Participatory Enumeration and Mapping of Urban Poor Settlements

Module - I

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Content Developers and Authors:

Ms. Keya Kunte is an architect and urban planner employed as a consultant with SSNS (SPARC's not for profit Construction Company) since October 2009. She has worked on SSNS funder reports, incremental housing studies, SSNS annual reports and website design and been part of other ongoing research projects. Specific to mapping projects, she has worked alongside SPARC’s alliance in Odisha (UDRC and Cuttack Mahila Milan) in coordinating the Cuttack participatory mapping project in 2010-11.

Ms. Monali Waghmare is a development consultant, SPARC. Since January 2011 she is liasoning in between communities, SPARC and Municipal corporation or other Govt. agencies/ NGO’s on various projects of Sanitation (Mumbai), Rehabilitation and Relocation projects under BSUP Housing or Infrastructural Projects (Mumbai/ Pune).

Dr. Rajesh Tandon is president-founder of Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), a voluntary organisation providing support to grass roots initiatives in South Asia. Dr. Tandon is an internationally acclaimed leader and practitioner of participatory research and development. He has served on numerous government task forces and committees both nationally and internationally. He is also the UNESCO Co-Chair for community based research and social responsibility in higher education.

Ms. Sheela Patel the founding Director of the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centre (SPARC) in Mumbai. She has been awarded with the prestigious David Rockefeller Bridging Leadership award for her work with the urban poor communities.
Content Packaging:

Ms. Aparna

Conceptualization and Technical Expertise by:

Ms. Apoorva Sharma- Communication and visual branding

Dr. Martha Farrell- Adult education and online distance learning expert

Mr. Prashant Dambhale- Technological platforms for delivery

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Ms. Anupma Gajwani- Visualizing and setting up of MOODLE platform

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Mr. Ranjan Sinha- IT support

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Participatory Enumeration and Mapping of Urban Poor Settlements
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Introduction

The aim of this course is to provide an insight to the methodologies and practices prevalent in the enumeration and mapping process carried out by communities. This course will familiarize the participants with the various aspects of the enumeration and mapping process, in order to equip them with the knowledge and skills to carry out the same in their own capacity. In addition, the course will explore the various methods of data collection; community mobilization initiatives; identify the roles and responsibilities of each member involved in the process; and understand the challenges and issues associated with community led enumeration and mapping.

In addition, the purpose of this course is to provide the necessary skills to professionals involved in this process to explore it as catalyst, as well as a back stopper. This course would also guide support actors/facilitators and/or professionals in communities within slums, informal settlements, or poor settlements in urban areas to:

i) consider the potential and possibilities of undertaking such an activity

ii) walk through every element of designing the survey schedule - collecting data, analyzing it and reflecting on the outputs

iii) build internal consensus of what the data tells them about themselves; and finally

iv) use the information to interact with the external environment

As the community’s support actor, the most vital role of this professional is to facilitate, empower, encourage and sustain the community’s interest in walking through this process. In addition, the support actor’s role further involves developing back room facilities, and consolidating the outcomes that emerge from this process.
It is important to remember that a professional can do the process of data collection, developing of questionnaires and analysis. Indeed, this has been done for a majority of survey undertakings until date. The aim of this process is to create professionals that are able to explore a process in which the poor, vulnerable and marginalized communities are provided with the tools, to create knowledge, which they can own, use, and negotiate, to achieve their objectives.

**Enumeration and Mapping: by the Community**

Information gathered by the community produces accurate data and knowledge regarding the settlement they live in and the issues that affect them. Since the information and knowledge about the community is obtained by the community themselves, the nature of the information becomes very powerful and self-instructive – the data they gather gives them additional insights into improving their own lives. Their ownership of the data empowers and motivates them to set up various organizational committees to use the data for their own benefit - for example constituting a committee that tackles sanitation issues.

The process of community led enumeration and mapping started in the year 1975, in Mumbai by the leaders of informal settlements, which faced a constant threat of eviction by the civic bodies. The community realized that in order to explore long-term solutions to prevent the threat of eviction, it needed to allow its leaders to be organised and develop an understanding of the communities’ composition and needs. These community leaders eventually established the National Slum Dweller’s Federation (NSDF). Later on Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centre (SPARC) and Mahila Milan joined in to build upon the work of NSDF. Collectively, known as the Alliance, they also facilitated building women’s collective leadership to help women participate in these processes to secure habitat. (Details of Alliance are in the Box 1
OBJECTIVES

At the completion of this Module, the learner would be familiar with

- A theoretical basis for promoting participatory enumeration and mapping
- Constraints of conventional enumeration and mapping
- Advantages to community-led enumeration and mapping
- The basic steps in community-led enumeration and mapping

Box 1

The Alliance

The Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) is an NGO that provides support services to its grassroots partners. SPARC builds the capacity of its partners to develop proactive solutions to Urban Poverty and to engage with formal institutions.

The National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) is a national organization of community groups and leaders who live in slums and informal settlements across India. NSDF mobilises the urban poor to form groups and organizations to articulate their concerns and find solutions to the problems they face.

Mahila Milan is a network of women’s savings groups formed from slums and pavement dwellers, which manage credit and saving activities in their communities. Mahila Milan group forms the basic social network through which the Alliance operates.

Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) is a network of community-based organizations of the urban poor in 33 countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It was launched in 1996 when “federations” of the urban poor in countries such as India and South Africa agreed that a global platform could help their local initiatives develop alternatives to evictions while also impacting on the global agenda for urban development. In 1999, SDI became a formally registered entity. www.sparcindia.org, www.sdinet.org
Unit 1: Understanding the Process

1.1 Community Surveys and Data Collection: Current Scenario

The continuous migration from rural to urban areas along with rapid urbanization has created large informal settlements in urban areas, where one-third of the population resides. However, lack of data regarding these settlements (concerning scale, boundaries, populations, buildings, enterprises and needs of inhabitants) results in their exclusion from government policies and public investment. In addition, whenever various government and non-government agencies carry out data collection on the informal settlements, for their own requirements, the data captured during such processes are kept in possession of the enumeration agencies. For example, data collected by an academician/professional is in possession of the institutions carrying out the survey and is rarely accessible to the urban poor.

Government agencies collect data on informal settlements and urban poor for the purposes of planning. Even though such data is gathered from the inhabitants of these settlements and is used to create national or city level statistics, it is still not accessible to the urban poor. Given the dynamic nature of these settlements, the collated data keeps on changing and by the time the planning policies are finalised, the data has become obsolete, inaccurate and irrelevant. The data in its aggregated form does not allow the individual settlements to disaggregate and analyse their specific data. Further, the micro level data, regarding communities are of no interest to the agencies, although crucial in empowering them to become catalysts of change.
1.2 Community Driven Process: The Importance

The process of community driven documentation and mapping has proved to be a major factor in creating and strengthening the organizations of the urban poor. These organizations can create data for actual representation of their present challenges and begin to develop a collective representation of their situation – the “we” factor. A community driven process allows for greater participation and cohesiveness that needs to be nurtured and more importantly, sustained. Such exercises motivate the residents to develop a sense of purpose, which is as important as the process of data collection. Visual representations of their settlement and quantification of their lives produce powerful collective imageries, which helps facilitate proactive behaviour within the community. Since the community themselves are involved in the process, the whole exercise becomes transparent, thereby encouraging more participation from the stakeholders. Since the community has the same set and levels of information as the civic authorities, they themselves are more confident and eager to explore ways to negotiate for various entitlements and facilities.

1.3 Involvement of Women and Youth

There is usually a paradox in who comes forward to discuss issues facing the settlement and who is “listened” to. Young boys, girls and women have very crucial and detailed information about the settlement. However, they often concede to older men who dominate the conversation, in the belief that speaking to outsiders on behalf of their settlement, is their legitimate right. Therefore, while ignoring them is not a good idea, listening to them alone would mean ignoring the deeper and more nuanced understanding of the women and other marginalized groups have of their settlements.
Speaking to all sections of the community, including children and youth, provides a multi-dimensional perspective of the settlement. Drawing upon the experience of those who have been organizing communities for exploring change, it can be said that women have an inherent knowledge of certain crucial issues, which encourages them to explore and participate in such discussions, and to examine the value and outcomes of these dialogues. They are willing to learn and explore new possibilities for change, which will benefit their families and improve their lives. Further, delays do not deter them, as they are aware that it takes a long while before a real and sustainable change takes place. In the process, they often look for opportunities for self-transformation and changes for their communities, as well as their families. Boys and girls, as well as young men and women have a deep curiosity about the world outside their settlement and often engage with the external intervention to learn more about this unknown world. Therefore, sharing the vision of the survey would become a tool to help facilitate the participation of people in exploring ways to make this process a success.

Often illiterate or semi-literate women, when teamed up with young literate people, often make excellent combinations in performing surveys. When these women ask questions, the young people would record the answer and do simple tabulations. This process of exploring the data, done as a collective identity, is a huge education in itself, and is rarely contested by the men, who do not view it as an attempt to grab “power”. However, by doing the survey and understanding how to use the data outcomes, the women and youth, in a sense OWN the data and begin to explore possible usage of this information.

Besides, as the use of data is primarily intended for the family, the involvement of women and youth is not perceived as a threat by the more traditional leadership. However, as an increasing number of women and youth are represented in the process, they get more respect of their families and communities, which in turn changes the way they see themselves. It is exploring a new form of leadership that facilitates, educates and negotiates instead of the more traditional methods, which are more top-down approaches.
1.4 Community Driven Enumeration: Data Ownership

When the data is collected by professional, state, or non-state agencies, communities are not able to relate to them and in the process become passive “givers” while answering questions that are put to them. However, when stepping into the shoes of “active data collectors”, the community can identify, address, and visualize a solution to their problems in a more precise and cohesive manner. The process of designing surveys, understanding the logic behind data parameters, learning to quantify answers and seeing the overall picture of their settlement provides vital insights to the community, which can then relate to the actual situation. It further deepens the links between intuitive understanding, coupled with evidence and logic and facilitates articulation by the residents themselves, rather than outsiders. In such cases, the ownership and responsibility of the data remains with the community.

1.5 Community Led Enumeration and Mapping: The Process

Community led enumeration and mapping enhances the value and power of the urban poor. The enumeration process captures vital and detailed information regarding the number of households, the type of structures in which the various households reside and the availability of basic services within the settlements. This information is then formally documented and comprehensive settlement profiles are created for each settlement. The information and knowledge thus gained from the settlement, regarding its history and the resources forms the basis for establishing collective priorities. It is also a key negotiating factor used with the government, in the context of land, tenure and infrastructure provisions.

The next two Modules will discuss how the communities undertake slum profiling and household surveys.
**Slum mapping** is a process by which the communities map the boundary and the layout of their settlement. In some cases, wherever necessary or possible, Global Positioning system (GPS) devices are used to map the boundaries of settlements on a citywide scale.

**Questionnaire Formulation** is a vital and crucial aspect of how the relationship between the community and intervention will take place. Several factors help define what is the response that one is looking for and therefore the questions that need to be asked.

When the questions aim to develop the collective identity of the people, the communities themselves can frame these, considering what aspects they would like to share about themselves. Therefore, questionnaires often emerge from some of the household members telling their story, which is then translated into a set of questions that helps every household share their version of the story and in the process build up the common story of the community.

If the objective is to present the data to an outsider, be it the government or the local elected representative, then the questions needs to be formulated differently - in a way that achieves the intended purpose. This is because, if the data collected is to become the basis of a government database, then fulfilling their data requirements becomes essential.

However, regardless of the purpose behind the survey, it should be as short as possible, simply articulated, and be clear regarding the motive of the questions and the corresponding answers expected. In this context, factual information desired may be in the form of crisp questions, while opinions and subjective views could be gathered from small group discussions.
1.6 Impact of Collecting Data on the Community

The residents of the community when engaged in mapping their own settlement, gain deeper understanding of their community, thus allowing them to address the pertinent issues affecting them as a community or settlement. Such activities encourage dialogues and build an understanding within the community that strengthens its links to the wider city.

As more settlements or communities of slum dwellers collect similar information, the data is aggregated at ward level and then up to city level, which serves as a building block for data collection for the entire city. The advantage of citywide mapping is that all of the low-income communities within a city are brought together into the mapping process. When they gather together to organize surveys, they have the opportunity to form a network of people who face common issues and can therefore negotiate collectively with the local government because of their numerical strength.

Citywide mapping also highlights the different types of tenancy as well as the common problems facing communities. In addition, it identifies unused land that might be leased or even purchased by those communities who need to relocate. Community-driven documentation has also demonstrated the capacity to contribute to the mapping of risk and vulnerability in relation to extreme weather. The fact that many informal settlements are situated on sites having a high risk of flooding or landslides has been documented for more than 30 years. This has led to a large number of evictions in the past, but communities are now exploring ways to initiate a dialogue with the city officials to work out solutions that are suitable for both the city and the community.
Unit 2: Issues Faced in Conventional Enumeration

Community-led documentation is intended, to be useful to residents ‘associations, as well as for the local governments. Drawing from the past experiences of the Alliance, it was seen that community collected data had to be verified for its value, accuracy and impact, first to the residents and later to the city or state institutions, in order to gain acceptance regarding its validity. The acceptance of data often led to collaboration with other organizations, either state institutions or other civil society organizations.

The value of supporting community driven data collection has to be projected and articulated as serving many purposes. This method of data collection would help counter the various problems that are faced in the conventional process of data collection. For this to happen, firstly, data needs to be comprehensive and accurate.

Several problems might arise during the process of data collection by external parties:

- The data collected by external agencies is rarely verified by residents before they sign on the same
- There would be pressure on the interviewers to work quickly and to limit the time spent interviewing each person or household, thereby obtaining inadequate or inaccurate data
- The interviewers may not speak the language of those they interview, in which they might need translators in getting accurate responses. This might add to the cost, (so these services are not used) therefore, there is a high possibility of getting inaccurate data.
- There are also those who do not want to be interviewed by outsiders.
- In addition, in many instances, the respondents do not necessarily answer correctly or truthfully.
Since data is for policy making or legitimising the government’s budget needs, the data is not accessible to communities. In addition, the process is not flexible enough to link the data to any particular settlement. In most informal settlements, people feel threatened by outsiders asking questions. These include those who fear eviction, those engaged in illegal activities, illegal immigrant, etc. There is also uncertainty on whether the data will be used for or against the settlers themselves. In most informal settlements, there is an added complication of having tenants and landlords. In addition, if the survey is seen to be a part of the process to legalize tenancy, landlords will fear that the tenancy of the plots and the houses rented out by them might be compromised, while the tenants would fear eviction.

In many circumstances, uncertainties over plot tenancy further complicate data collection. There is confusion as to who is the owner of the house; is it the owner of the land or the person who constructed the particular structure. Furthermore, many claiming to be landowners not live in the house that they have constructed or on the land that they have bought.

If the survey is to legalize a settlement, then tenure residents may also want to get plots for family members who live elsewhere, or for adult children who live with them. Tenants who have lived in a structure for many years may have invested more in the structure than the actual owner, and feel that they have an equal claim to land tenure. Such contestations are often ignored when the data is being collected by external sources since the interviewers have time and cost constraints, and such issues may not be their area of focus.

Further, externally managed surveyors will have difficulties in identifying these complications and have few possibilities of resolving them within the time frame of the survey. In addition, externally managed surveyors have difficulty verifying the data collected. Community-driven surveyors have also encountered these difficulties but they have managed to overcome these issues by having a strong local organizational base that includes many residents.
Unit 3: Advantages of Community Led Enumeration

3.1 Creating, Deepening and Strengthening Networks of Slum Dwellers in City

The process of undertaking and completing an enumeration process helps build organizational networks, skills, and confidence, which are necessary if the residents are to undertake larger improvement projects in the future. As such, the enumeration process is also useful for strengthening community organizations in each informal settlement (especially in expanding the number of savers and women’s daily savings schemes) and also plays a role in community discussions regarding their needs and priorities.

3.2 Disaggregated Data about Informal Settlements and their Residents

The data collected from the community at a settlement level helps in amassing the information in detail. Traditionally, the data collected by city authorities are viewed and stored in an aggregated manner, in which the details of each individual at the settlement level are lost. Furthermore, the disaggregated data can be utilized for settlement level planning and to make provisions for basic services as required.

3.3 Facilitating Community Networks to Establish their Priorities

Data collected by communities at their settlement level assists in prioritizing the issues to be resolved for a better living. Once the issues are prioritized, community networks active in a particular sector can take forward the initiatives to resolve the issues as per their vision. Furthermore, the data collected at the community level helps to bring various community networks together to work towards resolving the most pertinent issues affecting the settlement.
3.4 Enabling Dialogue Between the Government and Communities

The information gathering process has helped communities to improve their relationship with the local governments. Communities involved in detailed documentations are useful for local governments, who wish to engage with their networks towards the implementation of their programmes and schemes.

Community networks are also able to use the information to change the prejudiced view of the government towards the settlements. The information showcases the settlements as contributors to the city’s economy and employed workforce rather than an unwanted entity.

Documentation of a settlement could help establish its legitimacy by proving wrong various misconceptions regarding the kind of civic amenities they possess. Some enumerations surprise the local governments themselves – showing the number of publicly provided goods and services within a settlement, (electricity, telephone land lines, publicly provided water taps or points and toilets) which enhances its legitimacy, in the eyes of the local government.
Unit 4: Assessing Urban Poverty Data

4.1 India’s Definitions of Urban Poverty Unclear

As per the norms of the Planning Commission, one is considered poor in India if they spend less than Rs 28 per day in urban areas and Rs 22.50 per day in rural areas. The new poverty line is lower than the earlier Rs 32 per-day mark. The fall in the poverty line, despite inflation, indicates that institutions in India fail to take into account the living conditions, environmental factors, and/or financial stability of the slum dwellers. The data collected through surveys and mapping by the slum dwellers seeks to challenge such faulty definitions, devised by governmental agencies.

4.2 Assessing Poverty

In order to assess urban poverty, on a national level, it is necessary to ascertain the overall level of poverty as well as to understand the differences in poverty trends within regions and within urban areas. Identifying such locational variations helps to target interventions in cities or regions facing greatest levels of deprivation.

For assessing urban poverty and especially for identifying policy interventions, it is desirable to have indicators collected at the lowest practical level of aggregation. The indicators derived from household survey data (data on expenditures and access to services) are often produced as averages for all urban areas of a country. However, this degree of aggregation often masks important differences among different types of urban areas (e.g., small or newly growing cities compared with large and well-established cities).

Furthermore, data collection for urban poverty in India suffers from inadequate coverage of settlements.
Data collection on urban poverty in India is based on various parameters. These data parameters are interrelated and are dynamic in nature. Planning agencies base their policies and programmes based on these data parameters. Hence, it becomes most important to examine the usage of the data collected, as policies are framed in strict adherence to such data.

The dynamic nature of the population of urban poor also implies that by the time these policies are implemented through various programmes, the benchmarks become obsolete.

4.3 When Communities Collect Data

Theoretically, professionals could undertake information gathering to produce immediate action. However, the challenges of informality and poverty encountered by the urban poor residing in the slums require a degree of greater understanding. This is where the power of participatory enumerations by communities becomes important. Communities can demonstrate their immediate, medium, and long term use of the data they have collected about themselves regarding simple things such as birth certificates, documentation needed to produce identity, as well as for seeking amenities and services from the city and many other purposes. The community itself becomes the custodian of the data, and thus is able to hold dialogues with whoever is currently employed at a given post. This gives the community the power to sustain the momentum for their demands.
SUMMARY

This Module has provided a brief introduction to the processes and methods of participatory enumeration and mapping. The move towards such an approach to mapping and enumeration comes from the need to democratize procedures of data collection and to include people in the processes of change that impact their lives. It is a move that encourages citizens to an ownership of envisioning their communities, articulating their needs and securing their basic rights as citizens.

Conventional data, gathered from the community, essentially belongs to the people themselves, yet it is rarely accessible to them. It is aggregated and therefore cannot capture intricate details of the various problems that a specific community is facing, nor can it envisage the solutions to these problems.

The Module lays forth the broad format of how the process of community led enumeration and mapping must be carried out. It provides the learner with information regarding the initiation of such processes within communities and the critical elements to sustain and ensure positive outcomes of such processes. It also emphasizes on the participation of those people who by their marginalised status have been stripped off any political agency and underlines as their right to be included in practices, as well as and influence decisions in order to improve their lives, as well as that of their community.
Various Types Of Data Collection
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