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SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

Urban beautification and infrastructure projects in Ahmedabad such as the Sabarmati riverfront project, the Kankaria lakefront project and road-widening projects, including for the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS), have displaced thousands of poor households since the mid-2000s. Many have been resettled in public housing built by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) under the Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) programme of the Central Government's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Almost half of this BSUP housing is built at seven adjacent sites in Vatwa. (Map 1). AMC allotted flats at three of these sites between 2010-2014.

The constrained mobility and stressed livelihoods created by displacement and resettlement to sites like Vatwa is a form of structural violence inherent in the development paradigm adopted in Ahmedabad over the past decade. Four dimensions of urban planning produce this structural violence. Distant relocation along with lack of appropriate and affordable transport options negatively impact the mobility, work and livelihoods of a vast majority. Both men and women are impacted negatively but in gender-specific ways. Lack of adequate social amenities nearby, coupled with lack of appropriate and affordable transport options, have also negatively impacted livelihoods. Increased expenditures for basic services and housing maintenance create further challenges for livelihoods. Finally, the unsafe environment at the resettlement sites, which is borne out of planning and governance dynamics, constrains women's mobility, also impacting livelihoods.
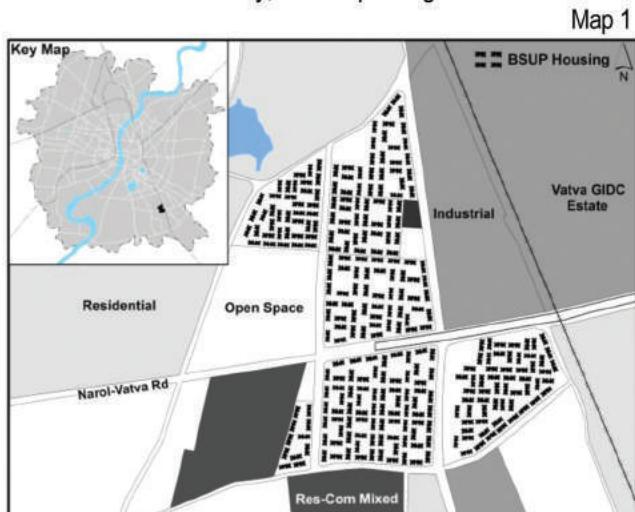
AHMEDABAD POLICY BRIEF 1

VATWA RESETTLEMENT SITES
Constrained Mobility and Stressed Livelihoods

"Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Indian Cities: Towards Inclusive Policies and Planning," a three-year research project (2013-16) undertaken by Centre for Urban Equity (CUE), CEPT University in Ahmedabad and Guwahati, and Institute for Human Development in Delhi and Patna, is funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada and Department of International Development (DFID), UK, under the global programme Safe and Inclusive Cities (SAIC). The research analyzes the pathways through which exclusionary urban planning and governance leads to different types of violence on the poor and by the poor in Indian cities.

The CUE research takes an expansive approach to violence, examining structural or indirect violence (material deprivation, inequality, exclusion), direct violence (direct infliction of physical or psychological harm), overt conflict and its links to violence and different types of crime. We note that not all types of violence are considered as crime (for example, violence by the state), and not all types of crime are considered as violence (for example, theft).

In Ahmedabad, the largest city of Gujarat state, the research focuses on two poor localities: Bombay Hotel, an informal commercial subdivision located on the city's southern periphery and inhabited by Muslims, and the public housing sites at Vatwa on the city's south-eastern periphery used for resettling slum dwellers displaced by urban projects.

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Map 1

Map 1 — Key Map; BSUP Housing; Vatva GIDC Estate; Industrial; Residential; Open Space; Naroi-Vatva Rd; Res-Com Mixed

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1. DISTANT RELOCATION, TRANSPORT AND IMPACTS ON MOBILITY, WORK AND LIVELIHOOD

The households resettled at the Vatwa sites are 7-15 kms from their former neighbourhoods where they had lived for long and hence had found work places that were easily accessible. Many used to walk or cycle to work. Distant relocation has forced them to spend high amounts on motorized transport to reach work (See Box 1), entailing a reduction in their effective income. Many women have stopped working consequently, coupled with the difficulties that longer travel time creates for juggling paid work and household work. Many youngsters who used to walk to nearby central city areas and find casual work have stopped working since the irregular nature of casual work (i.e. no guarantee that one will find work on any given day) does not justify the transport expense. For casual workers, searching for work now depends on having money for transport. As a result, searching for work has itself become more irregular. Dropping out of the workforce and higher underemployment has severely impacted livelihoods.

"Transport fares kill us."
"We have been broken by transport fares."

For those who have continued with their previous work, travel costs have reduced their effective income. For example, women domestic workers who walked to work from their homes in the Paldi, Lal Darwaza, Khanpur and Shahpur areas now spend one-third to one-fourth of their income on transport (Rs.30-40 per day; therefore, Rs.900-1200 out of a monthly income of Rs.3000-4000). Vendors used to keep their vending cart at home and walked with it to the wholesale market and/or their vending place. Now, they have to spend about Rs.300 per month to rent a spot for their vending cart at walking distance of the market or their vending place as well as on transport to reach it.

Many residents have shifted to other work due to the distance and transport issues. Many women have taken up home-based work. However, earnings are low. For example, women making plastic flower garlands or rakhis make less than Rs. 100 per day since the piece-rates are low (Rs.8 for making 12 dozen pieces). Earnings are more for stitching clothes (Rs.30 for dozen pieces). However, their earnings before resettlement were higher (Rs.100 for stitching dozen pieces) as they directly procured work from the trader. Post-resettlement, reaching the trader entails high travel costs (transporting raw materials / finished goods requires spending Rs.100-120 one-way for a metered rickshaw), making them dependent on middlemen who give work at reduced rates.

Some of the residents have shifted to self-employment by opening shops and stalls at/near the resettlement sites. Not all, however, have been able to maintain or improve their previous income levels as many sell the same few items and the clientele (mostly confined to the sites' other residents) thus gets distributed among them.

Note that the nature of work available nearby (industrial work at the Vatwa GIDC industrial estate) is of a vastly different kind than what most residents have done (vending, domestic work, casual labour in construction or small-scale trade activities). Since it pays less for longer hours and harder labour, many do not see it as a legitimate option. Some Muslims also reported discrimination in the GIDC estate. Domestic work is available nearby, but this pays less than in the city's centrally located areas.

Total BSUP sites built by AMC	Approx. 20 sites: Approx. 20,000 flats
BSUP sites built in Vatwa	7 sites: 9200 flats
Allotted BSUP sites in Vatwa (till 2014)	3 sites: 4992 flats

Community profile at the research sites in Vatwa		
Kusha Bhau Thakre Nagar (KBT Nagar)	Displaced from 8 slums on BRTS route from Ambedkar Bridge to Kankaria	Almost fully Hindu (different castes)
Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar (VGG Nagar)	Displaced from about 10 riverfront slums	Almost fully Muslim
Sadbhavna Nagar	Displaced from 8 slums on BRTS route from Ambedkar Bridge to Kankaria, and about 10 riverfront slums	Hindu (different castes) and Muslim

2. LIVELIHOOD IMPACTS OF THE DEPENDENCE ON TRANSPORT TO ACCESS SOCIAL AMENITIES

Residents were close to, or better-connected to, social amenities at their previous localities due to the latter's more central locations. At Vatwa, only a primary municipal school, whose education quality is poor, is at walking distance. Reaching other amenities like the children's former schools or private schools, public healthcare, colleges, and recreational open spaces entail new or higher transport costs. Residents also spend more on transport to access the public distribution system as the state has failed to facilitate the transfer of their ration cards from their previous ration shop to a nearby one. All these transport costs impact livelihoods. In many cases, residents have pulled children out of school, compromise on getting healthcare, etc, which would reduce their life chances.

Distant location de-links people from their access to social amenities given that peripheral locations in Indian

Map 2

Source : Based on FGD data from all women of working-age (>18 Yrs) (72 Nos.)

4 women do seasonal kitchen work

11 women do home based work

5 women are self employed at shops at/near the site

29 women are not working

23 women travel to work
- • 1
- • 2
- • 3
- • 5

Bus Routes
- Bus No.14
- Bus No.18
- Bus No.54
- Vatva BSUP Site
- AMC Boundary

Km
0   1.5   3   6   N

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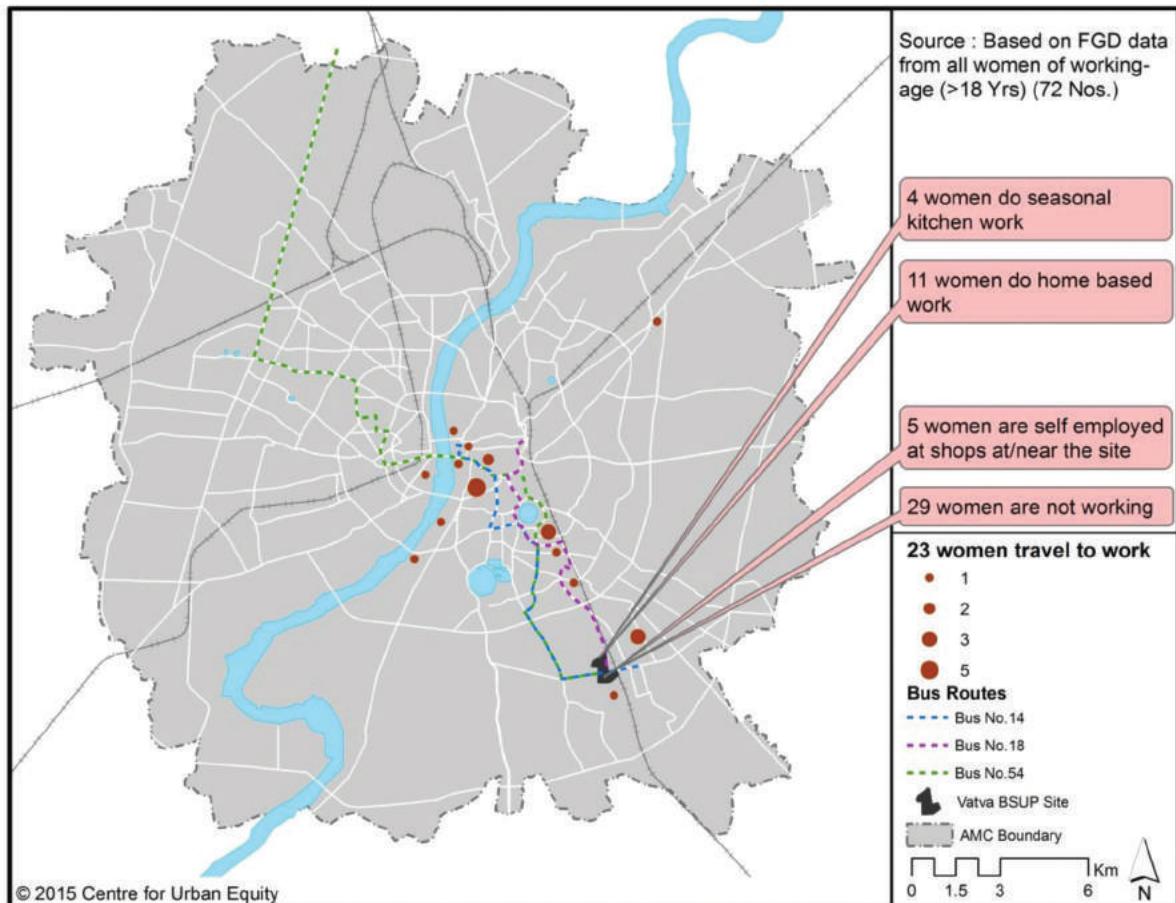
cities inevitably lack these. The city's expansion pattern is that people first move to the periphery, water and sanitation follow, and the last to come is transport. The costs of transition to the peripheral locations are therefore entirely borne by the households. For low-income households, this transition leads to reduction in effective family income through many routes.

Box 1: Public Transport (PT) and Intermediary Public Transport (IPT) Connections from Vatwa

Public transport at Vatwa consists of three Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service (AMTS) buses. Given the distance and the fare increase in 2012, the AMTS fares to central areas of the city are high (e.g. Rs.14 one-way to Lal Darwaza – See map). These buses do not connect to all the work destinations of residents and have inadequate frequency (KBT Nagar local leaders have appealed to the government for one more AMTS bus route, but this has not yet been provided).

As a result, many turn to shuttle / shared auto-rickshaws, a form of Intermediary Public Transport (IPT). These auto-rickshaws ply along fixed routes with fixed fares (instead of metered fares) and illegally take up to eight passengers (instead of the permissible four passengers). Women find the experience uncomfortable as they are forced to sit in close proximity to men. Shuttle fares are also quite high (e.g. Rs.15 one-way to Lal Darwaza).

3. LIVELIHOOD IMPACTS OF HIGHER HOUSING-RELATED EXPENDITURES

There are increased expenditures on basic services and infrastructure maintenance. Many residents have been getting high electricity bills that entail paying more than double of what they used to pay in their previous locality. The maintenance of building corridor lights and water and drainage infrastructures entails new costs for residents. Residents have to pay the bore-well water operator Rs.20-30 per month. They are also expected to pay for repairing damaged water and drainage pipes and valves in their buildings. After AMC stopped repairing the motors in the underground water tanks in mid-2014, residents have had to pay for this also. The frequency with which motor repairs are required depends on various factors and can be monthly or once every several months (See Policy Brief 2 for a detailed discussion on basic services and infrastructure).

4. IMPACTS OF UNSAFE ENVIRONMENTS ON WOMEN'S MOBILITY AND LIVELIHOODS

Theft and robbery, illicit activities, sexual harassment and sometimes even sexual assault, and kidnapping of children have been widespread at the Vatwa resettlement sites. Fear lurks even among those who have not directly experienced these crimes. As a result, many women have stopped work, which has also negatively impacted livelihoods. The planning and governance dynamics that have created this unsafe environment are discussed in Policy Briefs 3, 4 and 5.
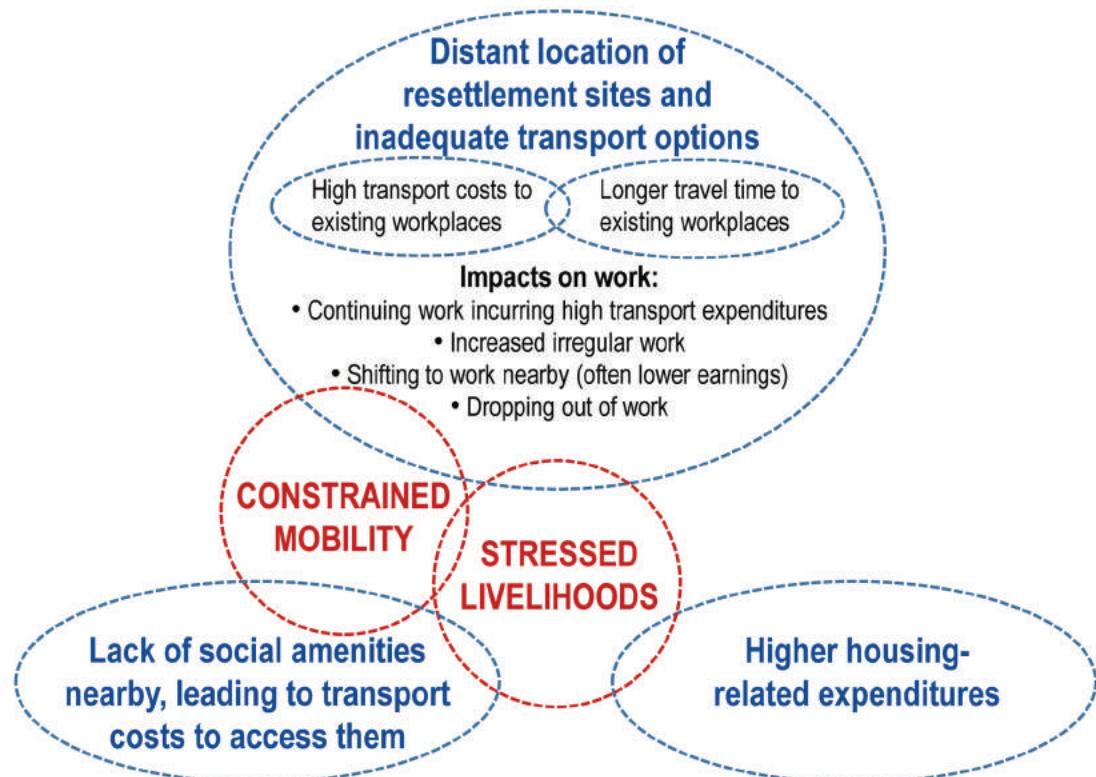
Distant location of resettlement sites and inadequate transport options

High transport costs to existing workplaces

Longer travel time to existing workplaces

Impacts on work:
- Continuing work incurring high transport expenditures
- Increased irregular work
- Shifting to work nearby (often lower earnings)
- Dropping out of work

CONSTRAINED MOBILITY

STRESSED LIVELIHOODS

Lack of social amenities nearby, leading to transport costs to access them

Higher housing-related expenditures

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Displacement should be minimized and development decisions made after thorough consideration of the displacement it would cause and the risks posed by this for vulnerable groups.
- If displacement is unavoidable, resettlement should be in nearby locations so that residents' mobilities and livelihoods are not negatively impacted. Distant relocation has negative repercussions for mobility and livelihoods as it entails higher transport costs as well as de-links people from the socio-economic networks they have established in and around their neighbourhood.
- Public housing for low-income households should be developed along with provision of good-quality, functioning social amenities so that they are accessible and minimize the transport expenditures of the resettled households.
- Enhancing livelihoods is essential for households to have the economic capacity to incur the higher expenses around basic services and maintenance in public housing. If livelihoods are not enhanced, these higher expenditures can create severe livelihood stresses (then residents cope by leaving infrastructures unmaintained, which affects their access to basic services and can also lead to conflicts).

- Government authorities should plan basic services provision and maintenance over the long-term after a realistic assessment of households' economic capacities. This planning should be done before housing interventions begin. This would help to reduce the possibility of housing-related expenditures becoming a driver of violence and conflict.

Research Methods
- Locality mapping and community profiling
- Ethnography + ad-hoc conversations
- 11 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)
- 7 unstructured group discussions (GDs)
- 35 individual interviews (leaders, water operators)
- Total 51 men and 53 women participated in the FGDs, GDs and interviews.
- Interviews with political leaders & municipal officials
- Master's thesis: 10 FGDs (46 women) on transport and women's safety.

SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

Urban beautification and infrastructure projects in Ahmedabad such as the Sabarmati riverfront project, the Kankaria lakefront project and road-widening projects, including for the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS), have displaced thousands of poor households since the mid-2000s. Many have been resettled in public housing built by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) under Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP), a programme of the Government of India's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM). Almost half of this BSUP housing is built at seven adjacent sites in Vatwa (Map 1). By 2012, AMC had allotted flats at three sites: KushaBhau Thakre Nagar (KBT Nagar), Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar (VGG Nagar) and Sadbhavna Nagar (resettlement at the other sites began in 2015). Obtaining resettlement has been a struggle and has also not led to improvement in socio-economic conditions for a vast majority. It has even deepened structural violence in their lives, and has led to everyday conflicts, crime and violence at many sites.

The displacement and resettlement at Vatwa has led to a proliferation of illicit businesses such as selling alcohol and drugs and running alcohol and gambling dens. These are responsible for much of the violence and conflict experienced by residents at these sites. Residents pointed out that men intoxicated on alcohol or drugs fight loudly with each other in open public spaces. There is also *goondagardi* (rougishness) around the running of these businesses which leads to physical threats, fights and violence. Often, knives and swords are wielded.

Many of the violent incidents have occurred in Sadbhavna Nagar. In one incident in 2014, two men conflicted around gambling and one of them got murdered. In another incident, several men wielding knives came into Sadbhavna Nagar (reportedly from one of the other Vatwa sites) and tried to extort money from the owner of an alcohol joint, leading to a fight. One male resident explained that the *goondagardi* is a result of fights between goons trying to establish their supremacy. In KBT Nagar, the two most talked-about incidents were about physical violence against someone who attempted to mediate a conflict. In one of these incidents, an intoxicated man was intimidating a shopkeeper at the site and refusing to pay him for cigarettes, then stabbed a male resident passer-by who tried to intervene to pacify him.

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AHMEDABAD POLICY BRIEF 4

VATWA RESETTLEMENT SITES
Illicit Activities and *Goondagardi*

The CUE research takes an expansive approach to violence, examining structural or indirect violence (material deprivation, inequality, exclusion), direct violence (direct infliction of physical or psychological harm), overt conflict and its links to violence and different types of crime. We note that not all types of violence are considered as crime (for example, violence by the state), and not all types of crime are considered as violence (for example, theft).

In Ahmedabad, the largest city of Gujarat state, the research focuses on two poor localities: Bombay Hotel, an informal commercial subdivision located on the city's southern periphery and inhabited by Muslims, and the public housing sites at Vatwa on the city's south-eastern periphery used for resettling slum dwellers displaced by urban projects.

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There have also been instances of conflicts between two people / families in which one side has called in goons from elsewhere in the city to threaten and even physically beat up the other side. The use of foul language is widespread in the context of this environment, having a negative influence especially on children. Young men addicted to gambling and drugs also resort to theft and robbery to finance their habits. Intoxicated men, often youth, harass young women and girls. Parents fear leaving their children and teenage and unmarried daughters at home alone.

Most residents were scared of giving details about violent incidents, and one woman resident explained that "here one can only see and hear what is going on, but cannot say anything."

Resettlement has also thrown up new illegal business opportunities around which *goondagardi* occurs. The nature of the resettlement process has left many flats unallotted at each site. These have been captured by middlemen who rent these out to poor families or to those operating illicit activities. Sometimes these middlemen compete with each other using force.

This situation of thriving illicit activities and *goondagardi* is linked to the dynamics of urban planning and governance in various ways.

1. MOBILITY, STRESSED LIVELIHOODS AND PATHWAYS TO ILLICIT ACTIVITIES

The approach to resettlement has negatively impacted mobility and livelihood, leading to increased socio-economic vulnerabilities (See Box 1). This has led many to turn to illicit businesses to make a better living. One woman resident of VGG Nagar explained how youth who idly hang about the locality as they cannot reach their previous workplaces get lured into this: "If some man offers you Rs.100 and says come with me, you will go with him. Some people cannot bear hunger. Some people cannot bear heavy work. If someone tells you to pick up a heavy sack, you will not be able to do so. If a man has not done that work before, he finds it difficult to do it now. Then he gets into bad businesses."

Many men have turned to alcohol and gambling to deal with the stress of their destabilized livelihoods. As per one resident, men who used to drink once are now drinking thrice. Many idle male youth have developed gambling and drug habits, more so as their parents are unable to give adequate attention to them as they struggle to make ends meet, or their fathers have themselves strayed into alcohol and gambling.

Box 1: Resettlement, Constrained Mobility and Stressed Livelihoods (also see Policy Brief 1)
The distant location of resettlement sites like Vatwa entails high transport expenses to reach existing workplaces, leading many to drop out of work or work irregularly (i.e. work only when money is available to spend on transport). Others continue work by incurring high transport expenses. The nature of work available nearby (industrial) is of a different type than what many of the displaced have done their entire lives (vending, domestic work, casual labour in construction or small-scale trade activities, etc) and also pays less for longer hours of labour. Nearby domestic work also pays less. High transport costs must also be incurred to access public healthcare and the public distribution system (i.e. ration shops). There are also increased expenditures on basic services (especially electricity bills) and maintenance of infrastructure (especially on water and drainage infrastructures and building corridor lights).

2. SOCIAL DISRUPTIONS AND PATHWAYS TO ILLICIT ACTIVITIES AND *GOONDAGARDI*

The resettlement process has led to social disruptions by distributing the residents of each demolished neighbourhood across various resettlement sites and bringing together residents from different neighbourhoods into the same site (See Box 2). This has destabilized the local power and authority structures that were present in many of the previous neighbourhoods. There were local leaders and elders in these neighbourhoods who exercised a moral authority and commanded respect, and were thus able to maintain internal social control through regulating the locality space and the behaviours and activities happening in it. In some neighbourhoods, this even kept away illicit activities. Residents from Khanpur Darwaza riverfront argued that no one would have dared to start an alcohol den in their locality and if anyone had, local leaders and residents would have shut it down in two days. In other localities, even though such activities existed, behaviours and conflicts emanating from them were kept in check.

At the Vatwa sites, these local leaders and elders have seen a decline in their authority as they are not widely accepted amongst residents from neighbourhoods other than their own. This has created a vacuum of authority and loss of internal social control, allowing illicit activities, anti-social behaviour and *goondagardi* to thrive. Youth are less hesitant in involving themselves in gambling, drugs and thefts, using foul language, fighting and bullying. In this vacuum, new structures and assertions of power and authority are taking shape with the use of bullying and violence.

"There is more bhai-giri after coming here. See, this is a new area. The guy who could not kill a fly in Khanpur is doing bhai-giri here. I have seen a number of men like that here… They are trying to establish themselves."

Goons also existed in many previous localities and they were also figures of power and authority. However, at Vatwa, goons from different neighbourhoods have ended up at the same / adjacent sites, leading to competition and tussles between them. Some tussles are around running illicit activities and controlling the new illegal opportunities thrown up at the resettlement sites such as capturing unallotted flats and renting them out. Local leaders who do not have muscle-power and residents are scared of speaking out against them.

Box 2: Allotment Process Creating Social Disruptions

One dimension of the problematic resettlement process implemented by AMC and the Sabarmati Riverfront Development Corporation Limited was that several riverfront neighbourhoods were grouped together and assigned a number of resettlement sites, following which allotment was done through a computerized process which randomly allotted a flat to each displaced household in any building at any of these sites. Resettlement was also done in phases (since court rulings extended eligibility, i.e., the cut-off date, during the resettlement process), with different resettlement sites assigned to the same neighbourhood in different phases. In the case of road-widening for BRTS, AMC sent residents from six affected neighbourhoods between Ambedkar Bridge and Shah Alam Toll Naka to a transit camp on the city's periphery. 3-4 years later, treating them as a single group, they were allotted flats in two groups of buildings at two different sites in Vatwa through computerized allotment. AMC did the same to residents from two BRTS-affected neighbourhoods at Kankaria Lake.

This allotment process separated people from their extended family, neighbours and others they had developed relations with. It also brought people from different neighbourhoods together at the same site and in the same buildings. Both have created major social disruptions.

3. BUILT ENVIRONMENT CREATING NEGATIVE OPPORTUNITIES

The allotment of flats at the resettlement sites was carried out in such a manner that some buildings at each site and some flats in many buildings remained unallotted. In one of the phases of riverfront relocation,

verification of people's documents was done by the authorities after the allotment, resulting in allotted flats remaining unoccupied in cases where the allotment was cancelled because the household was found to be ineligible. The lack of subsequent governance by AMC of this vacant housing stock provided an opportunity for a new illegal business, that is, capturing of these flats and illegally renting them out. While some of the tenants are poor families, there are also some who rent the flats to run illicit businesses. Men drinking alcohol, gambling and taking drugs also enter many of these flats and carry on these activities in them.

Furthermore, almost all the structures built at the sites for anganwadis (child-care centres) and health-centres are vacant and vandalized. One of the structures in VGG Nagar had become a gambling den for some time. In Sadbhavna Nagar, alcohol was being sold at one of the structures. In KBT Nagar, one of the structures was used for gambling and the gamblers often got drunk and fought loudly. Alcohol is also sold in open spaces in Sadbhavna Nagar. Furthermore, those who partake in these illicit activities often resort to theft, robbery and burglary to finance their habits. Men under the influence of alcohol or drugs also harass women in public spaces. The built environment also creates opportunities for thefts/robberies and sexual harassment in public spaces (See Policy Brief 3 & 5 for a discussion on this).

Structures meant for social amenities are vacant and vandalized and have been taken over for illicit activities

4. POOR GOVERNANCE OF SECURITY

Failure of the police to crack down on illicit activities and goons allows for these to thrive. In mid-2014, a police *chowky* (outpost) was built between VGG Nagar and Sadbhavna Nagar. However, it does not remain open 24 hours. Moreover, residents mention that the police take bribes from the owners of alcohol dens. Stressed livelihoods and social disruptions due to the resettlement approach and process have made it challenging to establish any kind of legitimate and effective formal governance structure (such as resident associations) which could play a role in fostering a more secure environment.

Diagram

Resettlement Approach and Process
- Distant location of resettlement sites and impact on mobility, work practices and transport expenses
- Lack of social amenities nearby and impact on mobility & transport expenses
- Higher housing-related expenditures at the resettlement sites

↓

Constrained mobility and stressed livelihoods

ILLICIT ACTIVITIES & GOONDAGARDI

Resettlement Allotment Process →

Social disruptions leading to loss of internal social control
New social dynamics leading to power tussles among goons

Built environment that creates negative opportunities

← **Planning & Governance for resettlement sites**
- Undeveloped land nearby
- Inadequate streetlights
- Vacant & vandalized buildings inside the sites (intended for social amenities)
- Inadequate "eyes on the street"
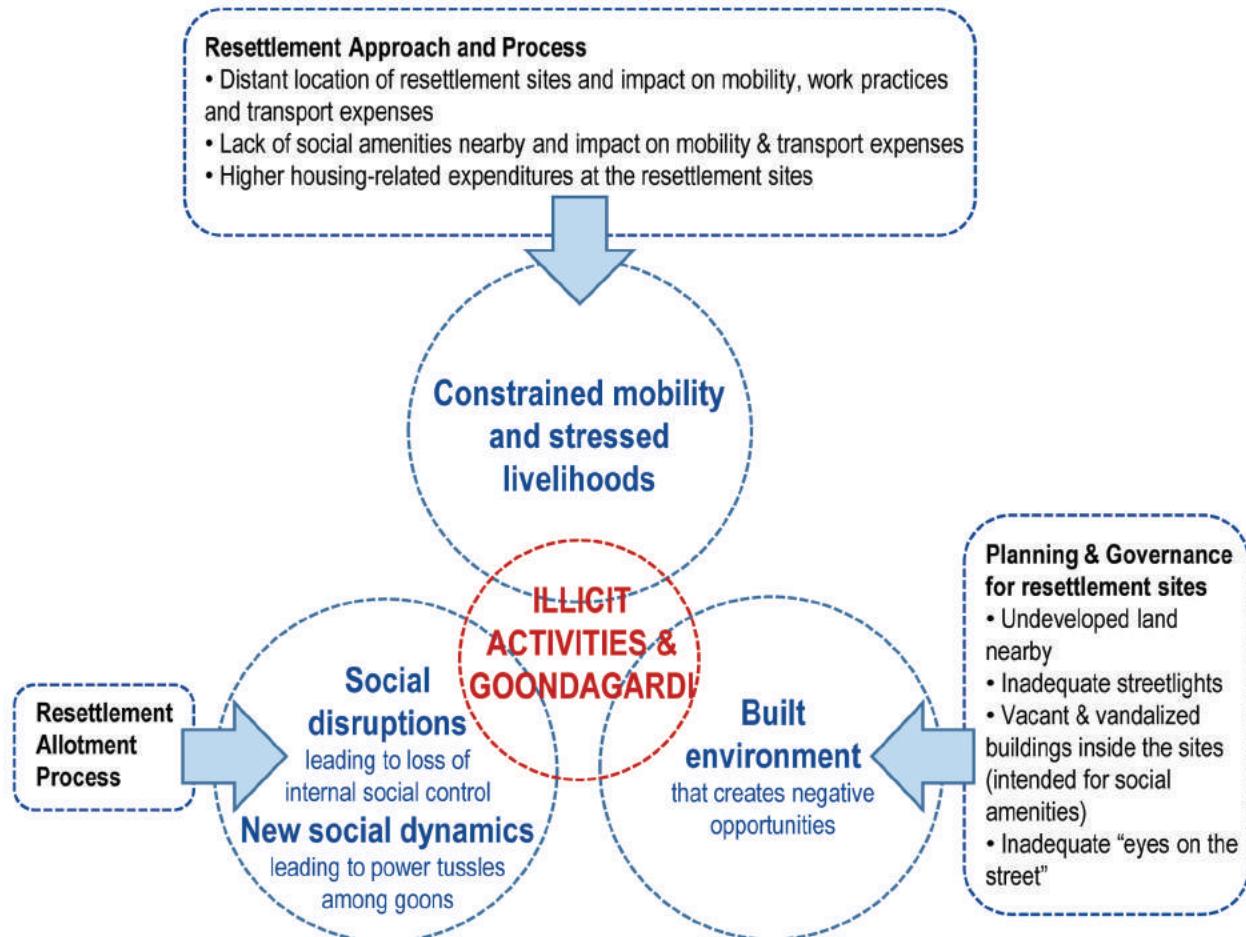
POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Displacement should be minimized and development decisions made after thorough consideration of the displacement it would cause and the risks it would pose to the lives of these vulnerable groups.
- If displacement is unavoidable, resettlement should be nearby so that residents' mobilities and livelihoods are not negatively impacted as this can lead to increased socio-economic vulnerabilities that can push people towards illicit activities. Planning for resettlement should aim to preserve existing social networks and collective bonds. This is important for the continuity of internal forms of social control that are necessary for controlling the locality space.
- Enhancing livelihoods as well as nurturing collective bonds are essential for the success of community governance of services (services must be functional for built environments to be safe). Community governance of services also requires government authorities to be realistic in assessing households' economic capacities and accordingly plan for long-term governance.

- Provision of adequate and functioning infrastructures such as street lights by government authorities.
- Planning and design in and around public housing sites for enhancing public safety would involve paying attention to land-use, street-edges and street use, as well as location, accessibility and functionality of social amenities.
- Accessible, effective and responsive police services that prioritize the provision of security for the most vulnerable.
- Micro-planning and governance can transform unsafe places into safer places by reducing negative opportunities. However, this may also displace crime to another space that provides negative opportunities. City-level planning to reduce inequalities over the long-term is therefore of utmost importance.

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SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

Crimes such as thefts, robberies and burglaries have been widespread at the Vatwa resettlement sites, a group of seven public housing sites where thousands of households displaced by various urban development projects have been resettled since 2010. These sites comprise of 9,200 flats, which is almost half of the total housing built by Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) under Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP), a programme of the Government of India's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM) (see Map 1).

By 2014, over 4,000 households were living at three of Vatwa's BSUP sites. During the 2-4 years that they have lived here, thefts of private property and common property have been widespread in public spaces. Petrol from bikes, tyres of rickshaws and bikes, and cycles have been stolen. Lids of overhead water tanks, pipes covering electric wires, and water pipes have been stolen from buildings. Many residents have been robbed while moving in and around the sites. This has included robbing at knife-point. Many house burglaries have taken place and cash, jewelry, mobile phones and other items have been stolen. Residents try not to leave their house unoccupied for long and avoid going out alone after dark, fearing robbery.

This policy brief traces the linkages of thefts, robberies and burglaries to four dimensions of urban planning and governance.

AHMEDABAD POLICY BRIEF 3

VATWA RESETTLEMENT SITES
Thefts, Robberies and Burglaries

The CUE research takes an expansive approach to violence, examining structural or indirect violence (material deprivation, inequality, exclusion), direct violence (direct infliction of physical or psychological harm), overt conflict and its links to violence and different types of crime. We note that not all types of violence are considered as crime (for example, violence by the state), and not all types of crime are considered as violence (for example, theft).

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Map 1

Resettlement Approach and Process
• Distant location of resettlement sites and impact on mobility, work practices and transport expenses
• Lack of amenities nearby and impact on mobility and transport expenses
• Financial governance for basic services, leading to higher housing-related expenditures

Constrained mobility and stressed livelihoods

THEFTS ROBBERIES BURGLARIES

Resettlement Allotment Process

Social disruptions
leading to loss of internal social control and lack of strong inter-personal bonds

Built environment
that creates negative opportunities

Planning & Governance for resettlement sites
• Undeveloped land nearby
• Inadequate street lighting
• Inadequate "eyes on the street"

Three FGD participants were victims of house burglaries and one participant knew someone whose house was burgled. One participant's family had lost two cycles to theft. Cash was repeatedly stolen by two 14-15 year old boys from the cash-box of an interviewee's tempo. One interviewee's gas cylinder was stolen from outside her shop.

Men who had been resettled from Banasnagar (Dani Limda) and many riverfront localities explained that at their previous location they could safely step out alone even in the middle of the night whereas they do not do this here. While some residents feel that such incidents have decreased as the area has become more populated, many incidents continue to take place. What are the planning and governance related reasons for this?

1. MOBILITY, STRESSED LIVELIHOODS AND PATHWAYS TO THEFT

The approach to resettlement has resulted in constrained mobility and stressed livelihoods for a vast majority, leading to increased socio-economic vulnerabilities (see Box 1). This has pushed some residents to resort to theft, robbery and burglary.

Due to constrained mobility, many young men hang about the locality idly and they develop gambling and drug habits, often resorting to theft, robbery or burglary to finance these habits. Stressed livelihoods have also led to negative impacts on the environment at home. Where both parents are struggling to earn a living, they are unable to give adequate attention to their children who stray into these habits.
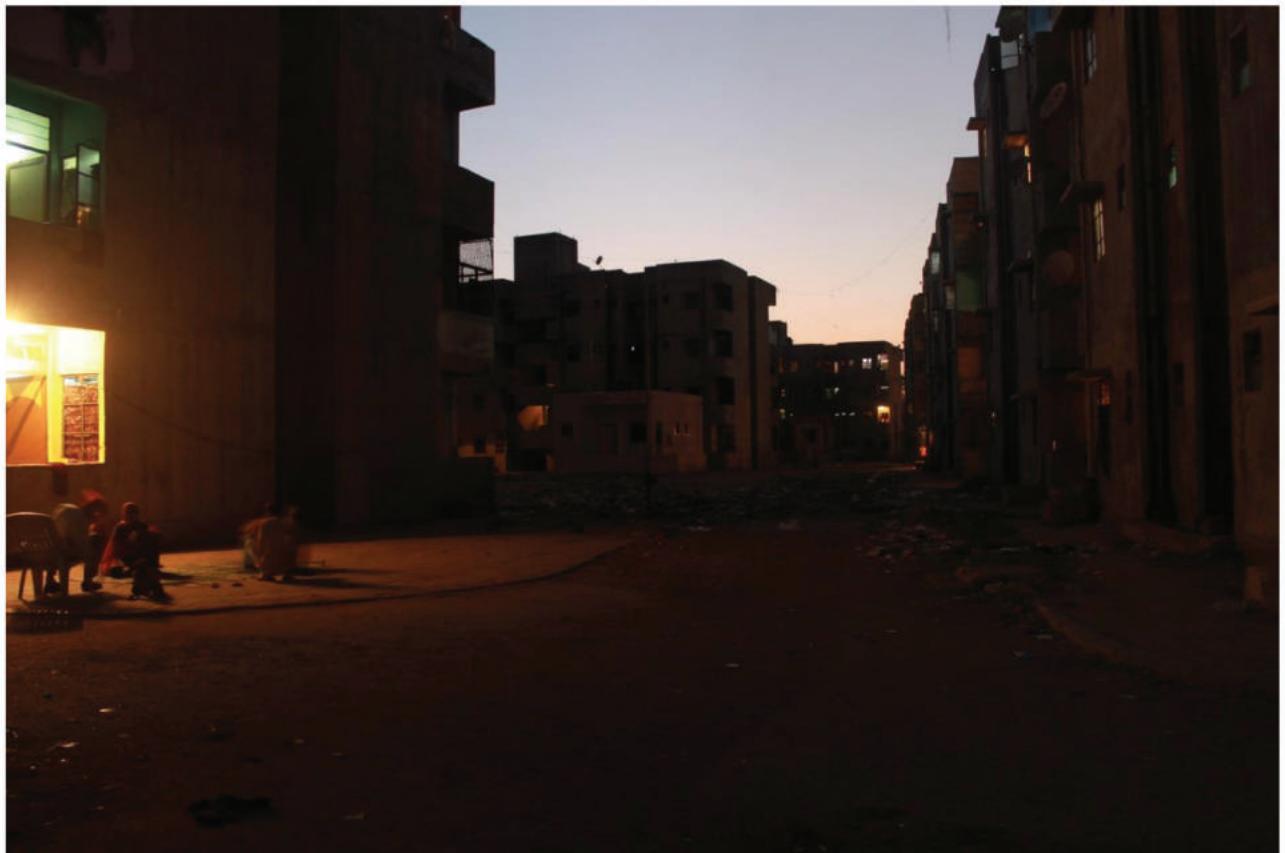
Non-functioning street lights in Sadbhavna Nagar in December 2015

"When there are no jobs, the youngsters get spoilt. They get into wrong activities. They do not have money for the transport fare… when a person goes hungry then he will steal, he will get into bad businesses."

"If [a child's] mother is not at home the whole day and they are hungry then they might steal. If I leave my shop unattended just now and if a child who has not eaten since morning comes by, he might pick up something… Today he might pick up something costing Rs.5, tomorrow he will steal something more."

Box 1: Resettlement, Constrained Mobility and Stressed Livelihoods (also see Policy Brief 1)
The distant location of resettlement sites like Vatwa entails high transport expenses to reach existing workplaces, leading many to drop out of work or work irregularly (i.e. work only when money is available to spend on transport). Others continue work by incurring high transport expenses.

The nature of work available nearby (industrial) is of a different type than what many of the displaced have done their entire lives (vending, domestic work, casual labour in construction or trade activities, etc) and also pays less for longer hours of labour. Nearby domestic work also pays less.

High transport costs must also be incurred to access public healthcare and the public distribution system (i.e. ration shops). There are also increased expenditures on basic services (especially electricity bills) and maintenance of infrastructure (especially on water and drainage infrastructures and building corridor lights).

Vacant, undeveloped land at the main cross-roads between VGG Nagar and Sadbhavna Nagar
where the bus-stops and shuttle-stops are located

2. BUILT ENVIRONMENT CREATING NEGATIVE OPPORTUNITIES

Inadequate infrastructure and services in and around the resettlement sites creates negative opportunities. The absence of adequate street lighting gives an impetus to thefts and robberies in public spaces. Residents identified the main cross-road and road between VGG Nagar and Sadbhavna Nagar as lacking good street-lighting, making robberies rampant. Inside the sites, absence of street lights in many common plots and irregularly functioning street lights in the internal lanes creates fears of robbery.

The main cross-road and road have scattered vendor-stalls and hence lack "eyes on the street," creating opportunities for robberies. There is a flyover at one end of this road where vendors have congregated and women, referring to it as bazaar, identified it as being a safer area. The cross-road referred to above also has vacant plots that further give a sense of insecurity. In essence, lack of street lights, activities and development on the main roads enhance the feeling of insecurity and possibility of theft.

The non-functional common lights in the building corridors provide opportunities for thefts and burglaries. These lights are not working in most buildings since the common electricity bills have not been paid due to both stressed livelihoods and social disruptions (See Policy Brief 2).
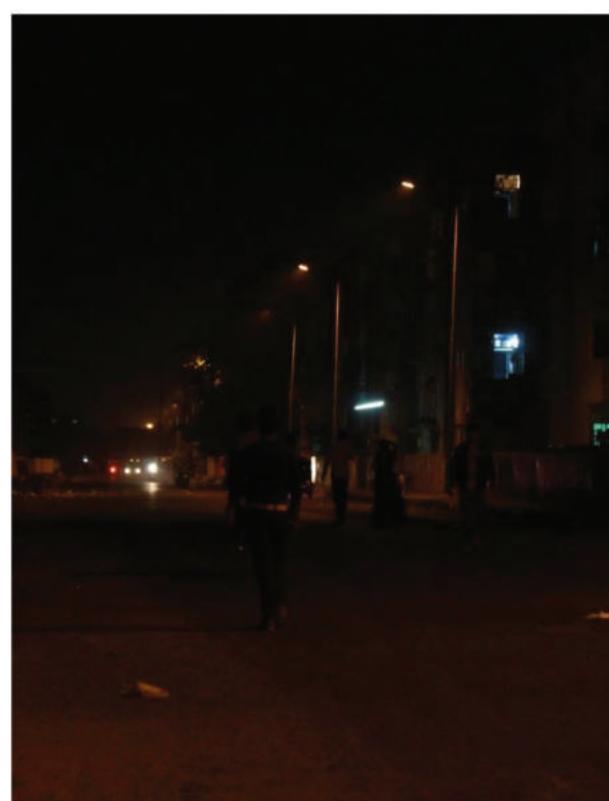
Dimply lit street along one side of VGG Nagar and KBT Nagar

4

Legend

- Ⓐ AMTS Stop
- Ⓢ Shuttle Stop
- Ⓟ Police Station
- ■ Vendors
- ● Daru Adda/Sale
- ① KBT Nagar
- ② VGG Nagar
- ③ Sadbhavna Nagar
- Less Street Light

Residential

Residential

To Maninagar

Industrial

Industrial

① KBT Nagar

Unallotted BSUP Houses

Residential

Unallotted BSUP Houses

Municipal School

Water Tank

Undeveloped Vacant Plot

② VGG Nagar

Bazaar

To Vatva GIDC-Ramol

Flyover

Ⓐ

Ⓢ

Ⓢ

Ⓢ

Narol-Vatva Rd.

To Bibi Talav-Narol

Ⓐ Ⓢ

Ⓟ

③ Sadbhavna Nagar

Unallotted BSUP Houses

Residential (Slum)

Residential (Slum)

Mixed Landuse

Vacant Plot

Unallotted BSUP Houses

Ⓢ

Mixed Landuse

Vacant Plot

Residential

Industrial

To Vatva Gaam

Industrial

Meters

0   50   100   200

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Land-use, transport nodes, vending and streetlighting around the Vatwa resettlement sites.

3. SOCIAL DISRUPTIONS AND PATHWAYS TO THEFT

Profound social disruptions have occurred at the community level as a result of the resettlement allotment process (Box 2). This has led to a loss of moral authority that local leaders, elders and residents in general were able to exercise in many of the previous localities. This has led to a loss of internal informal social control, creating a mahol or environment in which youth in particular stray towards theft, gambling and drugs more easily.

Box 2: Allotment Process Creating Social Disruptions

One dimension of the problematic resettlement process implemented by AMC and the Sabarmati Riverfront Development Corporation Limited was that several riverfront neighbourhoods were grouped together and assigned a number of resettlement sites, following which a computerized allotment process was carried out which randomly allotted a flat to each displaced household in this large group in any building at any of these sites. Resettlement from each neighbourhood was also done in phases (since court rulings extended eligibility, i.e., the cut-off date, during the resettlement process), with different sites assigned to the same neighbourhood in different phases.

In the case of road-widening for BRTS, AMC sent residents from six affected neighbourhoods between Ambedkar Bridge and Shah Alam Toll Naka to a transit camp on the city's periphery. 3-4 years later, treating them as a single group, they were allotted flats in two groups of buildings at two different sites in Vatwa through computerized allotment. AMC did the same to residents from two BRTS-affected neighbourhoods at Kankaria Lake.

This allotment process separated people from their extended family, neighbours and others they had developed relations with. It also brought people from different neighbourhoods together at the same site and in the same buildings.

People find it difficult to overcome these disruptions because of caste differences, livelihood struggles that leave little time and energy for getting to know new people, and high turnover of residents (many allottees have rented out their flats and returned to live in central city areas, flats left unallotted by AMC have been captured by middlemen and rented out, leading to the high turnover of tenants).

Since many residents do not know who lives in their building, they are unable to distinguish between residents and outsiders, which facilitates burglaries. Even where people recognize other residents of their building, the lack of strong inter-personal bonds between them means that not many are keeping an active lookout to protect other residents' houses and property kept in public spaces.

4. POOR GOVERNANCE OF SECURITY

Failure of the police to protect people and property is a contributor to thefts, robberies and burglaries. In mid-2014, a police chowky (outpost) was built at one corner of the cross-road between VGG Nagar and Sadbhavna Nagar. Before this, the police sometimes erected a makeshift chowky at Sadbhavna Nagar or did patrolling for a few days when a violent incident occurred here. For many months, the new chowky did not remain open 24-hours. Moreover, the police did not follow through on reported incidents, even when the culprit was caught. For example, residents caught a man who was trying to steal water pipes from a vacant building and handed him over to the police who released him after a few days. Residents also felt that there was police corruption. One interviewee who had lost cash in a burglary pointed out that if Rs.50,000 is stolen then one has to spend Rs.5,000 just to file a case, and even after payment there is no guarantee that the money will be recovered. The feeling that the police do not do anything to curb such crimes often results in residents taking it upon themselves to punish thieves by beating them mercilessly.

Stressed livelihoods and social disruptions due to the resettlement approach and process have also created a situation where it is hugely challenging to establish any kind of legitimate and effective formal governance structure (such as resident associations) which could play a role in fostering a more secure environment in and around the resettlement sites

Police *chowky* at the main cross-roads was open for longer hours by the end of 2015, giving some security against thefts around this area

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Displacement should be minimized and development decisions made after thorough consideration of the displacement it would cause and the risks it would pose to the lives of these vulnerable groups.

- If displacement is unavoidable, resettlement should be nearby so that residents' mobilities and livelihoods are not negatively impacted. Negative impacts lead to increased socio-economic vulnerabilities that can push people towards such crimes. Planning for resettlement should aim to preserve existing social networks and collective bonds. This is important for the continuity of internal forms of social control that are necessary for controlling the locality space and activities in it.

- Enhancing livelihoods as well as nurturing collective bonds are also essential for the success of community governance of services (which must be functional for built environments to be safe). Community governance of services also requires government authorities to be realistic in assessing residents' economic capacities and accordingly plan for long-term governance.

- Provision of adequate and functioning infrastructures such as street lights by government authorities.

- Planning and design in and around public housing sites for enhancing public safety would involve paying attention to land-use, street-edges and street use, and location of public amenities as well as ensuring that they are accessible and functional.

- Accessible police services and effective and responsive policing that prioritizes the provision of security, particularly for the most vulnerable.

- Micro-planning and governance can transform certain unsafe places into safer places by reducing the negative opportunities. However, this may also simply displace crime to another space that provides negative opportunities. City-level planning to reduce inequalities over the long-term is therefore also essential.

Research Methods
- Locality mapping and community profiling
- Ethnography + ad-hoc conversations
- 11 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)
- 7 unstructured group discussions (GDs)
- 35 individual interviews (residents, local leaders, water operators)
- Total 51 men and 53 women participated in the FGDs, GDs and interviews.
- Interviews with political leaders & municipal officials

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SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

In the mid-2000s, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) moved away from in-situ slum upgrading under its Slum Networking Project (SNP) to two inter-related interventions: large-scale slum displacement for urban beautification / infrastructure projects and construction of public housing under Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) to resettle the displaced households.* The BSUP sites, constructed under the Government of India's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM), comprise of four-storey buildings with infrastructures for running water, a toilet and bath, drainage, and electricity in each house, and electricity in the building corridors. At the site-level, there are paved streets, common open spaces, street lights, drainage, and physical structures for social amenities like anganwadis (government-sponsored child-care and maternal-care centres for children in the 0-6 age-group) and health-centres.

For many of the displaced, this would seem to be an improvement on the provision of infrastructure in their previous homes and neighbourhoods. However, a study of three BSUP sites at Vatwa (Kusha Bhau Thakre Nagar or KBT Nagar, Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar or VGG Nagar, and Sadbhavna Nagar) comprising of almost 5,000 flats (approx. one-fourth of the total BSUP housing) shows that the services that these infrastructures are meant to provide have not adequately materialized. This has created deprivations of access to basic services and amenities as well as infrastructural conflicts. Urban planning and governance have contributed to this situation both directly and indirectly.

AHMEDABAD POLICY BRIEF 2

VATWA RESETTLEMENT SITES
Basic Services and Amenities: Deprivations and Infrastructural Conflicts

* Many of the displaced have also been resettled on poorly serviced vacant lands on the city periphery without any promise of long-term tenure.

DEPRIVATIONS IN BASIC SERVICES AND AMENITIES

Water

Residents experience various types of water-related deprivations. Till early-2015, each BSUP site was provided with water from a bore-well located at the site. The hardness of this groundwater made it non-potable, leading to health issues among many residents. Many residents referred to getting kidney stones and having to incur high expenses for medical treatment. They also contrasted the poor quality of water at the BSUP sites with the good-quality municipal water they used to get in their previous localities. Although municipal water is being provided since early-2015 at the BSUP sites, many residents still complain about its lack of potability (see Box 1).

Other water problems have emerged over time. Many residents get inadequate amount of running water on a daily basis, and many intermittently go without running water for up to several days at a time. This situation is caused by two main reasons, building-level water leakages and intermittent damage to the bore-well / UGWT motors. Both emerge out of the planning and governance of the water infrastructure (see Box 1).

Many residents have been getting inadequate amount of running water on a daily basis, and many intermittently go without running water for up to several days at a time.

The deprivations have led to various coping strategies. This includes fetching water, especially drinking water, from elsewhere (Vatwa railway station, a tap behind a nearby shop, municipal taps provided at Sadbhavna Nagar, nearby residential areas, etc). When the UGWT motor is damaged, water operators ask AMC to send water tankers, sometimes using political contacts to pressure AMC to respond. Some water operators allow the UGWT overflow and residents gather around it to collect water, bathe and do their washing. Some residents commented on the unsanitary conditions created by this practice of the water operators. Residents also try to store water.

This alternate water access is, however, at the cost of time, labour and stress, which deepens structural violence. Often children are sent to fetch water. Inadequate running water also creates challenges for ensuring sanitation in the home. Residents pointed out that while a toilet was provided in each flat, the water situation made it difficult to use it and keep it clean.

Box 1: Water Infrastructures

Each BSUP site has a number of underground water tanks (UGWTs). Each UGWT has a water operator who switches on an electric motor that pumps water from the UGWT to the overhead water tanks (OWTs) of a group of buildings. Until 2015, the UGWTs were provided with water from bore-wells located at each site. Since then, AMC has been providing the UGWTs with water from a newly constructed underground storage tank that is filled from one of its water treatment plants. This has alleviated the hard water / drinking water problem to an extent.

Meanwhile, the problem of inadequate running water on a daily basis persists. One reason is that the mineral deposits from the hard water has created blockages in the narrow building-level water pipes, further narrowing their diameter and affecting water pressure. Another reason is that many of the building-level pipes and valves are damaged due to their poor quality, causing enormous leakages. The OWTs do not therefore retain water, resulting in running water for only a few hours. Leakages also affect water pressure, and many get inadequate water even during these few hours.

The electric motors of the UGWT get damaged due to reasons such as the motor's capacity in relation to the number of buildings it has to supply, the effect of the mineral deposits from the hard water on the motor's functioning, and carelessness of the water operator (for e.g., keeping the motor running after water in the UGWT falls below the requisite level). The motor also shuts down when the electric wiring or switch is damaged. The frequency of damages vary; sometimes they occur monthly, sometimes once in several months. Motor repairs can take two to several days (even up to 15 days at times). Until mid-2014, the AMC repaired damaged motors (on being informed by the water operator) and the quickness of repairs depended on AMC's response. Since then, residents have to fund motor repairs, thus the duration of repairs depends on their financial ability.

The AMC has demarcated the responsibilities for maintenance of water infrastructures thus: it will maintain underground water pipes, while residents will maintain over-the-ground water pipes and valves and, since mid-2014, the UGWT motors. However, as discussed in this Policy Brief, it has been challenging for residents to undertake these responsibilities, a point that AMC's planning for water at the sites failed to take into account.

Residents gather at the underground water tank (UGWT) for washing during an instance of motor damage in KBT Nagar

Domestic Electricity

Many residents (mainly in VGG Nagar and Sadbhavna Nagar) have been getting high electricity bills from the private company that supplies electricity in Ahmedabad. This has led many to turn to illegal electricity in their home. The building corridor lights are not working in most buildings because residents are unwilling and / or unable to contribute towards the common electricity bills.

Street Lighting

The provision of street lights is inadequate in some parts of the resettlement sites, especially in the common plots. Even where adequately provided, they function only intermittently. In some parts of the sites, residents pointed out that streetlight poles were provided from the beginning but the lights did not work for many months.

Sanitation

Many of the common plots are strewn with garbage. The quality of solid waste management services provided through the AMC is inconsistent. It is also uneven within some of the resettlement sites. The leakages and overflows from the water and drainage pipes of the buildings further add to the unsanitary conditions in the streets and common plots.

Social Amenities

Only two of the nine physical structures built for social amenities at the three Vatwa sites are being used for their purpose. The rest are vacant and vandalized. While AMC has built a massive municipal school adjacent to these sites, according to the residents its quality of education is not comparable to the municipal schools in the central areas of the city. There are also no public hospitals nearby.

Non-functioning streetlights at Sadbhavna Nagar

One of the structures built for *anganwadi* in KBT Nagar

INFRASTRUCTURAL CONFLICTS

There are a range of overt infrastructural conflicts which include verbal and physical conflicts between residents and AMC, between residents and water operators, amongst water operators, and amongst residents, over accessing adequate water; verbal conflicts over contributing money for maintenance and repairs of water and drainage infrastructures and building corridor lights; and verbal conflicts over garbage disposal. Conflicts emerge due to deprivations, for example, inadequate quantity of water creates conflicts. Conflicts also contribute to creating deprivations, for example, conflicts over paying for maintenance lead to unrepaired water and drainage pipes and thus inadequate water and poor sanitation.

Conflicts over Access to Adequate Water

The situation of inadequate running water on a daily basis due to leakages (see Box 1) has resulted in residents, especially from VGG Nagar, mobilizing and approaching the AMC to repair / replace the pipes. In some instances, a resident has approached the AMC with a letter signed by many others, while in other cases, groups of residents (often women) have collectively approached the AMC. Many have approached AMC multiple times, at its different offices (the temporary AMC office at the BSUP sites, the riverfront project office, the main AMC office, the zonal office, the Vatwa municipal ward office) in their attempt to get a positive response. The AMC's response is that residents are responsible for these repairs. Women residents recalled that AMC staff had sometimes behaved badly with them. In some instances, these mobilizations have also turned violent.

"The (municipal) officer spoke inappropriately to the women. He said that you were given houses here, you did not deserve this. Earlier you used to fill water from the river, so here also fill water like that. So some women reacted and broke things in the office."

One resident in KBT Nagar explained that AMC never addresses any issue until they are approached four times, and therefore it makes financial sense to simply spend money on pipe repairs rather than spending on transport to the AMC and losing one's wages for the days they visit the AMC. The lack of more instances of mobilization and overt conflict (which sometimes turned physically violent) should be therefore interpreted cautiously and, in this case, is a sign of silently putting up with deepening structural violence.

Residents from VGG Nagar and also Sadbhavna Nagar have approached AMC many a time when their motor is damaged (see Box 1) to pressure the authority to repair it quickly. Such mobilizations have involved approaching AMC multiple times, sometimes turning violent, with some residents breaking furniture and computers in the Vatwa ward office. Some felt that this violence was necessary because without it, the AMC responded slowly which would leave them without running water for days on end. The mobilizations and overt conflict on these two issues (of pipe repairs and motor repairs) are linked to residents' affordability to pay for such repairs. For many residents, affordability is deeply impacted by the constrained mobility and stressed livelihoods caused by resettlement (Box 2).

The situation of inadequate running water has also led to verbal fights between residents and water operators. While the operator's management of the UGWT does play a role in providing adequate water, in many cases, inadequate water is due to leakages and blockages which are beyond the operator's control, and which are caused by the system put in place by the AMC for water provision at the BSUP sites (see Box 1). Not all residents understand this and some hold the operator responsible for their water deprivation. Some refuse to pay the operator who collects Rs.20-30 per month per household, leading to verbal conflicts. One operator in KBT Nagar explained that verbal bickering with residents is common. In Sadbhavna Nagar, verbal fights regularly occur with two of the water operators. In one incident, a water operator was injured when a crowd of residents pushed him. Another operator, tired of the daily verbal fights with residents, handed over the operation to another resident.

Box 2: Resettlement, Constrained Mobility and Stressed Livelihoods (also see Policy Brief 1)

The distant location of resettlement sites like Vatwa entails high transport expenses to reach existing workplaces, leading many to drop out of work or work irregularly. Others continue work by incurring high transport expenses, thus seeing a significant reduction in their effective income. Still others have shifted to other work (e.g. home-based work) but have seen a drop in their earnings. Work available nearby is not seen as a viable option by most residents. High transport costs must also be incurred to access public healthcare, better schools and the public distribution system. Resettlement also entails higher and new expenditures for basic services and maintenance of infrastructure, however, the stressed livelihoods and increased socio-economic vulnerabilities caused by this has created an inability and unwillingness among many households to pay contributions towards maintenance and repairs.

Leakages and a pipe burst on the terrace of one of the buildings in Sadbhavna Nagar – this drains out the water from the overhead water tank due to which the building's residents cannot get 24-hour running water supply
(this condition of water pipes is commonly seen on the terraces of many of the buildings)

There have also been verbal fights between two water operators at Sadbhavna Nagar. At each site, all the UGWTs get water from a single source and a number of valves regulate the water flows into the UGWTs. In Sadbhavna Nagar, one valve's opening and closing affected water flow into two different UGWTs in contrary ways, increasing water flow into one UGWT and reducing water flow into the other. The operators of these two UGWTs often clashed with each other as each acted in his own UGWT's interest, probably to also avoid conflicts about inadequate water with the residents they had to supply water to. In one instance, the verbal conflict escalated and turned into threats, in which some goons were also roped in.

The fact that the operators were from different religious backgrounds provided further fuel to the conflict. Fortunately, no one got hurt. These conflicts between operators occur due to the inadequacies around water at the sites and the fact that there is no governance structure (formal or informal) that can facilitate cooperation around water at the site-level.

Residents also have verbal and sometimes physical fights with each other at the municipal taps in Sadbhavna Nagar, at taps in nearby housing societies and at the municipal water tankers when they turn to these sources regularly / intermittently due to problems

with running / potable water in their homes.

Significantly, the taps in Sadbhavna Nagar were installed through political patronage, however, they are inadequate. Further, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) leaders installed them only near the buildings inhabited by Hindus.

Conflicts over financial contributions for repairs and maintenance

Repairs of leaking water and drainage pipes in the buildings and cleaning of these pipes has been a challenge in most buildings. Most of the building pipes are not shared by all 32 flats; some are shared by eight flats, some by four, etc. There are instances of leaders /residents successfully collecting contributions for repairs in some buildings. There are instances where all households have contributed Rs.800-1200 each, over a period of 6-8 months, and then all the water pipes have been replaced in the building, and now residents enjoy 24-hour water supply. However, in many cases, there are tensions and verbal conflicts over contributions.

In one instance in VGG Nagar, eight households were affected by a leakage but one of them was out of town during the repairs and refused to pay their share upon their return despite fights. The resident who had taken

the initiative to get the repair done had to bear the financial burden of this. In another VGG Nagar building with leaking water pipes, some residents argued that all 32 households should contribute money while other residents argued that the leaking pipes were shared by only eight families. In the words of one of the residents of this building: "For any work that we try to do, first there is always a fight." In KBT Nagar, a male resident mentioned that tensions always occurred when money had to be collected for pipe repairs.

There were also instances in VGG Nagar and Sadbhavna Nagar where contributions had been successfully collected from each household and some water pipes and valves replaced, but this had not resolved the problem and residents were still not getting 24-hour water supply. In one building, this had led to tensions as some residents accused the two women who had collected the money of wasting their money and even pocketing some of it. The two women explained that residents were now reluctant to give more money and had told them that if the problem is not solved, they would demand their money back.

With AMC withdrawing from repairing motors in mid-2014, tensions also occurred between operators and residents when the former tried to collect money from the latter to repair the damaged motor. In one instance, some residents accused the operator of taking higher contributions than necessary for funding motor repairs, while other residents insisted that he was being unfairly accused.

Tensions are common when money has to be collected for repairs of water pipes or motors and payment of the corridor light bills. Sometimes this also leads to conflicts, and often the pipes remain unrepaired and the corridor lights stop working.

This situation has been created partly by the stressed livelihoods of many residents and partly by the social disruptions created by the resettlement process.

These conflicts over collecting contributions are partly linked to the stressed livelihoods of many residents (Box 2) and partly to the lack of trust amongst residents created by the social disruptions caused by resettlement (see Box 3). This lack of trust is most evident around contributing towards the common light bills (Rs.20-30 per household per month). Few residents are willing to undertake the collection of the contributions as they anticipate that this would not be easy. In some buildings, residents paid the bills initially, but then the difficulty of collecting money gradually led

Box 3: Allotment Process Creating Social Disruptions and Challenges for Collective Action and Community Governance

One dimension of the problematic resettlement process implemented by AMC and the Sabarmati Riverfront Development Corporation Limited was that several riverfront neighbourhoods were grouped together and assigned a number of resettlement sites, following which allotment was done through a computerized process which randomly allotted a flat to each displaced household in any building at any of these sites. Resettlement was also done in phases (since court rulings extended eligibility, i.e., the cut-off date, during the resettlement process), with different sites assigned to the same neighbourhood in different phases.

In the case of road-widening for BRTS, AMC sent residents from six affected neighbourhoods between Ambedkar Bridge and Shah Alam Toll Naka to a transit camp on the city's periphery. 3-4 years later, treating them as a single group, they were allotted flats in two groups of buildings at two different sites in Vatwa through computerized allotment. AMC did the same to residents from two BRTS-affected neighbourhoods at Kankaria Lake.

This allotment process separated people from their extended family, neighbours and others they had developed relations with. It also brought people from different neighbourhoods together at the same site and in the same buildings. The resulting social disruptions have meant that residents at the sites do not have a high level of mutual trust, creating challenges for the collective action required for informal governance or for setting up formal community governance structures.

to the non-payment of the bills. Conflicts were part of these difficulties. In one building in KBT Nagar, a resident explained that they paid the common light bill for two years but finally gave up because some would ask him to come the next day, some would complain about giving money, and some would fight. In another building, a resident explained that some residents pay a higher share of the bill amount to keep the common lights working in the building corridors since other residents do not trust him enough to give him money. He was of the opinion that if they had been living amongst people they knew, these contributions would have been easier to collect. This also shows that the absence of conflict is often at the expense of non-functioning infrastructures or some residents taking on a larger financial burden to keep them functioning.

Conflicts over garbage disposal

There are also tensions and verbal conflicts between residents over the disposal of garbage. In the words of one resident of KBT Nagar: "If someone throws garbage in the common plot and someone tells them not to do so, then they fight and use bad language." These conflicts emerge out of different levels of commitment to civic sanitation, but are also fuelled by the social disruptions that make dialogue, cooperation and collective action difficult (see Box 3).

Unsanitary conditions in the common plots

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Universal provision of adequate potable water, preferably at the individual house level.
- The smooth functioning of water provisioning systems depend on a range of factors: biophysical (e.g. the quality of water; for instance, mineral deposits from hard water can create blockages, lead to deterioration of pipes, etc), technical (e.g. pipe diameters, quality of pipes and valves, physical layout of pipes and valves, motor capacity, etc), social and economic (e.g. the financial capacity to maintain infrastructures), institutional and political (e.g. the appropriate formal and informal governance structures and mechanisms through which infrastructures can be effectively and accountably operated and maintained), etc. These different factors should be taken into consideration during the design and planning of water provisioning systems in urban poor localities. Provision of water is unlikely to be successful if only an engineering approach is taken.
- Housing for the urban poor continues to be seen by governments in terms of only physical construction of buildings and infrastructures. There is a need to move towards seeing housing as creating habitats that offer opportunities and enhance capabilities. This would also re-orient housing interventions to pay attention to providing adequate and accessible basic services, infrastructures and amenities.

- If resettlement is unavoidable, the resettlement approach and process should give attention to protecting and enhancing livelihoods as well as preventing social disruptions and protecting / nurturing collective bonds as these conditions are essential for collective/community governance of services to succeed.
- Community governance of services in urban poor localities, either resettlement sites or otherwise, requires that government authorities realistically assess the economic capacities of the residents and thus plan for short-term and long-term governance of infrastructures and services accordingly.

Immediate steps to address deprivations and conflicts at the Vatwa resettlement sites:
- The NGOs who were given the work of forming the resident associations at the sites have found this challenging in the absence of the AMC taking up its responsibilities in a systematic and responsive manner. The AMC should take an active role in the formation of functioning resident associations and nurturing them over the next few years. This would have to be done parallel to addressing residents' concerns around basic services and infrastructures through a series of meetings by AMC at the sites.
- The water issues that residents are facing are complex, however, dialogue by AMC with the residents through a series of meetings might be able to decrease water deprivations and conflicts emerging from this.
- Ensure adequate number of street lights (especially in common plots lacking adequate light poles) and ensure their proper functioning.
- Start anganwadis and health centres in the structures built for these but which are currently lying vacant and vandalized.

Research Methods
- Locality mapping and community profiling
- Ethnography + ad-hoc conversations
- 11 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)
- 7 unstructured group discussions (GDs)
- 35 individual interviews (leaders, water operators, etc)
- Total 51 men and 53 women participated in the FGDs, GDs and interviews.
- Interviews with political leaders & municipal officials

SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

There is a growing recognition that large numbers of women in Indian cities experience violence inside and outside their homes and feel insecure about being in public spaces. Patriarchal norms and sexist attitudes towards women are the main underlying reasons for these experiences. However, outside the home, the nature of urban development and governance, such as housing location and type, provision of adequate infrastructure and services, provision of adequate and safe transport, and responsive policing also play an important role in creating safe and unsafe spaces for women in the city, which in turn expands or constrains their access to resources and opportunities. Gender also intersects with class and other social identities such as caste, ethnicity and religion, to shape women's urban experiences. This study looks at gender insecurity and violence against women in Bombay Hotel, a locality of approximately 25,000 poor and low-income Muslim households which has developed as an informal commercial subdivision on the southern periphery of Ahmedabad (see Box 1).

Women living in Bombay Hotel face various kinds of violence including assaults, rape, sexual harassment and theft. Many of these forms of violence occur within the locality and many women have a pervasive fear of facing such violence while moving about in the locality. Women also do not have access to appropriate and safe buses and do not feel fully safe while using shared auto-rickshaws. This leads women to step back from the public sphere and refrain from inhabiting streets and other open spaces in their locality and using public transport. This situation is compounded by the cultural constraints imposed on women in a large section of the Muslim community. This often makes a woman's life in Bombay Hotel a constant struggle against society, family, poverty and anti-social elements.

AHMEDABAD POLICY BRIEF 9

BOMBAY HOTEL
Gender Insecurity and Violence Against Women

The CUE research takes an expansive approach to violence, examining structural or indirect violence (material deprivation, inequality, exclusion), direct violence (direct infliction of physical or psychological harm), overt conflict and its links to violence and different types of crime. We note that not all types of violence are considered as crime (for example, violence by the state), and not all types of crime are considered as violence (for example, theft).

In Ahmedabad, the largest city of Gujarat state, the research focuses on two poor localities: Bombay Hotel, an informal commercial subdivision located on the city's southern periphery and inhabited by Muslims, and the public housing sites at Vatwa on the city's south-eastern periphery used for resettling slum dwellers displaced by urban projects.

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UNSAFE MOBILITY DUE TO INADEQUATE TRANSPORT

Frequency, connectivity and safety of public transport are essential components for ensuring safe mobility for women. Many bus routes connect Bombay Hotel to various parts of the city, however, the AMTS (Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service) buses, which are more affordable for residents, are infrequent or irregular or both, while the BRTS (Bus Rapid Transit System) buses which are frequent and regular are not affordable. Women pointed out that in the morning, the buses are overcrowded with men, creating risk of theft and sexual harassment. Two young women explained that they had faced harassment from men on the bus but had refrained from telling their families about it for fear of being restricted from moving about on their own.

Bus drivers or conductors did not pay heed to complaints made by women. Women also complained about having to stand in the bus throughout the journey because of crowding.

Due to the above characteristics of public transport, most women residents of Bombay Hotel rely on shuttle / shared rickshaws, a form of intermediary public transport (IPT). These auto-rickshaws ply along fixed routes with fixed fares (instead of metered fares) and illegally take up to eight passengers (instead of the permissible four passengers), with 4-5 passengers in the back-seat and 3-4 passengers in the front alongside the driver. While the shuttle rickshaws are less expensive than the BRTS and less time-consuming than the AMTS, and one can sit throughout the journey, women explained that they often faced harassment from drivers or co-passengers.

Women explained that drivers harass them by looking at them through the rearview mirror or playing loud music. Often male co-passengers harass them by touching them with their elbows. Women said that they feel safer taking a shuttle rickshaw driven by somebody they are acquainted with because known drivers do not allow drunk or unruly men to board the vehicle. Many women also prefer to wait till they find a shuttle rickshaw with only female passengers in the back-seat. This causes delay, which they also face when the driver waits till his rickshaw is full, making them anxious about getting late for work. In workplaces like garment factories, their wage is cut by half a day's wage if they are late. School-going girls have also faced harassment by shuttle rickshaw drivers. One resident narrated an incident where her niece had to drop out of school because she was harassed by a driver.

"She used to go from here to the main road in a shuttle and then from there to Dani Limda in another shuttle and then walk from there to school. The driver would keep a watch on her and would not take any other passengers when she was in his rickshaw. He would tease her and take her through different routes every day. Out of fear, she stopped going to school."

HOSTILE URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

The environment in the locality's open spaces is hostile due to numerous reasons, and leads to different types of risks, violence and insecurities for women.

Poor Road Conditions

Roads in the locality have been in poor condition since many years. Very few roads have been paved and almost none have been maintained thereafter (recently

paving of some roads has started under the Town Planning or TP Scheme). Lack of adequate drainage creates waterlogging, especially in the monsoons, making road conditions worse. This inconveniences residents and also poses a risk during medical emergencies. The area lacks a hospital and due to the poor roads, ambulances or other vehicles often refuse to enter the locality or are unable to reach the patient's home in time. Pregnant women regularly face this situation and some have even given birth on their way to the hospital because of this.

The only streetlight on this internal road is not functioning

Inadequate Infrastructure and Services

Few of the roads have street-lights and many street-lights are not functional. The internal lanes are almost entirely devoid of street-lights (work on street-lighting picked up over 2014-15 but is still slow). This creates hostile environments and unsafe mobilities for women in the dark. The absence of proper solid waste management leads to garbage piling up in the locality's open spaces, particularly its lakes. This discourages residents from using or passing by these open spaces, leading to these spaces being easily taken over by men for illicit activities like gambling and alcohol sale and consumption. The lack of street-lights near the lakes acts as a propeller for such activities. There are also vacant, partially constructed tenements near one lake, which have been taken over for illicit activities. Women fear that they would be robbed or sexually harassed if they pass by these spaces.

Anti-Social Activities

Gambling and alcohol joints are widespread in the locality. The goons involved in these illicit businesses often have links to builders, politicians and the police. As discussed earlier, the infrastructural conditions have made it conducive for goons to take over spaces such as the lakesides and vacant, partially constructed tenements for running illicit businesses. Groups of men also hang about on the streetsides and gamble. (See Policy Brief 8 for a detailed discussion about such activities). Easy access to alcohol and drugs has led to harassment of women by men hanging about in public spaces in an intoxicated condition.

Women also mentioned that idle young men hang about the streetsides, especially at pan-shops, and verbally and visually harass women. One resident pointed to an incident in which five boys rapes a four-year-old girl who had gone to buy snacks at a shop close to her house. Another resident narrated an incident in which her sister was harassed by young men at a fair that was held in the locality. The girls' brothers who were present confronted the men who later came to their house and threatened them. Despite registering a complaint at the police station twice, no action was taken.

The presence of many liquor dens in Bombay Hotel also contributes to domestic violence against women and children. In one instance, a woman was so scared of her husband's drinking habits that she took her children to the rooftop every night, locked the door and then went to sleep. The economic burdens faced by residents are also worsened when men spend their daily wages on alcohol or at gambling joints instead of contributing to household expenses.

Women's Negotiations of the Unsafe Environment

Many women do not do paid work or do only home-based work not only due to the socio-cultural restrictions imposed by their conservative families but also because moving out of the home in the locality is fraught with the risk of harassment. Many families restrict the movement of the women in their household and require them to be accompanied by a male member or go in a group. But women are not only victims. Many actively negotiate this lack of safe mobility within the locality by being cautious about the routes they take to commute within it. Many travel in groups and take precautions to avoid spaces occupied by groups of notorious men. One NGO has imparted self-defence training for women which has given some of them the confidence to negotiate the situation.

LARGE PRESENCE OF SINGLE MALE MIGRANTS

Many tenements have been converted to garment workshops where the workers are generally single male migrants who work and live there. Women pointed to this as one of the reasons for feeling unsafe in their neighbourhoods and homes. They pointed to cases of young girls being assaulted by migrant workers from northern India. The sense of regional difference and hostility gets aggravated in such situations. Alcohol consumption by the workers adds to women's feeling of insecurity. Some families had complained to the owners who have rented out their tenements to workshops but were instead threatened by goons sent by the owner. Many women hesitate to leave their children alone at home, which impacts their livelihood. Some try to ensure that a neighbour keeps watch over their children or try to take their children with them if they go out.

INTIMIDATION BY INFORMAL SERVICE PROVIDERS

The absence of the welfare state in the provision of basic services to the locality has led to the emergence of informal providers. The dependence of the residents on these providers has tilted the power dynamics in favor of the latter. Women have to engage with these providers on a day-to-day basis, and are often exposed to intimidation by them. This is particularly the case with the bore-well water operators. Some women talked about their behavior as *shabdik atyaachar* (verbal torture). At times, the water operators are under the influence of alcohol or drugs and use abusive language when they come to collect the monthly charges from them. (See Policy Brief 7 for a detailed discussion on conflicts arising out of water provisioning)

WOMEN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE POLICE

Women hesitate to approach the police in cases of sexual harassment because their reputation often gets tarnished since society often stigmatizes victims of gender violence. Women also have little confidence in the police which is often unresponsive to complaints brought by them. Some women leaders in the locality have, however, built up relations with the police through their connections to political parties and NGOs, and help other women register police complaints.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Addressing women's safety in the 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* (outpost) began in mid-2015 in the locality, however, it is also essential that the police is 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.

Research Methods
• Locality mapping and community profiling
• Ethnography + ad-hoc conversations
• 16 Focus Group Discussions (men and women)
• 21 individual interviews (local leaders, etc)
• Interviews with political leaders & municipal officials
• Master's thesis: 8 Focus Group Discussions on transport and women's safety

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SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

The Bombay Hotel locality in the southern periphery of Ahmedabad has developed mainly since the early/mid 2000s. Small and medium-scale builders acquired agricultural land through a series of informal transactions, developed the land for residential societies without any development permissions and then sold the constructed tenements or plots of land in these societies through informal transactions to Muslims from poor and low-income backgrounds. Crime and violence have been rampant in the locality, leading to creation of unsafe spaces for its residents. There is a proliferation of alcohol, drug and gambling dens and many youth have been drawn towards these illicit activities. Thefts and burglaries are quite common. There are several gangs in and around the locality and conflicts between them erupt every now and then in public spaces.

Several factors have come together to create these unsafe conditions. The state has been largely absent in the locality in terms of planning the built environment and providing infrastructure and services. The rise of some individuals and groups that exert control and power over the other residents of the locality through coercion, threats and direct violence, and the fear that residents experience on a regular basis for their life, family and property are a consequence of this absence of the welfare state as well as the absence of responsive policing. The prevailing social and economic conditions in the locality create a particularly fertile ground for crime and violence to flourish.

One of the housing societies built by a builder in Bombay Hotel



AHMEDABAD POLICY BRIEF 8

BOMBAY HOTEL
Crime, Violence and Unsafe Spaces in Informal Commercial Subdivisions

"Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Indian Cities: Towards Inclusive Policies and Planning," a three-year research project (2013-16) undertaken by Centre for Urban Equity (CUE), CEPT University in Ahmedabad and Guwahati, and Institute for Human Development in Delhi and Patna, is funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada and Department of International Development (DFID), UK, under the global programme Safe and Inclusive Cities (SAIC). The research analyzes the pathways through which exclusionary urban planning and governance leads to different types of violence on the poor and by the poor in Indian cities.

The CUE research takes an expansive approach to violence, examining structural or indirect violence (material deprivation, inequality, exclusion), direct violence (direct infliction of physical or psychological harm), overt conflict and its links to violence and different types of crime. We note that not all types of violence are considered as crime (for example, violence by the state), and not all types of crime are considered as violence (for example, theft).

In Ahmedabad, the largest city of Gujarat state, the research focuses on two poor localities: Bombay Hotel, an informal commercial subdivision located on the city's southern periphery and inhabited by Muslims, and the public housing sites at Vatwa on the city's south-eastern periphery used for resettling slum dwellers displaced by urban projects.

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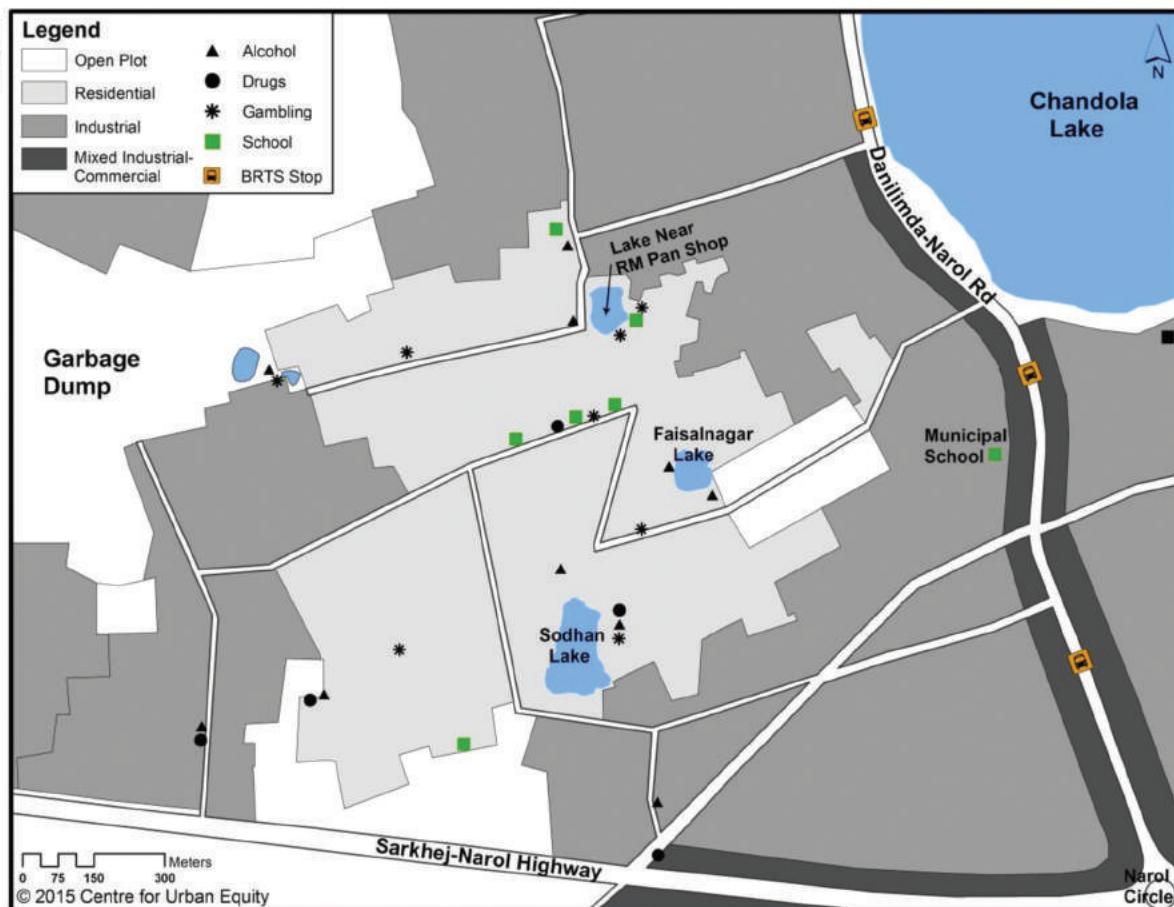
INFORMAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGENTS OF VIOLENCE IN BOMBAY HOTEL

The informal development in Bombay Hotel has contributed towards the production of violence and crime in the locality. This development was made possible through a nexus between builders, local politicians, goons as well as the covert complicity of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC). In the absence of the state in planning or infrastructure provision in the locality, the builders and goons gained considerable power.

Several cases of spurious bookings of the land plots / tenements have taken place in the locality as builders have tried to make as much money as possible from people. Vacant plots of land have sometimes been usurped by goons who have then extorted money from the (informal) owners in return for vacating the property. Many builders and later other non-state actors got involved in informal provision of basic services such as water, raking in profits from the area, sometimes using threats and coercion to collect monthly charges from residents even though they do not provide adequate and potable water.

Some of the builders are also involved in illicit businesses such as gambling and liquor dens. These businesses and the occupation of public spaces to carry them out (see Map 1) impacts residents' lives. It has created unsafe environments for women and children.

Several instances of women who had faced harassment by men in an inebriated state were revealed in the focus group discussions. The path to the municipal school (see Map 1) goes through some open grounds which are often occupied by notorious men.

Several gangs have established themselves in Bombay Hotel and quarrel with each other. These quarrels usually take place in public spaces, creating fear and potentially endangering other residents. In one instance, two gangs fired at each other as a result of a conflict over a gambling joint. The gangs and goons are also sometimes hired by residents to intimidate other residents they have had a conflict with, turning these into violent and dangerous situations.

Youth also get impacted by the presence of these goons and illicit businesses, as they get attracted to join these activities. Youth also get impacted when such illicit activities are carried out in open grounds where they gather to play cricket and then fights occur when their playing disturbs the activities of the goons or a stray ball hits the inebriated men at the liquor joints.

The police often collude with the goons (the role of the police is discussed later). However, there are also instances when the police have raided alcohol joints. In one such incident, the goons forcibly hid themselves in the house of a nearby resident who acquiesced to this out of fear.

BUILT ENVIORNMENT CREATING NEGATIVE OPPORTUNITIES

The built environment can have a direct impact on crime and violence. The absence of basic services has created a degraded built environment in Bombay Hotel. Its few open spaces and lakes (see Map 1) are strewn with garbage as a result of the apathy of the AMC with regard to solid waste management. Residents avoid going to such areas which then become gathering spaces for those who consume alcohol and drugs. Vacant, partly-constructed buildings and vacant plots have also become such gathering spaces. The Pirana garbage dump that skirts the locality at its western edge is also used to carry out illicit businesses (see Map 1).

Lack of streetlights creates opportunities for thefts and burglaries in the locality. While some of the main roads have had streetlights for a few years, the internal roads are pitch dark after sunset. In some societies, local politicians have provided streetlight poles but lights have not been installed as yet. In some societies, residents have light bulbs outside their home but it is not affordable to keep these bulbs on all night.

Partially constructed buildings (seen on the right) which are taken up for illicit activities

IMPACTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRESSES ON SAFETY IN BOMBAY HOTEL

One reason for the prevalence of crime and violence in Bombay Hotel is the socio-economic stresses created by poverty and the low incomes and long working hours in the informal sector where the majority of residents are employed. There is only one municipal school in the locality while the private schools charge exorbitant fees, leading to a large number of school dropouts in Bombay Hotel. The socio-economic stresses and related lack of education have contributed to the youngsters being lured by alcohol and drug peddlers and local goons into working for them. The amount of money that youth can

earn through these routes is higher than what employment in the informal sector can fetch. One young man mentioned that he earns Rs.10,000 per month working in a garment factory while working in illicit activities had the scope of making up to Rs.2,000 a day

Unemployed youth who hang out at certain spots in the locality also sexually harass and pass lewd comments at women passing by. As a result, women hesitate to venture out of their homes unless necessary. Focus group discussions revealed instances of families having pulled their daughters out of school because of concerns about their safety on their way to school. Women also hesitate in allowing young children to play away from their homes because of the possibility of them falling into bad company or picking up bad habits.

Poverty has also lured some men into theft and burglary which involves individuals as well as organized gangs. The gangs are always on the lookout for houses whose residents are away and then break into them at night. Jewellery, electronic appliances, money and livestock have been stolen in this manner. There are also armed robberies using knives.

IMPACTS OF FRAGMENTED COMMUNITY AND POOR EVERYDAY SOCIAL COHESION ON SAFETY IN BOOMBAY HOTEL

Bombay Hotel is inhabited by Muslims from different sects and regional backgrounds. This includes Sunni Muslims, Muslims affiliated to the Tabhliqi Jamaat, etc. There are Muslim migrants from various parts of Gujarat as well as other states in India. Many residents are not acquainted with each other as the locality is still relatively new and there are also many tenants who frequently move (often to other societies within Bombay Hotel). Residents are also constantly competing with each other over scare resources. This has led to a lack of trust and everyday social cohesion among residents. This prevents collective action, making it easier for goons to continue their activities and bully people.

Many single male migrants also inhabit the locality, working and living in garment workshops. There are tensions between them and families as women feel unsafe amidst this male population, especially since there have been some cases of sexual harassment of young girls and children by some workers. In some societies, residents tried to object to garment workshops being opened near their homes but were threatened by goons sent by the workshop owners.

There are also instances of a resident hiring a goon/gang to intimidate another resident with whom there was a conflict. These include conflicts around basic services which are inadequately provided in the locality.

"There was a quarrel between two households over an overflowing sewer. First the women fought, then the men. One of them got goons who came with weapons, so we protected [the other resident] in our house. Other residents started saying that I should not protect him because these goons will pick a fight with my family also. The goons came to our lane and threatened that whoever has helped this man, we will beat them also."

The residents are fearful of getting involved in other residents' conflicts as mediators as it can compromise their own security. In an incident in which a local leader was murdered, few residents came forth to stop the attackers or even give witness statements to the police.

ABSENT AND CORRUPT POLICE

The police have exacerbated the law and order situation in Bombay Hotel. Residents saw the absence of a police *chowky* (outpost) in the locality as one reason for anti-social elements being able to carry out illicit activities unabated. Furthermore, the police (at the nearest *chowky* near Chandola Lake and the nearest police station in Dani Limda) often refuse to register complaints unless a local leader known to them comes with the complainant. The police are also complicit with many goons and let them off after taking a bribe or keeping them in the lockup for a short while. One resident narrated an incident in which she went to register a complaint against a goon who had violently upturned her food vending cart and found that the policeman had the goon's phone number saved on his mobile phone. The goons who run gambling and alcohol joints in Bombay Hotel regularly pay bribes to the police to ensure minimum interference in their affairs. There is no regular patrolling in the locality by the police and they rarely appear at the crime spot quickly when there is a violent incident like a murder, shooting or rape.

Disenchantment with the police results in the residents turning to alternate modes of justice. In cases of thefts and sexual harassment, they may ask local leaders to mediate between the two parties. But sometimes they also take the law into their own hands. In one incident, a woman suspected of kidnapping children was caught and mercilessly beaten up by a mob of residents. This

continued even after the police arrived, prompting them to disperse the crowd with tear gas and a laathi charge before taking the woman into custody.

In August 2015, Badruddin Sheikh, a councilor in the municipal ward of Behrampura, inaugurated the construction of a police *chowky* in Bombay Hotel. It remains to be seen whether the police continues its collusions with anti-social elements and the extent to which the *chowky* ensures the security of the residents..

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- The social problems faced by the locality can be addressed through urban upgrading measures such as the sensitive implementation of the Town Planning Scheme in the locality. The provision of infrastructure such as street-lights, paved roads, planned open spaces as well as social amenities like public schools could help in reducing the opportunities for crime and violence in such informal settlements.
- 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. This could also help in changing the negative perception about the police among residents.
- 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.
- Measures to improve tenure security as violence can be used as a powerful tool to dominate residents whose tenure is insecure.

Research Methods
- Locality mapping and community profiling
- Ethnography + ad-hoc conversations
- 16 Focus Group Discussions (men and women)
- 21 individual interviews (local leaders, etc)
- Interviews with political leaders & municipal officials
- Master's thesis: 8 Focus Group Discussions on transport and women's safety

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SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

Bombay Hotel is a settlement located next to the Pirana garbage dump on Sarkhej-Narol highway. The residential area of the settlement is spread over about 1 sq.km. and comprises of approximately 25,000 Muslim families. It began to emerge from the mid/late 1990s, but has seen rapid development mainly over the past decade. The settlement is an outcome of the processes that have led to the southern urban periphery, from Juhapura to Ramol, turning into a series of Muslim enclaves. The socio-spatial religious divides intensified after the post-Godhra riots of 2002 as the dominant Hindu population kept Muslims out of most residential areas and communal tensions led Muslims to prefer living in the safety of Muslim enclaves. This also led to the ghettoization of the community in some pockets on the southern periphery, with low-income Muslims concentrating in localities like Bombay Hotel which has developed as an informal commercial subdivision. Here, builders informally bought land from farmers, informally developed it into plots or tenements without any of the requisite development permissions and informally sold these.

This policy brief examines the absence of the welfare state in the locality, the emergence of informal non-state actors in services provision, and finally the dynamics of recent state interventions in services provision to trace the pathways through which deprivations, conflicts and violence emerge and unfold in relation to basic services and infrastructure.
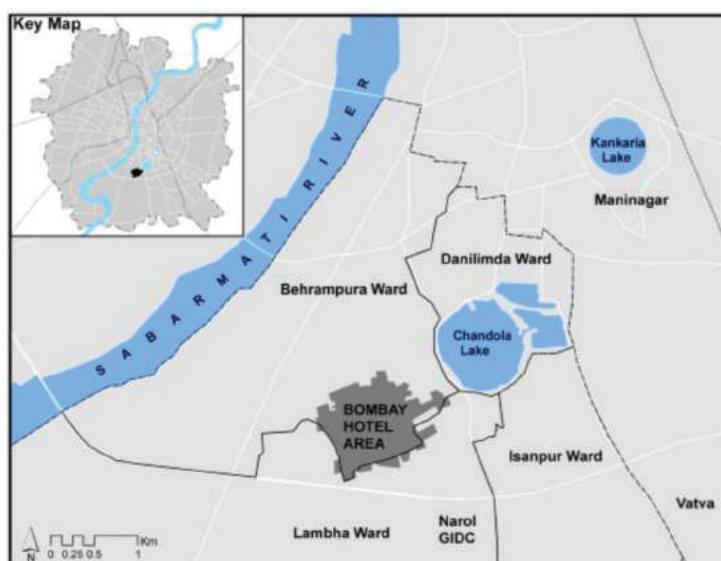
Map 1 (municipal ward boundaries as of 2014)

AHMEDABAD POLICY BRIEF 7

BOMBAY HOTEL
Everyday Conflicts in Access to Basic Services in Informal Commercial Subdivisions

The CUE research takes an expansive approach to violence, examining structural or indirect violence (material deprivation, inequality, exclusion), direct violence (direct infliction of physical or psychological harm), overt conflict and its links to violence and different types of crime. We note that not all types of violence are considered as crime (for example, violence by the state), and not all types of crime are considered as violence (for example, theft).

In Ahmedabad, the largest city of Gujarat state, the research focuses on two poor localities: Bombay Hotel, an informal commercial subdivision located on the city's southern periphery and inhabited by Muslims, and the public housing sites at Vatwa on the city's south-eastern periphery used for resettling slum dwellers displaced by urban projects.

ABSENCE OF THE WELFARE STATE AND THE RISE OF INFORMAL NON-STATE ACTORS IN SERVICE PROVISION

Builders acquired agricultural land from farmers and in order to save time and money, they developed this land for residential societies without taking permission from the state to convert this land for non-agricultural (NA) use. Further, the builders acquired the land through stamp papers (i.e. sale agreements which are not registered sale deeds) or Power of Attorney documents, and then sold the tenements/plots through stamp papers. Therefore, the land still legally belongs to the farmers as per the government land records such as the 7/12 documents. The builders and residents have also not taken any of the other requisite development permissions such as No-Objection Certificates (NOCs) before constructing and occupying tenements on this land.

These informalities in Bombay Hotel, the non-payment of property tax by most residents, and the absence of sanctioned Town Planning (TP) Schemes for the area have been cited by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) as the main reasons for its non-provision of municipal services and amenities in the locality. This absence of the welfare state has created a vacuum in which informal non-state actors have emerged and consolidated their role as services providers. Dependence on these non-state providers for services has generated various forms of conflicts and violence that has become a part of the everyday experiences of the residents.

The Relationship between Informal Services and the State

Along with informally laying out plots or constructing tenements in the residential societies, many of the builders had also put in some infrastructures such as bore-wells and soak-pits or drainage lines. They appointed an operator to supply bore-well water to the residents. Besides them, local goons and powerful residents also began to capitalize on the absence of the welfare state by turning into service providers.

The importance of all these informal providers escalated in the locality over the next several years as a result of the vacuum created by the continuing absence of the welfare state. Significantly, many of the informal providers draw their power and authority from muscle-power and links to political actors, some of whom are part of the local or regional state. This is also why not everyone can construct a bore-well and turn the scarcity of water in the locality into a business opportunity. Usually, only those with connections to politicians and/or goons are successful in being a part of the bore-well enterprise in Bombay Hotel.

Moreover, the ability of such a large and informal apparatus of service delivery to sustain itself would be unlikely without the covert compliance of the state. A municipal official said that the AMC is aware of the large number of bore-wells in Bombay Hotel but does not do anything about this unregulated groundwater extraction and sale since it cannot provide adequate water in the locality. In fact, AMC is also aware of the contaminated water being supplied to residents from these bore-wells since it had collected water samples from the locality after some residents died due to consumption of contaminated water (no action was taken by the AMC after taking samples). Some residents also speculate that there is a nexus between the local state and the bore-well owners and one of the reasons that the AMC does not provide municipal water supply to the locality is because this would destroy the latter's lucrative business.

Informal service delivery in localities like Bombay Hotel would not be possible without the covert compliance of the state. Municipal officials are aware of the large-scale unregulated groundwater extraction and sale in the locality, and are also aware that this is contaminated water and is being consumed by large numbers of people. And yet the municipal government did nothing about this for several years.

In the case of electricity provision, illegal electricity providers have sources at Torrent Power, the private company that supplies electricity in the city, who tip them off before a raid is to be conducted in the locality.

LOGICS AND MODALITIES OF INFORMAL SERVICE PROVISION, LEADING TO DEPRIVATIONS AND CONFLICTS

The dynamics around informal provision and access to water is the biggest source of deprivation and conflict faced by the residents of Bombay Hotel. Conflicts occur between residents and water providers as well as amongst residents. Poor drainage conditions created by the informal drainage provision lead to health issues as well as conflicts between residents. Conflicts also occur in the context of illegal electricity supply, mainly between residents and the suppliers over payment of monthly charges.

Territoriality in Water and Electricity Provision

Informal suppliers in Bombay Hotel work within rigid territorial boundaries especially in the provision of water and electricity. Bore-well owners supplying water to residents of one society would not supply water to residents of another society. There is an understanding among the bore-well owners in this regard so that they

can protect their profit margins. As a result, if a resident is getting inadequate water from her bore-well operator or has had an altercation with him/her then she cannot easily switch to another operator. This has laid a considerable amount of strain on residents' access to water as bore-well motors tend to break down rather frequently, especially during the summer when the water tables are low, because of which they do not get water for days at a stretch. In fact, the territoriality often forces residents to stay mute on the exploitation by their bore-well operator as complaining about this could lead to discontinuation of their water supply. Many residents have even been warned by their bore-well operators against filling water for their friends or relatives from other societies as it would lead to disconnection of their own supply.

Profit Motives and Unregulated Service Delivery Mechanisms

The motive of the informal non-state actors in the provision of crucial services such as water, drainage and electricity is purely profit-oriented and they have little concern for the well-being and safety of the residents.

The informal water suppliers rake in profit by levying a monthly charge of Rs.200-250 on residents but the water is of poor quality (the presence of industries and

The garbage dump has contaminated the ground water) and often irregularly supplied. When the bore-well motors breakdown, some of the water suppliers collect money from residents to repair them. The water from the mosques in the locality that supply water from their bore-wells to residents in adjoining areas is also of poor quality. Moreover, the mosques claim that the profit generated from the water supply is used for the maintenance and upkeep of the mosque, however, in some cases, this profit has been privately (mis)appropriated by one of the mosque's functionaries.

Informal non-state actors have made money by charging residents for putting in drainage infrastructure and beyond this, they take no responsibility for the proper functioning and maintenance of this infrastructure. For instance, the builders who had initially provided soak-pits that were to be shared among 4-5 households did not pay any attention to their longer-term maintenance and simply connected these illegally to the private drainage lines of the surrounding industries. As a result, the soak-pits and drains, unable to withstand the burden of the increasing population in the locality, started overflowing frequently and created an unsanitary environment in the locality. This has also led to fights between residents who have had to incur regular expenses of calling in private cleaners to empty the soak-pits and clean the guttters. Solid waste that is

Water from the bore-wells is supplied for only 15-20 minutes every alternate day and is insufficient to meet the requirements of the residents.

Children also bear the consequences of poor service delivery to the locality

removed from the gutters is also a source of conflict between residents as most of it is simply dumped on the streets or in one of the lakes within the area. There have also been instances of children losing their lives after falling into open drains that are scattered across the locality. Furthermore, sewage water from the overflowing drains seep into the bore-wells, contaminating the water and endangering public health.

Torrent Power supplies electricity in the locality under its scheme for slums but the tariff is still too high for many residents and sometimes the bills seem to be higher than what they should be given the electricity consumption. Many residents are also unable to afford the high costs of installing a meter. Most residents therefore turn to illegal electricity suppliers who charge a monthly amount of Rs.200-250. Those who use appliances such as sewing machines that consume more electricity are charged a little more. While these charges are much lower than for formal electricity from Torrent, the illegal electricity suppliers have no concern for safety. Several residents, especially young children, have been injured after coming in contact with live wires left unattended to by these suppliers.

In one of the societies, a local leader complained to a politician about the poor quality of water being supplied by the bore-well operator. This angered the operator who then stopped supplying water to the residents which in turn led to an argument between the residents and local leader as the former felt that the latter should not have complained to the politician as this had totally cut off their access to water.

Coercive Practices

Many of the informal suppliers in Bombay Hotel adopt violent practices and behavior in their dealings with the residents. Lack of alternatives reinforces the vulnerability of residents who are forced to put up not only with economic exploitation of the suppliers but also coercion, threats and abuse. Many residents earn daily wages and may not always be able to pay the monthly charges to the suppliers on time. This leads to warnings from the supplier and threats that their water / electricity connection would be cut. One woman resident referred to the water operator's behaviour towards residents as "*shabdik atyachaar*" (verbal torture). The feeling among women residents of being abused by the water operators is exacerbated by the fact that the latter are often under the influence of alcohol or drugs when they come to collect the monthly charges from them.

Water-logging in the internal lanes of Bombay Hotel during the monsoons due to poor drainage

DYNAMICS OF STATE INTERVENTION IN THE PROVISION OF BASIC SERVICES

Marginalized Citizens and Access to the State

Attempts made by the residents to approach the state for services demonstrate the bias of the state against localities like Bombay Hotel. Visits to AMC by certain residents concerned about and impacted by the poor quality of life in Bombay Hotel were met with hostility by government officials for several years. One local leader said that when he had gone to the AMC office some years ago to ask municipal officials to address the solid waste issues in the locality, he was pushed out of the office. Another local leader said that he had been told by a politician of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), which has been in power at the city-level since 2005, that the party had not allocated any funds for development work in the locality. Such residents opine that the AMC did not provide services for many years because it is a Muslim locality.

NGO Advocacy

In 2004, the AMC provided some basic services to a society in Bombay Hotel called Citizen Nagar. This was in response to an order by the Supreme Court on a PIL filed by the Antrik Visthapit Haq Rakshak Samiti (AVHRS) on behalf of the rehabilitated victims of the 2002 riots. A road was paved, connecting Citizen Nagar to the main road. This ended up also benefiting the residents of some of the other societies. Thereafter, other basic services such as drainage lines and water

Queues on arrival of a municipal water tanker at Faizal Nagar Society in Bombay Hotel.

tankers were also provided to the residents of Citizen Nagar.

NGOs such as Sanchetana and Centre for Development (CfD) have also played an important role in mobilizing residents of Bombay Hotel to demand basic services as well as social infrastructure (municipal school, anganwadis, etc).

Local Leaders, Political Patronage and Clientelism

Lack of direct access to the bureaucracy has led to the dependence of the residents on local leaders and politicians to mediate with the state on their behalf. Despite being marginalized citizens, some residents have developed connections with local municipal officials over time through persistent efforts, also emerging as local leaders in the process. Immense time and effort goes into establishing these networks and local leaders at times make substantial financial investments towards these processes as well. The recent re-drawing of municipal ward boundaries which has brought some pockets which were in Lambha ward into Behrampura ward has not been welcomed whole-heartedly by the local leaders in these pockets because the contacts and networks they had established in the former ward with much difficulty are now of little use to them.

Local leaders have also played a major role in mobilizing residents to demand basic services through rallies and protests to municipal offices. However, these have often not yielded any action from the AMC.

Media coverage of protests against lack of basic services by residents of Bombay Hotel (*Divya Bhaskar*, May 29, 2014)

"Three years ago, people took out a rally to demand gutter lines. All of us went to the corporation office and created a huge noise, broke our water pots there. However, nothing came of this."

The inability / unwillingness of AMC to provide services in spite of these protests created a space for politicians to mediate between the residents and the state. Most of the residents attribute the introduction of basic services by AMC to the efforts of Badruddin Sheikh, the local councilor in Behrampura ward (since 2010) and Shailesh Parmar, the MLA (since 2012), both belonging to the Congress Party. Over the last five years, these politicians have used their budget to fund development works in the locality such as road paving in some societies, the construction of drainage lines in some internal lanes, and provision of some streetlights.

However, this has resulted in a double-edged situation. Since politicians depend on the locality for votes and the residents depend on politicians for accessing basic services from the state, this political patronage and clientelism does bring in essential services in a situation where the locality is otherwise ignored by the state. However, it also leads to uneven development across the locality as the politicians intervene in areas with local leaders linked to them. Areas within Bombay Hotel without any strong and networked leadership struggle to a greater extent to access the state.

Unevenness in basic services provision in Bombay Hotel is also reflected in the case of water supply through municipal tankers. Municipal water tankers have been allocated to Bombay Hotel by the mediation politicians due to the struggles faced by residents to obtain safe and adequate drinking water. However, at present, the tankers provide water which is adequate for only 3.5 per cent of the population, thus generating another set of conflicts between residents because of the limited supply. The tankers only visit some localities, creating deprivation in some pockets that ultimately rely on the contaminated bore-well water for consumption.

"Sometimes there are bad fights. A few days ago two women physically attacked each other and pulled each other's hair. We had to call the police. One woman was sent to the hospital and the police arrested the other woman. Women fight with each other because only one tanker comes here for so many people and we cannot be certain that each of us will get water."

Some local leaders have taken the initiative of maintaining queues at the water tankers, but they also often siphon off extra water for themselves or allow their friends or relatives to take more water than the others.

Planning and Informality
One of the reasons for the absence of basic services in Bombay Hotel is the delay in the implementation of the two Town Planning (TP) Schemes, 38/1 and 38/2. (See Policy Brief 1 for a detailed discussion on the TP Schemes)

As a result of the TP Scheme delays, the scale of informal development within the locality expanded between the time the land surveys for the TP Schemes were conducted (2003-2004), the draft TPs were sanctioned (2009 and 2006, respectively) and the TP implementation began (end of 2013). Therefore, a large number of houses now find themselves located on land reserved for infrastructure and amenities under the TP Schemes. Furthermore, a closer look at the TP Schemes also reveals that a large proportion of land has been reserved for roads. Allocation of a significant proportion of land for the sale of residential and commercial in an area inhabited by residents of a lower socio-economic status is also questionable.

The impact of reserving plots on a large scale in a locality which has already developed informally is that this has resulted in a large number of households not being eligible to receive basic services as they are occupying these reserved plots. They are also not eligible to receive the No-Objection Certificates issued by the AMC for residents living in houses of less than 40 sq m area nor can they apply for the regularization of their illegal construction under the Gujarat Regularization of Unauthorized Development Act.

The ongoing implementation of the TP Schemes has also posed challenges for the residents in accessing basic services. For instance, the drainage lines that are being laid across the locality have made it difficult for water tankers to enter societies. As a result of this, the tankers arrive on open grounds in some common areas which lead to conflicts between residents of different societies. In another case, residents whose properties were affected during demolition for laying drainage lines and road widening also lost their Torrent Power electricity meters. When they tried to negotiate with Torrent Power for new connections, they were asked to pay the entire cost of installing the meters once again, which was unaffordable for most of them given their economic conditions.

Through TP implementation while AMC has initiated the process of providing basic services by laying drainage lines as well as constructing a water storage tank to provide municipal water to the locality, it does not prioritize the provision of social infrastructure such as schools, health-centres, and parks/gardens as it argues that it is a cost that the community would have to bear for having "encroached" upon reserved plots on which the amenities were to be provided. Lack of social infrastructure would have a direct impact on the quality of people's lives and for availing of opportunities required for upward mobility.

Research Methods
• Locality mapping and community profiling
• Ethnography + ad-hoc conversations
• 16 Focus Group Discussions (men and women)
• 21 individual interviews (local leaders, water operators, active residents, etc)
• Interviews with political leaders & municipal officials

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Fast-track the 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. (also see Policy Brief 6)

- 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 Councilor funds only serves to strengthen clientelism, thereby creating uneven development.

- Subsidize the costs of providing basic services to poor households and offer a range of payment options.

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SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

Housing with secure tenure* is necessary for poverty alleviation, reducing inequalities and realizing the right to the city. However, the development paradigm in Indian cities plays a central role in creating and perpetuating insecure tenure for a large majority who are unable to access formal housing due to lack of affordability. This insecure tenure exposes them to chronic structural violence. While issues of tenure security in slums that are squatter settlements are widely known, we know less about informal commercial subdivisions that tend to dominate the urban peripheries in many Indian cities. These are residential developments on agricultural lands which have involved builders informally acquiring land from farmers, sub-dividing it into plots and informally constructing societies without taking planning and development permissions, and then selling the plots / tenements to generally low-income and middle-income households.

Ahmedabad's southern periphery comprises of large areas of informal subdivisions, which have, due to religious segregation in the city since the mid-1980s and more so after the 2002 riots, developed as Muslim ghettos (see Box 1). One such locality is Bombay Hotel, comprising of about 25,000 households living in an area of about 1 sq.km, located beside the Pirana garbage dump along the Sarkhej-Narol highway. Numerous factors, including urban planning and governance, have played a role in shaping this subdivision and the conditions of tenure security and land conflict.

Map 1 (municipal ward boundaries as of 2014)
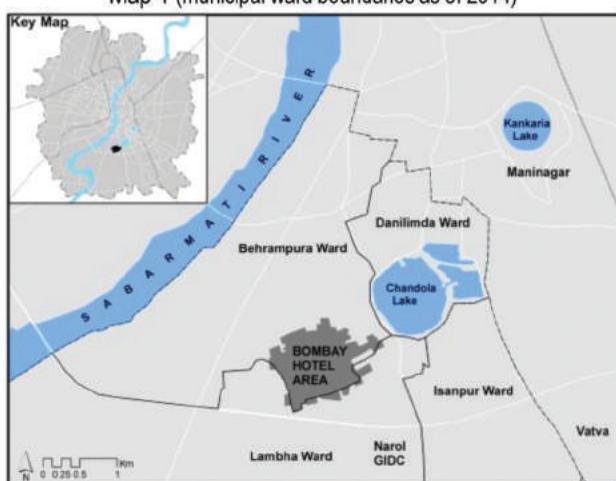
*Tenure is the mode by which land or a dwelling unit is held or owned. A continuum of tenure categories based on de jure rights and de facto rights, and thus a gradation of tenure security, has been identified in different cities.

AHMEDABAD POLICY BRIEF 6

BOMBAY HOTEL
Tenure Insecurity and Land Conflicts in Informal Commercial Subdivisions

"Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Indian Cities: Towards Inclusive Policies and Planning," a three-year research project (2013-16) undertaken by Centre for Urban Equity (CUE), CEPT University in Ahmedabad and Guwahati, and Institute for Human Development in Delhi and Patna, is funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada and Department of International Development (DFID), UK, under the global programme Safe and Inclusive Cities (SAIC). The research analyzes the pathways through which exclusionary urban planning and governance leads to different types of violence on the poor and by the poor in Indian cities.

The CUE research takes an expansive approach to violence, examining structural or indirect violence (material deprivation, inequality, exclusion), direct violence (direct infliction of physical or psychological harm), overt conflict and its links to violence and different types of crime. We note that not all types of violence are considered as crime (for example, violence by the state), and not all types of crime are considered as violence (for example, theft).

In Ahmedabad, the largest city of Gujarat state, the research focuses on two poor localities: Bombay Hotel, an informal commercial subdivision located on the city's southern periphery and inhabited by Muslims, and the public housing sites at Vatwa on the city's south-eastern periphery used for resettling slum dwellers displaced by urban projects.

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EXCLUSIONARY URBAN PLANNING

For urban poor and low-income groups, resorting to informal commercial subdivisions for housing is linked to the failure of the state to provide formal housing that is affordable to them. This failure can be broadly attributed to two main factors. In cities across India, there are or have been legislations, urban planning mechanisms and housing programmes to provide affordable housing for the urban poor and low-income groups. However, these have been inadequate for providing adequate shelter for all, and the state has, moreover, often subverted them – or been complicit in their subversion – to cater to elite interests. At the same time, the urban development and urban planning paradigm has often been hostile to, or only selectively and intermittently tolerant of, the land and housing informalities that the urban poor and low-income groups have been forced to resort to in order to provide for their own shelter. In the case of Ahmedabad, some of the elements of the failure of the state leading to exclusionary planning are outlined below.

As in many other Indian cities, in Ahmedabad also, the acquisition of land under the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act 1976 (ULCRA) was poor as loopholes were used to gain exemptions from acquisition, and even where acquired, the state does not seem to have used these lands for one of the intended purposes, that is, making land available to house the poor. In 1999, ULCRA was repealed by the Government of India rather than strengthening its implementation.

In Ahmedabad, the Town Planning Schemes (TPS), governed by the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act of 1976 (GTPUDA), provide a mechanism to urban local bodies for organizing and allocating land for socially and economically marginalized groups in urban areas. Under the TPS, which is based on the concepts of land pooling and readjustment, the urban local body acquires up to 40 per cent of all the land parcels in a particular area to provide infrastructure such as roads, water supply, and sewerage; as well as allocate land for social infrastructure such as schools and parks; public housing for socially and economically weaker sections (SEWS); and lands for sale. 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. The landowners have to pay half of the increase in this land value to the government in the form of a betterment charge. The lands for sale and the betterment charge are meant to help the government recover its costs. While the TPS has considerable scope to provide housing and services for poor and low-income groups, this has not been realized adequately.

In Ahmedabad, lands have been allocated for SEWS housing in the TPS, but a large proportion of the allotted lands have remained vacant or have been utilized for unintended purposes. In recent years, Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) has built public housing under the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) programme of the Indian government on many of the SEWS lands, but they have been used to resettle slum dwellers involuntarily displaced by urban projects rather than create additional housing stock for the growing urban poor population that is in search of affordable housing. Moreover, the allocation of SEWS lands has been uneven across the city; smaller percentage of land has been allocated for SEWS in the TPS for areas with higher land values, that is, areas which are expected to develop for affluent households.

Moreover, in many areas on Ahmedabad's periphery, TPS implementation has been delayed. This includes areas in the southern periphery such as Juhapura, Gyaspur, Maktampura, Sarkhej, Makarba, Shahwadi and Dani Limda, which are predominantly Muslim. As a result, the areas have developed haphazardly, often as informal commercial subdivisions. Continuing delay in implementing the TPS in these areas has meant that residents have been denied the provision of basic services and amenities from the state. Moreover, the TPS preparation has provision of consultation with the landowners, and the residents of such informal developments do not qualify as landowners and hence are not recognized as stakeholders during the plan-preparation. Hence, when the TPS implementation begins, the residents living in the line of road, water and sanitation infrastructure provisions tend to face demolitions. Since TPS implementation has been delayed in most of the Muslim areas, the chances of AMC actually constructing SEWS housing on SEWS lands that is accessible to Muslims are also low. Moreover, the Gujarat Housing Board (GHB) has been revived in recent years by the Gujarat State Government, however, none of the housing being built or proposed through GHB funds for EWS (Economically Weaker Section) and Lower-Income Group (LIG) is located in Muslim areas of the city, and is therefore not accessible to Muslims.

The emergence of informal commercial subdivisions like Bombay Hotel and their tenure conditions is directly linked to the above dynamics of exclusionary urban planning that creates class and religious inequities in the distribution of land and other resources within the city.

Ahmedabad has been witness to intense communal violence between Hindus and Muslims since the late 1960s. Frequent clashes between them led to socio-spatial divides within the city since Hindus occupying Muslim localities and Muslims occupying Hindu localities shifted to areas which accommodated members of their own community for reasons of safety and security. The post-Godhra riots of 2002 further intensified and consolidated this segregation. The segregation was also driven by legislations such as the Disturbed Areas of 1991 which prohibits the sale of property by Hindus to Muslims and vice versa in certain localities without the permission of the collector. While the Act intended to prevent distress sale of property by both the communities, it has been subverted to prevent Muslims from purchasing property in Hindu areas leading to exclusion and marginalization of the Muslim community. Even in areas where the Act is not applicable, Hindus discriminate against Muslims in the property markets of Hindu-dominated areas, often citing social norms and customs. This has contributed to the emergence of Muslim areas on unserviced lands on the city's southern peripheries. These Muslim ghettos reflect the community's socio-economic and political exclusion.

INFORMAL LAND TRANSACTIONS AND INFORMAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOMBAY HOTEL

Muslim builders began to buy land in Bombay Hotel and develop sub-plotted schemes and housing societies in the mid/late 1990s. Development picked up in the area after the post-Godhra riots of 2002 as demand among Muslims for housing in "safe" areas increased. Some of the riot victims were rehabilitated here. Many poor and low-income Muslims from Hindu-dominated areas and Muslims from congested Muslim areas moved here. The locality also absorbed many Muslim migrants who came to the city from various parts of Gujarat and other states to earn a livelihood. While Bombay Hotel provided them with affordable housing and safety in a communally polarised city, tenure security is not consistently high. This is due to the informality in land transactions, the informal development of the land and the state's attitude towards this informality.

Informal Rehabilitation of 2002 Riot Victims

Given the state's unwillingness to rehabilitate the Muslim victims of the 2002 riots, Muslim charities stepped forward to undertake rehabilitation. Bombay Hotel was identified as one of the ideal spaces in Ahmedabad to rehabilitate the victims since it was located near the Muslim area of Shah-e-Alam and some

Muslim builders had started to buy land here from the mid/late 1990s. Two rehabilitation colonies called Citizen Nagar A and Citizen Nagar B were constructed next to the Pirana garbage dump, and some of the victims from the Naroda Patiya massacre who had taken refuge in the Shah-e-Alam relief camp were allotted a tenement there.

Although financed by Muslim charities, the development of the Citizen Nagar colonies and allotment of tenements to the riot victims was undertaken by a prominent Muslim builder. He informally bought land from a landowner in the area through his political connections and constructed the colonies without any development permissions. The allottees in Citizen Nagar A were given allotment papers called "Baksheesh no Lekh." This does not give legal land tenure although it does give them some level of legal claim to the tenement. Those who were allotted tenements in Citizen Nagar B were not given any documents and are also not allowed to make structural changes to their tenements. Some interviewees suggested that that the builder siphoned off money that was given for Citizen Nagar B. His people undertake routine surveillance here and threaten any resident who attempts to make structural changes to their tenement.

Informal Transactions, Subdivision & Construction

The informal transactions first took place between farmer landowners and builders. Land was sold by Hindu farmers to small and medium-scale Muslim builders who found Bombay Hotel to be a good opportunity to make profits out of the surge in demand for housing among low-income Muslims. The sale of land was not registered and was undertaken through stamp papers and power of attorney documents. The farmers did not obtain permission for converting their land to non-agriculture (NA) use, which is, more often than not, expensive and time-consuming (often also involving corruption), and is required in order to sell lands legally to non-farmers. A large "farmer" landowner of the area, having strong political connections, is also known to have informally bought land from other farmers using some coercion, and then to have informally sold the land to builders, many of whom were linked to a city-level political leader. Many land parcels have also changed many hands through informal transactions, sometimes getting divided into two or more parcels along the way, before ending up with the builder who finally developed it for residential purpose.

The builders subdivided their informally purchased land parcel into small plots keeping space for some streets and sold the plots to poor and low-income Muslims. Many builders first constructed tenements on the plots and then sold them. Buyers were lured with low monthly

Sub-plotting done by builders for a residential society

Installment payment card for Azad Nagar Society

TOWN PLANNING SCHEMES IN BOMBAY HOTEL

Delays and Impacts on Tenure Insecurity and Basic Services Provision

The Bombay Hotel area came under the AMC jurisdiction in 1975. It is covered under TPS 38/1 and TPS 38/2, for which surveys were done in 2003-04, almost three decades after the area came within the municipal limits and several years after some builders had started sub-plotting in the area. These two TPSs were approved by the State Government as Draft TPSs after a time lag in 2009 and 2006, respectively. Implementation of the Draft TPS 38/1 began after a time lag towards the end of 2013 (See Table 1) (the next stages of preparing the Preliminary TP and subsequently the Final TP, with sanction by the State Government at both stages, are yet to happen). In the intervening years, considerable amount of informal development had already taken place in the locality.

As a result of these delays, when the implementation began towards the end of 2013, it came to light that about 2,200 households were occupying the roads and reservation plots and their houses/shops would have to be demolished. While only part of some houses and shops have been demolished so far (due to protests discussed later), the tenure security of these 2,200 households is in limbo.

Implementation of the Town Planning Schemes in the locality has put the tenure security of 2,200 households at risk, therefore increasing the vulnerability of its marginalized residents.

Moreover, these 2,200 households would not be eligible to receive basic services as they are occupying roads and reservation plots. They are also not eligible to receive the NOC issued in slums by the AMC that entitles houses of less than 40 sq.m. area to receive services nor can they apply for the regularization of their construction under the Gujarat Regularization of Unauthorized Development Act (GRUDA).

Design of the TP Schemes

A large proportion of land in the TP Schemes has been reserved for roads while hardly any land has been allocated for open spaces (See Table 2). The residents are even apprehensive about the high proportion of land allocated for roads in one of the TP Schemes and sense some mal-intention. The allocation of land for SEWS housing is very low.

installments (Rs. 10 a day to Rs. 1,000 a month) and nil or low down-payments. The transactions were informal, done through sale agreements on stamp papers called "Vechan Karar." Most of the lands are still registered in the names of the original "farmer" landowners in the government land records (7/12 documents) because none of the transactions have been registered at the Collector's Office. It is likely that the state authorities and state actors knew of the informal transactions taking place in the area (especially since political leaders were involved), but feigned ignorance and allowed the land to be informally sold and developed.

Informality in land transactions often resulted in spurious bookings where builders sold a plot of land to multiple people who then used various sources of power to stake claim over the land.

The subdivisions have been made and tenements constructed without following development regulations and getting the requisite development permissions such as No-Objection Certificates (NOCs). Since the municipal authority did not begin implementing the TPS for the area until end of 2013, which is one decade after the surveys were done for the TPS, the informal sale and development continued with ease over the years.

Table 1: Timeline of TP Schemes 38/1 and 38/2 (Source: Chief Town Planner's Office, AMC)

TP No.	Year of Area's Inclusion in AMC Limits	Preliminary Land Surveys	Submission of Draft TP to State Govt.	Sanctioning of Draft TP by State Govt.	Town Planning Officer Appointed	Commencement of Implementation of Draft TP
38/1	1975	2003-2004	February 2007	February 2009	July 2009	December 2013
38/2	1975	2003-2004	August 2005	October 2006	October 2006	-

Map 2: Overlay of Draft TP Schemes 38/1 and 38/2 on Google Earth Image of Bombay Hotel

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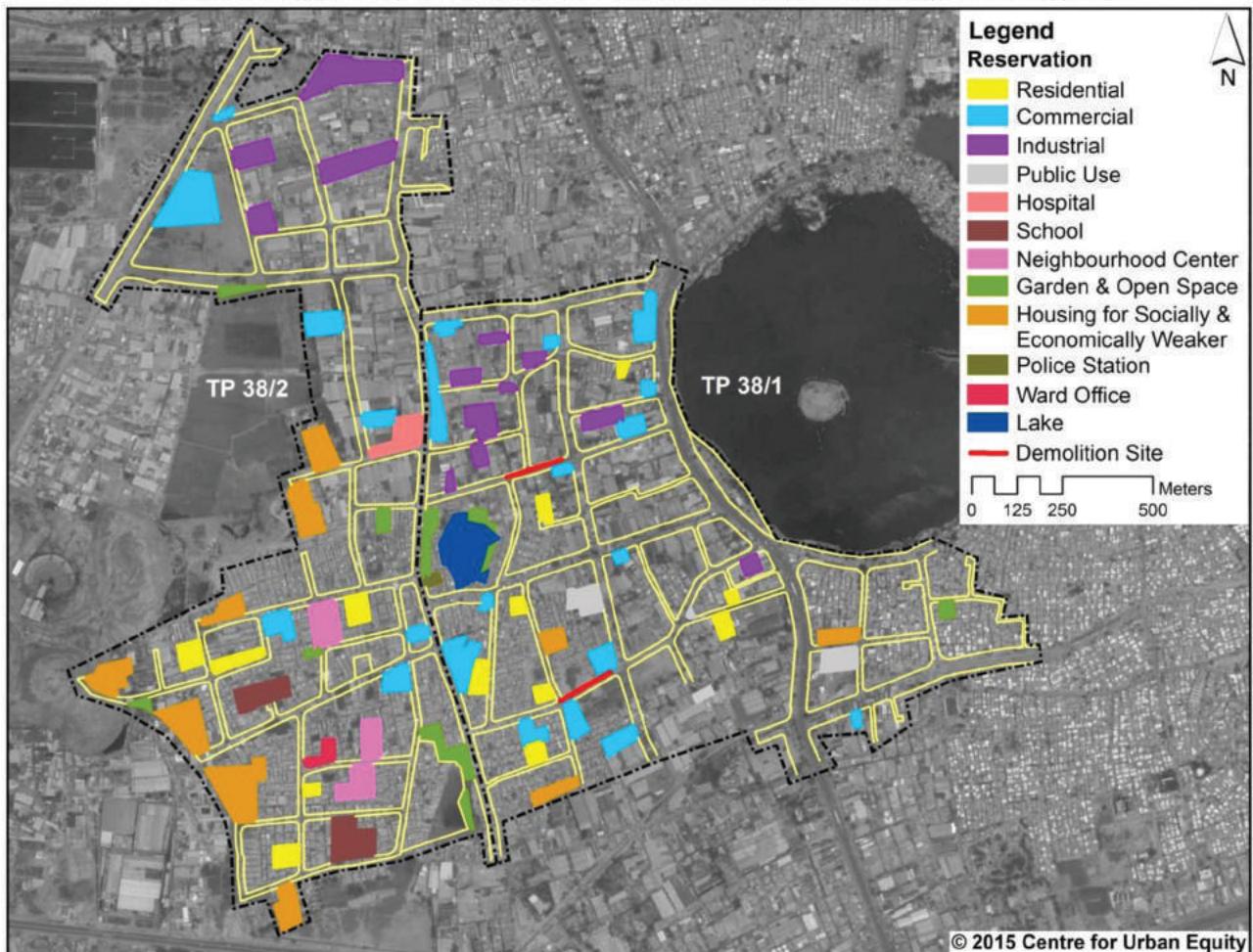
Table 2: Land Reservations for Draft TP Schemes 38/1 and 38/2 (Source: Draft TP Scheme documents, AMC)

Land Reservations	Norm (%)	TPS 38-1 (%)	TPS 38-2 (%)
Roads	15	20.35	14.81
Parks, Playgrounds, Gardens, Open Spaces	5	0.38	1.35
Social Infrastructure (school, dispensary, fire brigade, public utility, neighbourhood centre)	5	1.14	4.51
Residential, Industrial, Commercial Plots for Sale	15	5.22	6.65
SEWS Housing	up to 10	1.65	4.62
Commercial Use	Not Available	-	1.35
Total land area under reservation*	-	28.74	33.29

* The remaining land area (i.e. the non-reserved land) would be returned to the landowners as reconstituted plots.

Exclusion of Informal Owners, leading to Tenure Insecurity and Protests

Under the GTPUDA, AMC is required to serve notices about TP Scheme implementation (and invite objections to this) only to landowners. Since none of the residents in Bombay Hotel legally own their plots, they did not receive information regarding the implementation status, leading to anxiety and insecurity. In some cases, AMC marked houses which fell on the reservation plots but did not give residents any information about the purpose of this.

"This lane is supposed to be demolished under TP scheme. We don't know whether we will get a house or not. We have paid so much money and completed paying our installments just few years ago and now we fear this will get demolished. 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."

In the absence of AMC's formal engagement with the residents, they resorted to objection letters, rallies and protests organized by their local leaders against the demolitions. Some of the local leaders were threatened by local politicians who wanted them to stop the protests. However, the local leaders persevered and the local politicians came to extend their support to these protests, leading the AMC to implement only the minimal road widening required to provide services like drainage and water supply. As a result, demolitions have been minimized, at least for the time being, and no one has seen the demolition of their entire property. It is, however, unclear whether the TP Schemes will ever be officially modified or whether the residents will always live in a state of tenure uncertainty, open to demolitions in the near or distant future.

Basic Services Provision versus Insecure Tenure?

While plots have been reserved for various social amenities such as schools, parks, gardens and health centers in the TP Schemes, municipal officials say that these will not be implemented as the plots are encroached, and that the locality would have to suffer the non-provision of these amenities as a cost of this encroachment. This has pitched residents' right to secure tenure against the right to basic services and amenities.

Short-term Deprivations

The TP Scheme implementation has created further chaos in the community to access services. For instance, lanes in which the drainage lines were being laid were dug up and water tankers were unable to enter them creating lack of potable water for residents of surrounding societies. In the case of electricity, those who had metered connections had to surrender their meters if their houses were slated to be partly demolished and had to pay for re-installing the meter once demolitions were over.

IMPACTS OF INFORMAL DEVELOPMENT AND NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TP SCHEMES ON BASIC SERVICES PROVISION

For many years, the AMC refused to provide basic services such as water, drainage, roads and streetlights in view of the informal development in the locality. This has led to informal providers stepping in to fill the vacuum left by the state. The builders and other non-state actors provided basic services in the form of bore-wells for water and soak-pits (and later drainage lines) for drainage. However, this infrastructure was insufficient for the growing population of the locality. The water provided through bore-wells was inadequate in quantity as well as unfit for consumption. The soak-pits and drains frequently overflowed. When residents approached the AMC about these and other problems such as lack of roads and streetlights, the latter dismissed their pleas on grounds of illegality of the development and the fact that the State Government had not yet sanctioned the implementation for the area's TPSs. The everyday lives of the residents was thus mired in deprivations around basic services; conflicts over problems arising out of these deprivations; and threats and coercion by the informal providers who exploited the residents' dependence on them.

EFFORTS TO IMPROVE TENURE SECURITY: THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS, LOCAL MOBILIZATION, POLITICAL PATRONAGE

For almost a decade, the residents of Bombay Hotel lacked the political agency to effectively voice their needs and pressure the local state to provide them with services and implement TP Schemes in their locality. This has been gradually changing.

Upgrading Services and Legality

A Public Interest Litigation was filed in the Supreme Court by the Antrik Visthapit Hak Rakshak Samiti about the lack of basic services in the rehabilitation colonies built by charity organizations in Gujarat for the 2002 riot victims. The court judgment led to the provision of some services for Citizen Nagar. Some of these, such as the construction of a paved road also benefitted residents of other societies in Bombay Hotel. NGOs such as Centre for Development and Sanchetana, local leaders, and local organizations have been creating awareness amongst residents of Bombay Hotel about their rights to

municipal services. They have assisted residents in applying for documents such as property tax bills and NOCs** in order to upgrade their claims to services and increase tenure security.

They have also organized rallies and protests to municipal offices and approached elected representatives. Some organizations have also encouraged residents to regularize their constructions by paying impact fees under GRUDA.

Many residents attribute the provision of some services by the AMC over the past few years to the election of a municipal councilor and a MLA from the Congress Party in 2010 and 2012, respectively. Prior to this, their municipal councilors and MLA were from the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP). However, so far, basic services provision through political patronage has been uneven and mainly localities with more active local leaders with good links to these politicians have been provided with services such as drainage lines, water tankers, streetlights, and paving of internal lanes and roads.

Protesting Demolitions under the TP Schemes
The oppositions to the demolitions required by the Draft TP Schemes 38/1 and 38/2 and the role that this played in reducing tenure insecurity (at least for the time being) have been discussed earlier.

Research Methods
- Locality mapping and community profiling
- Ethnography + ad-hoc conversations
- 16 Focus Group Discussions (men & women)
- 21 individual interviews (local leaders, water operators, etc)
- Interviews with political leaders & municipal officials

**This NOC (No Objection Certificate) refers to the document issued by a municipal ward office which entitles residents of economically weaker sections in slums who have a house less than 40 sq.m. to receive basic services such as water and drainage.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS
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. 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, TP Scheme implementation would necessarily lead to displacement. Instead, the public space requirements of a fully developed area, where TP Scheme is being implemented, should be adjusted in the neighbouring TP Scheme or through using existing public lands.
- Once the TP Scheme is prepared, ensure adequate governance of 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 in squatter slums 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 and participatory.
- Public housing schemes in Muslim areas of the city so that this group can also benefit from subsidized formal housing.
- 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. If there are any deviations from the Draft TP Schemes currently in the public domain, the AMC should have a dialogue on this with the residents, including women. This is important for building faith amongst residents for the TP Schemes and ensuring that the schemes benefit them.

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SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN INDIAN CITIES: TOWARDS INCLUSIVE POLICIES AND PLANNING

There is a growing recognition that large number of women in Indian cities experience violence inside and outside their homes and feel insecure about being in public spaces. Patriarchal norms and sexist attitudes towards women are the main underlying reasons for these experiences. However, outside the home, the nature of urban development and governance, such as housing location and type, provision of adequate infrastructure and services, provision of adequate and safe transport, and responsive policing also play an important role in creating safe and unsafe spaces for women in the city, which in turn expands or constrains their access to resources and opportunities. Gender also intersects with class and other social identities such as caste, ethnicity and religion, to shape women's urban experiences. In Ahmedabad, resettlement of the urban poor from central city neighbourhoods to peripheral areas like Vatwa has deeply impacted women's security and safety.

Women residents of the Vatwa resettlement sites experience a sense of insecurity and fear in public spaces in and around the sites as well as in their homes. Many have personally experienced harassment in these public spaces and while traveling to and from these sites. This impacts their mobility in the locality and to other places in the city. Numerous factors related to urban planning and governance directly and indirectly contribute to creating insecurity among women and shaping a built environment conducive for violence against women.

UNSAFE MOBILITY DUE TO DISTANT RESETTLEMENT AND INADEQUATE PUBLIC TRANSPORT

The distant resettlement combined with the low frequency of buses, delays in the arrival of the bus, and in some cases, lack of direct connectivity to desired destinations increases travel time. Women who travel to central city areas mentioned that the bus journey (excluding the waiting time) took them an hour each way. Although shuttle rickshaws are often more frequent, drivers want to maximize their number of passengers and therefore, often wait to get more passengers, thus increasing travel time. Women pointed out that at times they have to wait for up to 30 minutes before the shuttle-rickshaw driver will start on his route. Due to the long travel time, the return journeys from work at the end of the day are often suffused with a sense of anxiety and fear for women.

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They experience insecurity around their own safety during the journey as well as while walking back to their home from the bus or shuttle stop.

"I feel scared, when will the vehicle come, when will I reach home… will someone catch hold of me, what will someone do [to me]?"

Women, particularly younger women, experience and fear sexual harassment in the buses and shuttle rickshaws due to their overcrowding. Men often take advantage of the crowd to touch girls and young women. Many women prefer to take the shuttle rickshaw because it gives them a seat (instead of being forced to stand in a bus), however, this does not ensure safety from harassment. With four passengers in the front and four at the back, male co-passengers often misbehave by touching them or staring at them. In many instances, the drivers also misbehave by playing loud music, especially if one or two women are the only passengers. They stare at the women through the rearview mirror and drive faster. This kind of harassment is often by drivers intoxicated with alcohol or drugs. In such instances, women also fear that their rash driving would lead to road accidents.

UNSAFE MOBILITY DUE TO INADEQUATE ROAD INFRASTRUCTURE ALONG TRAVEL ROUTES

Non-functioning street lights on certain routes between their workplaces and home (for example, the Bibi Talav route) have added to women's sense of insecurity on their return journeys home by shuttle rickshaws.

Many girls go to schools by cycle 2-3 kms away from the resettlement sites. In focus group discussions with them, they pointed to their fear of road accidents due to potholes on the roads in the area, and in the winters, lack of street lights as they go to school early in the morning when it is still dark.

"We have to go on cycles to school because there is no shuttle or bus that goes there. The roads do not have street lights and there is a danger that a vehicle coming from the opposite side may not be able to see us and might collide with us"

Many also go on cycle for tuition classes in the late afternoon; during the winters it gets dark when they return home, again leading to fear of accidents due to potholes and lack of street lights.

HOSTILE URBAN ENVIRONMENTS IN AND AROUND THE RESETTLEMENT SITES

Women move in and around the locality by foot to access bus-stops and shuttle-stops. They also walk to buy groceries from nearby vendors and shops. Although jobs are hard to find nearby, some women have managed to do so and walk to their workplaces (nearby middle-class housing societies or the nearby GIDC industrial estate). Children walk to the nearby municipal school and older girls walk or cycle to schools in an approximately 3-km radius. Women also move about and inhabit public spaces in and around the resettlement site for leisure. The urban environments they traverse on foot and cycle are hostile in numerous ways, leading to different types of violence, risks and insecurities for them.

Most women expressed a fear of sexual harassment and theft in and around the resettlement sites. While some women feel safe in the daytime, this is not the case with all women. Many do not feel safe waiting at the bus-stops and shuttle-stops, particularly those at the main cross-roads on the Narol-Vatwa Road between VGG Nagar and Sadbhavna Nagar. Many do not feel safe walking on this road as there have been many robberies. (This area has become relatively safer after a police outpost or *chowky* built at the cross-roads started functioning towards 2015-end). Many of the internal roads of the resettlement sites, especially in Sadbhavna Nagar, are also perceived as unsafe. The gate of Sadbhavna Nagar that opens at the cross-roads was identified as a particularly unsafe spot by women. The feeling of insecurity is greater after dark and many women do not step out of their home after dark. A combination of three factors contribute to these insecurities and the experiences of violence that women have faced.

Anti-Social Activities

Alcohol and gambling dens and consumption of drugs like *charas*, *ganja* and "powder" make women feel uncomfortable and unsafe. The presence of men intoxicated on alcohol and drugs in public spaces creates a feeling of insecurity. Some of them also rob people, including at knife-point. Some engage in robbery to finance their drug habits.

One woman resident explained that she has told her employer that she will come as early as he wants but she will return from work early in the evening as drunk men and men taking drugs hang about the locality. School-going girls in our focus group discussions unanimously expressed a fear of harassment at the resettlement sites, while pointing out that they had never felt fear of harassment in their previous localities since those areas were populated with diverse types of

A woman resident at the bus and shuttle-rickshaw stop on the main cross-roads between Sadbhavna Nagar and VGG Nagar

people and activities, even late into the night.

Robberies as well as the illicit activities have links to urban planning and governance. The resettlement approach has led to constrained mobility and stressed livelihoods. The former has resulting in many young men not being able to go to work and instead they hang about the locality idly, getting involved in illicit activities and anti-social behaviours and harassing women passing by. Stressed livelihoods have also pushed men towards illicit activities to make money. Meanwhile, the resettlement allotment process led to social disruptions, which has led to lack of internal social control, which facilitates such activities and behaviours. The allotment process has also brought different goons into the same locality, leading to power tussles between them, often around illicit businesses, which are settled in violent ways, creating a general sense of insecurity and fear in public spaces.

The resettlement allotment process has also led to many vacant flats at the resettlement sites and subsequently, poor governance of this vacant housing stock has led to many flats being taken over for carrying on illicit activities (note that many vacant flats have also been occupied by poor families, and thus the poor governance of this housing stock has also facilitated much-needed access to shelter in a context of an urban planning regime that does not provide adequate and affordable housing for the urban poor).

Most of the physical structures built in the open spaces of the sites for social amenities have also been left vacant by the AMC, and many of these are also intermittently occupied for illicit activities. (See Policy Brief 3 and 4 for further elaboration on the above)

Desolate Areas and Streets
Desolate areas in and around the resettlement sites have created an unsafe environment. Some women pointed to the bus-stops and shuttle-stops at the main cross-roads between VGG Nagar and Sadbhavna Nagar as being desolate after 10 pm. Vacant undeveloped plots of land at two corners of this cross-roads contributed to its desolation. This cross-roads was also contrasted with the other end of the main road which has a vendors' bazaar and was felt to be relatively safer. (See Policy Brief 2, 3 and 4 for further elaboration on the above)

Infrastructural Deficiencies
Infrastructural deficiencies have created a conducive environment for robberies and violence against women, and also impact women's perceptions of safety in the area. Lack of street lights, intermittently functioning street lights or dim street lights on the main roads (including the above-mentioned cross-roads where bus-stops and shuttle-stops are located) as well as inside the resettlement sites makes many women feel unsafe. Women feel that in the dark there is a greater likelihood of being assaulted and harassed.

The Home as an Unsafe Space

Parents also felt that it was not safe to leave children, especially girls and young unmarried women, alone at home. They contrasted this with the safety of their homes in their previous localities. Many referred to an incident in which a 3-year-old girl had been raped in one of the flats in KBT Nagar. This unsafe environment in the home was attributed to people not knowing their neighbours and single men having some to live in their building as tenants. This is directly linked to the resettlement allotment process which has created social disruptions. It is also directly linked to the resettlement approach that has involved distant resettlement which is not viable or desirable to many, leading them to rent their allotted flat while moving back to the central city areas.

POOR GOVERNANCE OF SECURITY

Women expressed concerns about the police abetting those involved in wrongdoing. Failure of the police to crack down on illicit activities and goons, and their collusion with many illicit activities, was seen as allowing these to thrive at the resettlement sites. Robberies were also seen as common since the police did not take adequate action on them. Women expressed concern regarding the unavailability of any women police so that they can talk to the police properly. Some mentioned that the police use foul language if they go to complain. Women's complaints of domestic violence were also often ignored by the police. (in December 2015, at the tail-end of the research, the police *chowky* built at the corner of Sadbhavna Nagar had begun to function for longer hours and several residents pointed out that the police had become more vigilant and had arrested a number of goons).

Stressed livelihoods and social disruptions due to the resettlement approach and process have also created a situation where it is hugely challenging to establish any kind of legitimate and effective formal governance structure (such as resident associations) or even informal governance structure which could play a role in fostering a more secure environment for women in and around the resettlement sites.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Addressing women's safety-related issues at the resettlement sites requires policy responses at two levels, city-level and locality-level.

City-level policies:

• Displacement to be minimized and development decisions made after thorough consideration of the displacement it would cause and the cascading risks it would pose to the lives of women.

• 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) in the city so that the last-leg connectivity from the public transport routes can be provided safely.

Locality-level policies:

• Improved roads and allied road infrastructures such as street-lighting.

• Create a partnership between the AMC, police and residents to create well-maintained and safe streets and other open spaces in and around the locality. Participation of women in these processes and partnerships is important.

• Accessible police services and responsive policing that prioritizes the provision of security, particularly for the most vulnerable including women.

• NGOs can play an important role in supporting women to become independent and capable of dealing with the violence they face. The state should actively support this work by NGOs.

Research Methods

• Locality mapping and community profiling
• Ethnography + ad-hoc conversations
• 11 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)
• 7 unstructured group discussions (GDs)
• 35 individual interviews (leaders, water operators)
• Total 51 men and 53 women participated in the FGDs, GDs and interviews.
• Interviews with political leaders & municipal officials
• Master's thesis: 10 FGDs (46 women) on transport and women's safety.

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