the state power, alongside the policies and programmes promoting capitalist development, the Indian state has been initiating and implementing various welfare schemes for the poor and the under-privileged. It claims to be a welfare state and at times even projects socialism as its goal. Even after the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Indian political elite did not completely give up its populist rhetoric. It is interesting to observe that the government's policy of liberalization of the economy and India's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), coincide with the announcement of reservation for the backward classes, the constitutional status for the local governments and a host of welfare schemes for the poor. In addition to floating liberal jargons such as

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structural adjustments, disinvestment and globalization, the Indian government has started popularizing the concepts of empowerment, community participation and convergence in the development rhetoric. Development through the involvement of NGOs and community participation has become the new catch word among the policy makers dealing with poverty alleviation programmes, both in rural and urban areas.

NGOs and the Indian State

The dependence of the state on the NGOs for the implementation of government sponsored development programmes is of recent origin. At the time of independence, the Indian state enjoyed considerable legitimacy and it was confident of implementing development policies effectively without any external support. In the fifties the government initiated Community Development Programmes, the Panchayat Raj system and the cooperative movement, with the intention to encourage community participation. At that time also there were NGOs taking up welfare activities, especially in the field of education, health and rural development. Most of these were either Christian or Gandhian organizations, guided by humanitarian and transcendental principles. They never questioned the system, nor did they make any effort to understand the roots of the social problems. Naturally the state did not have any difficulty in dealing with such NGOs and it went ahead with its programmes.

The confidence of the Indian government was, however, shattered with the economic and political crises that followed the recession of the mid-sixties. Further, far from involving the people, the community development programme, the Panchayati Raj system and the cooperative movement either ended up in further bureaucratization, or these led to the monopolization of political and economic power by the rich or the neo-rich communities. All these failures seriously affected the legitimacy of the state. During this phase many NGOs, critical of the development strategies pursued by the Indian state, made their appearance. They upheld the rights of the marginalized communities and the labouring masses. Some of them experimented with cost-effective, people-oriented strategies in rural development, housing, community health, environment and legal aid. With this switch from welfare to development programmes, radicals among the NGOs came in direct conflict with the Indian state. The state began looking at those NGOs as competitors, and even rivals. The vested interests, affected by the activities of the NGOs,

also brought pressure upon the state to control their activities. The Indian state responded to the crisis at two levels. On the one hand, it sought to contain the popular unrest by announcing several poverty alleviation programmes, and on the other hand enacted special laws, especially during the Emergency and also in the early 80s, to regulate and control the NGO activities. Those NGOs which refused to abide by the government regulations, were declared illegal and even anti-national. Although many progressive NGOs criticized the intervention of the state in the NGO activities, partly because of the lack of unity among them, and partly because of the fear of state repression, most NGOs fell in line with the government stipulations.

However, since the Sixth Plan there has been a remarkable change in the attitudes of both the government and the NGOs. Although the government was implementing many schemes for the poor, the benefits did not reach the intended beneficiaries. Rajiv Gandhi himself admitted that only 15 per cent of the funds allocated reached the poor. Naturally, the discontentment among the poor and the underprivileged sections started manifesting itself in the form of autonomous struggles of the dalits, women, tribals, farmers and workers. Far from solving their problems, the policy of globalization and liberalization pursued by the government, actually accentuated their suffering. Despite the state propaganda and the media publicity, the masses could see through the anti-people character of the economic and industrial policies pursued by the Congress government. Although the capitalist economic rationality preaches 'no appeasement policy', politics in a bourgeois democratic system cannot totally ignore the people's concerns and remain insensitive to their aspirations. As far as possible, the state should try to take the people along with it. To fulfill this political need, the political elite in India are forced to give a humane face to the on-going economic reforms. With the help of international organizations, like the World Bank and the UN agencies, the Indian state has learnt how it should go about to legitimize its liberal policies. Besides, because of their own experiences the Indian policy makers realized the limitations of the government and the comparative advantages of the NGOs. They understood that the government has failed to reach the intended beneficiaries through welfare and development activities, because of corruption, red-tapism and bureaucratic hurdles. But the NGOs, because of their easy accessibility to the poor, their awareness of local problems, their low cost

alternative technologies and their participative strategies, could make better impact in those areas, where the government with their giant bureaucratic machinery failed. Once these facts were assimilated, the policy makers realized the advantages of collaborating with the NGOs. Accordingly, the Indian state began encouraging the participation of the NGOs in different government-sponsored welfare and development programmes. Besides, the provision for grant-in-aid has been made in different government departments, inviting the NGOs to involve themselves in planning, capacity building, implementation and monitoring of the development programmes. Quite a few NGOs, which have become professional and pragmatic over the years, realized the futility of direct confrontation with the state, and responded positively to the invitation of the state in return for administrative and financial support.

It was in this background that the strategy of implementing poverty alleviation programmes through the NGOs and the community based organizations (CBOs) gained currency. The government itself began taking the initiative in identifying competent NGOs and forming the CBOs at the grassroots level. The strategy was first initiated in the rural development programmes. In the 80s it was extended to the programmes for the urban poor also.

Urban Poverty and State Policy

India, not withstanding its predominant rural character, is witnessing rapid urbanization, especially in the recent decades. The urban population, which was estimated to be around 217 million in 1991, is growing at the rate of 3.6% per annum. Owing to a variety of factors, like industrialization, development of trade and commerce, concentration of administrative offices, increased educational and employment opportunities, etc., the urban centres attract different sections of people. A considerable number of the migrants, who come to the urban areas in search of greener pastures of life, end up as the urban poor. *The Human Development Report, 1994*, says that about 33 per cent of the urban population live in abject poverty. According to a recent report of the Expert Committee, constituted by the Planning Commission, urban poverty is growing at a rapid pace, while rural poverty has started declining. Although the findings of the report are still debatable, it is obvious that the growth of urban poverty would become a serious problem in the years to come.

Usually the urban poor either find some place in the already existing slums, or create new slums in unoccupied lands. The slums, so formed, are normally characterized by inadequate basic amenities, like water supply, sanitation, health care, education, etc. Nearly 90 per cent of the people living in the slums depend on public water supply or bore wells. About a half of them live in semi-pucca dwellings. Only 15 per cent have private toilets and 21 per cent have access to community lavatories. As they have to live in congested, over-crowded, unhygienic surroundings, the slum communities, especially women and children, get exposed to various health hazards. Besides, being illiterate and unskilled, they have to depend on the informal sector and their sources of income remain limited. Although the rural poor also suffer from all these maladies, the problems faced by the urban poor are more complicated, as they do not find any helping hand at the time of difficulties. Since they are uprooted from their native environment, and are without friends and relatives, they feel alienated and neglected in the urban environment in which they are compelled to live for their livelihood. Such physical and psychological environments make the slums a breeding ground for many social tensions in society.

Almost upto the Sixth Plan the Indian government did not take serious note of the specificity of the problems of the urban poor. It is true that many state and central governments took up certain measures for the urban poor, on an ad hoc basis. Mention may be made here of programmes, like Urban Community Development programme (UCD), Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS), Self-Employment Programme for the Urban Poor (SEPUP), Minimum Needs Programme (MNP), Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY), etc. The coverage of these programmes are, however, very limited. Except the UCD programme, all other programmes are administered bureaucratically, without any scope for community participation. Usually politicians and bureaucrats alike look at these merely as welfare programmes. The questions concerning the sustainability of the programmes and the empowerment of the poor are rarely debated while initiating these programmes.

It was only during the Seventh Plan that the Indian government, at the initiative of UNICEF, came out with Urban Basic Services (UBS) programme, which advocated the provision of basic services to the slum communities through community participation and women empowerment. The programme was implemented as a pilot project in selected

towns during the Seventh Plan period. The National Commission on Urbanization, 1990, took note of the potentialities of this strategy, and recommended the universalization of the programme. Consequently, the Government of India revised the programme and gave it a new nomenclature, the Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP). At present, the UBSP programme is being implemented in 245 towns, spread over 149 districts in India.

Slum Improvement through Community Participation

Unlike many other bureaucratically administered programmes, UBS and UBSP programmes call for community participation in planning, implementation, management and monitoring of the programmes. These projects are implemented through Community Based Organizations (CBOs) constituted at the slum level. The grassroots CBOs under the basic services programmes are designated as Area Development Societies (ADS) in Kerala and as Neighbourhood Committees (NHCs) in other states. Unlike the CBOs in UCD projects, the NHCs in UBS and UBSP programmes are constituted exclusively of women members. In these projects a slum is divided into different neighbourhood groups (NHGs), each group consisting of about twenty households. Each NHG elects or nominates one female member within the group as a Resident Community Volunteer (RCV). All RCVs in the slum together make an NHC. The members elect one among them to act as the convenor or president. With the help of the project staff affiliated to the urban local bodies (ULBs), the committee members conduct a base-line survey in the slums and prepare mini-plans for the neighbourhood, reflecting the actual needs of the slum communities. Compiling all such mini-plans, the project staff prepares the draft town plan and sends it to the higher authorities for approval. Once approved, the municipalities channelize the funds to the neighbourhoods and the NHCs take up various developmental activities in the slums. In Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, the NHCs maintain separate bank accounts and the project funds meant for the neighbourhoods are directly deposited in the accounts of the respective NHCs. The funds allocated to the NHCs are jointly managed by the convenor and the staff in charge of the project.

Under the basic services programmes, various physical amenities, like community halls, television sets, individual lavatories, bore wells, small drains, dust bins, etc., are provided to the slums. The funds

required for providing these components are mobilized either from the project funds or from municipalities and other development departments. In some project towns, contribution to the tune of one-fourth of the cost of the assets is collected from the beneficiaries themselves. Although the monetary contribution for the creation of physical assets is negligible, in many towns the NHCs mobilize the slum residents to contribute their labour and compensate for the project costs. In certain project towns in Andhra Pradesh the NHC members collected contributions from influential persons in the town and paid their one-fourth share. It is argued that when the beneficiaries themselves share the cost, they consider the assets as their own and show proper interest in managing them. The beneficiary contribution is, however, not insisted upon in most of the project towns in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu.

Apart from creating physical assets, the NHCs take up many development activities, like organizing health camps, balwadis, adult education classes, sewing centres, etc. They create awareness among the slum communities about family planning, disease management, sanitation and environment. In some towns in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, the neighbourhood residents have received subsidies under the Low Cost Housing and the Shelter Upgradation schemes. Similarly, under Low Cost Sanitation scheme many slum households in different states have received subsidies for the construction of individual lavatories. The slum residents have also received ventilators and smokeless chullahs. In addition to facilitating the implementation of such schemes, the NHCs in some project towns sponsor the applications of the slum residents for NRY loans. With the intention to ensure additional income to the neighbourhood community, the NHCs in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa provide small loans to the women members to start petty trades.

In all these states, efforts are being made to register the NHCs and form Community Development Societies (CDS) for each town. The process is already completed in Kerala. In fact, Kerala went ahead of other states by constituting a state level CDS, by integrating all district level CDS. Being registered societies, these CDS can enjoy the status of NGOs, and be able to approach different development departments, banks and the donor agencies directly for financial support.

The performance of NHCs under the basic services programmes are not uniform in all the states. In Gujarat and Maharashtra, for exam-

ple, where the committee members are not properly trained and oriented, the development programmes are implemented like any other bureaucratically administered schemes. In some towns in Tamilnadu, where there is too much of political and bureaucratic interference even in the constitution of the committees, many NHCs have become mere ornamental bodies. Even in other states, wherever the NHC activities have been marred by a lack of effective leadership and conscious local support, these have not made the necessary impact. But in those neighbourhoods, where the slum communities are cohesive and socially conscious, and have committed leadership which enjoys the support of the local people and organizations, NHCs have succeeded in improving substantially the quality of the life of the slum communities.

NGOs as Training Institutions

One of the reasons for the failure of the community development projects earlier was the lack of proper training for the project staff and the community workers. Realizing this lacunae, the government identified State Training Institutes (STIs) for training the project staff and other senior officials, and Field Training Institutes (FTIs) for training the community level workers. In Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala and Tamilnadu, the responsibility of training social animators, NHC convenors, community health volunteers, balwadi teachers, etc., is entrusted to the NGOs. Owing to their dedication and grassroots contact, the NGOs have proved themselves better equipped for the job than the government sponsored training institutes. These FTIs — Urban Poverty Alleviation Corps (UPACOR) in Andhra Pradesh, Baroda Citizens Council in Gujarat, Loyola Extension Services (LES) in Kerala and Centre for Research in Social Sciences, Technology and Culture (CRSTC) in Tamilnadu — are actively involved in the training of the community level workers under the UBSP programme.

The background and experience of these NGOs are not similar. Since 1967, BCC has been actively engaged in urban community development and in taking up training and developmental activities in Baroda. LES, Thiruvananthapuram, is a Jesuit-sponsored organization, and earlier it was engaged in rural development and social welfare activities. It was only after getting recognized as an FTI, did it extend its sphere of activities to urban poverty alleviation programmes. CRSTC, Coimbatore,

is basically an educational-cum-research oriented institution under the G.R. Damodaran Trust. The institute also undertakes certain training activities for the scheduled castes, farmers and unemployed youth under the departments of Science and Technology and Social Welfare. UPACOR in Hyderabad was started only in 1992 by a group of retired persons, well experienced in urban community development projects.

In all these states referred to above, the NGOs working as FTIs were entrusted with the responsibility of training social animators. These social animators, who are designated as Trainers on Call (TOCs), are in turn expected to train the RCVs and other community level workers with the help of the project staff. But apart from training the TOCs, the FTIs in some of these states hold many other responsibilities also. CRSTC, for example, started forming Action Groups in, and voluntarily shouldered the responsibility of, organizing training to the convenors and core RCVs. The project faculty in LES attends RCV training camps as resource persons. The faculty at UPACOR seem to have conducted training for CHVs and balwadi teachers also.

In all these states, the responsibility of training the project staff, i.e., community organizers and project officers, was initially delegated to the STIs. Subsequently, in Kerala and Tamilnadu, the responsibility of training them was entrusted to the FTIs, i.e., to LES and CRSTC respectively. These FTIs have made efforts to develop appropriate syllabi and curricula for different levels of functionaries. Apart from depending on the internal faculty, these NGOs take the help of resource persons from among the subject specialists, government officers and other NGOs.

NGOs in Programme Implementation

The Government of India's Guidelines on UBSP lay considerable stress on the convergence of the services of different development departments and NGOs for ensuring an effective implementation of the programme. Yet convergence has been very weak in most states. In some projects under study efforts were, however, made to involve the NGOs in the implementation of certain programme components, like health-care, education, housing and skill training. At the slum level, the NHCs take assistance from local youth organizations, mahila mandals, caste panchayats and local cultural organizations. Normally these orga-

nizations contribute labour, sometimes even money, and assist the efforts of the NHCs to educate the slum communities on various issues confronting them. In addition to such local voluntary organizations, the project staff could involve various recognized NGOs in the towns and cities, either for the training of the community workers, or for supplementing the efforts of the projects to provide basic services to the slum communities. In many towns the project staff take the help of service organizations, like the Rotary Club and the Lions Club, for organizing immunization campaign, nutrition and health demonstrations, and eye camps in the slums. In Karnataka, Organization for the Development of People (ODP) and Association for Voluntary Action and Services (AVAS) were involved in providing the benefits of low cost housing to the slum communities. In Bangalore the project staff sought the participation of voluntary organizations in imparting training to bore-well caretakers, health volunteers and women auto-rickshaw drivers. In some towns in Tamilnadu, the NGOs were engaged in the construction of individual lavatories in the slums. In Andhra Pradesh thrift and credit societies were started in different project towns with the cooperation of an organization, named Andhra Pradesh Podupu Sahakara Sanghala Samakhya. The training institute imparted training to balwadi teachers in collaboration with Anganwadi Workers Training Centres in Vijayawada. In Maharashtra activists from different NGOs, like Stree Hitakarini, Apnalaya, Nirmala Niketan, Society for Clean Cities, Sakhya, Mahila Hakka Sanstha, etc., were invited as resource persons in the training programmes for the project staff and community workers. In Parbhini, even Muslim organizations, like Bazme Khawataen and Yousufia Social, Educational and Cultural Society also participated in the programme activities. In some states organizations, like Sri Mahila Udyog Lizzat Papad and Shramik Vidyapeeths, are involved in imparting skill training in economic support activities, like papad making, sewing, masala making, soap making, etc.

One can thus mention many activities where the NGOs have been involved. It, however, needs to be said that the involvement of the NGOs in the implementation of urban community development programmes is still negligible. Their involvement is better in those towns, where the project staff is committed and dynamic. But in many states, other than giving lip service to the concept of NGO participation and organizing, at best, one or two state level workshops are organized for

them, and no systematic strategy has been worked out to encourage their active support and involvement. Even in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, which are considered to be ideal programme states, the participation of the NGOs in the programme implementation is limited to some towns only. As such, except in places like Bangalore and Parbhini, the full potentialities of the NGOs have not been properly explored in almost all the states for the implementation of the programme.

UNICEF Support

The strategy of providing basic services to the slum communities through the empowerment of women and the involvement of the NGOs, is originally the contribution of UNICEF. As in other developing countries, in India also UNICEF is the prime mover of the philosophy behind UBS and UBSP programmes. When the UBS programme was initiated during the Seventh Plan, it volunteered to bear forty per cent of the project costs. In addition, it also supported training activities in some states on an ad hoc basis. Over and above these project costs and training expenses, it provided vehicles, publicity materials, television sets and medicines essential for the projects. It also used to visit and monitor the project sites frequently and its presence and involvement was a source of encouragement both to the project staff and the community workers. After 1991, UNICEF withdrew its financial support to project implementation, except in the case of demonstration towns, and confined itself to giving comprehensive support to the training activities in all the states. It now provides equipment support to the tune of Rs. 3.5 lakhs each for the STIs and Rs. 2 lakhs each for the FTIs. It allocates Rs. 14,000 per month to the STIs and Rs. 6000 to the FTIs towards faculty support. Besides Rs. 67,000 a year is allocated to the training institutes for engaging resource per sons in the training programmes. In addition, the training institutes receive course fee support and lodging and boarding expenses incurred for the trainees. Thus UNICEF's support to the programme still remains substantial.

Problems of Sustainability

In view of the comparative advantages that the basic services strategy has over other urban development programmes, efforts are being made to extend the programme to all urban centres. In the light of the Seventy Fourth Amendment of the Constitution and the Prime Minis-

ter's Poverty Alleviation Programme for the Urban Poor, the central and state governments are planning for the implementation of future programmes for the urban poor along this basic services strategy.

The universalization of the strategy is, however, beset with so many problems. Even if the Indian government extends the strategy to all other towns in the country, the benefits of UPA programmes may not reach the majority of the urban poor. Because of legal constraints, these programmes can be implemented only in the recognized slums. This criterion itself is enough to keep off crores of people living in the unrecognized slums and squatter settlements from the purview of the basic services programme. Other than providing, at best, some benefits, such as immunization and health education, no other physical amenities can be provided for in such slums, without the consent of the legal owners of the land. Naturally, the government chooses only non-controversial slums, leaving crores of people living in the unrecognized slums and squatter settlements out of the purview of the programme.

It is true that under the UBSP programme, many activities were taken up for the well-being of the slum communities. But one is not sure, how long the programme will receive financial support from the government. Under UBS programme (1986-90), UNICEF was sharing 40 per cent of the project costs. But its financial support to the project implementation came to an end in 1991. Subsequently, the Government of India also stopped giving funds to the old UBS projects. It is observed that in those old UBS towns, with the withdrawal of the Government of India and UNICEF, the projects started facing severe financial problems. The state governments do not release the budgeted amount in time. The municipalities find it difficult to contribute their share to the programme owing to their own financial constraints. Moreover, according to the scheme the per capita allocation declines year after year. Each project town receives at best two to three lakh rupees a year as project funds. Because of increasing project costs, and also because of the lack of alternative sources of finance, some projects have been forced to scale down their plans. Many NHCs in the old UBS towns have shut down balwadis and sewing centres. The new project towns, where the central government bears 60 per cent of the project costs, may also face similar problems after the plan period, unless alternative financial sources are located. The extensive involvement of financially viable NGOs and external donor agencies may help the projects to overcome the paucity

of funds to some extent. But very little effort is being made to tap such resources. In the absence of necessary efforts in this direction, the Government of India should continue to support the projects financially for some more years.

In addition to finances, the withdrawal of UNICEF is likely to pose certain problems for the sustainability of the projects. UNICEF, as mentioned earlier, played an important role in initiating and strengthening the UBS and UBSP programmes in India. Partly because of the advocacy role played by UNICEF, the governments accepted, in principle, the ideas of de-bureaucratization and empowerment of women. The projects are likely to show good performance, as long as UNICEF continues to guide, support and monitor the programme. But UNICEF doesn't seem to be interested in taking such responsibilities for an indefinite period. It is likely to withdraw gradually and it expects the Indian state to take charge of the programme completely. If that happens, as many persons associated with the programme believe, the programme may get bureaucratized and lose its momentum. At the moment, no alternative strategy seems to have been worked out at the national level as to how the programme should be administered, once UNICEF withdraws completely.

Conclusion

Of all the programmes initiated and implemented for the urban poor, the basic services strategy has brought more benefits to the slum communities. In the slums, where the programme is implemented, the residents received certain material benefits. In addition, the programme initiated positive changes in the behavioural attitudes of the neighbourhood communities. The people started understanding the value of education, and began sending their children to balwadis and schools. Many women in the slums learnt reading and writing after attending the adult education classes organized by the NHCs. The women started responding positively to immunization, family planning and sanitation programmes. The basic services strategy aroused the consciousness of the slum women about the social role that they could play to overcome the grievances affecting them. It is a pleasant experience to see the slum women in many project towns in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Orissa, walking straight into the municipal and other development departments, lodging complaints and demanding redress of their grievances. Some

NHCs in Andhra Pradesh took the lead in anti-liquor campaign and drove the liquor barons out of the neighbourhoods. The programme has also enabled quite a few ambitious women in the slums to start their political career by participating in the municipal elections.

Not withstanding all these benefits, the critics are right in pointing out that this strategy of taking up developmental activities through the CBOs and NGOs is basically aimed at giving legitimacy to the Indian state, now on its way to opening up the country to the policy of liberalization and globalization. By associating themselves with the programme as training institutions or service agencies, the NGOs gave credibility to the government sponsored programme, by reinforcing people's faith in the Indian state's ability to solve the problems of the poor. Consciously or unconsciously, the NGOs initiated the process of de-politicization, by telling the slum communities that they could solve all their problems without depending on political parties. Although de-politicization might help the slum communities to unite for their immediate demands, it tries to confine the people's activities to local issues, and makes them blind to broader political processes which govern their lives. All these points ultimately go in favour of the Indian state.

What should then be the attitude of social activists and radical voluntary organizations to such a development strategy? Should they keep themselves aloof from such programmes, by branding them as deceptive measures? Such an isolation does not seem to be an appropriate solution, for it only gives an additional opportunity for the ruling class, parties and their leaders to strengthen their hold on the poor. It may be wrong to play a second fiddle to the state, in the name of serving the poor. But to the extent the development policies are politically advantageous to the poor, they need to be utilized. No doubt, the complete eradication of urban poverty is not possible within the system. But it is wrong to presuppose that all possibilities of improving the living conditions of the slum communities are closed. Whatever be the purpose for which the state initiated such programmes, the strategy allows the poor to organize themselves, to articulate their problems and to fight for their immediate demands. For the first time, the innate potentialities of women in the urban slums found expression through this strategy. It also gave an opportunity for NGOs to create awareness about various issues confronting their lives in the slums. Keeping in view these positive

dimensions of the programme, radical social activists and voluntary organizations should involve themselves in the programme activities as NHC members, balwadi teachers, adult education instructors, project staff and trainers. They should organize the people in both recognized and unrecognized slums and mobilize them to fight for all that is possible to achieve within the system. In course of time, when the limitations of the programme gradually becomes explicit, the slum communities should be educated to raise higher demands. If radical activists and groups have a vision and commitment, this development strategy, initiated basically to legitimize the state authority, can be turned against the state for a real political alternative, compatible with the interests of the poor and the underprivileged.

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