



Bombay Hotel: Urban Planning, Governance and Everyday Conflict and Violence in a Muslim Locality on the Peripheries of Ahmedabad

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Centre for Urban Equity (CUE)



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Executive Summary

Ahmedabad is a tale of two cities with social and economic divides so stark that while one half has witnessed accelerated growth and claimed the benefits of the neoliberal policies of economic growth since the mid-1990s, the other half has lived in the omnipresence of underdevelopment, poverty and violence. This report highlights the perilous state of an informal settlement, popularly known as Bombay Hotel, located on the southern periphery of the city. Residential development began in the area in the late 1990s, and picked up after the 2002 communal violence, which led to a consolidation of religious segregation and polarisation in an already deeply divided Ahmedabad due to migration of Muslims out of predominantly Hindu areas and Hindus out of predominantly Muslim areas as a result of fear as well as an increase in housing discrimination against Muslims by the Hindu majority. In this context, Bombay Hotel emerged as one of the new Muslim ghettos in the city after 2002, witnessing a steady stream of mainly poor and low-income Muslims due to low land prices on account of its peripheral location, proximity to the city's garbage dump, and informal development.

Like a number of areas on the city's periphery, Bombay Hotel has developed haphazardly and lacks public provision of basic infrastructures and services like roads, water, drainage and electricity and social amenities such as education and health care. The two main reasons for this are the informal development of the locality by builders and the long delay in implementing the area's two Town Planning (TP) schemes prepared by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation under the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act 1976. The residents of the locality have therefore been subject to the neglect of the state with regard to the provision of essential services and amenities. This has led to the emergence of powerful non-state informal actors who have stepped in to fill the gaps created by the state's absence. While meeting the basic needs to some extent, reliance on these arrangements has also exposed residents to a range of vulnerabilities which include economic exploitation, coercion, threats and violence from these non-state actors. Residents have also turned to local politicians who, however, provided basic services only in bits and pieces. In this context of inadequate services and infrastructures, conflicts have also arisen amongst residents many a time. The hostile urban environments that are created by a combination of lack of adequate infrastructures (proper roads, adequate and working street lights, drainage), land use and street use issues, and anti-social activities carried out by some of the non-state actors have also created unsafe mobilities in the locality's public spaces for residents, particularly women and children. The lack of policing which is responsive to the concerns of the residents has also contributed to creating unsafe mobilities.

The latter half of 2013 finally saw the beginning of implementation of TP schemes 38(1) and 38(2) under which work began on provision of roads and drainage in the locality. While there is a need to implement the TP schemes to bring in services and amenities into the locality, implementation as per the currently prepared plans would lead to eviction for thousands of residents. Local leaders, other residents and civil society organizations objected to the schemes in their present form and, after some struggle, the municipal government and

political leaders began to be responsive to these objections. The resulting negotiations have minimized the loss of property and prevented evictions so far while gradually bringing in roads, street lights and drainage. A police chowky has been constructed recently and work has also begun on providing municipal water. A proposal for a larger municipal school has also been approved. These incremental improvements effected through gradually mounting pressure by local leaders on political leaders over the past 4-5 years, and the latter's increasing responsiveness to these pressures, have the potential for addressing many of the conflicts and violence in the locality. However, much will depend on the breadth of these and other improvements across the locality. Various challenges around obtaining land for public education and health facilities remain and this may require innovative approaches by the municipal government and political leaders. There would also be challenges around the longer-term governance required to ensure that the infrastructures remain functional and provide residents access to adequate and potable water, drainage and solid waste management, electricity, and public education and health facilities. As the implementation of the TP schemes continue to unfold over the coming few years, threats to many residents' tenure security could also arise.

The municipal government, political leaders and the police would also need to take initiatives to address the illicit activities operating in the locality which create conditions of insecurity and fear, especially among younger women. These activities also attract local youth due to a complex set of reasons, some of which are lack of education and decent work and livelihood opportunities. Dialogues between municipal government, political leaders, local leaders and other residents, and civil society organisations working in the locality would have to be an integral part of initiatives to address the diverse concerns mentioned above and related conflicts and violence.

This report presents a detailed overview of the conditions in Bombay Hotel and the lived experiences and practices in this context, the dynamics that create these conditions, and the everyday conflicts and violence in the locality due to these conditions. It also discusses in detail the improvements that the locality has been witnessing, particularly with the beginning of the implementation of the TP schemes, and the negotiations shaping this. The report also identifies some directions for undertaking more inclusive planning and governance in the locality, building upon the process of improvement that has begun, and reducing conflicts and violence in the lives of Bombay Hotel's residents. It is our hope that the report will be useful to civil society organizations, local leaders and residents of Bombay Hotel and other localities facing similar concerns. We also hope that those engaged in the profession of urban planning and design and urban management are sensitized to the fact that their actions or non-actions could create situations of everyday conflicts and threats of violence, and sometimes even physical violence, in the lives of the urban poor and low-income residents of the city.

Acknowledgments

This report is part of the research project “Dynamics of Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Indian Cities: Towards Inclusive Policies and Planning,” funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada, under its global programme Safe and Inclusive Cities (SAIC) and the Department for International Development (DFID), UK. We thank them for this funding. We also thank the Centre for Development (CfD) for collaborating with CUE and making research possible in Bombay Hotel. Thanks also to staff of Sanchetana Community Health and Research Centre, who work in Bombay Hotel and shared their understanding of the locality with us. We are grateful to a number of builders who helped us understand the Muslim housing market in Ahmedabad. We are also grateful to a number of officials of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation and to councilor Badruddin Sheikh who gave us their valuable time to discuss relevant issues of planning and governance.

Last but not least, we are grateful to the many residents and local leaders who participated in our research through interviews, focus group discussions and informal conversations. **We have changed their names in this report to protect their identity.**

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1. Introduction

Cities across India have seen the growth of informal settlements over the past several decades. One significant reason for this has been the lack of affordable formal housing for poor and low-income urban dwellers. Neither the state nor the formal market has provided much housing that is within the means of these socio-economic groups to purchase or even rent. Urban planning by the state, from the colonial period to the present, has thus largely failed to provide for these groups. It is also worthwhile to note that in some cities, the state did, in fact, allocate land for housing these socio-economic groups through different planning mechanisms such as the Master Plan or Town Planning Schemes. However, influenced by the interests and outlook of economic and political elites, the state usually subverted the social welfare components of its own urban plans and diverted these lands for other uses or left them vacant (see Baviskar 2003 on Delhi; Joshi & Sanga, 2009 on Ahmedabad). These paradigms and processes of urban planning and governance have been responsible then for the emergence of diverse kinds of informal housing, including squatter settlements on public and private lands and informal settlements of subdivided agricultural land on the city's periphery. The state has taken shifting and sometimes multiple approaches towards these informal settlements, ranging from ignoring them, demolishing them, upgrading them and/or redeveloping them. Over the past decade or two, as governments and elites have sought to pursue transform Indian cities according to their image of a world-class or global city, the political space for more equitable land allocations as well as for upgrading informal settlements through urban policies, planning and governance has often contracted. Within this more generalized process in urban India, every city has had its own set of dynamics of urban planning, governance and informal development.

Ahmedabad, a city of 6.3 million population in its urban agglomeration area (Census 2011), has seen a burgeoning of informal development over the past few decades due to a number of factors. While those who participate in these informal developments and reside in them are from a wide socio-economic spectrum, it is the urban poor and low-income groups who bear the burden of the quandaries of informal development such as uncertain tenure security and inadequate basic services and amenities. The city has a large number of slums on public and private lands, largely created through squatting. We also find informal settlements that have emerged as a result of evictions carried out by the state for development projects and the denial of resettlement in public housing to all displacees, who have then been dumped on vacant lands on the periphery without secure tenure or adequate services and amenities. Since the 1990s, there have also been informal subdivisions of agricultural lands on the urban periphery. Furthermore, there has been a socio-spatial dimension to these subdivisions due to communal violence in the city, and many of the informal settlements on the city's southern periphery have developed as exclusively Muslim localities.

This report is based on research in one such informal Muslim locality, popularly known as Bombay Hotel, which is located in the southern periphery, east of the Sabarmati river. Due to a combination of reasons – such as presence of informal modes of land, housing and service

provision in which basic needs are often inadequately met and power and authority are often exercised through coercion and threat; poor employment opportunities; growth of illicit businesses and activities, etc – residents of Bombay Hotel experience different types of everyday conflicts and violence in their lives. Drawing on observations from mapping, field visits, interviews and focus group discussions, the report presents a detailed overview of the conditions in the locality and residents’ lived experiences and practices in this context, the evolving dynamics that create these conditions, and the everyday conflicts and violence faced by residents due to them. It also outlines some directions for undertaking more inclusive planning and governance in the locality, building upon the process of improvement that has begun, and reducing conflicts and violence in the lives of Bombay Hotel’s residents.

The research in Bombay Hotel is part of a larger research project titled “The Dynamics of Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Indian Cities: Towards Inclusive Policies and Planning” at the Centre for Urban Equity (CUE). The project explores the implications of exclusionary versus inclusionary approaches in urban policy, planning and governance for urban tensions, conflicts and violence in India. It is funded by the International Development Research Centre (Canada) and the Department for International Development (UK) under their global programme on “Safe and Inclusive Cities.” The project aims to address two main research questions:

1. Is urban planning and governance a driver of urban violence in India?
2. What are the pathways through which urban planning and governance manifest into different types of violence on the poor and by the poor?

The research in Bombay Hotel examines the locality in the context of these research questions.

The structure of the report is as follows. The next section of the report discusses the dynamics of informal development on Ahmedabad’s peripheries and locates the emergence of Muslim localities on the southern periphery in the context of these development dynamics as well as the communal violence and polarisation in the city. In the next section, we present a brief profile of Bombay Hotel, our research site, followed by the research methodology. Following this, the report traces the informal development of Bombay Hotel from a sparse settlement adjacent to the garbage dump to a dense Muslim locality. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the Town Planning (TP) Schemes for the area: their current status, the provision of infrastructure that has begun under the TP Schemes, and the contestations that have shaped this process so far. In the next five sections, we discuss the conditions in the locality in relation to different services and amenities: water, drainage and solid waste management, electricity, health care, education. In the next section, we turn to a brief discussion of employment and livelihood in the locality. The penultimate section discusses the ecology of fear, violence and insecurity in Bombay Hotel. We end the report with a concluding chapter in which we outline the directions for addressing conflicts and violence in Bombay Hotel.

2. Informal Development and Muslim Localities on the Urban Periphery

Ahmedabad has seen a burgeoning of informal development over the past few decades due to a number of factors. The closure of the textile mills in Ahmedabad from the mid-1980s played a large role in reconfiguring the spatial and housing matrix of the city. While the workforce of the textile mills lived around the mills in *chalis* developed by mill owners and other private landowners as well as public housing developed by the State government, after the closure of the mills, the expanding informalisation of labour and the failure of the state to provide affordable housing meant that the city's workforce had to arrange for their own housing in informal settlements. Ahmedabad thus saw a doubling of the slum population between 1991 (0.46 million) to 2001 (0.91 million) (AMC and PAS 2010).

The 1980s also saw the beginning of fragmented, informal development on the peripheries of Ahmedabad. One reason is the subversions that took place in response to the Urban Land Ceiling Act of 1976. Under this Act, private landowners could hold land up to a permitted ceiling only and any land above this ceiling was to be acquired by the state without compensation to them. Many landowners responded by subdividing their excess land and informally selling it off to make money before the state acquired it. As these informal subdivisions could not be legally sold, they mainly catered to the urban poor and low-income groups who were willing to buy land through informal transactions as this was more affordable to them.

Another reason for informal development on the peripheries of Ahmedabad is that many of the lands on the peripheries are classified as agricultural land and government procedures to convert them to the non-agricultural category are not economically feasible for many farmers even if they opt to sell their lands due to the diminishing role of agriculture. In many cases, non-agricultural conversions also take very long or are simply not possible due to the zoning of the land in the city's Development Plan. High demand for affordable housing coupled with poor supply of the same by the state, has led to opportunist developers buying and developing these parcels of agricultural land informally and selling plots or tenements, particularly to the low-income and lower-middle class. Farmers could not sell their lands to individual property-buyers as the latter would not be able to afford large tracts of land and preferred to buy a plot or tenement from a developer who would subdivide the land, build tenements and lay basic infrastructure such as soak pits or bore-wells (Wadhwa 1983). The transactions between the farmers and developers are informal and not registered due to number of reasons, including to keep costs low and carry out rapid development without delays. The transactions between the developers and the individual buyers are also informal.

Wadhwa (1983) identifies three players in the informal development of land on Ahmedabad's peripheries – the farmers, developers and buyers. However, it is clear that the state has also played a major role in the fragmented, informal development of the peripheries by its absence. The failure of the state to plan in these areas through the Town Planning Schemes (TPS) and implement these without delays, as well as the labyrinth of complex procedures of

town planning and regulatory mechanisms has contributed to the emergence of large-scale informal pockets at the city's edge. The TPS are part of a two-stage process, governed under the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1976 (GTPUDA), meant for planning and urban development in a controlled manner. The first stage involves preparation of a decadal Development Plan (DP) and the second stage involves preparation of the TPS. The Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority (AUDA), the city's planning authority, prepares the DP for the AUDA region. This includes identifying the expected growth areas of the city and proposing broad land use zones and major trunk infrastructure. The expansion area is then divided into a number of smaller areas, usually 1-2 sq.km. each, for which TPS are prepared.

TPS are prepared and implemented by AUDA and AMC in their respective jurisdictions. The TPS is a planning mechanism under which land is pooled, up to 40 per cent of the private land is retained by the planning authority, and then private land plots are reconstituted so as to put in road and trunk network infrastructure, allocate land for various uses (including reserving land for public purposes such as hospitals, open parks, community centres as well as for housing for the socially and economically weaker section), as well as raise funds for the infrastructure. The TPS is a lengthy process, requiring approval from the State government at each stage (draft, preliminary and final), thus centralising decision-making. Its implementation has also been slow at the ground level. It has often taken up to a decade for a TPS to move from one stage to the next (Sanyal and Deuskar 2012). As a result of this, haphazard development often begins on the periphery and spreads before the TPS is prepared / approved / implemented. This development is done by developers and where they seek to cater to the poor and low-income groups, they do not follow development and building regulations and transactions are also often informal. Poor and low-income groups, on their part, buy into these developments due to the lack of affordable housing provision by the state and formal market. In the absence of a TPS, the area is generally not entitled to receive basic infrastructure and services from the state, and provision takes place through various non-state actors and sometimes through ad-hoc patronage by the area's elected representatives. This leads to poor living conditions and also threat of demolition when implementation of the TPS finally begins.

Furthermore, there is a socio-spatial dimension to the informal development on the city's southern periphery. Increasing communal tensions in Ahmedabad, particularly from the mid-1980s, occurred parallel to the closure of the textile mills. Scholars, in fact, argue that the informalization of labour, weakening of working-class solidarities and increasing socio-economic vulnerabilities due to the closure of the mills created the conditions for communal violence in the city (Breman 2004). The violence, moreover, split apart Muslims and Dalits who used to live in close proximity in the chalis. Many chalis and also many parts of the walled city saw Muslims or Dalits or outcaste Hindus leaving their neighbourhoods due to the communal violence and resultant feelings of fear and lack of safety. After the 2002 violence, these kinds of demographic shifts within the city were seen in other parts of the city as well. Furthermore, Muslims who left in this manner increasingly faced a profound lack of housing options in the existing city due to a combination of discrimination in the housing market, fear

of living in areas where Muslims were not in the majority, and the congestion in the older and emerging Muslim pockets in the existing city (see Table 1).¹ Decades of intermittent but brutal communal violence had created a city segregated and polarized along religious lines. New Muslim households in the city that were the result of either natural population growth or intra-state / inter-state migration also faced lack of housing options in the existing city. Developers saw an opportunity in this and over the past two decades, they have fulfilled the housing needs of the city's Muslims by developing new areas on the southern periphery, mostly through informal processes.

It should be noted that the first informal settlements for Muslims on Ahmedabad's southern periphery came up as far back as after the 1969 Hindu-Muslim riots. After these riots, the Jamaat-e-Islami, a Muslim charity, rehabilitated some of the riot-affected Muslims on land belonging to the Karaliya Group, a construction firm owned by Abdul Latif, a noted gangster and bootlegger. This land was located on the city's southern periphery on the eastern side of the river, behind Chandola Lake. The locality came to be known as Millat Nagar (interview with a Muslim architect and builder). Much has been written about the development of Juhapura – also on the city's southern periphery, but on the western side of the river – as a Muslim locality after the communal violence of the mid-1980s, the communal violence following the Babri Masjid demolition in 1992, and the brutal post-Godhra violence in 2002 (see Breman 1999, Desai 2010, Jaffrelot and Thomas 2012). Beyond this, however, we still know little about the development of new Muslim localities, mostly informal, on the southern periphery.

Table 1: Muslim Pockets in Ahmedabad

Muslim areas in the old city	Jamalpur, Kalupur, Dariyapur, Lal Darwaja
Muslim areas that have developed after riots	Dani Limda, Shah-e-Alam, Juhapura, Sarkhej, parts of Rakhiyal, Isanpur, Shahwadi, Makarba, Narol, Piplaj
Affluent Muslim Residential Areas	Part of Paldi, Part of Mithakali, Khanpur
Poorest Muslim Areas of Ahmedabad	Part of Vatwa, Ramol, Fatehwadi
Hindu-Muslim mixed pockets	Gomtipur, Bapunagar, Shahpur

Source: Discussions with Muslim builders, 2015

What is known, however, is that these localities are also an outcome of the fact that the state has never taken an active role after communal riots to rehabilitate riot victims, majority of whom have been Muslims. For instance, after the 2002 carnage, the Central government conducted a survey based on which those who had lost their houses were compensated for their property in cash and cash doles were given to those who had lost family members. But the state offered little protection to them to facilitate their return to their neighbourhoods and it made no efforts to re-create trust between the two communities in and around these

¹ Many Muslims initially moved into localities like Jamalpur, Kalupur and Dariyapur in the old city, leading to crowding in already dense localities.

neighbourhoods to ensure that those who return do so with confidence and for the long-term. The state has also failed to provide justice to the riot victims, perpetuating and deepening the sense of insecurity and exclusion amongst Muslims (HRW 2012). Those who suffered irreparable damage to their houses were left to fend for themselves. Muslim charities stepped in to provide alternate housing to them (Jaffrelot and Thomas 2012, Janvikas 2012). This has invariably been provided in non-Hindu areas of the city, often on the periphery where property prices are low and development is informal.

There are, of course, ample informalities in the construction sector in the entire city. The Gujarat government has passed a legislation (GRUDA) under which illegal constructions can be regularized by builders or residents by paying an “impact fee.” In the informal settlements on the periphery, including the Muslim localities, the impact fee provision offers a hope for many to regularize their houses. However, there are limitations to this. For instance, the Development Plan 2021 for Ahmedabad zoned a large area adjacent to Juhapura as prime agricultural land. But due to the limited lands available for the growing Muslim population of the city, the growth of Juhapura had already spilled over to these lands and regularisation through impact fee cannot be done for constructions in this prime agriculture zone. Regularisation through impact fee is also not possible for constructions that are on roads and reserved plots proposed under a Town Planning Scheme.

Finally, not only has the state (Gujarat government, AUDA and AMC) built very little public housing for the poor and low-income groups of the city, but only a small proportion of this has been built in Muslim areas of the city. All the public housing schemes built for the poor and low-income groups that are allotted by lottery system have been built in Hindu areas of the city. Some of the public housing built under the BSUP programme has been built in Muslims areas, but this has been used for resettlement of slum dwellers evicted for development projects.² The recently planned housing schemes by the Gujarat government are also all in Hindu areas of the city. This means that poor and low-income Muslims do not even have the option of trying to get a spot in public housing, unless they have been evicted and given resettlement in BSUP housing.

Inequitable urban planning and policies have led to the emergence of different kinds of informal settlements to provide land and housing for the poor and low-income groups. They have further led to a denial / delay in provision of basic infrastructure and services by the state to informal areas and their residents, as well as insecure tenure for many. Urban planning and policies have thus created exclusions in the city. Furthermore, what we have in Ahmedabad today are informal localities in its southern periphery that are borne out of a combination of exclusionary planning & policies and communal polarisation & segregation. These informal spaces have become “containers” for large sections of the marginalized religious minority and carry a stigma characteristic of ghettos. This has contributed to creating an unshakeable sense of Hindu-Muslim difference and antagonism in Ahmedabad,

² The BSUP housing colonies built in / near Muslim areas are in Ajit Mill, in Rustom Mill, near Santoshnagar in Behrampura, and in Vatwa

re-producing perceptions about the “other.” Amongst large sections of the Hindu majority, the Muslim “other” is someone to be feared, and this fear of a social group has also translated into an “othering” and fear of spaces inhabited by Muslims. The poor housing conditions and profoundly inadequate infrastructure, services and amenities in these spaces further contribute to the stigma and “othering.”

3. Research Site and Research Methodology

Bombay Hotel is located in the southern periphery of the city, east of the Sabarmati river. It falls in the AMC's South Zone, with the majority under the Behrampura municipal ward and a small part under the Lambha municipal ward (see Figure 1). Its name comes from an erstwhile famous eating joint in the area. It is located in an industrial area and its edges largely comprise of textile and chemical factories. Many small-scale industries and workshops have also been set up amidst the residential area of Bombay Hotel. Roughly bound by the Sarkhej-Narol Highway to the south, the city's garbage dumping ground at Pirana to the west, and the Narol Road to the east, Bombay Hotel's residential area is neatly tucked into one of the city's blind spots. Reaching it entails a long trail on a 1.5 kilometre unpaved road going in from the Narol Road. The residential area covers approximately 1 square kilometre and is home to roughly 25,000 Muslim households.

Figure 1: Location of Bombay Hotel (municipal ward boundaries as per August 2015)



Like other informal settlements on the urban periphery, the locality was developed by builders who bought agricultural land, subdivided it, and sold plots / tenements through informal transactions. Many of them also provided some basic infrastructure such as borewells and septic tanks. They often employed someone to operate the bore-well and supply water to residents. Over time, other non-state actors – either individual or institutional such as

mosques – also dug bore-wells and began to supply water to residents in different parts of the locality. Local leaders, some of who established local organisations, began to also pressure their elected representatives to provide better services, leading to some water tankers being sent to the area and some drainage lines being laid. Some of them also began to help residents obtain various documents such as property tax bills and make applications for basic services and regularising their constructions through impact fee payment. When the TP Scheme implementation began in the latter half of 2013, many of them mobilized residents to oppose aspects of the TP Schemes that would impact them negatively. We will discuss the above processes of informal development in detail in other sections of the report. We now turn to a description of our research methodology.

Table 2: Bombay Hotel at a Glance (as per August 2015)

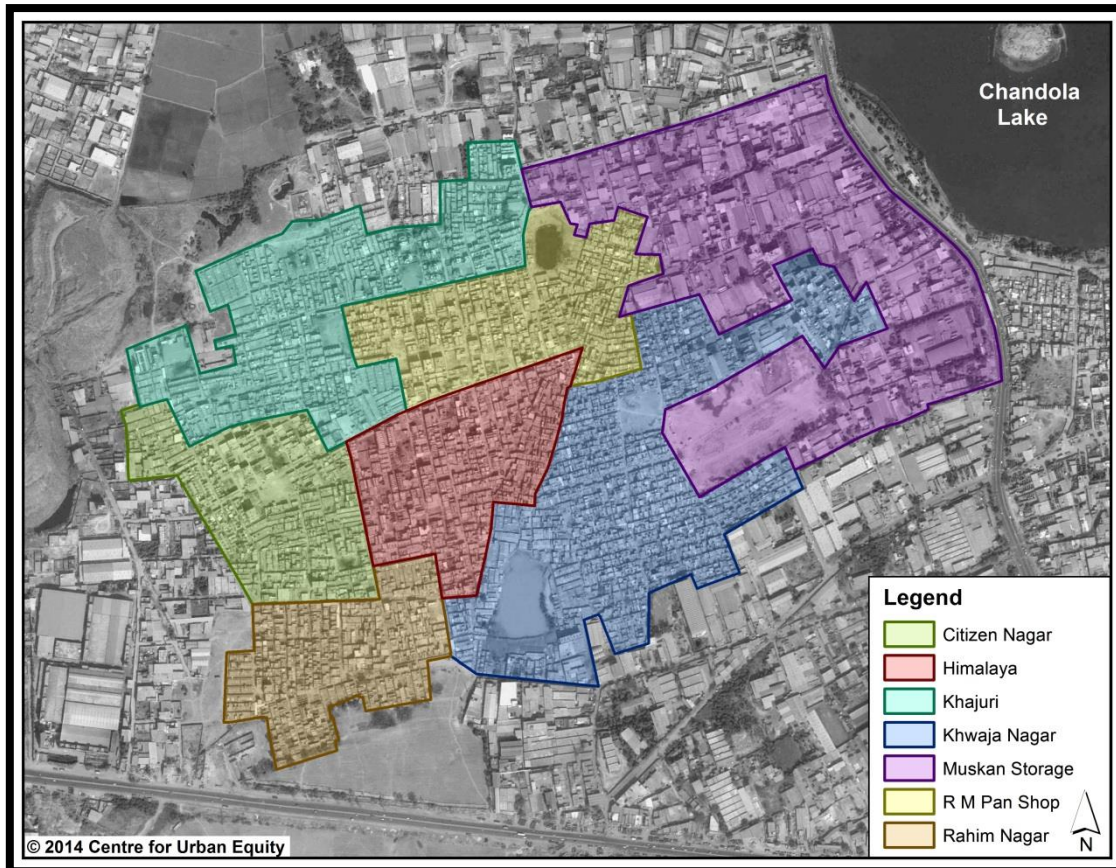
Municipal Zone	South Zone
Municipal Wards	Behrampura Lambha
Residential Area	Approx. 1 sq.km.
Population	Approx. 25,000 households
TP schemes for the area	TP No. 38(1) TP No. 38(2)
Prominent Political Party	Congress Party
Municipal Councilors (Behrampura ward)	1. Badruddin Sheikh (Congress) (also the leader of the opposition party in Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation) 2. Yusuf Ajmeri (Congress) 3. Kamlaben Chavda (Congress)
Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) (Dani Limda constituency)	Shailesh Parmar (Congress)

Qualitative research methods were developed in order to understand the dynamics that have created the prevalent conditions in Bombay Hotel, people’s experiences and practices in this context, and the conflicts and violence that emerge from this. The research was carried out in collaboration with the Centre for Development (CfD), an Ahmedabad-based non-government organisation that has an established presence in the locality. During the research in 2014, CfD was running several centres for school drop-outs in various parts of Bombay Hotel. Currently it is running one centre. CfD has also been involved in advocacy around various issues faced by its residents.

The research was carried out through three distinct phases following a few exploratory visits. The first phase involved mapping the locality to understand its socio-spatial structure, the chronology and dynamics of informal development of its different housing societies and the locality at large, and the level of basic services and similarities / differences in this across different societies. This was done through transect walks, along with interviews with local leaders, water suppliers and some residents. In all, informal and semi-structured interviews were carried out with 17 individuals; and follow-up interviews were carried out with some of

them. Since the locality is very large, we divided it into six pockets and only three pockets (Khajuri, Khwaja Nagar and Rahim Nagar) were covered extensively (See Figure 2 & Annexures). The mapping helped us begin to build a qualitative understanding of issues around poverty, inequality, governance and urban planning, and conflict and violence in Bombay Hotel. Aspects about informal development were also explored through a study of the land records (7/12 and 6A documents) of approximately 20 housing societies, which gave insights into landownership patterns and land tenure aspects in the locality.³

Figure 2: Subdivision of Bombay Hotel into Six Pockets for Mapping



The second phase involved focus group discussions (FGDs) with residents from the three above-mentioned pockets of Bombay Hotel. The sampling for the FGDs was done after a tabulation of some of the broad data gathered through the mapping, which helped us identify the nature of diversity of informal development and infrastructural conditions in the locality (See Table 3). The criteria for the sample were then selected to cover this diversity. The criteria were: nature of informal development (developer built housing, informal sub-plotted developments, mixed development); source of water supply and water suppliers; nature of drainage connections; possession of documents such as property tax bills; and implementation of the TP scheme in different pockets and mobilization around this. A total of 15 FGDs were conducted, and a total of 32 men and 39 women participated in them.

³ This involved superimposing the TP maps onto our mapping of housing societies on Google Earth; then identifying the City Survey number from the TP maps for some societies; and then using these City Survey numbers to download the 7/12 documents from the Revenue Department’s Land Records website.

Table 3: Sampling Criteria for Focus Group Discussions

Khajuri	Khwaja Nagar	Rahim Nagar
One of the oldest pockets.	One of the oldest pockets.	Developed relatively later on.
Developer-built housing.	Mainly Sub-plotted development.	Developer-built housing and Sub-plotted development.
Water supply: Mainly through developer-provided common bore wells in each society. There are different arrangements of supply and maintenance (maintained by employee, by society group, shared between societies etc.)	Water supply: Mainly through private bore well owners who are also residents in the area. Masjids also supply water.	Water supply: Through private bore well owners who are also residents in the area. Also through builder provided bore wells. Masjids also supply water.
Drainage connections: In most of the societies, drainage connections are provided by developer. Also there are drainage lines constructed from councillor's budget, and in some societies residents have contributed towards laying drainage lines.	Drainage connections: Residents contributed for drainage lines.	Drainage connections: Residents contributed for drainage lines. There are also developer-provided drainage connections.
Societies receive property tax since few years. Few residents have applied individually for regularizing their units through impact fees.	Residents have not applied for regularizing the units through impact fees.	Some societies have collectively applied through Savera Charitable Trust for regularizing their units through impact fees.
Not much mobilization of residents in relation to the implementation of TP scheme.	Many residents have received demolition notices under the TP scheme. There is mobilization of residents against the implementation of TP scheme by local leaders.	Mobilization of residents against the implementation of TP scheme by Savera Charitable Trust.
Sample: Residents from different societies, covering varying water supply arrangements; TP scheme affected societies (if any); and oldest societies.	Sample: Residents from different parts of the pocket such as Khwaja Nagar and Hariyali, Faizal Nagar and the chawls near Shodhan Lake. Cover migrants and cover TP-scheme affected societies.	Sample: Residents from societies as well as sub-plotted developments. Cover varying water supply arrangements; TP Scheme affected societies (if any); residents with links to local organizations such as the Savera Charitable Trust.

The FGDs were conducted using a set of tools developed for the same. The first tool comprised of an introduction of the participants wherein data about their age, occupation, duration of stay in Bombay Hotel and nature of ownership of their house was collected. The second tool was used to capture the residential mobility of the participants in order to understand the various locations they had lived in before moving to Bombay Hotel, when they moved to Bombay Hotel, and their reasons for moving to Bombay Hotel. In the same tool, data was also collected about the purchase price of the house / plot the participant had bought in Bombay Hotel (including the down-payment and instalment amounts through which they had paid), or in case of tenants, their monthly rent and deposit amount. The third tool was used to capture data on the tenure documents (sale agreement on stamp paper, power of attorney, rent receipts, etc.) available with participants as well as other identity documents such as property tax bills and electricity bills. These documents provide an insight into the rights and claims of Bombay Hotel's residents.

The fourth tool comprised of a listing of the problems that they faced. Participants then selected two priority problems and then in the fifth tool, each of these problems was discussed in detail. The priority problems that emerged were lack of adequate water supply, lack of proper drainage, lack of public health centres, lack of public schools, fear of demolition under the Town Planning scheme, opening of industrial workshops in the residential societies, hazardous fumes from nearby industries, lack of employment opportunities nearby, and unsafe environment due to presence of illicit activities like gambling and alcohol and drug joints. Drawing on the discussion, a causal flow diagram was prepared along with the participants to understand the drivers, impacts and responses to the problem, as well as to trace whether and how this translated into conflicts and violence. There was an attempt to explore responses ranging from coping strategies, individual and collective, to collective mobilization directed at different actors including the state. The fifth tool in particular allowed us to capture the lived experiences of residents and gather meanings and practices that are constitutive of the everyday reality of these marginalized residents.

The third phase involved interviews with AMC officials on planning and governance mechanisms in the city, particularly in the Bombay Hotel locality. It also involved interviews with real-estate developers, builders and other experts on the land and housing markets for Muslims in Ahmedabad. Furthermore, the third phase of research extended through the writing and analysis, and also included follow-up field visits and interviews at Bombay Hotel to fill in gaps and obtain clarifications. The follow-up field visits also included a group discussion with male youth of the locality.

Data collected from the interviews and FGDs in Bombay Hotel was triangulated with an analysis of the planning and governance mechanisms of the city obtained through interviews with AMC officials and other experts as well as secondary sources such as policy documents, Town Planning schemes, land records (7/12 and 6A documents), legislations such as Gujarat Regularization of Unauthorized Development Act 2011, and court judgments relevant to the locality.

4. Informal Development of Bombay Hotel

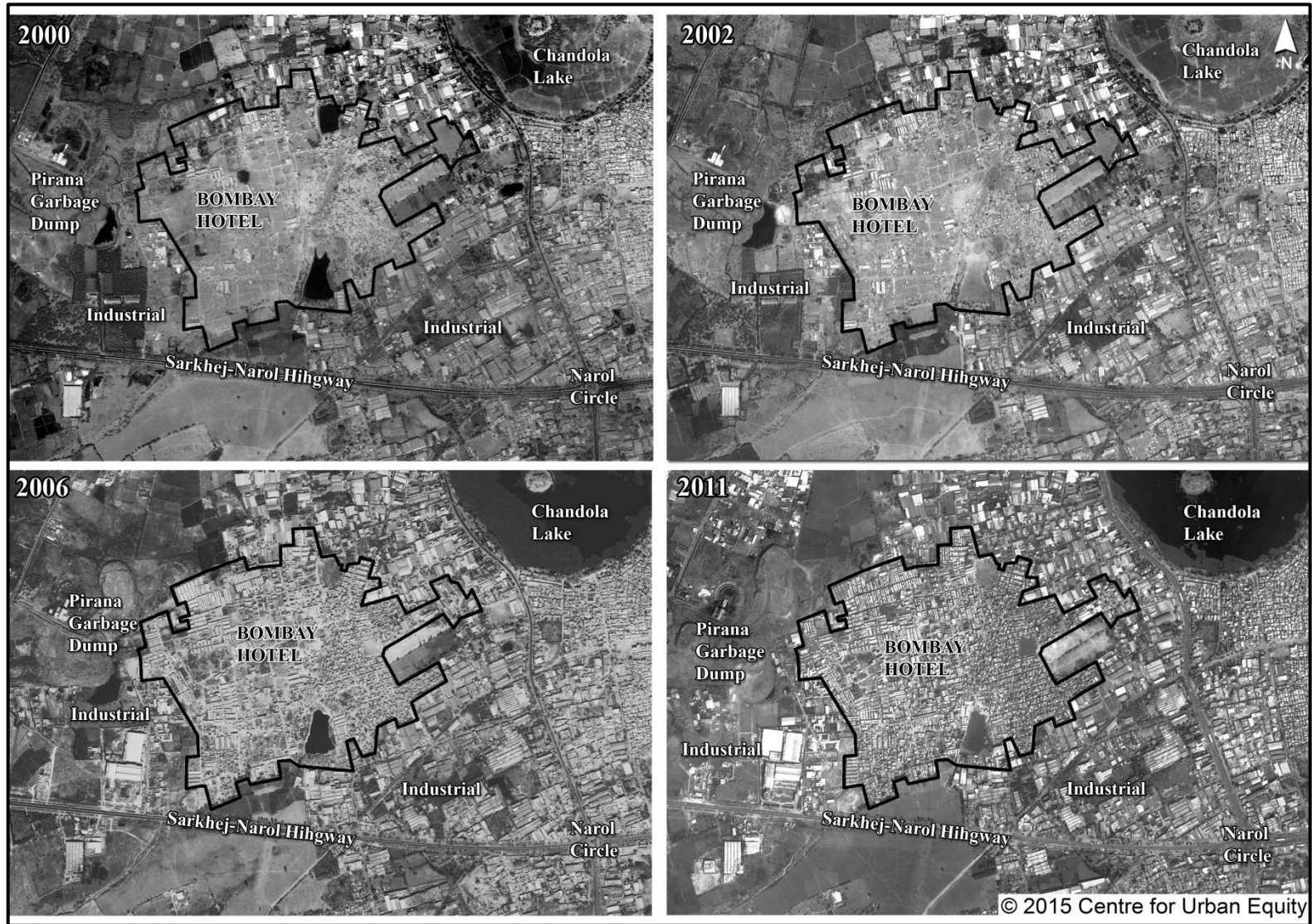
Many Muslim families were forced to flee their localities during the 2002 Gujarat riots. Charitable organizations such as Islami Relief Committee, Gujarat Sarvajanik Welfare Trust and Jamaat-e-Islami had set up relief camps to provide temporary shelter to them. When the government pressured them to close the relief camps, many were hesitant to go back their homes where they had been subject to brutal violence. Security had become a paramount deciding force in choosing an area of residence and they wanted to settle down only in areas where Muslims were a majority. Some charities had bought vacant plots of land in some parts of the city and they now built rehabilitation colonies to provide permanent accommodation to those who had faced insurmountable violence and lost their homes. Riot victims from an area called Naroda Patiya and Naroda Gaam were one such group. They had taken refuge at the Shah-e-Alam relief camp, and when the camp closed down, some were given houses in a rehabilitation colony called Citizen Nagar in Bombay Hotel.

At this time, Bombay Hotel was relatively uninhabited although some Muslim builders had begun developing plotted schemes and some had built a few housing societies since the late 1990s. In the years following the 2002 carnage, Bombay Hotel also came to accommodate the natural growth of the city's low-income and lower-middle-income Muslim population as well as the migration of low-income and lower-middle-income Muslims from outside the city and even outside Gujarat. A key reason was that it was identified as a relatively safe place for Muslims. Not only are Shah-e-Alam's Muslim residential localities to its north-east, but it is also bound by the garbage dump on its western edge and industrial land uses along its southern and eastern edge. As a result, Muslims feel that it would not be easy to launch communal attacks on the residents of the locality. Other areas that accommodated the growth of the city's Muslim population were Fatehwadi next to Juhapura, Vatwa and Ramol.

4.1 Informal Land Transfers

Driven by the high demand for low-cost Muslim housing in the city, small and medium builders were on the lookout for land which could be informally developed for sale. Land in Bombay Hotel was acquired by these builders from many different farmers through informal land transfers and then began to develop it. Legally speaking, a farmer does not have to transfer the land title to a builder for the latter to develop it. The builder can enter into a development agreement with the landowner and thus develop the land. Later, when the builder sells property in the development, the sale agreement is made between the landowner and the person buying the property. However, the sale agreements that residents have in Bombay Hotel have the names of the builders and not the landowners. This suggests that development agreements were not done and it also shows that the builders have transferred land that is not legally owned by them.

Figure 3: Growth and Development of Bombay Hotel, 2000-2013



Source: Maps prepared using Google Earth images

There are multiple reasons for the informality in the land transfers. The land is classified as agricultural land, whose sale to a non-farmer is prohibited in Gujarat. Conversion to NA (Non-agricultural land) is a time-consuming and costly process because of which the farmers who owned land in Bombay Hotel sold off land to builders through documents such as sales agreements on stamp papers.⁴ Builders also sold off plots or tenements through informal sale agreements on stamp papers known as *vechan karar* as opposed to a registered sales deed known as *dastavej* which would also involve payment of stamp duty to the government. These sales agreements are not registered at the Sub-Registrar's office and hence these land transfers are not reflected in the land records (7/12 and 6A documents) and are thus not recognized by the government.

Another possible reason for the informal land transfers was that landowners with large land holdings might have informally sold their lands here if they were slated to lose some of their land to acquisition by the State under the Urban Land Ceiling Act (ULCRA). In acquisition under ULCRA, which has since been repealed, the landowners were not eligible for any compensation, and thus informal sale of the land would have been a way for them to make some profit off the land.

Some narratives on the local history also suggest that parcels of land were forcefully acquired from some farmers using documents such as *banakhat*. A *banakhat* is a document on which the farmer expresses willingness to sell the land and the other party expresses the intention of buying it. The price of the transaction is stated and the schedule of payment is also mentioned. It is a statement of mutual agreement between the seller and buyer. A certain landlord in the area is said to have usurped land by forcing smaller farmers to sign a *banakhat* with her. The narrative goes that she later sold this land to builders by giving them a Power of Attorney (POA). This is given through a written agreement called POA in which one person authorizes the other to act on his/her behalf. Land sales are often done through a general POA though this is not legal. POA is used as a means to avoid paying stamp duty and other registration charges on sales deeds, prevent money from being accounted for, and to avoid the payment of capital gains on transferred property. On receiving a POA, a builder can apply for NA-NOC clearances, which the builders have not done in the case of Bombay Hotel.

⁴ To understand patterns of land ownership in Bombay Hotel, we referred to the land records, specifically the 7/12 documents. The 7/12 is an extract from the land register maintained by the revenue department in each Indian state. It is also called as a "Record of Rights" as it furnishes the full record of rights pertaining to that land. It contains information such as the survey number of the land parcel, name of the landowner and the cultivator, area of the land, type of cultivation and status of the land as "new" or "old" tenure. The societies in Bombay Hotel fall in an area which has many land parcels. We examined the 7/12 documents for 40 land parcels through their survey numbers. We found that there were 20 landowners across these 40 land parcels, which included the Gujarat government and private landowners. One such landowner who has been referred to by several residents of the area is Ilaben Patel, reportedly a relative of a regional-level Congress Party politician. The 7/12 documents also revealed that all the land parcels are Agricultural land and very few have been converted to the Non-agricultural category.

Two builders, Sattar Bapu and Moin Khan, who had bought land in this manner in Bombay Hotel, divided it into plots and developed sub-plotted schemes. Sattar Bapu, a member of the Memon community who lived in Shah-e-Alam, was involved in plotting two projects, New Faizal Nagar in Bombay Hotel and Indira Nagar in a nearby locality. Sales agreements in New Faizal Nagar are different from other areas in Bombay Hotel in that they include the name of the landlord, the builder and the buyer. In most of the other areas, only the transaction between the builder and buyer is recorded. Plot sizes in Faizal Nagar are 12 feet x 30 feet (40 *vaar*), 11 feet x 28 feet, 11 feet x 26 feet. At the time the plots were first developed around 1998-99, the cost of 40 *vaar* was Rs 12,000. People could also pay the builder in monthly installments of Rs 500. At that time, buyers did not have to pay any down-payment either. The practice of taking down-payments in Bombay Hotel started in the year 2000. At this time, the down-payment amount was Rs 5000-6000. Today, land prices have gone up, and the price of a 40 *vaar* plot is Rs 3,50,000-4,00,000. Another builder who bought land in this manner was Nawab Builders, who has developed societies in the Khajuri, Himalaya Bakery, and the RM pan-shop pockets (see Figure 2). There are numerous other builders who have played a role in developing Bombay Hotel.

Today, there are over 200 societies in Bombay Hotel which were constructed by builders on lands purchased through informal transfers. Development has not been uniform in the area because of the large number of builders involved. Some societies were developed by a single builder while some were constructed through a partnership between two or more builders. In eleven societies that were mapped in some detail by us, the names of about 18 different builders emerged. The builders either sub-plotted land and sold vacant plots (we refer to these as sub-plotted societies) where residents then built their own houses on the vacant plots or sub-plotted land and built tenements on them (we refer to these as tenement societies).⁵

Many of the builders put out advertisements through newspapers or brochures about these societies. People from lower income groups living in the walled city, slums and other informal settlements across the city were drawn to the area because the developer offered them the opportunity to pay for the plot/tenement in instalments. These instalments were of various types. A builder would collect some amount of money as a down-payment and thereafter collect a certain sum of money periodically from the purchasers. Some builders even offered an instalment scheme of Rs 10 per day while others offered schemes of Rs 1000 per month. These affordable payment arrangements were not widespread in other parts of the city.

The reasons cited by participants of the focus group discussions for moving to Bombay Hotel were safety, growing family sizes, affordable down-payments and instalments and (for tenants) low rents. Some residents had purchased land which was available at cheap rates and moved into the area at a later stage. Some residents claimed to have bought a 40 *vaar* plot for a price of only Rs 25,000 in the late 1990s. Monthly rents in the area varied between Rs 1000-1500, much lower than the rent in other Muslim parts of the city which are a minimum

⁵ Some builders have built other kinds of housing typologies, and not tenements, but these are fewer in number.

of Rs 3000-4000. House owners would also take a deposit of only Rs 1000 compared to Rs 5000 in other locations.

Table 4: Reasons for Moving to Bombay Hotel among FGD Respondents

Reason for Moving to Bombay Hotel	Number of Respondents *
Small house / Family size	20
Employment	13
Affordable housing (low monthly instalments for buyers and low rents for tenants)	13
Moved after the riots	9
Affordable land prices	5
For the location	5
Other	4
Marriage	3
Had to vacate their rented house	3
Family dispute	3

* Total number of respondents was 71. They could cite more than one reason as multiple reasons might have accounted for their move to Bombay Hotel.

There were several participants in the focus group discussions who had shifted to the area as tenants and had later purchased their own homes. Others changed houses a couple of times within Bombay Hotel because they had to vacate their rented house or wanted to move to a better locality within the area and so on. Employment opportunities in industrial units around Bombay Hotel also attracted migrants from other districts in Gujarat as well as other states in India. During our field visits, we came across maximum number of migrants from Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka.

Table 5: Reasons for Moving within Bombay Hotel among FGD Participants

Reasons for Moving within Bombay Hotel	Number of Respondents*
Shift from Tenant to Owner	4
Had to vacate rented house	4
To have a better location (includes less waterlogging)	2
Moved to another's relative's house	1
To move into a bigger house	1
Shift from living with relative to their own house	1
Total	13

* Total number of respondents who had moved within Bombay Hotel were 13.

By 2005, Bombay Hotel had developed as a full-fledged market for lower-class Muslims in the city. This also led to an increasing burden on the services provided by the builders such as drainage lines and bore-wells. The government did not provide any services to the area as it

was seen as comprising of illegal developments. Government approvals like NA-NOC had not been taken. Builders had flouted development regulations and building regulations such as minimum road width, margins to be maintained between the construction and plot boundaries, etc. The required NOCs for construction which include development permission which is given in the form of a commencement certificate or BU permission was not obtained from the local development authority. The government did not provide services also because Town Planning (TP) schemes had not been implemented in the area.

While the state has been largely absent, some of the builders have continued to maintain a strong presence in the area even after selling off the plots/houses. In one of the two societies in Citizen Nagar, the builder does not allow the residents to make any changes to the construction of the original tenement. Their men, often armed with knives, routinely undertake surveillance of the area and any visible change is countered by threats. Some builders are also indirectly involved in many of the illicit activities in the area such as liquor and gambling joints. Many builders also have control over the supply of basic services such as water in the absence of the state.

4.2 Negotiating Informality in Bombay Hotel

The informal development of Bombay Hotel, and the concomitant lack of state-provided services and amenities, has led to gradually intensifying efforts and negotiations by residents to obtain and improve services from the state, as well as to upgrade the legality of their property. We discuss these efforts and negotiations below. This has often involved negotiating through local leaders and organizations, the dynamics of which is discussed in the third section.

4.2.1 Upgrading Services

In recent years, four processes have led to the beginning of some basic services provision by AMC. Firstly, a mobilization process that included two societies, Citizen Nagar A and Citizen Nagar B, which had been built in 2002-03 as rehabilitation colonies for the 2002 riot victims. As with other such colonies in Gujarat, they were financed and built privately through religious charities and interlinked actors from the Muslim community. Also like the other colonies in Gujarat, the land was not transferred to the riot victims nor were adequate basic services provided to them. This led to the formation of Antrik Visthapit Haq Rakshak Samiti (AVHRS) in Gujarat, which did advocacy on these issues for the State's rehabilitation colonies. A public interest litigation (PIL) led to the Supreme Court issuing an order to the state government to provide basic services to residents of the rehabilitation colonies. After this, the AMC built a paved road leading up to Citizen Nagar. Since Citizen Nagar is located deep inside the locality, the paved road benefited other residents also (although there has been no upkeep of the road and today is in a dilapidated state).

Secondly, over the years, residents have made repeated appeals for basic services to their municipal ward office and the municipal councilors who are their elected representatives from the ward. They have also made appeals to the MLA (Member of Legislative Assembly), their elected representative at the State level. Some of the councilors have responded

positively on some issues and through their mediation, AMC sends drinking water tankers to the locality (although these are inadequate) and sanitation workers to clean drains and collect garbage (again, these are inadequate). As a result of political mediation, AMC has also paved some roads and installed some street lights (for example, the road connecting Khwaja Nagar to Hariyali market, and Sultan Hotel road). Most of these works have been done through the councilors' and MLA's budgets. These interventions are still profoundly inadequate in fulfilling the requirements of basic services in the area. The following chapters of this report discuss the issues related to each basic service in greater depth.

Thirdly, in recent years some residents have begun to apply for a No-Objection Certificate (NOC, called "*na vaandha praman patra*" in Gujarati) from AMC which states that it has no objection to the provision of these services.⁶ Residents of Bombay Hotel have to address the application to the AMC's South Zone office and the certificate is issued by the Deputy Town Development Officer or the Deputy Estate Officer of the zone. Dwelling units which are below 40 sq.m. are eligible to get NOC and tenants can also apply for an NOC (in case the dwelling unit is more than 40 sq.m., another member of the applicant's family can apply on another form). In order to be eligible they should also have some residence proof in the form of a ration card, voter ID, electricity bill or property tax bill. A recent government notification has reduced the amount to be paid for NOC by residents of poor communities from Rs 500 to Rs 100. As per the norm, once the NOC is obtained by a substantial group of residents (50-70% of households), they are eligible to get services. Services can only be given to them immediately in the case of an existing main line. If not, then the engineering department would have to prepare a new network. However, majority of residents do not seem to have applied for NOCs. It is only in areas where local leaders and organizations such as the Savera Charitable Trust are active that residents have begun to make these applications.

Fourthly, implementation of the TP schemes 38/1 and 38/began in late 2013. Under this, work began on the widening of some roads (which has been a contentious process) as well as laying of drainage lines along them. Land was also allocated under the TP schemes for two drainage pumping stations, which were built in 2014. Residents in some parts have been given connections to the network while in many parts the network is still to be extended. What must be noted is that at first the AMC did not give drainage connections because residents did not have a NOC. This persisted in spite of repeated requests to the assistant city engineer of the south zone. Local leaders like Amir Bhai began to put pressure on local politicians to solve the drainage problems. They met the municipal commissioner along with councillor Badruddin Sheikh and MLA Shailesh Parmar in the latter half of 2014. The municipal commissioner ordered officials in the south zone office to give drainage connections also to households which did not have a NOC. Taking charge of ensuring that the order gets implemented, Amir Bhai mobilized some sections of Bombay Hotel and made 150 drainage applications on behalf of residents of Faizal Nagar A and AA and around 700

⁶ AMC's 500 NOC Scheme, introduced in 2002, enables slum dwellers to apply for legal individual sewerage and water connections for their dwellings. Under the scheme, residents pay Rs. 500 to get a No Objection Certificate (NOC) which enables them to receive basic amenities without creating conflict with land title issues. Additional fees have to be paid for water and drainage connection.

applications on behalf of residents of Faizal Nagar B. Drainage work in the area is now ongoing. Once residents pay Rs 400, they get permission to connect their drainage line to the main line. This is a formal AMC connection and AMC would take the responsibility of cleaning choked drains in future. Once the drainage work is over, the local leaders will initiate the process of getting an NOC. It is expected that AMC will provide drainage in the entire locality gradually.

Work is expected to begin on water provision soon, although nothing concrete is known about this still. Water provision has been delayed because AMC was unable to acquire land in the locality for building water storage tanks. Savera Charitable Trust even made written appeals to Gujarat's Chief Minister about the water storage tank but got no response. However, it seems that due to repeated pressure from local leaders on their elected representatives, a water storage tank has finally been built near Sikandar market and was inaugurated in August 2015. According to local leaders, municipal approval has also been recently obtained for building another water storage tank on the plot of the municipal school on the main Narol Road.

According to local leaders, the biggest challenge they have faced in negotiating for basic services has been to negotiate this along with opposing demolitions in the locality. For a long time, the AMC maintained that basic services could be extended only after some demolitions were carried out. Local leaders contested this and basic services are presently being provided with minimum demolitions in which no one has lost their entire property.

4.2.2 Upgrading Legality

Some residents have also applied for regularizing their structures. Local leaders and organizations have assisted in the filling of these applications, calling engineers to get the structural drawings made and visiting the government offices. These applications are made to AMC under the Gujarat Regularization of Unauthorized Development Act, 2011 (GRUDA). GRUDA gives property owners an opportunity to regularize their unauthorized constructions by paying a penalty known as the impact fee. These impact fee applications can be made not only by owners but also occupiers of a property. As of now, regularization is possible only for constructions that have taken place before March 28, 2011, with the last date for applications in August 2013. The application entails the submission of various documents. GRUDA outlines the provisions under which an impact fee application may be approved or rejected.

An interview with an assistant Town Development Officer at the Zonal office revealed that any individual can apply for regularization irrespective of whether they possess an NA certificate or not. The GRUDA Cell does not consider whether NA has been done or not. However, NA is not deemed to have been granted if a plot of land is regularized. Informal settlements like Bombay Hotel had illegalities such as inadequate margin area in the front and rear areas of the plot, BU/FSI regulations not followed and insufficient approach road width (which depends on the length of the road). Some of the applications for regularization made by residents of Bombay Hotel were rejected because of a clause in the GRUDA Act which

states that any land under the alignment of roads indicated in Development Plan or a Town Planning scheme or land designated or reserved under a Development Plan or Town Planning scheme would not be regularized. We came across one house-owner whose property was regularized, but with a conditional bond with the AMC. In properties that partly fall on the TP road or reservation plot, the GRUDA Cell issues a conditional bond wherein a construction is regularized, but when the TP scheme is implemented, then the owners are bound to vacate the land. The conditional bond is issued only for that part of the house which falls under the TP scheme while the rest of the construction is regularized.

However, it must be noted that regularization is only for the constructed structure and would have no implication for its land title or ownership. Residents believe that they would be able to lay claim to basic services by the state if they paid the impact fee and got their constructions regularized. An interview at the GRUDA Cell, South Zone office, also suggested the same, but it is not clear whether the Engineering department that gives services takes this into account. One of the local activists in the area had also applied for the regularization of construction on four of his plots. His applications were approved. When the landowner who lived in Dani Limda got a notice regarding regularization of the plots, he was upset with the activist for filing for regularization without taking his permission. For the local activist, the regularization of the construction is a potential step towards upgrading legality further by convincing the landowner to legally sell off his land at a low price to him and giving him a *dastavej* for the land.

While the total number of impact fee applications or regularized plots in the locality is unknown, what is clear is that the latter are quite few. Data from the AMC shows that only 307 plots have been regularized in the entire Behrampura municipal ward and 1900 in the entire Lambha ward. In fact, only 1.4 per cent of the total regularized properties in the South Zone were from Behrampura ward.

Table 6: Number of Plots Regularized in South Zone

Total No of plots regularized in the South Zone	21300
No of plots regularized in Behrampura ward	307
No of plots regularized in Lambha Ward	1900

Source: Data provided by Prashant Mehta, Town Development Officer (TDO), GRUDA Cell, South Zone AMC office, March 13, 2015.

4.3 Dynamics of Local Mobilization and Emerging Networks

Local organizations like Savera Charitable Trust have played an important role in mobilizing residents of Bombay Hotel and enabling them to access state services. Besides Savera Charitable Trust there have been many other attempts by individuals to assume leadership in the fragmented locality over the years. While some of them worked ‘selflessly’ for the community, there are instances where residents have to pay a middleman some amount of money to get their work done. In some areas, residents are unwilling to trust people who collect money on behalf of the government as they have been cheated on numerous

occasions. Amir Bhai told us about the struggles that he faced initially while getting people to contribute towards the development of their area:

“Only 20-25% of the residents of Faizal Park have a NOC certificate. There are a lot of migrants living in this area, people who keep travelling for work and are not in the area very often. Some of them own their own houses while some live on rent. None of these people have applied for an NOC. Secondly, 2-3 years back local politicians had appointed one or two people from the area to help residents fill up NOC forms. These people extracted money from the residents (around Rs 500) but did not do any work. They had collected almost Rs 4,50,000. Of this, they deposited around Rs 2,00,000 at AMC. When the politicians who appointed them asked them what happened to the rest of the money, it came out that they had invested it in their business. Incidents like this have led to distrust among residents who are afraid that they will lose money again. These people had taken money from residents in the past as well. In the name of constructing a graveyard, electricity connections, election cards. They would take the election cards from the postman and then ask people to pay Rs 15-20, and then pocket it for personal use.” (Interview with Amir Bhai, March 23, 2015)

When local politicians gave Amir Bhai and Arman Bhai the responsibility of collecting money from residents for drainage connections, they in turn appointed a resident from each lane to collect money from the households in his lane. Amir Bhai then goes with the residents to the AMC office to file the application and deposit the money. He also makes sure that the residents get a receipt for the money they have paid. Thus nobody can blame them of stashing money in any way. He explained that there have been times when they have put their business on the side and have gone out to fill forms and help people. After applications for drainage connections are completed, Amir Bhai is going to begin the process of collecting money for a NOC from residents. However, the recent murder of his partner Arman Bhai has disillusioned him from working for the welfare of the area (discussed further in the section on Ecologies of Fear, Violence and Insecurity). It is not clear whether he would continue to do so.

Councillors have a budget allocation of Rs 17 lakh each, with Badruddin Sheikh’s budget, as the leader of the opposition party, being Rs 50 lakh. Budget allocation for MLAs is Rs 1 crore. Leaders in various pockets of the locality have tried to solve problems in their area by pressuring these political leaders to allocate a proportion of their budget for providing drainage, roads and street lights in the Bombay Hotel locality. They generally prepare a budget for a particular infrastructure requirement and try to get it approved by the government through local politicians. For instance, Mehmood and a group of other residents from Khushboo Park have prepared a budget for 19 other societies to get drainage connections after they were successful in getting connections in their society. Yasin bhai, the founder of Savera Charitable Trust, has got a budget of Rs 40 lakh passed from the councillor / MLA budget to get drainage and street lights in Chistiya Nagar and Rahim Nagar. A local leader told the research team that Shailesh Parmar was perhaps one of the very few MLAs who had utilized his entire grant of Rs 1 crore for development in his constituency. Major work in the area such as laying main drainage or water line, construction of main roads etc is

carried out through funds from the AMC's General Budget. The MLA and councillors' budgets are used to fund installation of street lights, road paving, drainage lines in the internal roads and so on.

One of the main problems that the locality has faced over the years has been the frequently changing municipal ward boundaries because of which the administrative efforts undertaken by local residents at the municipal offices are often rendered futile. For instance, Khushboo Park was initially in Behrampura ward, then shifted to Lambha ward in 2010, and is now going to be shifted back to Behrampura ward for the upcoming 2015 municipal polls. When residents objected, the councillors and MLA reportedly visited the locality and ensured the residents that their work would go on uninterrupted and would not be affected by the change in the boundary of the ward. However, the residents are sceptical and it remains to be seen whether this happens.

The case of political patronage for basic services has been most visible in the case of Bombay Hotel. Most of the local leaders are affiliated to a political party and share a close relationship with the councillor and MLA. While the majority of the local leaders are supporters of the Congress Party, we also came across local leaders who have begun to be associated with the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP). Seema apa is one such BJP worker in the locality, and has also been linked to SAHR WARU, a NGO that works for women's advancement, for many years. She has been pressuring BJP leaders in the city, and has even written an application to Bhushan Bhatt, a BJP councilor from another municipal ward, to provide basic services such as water, streetlights, a police station, a school, a health care centre. She claims that he has furnished funds for some of these development works, but it is not clear if this is true. What does seem true, however, is that Seema apa, through her links to SAHR WARU and BJP, has built good relations at the local police station. She and some of the other women who have joined the BJP through her, often approach the police with problems faced by women in the locality and get a good response from the police.

Other local leaders who support the Congress Party such as Riyaz bhai from the area near R.M. pan-shop stated that the locality suffered absolute neglect when its elected representatives were from the BJP. He pointed out that from 2002 to 2010, Bombay Hotel did not feature on any of the development plans of the state or local government. He narrated his personal experience of a meeting with a mayor who told him that AMC only had a budget for the construction of the main Narol road and other facilities in the locality were not on the "agenda" of the party. The beginning of development in the area, according to him, started when Badruddin Sheikh from the Congress Party was voted in as councillor in 2010 and thereafter Shailesh Parmar of the Congress Party was voted in as MLA in 2012. A number of local leaders explained that because of the work carried out by the councillor and MLA in the locality, they extend their full cooperation to the Congress Party during the elections and campaign vigorously throughout the locality. Free rickshaw rides are arranged for the residents to travel to and fro the polling booths. One resident even mentioned that if somebody was sick and unable to move, party workers would come to their homes and carry them upto the polling booth.

6. Development through the Town Planning Scheme

The Town Planning scheme is a planning mechanism used in Gujarat to provide infrastructure and amenities in urban areas. It is based on the concepts of land pooling and readjustment in which the urban local body acquires a portion of all the land parcels in a particular area to provide infrastructure such as roads, water supply and sewerage, social infrastructure such as schools and parks, as well as public housing for socially and economically weaker sections (SEWS). The remaining land is returned to the original landowners in the form of reconstituted land parcels, the value of which would have considerably increased due to the provision of infrastructure. Half of the increase in this land value is paid to the government by the landowner in the form of a “betterment charge” which helps the government recover its costs. The process of implementing the Town Planning scheme is governed by the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1976.

An article published in June 2015 in *The Times of India* declared the intent of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation to fast-track the implementation of TP schemes in Muslim areas. Muslim pockets such as Gyaspur, Maktampura, Shahwadi, Sarkhej-Wokaf, Hansol, Juhapura and Dani Limda which have for years been associated with squalor, overflowing drains, illegal water connections and constructions now have hope in the municipal government which has by and large left them starving for civic services since the 2002 riots in the city. However, while the TP schemes are crucial for bringing in services into urban areas, and have been widely applauded as a democratic and participatory planning mechanism, a closer look at the TP schemes for the Bombay Hotel area reveals exclusions and conflicts that can be attributed to how the schemes are designed and implemented. This section illustrates how the layout-design and implementation of the schemes create exclusions and conflicts.

6.1 Status of Town Planning Schemes in Bombay Hotel

The area in which Bombay Hotel is located was brought under the jurisdiction of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation in 1975. The Town Planning schemes that are applicable to the Dani Limda area, wherein Bombay Hotel is located, are TP 38/1 and TP 38/2. The land surveys required under section 42(1) of the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act of 1976 were undertaken for the two TP schemes between 2003 and 2004. During the surveys conducted in the preliminary phase of the scheme, 191 landowners in TP 38/1 and 151 landowners in TP 38/2 were identified to provide “final plots,” referring to the reconstituted plots. Landowners’ objections included disagreement with the allotment of final plots in their original plots, road alignment, width of the roads, shifting of roads, reservations, etc. After taking consideration of some of the objections, the Draft TP 38/2 and Draft TP 38/1 were thereafter submitted to the State Government in 2005 and 2007, respectively. The State Government sanctioned the two TPs in 2006 (38/2) and 2009 (38/1) and appointed town planning officers to implement them. As of May 2015, the status of the Draft TP schemes is that they have been sanctioned by the State Government and are pending with the town planning officers.

After an amendment to the Town Planning Act in 1999, AMC got the power to take possession of roads and infrastructure plots once the Draft TP is sanctioned. The reserved plots would be available to the AMC once the TP has been finalized.

There has been no provision for a time frame in the Town Planning Act within which a TP scheme should be implemented (a recent amendment passed under the Town Planning Act necessitates the completion of a TP scheme within 18 months). As a result, while the initial surveys for the TP schemes commenced in 2003 in Bombay Hotel, implementation only began in 2013. The area had profoundly changed within the time span of 10 years. One of the reasons for the haphazard development of the area can be attributed to the delay in the implementation of the scheme.

Table 7: Timeline of TP Schemes 38/1 and 38/2

TP scheme No.	Year of Area's Inclusion in AMC Limits	Preliminary Land Surveys	Submission of Draft TP to State Government	Sanctioning of Draft TP by State Government	Appointment of Town Planning Officer (TPO)	Present Status as of May 2015
38/1	1975	2003-2004	February 6, 2007	February 13, 2009	July 27, 2009 (Mr. R.L. Patel)	Pending with TPO
38/2	1975	2003-2004	August 24, 2005	October 13, 2006	October 13, 2006 (Ms. S.A. Dave)	Pending with TPO

Source: Data provided by the Chief City Planner, AMC office, Danapith on June 1, 2015

6.2 Provision of Infrastructure through the TP Schemes

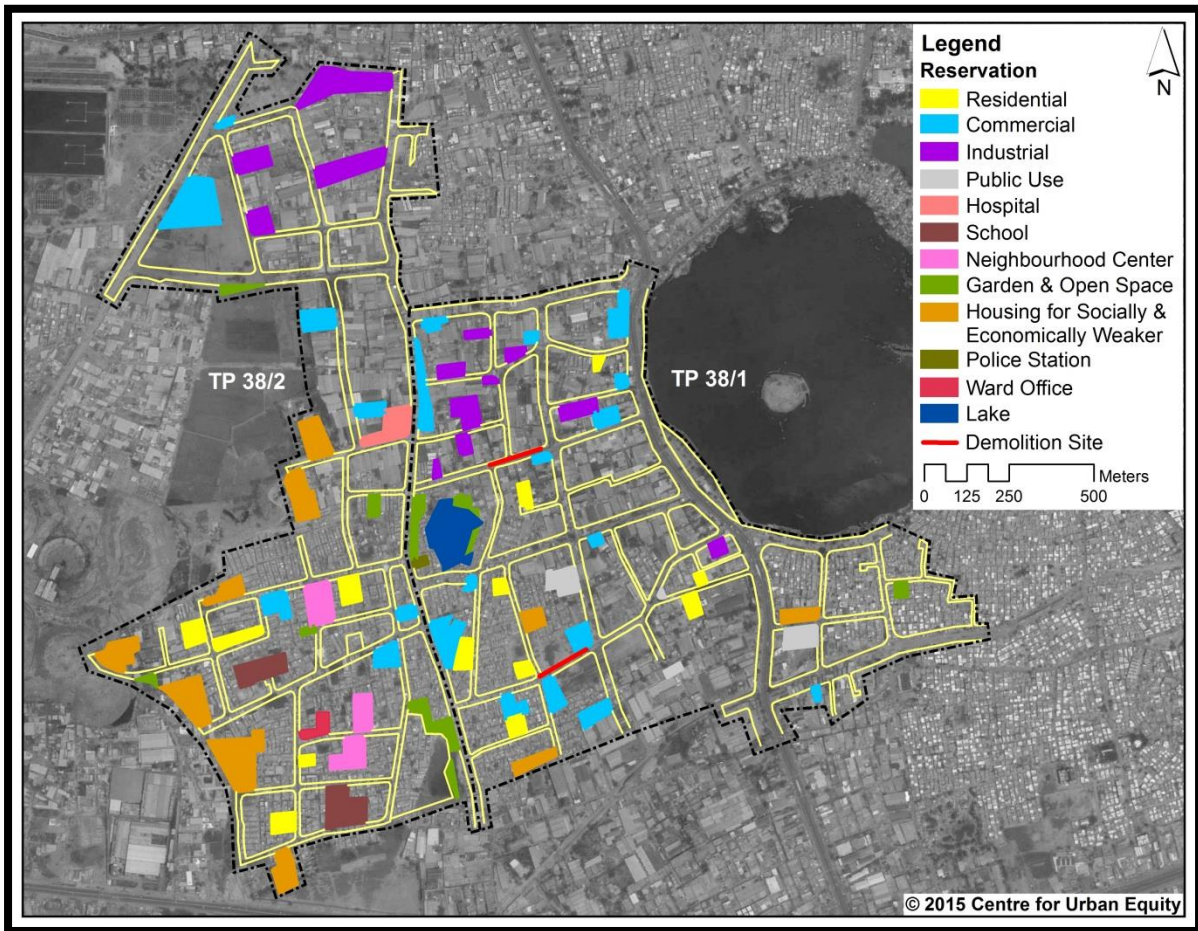
The TP schemes propose three thorough roads parallel to the BRTS road, in the Bombay Hotel locality. Another five roads, perpendicular to the BRTS road, are proposed to connect the locality with the main Narol road. Superimposing the TP plans on the Google Earth image of the area (see Figure 4), reveals that the construction of some of the proposed roads will require widening and paving of some of the existing roads, while others will require the building of altogether new roads. The existing roads are unpaved and pose difficulties in entering and exiting the locality as they are often a source of waterlogging and muck. This poses problems for both rickshaws whose tires tend to get stuck in the mud and for those travelling on foot. Till now, two of the existing roads (Faizal Nagar market road and Barrel Market road) have been partly widened and paved.

Table 8: List of Land Reservations

TP Scheme	38/1	38/2
Physical and Social Infrastructure (garden, open space, parking)	12,233 sq.m.	11,381 sq.m.
Neighbourhood Centre	4,791 sq.m.	43,616 sq.m.
Utilities and Services	1,999 sq.m.	19,986 sq.m.
Education	NA	13,360 sq.m.

Source: Data provided by the Chief City Planner, AMC office, Danapith on June 1, 2015

Figure 4: Town Planning Schemes 38/1 and 38/2 superimposed on Google Earth Image of the Area



Work on the construction of water and drainage pipelines is also being undertaken in the locality. AMC carried out road widening to lay the drainage lines in some parts of the locality. While the main lines have been laid, work on providing individual connections to households is ongoing. Land has been reserved for three schools, one hospital, and several small gardens and open spaces as well as for housing for the socially and economically weaker section. The reserved plots are allocated to AMC by the town planning officer in charge of preparing the TP scheme. These reserved plots would be available once the TP has been finalized. However, while the government will demolish structures that would obstruct the construction of infrastructure such as roads and water and drainage pipelines, they would not demolish the structures that are informally built on lands reserved for social infrastructure like hospital, schools and gardens. The Chief Town Planner in the AMC explained that this is a cost that the community would have to bear for encroaching and illegal development (interview, Vatsal Patel, Chief City Planner, AMC, May 26, 2015).

6.3 Demolitions and Contestations

The layout of the Draft TPs requires the full or part demolition of many properties such as shops, houses, mosques, and factories for road widening. It is estimated that 2200 households will be affected by the implementation of the TP scheme in the Bombay Hotel locality (see

Table 9). In 2013, work on the TP schemes commenced on the market road in Faizal Nagar and the Barrel Market Road. It was necessary for these existing roads to be widened in order to lay drainage lines.

Figure 5: Demolitions on Faizal Nagar Market Road in December 2013



Source: photos by Suchita Vyas, 2013

Generally, officials from AMC put up a public notice in the area announcing the date and areas in which demolitions would take place. A public notice was issued to the residents of the area in August 2013 regarding the demolitions that were going to take place. The notice was met with a public outcry with residents arguing that the area did not require such wide roads and that the demolition of the existing structures was unnecessary.

Local leaders like Nawaz bhai and Amir bhai mobilized the affected residents and this led to a series of negotiations with the state. Local politicians claimed that changes in the TP schemes would not be possible as it had been approved by the State Government and that implementation of the scheme would bring in much needed basic services to the area. In December 2013, residents of Faizal Nagar conducted protest rallies to the main AMC offices against the implementation of the TP schemes. Nawaz bhai and Amir bhai also initiated a process of filing applications on behalf of the residents to the AMC to halt the TP scheme implementation. They gave residents information on the TP schemes, showed them the maps and helped them locate affected areas as well as collected forms objecting to the TP schemes. These forms were attached with documents like election cards, property tax bills or ration cards and sent to various departments in AMC such as the estate department, town planning department, zonal office, etc. Over 600 such applications were made. There were confrontations between local leaders and political leaders around these activities. However,

for the welfare of the larger public, the local leaders continued debates and dialogues with the political leaders, municipal commissioner and other officials.

Table 9: Some of the Societies that would be affected by the TP Schemes

1.	New Shah-e-Alam Society
2.	Citizen Nagar A
3.	Azad Nagar
4.	Simran Row Houses
5.	Garib Nawaz Nagar
6.	Kushboo Park
7.	Kishtiya Nagar
8.	Rahim Nagar
9.	Sukun Park
10.	Karim Shah Masjid
11.	Rahimi Masjid

Source: Fieldwork in 2014

A marked achievement of these contestations was the approval of the deputy municipal commissioner of the South Zone to reduce the width of some of the proposed roads so that the scale of demolitions would be significantly smaller. According to AMC, while implementing the TP scheme, the town planning officers weigh objections raised by the residents according to their merits and incorporate them in the event of any inconsequential change to the original scheme (interview, Vatsal Patel, Chief City Planner, AMC, May 26, 2015). For instance, if the residents call for changes to roads, they would check if that road would affect connectivity and if it did not come in the way of other developments, then their proposed changes would be taken into consideration. Decisions regarding any changes in the TP scheme are taken by the town planning officers who intimate AMC. What remains to be seen is what negative impacts the changes made during implementation have on the provision and upgrading of the services and amenities in the locality.

Although demolitions for road-widening have been averted, one of the issues the residents face is a lack of clarity regarding future demolitions as the TP schemes are implemented further. One reason for this is that individual notices announcing demolition are sent only to the legal landowners who do not live in the area. AMC officials have come to the locality to take measurements and have made marking on the walls of some houses, but no communication has officially been made with the residents. Many residents think of these markings as the extent to which the properties will be demolished. Furthermore, since the developers sold a majority of the properties through unregistered sale agreements on stamp paper, residents fear that they will not be entitled to any compensation if affected under the TP scheme. During the focus group discussions, one participant stated:

“This lane is supposed to be demolished under TP scheme. We don’t know whether or not we will get a house or not. We have paid so much money and have completed paying our installments just few years ago and now this fear lingers above us. Many residents have fallen sick listening to people say that demolitions will take place. We

don't have enough money to purchase another house. All our life's savings have been invested in buying this house.” (FGD 9, June 17, 2014)

There is also lack of unity among the residents in their protests against the TP scheme. Residents from societies who were not served notices did not participate in the protests. Most of them are of the opinion that the implementation of the TP scheme would be beneficial to the area and bring in essential public amenities that the locality has been deprived of for years. There is certainly a dire need in the area for better services and amenities, however, the conflict between demolitions of some properties, on the one hand, and better services and amenities, on the other hand, is one that needs to be examined more closely.

7. Water Provision, Access and Conflicts

Due to the illegal nature of development in Bombay Hotel, AMC turned a blind eye towards residents of the area especially with regard to the provision of basic services and they were not 'entitled' to receive water from the state in spite of being in the 'water zone'. The systematic neglect of the government led to the emergence of a bricolage of informal service providers who stepped in to fill in the gaps left by the state. Further, the government did not make any attempts to curb these informal activities which provided a fertile landscape for the providers to make a profit out of the absence of the state. Builders who constructed informal housing have provided for bore-wells in each society through which they continue to rake in money from the area. Others have also dug bore-wells and are providing water from them. Residents of Bombay Hotel are primarily dependent on water from these bore-wells to meet their daily needs. However, poor quality of water, conflicts with the bore-well operator and irregularity in water supply has led to fragmented efforts in different parts of the locality to demand a certain level of basic services in the area through local politicians. They have advanced claims to legitimacy of their demands through means such as payment of property tax bills, installation of legal electricity connections, and submitting applications for paying impact fee and regularizing their unauthorized constructions under GRUDA. The limited success of residents in obtaining access to water through tankers delivered by AMC can be pronounced as an attempt made by politicians to favor the settlement by patronizing them in return for votes. The following section attempts to analyze the conflicts and violence that emerge due to the hybrid network of informal water providers that characterizes the present system of water governance in Bombay Hotel as well as parallel structures that have emerged from the community to negotiate and bargain with government agencies as they claim their right to water.

7.1 Typologies of Bore-well Provision

There are a range of bore-well ownership patterns within the locality. This includes builder-provided bore-wells, masjid-provided bore-wells, resident-owned bore-wells and community bore-wells. The impacts on the experiences of the residents in their quest for water are in some cases similar across different ownership patterns and in some cases different. In many societies, all residents get water from a single bore-well, whereas in other societies, different groups of residents get water from different bore-wells. For instance, one group may be supplied water from a builder-provided bore-well and another group from a masjid (e.g. Rahim Nagar A). Or there may be 3-4 different resident-owned bore-wells, each providing water to a particular group of residents in a society (e.g. Ronak Nagar).

7.1.1 Builder Provided Bore-wells

Most of the bore-wells in Bombay Hotel were constructed by the builders after informally subdividing plots and putting up houses on sale. Controlling the provision of water has been a means through which builders have continued to extract profit from the area even after they have (informally) sold off the land. This is done through the presence of a bore-well operator who is paid a monthly salary by the builder. The operators are responsible for releasing water to

households for a fixed duration every day or alternate day as well as repairing and maintaining the bore-well in the event of the motor breaking down. They are also usually responsible for collecting a monthly charge from residents on behalf of the builder; in some cases, the builder's men make these collections.

Conflicts between residents and the operator have sometimes led to the builder changing the operator as in New Shah-e-Alam Row Houses. Conflicts between the owner / operator and the residents over inadequate water from a bore-well have also led some builders to build a new bore-well. The instances we came across involved the builder collecting money from residents (Rs 300 in Simran Row Houses and Rs 1000 in Azad Nagar Row Houses) to build the bore-well, after which he gave the residents free water for a few months before charging monthly fees from them again.

7.1.2 Bore-well Water through the Masjids

Bombay Hotel is a predominantly Muslim community of which 80 per cent are Sunni Muslims while 20 per cent belong to the Tablighi Jammāt. There are approximately 60 masjids in the entire locality. Most of them were constructed by individuals or a group of people and societies developed around these masjids. The masjids require water and have had to dig bore-wells for the same. But, given the scarcity of water in the area, some of the masjids – such as Rahimi Masjid, Omar Masjid, Aisha Masjid, Karim Shah Masjid, etc – also sell water to residents of the adjacent areas. As many of the masjids do not have any trust or charity behind it, there was a need to source funds for their maintenance. The monthly expense to maintain a masjid is around Rs 20,000 which includes the salaries of the *maulvi*, another person who makes the *azaan* (call to prayer) five times a day, and a cleaner; and the electricity bill. The sale of bore-well water has enabled these masjids to reduce water scarcity in the area as well as generate funds for their own maintenance. In this manner, masjids have come to play an important role in providing water to parts of Bombay Hotel.

However, residents who rely on the masjids for water face several issues. In order to get a new connection, residents have to make a onetime payment of Rs 1000-1500. Thereafter, they pay Rs 200 per month to the operator. The monthly charge collected is used to pay the salary of the operator as well as fund the expenses incurred whenever the bore-well needs to be repaired. The masjids appoint operators to run the bore-well motors and maintain water supply, but the operators (just like the bore-wells provided by builders and run by their operators) tend to exploit residents, causing conflicts. Where masjid bore-wells are not too deep, motors tend to break down more frequently if more water is extracted. Territorial boundaries also govern water supplied by different masjids, and each masjid supplies water to fixed societies. If residents of a society want to switch to getting water from another masjid, this is not easily done due to the mutual understanding between masjids. However, if the motor of a particular masjid's bore-well breaks down, residents may have the option of getting water from another masjid's bore-well for a few days till their motor is repaired. Also, some of the residents claimed that the profits generated from the sale of water are not always used for the maintenance of the mosque and are misappropriated.

7.1.3 Residents' Private Bore-Wells

Many residents have also dug their own bore-wells and have made water supply into a business. However, the informal water supply nexus in parts of Bombay Hotel is so strong that not everybody can turn the absence of state service delivery into a business opportunity. In some parts, only residents with strong links to politicians, goons and builders have managed to dig bore wells in Bombay Hotel to supply water to other residents. There are also instances where a resident has invested half the amount for building a bore-well and collected the remaining half for this from other residents. However, he is the sole owner of the bore-well, and after a certain period of supplying free water to residents, he then takes monthly charges (e.g. Azad Nagar Row Houses). Their relationship with residents is similar to the one residents share with the builder-provided and masjid bore wells.

7.1.4 Community Bore-Wells

In some societies of Bombay Hotel such as Khushboo Park and part of Ronak Nagar, residents have also come together to build community bore-wells. In Khushboo Park, a group of around 70 households got together to collectively solve the water woes faced by them. Mehmood, a resident of Khushboo Park and local leader explained how this group of residents managed to ease the quotidian quarrels and conflicts caused due to the informal water distribution networks existing in the locality. Initially, residents got their water from a bore-well of a nearby masjid. The bore-well operator would charge high prices and not supply water for a sufficient period of time. He would also trouble women in the locality by visiting their homes and verbally abusing them. When asked how the operator behaved in such a manner inspite of working for the masjid, Mehmood bhai said, "Anything can go on here in the name of religion (*Yahaan dharm ke naam pe sab chalta hai*)."

In 2011, they constructed a bore-well which was 250 feet deep. Each resident contributed Rs 1200-1300 towards the cost of the bore-well which was around Rs 82,000. Those residents who stayed on rent did not have to bear this cost as the owners had agreed to pay. A lady from the area, Nusrat, was appointed to operate the bore-well. Being a widow with no other source of income, she was given the responsibility to ensure that all the 70 households get water for 15-20 minutes every alternate day.

Like all the bore-wells, operating a bore well is a time-consuming task. Nusrat must first switch on the main motor and then supply water to 5-7 households at a time by switching on a valve in each lane. Earlier these valves would frequently break because they were exposed and above the ground. Every time a water tanker or vehicle would cross the area they would get crushed and needed to be replaced. Over time the residents began to insert the valves beneath the surface and also used stronger PVC pipelines because of which the water infrastructure in the area does not get damaged as frequently as it used to. Nusrat is also in charge of repairing the motor in case it breaks down and paying the electricity bill. She collects Rs 200 a month per household in return for supplying water to the residents. The cost of repairing the motor which can go up to Rs 6000-7000 and the monthly electricity bill is paid out of her collection.

However, the quality of the bore-well water is not good and is unfit for drinking. They have to rely on water tankers that are sent from the AMC ward office at Lambha for drinking water. Similar to the territorial boundaries of water supply that are prominent all over Bombay Hotel, residents of Khusbhoo Park do not supply water to other societies. The other bore-well suppliers have also asked them not to supply water to households outside their area as this would eat into their business. However, based on mutual understanding, residents allow outsiders to use their water occasionally if somebody has a function like a marriage in their house or if somebody's bore-well has broken down.

Mehmood bhai said that they never constituted a formal *mandal* to carry out any of these activities but this worked for them because the community is united. He also said that a group of residents from the society went to different parts of Bombay Hotel to speak to residents in other societies about the work they had done. They encouraged other societies to follow the same but it did not work because most of the communities in Bombay Hotel are fragmented and residents would not come together to solve a problem. This is a rare case which is difficult to replicate in other areas because of the lack of social cohesion. There are only smaller-scale common bore-wells in the locality wherein extended families spread across 5-6 houses have together constructed a bore well for their personal use. They do not allow other residents to take water from their bore-well at any cost.

7.1.5 Consequences and Impacts of Dependence on Bore-well Water

The absence of public water supply has deprived the residents of clean and sufficient water. The water provided from bore-wells is of very poor quality and unfit for consumption. The presence of the adjacent garbage dump as well as industries whose wastes have for years leached into the ground have contaminated the ground water in surrounding areas with chemicals. Many residents use the yellow-colored water drawn from bore-wells for washing, cleaning and bathing while obtaining drinking water from elsewhere. However, residents who cannot afford to purchase drinking water, are unable to access the water tankers that come to the area, and also unable to access other safe sources, end up drinking the bore-well water. This has led to widespread water-borne diseases in the area like jaundice, cholera, diarrhea, and stomach aches. Residents also routinely suffer from ailments such as kidney stones and skin diseases. The bore-wells are also not very deep which increases the impurities in the water. Residents observe that they cannot store the water from a bore-well for long as a white layer accumulates on the top if it is left in a barrel for over a day. AMC has occasionally collected water samples from the area for testing, but no further steps have been taken. The improper conditions of the sewer lines laid by the builders also leads to the contamination of bore-wells by the sewage. During the monsoons, this problem is aggravated as the overflowing sewers and bore-well water easily get mixed.

Further, the quantity of water supplied through the bore-wells is not sufficient to meet residents' needs. Water is released for 15-20 minutes in each household every alternate day during which residents manage to fill a barrel of water. During the summers, when the water table drops, the frequency and pressure of water supply is erratic. At times, water is not supplied for days at a stretch especially when motors break down and are under repair.

In this arid landscape, water problems of residents are compounded by the territorial boundaries adhered to by bore-well owners as mentioned earlier. If a bore-well has broken down and is not functioning, residents obtaining water from this bore-well on a regular basis cannot switch to obtaining water from another bore-well. Residents getting water from one bore-well operator will generally not supply water to those provided by another operator. However, there are instances of people discreetly passing on a bucket or two of water through a back door to friends or relatives, or even selling water at Rs 30 a can.

Bore-well owners charge for new connections (e.g. Rs 1000-1500). The monthly charge collected by bore-well owners varies but it is mostly in the range of Rs 150-250 per month. For instance, in Citizen Nagar, the bore-well operator, Zarinaben, collects Rs 100 per month in Citizen Nagar A and B, while in Memon Colony she collects Rs 150-200. In Al-Minaz Society and Rahim Nagar A, the bore-well operators collect Rs 200 per month. Inability of a resident to pay on time leads to conflicts with the bore-well owner or operator and occasionally results in the water connection being disconnected to the resident. The bore-well owners and operators demand full payment even when water is not supplied for days at a stretch which is a common occurrence during the summers. Raising a voice against irregular and erratic water supply can also result in disconnection.

A resident of Kalandar Nagar said that her water supplier did not give them water for over a month in 2014 when there was a lot of waterlogging in her area. When residents pressed the supplier, he said he would supply water only when the stormwater drains out and after he cleans the connections. The supplier took money from residents in spite of not supplying water for a month citing that he was not at fault for the waterlogging. They did not even spare extremely poor and elderly residents. He disconnected the connection of those who failed to pay. The cost of re-connecting was Rs 500. In another instance, a resident had an altercation with his supplier which resulted in the supplier disconnecting supply to the entire society for a week. In yet another instance, a resident explained:

“Earlier [the water supplier] used to charge Rs 200 per month for water supply, but now he has increased the price to Rs 250 per month. He threatens us to make us pay on time, if not paid on time then he will cut our water connection. For new connection, he charges Rs 1000 per household. And if the bore-well is damaged then all of us have to contribute money to get it repaired.” (FGD 9, June 17, 2014)

The contributions for motor repairs can be as high as Rs 300, as reported in one society. Residents find it difficult to get water from other sources if their connection is disconnected as the bore-well owners operate on a mutual understanding that they would not supply water to residents in each other’s territories. A few residents have also complained that occasionally the water operators misbehave with women, especially when they come to collect monthly charges.

Residents in many parts of the locality also did not have the option of getting a connection from another water supplier as the suppliers have a mutual understanding of not supplying to residents in each other’s territories. A woman resident from Kalandar Nagar explained that

there is no fixed time when water is supplied. She works outside the locality and her daughter also does for tuition classes, so she has requested the supplier several times to supply water in the early mornings and has even threatened to take a connection from someone else if he does not do so. However, the supplier did not allow her to switch suppliers, arguing that if she started taking water from elsewhere and if the force of water in her tap was better, then other residents would also switch suppliers and he would lose other customers as well. In one part of New Faizal Nagar, a woman resident reported having no problems switching her water supplier, but then explained that her previous supplier's customers had increased and since he was not able to cope, he had asked another supplier to step in.

It is the coercive behaviour and practices of many of the water suppliers that have led to residents calling them *dada* or goon. If, for instance, a family cannot pay the monthly charge because of financial difficulties, the supplier would often cut their connection and threaten them into paying by a certain date. Their way and disposition of talking with the residents is intimidating. They take advantage of the vulnerability and dependence of the residents on them for water, and have been known to especially oppress those who are weak and poor. Some of the operators are always under the influence of alcohol and drugs when they talk to the residents.

Conflicts frequently occur between residents over water supply. As each household gets water for only 15 minutes, some residents have installed motors to extract more water. This results in other houses receiving water at a very low pressure because of which they are unable to fill enough water. There are also tensions between the owner-residents and the tenants within some societies over the contribution of money to repair the bore-well. Generally, the landlords are supposed to pay for large repairs. Conflicts were also reported between societies when a society opens the valves at the time when water is supplied in other society. As mentioned by a resident, "water is supplied for 20 minutes in each society one after the other. At the time of supply, if the other society also opens the valves, then the flow in our society drops down extremely. Hence there are fights between societies. The water operator doesn't stand there; he just turns the valves and goes away. Hence he doesn't know about this." (FGD 10, June 17, 2014)

7.2 Water Tankers

The water supplied through bore-wells is unfit for drinking, prompting local leaders and even some bore-well owners / operators to call water tankers to the area to supply drinking water to residents. Sometimes these seem to be private water tankers as residents pay money for them, however, some residents also remarked that they are not sure whether the money is simply taken by a middlemen who has called a municipal tanker. AMC has also begun to send water tankers to Bombay Hotel. This began after a series of rallies and political pressure. In Khushboo Park, for instance, water tankers began to come after the residents took several rallies and applications to Kalu Bharwad, one of the municipal councilors from Lambha ward. According to local leaders from the society, it was only after residents applied for property tax bills and got a NOC, that AMC begin to supply water tankers to them.

According to the AMC Behrampura ward office, seven tankers have been allotted to Bombay Hotel, they deliver water at nine locations, and each tanker is expected to take five rounds in different parts of the locality (interview with Municipal Official, Behrampura Ward Office, Engineering Department, 1.6.2015). The AMC pays Rs 280 per tanker to take five rounds of the area. The tankers are being sent to the area since the last five years. The capacity of each tanker is 4000 litres and they are expected to serve 25 households at a time (approx.. 140 litres per household). This would mean that AMC provides water tankers for about 3.5 per cent of Bombay Hotel’s population. The areas where the tankers halt was fixed in consultation with local leaders (Table 10).

Table 10: Locations of Water Delivery by AMC Water Tankers

1.	Khajuri Tree
2.	Gulmohar Society
3.	Rahim Nagar
4.	Shah Alam Row Houses
5.	Faizal Nagar
6.	Hariyali Nagar
7.	R.M. Pan-shop
8.	Al-Minaz Society
9.	Citizen Nagar

Source: Behrampura Ward Office, AMC, June 2015

Figure 6: Filling Water from AMC Water Tanker



Source: photo by Mohammad Sharif Malek, 2014

Some water tankers are also sent by the AMC Lambha ward office, including to Khushboo Park. However, while this information from the AMC gives the impression of systematic

water supply by the state through tankers to Bombay Hotel, residents' experiences with respect to water tankers have fluctuated. According to residents, the water supply through these tankers has been inconsistent. The tankers only visit a few societies and take 3-4 rounds. They also do not have a fixed schedule and residents cannot predict when to expect a water tanker. Some residents said that they get water from tankers every three days while some said that the water tankers had not come to their area in over seven days. In Khushboo Park, the local leaders' negotiations ensure that the tanker comes every alternate day. Khushboo Park is one of the very few areas in Bombay Hotel which seems to have better access to water than other societies.

When the tankers arrive, they generally cause a chaos in the communities because of the large number of people (mostly women) who gather around them to collect water. It is not unusual for fights to break out because women from other societies (other than the society it was called to) also come to collect water from that tanker. Speaking of the scene every time a water tanker arrives, a woman said,

“Sometimes there are bad fights that erupt. A few days back two women physically attacked each other and pulled each other's hair. We had to call the police to intervene. One woman was sent to the hospital and the police arrested the other woman. Women fight with one another because there is only one tanker which comes for such a large number of people and there is no certainty whether one might receive water on a particular day or not. (*Kabhi kabhi to itne jhagde ho jate hai. Abhi piche hi kuch din pehle aurto ne ek dusre ke sar var fad diye the. Kheen ch Kheen ch ke mara-mari hui thi. To police bulani padi thi. Ek ko police le gai aur dusre ko hospital bhej diya gaya. Ek tanker ata hai aur sabko ye lagta hai ki pani milega ki nahi milega isliye ye sab jhagde hote hai.*)” (FGD 7, June 14, 2014)

Fights also erupt when more than one member of a household stands in queue to collect water as this deprives other households of their share. Daily conflicts are tiresome and in some areas like Khushboo Park, residents have appointed one person to ensure that water is collected in a queue and each person does not collect more than 2 vessels of water. As a result, the collection of water from the tankers is not a chaotic affair in Khushboo Park as in many other areas.

There are times when a person may wait in queue for hours and still return empty handed. In a locality like Bombay Hotel where most of the people are engaged in informal economic activities, time is precious and residents cannot afford to spend hours waiting for water. Some of the women interviewed said that they did not end up taking water from the water tankers because of the long queues and ended up using bore-well water for all their needs. A resident said,

“I cannot go and fill water from the tankers. I cannot stand in the queue for long hours. So we depend on bore-well water for drinking. Those who can afford to stand in the line and fight for water, go and fill water from tankers. Others drink bore well water or purchase water cans for Rs 25 each.” (FGD 10, June 17, 2014)

Figure 7: The Unpredictable Wait for Water



Source: photo by Shachi Sanghvi, 2015

Moreover, some of the roads in Bombay Hotel are so narrow that it is difficult for water tankers to enter certain areas. Road construction and laying of drainage lines by AMC under the TP schemes also prevents water tankers from entering certain areas. Thus, the tankers do not reach all parts of the locality. Some of the tankers stop on open plots of land such as the one in Khwaja Nagar. However, it gets cumbersome for women to carry several vessels of water back and forth long distances. Constant fights erupt between women who want to fill more water from the water tankers. Sometimes, they also fight with the drivers of the water tanker. Because of this, the tankers then stopped going to some societies. According to a resident, fights are inevitable because there is only one tanker for around 100 households and it is not sufficient to meet their needs. In fact, the conflicts are inevitable as the tankers allocated by AMC provide water to just 3.5 per cent of the population. Even though some of the water tankers are sent by AMC, the *tankerwala* (the driver of the tanker) collects Rs 10 per month from residents who want to fill water.

7.3 Local Responses to Water Deprivation and Conflicts

Inadequate drinking water and conflicts with bore well operators have resulted in residents scouring alternatives. Some residents get water from taps installed by industrial units in the vicinity. In most cases, the industries don't levy any charge. Even though the quality of water from such taps is much better, possibly due to the deeper bore-wells in the industries, it is difficult for residents to carry heavy vessels of water over a long distance. Residents can hire a rickshaw to fetch water from these taps, but it can get expensive. It costs Rs 50 to fetch water by hiring a pedal rickshaw. Moreover, some industries only allow women to fill water during the mornings. One such set of taps has been installed by a businessman who owns a cold storage near the entrance to the locality. Several residents of Bombay Hotel rely on the taps installed by him for drinking water. In areas where water tankers do not come or in case

there is lack of water supply, residents also resort to purchasing mineral water from suppliers within the locality. A mineral water can costs Rs 25.

At the household level, water storage forms an important way in which residents cope with infrequent water supply, be it from bore-wells and/or water tankers. Families also cut down on the use of water during shortage. During family functions or festivals when there is need of more water, households usually purchase water from private water tanker suppliers or register their requirement at the AMC office at Jamalpur.

Local leaders in the locality have responded in various ways. Due to pressures by some of them, over the past few years, one of the councilors, Badruddin Sheikh, has organized the residents of Bombay Hotel and taken them on rallies to various local and State-level government offices to demand public services including water. This has not always yielded immediate outcomes, but has been part of a longer process of creating increased pressure on the state. Local leaders like Amir bhai have met councilors repeatedly to push for water tankers and also played a key role in deciding the spots where water tankers should ideally come and stand. Some local leaders have filed RTI applications to know the budgetary allocations of councilors in order to demand services like water supply from their budgets. Positive outcomes are not easy, however. In one case (e.g. Yaseen bhai), the leader learnt that the councilor's budget was only Rs 17 lakh per annum, and he could hardly spare funds or allocate money for the construction of a municipal bore-well. According to one woman,

“Since last two-three years the local authority is providing drinking water through water tankers, waste collection is taking place, because Badruddin Sheikh is helping the residents. He also got the main roads paved four times. With his support the area is also getting new drainage lines. He says that we have to bear with these problems for another two years while the work is in progress and after this our conditions will improve.” (FGD 1, May 17, 2014)

Residents of Simran Row Houses have taken various steps to deal with the issue of water supply. For instance, to get AMC water tap connections they have lodged numerous applications, attached with their property tax bills, to AMC and their councilors, and have also conducted many rallies. In order to replace old sewer lines laid by the developers, which led to contamination of bore well water, the residents had taken samples of contaminated water to the main AMC office. Following which the sewer lines were laid again from the councilor's budget.

A number of local organizations have also been active in mobilizing the residents to demand for basic services and pursuing their councilors and AMC. For instance, Savera Charitable Trust in Rahim Nagar calls the water tankers to ensure they come on time, makes applications on behalf of residents to ask for water supply and overhead water tank, etc. They have also helped residents apply for NOCs, an essential requirement to get basic services like water supply, street lights, drainage, etc. Recently, Savera Charitable Trust also filed a RTI application at AMC's South Zone office, asking for information about when the area included in Lambha ward, the General Budget for development works for 2010-2014, how much of it was utilized and where, expenses made on water supply and drainage lines for the area, etc.

City-based non-government organizations like Sanchetana have also helped mobilize people to demand services from the government. On one occasion a group of women linked to Sanchetana went to the main AMC office and broke earthen pots (*matkas*) in front of government officers. However, nothing came of this.

Figure 8: Media Coverage of Protests against the Lack of Basic Service



Source: photo by Shachi Sanghvi, 2015

The rallies and protests did not lead to any interventions by AMC to improve water supply except for providing water tankers. A municipal bore-well was dug near the school but it is not functional. AMC officials claimed that they cannot construct a municipal bore-well for the community inside the locality since the builders have sold off the land under the plots reserved under the TP schemes for various social amenities. However, recently a water storage tank has finally been built near Sikandar market and approval for another one (on the land of the municipal school on the main Narol Road) has been obtained. The former will be able to supply water to only 10 per cent of the residents of Bombay Hotel in the the area from R.M Pan shop to the Khajuri tree (Interview with municipal official, Behrampur Ward Office, Engineering Department, June 1, 2015). Details on the latter tank have not yet been disclosed by the AMC.

8. Drainage Systems and Solid Waste Management

Residents of Bombay Hotel have also been facing an overburdened drainage system for many years. The builders who developed the societies in the locality had provided basic facilities for residents in the form of *kharkuva* or soak-pits. However, over the years, a surge in the population as well as lack of maintenance of the soak-pits has led to their deterioration. Some of the builders had constructed soak-pits that were to be shared between 4-5 households. These soak-pits often overflow or the drainage lines to the soak-pit get blocked, and sewage water then enters the houses of residents. Many societies do not have soak-pits but have private sewer lines that have been illegally connected to municipal drains or to private drains belonging to an industrial unit. Many drainage pipes laid by the builders initially were of poor quality and did not have high capacity either. In the case of Simran Row Houses, the builder built sewer lines at his own cost and connected them to the drainage lines of industries in the vicinity, while residents of Faizal Park contributed towards the cost of laying sewer lines to connect to the drainage lines of Kashinath Factory. In the case of the Al Fazal Row Houses, the builder had not made any provision for drainage, and residents contributed up to Rs 5000 per household to lay a drainage line and connect it to a nearby municipal line. There are also societies whose sewer lines directly empty into the Shodhan Lake. For instance, builders in Ronak Nagar constructed a 8-inch drainage pipe from the society to the lake.

Figure 9: Garbage around Shodhan Lake



Source: photo by Suchita Vyas, 2014

When the *kharkuvas* and drainage lines get choked, residents call municipal or informal sanitation workers through local leaders like Salim bhai or Maria Apa to clean them. Each household pays Rs 20-25 to the informal workers towards this cleaning. In some areas, local leaders who have established ties with the councilor have been successful in getting the AMC

to send its workers to clean drains on a regular basis. In other cases, calling municipal workers to clean drains entails a process of registering a complaint at AMC which can take a couple of days. With regard to this, a resident said,

“We need to go to the ward office in Ghodasar and fill in an application in order to get a municipal van to remove solid waste and clean the drainage lines and chambers. We get a complaint receipt which we have to show the cleaners when they come to the locality. At the corporation office, we take identity proof like property tax bills otherwise we have to pay a charge of Rs 400. The municipal cleaners who come to the area are not supposed to charge any money but we have to give him a bribe of Rs 50 everytime in order to get our drains cleaned. (*Jo kharkuva khali karte hai, uske liye Ghodasar office mein complaint likhvani padti hai. Complaint ki chitthi bana ke dete hai wahan se jo hume yahan safai karne wale ko dikhana padta hai. Office pe hume property tax ka bill dikhana padta hai, nahi toh alag se Rs 400 fees deni padti hai is kaam ke liye. Ye kaam bhi free mein hi hota hai, per usme bhi jo tanker leke aate hai kharkuva khali karne ke liye usko bhi har time Rs 50 dena padta hai.*)” (FGD 14, October 2014)

Municipal cleaning of soak pits and drains may also often involve sending a sewage suction tanker.

Figure 10: Water Logging in Bombay Hotel



Source: photo by Suchita Vyas, 2014

During one of our field-visits, we observed a municipal sewage tanker dumping the sewage collected from the *kharkuvas* and drains directly into the Faizal Nagar lake. This creates severe environmental pollution in the locality. Solid waste removed from the drains by the

sanitation workers often becomes a source of conflict between residents as the waste is dumped by them on the street and there is no proper collection of this and other wastes, which inconveniences the other residents of the area.

Waterlogging is a frequent phenomenon in the locality, particularly during the monsoons. One reason is because the lakes, which acted as reservoirs to drain water, have decreased in number (now only three lakes remain, Shodhan Lake, a lake in Faizal Nagar, and a lake near RM pan-shop) and size, as builders have filled them up and constructed houses. Bombay Hotel is also a low-lying area and has no storm-water drainage. Moreover, some of the drainage pipes laid by builders / residents are very narrow, leading to choking of the drains and overflowing of sewage water onto the streets. One resident explained,

“The condition gets worse during the monsoons since there is waterlogging up to knees on all streets. I fell twice last monsoon. Waterlogging leads to spread of diseases like dengue, malaria etc. The waste collection is very irregular and hence people dispose their waste anywhere which leads to conflicts.” (FGD 13, October 16, 2014)

The sewage overflows and the ad-hoc waste disposal compounds the waterlogging problem, creating severe environmental pollution and leading to spread of illnesses. During the monsoons, water also enters houses, especially near the lakes. As a preventive measure some residents have built low walls at the threshold of the house to prevent water from entering their homes. Spread of diseases is also aggravated when sewage water seeps into the borewells and contaminated the water. The gravity of this situation was highlighted with some deaths in Simran Row Houses because of contaminated drinking water.

The drainage systems have been modified or repaired in many societies over the years. Many a time, local leaders and residents have approached the builders of their societies for their support for this. As a result, builders of some societies have partly or fully funded the repairs. Citing the case of Citizen Nagar, Hussain bhai said,

“The drainage in this line needed some repairs and the estimated cost was Rs 27,000. In spite of taking Rs 300 per household, we could collect only Rs 18,000. After which I visited Nawab Builder’s office and requested them that since the society was built by them, they needed to repair the drainage lines. The builders immediately gave Rs 10,000 for getting the work done.” (Interview with Hussain bhai, April 17, 2014)

The builder of Simran Row Houses cooperated with residents in the construction of soak pits when their existing drainage lines had deteriorated. However, these are rare cases and residents of most societies have had to solve their drainage problems on their own or through political support. For instance, residents of the Azad Nagar Row Houses made numerous requests to the builder to solve issues related to drainage in their society, but the builders were indifferent and argued that they were not liable to solve people’s issues once the properties were sold. About two years ago, the MLA laid a main line, and residents then spent Rs 1200-1500 to connect to the line. In New Shah-e-Alam Row Houses, where the builder had laid the initial sewer connections, residents replaced these lines with new ones after contributing Rs 300-500 per household. However, the sewers continue to frequently get

choked / overflow because the drainage lines to which they are (illegally) connected have not been changed.

Overflowing sewers lead to conflicts between residents at times, and because of the gangs and goons operating in the locality, these conflicts often become violent / spread fear. A resident explained one such instance:

“There was a quarrel between two households over an overflowing sewer. First it was between the women of the households, later it extended between the male members also. One of them got many *lukkhas* who came with weapons, so we helped (the other resident) and protected him in our house. The residents from my society started saying that I should not protect him and should throw him out otherwise these goons will pick a fight with my family also. These goons came to our lane and threatened us that whoever has helped this man, we will beat them also (*jiske bhi ghar mein chupa hoga hum uske bhi hath pair todenge*).” (FGD 8, June 17, 2014)

Numerous applications have also been made over the years by residents of Bombay Hotel to AMC for basic services including municipal drainage, but these have usually remained unanswered. Talking about a rally undertaken to demand drainage connections, one resident said,

“Three years back, people from different lanes took out a rally to demand gutter lines. All of us went to the corporation office together and created a huge noise, broke some pots. However, nothing came of this. (*Teen sal pehle har gali me se ek khatara karke rally kari thi gutter line dene ke liye. Sab milke corporation ki office pe gaye the, wahan jaake khub halla kiya tha, matke bhi fode. Per kuch hua nai*).” (FGD 14, October 2014)

Drainage lines in some societies like Al-Minaz Society were laid under the councilor’s budget some years ago and some residents had paid Rs 400 to connect to these lines while others had not. The death of a few residents resulted in rallies being conducted where samples of contaminated water were taken to the main AMC office. Following this, new sewer lines were laid from the councilor’s budget.

Local organizations such as Savera Charitable Trust as well as local leaders such as Amir bhai, Arman bhai (who was murdered in early 2015), Salman bhai and Yaseen bhai have played an important role in mobilizing residents of Bombay Hotel to demand for drainage connections from the state. In the past year, there has been progress on improving drainage. Through the collective efforts of these organizations and individuals, residents have begun to apply for a No-objection Certificate (NOC) from AMC, which – as discussed earlier – is officially a prerequisite to get access to municipal services of water and drainage.

Under the TP scheme currently being implemented in the locality, work on the drainage system has commenced. Two drainage pumping stations have been constructed, one on an open plot of land along the approach road to New Faizal Nagar and another one near the Khajuri tree. Laying of drainage lines has started in some areas, specifically New Faizal Nagar and Khwaja Nagar. The AMC will only lay drainage lines on the TP roads of the

locality and will connect these to the main drainage line on the Sarkhej Narol Highway. In June 2015, an AMC official estimated that 70 per cent of the work with respect to drainage in the area was completed (Interview with Municipal Official, Assistant Engineer, Behrampura Ward Office, Engineering Department, June 1, 2015). The main drainage works are funded under the AMC's General Budget. The funds are being amassed through the MLA and councilor's budgets for laying drainage lines on the internal streets of the locality.

Since most of the roads are narrow, in order to lay the pipelines, some TP-road-widening has been necessary, and demolitions have taken place for this. Some more demolitions are still to take place. While the demolitions have caused some people in the area to lose part of their property, the extent of demolition was reduced than what would have been required as per the proposed road widths in the TP scheme. As discussed earlier, the lesser demolition was achieved through residents mobilizing to oppose demolitions, and the relatively positive response to this by local political leaders and the AMC. Most residents feel that some demolitions are essential in order to bring basic services to the locality and this sentiment, along with opposition to too much demolition and the state's consideration of these oppositions, seems to have achieved an intermediate path wherein municipal drainage provision has begun in the locality at minimal loss of property to residents so far.

In some areas, work on laying drainage pipes on internal roads has also started. With the initiative of local organizations and leaders, AMC has also started to give drainage connections to both NOC holders and those without NOCs. In areas like Faizal Nagar, local leaders have organized a system for collecting the fees that residents have to pay towards getting the connection and depositing them in the AMC. While the drainage pumping station and drainage lines laid led to much less water logging in 2015, it remains to be seen whether the drainage pipe-laying is completed satisfactorily on the main roads as well as internal roads, how smooth the process is for residents to get connections to this network, and whether and how the network is then maintained to take care of choking, overflows and waterlogging. One resident who had worked with the PWD department argued that the pipelines which have a width of 2 feet diameter would not be sufficient for the area and would lead to drainage problems in the future.

As mentioned earlier, municipal services for solid waste management are also inadequate in the locality. Till 2-3 years ago, there was no municipal service of solid waste collection. Residents dumped their waste in the lakes of the locality and surrounding areas. Ahmed bhai, a Congress Party worker from Faizal Nagar recalls that till 2005 the municipal government even refused to acknowledge the presence of the area. When he would visit municipal offices to make complaints about the lack of solid waste management in the area, they would push him out of the office. It took repeated visits to the AMC as well as several rallies and protests to make the AMC acknowledge the scale of development in the locality.

As the MLA and the councilor Badruddin Sheikh began to gradually pay attention to the locality, AMC began to collect garbage from certain areas. According to the Health Department of the Behrampura ward office, there is door-to-door collection of garbage in

Bombay Hotel, two large garbage containers have been placed in the locality (one near the RM pan-shop and the other near the Himalaya Bakery), and AMC workers are responsible for sweeping only the TP roads in the locality. From resident's narratives, the door-to-door collection does not appear to reach most of them and along with the provision of only a few garbage containers, this means that residents continue to be dump waste here and there. Since only the TP roads are swept, large portions of the locality remain unswept. Thus, inadequate solid waste management also leads to severe environmental pollution in most parts of the locality.

9. Dynamics of Electricity Supply

In its early years, the locality was not provided with legal electricity connections because of its informal development. As a result, illegal connections thrived. According to a local leader, towards the end of 2002, there was a massive raid in Bombay Hotel during which all the illegal electricity connections in the locality were disconnected. Left with no alternative, residents led by local leaders went to court to demand legal electricity connections. Residents of other ghettos like Juhapura who were facing a similar situation were also a part of rallies to the AEC office. Consequently, in the year 2003, after several rounds of negotiations and contestations, Ahmedabad Electricity Company (AEC) approached the locality as a slum area, and began to provide electricity connections, irrespective of whether constructions were legal or illegal. AEC agreed to supply electricity to 100 households in Bombay Hotel on a pilot basis. Officials from AEC operated out of two rooms in Bombay Hotel and initially publicized this scheme by going around the locality and making announcements on loudspeakers. At that time, anybody who wanted a legal connection had to pay Rs 7,200. The eligibility criteria were not very strict and AEC officials offered electricity connections on the basis of all manner of documents that residents had. Even installment receipts which builders had issued to residents were accepted for giving approval for a connection. Over the years, the price for a legal connection reduced.

In 2005, electricity supply in Ahmedabad was privatized and the Torrent Power company was appointed as the electricity supplier. Torrent developed a slum policy in a bid to decrease illegal electricity connections which were rampant in slums. They offered electricity connections for Rs 2,000 and even gave residents of mapped slum areas the option of paying the amount in installments of Rs 200. The current price for installing a metered electricity connection is Rs 4,400.

However, the price for installing a meter coupled with high electricity bills makes legal electricity an expensive affair for the residents of Bombay Hotel. Illegal connections, offered by different informal suppliers in the area, cost Rs 200-250 per month. Certain households which use appliances such as sewing machines may need to pay up to Rs 500. But even this is less expensive than the bills from Torrent's metered electricity connections. Moreover, Bombay Hotel is home to a large migrant population who live as tenants and are frequently moving either within the locality or to other parts of the city. Most of them rely on illegal electricity connections as investing in a metered connection from Torrent does not make economic sense. The owners from whom they rent also have no stake in providing them with a metered connection.

Torrent has also not been responsive to many complaints. When residents have gone to Torrent regarding unjustified high bills, the officials have not responded appropriately. The high-handed behaviour of those in charge has created a disconnect between the service providers and the consumers. An interview with a local leader revealed that when demolitions for the TP scheme were underway, those affected had requested Torrent to uninstall the

meters temporarily. However, when the residents wanted their connections again, they were asked to repay the entire installation amount. Users of metered electricity connections therefore feel harassed. This also discourages those with illegal connections from switching over to metered connections. The burden of the illegal connections is borne by those who have metered connections. Torrent levies a surcharge called “Fuel Adjustment Charges” on the bills invoiced to the holders of metered connections. This distributes the amount of units that are illegally utilized among the bill payers. This contributes to the higher bills, further discouraging residents from shifting from illegal connections to metered connections.

There is also evidence that Torrent officials work hand in glove with the informal suppliers. Information from more than one source revealed that before any raid on illegal electricity connections is conducted in Bombay Hotel, the informal suppliers get phone calls from Torrent officials about the scheduled raid. This leaves the suppliers with enough time to hide the paraphernalia associated with the activity such as wires. In such a scenario, profits generated from the sale of illegal electricity are then distributed among a wide network of people which include the “legal” suppliers of electricity as well.

Due to the nexus between Torrent officials and informal suppliers, and the high cost of obtaining and maintaining a metered connection, those who supply illegal electricity to residents of Bombay Hotel wield a considerable amount of power. Like in the case of water supply, territorial authority over the supply of illegal electricity connections is clearly demarcated across different pockets of the locality. These invisible boundaries with respect to service provision are delineated and maintained by the informal suppliers. Gangs of local youth are involved with the informal suppliers and work for them. Before official raids in the locality, they remove the wires and afterwards replace them.

Residents of Bombay Hotel confront grave dangers because of their reliance on illegal connections. There have been several cases of people, especially young children getting electrocuted because of the uncovered wires that lie around. Such incidences occur frequently during the monsoons. A young child was injured and rushed to the hospital after he touched an open wire while we were conducting an interview with a local leader. The next day when the research team went to the area to interact with women on water supply, they were asked to not raise any questions regarding the incident as the matter was a sensitive one and could lead to conflicts between the residents and informal suppliers who were in the vicinity. This illustrates the precarious relationship of the suppliers of illegal electricity and residents.

10. Health Care

There are at present no government health centres in the Bombay Hotel locality. Previously there was a government health centre in Faizal Nagar, as observed by our research team in September 2013. According to field workers of Sanchetana, a non-government organization that works in the locality, the health centre operated out of a rented room in the locality. After a few months, the owner of the room asked the government employees to vacate it as he required it for other purposes and hence the health centre shut down.

Figure 11: Urban Health Centre, Faizal Nagar



Source: photo by Suchita Vyas, 2013

At present, residents visit a health centre and referral hospital near Khodiyar Nagar on Pirana road to access municipal health-care. In fact, AMC staff at the Behrampura ward office informed the research team that earlier the locality fell under a different municipal ward. After the ward boundaries changed, the locality came under the Behrampura ward which has its health facility near Khodiyar Nagar. Therefore, there are no plans of opening a health centre inside Bombay Hotel. According to AMC, government link workers, multi-purpose health workers and medical officers routinely conduct surveys and medical camps in Bombay Hotel (Interview at Health Department, Behrampura Ward Office, June 1, 2015).

Poor sanitation and solid waste disposal facilities have expedited the health problems faced by residents of Bombay Hotel. Forced to consume poor-quality bore-well water, residents routinely get kidney stones. AMC collected some samples of bore-well water for testing because of the high percentage of residents facing health issues, but no steps were taken thereafter. During the monsoons, sewage water seeps into the bore-wells which accelerates

the spread of water-borne diseases such as typhoid and jaundice. Chemicals in the water have also led to skin problems and one woman resident said “we had beautiful skin before we moved here but now our skins are like peeled potatoes.” In the absence of government health centres in the locality, residents are compelled to visit the private health clinics scattered around the locality to address these health problems. Residents complained that the medicines prescribed by doctors in the private clinics are not effective and they have to take several rounds of the clinic for proper treatment. While some of the doctors sit in the clinics from 12 pm to 3 pm, the timings of most of them are not regular. There are no clinics which are open throughout the day and in cases of emergency, residents have to seek treatment at government hospitals such as L.G Hospital and V.S Hospital, which are at quite a distance.

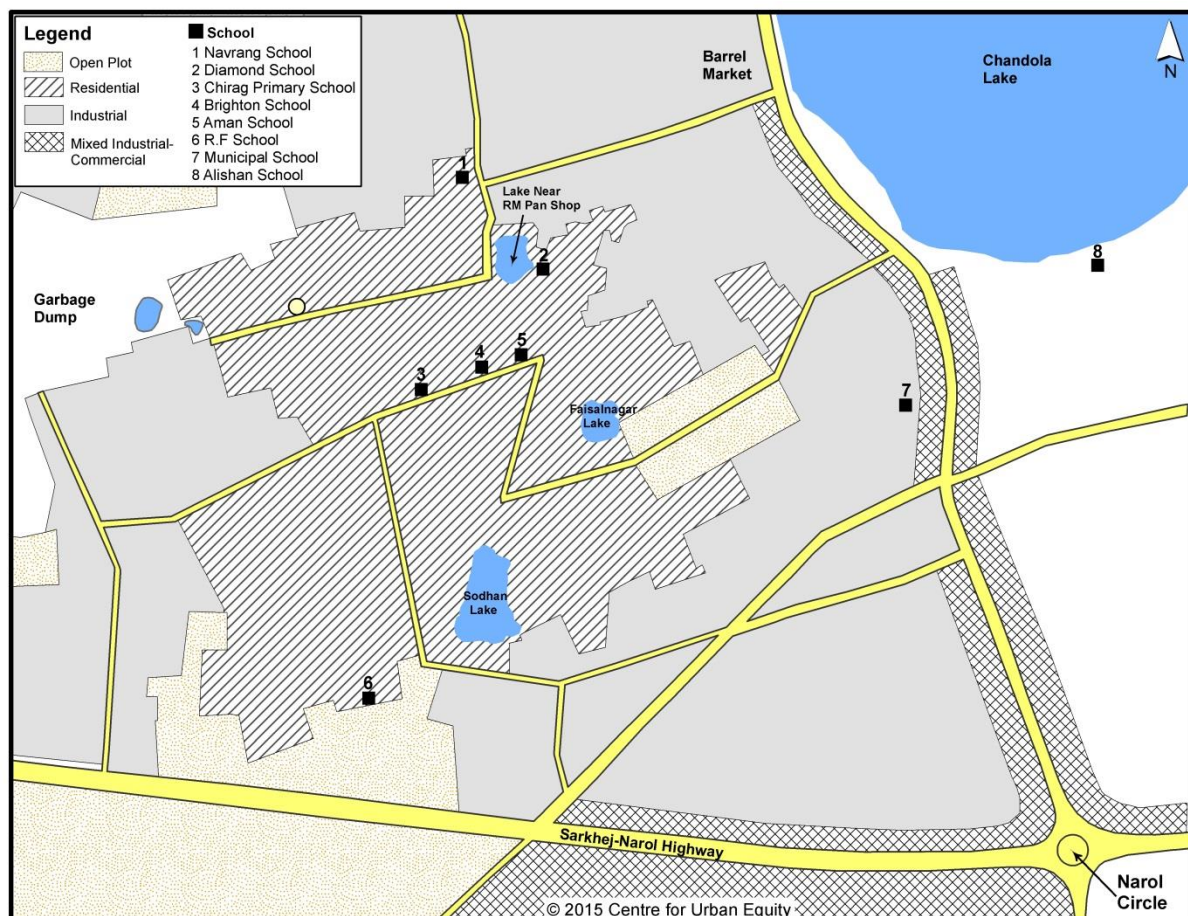
Narrow, unpaved roads in the area also make it difficult for ambulances to access sites of emergency. A boy was electrocuted in Khusbhoo Park while we were conducting a field-visit and locals from the neighborhood said that he had to rush to a hospital in a rickshaw because the ambulance failed to arrive. In another case in the same locality, a young woman began to vomit blood, but she passed away before an ambulance could reach the area.

Thus, not only are there serious threats to the sanitary environment of Bombay Hotel which have a detrimental effect on the health of residents, but there are also no government health-care facilities in the locality so that residents may address these health issues in a timely and affordable manner. The informal land regime in the area may continue to have an impact on residents’ access to government health-care even after the TP schemes are implemented. Land has been reserved for one hospital under TP scheme 38/2. However, since the reserved plot is already inhabited due to the informal development of the locality, it is not clear whether and how the hospital will ever be built. The councilor Badruddin Sheikh informed the research team that this might be possible if the land along the New Faizal Nagar approach road which is reserved for police housing is instead used for building a hospital and other amenities.

11. Education

Lack of public education is a key concern in Bombay Hotel. Gyaan Shalas are operational on paper, but very few are actually functioning in the area. There are supposed to be 50 aanganwadis in the locality but according to the director of CfD, a NGO that works on education in the locality, he has never seen more than five functional aanganwadis. Lack of municipal schools in and around Bombay Hotel is a primary concern. There is only one municipal school in the locality, which is located at its edge near the BRTS workshop on the Narol Road. It offers schooling up to the 7th Standard. At present 4000 students are studying in this school. There are five private schools in the locality. Some of them offer schooling up to the 7th Standard and some up to the 10th Standard. Children from the area who want to pursue further education have to go to Shama School in Shah-e-Alam or Alishaan School close to the Chandola Lake.

Figure 12: Location of Schools in Bombay Hotel



Source: Locations identified through fieldwork in 2014

The municipal school was previously at the location of the BRTS Workshop and had been demolished for the construction of the workshop. It was only after a series of negotiations and protests, in which organizations like Sanchetana played a key role in mobilizing people, that an adjacent octroi naka was converted into a municipal school. Residents had approached the

State education minister and demanded for a new school to be built in the locality. When authorities came to demolish the old school the residents had put up an opposition and finally the authority agreed to build a new school. However, the school does not have separate toilets for boys and girls. A proposal for an overhead tank has recently been passed because of which the school will have to be demolished once again. The government has promised to build a new three-storied school nearby. Residents had also lobbied for the construction of a school at an open space near the RM pan-shop. However, the Collector refused to transfer this land for the construction of a school even on the request of the Municipal Commissioner (Interview with residents of Khusbhoo Park during a field visit, March 5, 2015).

The informal land regime in the area may continue to have an impact on residents' access to public education even after the TP schemes are implemented. Land has been reserved for a number of schools under the TP schemes. However, since the reserved plots are already inhabited due to the informal development of the locality, it is unlikely that the schools will ever be built. Every time residents demand for municipal schools in the locality, the government argues that the locality has developed on private land and provision of public amenities is not possible because of land issues.

11.1 Barriers to Education

Bombay Hotel is home to a large number of children and adolescents who have dropped out of school and are employed in industrial units or workshops surrounding the locality. Focus group discussions and interviews with residents unveiled the barriers that children of the area faced in accessing education. Lack of transport was one of the most cited reasons for the inability of children to reach the municipal school on the main road close to the BRTS workshop. For children in some parts of Bombay Hotel, it would take over half an hour to walk to the municipal school. Travelling by auto rickshaw was a costly affair and unaffordable for many families, especially those with more than one child. In some cases, children have to change two autos to reach school, one shuttle auto from their tenement to the auto stand outside Bombay Hotel and another from there to their school. Those who could not afford the high auto fares were forced to walk the long distance to school. The municipal school arranged transport from the auto stand at Bombay Hotel to the school, but Najma ben, a CfD teacher whose children study in the municipal school, said that she does not allow her children to use the rickshaws as "*gaadi main unko gadhe-bakre ki tarah bharte hai*" (Interview with Najma ben, March 5, 2015). Children who walk to school often meet with accidents because of speeding vehicles on the main road. A young boy from Bombay Hotel passed away a few months back after he came under the wheels of a BRTS bus while he was on his way back from school. The long walk to school is even more perilous during the monsoons as there is severe water logging in the area. During this time, most children end up missing school for days at a stretch because of the dangers of falling into open drains or stepping on open wires around electricity poles.

A proposal for the construction of a four storied school on the main BRTS road has been passed. However, residents staying at the farther ends of Bombay Hotel in areas such as Khushboo Park are skeptical about sending their children there. One of the parents said that

“children from this society will not be able to go there whether it is a four floor school or a ten floor school because of the distance. More so, it is absolutely unsafe for our girls to travel to school. There have been so many incidents that we are scared of sending them out even if they go in groups.” (Resident of Khushbhoo Park, March 5, 2015).

Some of the children we interacted with during the course of our fieldwork also said that they spent a lot of time traveling to school because of which they did not have enough time to study and prepare for their exams. Seema feels that she failed her 10th standard examinations because of the amount of time she had to waste due to the lack of transport facilities. Her school would begin only at 12 pm but she would have to leave home at 9 am and would return only at 6:30 pm even though her school got over at 5 pm. She was dependent on the rickshaws which were in charge of picking her up and dropping her to school and had to travel as per their timings. After having failed her 10th standard exams she does household chores and goes to a *mehndi* class whenever she has the time. While on a field visit to Bombay Hotel in June 2015, the research team saw that a road leading to Khushboo Park had been paved. Residents said that they expedited the construction of the road in that area as officials from the municipal school on the main road had promised to send a vehicle to ferry the children to and fro if there was a proper road.

Affordability is another major cause of children dropping out of school in Bombay Hotel. Most of the parents living in Bombay Hotel work in the informal sector and struggle to make ends meet. The private schools in Bombay Hotel charge exorbitant fees making it arduous for parents who make a meager living to send their children there. Mehmood bhai, a local leader from Khushboo Park cannot afford to send his 13 year old son to school. He works closely with the Savera Charitable Trust for the welfare of the residents of the area and does not levy any fees for the services provided by him. Whenever there is a need to mobilize residents and take them to a government office or a rally, he does so at his own expense. At one point of time, his wife who is a domestic worker had to sell of all her jewellery to make ends meet. His son now works in a bangle factory nearby and earns Rs 100 a day. Sometimes, the teachers of the private schools refuse to allow children to attend class or sit for their exams if fees have not been paid.

As the municipal school has classes only up to the 7th standard, children who want to continue their education have to get themselves enrolled in the expensive private schools in the area. Not only are the fees high, but miscellaneous expenses incurred for uniforms, text books, exam fees and tuition also adds to their burden. More so, the parents complain that schools take fees for amenities like computers but hardly allow children to use them. Parents complained that in spite of charging high fees, the schools would not give them results on time. A lady whose son failed the 10th standard said that did not give him his results for the 8th and 9th standard because of which it is getting difficult to get him admission elsewhere. Parents also complained about the poor quality of teachers at the school. One resident said, “The teachers in the schools are not educated themselves. They don’t know how to teach. If children go to ask them something, they will not look up from their mobile phones and one

would find only lipsticks in their bags and nothing else.” (Resident of Khushboo Park, March 5, 2015)

The social environment of Bombay Hotel has played an important role in raising safety concerns among parents who hesitate to send their children to school in the midst of incidents such as kidnapping, eve teasing and harassment. Instances of kidnapping in the area resulted in several parents withdrawing their children from school out of fear for their safety. The presence of drinking and gambling joints in the locality increases the risk for girls who walk to school. During the interviews, some mothers said that they withdrew their daughters out of school after they complained of being harassed by roadside loafers. The men at the gambling joints also lure small children into doing small jobs for them for some money. Parents are afraid that their children would pick up bad habits if they let them roam about the area unattended. There have been several cases of girls being harassed on their way to school. A participant in one of the interviews recollected how she pulled her daughter out of school when a drunken man ran after her daughter and pulled her towards a bush. The girl managed to get away but the police did not register a complaint. In this regard the woman said,

“Should we be concerned about salvaging our respect or educating our children? It is okay if our daughters don’t study but she is of no use to us if she loses her dignity (*Amari izzat bachavani ke shokrao ne bhanavanu? Bhane nai toh chale pan izzat jati re toh amari koi kam ni nai*).” (Khushboo Park, March 2015)

Sometimes, parents are also hesitant to register complaints at the police station because of the stigma associated with such harassment which is perceived to stain the reputation and respect of their daughters.

Inability to cope with expenses in the city and lack of access to government schools or schemes resulted in a few parents sending their children back to their villages to continue their education while they earn a living in the city. A resident of Khushboo Park sent her 8 year old son back to their village in Patan to continue his education so that he could attend a government school there. He lives with his grandmother and comes to Bombay Hotel during his holidays. Once in a while she goes there to spend 15 days to look after him. Like her, a lot of other parents have also made arrangements like this where they send children back to their villages to study.

There are exceptional cases of people who are pursuing their education in Bombay Hotel against all odds. Shaheeda Bano’s daughter in law is pursuing her B.Com degree in a college at Paldi. During the monsoons, she does not live in Bombay Hotel because it is impossible to travel the distance. Ironically, Shaheeda Bano had to make her own daughter drop out of school because of the harassment she faced while going to school. She says that as parents they want to do their best to ensure that their children get a good education but there is little support from the government. Another boy called Tanveer Ansari managed to complete his 12th standard from an English medium school in Maninagar and is now pursuing his B.Com degree from R.C. College. He wants to also get a B.Ed. degree and eventually get a job with the government. Over the years, he has financed his own education by taking tuitions.

However, none of his other friends from the locality got the opportunity to go to college or complete their education.

11.2 NGO Interventions in Education: The Case of Centre for Development (CfD)⁷

Centre for Development (CfD), a non-government organization founded by Rafi Malek and Meera Malek, was actively involved in working with the victims of the 2002 riots at relief camps in Shah-e-Alam. They conducted trauma counseling mainly with women, children and adolescents. When the victims were rehabilitated in Citizen Nagar around 2003, CfD continued to work with them in their new place of residence. CfD continued this work for three years, focusing on issues concerning the education of children, providing vocational training for adolescents and creating income-generating activities for women. Thereafter, the government launched a Gyaan Shaala program under which they started primary education centres in the locality. CfD shut down its centres in order to avoid duplication of activities. However, they have continued work around livelihood and income.

Over the years, CfD was also witness to the informal development of the area and the total absence of the state from providing basic services to the locality. They have therefore also initiated activities to ensure that residents of the area are aware of their rights to basic services and have advocated on their behalf to the local government. However, it is challenging to work in an area like Bombay Hotel because of the social, economic and cultural divisions within the area. Even though the residents are all Muslim, they belong to different parts of Ahmedabad, different sects and different cultures. There are Muslims from the Sunni, Tablighi, Deobandi and Al-e-Hadeez sects as well as Muslims from different parts of the country like Gujarat, Rajasthan, Bihar, Karanataka and Maharashtra, who had no relationships, interaction or cultural bonding with each other. The anti-social elements in the area as well as politicians also took advantage of this to ensure the perpetuation of these divisions. The anti-social elements did so because of the illicit activities they are involved in and are cautious of the fact that if people get united they might raise voices and concerns over the illicit businesses in the area, especially with respect to construction. The politicians on the other hand were concerned about maintaining their vote bank and at the same time keeping the residents fragmented so that they could not unify to effectively press demands. CfD felt that the only way to unite people could be through an issue that affected all of them equally. Education thus became a central focus of CfD again.

CfD conducted a survey in 2010 to identify areas which had a large number of children who had dropped out of school. The survey revealed that there were 9000 children in Bombay Hotel who were out of school. Only a few parents could afford the cost of sending their children to private primary schools in the area. CfD conducted a big campaign on education after the survey, which was extensively covered by the media as well. Centres for school drop-outs were decided based on requirements in different pockets of the locality. One of the challenges faced by CfD was that teachers from outside were not willing to go to Bombay Hotel because of the perception that the locality was a dirty and unsafe locality. There were

⁷ Based on Interview with Rafi Malek, Director, Centre for Development, March 30, 2015.

educated women in some of the resident families, however, because of the unsafe environment in the locality, their mobility had been restricted to a great extent and they could not seek gainful employment. CfD identified such women and advertised vacancies for teaching positions in the area. Those who were hired were trained for a year. This benefitted the organization in mobilizing people for other issues as well. Teachers from outside would have had limited interaction with the rest of the community and would have stayed on in the area from 9 am to 5 pm, which would not have allowed them to grasp the problems of the area as well as a teacher from within the community.

To engage with the community without any conflict, CfD started nine education centres in different parts of the locality. Gradually, parents of the children who attended the sessions at the centres were encouraged to get involved in two issues, the right to education and protecting the rights of children. CfD also addressed the different types of abuses inflicted on children in the area. In each of the nine centres, CfD formed parent committees and an overall advocacy committee. 70 per cent of the members of these committees are women and they were given a series of training sessions. The advocacy committee worked on issues related to entitlement, ration shops, kerosene, health, nutritional food, primary school, aanganwadi, registered complaints with AMC and engaged with municipal officers in different departments. Out of this process, 3-4 women have emerged as very good leaders to take the issues of the locality to other platforms.

CfD has supported community members to take out rallies and organize themselves to fight for their rights. In one instance, a delegation of mothers and children visited the Municipal Commissioner and the Mayor to demand a government school in the area. CfD helped them get an appointment with the government officials and assisted them in preparing documents, reports and presentations for the meeting. They were a part of the protests when the government school in the area was demolished for the construction of the BRTS workshop. They are still raising concerns against the new school that would be constructed opposite the Narol Road as it would be difficult for children to cross the main road and it would be very far for children who live in the more interior areas of the locality. They are in the process of demanding a government school within Bombay Hotel up to the 10th standard. Advocacy through the community for a school is ongoing.

Between 2012 and 2013, CfD also ensured that 1756 children were enrolled in private and municipal schools surrounding Bombay Hotel. Using the RTE Act, many older children were admitted to standards equivalent to their age. Facilities for transportation were also made under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan to ensure that children do not drop out of school. Vans were hired to drop and pick up children from school and each van would take a couple of rounds. But over time, the vans became very crowded and drivers would take less number of rounds in each society.

12. Employment and Socio-Economic Vulnerabilities

Surrounded by various textile and chemical units, Bombay Hotel's location is a 'pull factor' for migrants hopeful of making a living in the city. Over time, a handful of small and medium sized garment workshops have also mushroomed within the locality. Muslims in search of better employment opportunities settled down in Bombay Hotel since it provided cheap accommodation as well as jobs. The residential mobility exercise conducted during the focus group discussions revealed that Bombay Hotel attracted people not just from different parts of the city like Jamalpur and Shah-e-Alam but also different parts of Gujarat as well as from different states including Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra.

Table 12: Nature of Employment for 71 FGD respondents

Home Based Work	24
Factory Worker	10
Unemployed	10
Casual Labour	8
Domestic Worker	6
Teacher	4
Self Employed	4
Auto Driver	2
Student	1
Not Available	2

Because of the unsafe environment in the locality coupled with cultural factors in the Muslim community, mobility of women is restricted and most of them work from home and are involved in activities such as kite making, rolling incense sticks, rakhi making, stitching garments and so on. A small percentage of women go to work in the nearby textile factories and bakeries or are employed as domestic workers. Men are either employed in the garment workshops that surround the locality or work at the different industrial units that dot the periphery of Bombay Hotel such as chemical and rubber factories or the printing press. Some of them work as casual labour and are involved in construction activities, electricity or welding works, or are employed as peons. Given the scale and density of the area, a number of residents are self-employed and work as street vendors or own small shops around the area (one of the participants owned a cycle repair shop). Some men work as auto rickshaw drivers as well.

During the focus group discussions, residents mentioned a lack of economic opportunities in spite of the presence of the nearby factories and industries. The men stated that factories in the surrounding areas were mainly textile and dyeing units which preferred to hire women on low wages. The women are paid Rs 120 a day and the men felt that they did not employ men because the factory owners do not want to pay higher wages. In the absence of suitable work nearby, men end up travelling to far off places. A construction worker said,

“To earn a decent income of Rs 150 per day we have to work for 12 hours and that too by going to far off locations and spending Rs 25-30 on travel. I have to stand

throughout the day while I am at work, at the end of the day I start getting a backache and legs also pain a lot.” (FGD 4, June 3, 2015)

Low wages coupled with large family sizes makes it difficult for families to sustain themselves and fulfill all their needs. In this regard, a worker claimed,

“We can find work in these small industries and workshops, but to get a proper job with good wages is very difficult. We work for 12-14 hours daily and should be paid Rs 500-700 but I get only Rs 300 per day. It is so difficult to sustain a family of six on these low wages. On top of it I stay on rent and have to send money to my parents at my home town.” (FGD 13, October 16, 2015)

Another problem that residents of Bombay Hotel face is the lack of frequent and reliable public transport facilities. Most of them are dependent on shared or private rickshaws which are either time consuming in the case of the former (given the amount of time they have to wait till a rickshaw is full) or expensive in the case of the latter. Zakir bhai said,

“To reach my workplace at Dani Limda I go walking to the shuttle stand and thereafter I have to change two shuttles to reach Dani Limda. From there I go walking up to my workplace and have to work for 12 hours. It takes Rs 25-30 to go and come back.” (FGD 4, June 3, 2014)

Failure to reach their work place on time results in employers deducting their wages. Their problems are compounded during the monsoons when there is waterlogging in the area. At such times, rickshaws are either not available or they charge double the amount of money which has an adverse impact on their income and savings.

The growth of the informal and illicit sector in Bombay Hotel can be attributed to the lack of access to employment opportunities. Inadequate income sources compel the residents to pursue multiple income-generating activities and then some even engage in illicit activities such as sale of alcohol, drugs etc. Youth tend to get attracted to these sources of income, perhaps looked upon also as an alternative to working long hours in a dimly lit industrial unit under the hawk-eye of a supervisor. In a focus group discussion with youth of the locality, a 20-year old young man working in a garment factory in Narol and earning Rs 10,000 a month explained that one can earn Rs 2000 a day if they work in illicit businesses like selling alcohol or drugs. He added that there are young men, particularly from poorer families, who are enticed by these high earnings (FGD, August 23, 2015).

Lack of education also draws youth towards these illicit activities. Some of them start working for the informal water or electricity suppliers with the hope of establishing their own hold over the area at some point of time. This is a “petty entrepreneurialism” where use of physical prowess and knowledge of the streets gives a group of locals power and authority over others. Routine displays of violence are used by those engaged in such activities to assert their power. A group of young boys run a gambling joint in the open plot next to Faizal Nagar. Builders also routinely pick up these youngsters to carry out any activities in which they may not want to be directly involved, such as land grabbing. In one case, to establish control over a vacant plot, a group of youth set up a carom board and organized matches all day long in order to usurp the land eventually. The landowner realized their ploy and quickly

constructed a temporary structure on that land but such tactics are very common in the area. Some of the youngsters also get affiliated with a gang or political party. One of the water suppliers, who is also a Congress worker, said,

“The boys who are in the gangs are from this area itself. It is the political leaders from the Congress Party who bring them into such activities. Badruddin Sheikh , Shailesh Parmar, all this goes on here because of them. They routinely interact with [members of the gang]. All kinds of wrong things go on here – theft, loot... (*Gang mein kam karne wale yahan ke chokre hi hote hai. Congress ke neta hi unko yeh kaam mein lagate hai. Badruddin Sheikh aur Shailesh Parmar inhi ki wajah se chalta hai. In logo ka uske sath uthna bethna rehta hai. Yahan sab galat kam hote hai, choriyan, loot pat, firauti.*)” (Interview with Yacub bhai, March 2014)

Children are also looked upon as vital resources to generate some amount of income for the household. Many children therefore work, even if they are also going to school. Sometimes they are also put to work to keep them away from getting into anti-social and illicit activities. A participant in a focus group discussion narrated the case of a mother who brought her young school-going son to work at the participant’s factory. The woman was concerned that if her son started spending time with the other children in the lane then he would also start smoking and consuming drugs. Working at a factory would not leave him with much time to spend outside and it would also support the family income.

The garment factories within Bombay Hotel are also a concern for the families residing in the area. They perceive a threat to their safety because of the single male migrants employed by these units who work and live in rooms within the locality. Many women participants in the focus group discussions felt that these workers should not stay in the same societies as families with young children and daughters. They felt that the single male migrants were untrustworthy and therefore they cannot leave their children alone at home. Men who are employed in jobs at far off locations are also constantly worried about the safety of their family because of the unsafe environment of the locality. In spite of these concerns, residents cannot raise an objection every time a residential plot is converted into a commercial unit because of the fear of the garment workshop owners. Participants in the focus group discussions felt that if they complained about the matter, the owner would threaten them using the local gangs and goons.

13. The Ecology of Fear, Violence and Insecurity

Muslims’ search for safety in numbers in the context of communal riots is one of the main reasons cited by residents for having chosen Bombay Hotel as a place to live. However, living in this ghetto does not provide an overall sense of security in their daily life, which is instead suffused with a sense of fear and lack of safety due to numerous reasons. Residents frequently referred to the *mahol* (environment) of the locality as being unsafe and fraught with a risk. This section discusses the *mahol* in Bombay Hotel and the dynamics shaping this *mahol*.

One of the indicators of the unsafe *mahol* in Bombay Hotel is the crime in the locality (Table 8). A total of 1440 cases have been registered at the Dani Limda police station in the last five years. This includes not only a large number of robberies but also over 20 murders and attempts to murder, almost 40 kidnappings, and 20 rapes. There are also a large number of cases registered around alcohol and gambling. CfD staff are of the opinion that the rate of crime in the locality is much higher. One local leader (Salam bhai, Citizen Nagar) estimated that about 35 cases from the locality would be reported every day at the Dani Limda police station.

Table 13: Crime in Bombay Hotel

List of Cases Registered at the Dani Limda Police Station from 2011 to 2015						
Nature of Crime	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015 (as of May 2015)	Total number of cases registered in five years
Murder	4	6	3	4	2	19
Attempt to Murder	1	1	3	2	-	7
Kidnapping	4	5	6	18	4	37
Rape	6	2	7	5	-	20
Robbery	55	62	65	53	13	248
Gambling	50	63	32	39	30	214
Alcohol	188	205	207	208	87	895
Total	308	344	323	329	136	1440

Source: Data received on Dani Limda Police Station RTI Application No. 70/2015, June 2015

In the focus group discussions many residents mentioned incidents of thieves breaking into houses in the locality and robbing money and jewelry. Some of these incidents had taken place in the day-time or night-time when no one was at home. Many residents therefore did not feel safe locking up their house and going out of town for even a day. There was also an incident when a thief broke in and stole money and mobile phones when the family was sleeping on the terrace. As one of the residents explained,

“The thieves are from here only. They roam about the whole day keeping an eye on houses. As soon as there is an opportunity they break in.” (Khushboo Park, March 5, 2015)

Another resident explained:

“The police never patrol the area. All types of crimes happen here. The area behind Khusboo Park is an open plot which turns into a drinking joint at night. They loot and trouble residents living in adjacent plots. An old man in our society was robbed recently. We cannot do anything because these men roam around with knives, so if we see them we have to lock our doors and sit at home. Phone snatching is also rampant in the area. As soon as it starts getting dark we have to ask our children not to play and come inside the house. The thefts mostly occur at night. A neighbor had gone out of town and the thieves robbed his house. They locked everybody else from outside so that others would not be able to get out of their house. Thefts during the winter are more common. Besides that, cattle are also stolen, we don't complain because the police don't come. If a rickshaw driver parks his vehicle they would steal tires or petrol.” (Khushboo Park, March 5, 2015).

Residents in the focus group discussions also talked about violence against women and children, often linking the lack of safety for women to the presence of illicit businesses like alcohol and gambling joints in the locality. Drugs consumption and sale was often linked to robberies as well as creating an unsafe environment for women. Few residents talked about murders, the role of builders and gangs violence in the focus group discussions, however, these emerged in individual interviews.

The locally powerful actors who dominate the area's illicit activities are largely responsible for the creation of an environment of fear, violence and insecurity. The non-state actors involved in the provision of basic services such as water and illegal electricity also generate an environment of fear through their coercive behaviour and practices. Residents are fearful of speaking out against them and are also disillusioned with the recurrent instances of police complicity in this violence and police inaction. The struggles for mere survival and relentless contest for scarce resources of land, water and jobs has also led to weakened bonds amongst residents. This also provides a fertile ground the creation of an unsafe environment.

13.1 Role of the Police

There is no police station or chowky in the locality. After Arman bhai's murder, there were rumors that a small police chowky would be constructed in Faizal Nagar, however no concrete information on this is available. The closest police station is in Dani Limda which is not easily accessible, especially when there is an emergency. Many residents feel that the absence of a police chowky in their locality is one of the main reasons for the uninterrupted flow of illicit activities in the area. Many others feel that the police are complicit with the criminals since no action is generally taken by them. The police are known to take bribes from the gangs who run illicit drinking and gambling joints.

Most of the thefts that take place in the locality are unreported because residents feel that the police may come to inspect the site of crime, but no action is subsequently taken. Due to inaction by the police, residents have stopped registering cases at the police station for crimes of lesser intensity. Some residents also claimed that one has to bribe the police to make them even come to inspect the site of theft. The disillusionment of the residents with the police is

reflected in instances of mob justice. In one incident two years ago, the police came to arrest a woman who was allegedly caught by residents trying to kidnap a child. Numerous kidnappings had occurred in the locality and she was seen to be responsible for them. Afraid that the police would let her off, residents surrounded the woman, started beating her and refused to hand her over to the police. There was an intense struggle between the residents and the police wherein the residents got violent and began to throw stones at the police van and the police in turn resorted to a “*laathi* charge” on the residents. In another incident, a thief was caught by residents in Faizal Nagar, but instead of handing him over to the police, they tied him to a pole and beat him all night. In the absence of police action to many complaints, residents often adopt counter violence in their desperation for justice.

There are also other reasons for people not registered cases at the police station. Many do not register police complaints out of fear that raising a voice would lead to a reprisal from the gangs. A resident from Khushboo Park put forth other reasons for not reporting petty crimes to the police. Going to a police station, she said, was looked upon as a bad thing in the Muslim community, especially if the complainant was a woman. Hence, residents would try to “solve” their problems on their own as far as possible. If a person committing a crime was from within the area itself, the other residents would attempt to teach him a lesson themselves instead of handing him over to the police as sending him to jail would “ruin his life” and it was necessary to give him a chance especially since he was from their community.

There have also been instances of police harassment of residents simply because of it being a Muslim locality. During the run-up to the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, the city police had conducted checking in the middle of the night in a number of Muslim localities to look for terrorists. The police knocked on doors at 2-3 am in Bombay Hotel, asking residents for documents such as rental agreements or election cards. Failure to furnish these documents could lead to immediate arrest. Local leaders ultimately objected to the random checking at night.

The need for a police station in the area is more pronounced for the security of women.

“If the police station is near, at least women will feel a little secure. At present they are too scared to step out of their house alone. They do not even go to the market (within the area) alone. *Lukhagiri* has increased a lot and hence parents do not even allow their daughters to go out for studying or other purposes” (FGD, date).

During a field visit to the locality on August 6, 2015, the research team witnessed the inauguration of a police chowky near Faizal Nagar. Local leaders in the area gathered at a spot that was demarcated for the construction of the chowky and councilor Badruddin Sheikh was present on the occasion. Although unfortunately no women were present on the occasion, a functional police chowky here might perhaps have the biggest impact for women’s safety and could play an important role in changing their perceptions of safety and security in the area.

13.2 Rule of the Builders

Many of the builders operating in Bombay Hotel also create fear amongst the residents. They have powerful connections and have well-established political links. One of the builders has two sons, one is a municipal councilor and the other is in the police. A builder who was involved in the construction of one of the rehabilitation colonies for riot victims is particularly feared. Residents of the colony cannot approach him with inquiries about the tenure status of their houses. In response to a question about what would happen if one were to ask the builder about this, a resident said “they talk only with revolvers over there” (“*wahan sirf revolver se baat hoti hai*”). The builder does not allow residents to make any changes to their houses and have appointed people to maintain a strict surveillance and inform them of any developments in the locality. Residents speculate that the builders want to construct higher storied apartments as land prices in the area have gone up considerably over the last few years.

Many of the builders are directly or indirectly involved in illicit businesses in the locality. Illicit businesses include operating alcohol and gambling joints and selling drugs. As mentioned earlier, the police are often complicit in these businesses as they take bribes in return for not taking any action. In one area of the locality, there is also illegal manufacturing of oil, which has left several residents with skin and respiratory diseases. Bribes to cover a supposed illegal oil business go right up to the Pollution Control Board, according to one resident. Thus, when one resident registered a complaint with the Board, officials from the department came to investigate, but they left after taking a bribe. These businesses are protected not only through bribes but also by creating fear among residents so that they do not raise their voice against them.

13.3 Violence by Goons and Gangs

Another phenomenon which has accentuated violence in Bombay Hotel is the presence of several gangs which quarrel among each other over land, gambling, alcohol and drugs. Some of the famous gangs in the locality are Rafiq Tilli’s gang, Rajudev Gang, Kanpuri Gang and Tempo Gang. Some of the goons who have perpetrated terror in the locality are Macchi Dada, Alam bhai and Kanta Dada. Some of the gangs are factions of families who quarrel with each other over various reasons. These quarrels usually take place in the public spaces of the locality, creating fear and potentially endangering other residents. There have been instances of firings between two gangs in Faizal Nagar that was the result of a conflict over a gambling joint. While nobody was hurt, the incident took place in the open, putting others in danger (the gang leaders who already had cases of murder and firing registered against them were arrested in this case). There have also been cases of kidnapping and abductions in the area for alleged organ trades in which gangs in the locality and outside seem to be involved.

These gangs are sub-cultural institutional arrangements that reflect the cultural isolation and alienation of the lower class Muslim youth from mainstream society. The crowded environment of Bombay Hotel which has deteriorating conditions of life inevitably lead to the emergence of a repertoire of predatory activities which reflects its decaying and disorganized social environment. Joining such gangs ends up being a logical aspiration of the

youth given the lack of economic opportunities. In an area characterized by chronic socio-economic marginalization, these gangs also emerge as instrumental responses to the lack of access to affordable legal electricity, operating in strictly demarcated territories.

The presence of these gangs and goons has infused a permanent sense of fear and anxiety among residents of the area. There are times when goons have destroyed property leading to considerable economic losses for the other residents. During the interview, we heard of instances where they have overturned food carts belonging to vendors and tossed food items around. At times they refuse to pay for the food items consumed and this has led to violent clashes between the vendor and goons. There are times when the gangs impose an informal curfew over the area and non-adherence leads to physical violence as well as destruction of property. Salam bhai narrated an incident where a barber opposite his shop did not comply with the curfew. The drunk men not only beat up the barber but also his client and dragged them over a distance in muck. These violent practices erode social cohesion, limit mobility and reduce the trust of residents in a government that is unable and even unwilling to protect them.

Table 14: Location of Illicit Activities in Bombay Hotel

Daru addas	Satta / Jugaar addas	Charas / Powder
In front of Navrang school, close to R.M pan-shop	Close to R.M pan-shop	Behind A-1 Chali
Behind A-1 Chali	In front of Mohammadi Masjid	Close to Brighton school
In front of lake close to R.M pan-shop and close to Sanjar Park	Near Azad Nagar shuttle stand	In the lane of Aarvee Denim
In the lane of Aarvee Denim	Near New Faizal Nagar shuttle stand	Near Kalandar Nagar Lake
Near Kalandar Nagar Lake	Near Citizen Nagar	Near Cozy Hotel
Lane from Cozy Hotel	Close to Himalaya Bakery	
Near Garib Nawaz Nagar	Close to Aman School	
Near the New Faizal Nagar shuttle stand	Kalandar Nagar	
Near the garbage dump	Rahim Nagar Society	

Source: Locations identified through fieldwork in 2014

The built environment of Bombay Hotel is also conducive to the functioning of such gangs who operate in narrow lanes and deserted plots which are like dark dens given the absence of street lights. Certain areas such as Shodhan Lake are more prone to being unsafe because of vacant plots, semi-built unoccupied structures, and garbage and waste dumped into the lake and lack of street lights due to which people avoid walking from here. As a result, illegal activities flourish. During one of our field visits to the area, residents revealed that the police had found a bag full of local handmade bombs in a nearby vacant plot of land.

These gangs also get involved in conflicts between residents, turning it into a more violent and dangerous situation. A resident explained one such instance:

“There was a quarrel between two households over an overflowing sewer. First it was between the women of the households, later it extended between the male members also. One of them got many *lukkhas* who came with weapons, so we helped (the other resident) and protected him in our house. The residents from my society started saying that I should not protect him and should throw him out otherwise these goons will pick a fight with my family also. These goons came to our lane and threatened us that whoever has helped this man, we will beat them also (*jiske bhi ghar mein chupa hoga hum uske bhi hath pair todenge*).” (FGD 8, June 17, 2014)

This also leads to residents fearful of getting involved in each other’s troubles and supporting each other. The murder of Arman bhai, a local leader who was caught in a fight between a gang from outside the locality and members of his extended family on a street in the locality, in early 2015 has not only shaken up other leaders and activists in the locality but has also raised doubts in their minds about the point of working for the welfare of other residents when none of them came forth to support their attempts to ensure justice for Arman bhai and his family.

13.4 Impact on Women

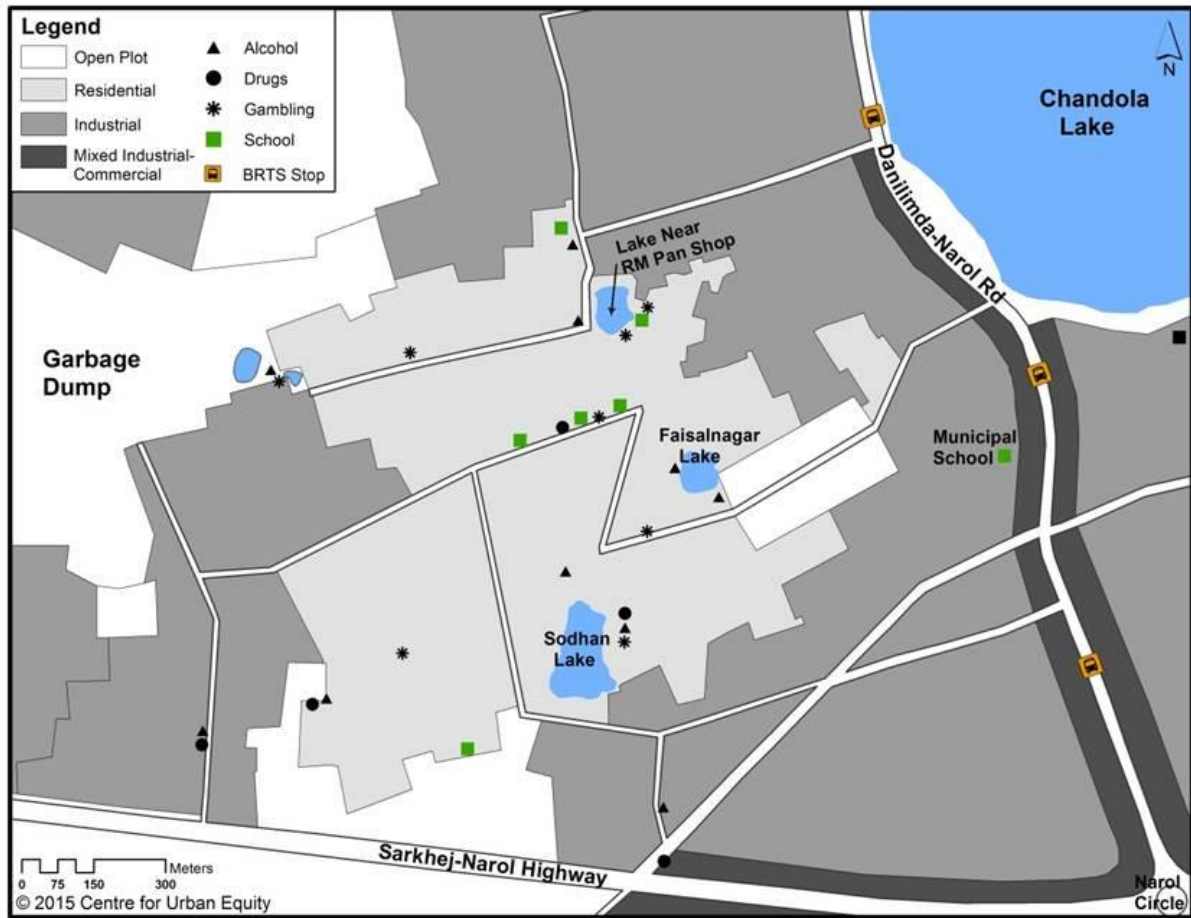
The presence of alcohol and gambling joints has rendered the area particularly unsafe for women and children. Men under the influence use foul language and harass women passing through an area. Women cannot leave their children or daughters alone at home. In case they need to go out, a neighbor or friend would keep a watch on them while they are away. Every society appears to have girls who have discontinued their education because of their parents’ safety concerns. Women narrated instances of sexual violence against women and children. One incident was explained thus:

“Recently a five year old girl was raped near the *daru adda* at Thakur Vas. The girl was severely injured and the doctors weren’t taking her case. The culprit was a 20 year old young migrant (*bhaiyya*) who ran away after the incident. He was caught three days later when a friend passed on his number to the police. The police gave him a good beating.” (FGD 5, June 4, 2014)

Women connect the threat to their personal safety with the increase in the number of single male migrants who are employed at workshops across Bombay Hotel.

Shared auto rickshaws called shuttles are the only mode of transport available to residents since the societies are at a distance from the main roads. Young women face harassment from shuttle drivers as well as male co-passengers. One of them explained that they have to be careful when they take a shuttle since there are mainly men co-passengers and they do not want a drunkard to sit next to them. Another mentioned that her niece had dropped out of school because of harassment by the shuttle driver. The girl used to go in a shuttle to the main Narol Road, then take another shuttle to Dani Limda, and then walk from there to school. The driver would keep a watch on her and then he would not take any other passengers. He would tease her and take her through different routes. She finally stopped going to school out of fear.

Figure 13: Bombay Hotel: Mapping Factors Affecting Women’s Mobility



Source: Locations identified through fieldwork in 2014

Sale of alcohol in the locality has also led to an increase in domestic violence. Men working for long hours under strenuous conditions as well as those facing the insecurity of poor employment opportunities consume alcohol in an attempt to subsume their hardships. This subsequently leads to conflicts within the family which can culminate in physical acts of violence by a man against his wife and children.

13.5 Impact on Male Youth

While the socio-cultural fabric of the locality has deep rooted impacts on women and children, male youth in Bombay Hotel are also subject to different forms of violence and conflicts. Lack of education, stress to earn a sufficient income to meet the basic needs of their impoverished families as well as their restricted access to the rest of the city has cornered them into a physical and social space which leaves little scope for individual growth.

A focus group discussion with men between the age group of 15-27 (August, 23, 2015) from Faizal Nagar revealed the everyday struggles faced by youth in the locality. There are very few recreational spaces within Bombay Hotel for the youth to unwind without being harassed by anti-social elements. The open group near Faizal Nagar is one such space where young

men gather to play sports on Sundays. However, the ground is surrounded by men who engage in ‘criminal activities’ and are in an inebriated state. Fights often erupt on the ground if a ball hits the drunk men or those gambling in a corner. Drug peddlers or alcohol vendors also lure children into doing odd jobs for them for a small sum of money. In this process, several children and youth of the locality, especially those from poor families begin to interact/associate with the so called ‘bad company’. Besides getting involved in the sale of alcohol and drugs, the youth said that the powerful goons would also give a sum of money to youngsters to physically assault other residents of the area on their behalf. Such activities which could fetch as much as Rs 2000 per day was a much more lucrative earning opportunity than working in a garment factory in which the monthly salary is around Rs 10,000. Some of the youngsters in the locality are also hired by those who are involved in the illicit supply of electricity to quickly remove and hide wires in the event of official raids and replace them when the officials have left the locality. Besides getting employment through social networks, the youth who are likely to participate in such activities are also identified by local goons at game parlors in the locality or tea stalls.

According to the young men, violence has increased in the area over the last few years. A 15 year old boy recollected the frequent violent clashes opposite his house between an alcohol vendor and the police. Every time the police would come to the area, the vendors would hide in his house and the police would fire gun shots into the air. At such times, he was sent away by his family to another relatives place but it created a visible disturbance in their lives. Another factor that came to light was that most of the youth now consider these anti-social activities and elements in Bombay Hotel as a ‘normal’ part of their lives.

However, not all the youth get involved in such activities. Some of them have tried to complete their education by working simultaneously so as not to burden their families with the cost of fees and other expenses. Being associated with organizations like Centre for Development gives them an opportunity to access other parts of the city which they may not have been able to access otherwise. For instance, CfD takes them on outings to places such as Sarkhej Roza, Science City or the Indroda Nature Park at Gandhi Nagar. However the boys lament that as youth they get to visit such places within the city but their families are more than often just confined to their homes. One of them said, “We need to go to far off places for recreational purposes. There should be such spaces around our locality so that we would save the time spent travelling.” The Sabarmati Riverfront is the only place where they can sit together with friends and enjoy the open atmosphere. After the redevelopment of the Kankaria Lake which has made it into a gated public space, the authorities introduced an entry fee to the park and everything inside also comes at a cost. Because of this they don’t like visiting the lake too often as it feels “too packed.” In this regard, one participant said, “I do not like Kankaria Lake now. Kankaria was more open earlier. Now it is all closed up and there are fees for everything” (“*Mujhe toh Kankaria accha nahi lagta hai. Kankaria mein joh khulla pehele tha woh ab mazaa nahi hai. Pura pack kar diya hai aur har cheez ki fee hai*”).

While on one hand a number of youth work for the informal service providers and local goons, on the other, some of them have also been roped in by local leaders to participate in

the development activities in the locality. One of the youth from the Focus Group Discussion was closely associated with the local leaders affiliated with the Congress Party and actively participated in campaigning during elections.

14. Directions for Addressing Conflicts and Violence in Bombay Hotel

The state's absence in providing services and security in the Bombay Hotel locality, along with the larger context of socio-economic marginalisation of the poor and lower classes in the city, which is even more acute in the Muslim population, has led to conditions of everyday structural violence on residents of the locality. Many of these conditions further lead to conflicts between residents, between groups of residents (youth, gangs, etc.), between residents and informal service providers, and between residents and the state. Some of these conflicts also become violent. This section summarizes the findings and outlines some directions for addressing conflict and violence in various facets of the everyday life of residents of Bombay Hotel.

14.1 TP Scheme Implementation

The delay in the implementation of the Town Planning (TP) schemes is one of the main factors responsible for the rapid informal development of Bombay Hotel. Builders informally bought more and more of the public and private land to construct tenements for susceptible Muslims looking for a safe and affordable dwelling place in a city that had largely turned its back on them. As years went by the residents of the area began to claim for their right to basic services as they were performing the mandated 'duties' of citizens such as paying property tax, voting and so on. Finally, the Town Planning scheme implementation was begun, however, provision of basic services through the scheme was to come at the cost of demolition of over 2000 houses in the area (that is roughly 8% of the total number of households). This has led to different positions being generated within the locality where some (presumably those whose property would not be demolished) were of the opinion that the demolitions were necessary for the larger good of the area while those whose houses were slated to be demolished felt that they would unfairly have to pay the price of the negligence of the state and the unscrupulous builders.

While the AMC has begun to make provisions for what they perceive as critical basic services such as drainage, water supply and solid waste management, they are of the stance that residents of the area would have to live without essential social amenities (especially schools, hospitals and gardens as a 'cost' for encroaching the plots reserved in the TP schemes for these amenities. During our field visits, it was observed that there are several vacant plots in the locality and AMC may be able to evolve a way of providing social amenities on these vacant plots. However, most of these vacant plots are informally owned by private landowners and some amount of negotiation might be required to construct the much needed social infrastructure which would improve the quality of life for the residents that have so far been bereft of all basic services.

Policy Recommendations with regards to the TP Scheme Implementation

While TP Scheme as a mechanism for local planning through which land allocation and basic services provision can be done is recommended as it does not involve the time-consuming

and often opposed process of land acquisition, many amendments to this planning process are required. These are recommended below:

- Reduction in the time taken between the land survey and implementation of the TP Schemes. Recently, the legislation has been amended to complete the survey, planning, approval and implementation process within three years so as to cause minimum displacements and minimize manipulations by builders.
- Design of the TP Schemes according to the socio-economic status of the existing inhabitants of the area. For instance, they may not need very wide roads, and if more space is required for schools and health centres then land should be reserved accordingly.
- In the fully developed areas, public amenities provision under the TP Scheme would necessarily require displacement. Instead, the public amenities requirements of such fully developed areas could be adjusted in the neighbouring TP Schemes or through evolving a way to use the existing vacant privately owned plots. Innovative architectural designs could also be explored so that the land area required for these public amenities is minimized and yet adequate public amenities are provided.
- Once the TP Scheme is prepared, ensure adequate governance of vacant reserved plots so that they are not encroached upon.
- The TP Act should be amended to broaden and deepen participation in the design and implementation of the TP Schemes. This should involve engagement by the authorities with not only the area's landowners but also residents who are living in informal settlements such as squatter settlements and informal commercial subdivisions. Slum upgrading approaches and resettlement within the same TP area in the case of any demolitions for TP implementation should be integrated into TP Schemes to make them more equitable.
- Public housing schemes in Muslim areas of the city so that this group can also benefit from subsidized formal housing and do not have to turn to the informal housing market to meet their housing needs.
- At the locality-level in Bombay Hotel, immediate steps should be taken by the AMC to share information with residents about the TP Schemes, the process through which they were formulated and their progress. The AMC should have a dialogue with the residents, including women, on their concerns and priorities, and how best to meet these through the TP Schemes. Amendments to the TP Schemes may be required for this. This is important for building faith amongst residents for the TP Schemes and ensuring that the schemes benefit them.

14.2 Basic Services

14.2.1 Access to Water

The absence of the state in the provisioning of water supply and the emergence of private bore-well owners have led to conflicts and violence in residents' lives around everyday access to water. In a few cases, community bore-wells and supply arrangements have emerged and these involve lesser conflicts. However, such arrangements are not sustainable long-term solutions, even if they appear to be managed well by community-appointed

operators since issues around the quality and quantity of the supplied water remain unresolved. At present, the AMC does not have any concrete plans of providing piped municipal water to most of Bombay Hotel. Only 10% of households are estimated to get water from a new tank that has been built recently in an adjacent locality.

In the meantime, AMC must increase the number of water tankers that have been allocated to the area as the present supply of drinking water is grossly inadequate and leads to many conflicts between residents. The location of the areas where the tankers supply water must be distributed to ensure that different societies have equal access to better quality drinking water. The unpredictability of the water tankers and reliance on local leaders to call the tankers causes inconvenience to the residents who lose a considerable amount of precious time in their quest for water. Better reliability in terms of timings and frequency of the tankers is an essential stop-gap solution while the AMC chalks out a long-term sustainable process of supplying water to the area. There is also a need for increased local efforts to regulate queues for water to ensure that all the residents are able to get 2-3 cans of water and that those who manage the queues do not capture more water from the tanker or favour their friends and relatives.

14.2.2 Drainage and Solid Waste Management

At present, the construction of drainage pipes across the locality is one of the most ‘visible’ interventions of AMC in Bombay Hotel. However, it remains to be seen whether this process is completed satisfactorily on the main roads as well as internal lanes. What is also essential is the ease with which residents should be able to get individual connections to the drainage lines (this requires getting a ‘No Objection Certificate’ or NOC from the AMC, and then submitting an application to the AMC with this NOC and a connection charge). Further, merely provision of infrastructure as often seen does not solve the woes of the residents as the drainage network provided must undergo periodic maintenance to prevent choking of solid waste, overflows and waterlogging in the area. This is especially important because many residents face the dangers of consuming contaminated sewage water when drainage lines overflow and this water enters the bore-wells.

Some builders have begun to fill in the remaining lakes in Bombay Hotel in order to construct houses on top of them. Being a low lying area, Bombay Hotel is naturally prone to flooding and waterlogging during the monsoons. AMC needs to take an active role to prevent further development on the three remaining lakes in the area to ensure that these features of natural drainage do not disappear. Environment pollution in the locality needs to be addressed with better solid waste management. AMC must also refrain from illegally dumping sewage from the sewage suction tankers into the lakes of the locality.

14.2.3 Electricity

The high cost of getting a legal electricity connection as well as the high costs of electricity – often due to problems with meter readings – has forced a majority of the residents of Bombay Hotel, especially but not only the tenants, to get electricity from the illegal suppliers in the locality. These illegal arrangements function due to the complicity of officials from the

Torrent Power company which is the electricity provider in Ahmedabad. To address the problem of electricity in the locality, the nexus between lower-level officials from Torrent Power and the illegal electricity suppliers in Bombay Hotel needs to be addressed. Torrent Power should also review how it addresses the issue of very high electricity bills for the low-income groups. The illegal provision of electricity also poses a hazard to residents of the area, especially young children who have been victims of electric shocks because of loose, unattended wires left around by the illegal electricity suppliers. Collective action is required by Torrent Power, AMC, local leaders and residents to address this issue.

14.2.4 Health and Education

The absence of good quality health care and educational institutions has had a detrimental impact on the quality of life and opportunities for residents of Bombay Hotel. As mentioned earlier, the TP Scheme will not be implemented in entirety in the area. Most of the lands reserved for amenities in the TP Scheme are already informally developed as housing, and the AMC does not plan to clear these encroachments as this is likely to be politically unfeasible. As a result amenities such as hospitals, schools and gardens for which land has been reserved in the TP Scheme will not be provided. NGOs, local organizations, local leaders and residents, while protesting demolitions, have not mobilized around pressuring the local political leaders and AMC to find other avenues through which these amenities can be provided to the locality.

Policy Recommendations with regards to the Provision of Basic Services and Amenities

- Measures to improve tenure security as violence can be used as a powerful tool by non-state actors involved in service provision to dominate and exploit residents whose tenure is insecure.
- Fast-track the implementation of TP Schemes to provide basic services and amenities to Bombay Hotel's residents. However, it is also essential that modifications are made in the design and implementation of the TP Schemes and this is done in a sensitive, transparent and participatory manner. The demographic and socio-economic conditions of Bombay Hotel are significantly different now as compared to when the surveys for the TP Schemes were undertaken in 2003-2004. There is a need to update the existing data so as to provide an adequate level of basic services and amenities to the residents of the locality. The design and implementation of TP Schemes should include inputs of the residents, local leaders as well as address specific needs of women and children.
- Greater accountability and transparency is necessary in the city-level and ward-level budget-making. This also applies for the funds being earmarked / utilized for development work in each locality, and local leaders as well as residents must have access to such information.
- The expenditures of the local-level elected representatives should also be included in the ward-level budgets since discretionary application of the MP, MLA and councillor funds only serves to strengthen clientelism in a manner that often creates uneven development.
- Subsidize the costs of providing basic services to poor households and offer a range of payment options.

14.3 Ecology of Fear and its Links to Employment and Socio-Economic Vulnerabilities

There are no short-term solutions to address the deep rooted ecologies of fear and violence in Bombay Hotel. Firstly, not only is a stronger police presence required in the locality but also their role in the policing of the area needs to be evaluated. Residents of the locality often do not trust the police and this also escalates their insecurities and anxieties. The compliance of the police in the illicit activities of the area and their support of the criminal and anti-social elements is one reason for the residents' mistrust. This would need to be addressed both to build people's trust in the police and also to improve the social environment of Bombay Hotel. Efforts must be taken to establish a stronger relationship between residents and the police especially around making the police more responsive to women. Secondly, although violence often takes place in the day-time and needs to be addressed through a more responsive police, certain types of crimes and violence also occur more easily at night due to the lack of provision of infrastructure such as street lights. Street light provision would therefore contribute towards reducing the possibilities of theft and harassment at night. Thirdly, women have often felt that public spaces in Bombay Hotel are dominated by men because of the presence of alcohol, drug and gambling joints. Inserting women-friendly activities, with the support of NGOs and police, into different parts of the locality's public spaces would make the locality's public spaces safer. Lastly, youth are drawn to opportunities for income provided by gangs and illicit businesses that operate in the locality. Long-term interventions are needed to improve education and economic opportunities for residents, especially youth, that would address their socio-economic marginalization.

Policy Recommendations to address Crime and Violence in the Locality

- The social problems faced by the locality can be addressed through urban upgrading through the sensitive implementation of the Town Planning Scheme. The provision of infrastructure such as street-lights, paved roads, planned open spaces (which are designed and governed in order that they are accessible to women and children) as well as social amenities like public schools could help in reducing the opportunities for crime and violence.
- The role of the police in such localities needs to be re-assessed. It is important that the police is more accessible and responsive to the residents along with being more visible in the locality.
- Formation of peace committees and other associations with residents' active participation to address conflicts among residents as well as conflicts of the residents with coercive and threatening actors.

In addition to the above, addressing the issue of women's safety in informal commercial subdivisions like Bombay Hotel requires policy responses at two levels: city-level and locality-level.

City-level policies:

- Recognition of such settlements by the AMC and preparing participatory local development plans for each of these settlements so as to improve basic infrastructure in

such areas and thus reduce the risks of harassment faced by women due to lack of services.

- Proactive provision of basic services in the area would help to break the stranglehold of the service-providing mafias that rule through threats and violence.
- Provision of appropriate, affordable and safe public transport to create safe mobilities for women in the city.
- Develop affordable and regulated systems of Intermediate Public Transport (IPT) so that the last-leg connectivity from the public transport routes can be safely provided.

Locality-level policies:

- Better roads and adequate, functioning street-lights.
- Create partnerships between the AMC, police and residents to create well-maintained and safe open spaces in the locality. Participation of women in these processes and partnerships is important.
- A dialogue in the locality is necessary to address the fear and insecurity that comes out of families and single male migrants living in close proximity. Segregation of residential areas and industrial workshops could be one way of addressing this, however, the viability of this is unclear in Bombay Hotel. Therefore, a dialogue with all the relevant groups might help to find the best way of addressing this issue. In this context, policy-makers and planners would also have to be sensitive to the vectors of marginalization faced by single male migrants so that they are not inadvertently demonized and marginalized in the effort to create safe spaces for women.
- Construction of a police chowky began in mid-2015 in the locality, however, it is also essential that the police are responsive to women's concerns.
- NGOs can play an important role in supporting women to become independent and capable of dealing with violence. There are already some NGOs working in the locality on women's issues (training them in self-defence techniques, encouraging girls' education, etc.). This work needs to be expanded to address more women and address issues like low wages, and also requires the state's active support. When women are given an impetus to become economically and socially independent, they would be in a stronger position to address and challenge the violence inflicted on them.

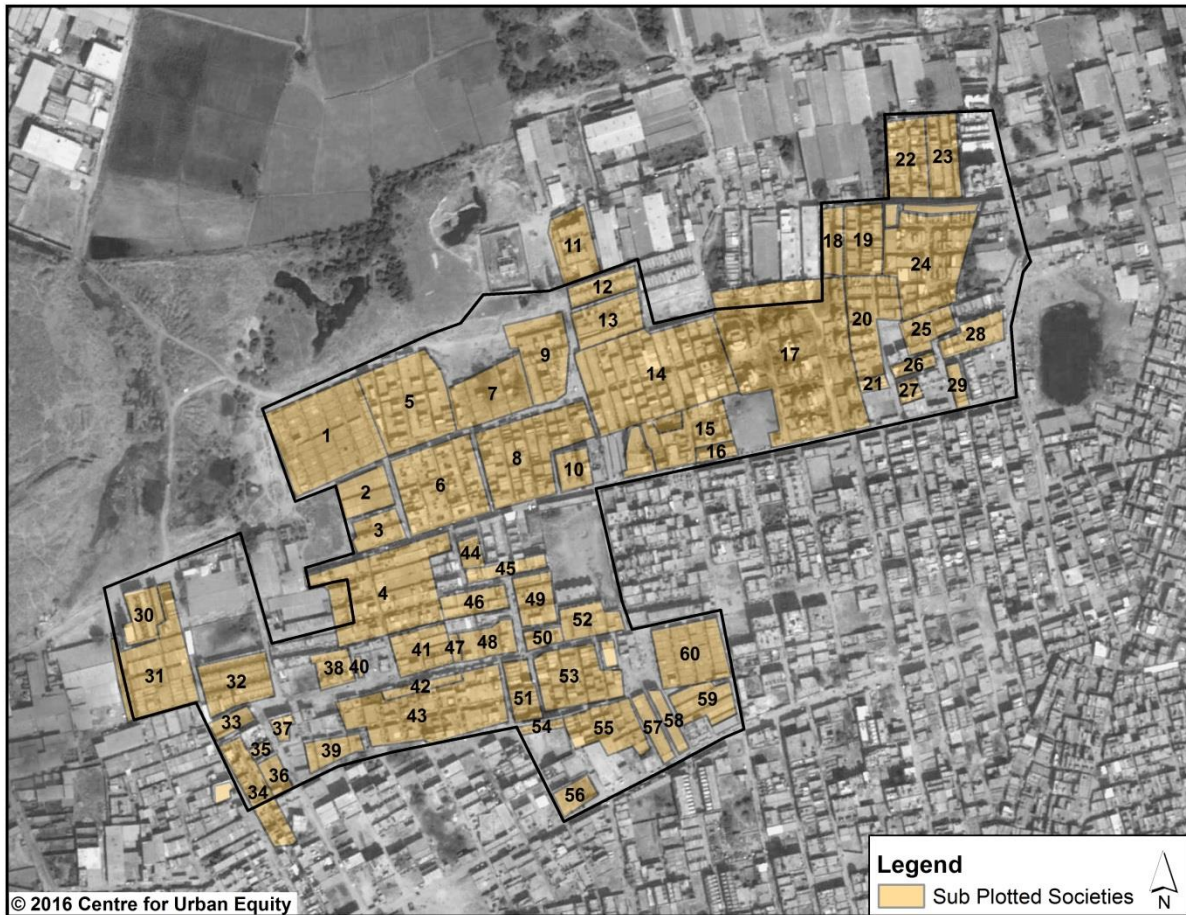
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Annexures

Annexure 1: Pockets Mapped in Bombay Hotel

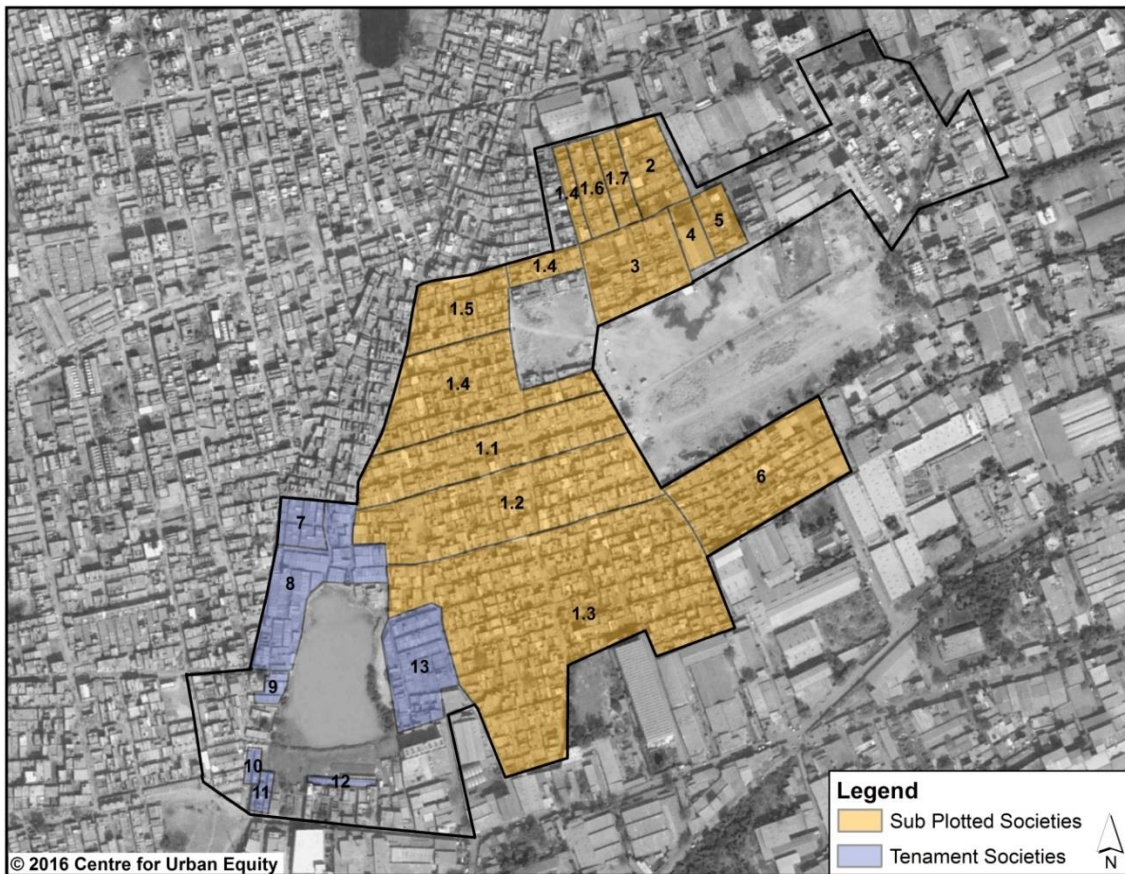
1. Societies in Khajuri pocket



List of Societies in Khajuri pocket

No.	Name of Society	No.	Name of Society
1	A.1. Nagar	31	Citizen Nagar A & B
2	Rabiya Complex	32	Mubarak Nagar
3	Abbas Society	33	Mehboob Duplex
4	Simran Society	34	A.1 Row Houses
5	Janta Row House	35	Panchnagri
6	Ashiyana Society	36	Raza Nagar
7	A.1. Nagri	37	Mehboob Duplex
8	Azad Nagar	38	Nabil Tenament
9	Al Noor, Samin Park, Bismillah Nagar, Bismillah Park and Bismillah Palace	39	Uzma Nagar 3
10	Jamila Duplex	40	Faizan Duplex
11	Sanjari Society	41	Faizan Park 2
12	Chistiya Society	42	Alif Suhana
13	Rahil Society	43	Al Minaz
14	New Shah-e-alam Row Houses	44	Bismillah Duplex
15	Rehan Park	45	Ashiyana Society
16	Karaliyo ke Duplex	46	Neha Society
17	Al- Mohammadi Society	47	Al Rasool
18	Ronak Park	48	Alminaz 2
19	Sanjar Park 3	49	Safdar Park
20	Sanjar Park 3	50	Safdar Park
21	Bismillah Duplex	51	Faizan Park
22	Muskan Society	52	Uzma Nagar 2
23	New Classic Society	53	Sanjar Park 2
24	Sufiana Society	54	New building G+2
25	Mariya Complex	55	Mira nagar 1 and 2
26	Moin Duplex	56	Himalaya bakery
27	RM complex	57	Zinat Nagar
28	Ayesha Duplex	58	Vacant building
29	Mohammad Duplex	59	Indira Colony
30	Memon Colony	60	Uzma Nagar

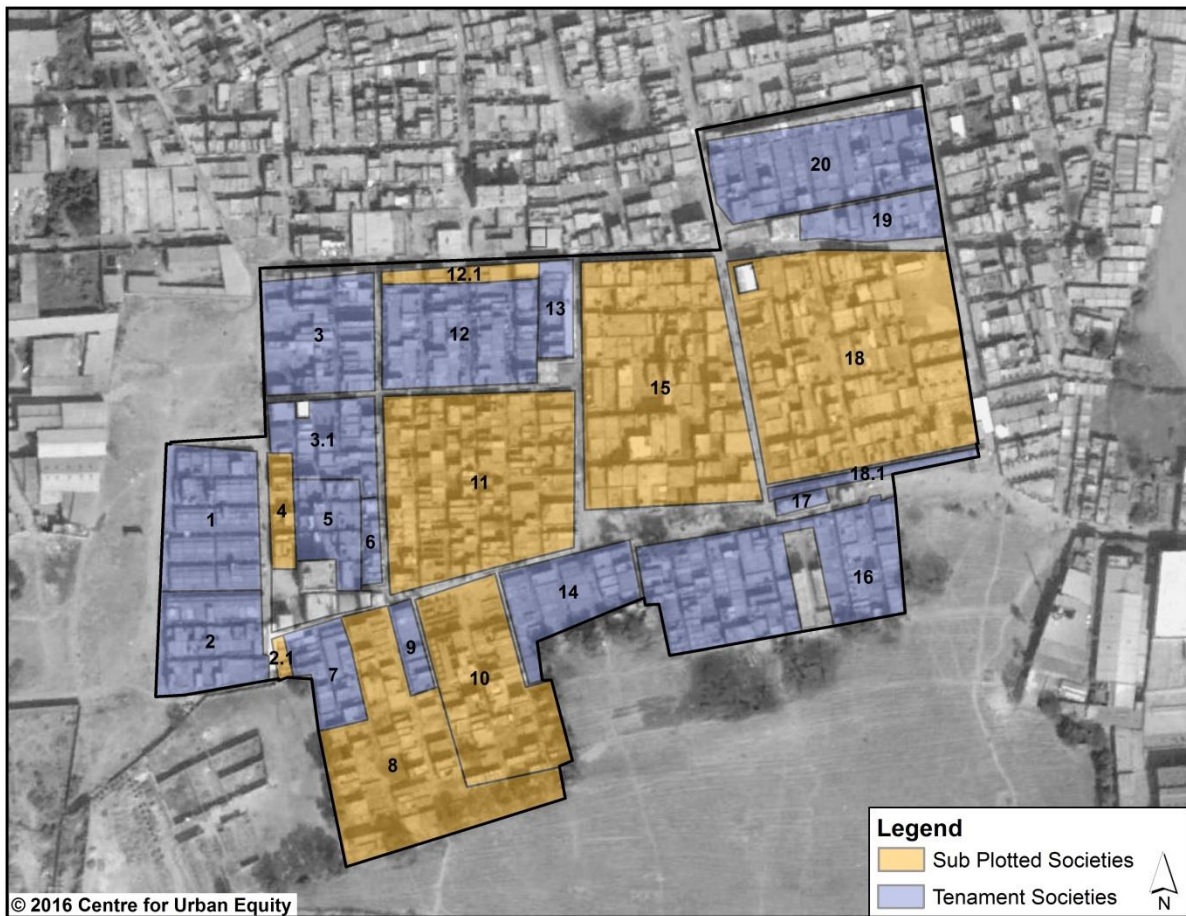
2. Societies in Khwaja Nagar pocket



List of Societies in Khwaja Nagar pocket

No.	Name of Society
1.1	New Faizal Nagar Part A
1.2	New Faizal Nagar Part AAA
1.3	New Faizal Nagar Part AA
1.4	New Faizal Nagar Part B
1.5	New Faizal Nagar Part M
1.6	New Faizal Nagar Part D
1.7	New Faizal Nagar Part C
2	Sanjar Park
3	Hariyali Nagar
4	(Unidentified)
5	Ahmed Raza
6	Khawaja Nagar
7	Garib Nawaz Nagar
8	Ronak Park
9	Sunehri Row Houses
10	Najmiya Row Houses
11	Jamila Row Houses
12	Jamila Row Houses
13	Kalandar Nagar


3. Rahim Nagar



List of Societies in Rahim Nagar pocket

No.	Name of Society	14	Saiyednagar
1	A1 Chali	15	Ahmedabad Park
2	Khusbu Park	16	Fatehnagar
2.1	Khusbu Park	17	Rabiya duplex
3	Not Available	18	Sukunpark
3.1	Not Available	18.1	Sukunpark - Chali
4	Gulistan	19	New construction
5	Sahil Park	20	Tavakkal 2 - chapra
6	Heena Row Houses		
7	A1 Row house - Razool		
8	New Faizal Nagar		
9	Shunab Row Houses		
10	Khokhar		
11	Kishtiyanagar		
12	Rahimnagar A		
12.1	Rahimnagar A		
13	Commercial building / Madresa		

Annexure 2: Government Notification regarding NOC

<p>અમદાવાદ મ્યુનિસિપલ કોર્પોરેશન</p>  <p>નગર વિકાસ ખાતુ</p> <p>સરકયુલર: સને ૨૦૧૪-૨૦૧૫</p>	
<p>સરકયુલર નં. ૦૧/૨૦૧૪-૨૦૧૫</p> <p>આથી નગર વિકાસ ખાતાના તમામ ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફને જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે લાયસન્સદાર એન્જિનિયરશ્રી કમલેશ રમેશચંદ્ર ડાભીએ કલાર્ક ઓફ વર્કસનું લાયસન્સ સરન્ડર કરવામાં આવેલ હોઈ તેઓના કલાર્ક ઓફ વર્કસ તરીકેના લાયસન્સ નં. CW 0586190918 રદ કરવામાં આવે છે. આથી તેઓની કલાર્ક ઓફ વર્કસ તરીકે નિમણૂક કરવામાં આવી હોય તેવા વિકાસ પરવાનગીના તમામ કેસોમાં (બી.યુ.પરમિશન મેળવવામાં ન આવી હોય તેવા) જી.ડી.સી.આર.ના કલોઝ નં. પ. ૨ મુજબ કાર્યવાહી કરવાની રહેશે. આની નોંધ દરેક ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફ લેવી. આ પરિપત્રનો તાત્કાલીક અસરથી અમલ કરવો.</p>	<p>તા.૨૩/૦૪/૨૦૧૪</p> <p>નગર વિકાસ અધિકારી</p>
<p>સરકયુલર નં. ૨/૨૦૧૪-૨૦૧૫</p> <p>(સંદર્ભ:- અ.મ્યુ.કો. બજેટ બેઠક ૨૦૧૪-૧૫માં કરાયેલ ઠરાવ)</p> <p>આથી નગર વિકાસ ખાતાના તમામ ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફને જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે અ.મ્યુ.કો. બજેટ બેઠક ૨૦૧૪-૧૫માં કરાયેલ ઠરાવ(બજેટ બુક અંદાજપત્ર-એ સને-૨૦૧૪-૧૫, પાના નં. ૨૭, અનુ. નં. ૩૧) અનુસંધાને સદરહુ ઠરાવનો અમલ કરવા મ્યુનીસિપલ કમિશનરશ્રીએ તા: ૩૦/૦૫/૨૦૧૪ ના રોજ આપેલ મંજૂરી અનુસાર ૪૦ .૦૦ ચો.મી. સુધીની કાર્પેટ એરીયાવાળા રહેણાંકના મકાનોમાં વસતા નાગરીકોને કામચલાઉ ધોરણે પાણી, ડ્રેનેજ કનેક્શન તથા વિજળી જોડાણ લેવા માટે “ના વાંધા પ્રમાણપત્ર” આપવાની ફી રૂા. ૫૦૦/- (અંકે રૂપિયા પાંચસો પુરા)ને બદલે રૂા. ૧૦૦/- (અંકે રૂપિયા એક સો પુરા) વસુલ લઈ “ ના વાંધા પ્રમાણપત્ર” આપવા અંગેની આનુષંગિક કાર્યવાહી કરવા જણાવવામાં આવે છે. આ સરકયુલરનો તાત્કાલિક અસરથી અમલ કરવો. આ અંગે અગાઉ કરેલ સરકયુલર નં. ૫/૨૦૦૮-૦૮ આથી રદ કરવામાં આવે છે. આની નોંધ દરેક ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફ લેવી.</p>	<p>તા.૩૧/૦૫/૨૦૧૪</p> <p>ડે.મ્યુનિસિપલ કમિશનર(યુ.ડી)</p>
<p>સરકયુલર નં. ૦૩/૨૦૧૪-૨૦૧૫</p> <p>આથી નગર વિકાસ ખાતાના તમામ ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફને જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે ડે.મ્યુનિ.કમિશનર(પશ્ચિમ ઝોન)શ્રીની તા. ૨૭/૦૫/૨૦૧૪ની મંજૂરી અનુસાર લાયસન્સદાર એન્જિનિયરશ્રી મેહુલ બી.ચૌધરીનું એન્જનીયર તરીકેનું લાયસન્સ નં. ER 0636210217R1 અને લાયસન્સદાર એન્જનીયર શ્રી વિપિનચંદ્ર બી.કોન્ટ્રાક્ટરનું સ્ટ્રક્ચરલ ડીઝાઈનર તરીકેનું લાયસન્સ નં. SD 0297110917R1 તથા કલાર્ક ઓફ વર્કસ તરીકેના લાયસન્સ નં. CW 0407300418R1 રદ કરવામાં આવે છે. આથી તેઓની એન્જનીયર, કલાર્ક ઓફ વર્કસ તથા સ્ટ્રક્ચરલ ડીઝાઈનર તરીકે નિમણૂક કરવામાં આવી હોય તેવા વિકાસ પરવાનગીના તમામ કેસોમાં (બી.યુ.પરમિશન મેળવવામાં ન આવી હોય તેવા) જી.ડી.સી.આર.ના કલોઝ નં. પ. ૨ મુજબ કાર્યવાહી કરવાની રહેશે. આની નોંધ દરેક ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફ લેવી. આ પરિપત્રનો તાત્કાલીક અસરથી અમલ કરવો.</p>	<p>તા.૩૧/૦૫/૨૦૧૪</p> <p>નગર વિકાસ અધિકારી</p>
<p>સરકયુલર નં. ૦૪/૨૦૧૪-૨૦૧૫</p> <p>આથી નગર વિકાસ ખાતાના તમામ ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફને જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે ડે.મ્યુનિ.કમિશનર(પશ્ચિમ ઝોન)શ્રીની તા. ૨૩/૦૬/૨૦૧૪ની મંજૂરી અનુસાર લાયસન્સદાર એન્જિનિયરશ્રી મેહુલ બી.ચૌધરીનું કલાર્ક ઓફ વર્કસ તરીકેનું લા.નં. CW 0327061015 R1 અને લાયસન્સદાર એન્જનીયરશ્રી જીગીષ દિનેશચંદ્ર પરીખનું સ્ટ્રક્ચરલ ડીઝાઈનર તરીકેનું લા.નં. SD 0061010816 R2 સસ્પેન્ડ કરવામાં આવે છે. આથી તેઓની કલાર્ક ઓફ વર્કસ તથા સ્ટ્રક્ચરલ ડીઝાઈનર તરીકે નિમણૂક કરવામાં આવી હોય તેવા વિકાસ પરવાનગીના તમામ કેસોમાં (બી.યુ.પરમિશન મેળવવામાં ન આવી હોય તેવા) જી.ડી.સી.આર.ના કલોઝ નં. પ. ૨ મુજબ કાર્યવાહી કરવાની રહેશે. આની નોંધ દરેક ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફ લેવી. આ પરિપત્રનો તાત્કાલીક અસરથી અમલ કરવો.</p>	<p>તા.૨૭/૦૬/૨૦૧૪</p> <p>નગર વિકાસ અધિકારી</p>
<p>સરકયુલર નં. ૦૫/૨૦૧૪-૨૦૧૫</p> <p>આથી નગર વિકાસ ખાતાના તમામ ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફને જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે ડે.મ્યુનિ.કમિશનર(નવા પશ્ચિમ ઝોન)શ્રીની તા. ૧૫/૦૭/૨૦૧૪ ની મંજૂરી અનુસાર લાયસન્સદાર એન્જિનિયરશ્રી વિપિનચંદ્ર બી.કોન્ટ્રાક્ટરનું એન્જનીયર લાયસન્સ નં ER 0642170417 R1 જે અગાઉ સરકયુલર નં. ૪૧ /૨૦૧૩-૨૦૧૪, તા. ૨૪/૦૧/૨૦૧૪ થી રદ કરવામાં આવેલ તે લાયસન્સ પુનઃ ચાલુ કરવામાં આવે છે. આ પરિપત્રની દરેક ટેકનીકલ સ્ટાફ નોંધ લેવી.</p>	<p>તા.૧૭/૦૭/૨૦૧૪</p> <p>નગર વિકાસ અધિકારી</p>
<p>સરકયુલર નં. ૬/૨૦૧૪-૧૫</p> <p>આથી તમામ ડે.મ્યુનિસિપલ કમિશનરશ્રી (ઝોન), આસી.મ્યુનિ.કમિશનરશ્રી, નગર વિકાસ તેમજ એસ્ટેટ ખાતાના તમામ અધિકારીશ્રીઓ/કર્મચારીઓને જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે મ્યુનિસિપલ કમિશનરશ્રીની તા.૦૧/૦૮/૨૦૧૪ની મંજૂરી મુજબ મોબાઈલ ટાવર ઈન્સ્ટોલેશન ચાર્જ અને વાર્ષિક ફી/ચાર્જ અંગે સ્ટે.કમીટી ઠરાવ નં. ૧૩૬/, તા.૦૫/૦૬/૨૦૧૪ તથા મ્યુનિ.જન.બોર્ડ ઠરાવ નં. ૧૩૧, તા. ૨૭/૦૬/૨૦૧૪ અનુસાર નીચે મુજબની ફી/ચાર્જ વસુલ લેવાની કાર્યવાહી કરવાની રહેશે.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(અનુસંધાન બીજા પાને)</p>	<p>તા.૦૩/૦૮/૨૦૧૪</p>

Centre for Urban Equity (CUE) advocates a human-centered and equitable urban development paradigm. The activities of CUE are research, policy advocacy, training and capacity building and data documentation and dissemination. The centre is a National Resource Centre of Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation,



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