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Mapping Evictions and Resettlement in Ahmedabad, 2000-2017

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CEPT UNIVERSITY
CENTRE FOR URBAN EQUITY

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About Centre for Urban Equity (CUE)
CUE was established at CEPT University in 2009, evolving from the Urban Poverty Alleviation (UPA) Cell established in 2008. CUE advocates a human-centered and equitable urban development paradigm. CUE undertakes research and advocacy; conducts training and capacity-building; imparts education; and networks with stakeholders on various aspects of human settlements. CUE is recognized as a National Resource Centre (NRC) by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA), Government of India.

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Disclaimer
The comments and opinions in this report are of the authors and not of the Centre for Urban Equity or CEPT University

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Introduction: "Development," Eviction and Resettlement in Ahmedabad

Large numbers of poor and low-income settlements have developed over the past several decades in Ahmedabad, as in other Indian cities, through squatting on public and private lands and the informal development of agricultural lands. These processes have been crucial in fulfilling the shelter needs of poor and low-income city residents whose labour is indispensable to the making and functioning of the city, but who are denied the living wage required for them to access formal housing markets in the city. Not only are they priced out of formal housing markets as a result, but state authorities too have failed to provide adequate and affordable housing for them.[1] These settlements generally emerge on lands that are of low value and not developed for habitation. In the case of squatter settlements, poor communities put in their physical labour, time and hard-earned savings over the years and clear the land of undergrowth; fill its low-lying areas with mud, stones and bricks; and build their shelters. Over time, many communities are able to obtain some recognition and basic services such as water, sanitation, and paving of streets and lanes from the local authorities, generally through persistent appeals, demands and political processes. The resulting *de facto* tenure security encourages many residents to make further investments in improving their shelters and surroundings, creating *homes and neighbourhoods,* often for multiple generations. The residents of recognized as well as unrecognized settlements are also able to establish more or less stable social and economic networks within and around their neighbourhood. All these investments, networks and the urban lives thus created are ignored and made invisible when these settlements are seen as ugly eyesores needing removal and when the lands thus inhabited come under the lens of the state for "development." The state then subjects these communities to eviction, perversely using the language of legality/illegality to delegitimize their efforts at creating their homes and neighbourhoods in the informal sector even though this "illegality" has emerged precisely because urban plans and governance processes have failed to produce adequate and affordable housing for them in the formal sector.

Since 2000, many poor and low-income neighbourhoods or *bastis* have witnessed evictions in Ahmedabad as the city has transformed through development projects such as the Sabarmati Riverfront project; lake development projects; transport projects like the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) and various other road, flyover and bridge projects; and the beginning of the Ahmedabad Metro project. Many of the evicted households have been provided resettlement while many others have not been. In 2015, a mapping of *basti* evictions was initiated at the Centre for Urban Equity and in 2017, the mapping was expanded to include resettlement sites. The **broad objectives of the mapping** are to create a picture of the scale and spatiality of eviction and resettlement processes; examine the patterns of these processes; and illuminate the changing geographies of poor and low-income housing, poverty and inequality due to these processes.[2] A key aim of the mapping is also to create a historical-spatial record of the evictions, displacements and resettlements that have been central to Ahmedabad's transformation since the early 2000s.

The focus of the **eviction mapping** has been on the 2005-2017 period. When we began this mapping, a key **objective** was to develop a comprehensive database of evictions during this period. However, as the mapping unfolded, we realized the folly of this endeavour and we discuss the challenges we faced in achieving comprehensiveness in the section on "methodology for eviction mapping." In this context, the mapping evolved into "The Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project," an ongoing and open-ended project which recognizes the incomplete and contested nature of such seemingly comprehensive mapping exercises and welcomes inputs to improve and expand the data so as to build a more comprehensive historical-spatial record and understanding of these processes in Ahmedabad. Towards this end, some of the raw data from the project is provided in the Annexures and the hope is that we will be

[1] By adequate housing we mean housing that works for these communities in terms of the durability of its physical structure, location, tenure security, access to basic services and social infrastructure, access to affordable transport, and potential to accommodate their social and economic lives.

[2] From 2015, the construction of housing under the Gujarat government's Mukhyamantri Gruh Awas Yojana (MGAY) and the in-situ slum redevelopment and affordable housing projects under the Central Government's Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) have also begun to reshape these geographies.

able to update and expand this dataset at regular intervals through more collective and collaborative processes.[3]

Ultimately, 90 evicted *bastis*, involving a total of 21,480 evicted households, have been mapped in GIS so far, and form the basis of this paper. Many of these *bastis* have seen multiple evictions (two or more) in the 2005-17 period, resulting in a total of 161 evictions across the 90 *bastis*.[4] Another 28 evicted *bastis* have been identified, however, they have not been mapped in GIS so far due to inadequate data.[5]

In the case of many of the evictions, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) has resettled some or all of the evicted households in four-storey buildings constructed at 32 locations under the Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) programme, a sub-mission of the Central Government's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM).[6] In some cases of eviction, some or all of the evicted households have been relocated in four-storey buildings at two colonies constructed by AMC under a EWS (Economically and Socially Weaker Section) housing programme implemented prior to BSUP.[7] Some evictions have also involved relocation to peripherally located open plots of land with poor services and no formal tenure or a no-eviction guarantee for ten years. There are also many cases of eviction wherein the AMC has not given resettlement to any of the evicted households. During 2000-05, the Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority (AUDA) had also carried out some evictions – one of the most visible being the eviction for the Vastrapur Lake development project – wherein it used some of its EWS housing colonies for resettlement. In fact, relocation of evicted households in flats seems to have been first started by AUDA in the early-2000s and then picked up by the AMC under a EWS scheme in the mid-2000s. With funding under BSUP, AMC continued to relocate evicted households in flats, also increasing the size of the resettlement house compared to the houses given earlier as resettlement. This resettlement in flats is persistently presented by government officials as providing decent housing conditions to the evicted households, however, more often than not housing conditions at most of these resettlement sites are far from decent.

In this context, the focus of the **resettlement mapping** has been on resettlement sites constructed and allotted in the 2000-17 period. This has resulted in the mapping of four AUDA sites, AMC's 32 BSUP sites, and two AMC sites constructed prior to BSUP. This covers almost all the resettlement sites where houses have been built during this period. The main **objective** was to build a broad picture of the living conditions across these different resettlement sites, and examine the policies and practices around eviction and resettlement that contribute to creating the observed conditions, the similarities in conditions across sites as well as the variations across sites.

We hope that this city-wide data-set and knowledge will inform policy-makers, the local authorities, civil society and other researchers, and can become an effective tool in advocacy for the housing rights of poor and low-income communities.

[3] The primary author may also be contacted to obtain the entire raw dataset that forms the basis of this paper.
[4] See Annexure 1.
[5] See Annexure 2
[6] See Annexure 3.
[7] See Annexure 4.

EVICTION MAPPING

Figure 1. Eviction near Nehru bridge along the eastern edge of the Sabarmati river, 2011 (photo by Renu Desai)

Figure 2. Household cooking on the roadside of their demolished *basti* Kagdiwad on the western edge of the Sabarmati river, 2011 (photo by Renu Desai)

Methodology for mapping evictions

The mapping of evictions was carried out in two phases. A first round of mapping took place in the summer of 2015, followed by a second round in 2017. This mapping involved:

1. Collection of preliminary information on *bastis* evicted since 2005 through conversations with activist Beena Jadhav, Human Development and Research Centre, St. Xaviers Social Service Society, Centre for Development, Janvikas, Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action, and SAATH Charitable Trust.
2. Fieldvisits in 2015 and 2017 to the eviction sites to gather data on: (i) name of the evicted settlement, (ii) age of the settlement, (iii) land ownership, (iv) total number of households, (v) number of evicted households, (vi) year of eviction, (vii) reason for eviction, (viii) nature of eviction, (ix) eviction process, and (x) relocation status. This data was collected through conversations with multiple sources such as residents who had returned to the evicted settlement, residents not evicted from the settlement, local leaders from the settlement and residents of surrounding localities. In 2017, where possible and/or required, data on the evicted *bastis* was cross-checked or collected through conversations with residents from these *bastis* at the resettlement sites.
3. Visual documentation in cases where only a part of the *basti* had been evicted and where demolition was very recent and thus still visible.
4. Fieldvisits were not carried out to the riverfront *bastis* evicted in the 2005-12 period and this data was taken from a prior study by Desai (2014). Given the complex nature of the riverfront *basti* evictions, this data does not have details of number of evicted households for each riverfront *basti*, and instead has only overall numbers.
5. Digitization of the data collected through fieldvisits using GIS software.
6. Presentation of the data and maps to civil society organizations working on housing rights, at a workshop on September 16, 2017, to obtain their feedback.
7. Verification of all the cases of eviction through Google Earth's timeline imagery. 26 cases of eviction that were mapped in GIS in 2015 could not be corroborated through the imagery, and were therefore removed from the final GIS dataset.[8] Based on the Google Earth imagery, modifications were also made in the GIS data on year of eviction and number of evicted households for some *bastis*.[9]
8. At the conclusion of the resettlement mapping in November 2017, it was also found that there were 24 evicted *bastis* whose households had been resettled at various sites but which were not accounted for in our eviction mapping. As we did not have sufficient data on most of these newly discovered evictions, these *bastis* are still to be mapped in GIS. As this report was being finalized, the eviction of four more *bastis* during the 2005-17 period was brought to our attention, and these *bastis* also have to still be mapped in GIS. Thus, a total of 28 evictions have been clearly identified but are not yet included in the GIS mapping.[10]

To summarize, the above methodology has so far led to the GIS mapping of 90 evicted *bastis*.[11] An additional 28 *bastis* are confirmed as having faced eviction, however, more data, has to be collected in order to add them to the GIS mapping. Another 28 *bastis* have been reported as evicted but are not included in the GIS mapping since their eviction could not be corroborated through the Google Earth timeline imagery – fieldvisits will have to be made again in order to crosscheck if evictions have actually occurred at these locations.[12]

[8] See Annexure 5. Many of these were cases where more than 70 households had been reported to have been evicted, and while such large evictions are clearly visible in the imagery, in these particular instances the imagery did not show any eviction. Several were also cases of error since we found that there was no *basti* at the eviction location marked during the digitization in 2015.

[9] In most cases where such modifications were made, it was to (i) add other years of eviction where the imagery showed that the *basti* had witnessed multiple evictions in the 2005-17 period, even though only the most recent eviction had been reported during the fieldvisit; and (ii) reduce the number of evicted households where the imagery clearly showed far fewer evicted households than what was reported during the fieldvisit.

[10] See Annexure 2.

[11] See Annexure 1.

[12] See Annexure 5.

Limitations of the eviction mapping:

1. Several of the 90 evicted *bastis* actually comprised of a **number of contiguous *bastis*** which had to be grouped together for the purpose of the eviction mapping as fieldvisits could not give us disaggregated data. The raw data shared in Annexure 2 gives some sense of the *bastis* which are counted as a single *basti* for the GIS mapping.
2. The mapping does not give us any idea about **landownership** of the evicted *bastis*. This data was collected during the first round of fieldvisits but it did not seem reliable in many cases and was therefore not collected during the second round of fieldvisits. An attempt was made to use the landownership data from the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) slum survey (CRDF & AMC 2014), but many of the evicted *bastis* are not covered in the survey due to various reasons.[13]
3. Data on the **total number of households** in the evicted *bastis* has not been included in the discussions in this policy report because this data, which was collected during the fieldvisits, does not seem reliable in many cases. Data from the RAY survey could not be used because, as mentioned above, many of the evicted *bastis* are not in the survey. In many instances where the evicted *basti* is in the RAY survey, the number of households cited in the survey and that cited by residents is different. We have included the total number of households as reported by residents in the raw data shared in the public domain, but these figures should be treated with caution.
4. Data on the **age** of the *bastis* that have faced eviction has not been included in the discussions in this policy report or the raw data shared in the public domain because the data collected on this during the fieldvisits does not seem reliable in many cases.
5. The year of eviction used in the eviction mapping is the year in which the basti finally got demolished, but there are at least several instances where eviction threats started some years earlier, often even involving the demolition of several huts, but then the eviction was stayed through the High Court for some years until resettlement was provided and then the basti was fully demolished.
6. The **relocation status** in the case of many evictions is noted as unknown as no one at these sites could reliably provide information about where the evicted households had gone.
7. It is likely that there are evictions which the mapping has failed to capture because they are **small evictions** unknown to NGOs and without any resettlement whatsoever.
8. There are cases of **threat of eviction** that did not ultimately materialize into an eviction. This mapping does not capture these threats and harassment. In other words, this mapping does not capture the sense of tenure insecurity that is experienced by many more among the urban poor.
9. The mapping does not cover **evictions of the homeless** even though this group is subject to more frequent evictions that also never involve resettlement.
10. The mapping does not throw any light on those who have faced eviction because they lived in rental arrangements in evicted *bastis*.

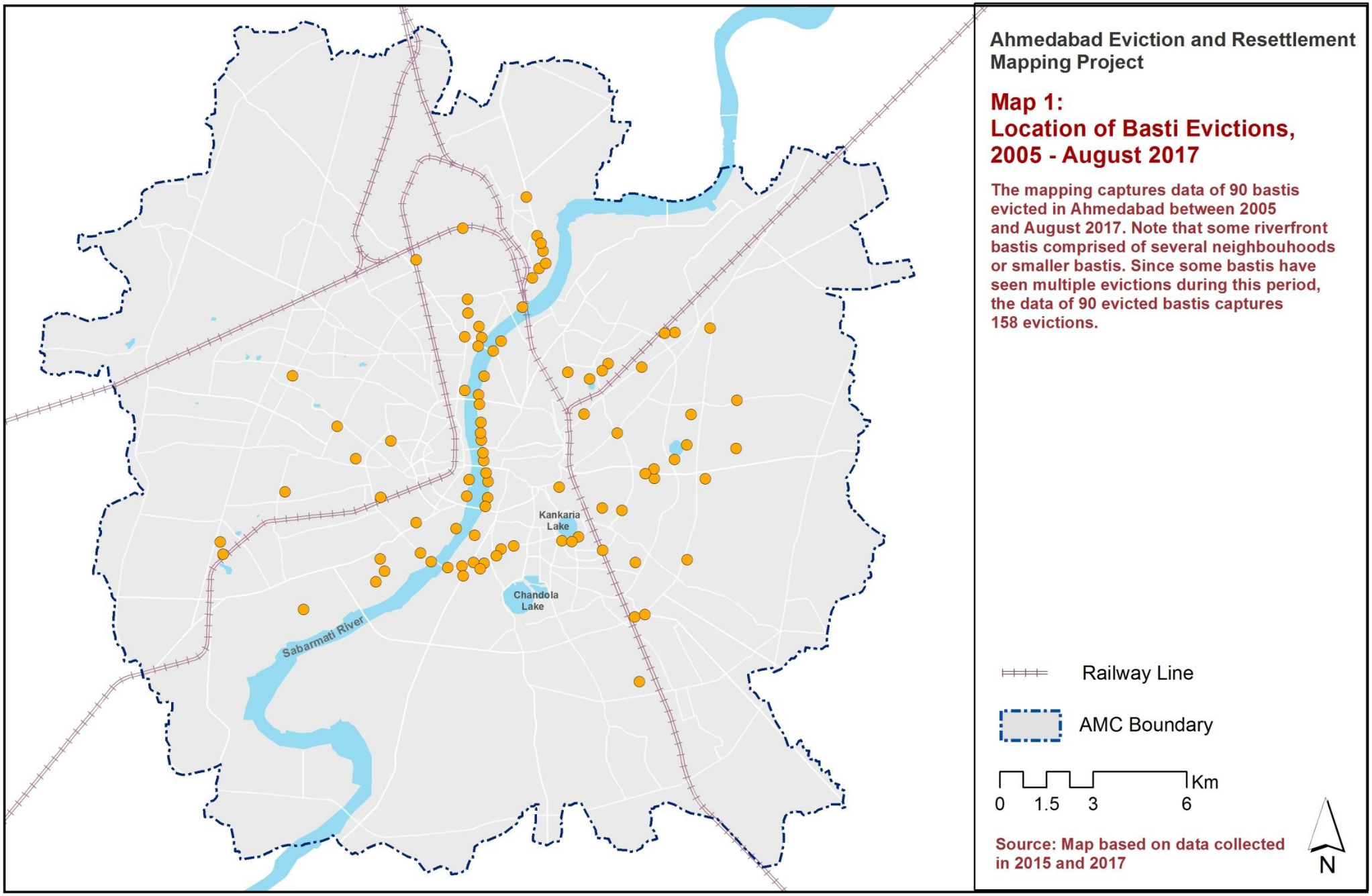
[13] One reason is that our mapping starts from 2005 whereas the RAY slum survey was done in 2009, and thus *bastis* fully evicted prior to 2009 would not be in the survey at all. Another reason is that, despite its stated methodology of surveying all *bastis* comprising of 10 or more houses and irrespective of landownership (CRDF & AMC 2014, p. 2), the RAY survey has not done so. For example, many seasonal migrant settlements have not been included in the survey despite existing at the time of the survey as seen in Google Earth timeline imagery (see Desai 2017).

Location of Evictions

The eviction mapping has so far found **118 *bastis*** that have witnessed eviction in Ahmedabad in the 2005-2017 period. The GIS mapping covers **90 evicted bastis** – which in some cases comprise of a contiguous cluster of neighbourhoods – with a total of **21,480 evicted households**. Some of the *bastis* have faced eviction multiple times, either evicting different groups of households each time or the same households each time (the latter in cases where the evicted households return to the same site). The dataset of 90 evicted *bastis* was found to involve a total of **161 evictions**.[14]

A spatial mapping of the 90 evicted *bastis* **(Map 1)** shows that many were located along the Sabarmati river. 36 *bastis* faced 70 evictions in areas west of the river, which has historically had fewer *bastis*, while 54 *bastis* faced 91 evictions in areas east of the river.

[14] See Annexure 1 which shows the year of each eviction in case of multiple evictions faced by a *basti.*



Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project

Map 1: Location of Basti Evictions, 2005 - August 2017

The mapping captures data of 90 bastis evicted in Ahmedabad between 2005 and August 2017. Note that some riverfront bastis comprised of several neighbouhoods or smaller bastis. Since some bastis have seen multiple evictions during this period, the data of 90 evicted bastis captures 158 evictions.

Source: Map based on data collected in 2015 and 2017

Reasons for Eviction

Map 2 shows where evictions have taken place in the city for which reasons during the 2005-17 period.[15] The majority of the 90 evicted *bastis* faced demolition for the Sabarmati Riverfront project and for roads. Many of the road evictions have been east of the river, either between the walled city and the Narol-Naroda Road or just north of the walled city. There have been two clusters of evictions for roads on the west of the river, in the northern areas of Wadaj and Sabarmati, while other road evictions in the west have been more scattered. The map also shows that many of the road evictions have occurred for the BRTS.

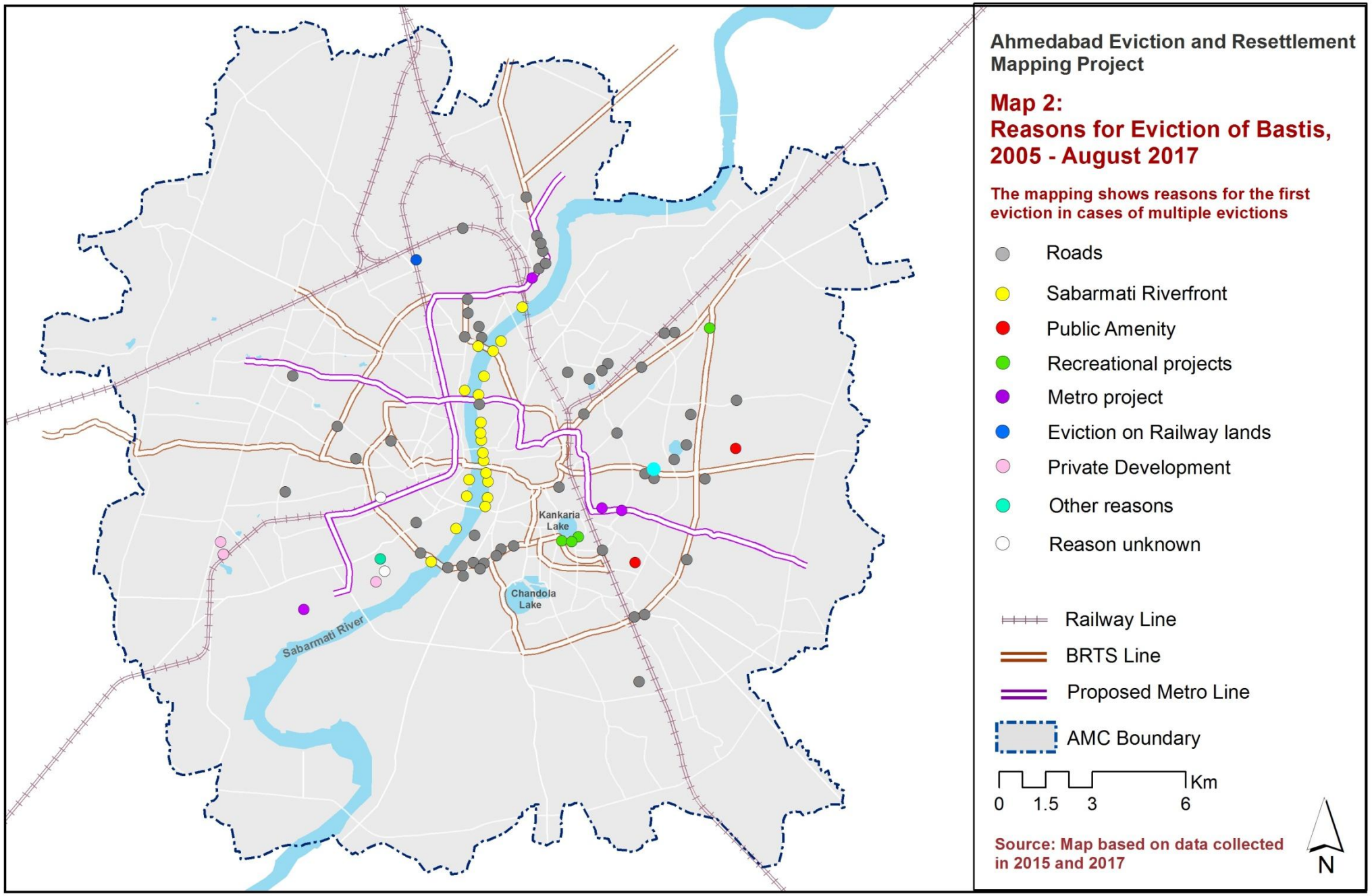
Table 2 captures the scale of evictions for different reasons, based on all the 161 evictions faced by the 90 *bastis*. The largest number of evictions are for the Sabarmati Riverfront project under which a total of 67 evictions took place across 22 *bastis*. This involved the eviction of at least 11,360 households. Note that this includes a few small evictions that have taken place on the riverfront in the 2014-17 period, and it is likely that more evictions will take place in the coming years as the riverfront develops further. A similiar large number of evictions took place for roads but affected more than double the number of *bastis* compared to the riverfront even though the number of evicted households is almost half. Seven evictions occurred for recreational projects (i.e. lake development projects) and have led to eviction of a large number of households. Note that the riverfront and some lake projects also include roads that are integral to the projects. Six evictions cleared land to create "open plots" – one of these was used after five years for a public amenity. In other cases, landownership would have to be examined to get a sense of whether these are likely to be used for public amenities or private development later on. Four evictions occurred to clear land for private development while three evictions took place to clear land for public amenities. Metro construction began in 2015 and has led to four evictions so far. Five railway land evictions are captured in the mapping. This is across two *bastis*, and while the number of evicted households is not that high, about 200 households in one of these *bastis* (Arjun Ashram to Umiya Hall basti) have been getting evicted almost every year since at least 2014.

Table 2: Reasons for Eviction

Reasons for eviction	No. of evictions	No. of evicted *bastis**	Number of evicted households
Sabarmati Riverfront project	67	22	11360
Roads (roads for BRTS, roads as per the town planning schemes, bridges over the river, and flyovers)	60	52	5246
Recreational projects (Kankaria lake & Naroda lake development)	7	5	2600
Open Plots (could be used for public amenity or private development later)	6	5 (the land of one *basti* was used for public amenity after another eviction five years later)	970**
Railway land eviction	5	2	490**
Private development	4	3	130**
Metro project	4	4	224
Public amenities (school, crematorium, drainage pumping station)	3	3	318
Unknown	5	3	142
Total	**161**		**21480**

* several *bastis* have faced multiple evictions, with different evictions for different reasons.
** some of these households have faced repeated eviction.

[15] Many *bastis* have witnessed multiple evictions, however, the reason for the first eviction is different from subsequent evictions in only eight *bastis*. Therefore, Map 2 is largely representative of reasons for all evictions even though it only maps the reason for the first eviction.



Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project

Map 2:
Reasons for Eviction of Bastis, 2005 - August 2017

The mapping shows reasons for the first eviction in cases of multiple evictions

- Roads
- Sabarmati Riverfront
- Public Amenity
- Recreational projects
- Metro project
- Eviction on Railway lands
- Private Development
- Other reasons
- Reason unknown

- Railway Line
- BRTS Line
- Proposed Metro Line
- AMC Boundary

0 1.5 3 6 Km

N

Source: Map based on data collected in 2015 and 2017

Although evictions have mostly occurred for state-driven urban projects, there are some instances of eviction due to pressure of localized private and middle-class interests. For example, Kailash Colony was evicted in 2015 when the builder who bought land behind the neighbourhood used his political influence to realize a road that had been on paper in the town planning scheme since many years. Another instance is the Basti near Somnath school where *basti* residents reported that pressures from the middle-class residents in the area had contributed to their eviction in 2010 from land which was reserved in the town planning scheme for a school.

Figure 3 & 4: Google Earth images of Banasnagar & Ashanagar from March 2007 (above) and January 2010 (below), showing eviction due to road-widening

Figure 5 & 6: Google Earth images of Basti behind Vasna Police Chowky from March 2013 (above) and September 2013 (below), showing eviction to clear the plot. While the plot of land was fully cleared in the summer of 2013 and AMC subsequently constructed a compound wall around the plot, some residents rebuilt their huts on the land

Period of Eviction

Maps 3-6 show the temporal geography of evictions for the evicted *bastis* over the 2005-16 period. In the 2005-07 period the evictions are scattered across different parts of the city, although mainly on the western side of the river. In the 2008-10 period most evictions are concentrated in the central area along the river; there are few evictions elsewhere on the western side of the river and we start to see more evictions east of the river in different areas. The 2011-13 period also shows evictions concentrated in the central area along the river but also shows some scattered evictions across different parts of the city on both the eastern and western sides of the river. The map showing evictions in the 2014-16 period is noteworthy as it suggests that evictions have increased in recent years in different parts of eastern Ahmedabad. It also shows that in recent years evictions in western Ahmedabad have occurred in relatively less central areas as compared to previous years. This set of maps illuminates how the geography of "development" based on evicting the poor from informal settlements is unfolding in Ahmedabad over time.

Table 3 shows the period of eviction for all the 161 evictions faced by the 90 mapped *bastis*. Since the mapping does not capture all the evictions that have occurred in Ahmedabad in the 2005-17 period, with more evictions from this period being continually brought to our attention as we visit different areas of the city, the findings discussed below about the scale of evictions in the city during different periods should be taken as tentative. The data shows that maximum number of the evictions took place in 2008-10 (48 evictions) and 2011-13 (48 evictions). The large number of evictions in these periods can be attributed to the Sabarmati Riverfront project whose implementation between 2009-12 involved evictions in 22 *bastis*. A greater number of *bastis* and households faced eviction in the 2008-10 period (40 *bastis* and 10,495 households) as compared to the 2011-13 period (29 *bastis* and 6301 households). This is due to the implementation of the Kankaria Lake development project which saw eviction of only 3 *bastis* but 2500 households in 2008-09 and the beginning of implementation of the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) under which road-widening was done through eviction of large number of households in 2008-09. While more evictions (33 evictions) took place in the 2014-16 period than the 2005-07 period (22 evictions), the number of households evicted in these two periods is similar (about 2100 households). 2017 shows nine evictions, suggesting that evictions have not decreased much from the 2014-16 period which shows an average of 11 evictions each year. The number of households evicted in 2017 (633 households) is also similar to the average number of households evicted each year during the 2005-07 period (712 households) and 2014-16 period (730 households).

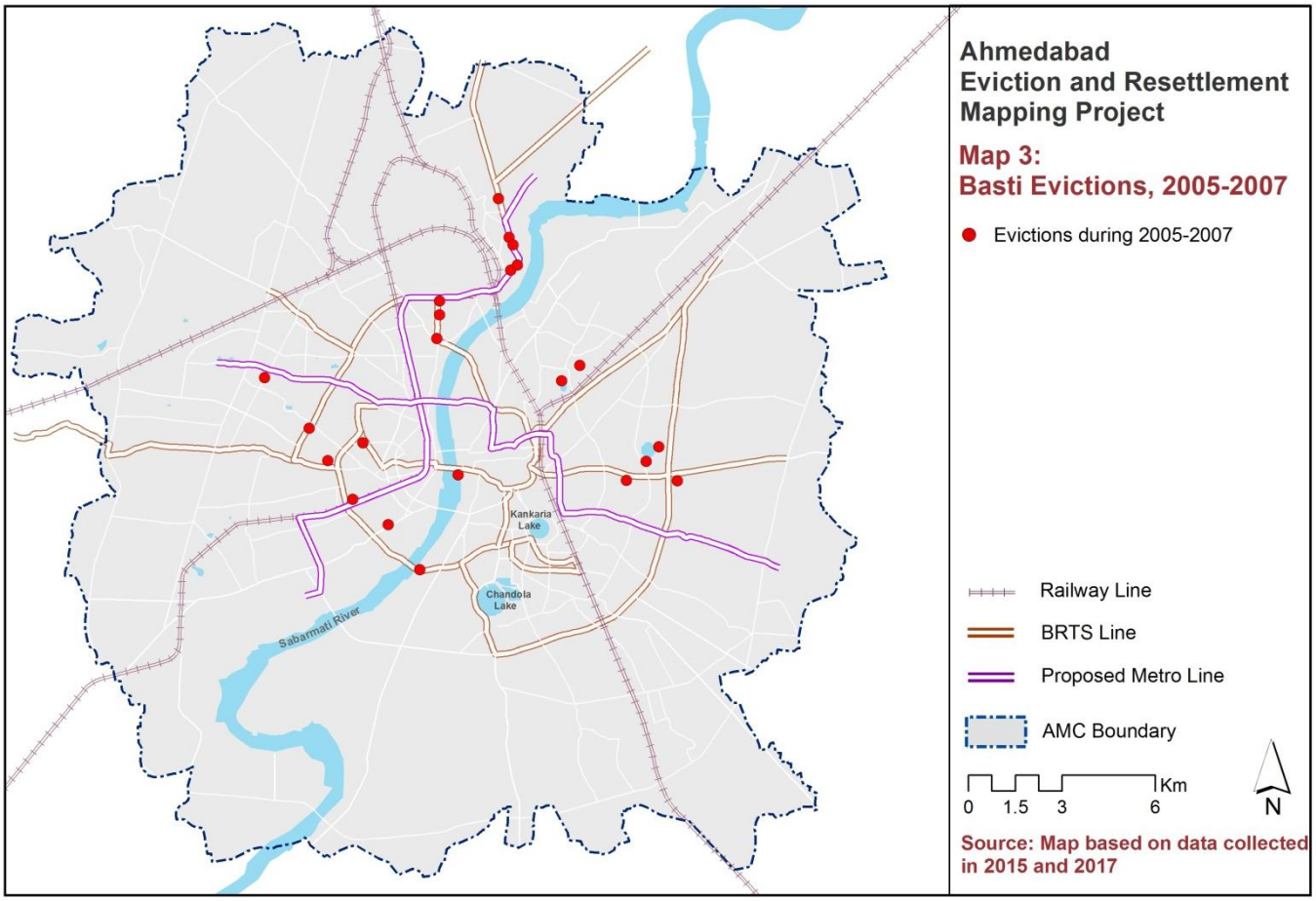
Table 3: Period of eviction

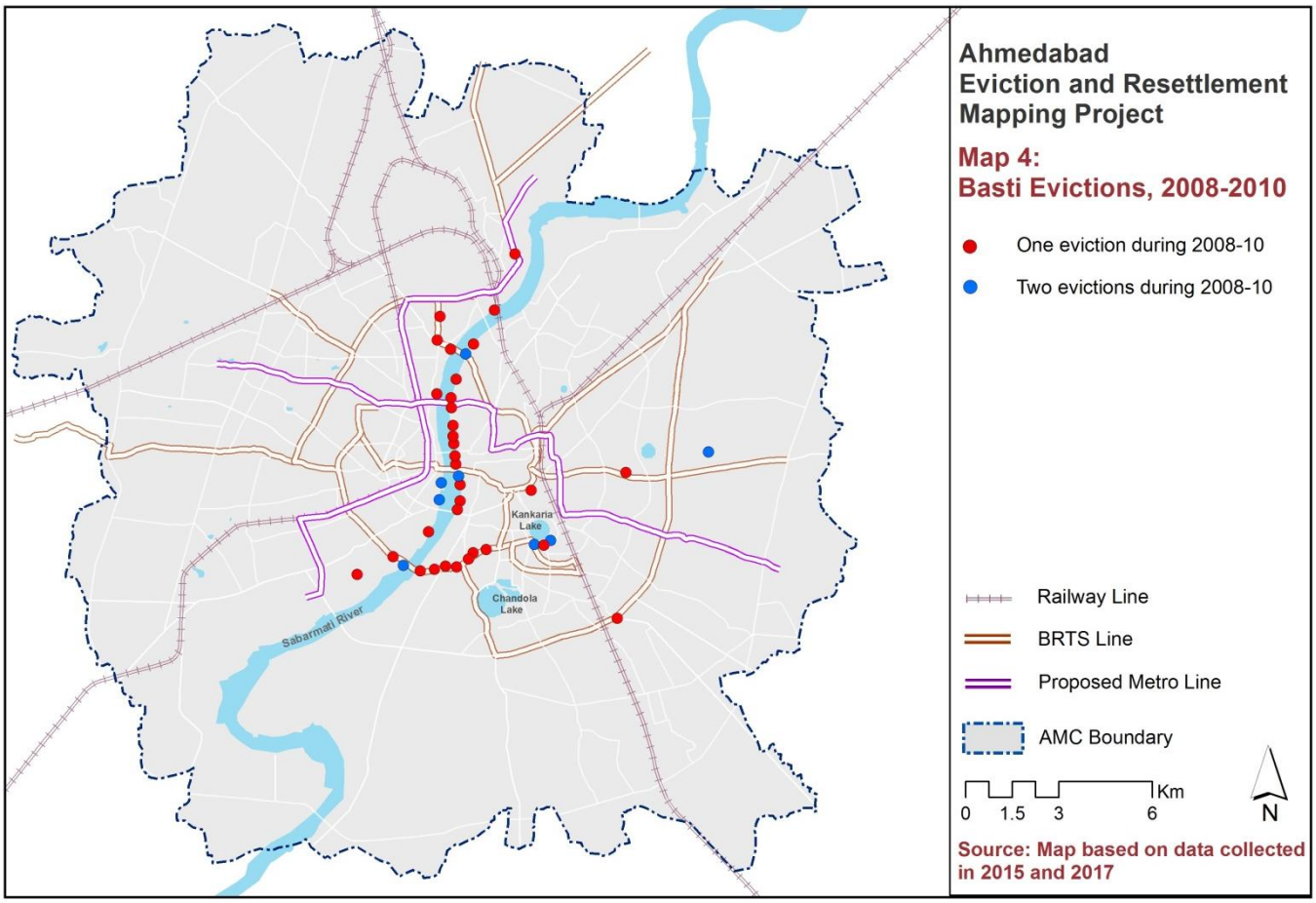
Period of eviction	No. of evictions (Number of evicted *bastis**)	Number of evicted households**	Reasons for eviction
2005-07 2005 2006 2007	22 (22) 9 9 4	25 under riverfront project*** + 2111 = **2136**	Roads, Riverfront project, Unknown
2008-10 2008 2009 2010	48 (40) 13 7 28	5942 under riverfront project*** + 4553 = **10495**	Riverfront project, Roads, Recreational projects, Open plots, Unknown
2011-13 2011 2012 2013	48 (29) 22 22 4	5323 under riverfront project*** + 978 = **6301**	Riverfront project, Roads, Public amenity, Private development, Open plots, Unknown
2014-16 2014 2015 2016	33 (26) 9 16 8	**2191**	Riverfront project, Recreational projects, Roads, Public amenity, Open plot, Railway land eviction, Metro project, Private development
2017	9 (9)	**633**	Roads, Riverfront project, Railway land eviction, Metro project, Unknown
Unknown	1	**25**	Roads
Total	**161**		

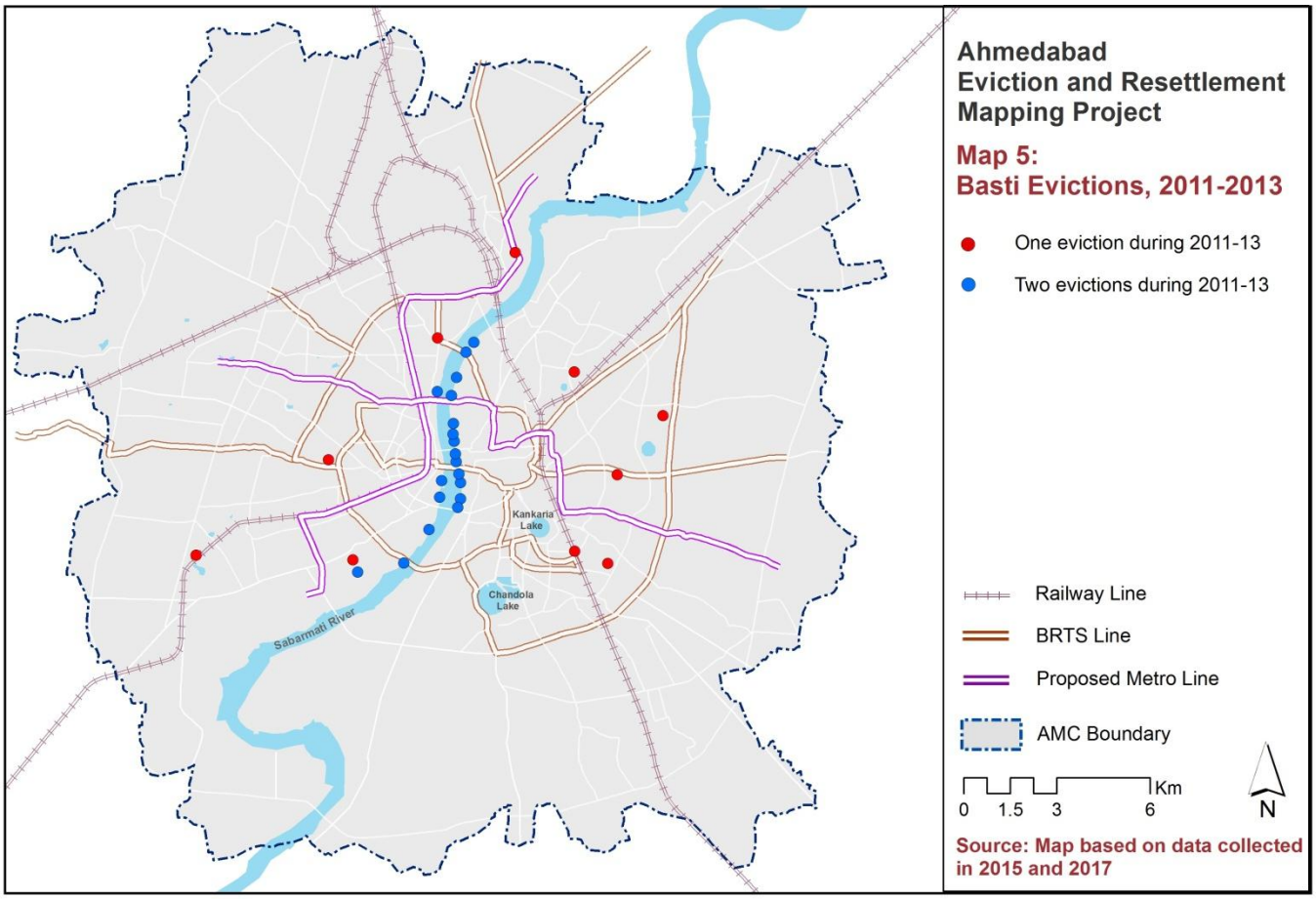
* 37 *bastis* have faced eviction in more than one three-year period, and have been included in each of the periods they faced eviction.

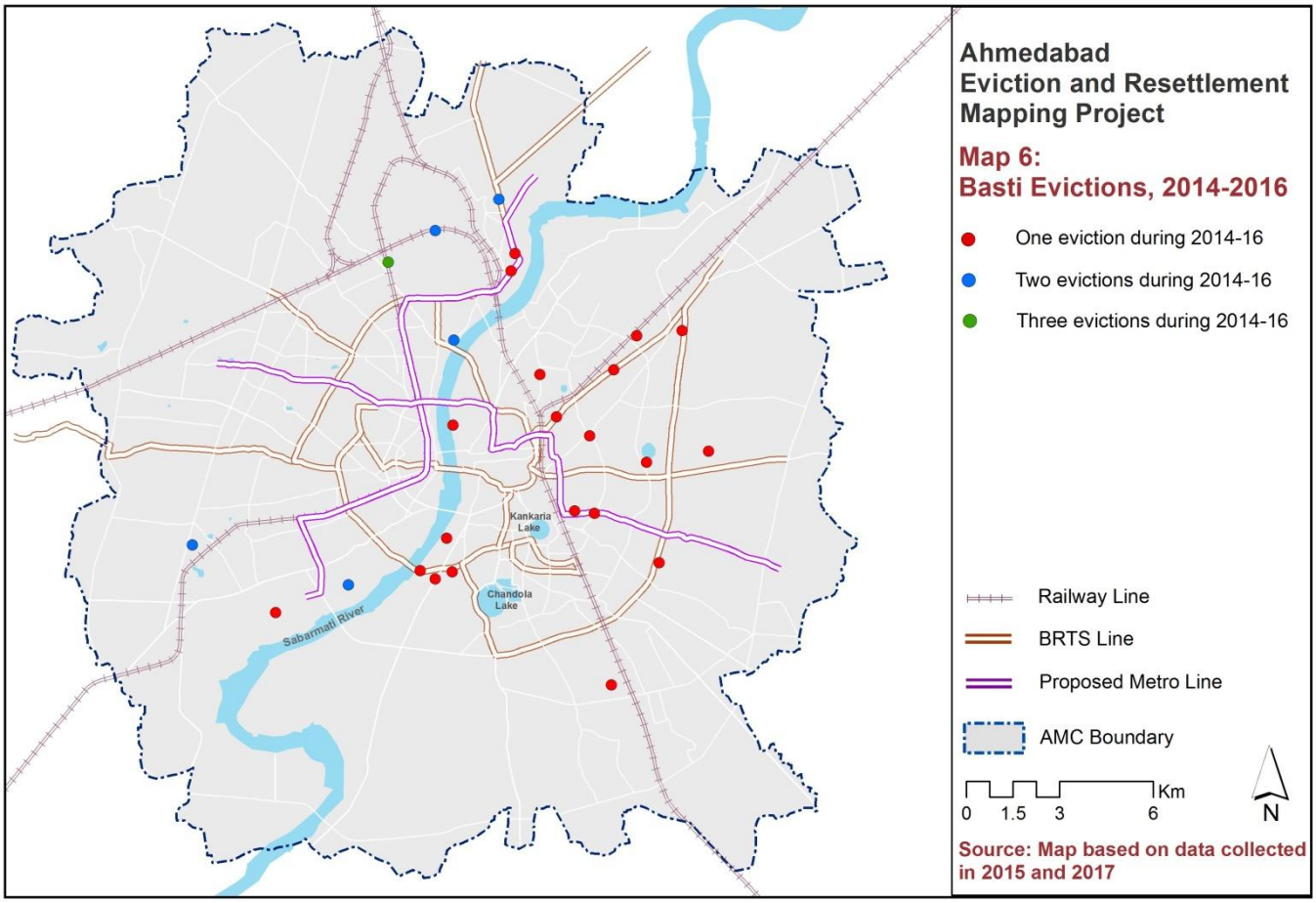
** About 300 households faced eviction in more than one three-year period, and have been included in each of the periods they faced eviction.

*** Calculated from data provided in Desai 2014.


Kankaria Lake
Chandola Lake
Sabarmati River
Ahmedabad
Eviction and Resettlement
Mapping Project
Map 3:
Basti Evictions, 2005-2007
Evictions during 2005-2007
Railway Line
BRTS Line
Proposed Metro Line
AMC Boundary
0 1.5 3 6 Km
N
Source: Map based on data collected in 2015 and 2017


Kankaria Lake
Chandola Lake
Sabarmati River
Ahmedabad
Eviction and Resettlement
Mapping Project
Map 4:
Basti Evictions, 2008-2010
One eviction during 2008-10
Two evictions during 2008-10
Railway Line
BRTS Line
Proposed Metro Line
AMC Boundary
0 1.5 3 6 Km
N
Source: Map based on data collected in 2015 and 2017


Ahmedabad
Eviction and Resettlement
Mapping Project
Map 5:
Basti Evictions, 2011-2013
One eviction during 2011-13
Two evictions during 2011-13
Kankaria Lake
Chandola Lake
Sabarmati River
Railway Line
BRTS Line
Proposed Metro Line
AMC Boundary
0 1.5 3 6 Km
N
Source: Map based on data collected in 2015 and 2017


Ahmedabad
Eviction and Resettlement
Mapping Project
Map 6:
Basti Evictions, 2014-2016
One eviction during 2014-16
Two evictions during 2014-16
Three evictions during 2014-16
Kankaria Lake
Chandola Lake
Sabarmati River
Railway Line
BRTS Line
Proposed Metro Line
AMC Boundary
0 1.5 3 6 Km
N
Source: Map based on data collected in 2015 and 2017

Nature of Eviction

Four types of evictions were observed in the 2005-2017 period, whose locations can be seen in **Map 7**:

- **Single Complete Evictions:** These are evictions in which the entire *basti* was evicted in a single instance. In a few cases, evicted households have returned to the same site; this is where the land is not utilized, measures not taken to keep the land free of encroachment, and the evictees not given relocation (e.g. eviction in 2015 of Sundarvan Basti and eviction in 2013 of Basti behind Vasna Police Chowky).
- **Single Partial Evictions:** These are evictions in which a part of the *basti* has been evicted through a single eviction. This means that a part of the *basti* still exists. This includes many *bastis* where evictions occurred for roads as houses were cleared only from the land required for the road, leaving other houses of the *basti* untouched.
- **Multiple Complete Evictions:** These are evictions in which the entire *basti* has been evicted through multiple evictions. The largest number of *basti* evictions belong to this category (see **Table 4**). Most are instances where each eviction involved a different set of households (e.g. many riverfront *bastis*). There are also a few instances in which the *basti* was entirely evicted but the evicted households returned to the same site, only to face another eviction after some time (e.g. Kheta Vanjara ni Chali).
- **Multiple Partial Evictions:** These are evictions in which a *basti* has seen multiple evictions involving the same or different households, *and* where the entire *basti* or part of the basti still exists. The second largest number of *basti* evictions belong to this category (see **Table 4**). One example is Khodiyarnagar where four different groups of households have been evicted over the years from the *basti*. The first group was evicted in 2006 to build roads and was relocated on an open plot of land. The second group was evicted in 2008, also for roads, and was relocated at a BSUP site. A third small group was evicted in 2016 and a fourth small group in 2017; both for the Sabarmati riverfront project and for which the relocation status is still not known. A very different example is the Arjun Ashram and Umiya Hall Basti, a settlement on railway land, where one or the other part has been facing eviction every year since at least 2014, but households return and rebuild their shacks in the absence of any other option and because the railway authorities allow them to do so even as they evict them at regular intervals.

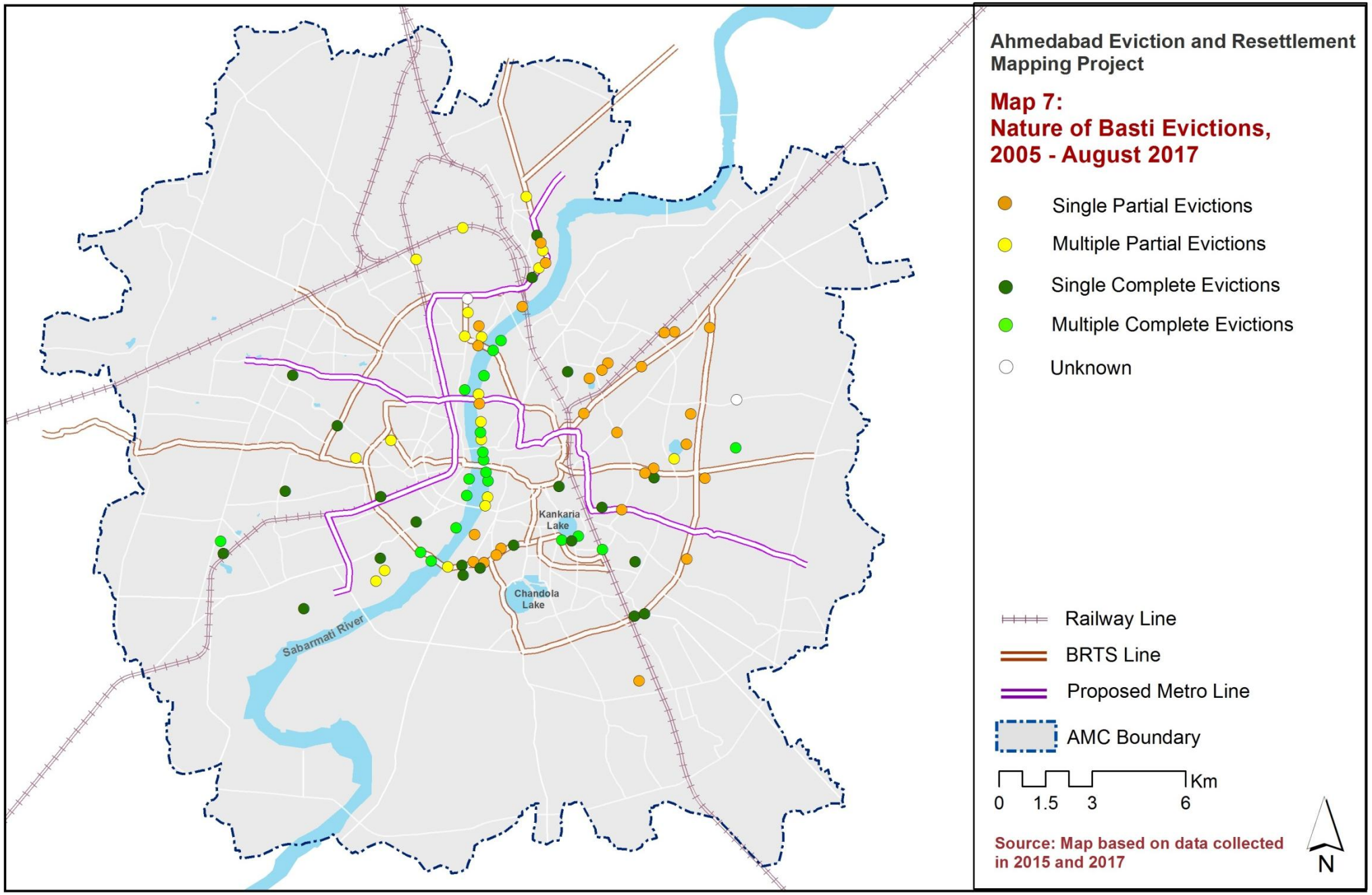
Overall, 42 *bastis* have been completely evicted while 48 *bastis* have been partially evicted. 52 bastis have seen a single eviction while 38 bastis have seen multiple evictions. More specifically, these 38 bastis have seen a total of 109 evictions. The large number of partial evictions, whether single or multiple, and the large number of complete evictions through multiple evictions, points to a fragmenting of communities.

Table 4: Nature of Eviction

Nature of eviction	Number of evictions (No. of evicted *bastis*)	Number of evicted households[16]
Single Complete evictions	23 (23)	4023 (1907 single complete + 1897 single partial + 237 under riverfront project during 2006-12)
Single Partial evictions	29 (29)	
Multiple Complete evictions	58 (19)	17400 (2945 multiple complete + 3441 multiple partial + 10053 under riverfront project during 2006-12)
Multiple Partial evictions	51 (19)	
Total	**161 (90)**	**21480**

Conversations with residents and local leaders from different evicted settlements reveal that evictions have been carried out through arbitrary and ad-hoc processes. In certain *bastis*, residents were given eviction notices and given some days to vacate the settlement while in many other *bastis* residents were suddenly evicted without warning. There have been evictions that have involved police brutality, leading to injury of residents and in few cases also temporary imprisonment of those who tried to resist eviction.

[16] Data on number of riverfront *bastis* evicted under the Sabarmati riverfront project is taken from Desai (2014), but there is not much disaggregated data. Therefore, this table presents a picture of total number of households that have seen single evictions and total number of households that have seen multiple evictions under the riverfront project.


Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project
Map 7:
Nature of Basti Evictions, 2005 - August 2017
Single Partial Evictions
Multiple Partial Evictions
Single Complete Evictions
Multiple Complete Evictions
Unknown
Kankaria Lake
Chandola Lake
Sabarmati River
Railway Line
BRTS Line
Proposed Metro Line
AMC Boundary
0 1.5 3 6 Km
Source: Map based on data collected in 2015 and 2017
N

Relocation Status

Majority of the evictions involved relocation at AMC's BSUP sites (96 evictions involving 16230 households from across 50 *bastis*) but a large number of evictions also saw no relocation (33 evictions involving around 2240 households from across 21 *bastis*) (**Table 5**). Note that relocation at AMC's BSUP sites includes few *bastis* where residents were relocated 2-6 years after eviction due to a court case.

It is important to note that our calculation in Table 5 of the number of evicted households that got relocation at AMC's BSUP sites generally considers that all evicted households from the evicted *basti* obtained relocation although this would not have been the case. The local authorities have used cut-off dates – often beginning with 1976 as the cut-off date, but then extending this to more recent years in ad-hoc ways, often due to a court case – and have also required documents like ration cards and election cards proving residence in the city in order to determine eligibility for relocation. In many cases this would have resulted in some households being denied relocation. It is also likely that some households who were part of a joint household sharing a house in the *basti* each managed to obtain a BSUP house. In some cases even households who had moved away from the evicted *basti* in the past were able to get a BSUP house because they still had the required documents. These dynamics complicate the exercise of estimating how many evicted households were actually provided or denied relocation, and Table 5 should be read in this context.

Two other points regarding relocation to BSUP sites are important. The first is that the eviction and resettlement mapping shows that in many cases, the evicted households from a single *basti* have been relocated across number of sites – either because there were multiple evictions across different years and/or because the resettlement did not take into account social concerns. This splitting of the *basti* community has contributed to difficulties in creating cohesive communities and effective community organizations at the resettlement sites (discussed later). The second point is that while the judiciary, through Public Interest Litigation (PIL), has played a key role in ensuring relocation to BSUP sites, there are also instances where AMC provided relocation at BSUP sites without the pressure of a PIL. A comprehensive study of relocation processes would be required to understand the extent to which obtaining relocation is linked to PILs versus AMC's independent initiative.

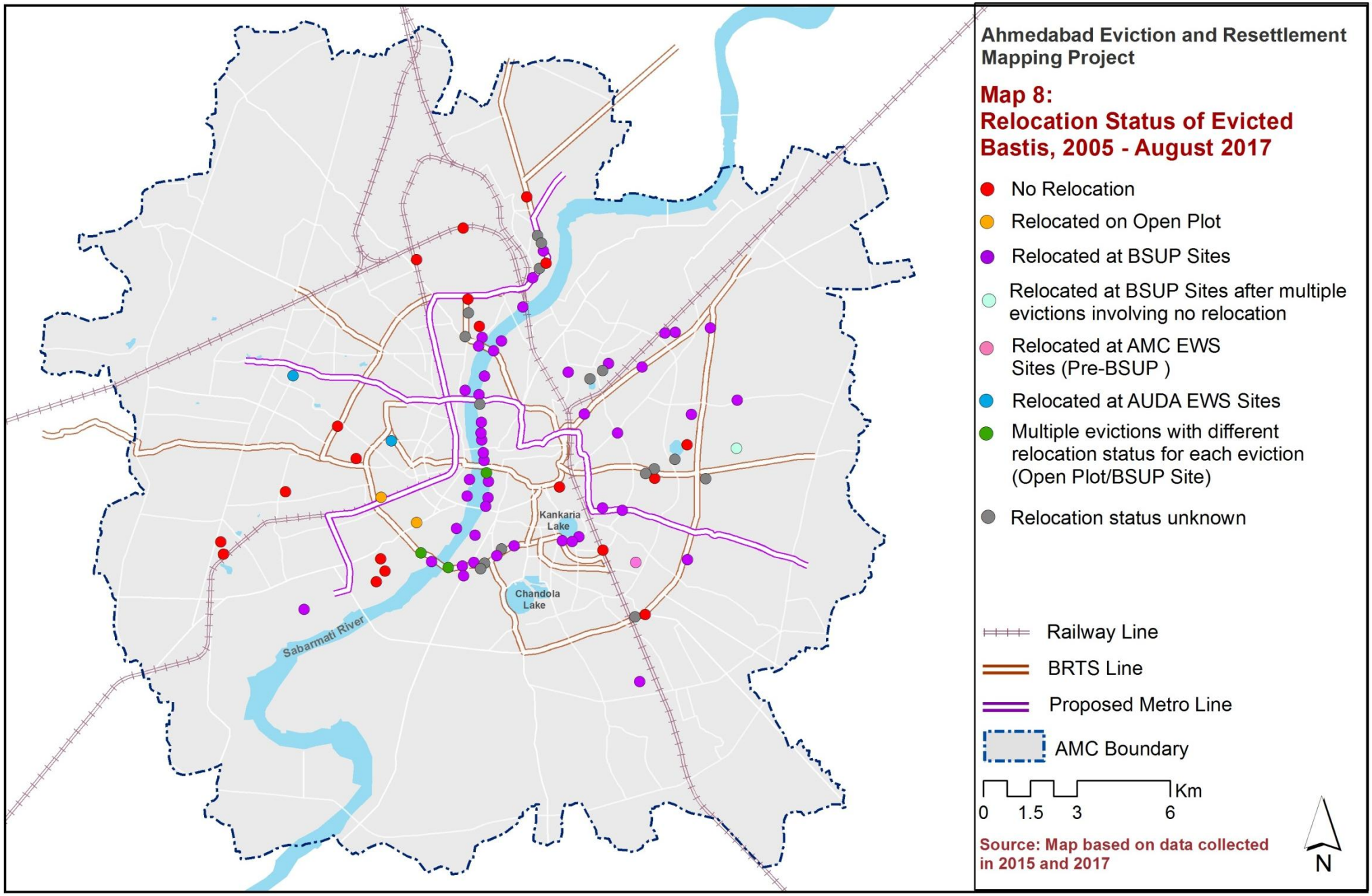
Relocation to an open plot was found in the case of only five evictions. However, in four other eviction cases, about 575 evicted households were first relocated to an open plot for 3-4 years before being relocated at BSUP sites. The relocation status remains unknown for 26 evictions, however, most likely the households have been either not relocated or relocated to an open plot.[17] Relocation to AMC non-BSUP EWS sites and AUDA EWS sites are few – as the next section on resettlement mapping shows, these sites were used for relocation mostly in the years prior to 2005.

Table 5: Relocation Status

Relocation Status	No. of evictions	No. of evicted *bastis**	No. of evicted households
AMC BSUP sites	94	50	16230
No Relocation	33	21	2239
Open Plot	5	5	291
AUDA EWS sites	2	2	450
AMC non-BSUP EWS sites	1	1	108
Unknown	26	20	2162
Total	**161**		**21480**

* Several *bastis* saw multiple evictions in which relocation status was different for different evictions.

[17] This assertion is based on our resettlement mapping which reveals that households from these evictied *bastis* are not living at any of the AMC's BSUP or non-BSUP EWS sites or at AUDA's EWS sites.


Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project
Map 8:
Relocation Status of Evicted Bastis, 2005 - August 2017
No Relocation
Relocated on Open Plot
Relocated at BSUP Sites
Relocated at BSUP Sites after multiple evictions involving no relocation
Relocated at AMC EWS Sites (Pre-BSUP)
Relocated at AUDA EWS Sites
Multiple evictions with different relocation status for each eviction (Open Plot/BSUP Site)
Relocation status unknown
Railway Line
BRTS Line
Proposed Metro Line
AMC Boundary
0 1.5 3 6 Km
N
Source: Map based on data collected in 2015 and 2017
Kankaria Lake
Chandola Lake
Sabarmati River

RESETTLEMENT MAPPING

Figure 7: Sadbhavna Nagar, BSUP site at Vatwa

Figure 8: Vraj Vihar, AUDA site at Vejalpur

Methodology for mapping resettlement

The mapping of resettlement was carried out in two phases: in June-July 2017, and in October-November 2017. The mapping involved:

1. Identification of EWS housing sites constructed by AMC and AUDA between 2000 and 2017 under various programmes, and identification of sites – based on our knowledge from prior research, and discussions in AMC and AUDA – where resettlement has taken place or likely to have taken place.
2. Fieldvisits in phase 1 to 16 resettlement sites (4 AUDA sites, 11 AMC sites constructed under BSUP, and 1 AMC non-BSUP EWS site constructed under a housing programme in the early 2000s).
3. Fieldvisits in phase 2 to 21 resettlement sites constructed by AMC under BSUP. Fieldvisits were also made to several of AUDA's EWS sites and AMC's non-BSUP EWS sites in order to confirm that they had not been used for resettlement. One of these was discovered to be a resettlement site. Thus, a total of 38 resettlement sites were mapped over phase 1 and 2. There could be 1-2 resettlement sites that have been missed, but as far as possible we have tried to cover all the EWS housing colonies built by AMC and AUDA and used for resettlement in the 2000-17 period.
4. The state of social and physical infrastructure as well as basic services at the sites were recorded during the fieldvisits through conversations with local leaders and residents. Information was collected at each site on: (i) the evicted *bastis* from which people have been resettled at the site, (ii) reason for resettlement for each of these *bastis*, (iii) process of resettlement for each of these *bastis* (such as temporary relocation, court intervention on eviction/resettlement, beneficiary contributions from the resettled households, monetary compensation to the evicted households, etc), (iv) status of social infrastructure like anganwadis and health sub-centres at the site, (v) status of water supply, drainage and solid waste management at the site, and (vi) status of resident associations in the form of Cooperative Housing Societies (CHS) at the site. Where possible, copies of house allotment letters were also collected at the sites.
5. Visual documentation of the resettlement sites.
6. Digitization of the data using GIS software.
7. Discussions with officials from the AMC's Housing and Health departments as well as AMC officials at the zonal and ward levels to understand government policies and norms with respect to the resettlement sites as well as AMC's practices vis-à-vis providing services to the sites and the challenges faced in this regard.[18]

Limitations of the resettlement mapping:

1. Some of the resettlement sites are large (more than 15 buildings/blocks) and although the attempt was to have conversations in different pockets at the large sites, conversations with residents in each block have not been possible. As a result, the mapping necessarily **generalizes at the site-level** about damaged pipelines and waterlogging.
2. At most BSUP sites, there are a number of underground water tanks (UGWT) with each UGWT shared by a particular group of buildings whose residents are to form one residents association. However, the phase 1 mapping did not take into account the policy of creating one association per UGWT, and therefore the **mapping of the status of resident associations** is incomplete.
3. Open plots where evicted households have been given a small plot of land without any built structure have not been covered so far in the resettlement mapping.

[18] See Annexure 6.

Location of Resettlement Sites

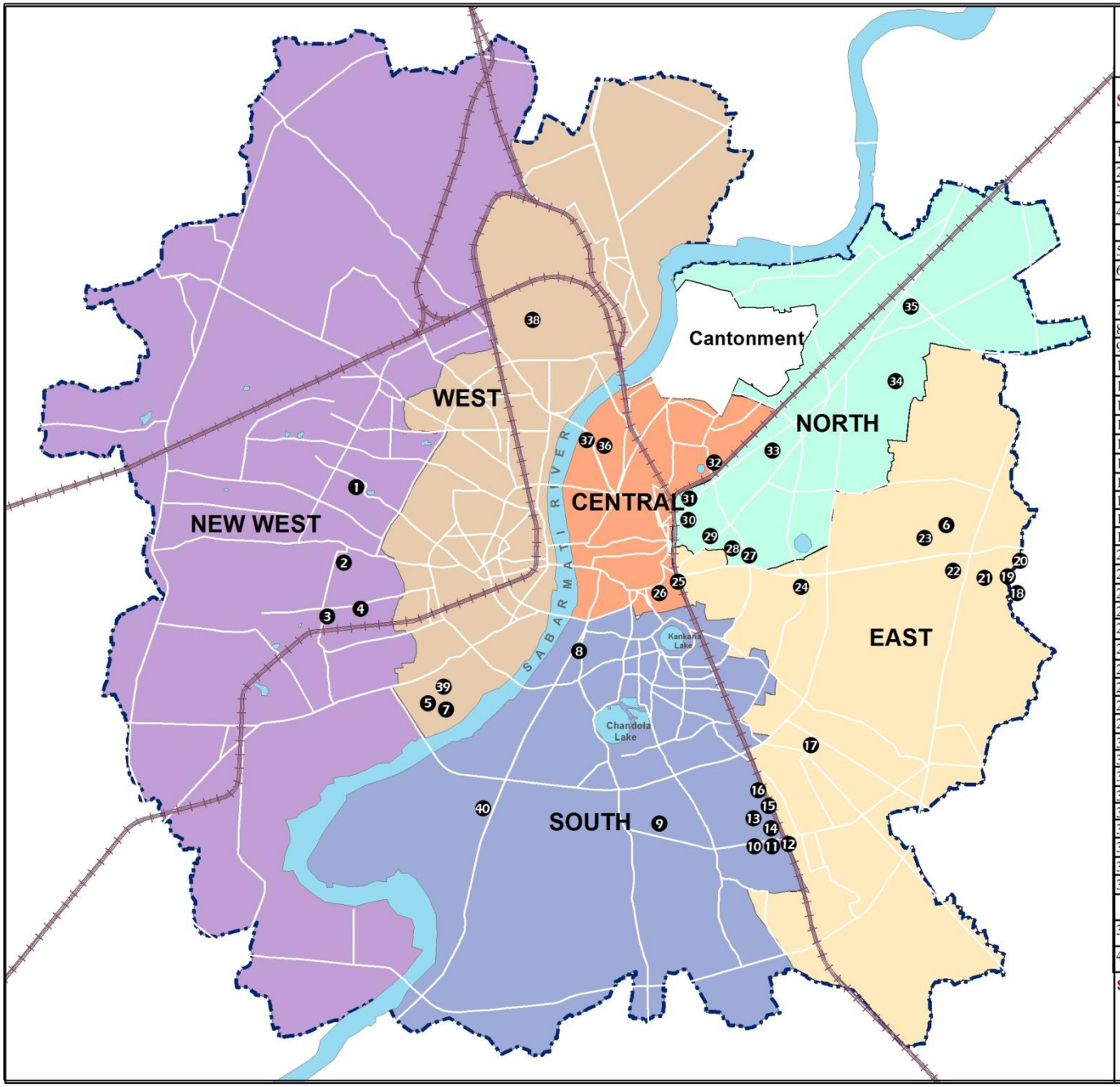
The 38 resettlement sites constructed by AMC and AUDA in the 2000 to 2017 period are located in different areas of the city, with the majority of them being on the eastern side of the river (see **Map 9**). The four AUDA sites are all located in western Ahmedabad, in the midst of mostly upper-middle-class localities. The two resettlement sites constructed by AMC under a prior programme in the early 2000s are located in peripheral areas, one in western Ahmedabad and the other in the eastern periphery. AMC's 32 BSUP sites comprising of 20,112 houses are mostly located in eastern Ahmedabad with only two in western Ahmedabad. Furthermore, of the 30 BSUP sites in eastern Ahmedabad, more than half are on the periphery in areas like Vatwa, Odhav, Naroda and southern Isanpur on the Narol-Vatwa Road and comprise of almost 60 per cent of the total BSUP houses constructed by AMC. Most of the remaining BSUP sites are in the older industrial localities of Saraspur, Rakhial, Sarangpur, Kankaria and Dudheshwar (see **Table 6**).

Table 6: Location and Type of Resettlement Sites

Type and Location of Resettlement Site	Number of Sites	Number of Houses
4 AUDA sites		
Western Ahmedabad – Central areas	4	2604
2 AMC EWS sites		
Western Ahmedabad - Periphery	1	448
Eastern Ahmedabad - Periphery	1	1408
32 AMC BSUP sites		
Western Ahmedabad - Periphery	2	2016
Eastern Ahmedabad – Periphery	16	12032
Eastern Ahmedabad – Old Industrial Localities	12	4400
Eastern Ahmedabad – Other areas	2	1664
Total	**38**	**24572**

The 17 resettlement sites in the eastern periphery (16 BSUP sites and one site constructed by AMC prior to BSUP) are located at quite a distance from the central city areas. The majority of the resettled households at these sites were evicted from either central city areas along the riverfront or from areas between the central and periphery areas. Getting pushed to the periphery and 5-15 km from their homes has had a severe impact on many livelihoods.

Although the resettlement mapping did not involve fieldvisits to open plot resettlement sites to collect data, the locations of two such sites from the 2000-17 period have been included in **Map 9**. One plot is located at what has come to be known as Ganeshnagar in the southern periphery, east of the river, while the other is located near Keshavni Nagar in the south, west of the river. Conversations at the sites of eviction and resettlement sites as well as with NGOs suggest that there are likely to be a few other open plot resettlement sites in the city.



Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping project

Serial	Map 9: Location of Resettlement Sites	No of Blocks	No of Units
	AUDA EWS Sites		
1	Vrundavan Awas Yojana (1&2)	5+39*	316
2	Gopal 1	33	792
3	Vraj Vihar	9	352
4	Vraj Nagari**	35	1184
	AMC EWS Sites		
5	Ganesh Nagar Bhatta	14	448
6	Jivan Jyot Society**	44	1408
	AMC BSUP Sites		
7	Swarnim Nagar, Shahwadi	45	1440
8	Behrampura Site	31	992
9	Pandit Deen Dayal Nagar	12	384
10	Vatva Site I (Near Umang Flats)	11	352
11	Sadbhavna Nagar	76	2432
12	Vatva Site II (Below Vatva Flyover)	60	1920
13	Vatva Site III, (TP 88, FP 51/1, 52/2, 53/1)	38	896
14	Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar	49	1568
15	Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar	37	1184
16	Kushabhai Thakre Nagar	30	960
17	Induchacha Nagar, Bag-e-firdosh	21	672
18	Sundersinh Bhandari Nagar	10	320
19	Vinoba Bhave Nagar	5	160
20	Makrand Desai Nagar	8	256
21	Shyamji Krishna Varma Nagar	22	704
22	Nanji Deshmukh Nagar	5	160
23	Jag Janani Awas Yojana, Bharvadwas	9	288
24	Khwaja Garib Nawaz Nagar, Ajit Mill	22	704
25	Jayendra Pandit Nagar, Kesar E Hind Mill	6	192
26	K. Ka. Shastri Nagar Awas Yojana, Cotton Mill	7	224
27	Vivekanand Nagar, Vivekanand Mill	9	288
28	Prahlad Bhai Patel Nagar, Raipur Mill	13	416
29	Shri Ram Nagar Co-op Housing Society, Himadri Mill	5	160
30	Ravishankar Maharaj Nagar, Saraspur Mill	7	224
31	Shiv Shakti Nagar, Ginning Mill	7	224
32	Fine Knitting Mill Compound	10	320
33	Bhairav Singh Shekawat Nagar, Vijay Mill	25	800
34	Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar	6	192
35	Jay Prakash Nagar	8	256
36	Jupiter Mill Compound	16	512
37	Rustom Mill Compound	14	336
38	Balol Nagar Site	18	576
	AMC Open Plot Resettlement Sites		
39	Keshavni Nagar (Vasna Sewage Farm)	—	—
40	Ganesh Nagar	—	—

Source: Data collected June-Nov 2017

Railway Line AMC Boundary

0 2 4 8 Km

N

Reason for Resettlement and Process of Resettlement

Households relocated at the mapped resettlement sites include communities displaced for roads, the Sabarmati Riverfront project, recreational projects (mainly lake development), public amenity projects and the Metro project. This reveals that *bastis* evicted for private development, open plots, and railway evictions – several of which have been captured in the eviction mapping – have never been given resettlement houses.

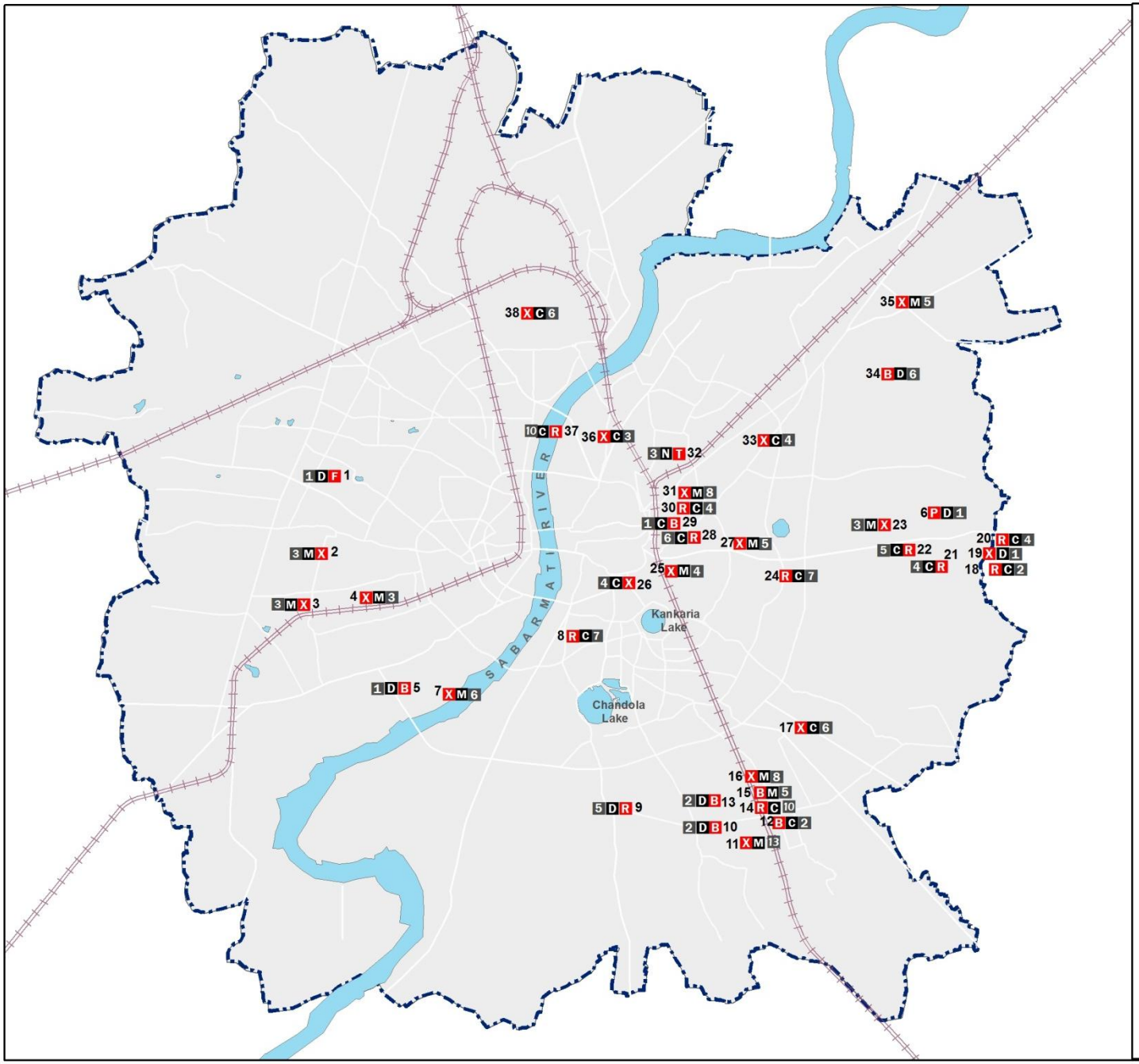
In 33 of the 38 resettlement sites, each site comprises of households relocated from 2-13 *bastis* (see **Map 10**). Not only is there a random mixing of residents from different *bastis* at the same site, sometimes also in the same buildings, but in the case of many of the evicted *bastis* the evicted households have also been relocated across different sites. The resulting social disarticulation has contributed to the challenges of building strong communities post-resettlement. In majority of these sites one finds mistrust, and sometimes even hostility and conflicts, between residents from different *bastis*. This has created obstacles to informal modes of cooperation and collective action as well as the formation and functioning of the resident associations (discussed later), contributing to poor local governance and therefore poor living conditions. At two sites (Vraj Nagri, an AUDA EWS site, and Jeen Jyot Society, constructed by AMC under a programme prior to BSUP), residents include those who were allotted a house through an "open draw"[19] and they look down upon those who have been resettled. At one of these sites, the "open draw" group has even succeeded in blatantly excluding the voice of the resettled group in local governance. This exclusion has also been made possible by the fact that the resettled households at this site have not yet received allotment papers despite living here since 2003.

Residents in the case of only three of the 38 resettlement sites (Vrundavan Awas Yojana, Ganesh Nagar Bhattha and Shri Ram Nagar) were evictees from a single *basti*. Here, local governance around infrastructure and services was observed to be a smoother process than at the sites where residents from multiple *bastis* have been resettled or at sites allotted to both people from evicted *bastis* and people selected through an "open draw." At Shri Ram Nagar, a resettlement site where all the 160 dwelling units have been allotted to evicted households from Shastri Nagar na Chapra, feelings of trust and familiarity played an important role in securing the cooperation and financial contribution of all the residents towards maintenance at the site. Local leaders from the *basti* who had played an important role in securing resettlement for the residents had taken charge of managing the site. While here too people are struggling with the poor state of infrastructure provided at the resettlement sites, there is greater cooperation amongst residents for undertaking repairs, contributing towards monthly expenditures and continuous follow-ups with municipal officials for improved services. Further research would have to be done to better understand the differences in social dynamics at these three sites from other sites, and the resulting implications for everyday life and governance.

At 17 of the 38 resettlement sites, households evicted for different reasons have been resettled at the same site (see **Map 10**). Where the projects have different resettlement packages for the "project affected persons" (PAPs) this could further compound the challenges faced in building strong communities post-resettlement, as explained below. In the case of most evictions undertaken by AMC during 2009-17, wherever resettlement was given, it was mainly at BSUP sites. As per the Central Government's BSUP programme guidelines, beneficiaries of the programme are required to pay a financial contribution amounting to 12 per cent of the cost of the construction of the dwelling unit.[20] In Ahmedabad this led to a beneficiary contribution of Rs.67,860. AMC has followed this policy for all the households it has resettled at BSUP sites regardless of the reason for eviction. The Metro project, however, brought in a different policy in which MEGA, the company undertaking the project, is to provide the PAPs an alternative house for which

[19] An "open draw" is where the authority invites applications for its housing schemes from households falling within a certain income range and then a lottery system determines which of the applicants get a house allotment.

[20] This does not include the land cost. 50 per cent of the cost of the dwelling unit was to be borne by the Central government, 20 per cent by the State government and 18 per cent by the urban local body (MHUPA 2009).



Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project

Map 10: Reasons and Process of Resettlement

Source: Data collected June-Nov 2017

AUDA EWS Sites

1 Vrundavan 1 & 2
2 Gopal 1
3 Vraj Vihar
4 Vraj Nagari

AMC EWS Sites

5 Ganesh Nagar Bhatta
6 Jivan Jyot Society

AMC BSUP Sites

7 Swarnim Nagar, Shahwadi
8 Behrampura Site
9 Pandit Deen Dayal Nagar
10 Vatva Site I
11 Sadbhavna Nagar
12 Vatva Site II
13 Vatva Site III
14 Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar
15 Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar
16 Kushabhai Thakre Nagar
17 Induchacha Nagar, Bag-e-firdosh
18 Sundersinh Bhandari Nagar
19 Vinoba Bhave Nagar
20 Makrand Desai Nagar
21 Shyamji Krishna Varma Nagar
22 Nanji Deshmukh Nagar
23 Jag Janani Awas Yojana
24 Khwaja Garib Nawaz Nagar, Ajit Mill
25 Jayendra Pandit Nagar, Kesar-E-Hind Mill
26 K. Ka. Shastri Nagar Awas Yojana, Ahmedabad Cotton Mill
27 Vivekanand Nagar, Vivekanand Mill
28 Prahladbhai Patel Nagar, Raipur Mill
29 Shri Ram Nagar, Himadri Mill
30 Ravishankar Maharaj Nagar, Saraspur Mill
31 Shiv Shakti Nagar, Ahmedabad Ginning Mill
32 Fine Knitting Mill Compound
33 Bhairav Singh Shekawat Nagar, Vijay Mill
34 Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar
35 Jay Prakash Nagar
36 Jupiter Mill Compound
37 Rustom Mill Compound
38 Balol Nagar Site

Reason for Eviction

- B BRTS, Bridge, Road
- F Recreational Projects
- T Metro Project
- P Public Amenity
- R Riverfront Project
- X Multiple Reasons

Process of Resettlement

- D Resettlement without Court Intervention
- N Resettlement and Compensation Policy
- C Resettlement involving Court Intervention
- M Multiple Processes

Number of Bastis Resettled at a Site

1 2 3

they do not pay any financial contribution; they get a one-time monetary compensation of Rs.50,000 as "shifting assistance"; and they also get Rs.3,000 per month for a period of one year from the date of resettlement so that they can cope with impacts on their livelihood. The houses given so far to the Metro project's PAPs have been at two of AMC's BSUP sites, where one of the sites (Jay Prakash Nagar) was later also used by AMC to resettle households evicted for a road in which – as mentioned above – the PAPs have to pay a beneficiary contribution of Rs.67,860 and do not get any monetary compensation. At the time of our fieldvisit, the evicted households due to the road project had just moved to the site and it remains to be seen whether or not the differences in the resettlement package for the two groups of PAPs creates resentment amongst them in the future and impacts everyday life and governance at the site.

While PAPs of all non-Metro projects resettled at BSUP sites are required to pay the same amount as beneficiary contribution, the resettlement package changed around 2014.[21] Earlier, evicted households had to pay an upfront contribution of Rs.6900 in three monthly installments of Rs.2300. Paying the first installment along with a "NGO fee" of Rs.960 was adequate to get possession of the resettlement house. The second and third installments of Rs.2300 were to be paid subsequently, and then the remaining amount of Rs.60,000 was to be paid through a series of smaller monthly installments, after which the house would be transferred to their name. AMC has been unable to collect the remaining amount from most of the pre-2014 resettled households because of the unwillingness of the relocated residents to pay as well as the lack of a system within AMC to ensure payment of the installments. Significantly, AMC was to provide the beneficiaries with a loan so that they could pay their installments, however, it was unable to get any financial institution to extend a loan to the beneficiaries at a reasonable interest rate. Given this situation, AMC increased the upfront beneficiary contribution in 2014. Families receiving a BSUP house as resettlement now had to pay Rs.27,860 as their upfront contribution, and only then would get possession of the house. The remaining amount of Rs.40,000 was to be paid in installments within a period of two years. One official in the Estate department claimed that since the upfront contribution was increased, more beneficiaries were paying their subsequent installments.[22]

Since several BSUP sites have been resettled over time, they have both pre-2014 and post-2014 resettled households. If post-2014 beneficiaries are indeed paying their installments, this could result in house ownership transferred to many of them once they finish paying the entire amount, while those who were resettled prior to 2014 will never have the house transferred to their name. In the future these sites could end up with a mix of residents having house ownership and residents in limbo without house ownership. This means that some will be able to legally sell their house or use the house as collateral to obtain a loan, while others will not be able to do so. Furthermore, at many BSUP sites, some resettled households have obtained a further subsidy on their beneficiary contribution while others have not, in effect modifying the resettlement package for some and not others. This happened when AMC facilitated the use of some State Government schemes such as the Ambedkar Awaas Yojana for SC/ST communities and Pandit Deen Dayal Yojana for OBC communities to aid the households in paying their contribution so that it could recover some of its own costs. However, this has created resentment amongst different communities at some sites. Moreover, not all households from the SC/ST and OBC communities have been able to avail of the subsidy as there is no proper system in place to support them in doing so.

How did many different *bastis* come to be resettled at the same site, and how did so many *basti* communities get separated across different sites? The BSUP resettlement sites have been constructed by the AMC on land parcels reserved in the town planning schemes for EWS housing, parcels obtained from the erstwhile textile mill lands, or ULC (Urban Land Ceiling) lands bought from the State government. Many of these lands are on the eastern periphery, with the largest parcels in Vatwa. Interviews with AMC officials revealed that as the Sabarmati riverfront project evictions began out of an urgency to clear the land for the project, allotments began to be done based on which of the BSUP sites were nearing completion of construction. Within the set of constructed sites, local leaders from some evicted riverfront *bastis* were asked to give their preference of site for their *basti*, but not all leaders could get their preferred site. As a

[21] AMC officials we talked to were uncertain whether this changed in 2014 or 2015.
[22] This would have to be verified through official data from the AMC.

result, many evicted households had to relocate far from their *bastis*. Furthermore, a generic four-storey building design was replicated across all the BSUP sites. As a result, the number of houses built at each site simply emerged from how many such buildings could be accommodated on each of the land parcels. Given this approach, the possibility of designing the sites such that each would accommodate all households from an evicted *basti* was lost. Therefore, people from each *basti* had to be settled with people from some other *basti* and, if the *basti* was large, it had to be split across a number of sites. In this scenario, AMC simply lumped together many of the riverfront *bastis* and carried out large computerized allotment "draws" (lotteries) involving number of BSUP sites. This randomly sent each evicted household taking part in that "draw" to a house in any building at any of the sites included in that "draw." This split up people from each *basti* across different sites as well as mixed people from different *bastis* at the same site and often in the same buildings. To summarize, the approach towards designing the resettlement sites as well as the allotment process left little possibility to ensure that the social networks within each *basti* are kept intact after resettlement. Once the major riverfront evictions began to get over in 2011-12, the AMC looked to see which BSUP sites were constructed and unallotted or only partially allotted, and started to use these to accommodate households evicted under other projects. Here too, many *bastis* were split across more than one BSUP site, and people from different *bastis* were mixed at the same site. Most were also relocated more than 5 km from where they were living. It is only in more recent years, after 2014, that there are instances where all residents from an evicted *basti* have been resettled at a single BSUP site although in almost all these cases, they still share the site with people from other *bastis*.[23]

One significant finding is that whereas earlier, AMC seems to have largely provided resettlement at BSUP sites only in the event of court intervention (after *basti* residents filed a PIL), in recent years there are some cases where the AMC has given resettlement at BSUP sites without court intervention. AUDA, in fact, has generally resettled evicted households without court intervention, although it is unclear if all the evicted households got resettlement or there was a cut-off date for eligibility (and some households were therefore excluded from resettlement). In some recent evictions the AMC has also relocated residents to a nearby BSUP site and allowed them to break down their own houses *after* they moved into their new homes. Under the Metro project, for the first time, an NGO has been contracted to facilitate the entire process of resettlement and rehabilitation.[24] It remains to be seen how this NGO mediation unfolds and the impacts it has for the resettled communities.

While residents at most of the AMC's BSUP sites have allotment letters for their house, none of the resettled residents at any of the AUDA sites have received allotment papers. The beneficiary contributions at the AUDA resettlement sites have also been higher. Interviews at AUDA's Vrundavan Awas Yojana revealed that the beneficiaries – who are households evicted for the Vastrapur lake development around 2002-03 – were asked to pay Rs.1000 at the time of house allotment following which they were to pay an amount of Rs.4500. Subsequently, they were to pay Rs.550 as monthly installments for a period of 15 years. This suggests a total beneficiary contribution of about Rs.104,500. None of the residents have paid any of the monthly installments so far. Some residents also stated that AUDA had imposed a high penalty on them for non-payment of installments and they had appealed to AUDA that they would pay their contribution now but to forego the penalty.

[23] The raw data from the eviction mapping can be used to identify the *bastis* which have been resettled at a single site, while the raw data from the resettlement mapping can be used to identify the different *bastis* that have been resettled to the same resettlement site. The raw data can be obtained by contacting the primary author.

[24] As per the policy for the Metro project, the NGO's role includes the following: (i) assisting MEGA in conducting a public consultation, a survey and issuing of identity cards to the PAPs; (ii) organizing meetings with PAPs to assist them during relocation; (iii) explaining the entitlements and R&R policy provisions to the PAPs; (iv) acting as catalysts between PAPs and project authorities; (v) preparing an "Income Restoration plan" for the PAPs; (vi) serving as an initial step to redress grievances of PAPs; (vii) assisting the PAPs in redressing grievances with project authorities; (viii) providing support for post-resettlement activities such as registration of cooperative housing societies and training related to maintaining the building and colony; and (ix) preparing monthly progress reports and submitting these to the Senior Social Development Officer of MEGA's Social Management Unit (See RITES 2014)

Social Infrastructure: Anganwadis

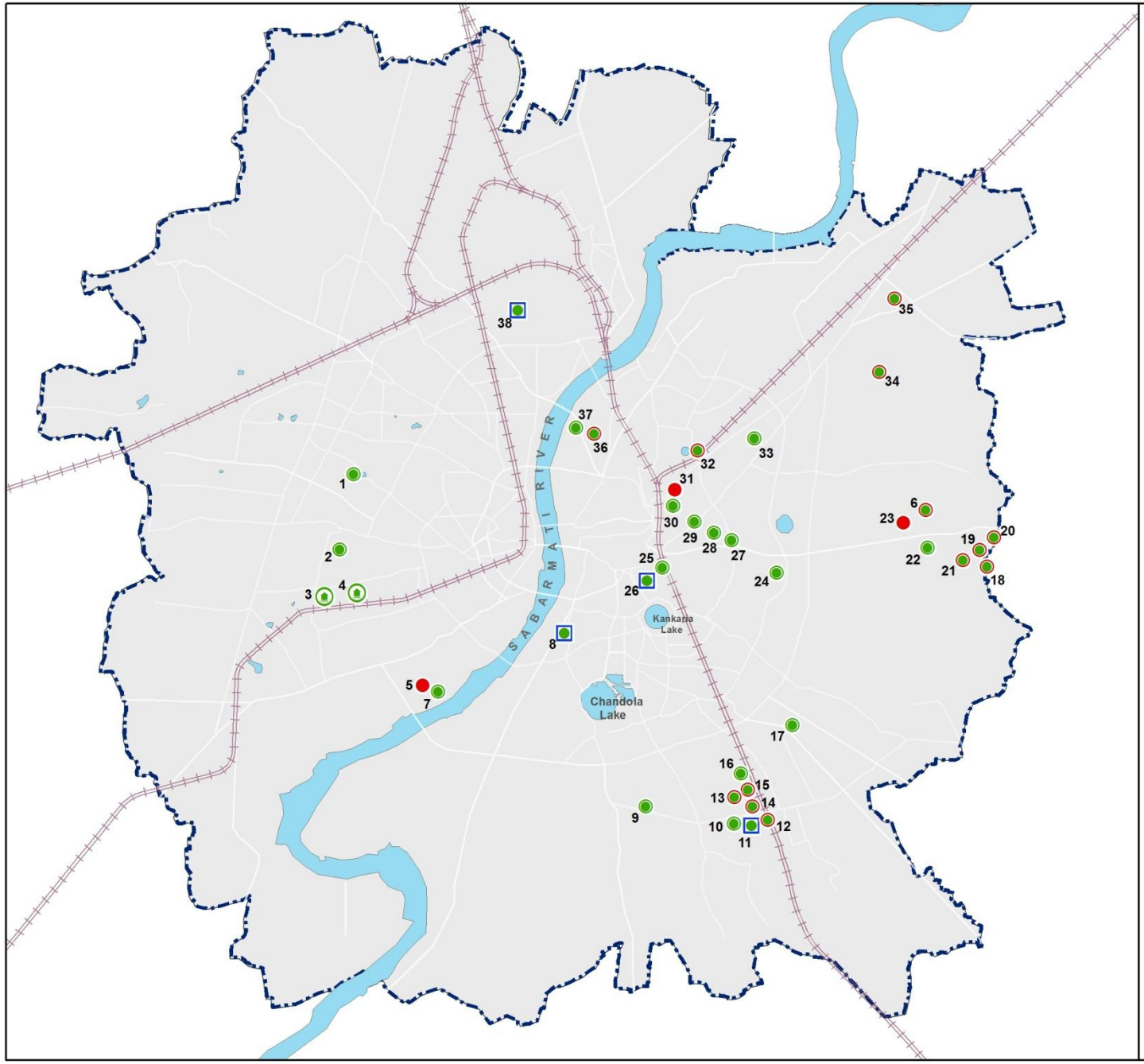
The Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), a centrally funded scheme under the Union Ministry of Women and Child Development, calls for the holistic development of all children living in the country below the age of six. An anganwadi centre stationed at the community level is expected to deliver the services of this scheme such as early childhood care, nutrition, water and sanitation, and women's development (MWCD 2012). This is a universal programme which implies that a beneficiary need not belong to a Below Poverty Line (BPL) household in order to accrue its benefits, however, there is considerable emphasis on utilizing the programme to address the issues of malnutrition and child mortality among the urban poor. According to the ICDS policy, there should be one anganwadi for a population of 1000 individuals or 200 households. Until 2009, anganwadis in Ahmedabad were operated under the Gujarat Government's Women and Child Development Department. In 2009, the operation of anganwadis was transferred to the AMC.

Recognizing the importance of anganwadis for the urban poor, one-storey structures were constructed for anganwadis at many of the BSUP sites constructed by AMC. This was an important addition to the design of EWS housing. Overall, 30 of the 32 BSUP sites have at least one anganwadi structure (See Annexure 6 and **Map 11**). However, four findings emerged from the mapping of anganwadis at the BSUP sites. First, the number of anganwadi structures constructed at each BSUP site is not as per the norm of one anganwadi for 200 households. For example, two of the BSUP sites do not have anganwadi structures despite having more than 200 dwelling units (Shiv Shakti Nagar and Jag Janani Awas Yojana) while several sites which should, as per the norm, have 3-4 anganwadis have only 1-2 anganwadi structures. Discussions in the AMC Housing department about why the sites were not designed as per the anganwadi norms revealed that AMC had not planned for anganwadis in the Detailed Project Report (DPR) prepared during the first phase of the project to obtain Central Government BSUP funding. A decision to construct social infrastructure facilities such as anganwadis, health sub-centres, livelihood centres and community halls was taken at a later stage and a supplementary DPR was prepared to get funding to construct them.

Second, across the 30 BSUP sites which have at least one anganwadi structure, there were 12 sites where not a single anganwadi structure was functioning. Third, a total of 25 out of the 48 anganwadi structures constructed across these 30 BSUP sites were not being utilized for the purpose that they were built, and were lying vacant and vandalized. Some were captured by local musclemen and were being used to store alcohol, and some were being used by groups of men for their drinking and gambling activities. The structures are the property of the AMC and the Estate Department at the Zone-level is supposed to control their use and maintain them, but had failed to do so. Fourth, sites where no anganwadi structures are built or are fewer than the norm, the AMC can operate an anganwadi by renting a flat at the site or even taking up one or more of its unallotted flats for the purpose, however, this had not been done.[25]

An official in the AMC's Health Department explained the lack of functioning anganwadis at the BSUP sites thus:[26] AMC would have shifted the anganwadi from the evicted *basti* to the resettlement site where possible, but this would not have been possible where the entire *basti* was not evicted since the anganwadi would be needed for the households remaining in the *basti*. In some cases, an anganwadi where attendance of children is low might have been shifted from some other area of the city to the resettlement site, but this is not always possible.[27] In this case, AMC would have to open a new anganwadi which means

[25] In 2017, AMC was operating 1541 anganwadis on rental premises (Discussion with Additional Medical Officer of Health (West, South, and New West Zone), AMC, August 2017). During our previous research at the BSUP sites in Vatwa in 2014, we found an anganwadi being run in an unallotted flat at Kushabhau Thakre Nagar, however, this was later shut down, and during the mapping in 2017, we could not find any anganwadis being run out of flats at any site.
[26] Discussion with Additional Medical Officer of Health (West, South, and New West Zone), AMC, August 2017.
[27] An anganwadi is meant for 80-100 children, although most anganwadis see attendance of 40-50 children. If less than 40 children generally attend an anganwadi, it is often shifted to an area where attendance is likely to be higher (Discussion with Additional Medical Officer of Health (West, South and New West Zone), AMC, August 2017).



Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project

Map 11: Status of Anganwadis at the Resettlement Sites

Source: Data collected June-Nov 2017

AUDA EWS Sites

1 Vrundavan 1 & 2
2 Gopal 1
3 Vraj Vihar
4 Vraj Nagari

AMC EWS Sites

5 Ganesh Nagar Bhatta
6 Jivan Jyot Society

AMC BSUP Sites

7 Swarnim Nagar, Shahwadi
8 Behrampura Site
9 Pandit Deen Dayal Nagar
10 Vatva Site I
11 Sadbhavna Nagar
12 Vatva Site II
13 Vatva Site III
14 Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar
15 Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar
16 Kushabhai Thakre Nagar
17 Induchacha Nagar, Bag-e-firdosh
18 Sundersinh Bhandari Nagar
19 Vinoba Bhave Nagar
20 Makrand Desai Nagar
21 Shyamji Krishna Varma Nagar
22 Nanji Deshmukh Nagar
23 Jag Janani Awas Yojana
24 Khwaja Garib Nawaz Nagar, Ajit Mill
25 Jayendra Pandit Nagar, Kesar-E-Hind Mill
26 K. Ka. Shastri Nagar Awas Yojana, Ahmedabad Cotton Mill
27 Vivekanand Nagar, Vivekanand Mill
28 Prahladbhai Patel Nagar, Raipur Mill
29 Shri Ram Nagar, Himadri Mill
30 Ravishankar Maharaj Nagar, Saraspur Mill
31 Shiv Shakti Nagar, Ahmedabad Ginning Mill
32 Fine Knitting Mill Compound
33 Bhairav Singh Shekawat Nagar, Vijay Mill
34 Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar
35 Jay Prakash Nagar
36 Jupiter Mill Compound
37 Rustom Mill Compound
38 Balol Nagar Site

Anganwadi Status

- No Structure
- Structures Available, All Functioning
- Structures Available, Not Functioning
- Structure Available, Few Functioning
- No Structures, Functioning from a Resident's House

increasing the number of anganwadis in the city, however, since a share of the funding to operate the anganwadis comes from the Central Government, AMC requires its approval to increase the number of anganwadis but approvals generally take more than a year.[28] According to the Child Development Program Officer (CDPO) for Odhav municipal ward, which has six BSUP sites of which only two sites had functioning anganwadis, when surveys to start a new anganwadi in the ward were being conducted, most of the dwelling units at these resettlement sites were still vacant and therefore did not have the requisite number of children to start a new anganwadi. Hence when approvals came in to start new anganwadis, these were started in other parts of the ward where requisite number of children were found. While these explanations shed light on why anganwadis did not begin functioning at the BSUP sites immediately after people were resettled, it does not explain why anganwadis were not functioning at so many sites even 2-4 years after resettlement. At some sites, AMC had made a temporary arrangement by providing nutrition through the distribution of meals to children through Mobile Anganwadi Vans, but it is not clear why permanent anganwadis had not been put into place. Moreover, an analysis of State Government budgets for 2014-15 and 2015-16 shows that a large proportion of the budget under ICDS was unspent (487 crores and 227 crores for the two years respectively).[29] NGOs working in the city among the urban poor point out that nothing stops the State Government from using this budget to fund new anganwadis and it does not have to obtain a share of the funds from the Central Government.

The official in the AMC's Health Department also pointed out that residents of a resettlement site can send their children to an anganwadi in a nearby area if there is no functioning anganwadi at their site. However, since resettlement entails moving to an unfamiliar area, and coping with a range of difficulties from livelihood to loss of social networks, expecting the residents to search for an anganwadi outside the resettlement site places an unrealistic additional burden on them.

At the AUDA resettlement sites, AUDA had not constructed anganwadi structures. However, some years ago AMC constructed an anganwadi structure at two of these sites. Both these anganwadis were functioning but they did not have a toilet. At the other two AUDA resettlement sites where there is no structure, AMC was operating an anganwadi from a resident's home on rent. While anganwadis were thus functioning at all the four AUDA resettlement sites, the number of anganwadis were not as per the norms and some of them did not have the requisite facilities. In AMC's two non-BSUP EWS sites used for resettlement, not a single anganwadi was functioning even though one site had an anganwadi structure.

Table 7: Status of Anganwadis at the Resettlement Sites (source: fieldvisits in June-July and Oct-Nov 2017)

Resettlement sites with respect to status of anganwadis	BSUP Sites	Total Sites
Sites having anganwadi structure(s) with all functioning	14	16
Sites having anganwadi structure(s) and none functioning	12	13
Sites having anganwadi structure(s) and some functioning	4	4
Sites having no anganwadi structure and no functioning anganwadis	2	3
Sites having no anganwadi structure but anganwadi functioning in a resident's house	0	2
Total	**32**	**38**

[28] As per the norms of one anganwadi for 200 households~~,~~ there should be 3500 anganwadis in Ahmedabad's slum areas, however, currently there is a large shortfall with a total of only 2101 anganwadis (Discussion with Additional Medical Officer of Health (West, South, and New West Zone), AMC, August 2017). It should also be kept in mind that not all the anganwadis under operation on paper are actually functioning~~ (~~Discussion with numerous NGOs working in Ahmedabad, September 16, 2017).

[29] Figures provided by Pathey Budget Centre, Ahmedabad, by email on January 3, 2018.

Figure 9: Functioning anganwadi at the Balol Nagar site

Figure 10: Functioning anganwadi at Pandit Deendayal Nagar

Figure 11: Vacant anganwadi structure at Sundarsinh Bhandari Nagar

Social Infrastructure: Health Sub-Centres

Primary healthcare is provided in Ahmedabad through an Urban Health Centre (UHC) in each municipal ward. In the mid/late 2000s the AMC introduced the concept of health sub-centres to take health services to the most vulnerable pockets of the city. No separate budget was provided for the sub-centres which were to operate from the budget sanctioned for the UHC of the ward in which the pocket was located.[30] AMC prepared a supplementary DPR under the BSUP programme to obtain funding for the construction of health sub-centres at some BSUP sites.

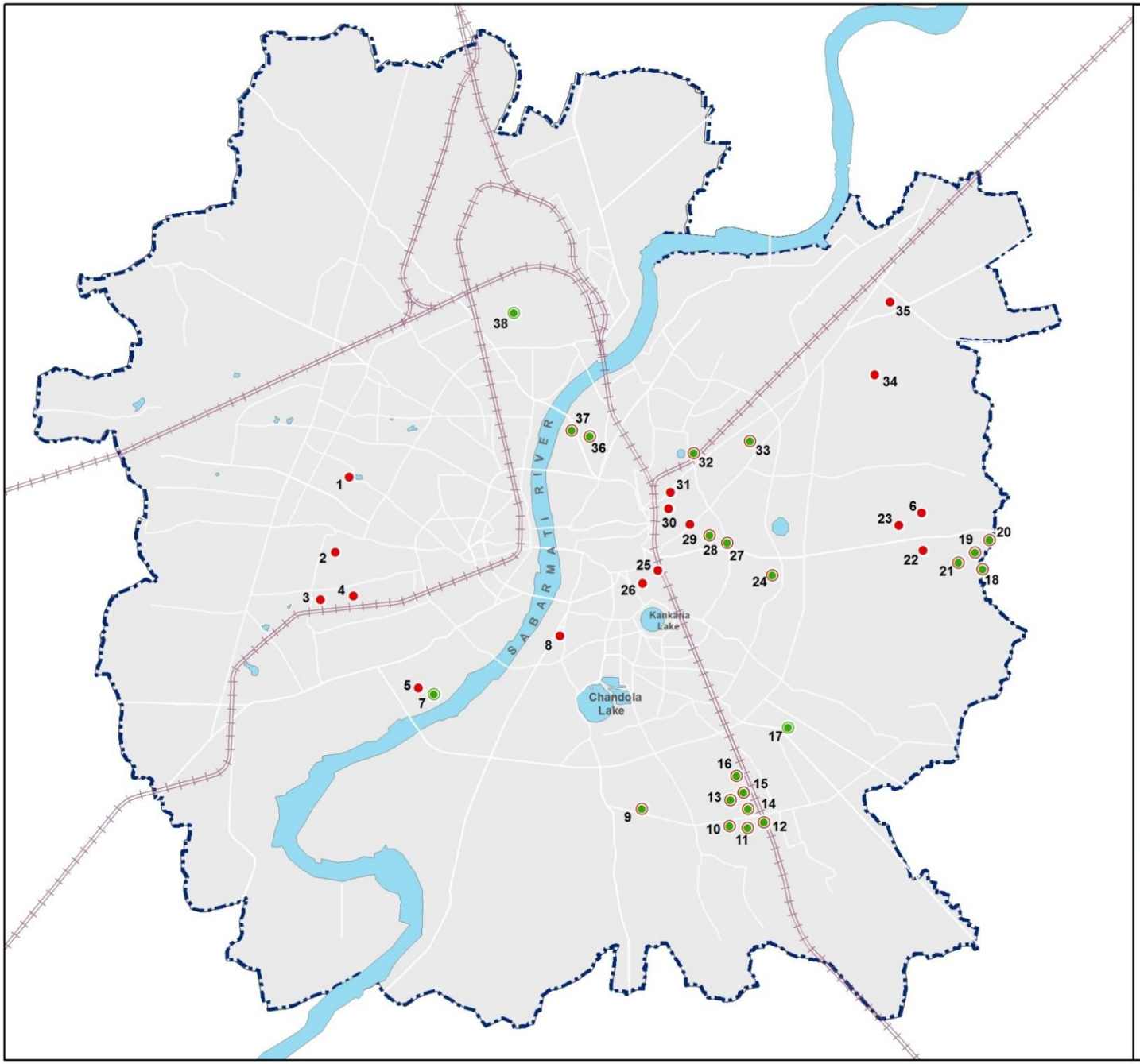
The mapping reveals that one structure for a health sub-centre has been constructed at every BSUP site having more than 300 dwelling units. Thus, 22 sites have a structure for a health sub-centre. The mapping also shows that the sub-centre was functioning at only 4 of the 22 sites (Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar, Induchacha Nagar, Balol Nagar site, and Swarnim Nagar) (see **Map 12**). These were found to be open for a few hours once or twice a week. The health services provided at the sub-centre were vaccination, malaria testing, HIV testing, distribution of medicine for common ailments, and testing for dengue and sputum.

The reason that the remaining sub-centre structures were not being utilized for the purpose they were built is that the AMC had since done away with the concept of providing health services through sub-centres, partly as a result of operational challenges such as staff shortage and inadequate budget.[31] Thus, where the sub-centres were running, this was not under any policy but was a result of the initiative taken by the ward-level Medical Officer which was also dependent on the availability of resources (especially adequate staff) in a particular ward.[32] By policy, AMC had shifted towards providing outreach health services below the UHC-level through the following means:[33]

- Mobile health vans in each zone.
- Link workers known as Asha workers: One ASHA worker is assigned 400-500 households and is supposed to make fortnightly visits to each house. They look into fevers, ante-natal and pre-natal care, and the implementation of the Central Government's Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) programme. Various schemes and programmes launched by AMCs health department are implemented by Asha workers in the localities where they work. A recent example of this was the Indradhanush Vaccination Programme. The ASHA workers also conduct awareness campaigns through regular IEC (Information, Education and Communication) programmes.
- Periodic outreach camps known as "Mamta Divas" in different pockets of the ward (often linked to the ASHA worker's pocket). This camp primarily addresses the health requirements of pregnant and lactating women as well as children between the age group of 0-5 years. They provide vaccinations, iron and calcium supplements, take blood pressure and weight measurements as well as conduct other tests if required. Primary treatment, first aid, diagnosis of malaria and vaccinations are also done. The Asha worker is to coordinate with residents living in the locality and inform them about the health camp while the health services are provided by a nurse.

Not only were most of the sub-centre structures not being utilized for the purpose that they were built for, but they were also lying vacant and vandalized. Some were captured by local musclemen and were being used to store alcohol, and some were being used by groups of men for drinking and gambling activities. The structures are the property of the AMC and the Estate Department at the Zone-level is supposed to control their use and maintain them, which they had failed to do.

[30] Discussions with Deputy Health Officer (South Zone), AMC, August 2017.
[31] Central government policy documents reveal a focus on providing health sub-centres in villages because of the distance to health services and sparse means of transport in rural areas. At the city level, the focus has been to provide health services through link workers (MHFW 2013).
[32] Discussion with Medical Officer, Vatwa ward, August 2017.
[33] Medical Officer of Health, AMC, August 2017; Deputy Health Officer (South Zone), AMC, August 2017.



Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project

Map 12: Status of Health Sub-Centres at the Resettlement Sites

Source: Data collected June-Nov 2017

AUDA EWS Sites

1 Vrundavan 1 & 2
2 Gopal 1
3 Vraj Vihar
4 Vraj Nagari

AMC EWS Sites

5 Ganesh Nagar Bhatta
6 Jivan Jyot Society

AMC BSUP Sites

7 Swarnim Nagar, Shahwadi
8 Behrampura Site
9 Pandit Deen Dayal Nagar
10 Vatva Site I
11 Sadbhavna Nagar
12 Vatva Site II
13 Vatva Site III
14 Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar
15 Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar
16 Kushabhai Thakre Nagar
17 Induchacha Nagar, Bag-e-firdosh
18 Sundersinh Bhandari Nagar
19 Vinoba Bhave Nagar
20 Makrand Desai Nagar
21 Shyamji Krishna Varma Nagar
22 Nanji Deshmukh Nagar
23 Jag Janani Awas Yojana
24 Khwaja Garib Nawaz Nagar, Ajit Mill
25 Jayendra Pandit Nagar, Kesar-E-Hind Mill
26 K. Ka. Shastri Nagar Awas Yojana, Ahmedabad Cotton Mill
27 Vivekanand Nagar, Vivekanand Mill
28 Prahladbhai Patel Nagar, Raipur Mill
29 Shri Ram Nagar, Himadri Mill
30 Ravishankar Maharaj Nagar, Saraspur Mill
31 Shiv Shakti Nagar, Ahmedabad Ginning Mill
32 Fine Knitting Mill Compound
33 Bhairav Singh Shekawat Nagar, Vijay Mill
34 Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar
35 Jay Prakash Nagar
36 Jupiter Mill Compound
37 Rustom Mill Compound
38 Balol Nagar Site

Health Sub-Centre Status

- No Sub-Centre Structure
- One Structure, Not Functioning
- One Structure, Functioning (once or twice a week)

Figure 12: Functioning health sub-centre at Induchacha Nagar

Figure 13: Vacant health sub-centre at Makrand Desai Nagar

A final point is that the mapping of health sub-centres was undertaken at the resettlement sites because structures were built at many BSUP sites for this purpose but were lying vacant and were vandalized and being misused. The mapping was not intended to give adequate insights into residents' access to health services. This will require looking into the extent to which the various outreach health services reach the resettlement sites: whether and how frequently the mobile health van comes to the sites, whether link workers have been assigned for each site as per the norm, and whether and how often they actually visit their assigned households/areas. It would also be important to map the distance of resettlement sites from the UHC, awareness amongst residents of the UHC, use of private clinics by residents in their previous localities and in areas closer to their resettlement site, etc.

Formation and Functioning of Resident Associations

The BSUP guidelines (MHUPA 2009) expect residents of BSUP sites to form a residents' association that would be responsible for maintenance. In this context, AMC does not consider itself to be responsible for everyday maintenance at the BSUP sites. Sweeping inside the sites, maintenance and repairs of motors for the underground water tanks, payment of the common electricity bills for the motors and the lights in the building corridors, cleaning of the underground and overhead water tanks, and other such activities are to be managed by the resident associations. Two reputed NGOs were contracted by AMC and were tasked with "creating registered associations; undertaking activities to facilitate collection of association fees and maintenance charges from residents and facilitate maintenance of common services through the associations; and carrying out "other social and community development activities."[34] One association, in the form of a cooperative housing society (CHS), was to be formed per group of buildings sharing one underground water tank. However, many of the CHSes at the BSUP sites remain incompletely formed and non-functional.

According to one high-level AMC official in the Housing department, the resettled households never "took charge" of any of these activities, and now some services are dealt with by residents and some are not. Interactions with residents at the resettlement sites revealed number of reasons for the failure of this local governance model. One obstacle in forming the CHS has been the unwillingness of many residents to pay Rs.225 as their share in the CHS. This is partly a result of the social disruptions caused by the allotment process, wherein households from several *bastis* have been relocated to a single site, due to which many are not willing to place their trust on the CHS core committee set up by the NGO because they do not know all the members. We found that many residents, in fact, did not even know who the core committee members were for the association that includes their building. Livelihood problems faced by many displaced families added to the unwillingness to contribute money towards something that they were uncertain about and did not trust. At some sites, the residents' share was collected by the NGOs from households but the CHS had not been registered yet and so the CHS core committee had not assumed its functions. This had led to friction between the core committee members and the residents who had given their share contribution. There is also a loss of local leadership due to the social disruptions caused by the resettlement process. Moreover, there are cases where some members of the association's core committee have gone to live elsewhere in the city due to various difficulties at the sites, contributing to further loss of leadership and obstacles in creating a functioning and effective CHS. Another reason for the failure to form CHSes is that few are willing to take on the responsibilities required for everyday maintenance since it is time-consuming, especially in a situation where the social fabric has been disrupted. Many residents are also from a socio-economic background where it is a challenge to shoulder such additional responsibilities. This has also made it difficult to find another resident to replace the core committee member(s) who moved away from the site. Some of the allotted houses are also vacant or rented out, with neither owner nor tenant wanting to contribute money for maintenance.

Furthermore, the concept of organizing as an association to undertake full responsibility for maintenance works was new for residents. Indeed, the mixing of communities from different locations at the sites and the newness of the concept were the very reason that the AMC involved the NGOs in the first place. However, in most cases the NGOs have been unable to surmount the social disruptions to form functioning associations. Many residents also struggle with this concept because of their experiences around AMC's role in maintenance in their previous *bastis*. Other residents understand the concept but reject it, pointing to the inadequate economic capacity of many residents to spend money on maintenance, especially where their livelihoods have been negatively affected by displacement.[35]

Finally, at some of the more recently allotted sites where all the houses were not yet allotted (Jupiter Mills and Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar), the process of CHS formation had not even started. In fact, in many cases,

[34] Letter dated May 8, 2012 from SRFDCL, AMC to one of the NGOs, asking it to undertake this work at six BSUP sites.
[35] See Desai (2018) for a detailed study on maintenance of water infrastructure at three BSUP sites.

the AMC has waited for the sites to be almost fully allotted before engaging a NGO to facilitate the CHS formation. In some cases, informal associations and arrangements have arisen where one or more residents have taken charge of maintenance for their building. This works well at some of the smaller sites where all the residents are from the same evicted *basti*. It also works well in some buildings where residents have managed to forge trustworthy and cooperative relations with each other, but it helps only to address building-level issues like keeping the nearby areas clean, paying the electricity bills for the corridor lights, and repairing building-level water or drainage pipes.

At the AUDA resettlement sites, officials were directly involved in the formation of CHSes soon after families had shifted. Most of these CHSes have been registered and a separate office-space has been provided to them. An AUDA official, mainly in charge of collecting monthly installments from the residents towards their house payment, also uses the CHS office. The Gopal Nagar AUDA site consists of two parts, one in which families displaced by infrastructure projects have been resettled and one in which families have been allotted houses through the "open draw." At present only one CHS has been formed that manages both parts of the site although all the CHS core committee members are residents who have been allotted houses through the "open draw." The resettled residents have been told that a separate CHS will be formed once all their installments towards the house are paid, but many have stopped paying their installments. Since the resettled residents have no voice in the existing CHS, the state of infrastructure and sanitation in their part, Gopal Nagar 1, is in a poor state of affairs. Similarly, at Jivan Jyot Society, an AMC non-BSUP EWS site, houses have been allotted to both displaced families as well as families through an "open draw." The former are not a part of the CHS and do not interact with the latter group, although they have formed an informal association of their own.

Water Supply and Drainage

Water is supplied to 27 of the 38 resettlement sites from bore-wells (see **Map 13**). The water is pumped from the bore-well into the underground water tanks (UGWT) from where it is pumped to the overhead tanks of the buildings for supply to the individual houses.[36] The supply of bore-well water has been a key issue for residents since they find it to be non-potable because of its hardness.[37] While there is middle-class housing in the city which is not connected to the municipal network and uses hard water from private bore-wells, they can afford domestic water purification systems that also reduce hardness whereas these systems are too expensive for most resettled households to buy and maintain. Many residents reported that the hard water was leading to health problems such as kidney stones, which they had not faced in their previous localities where they had access to municipal water.[38]

Only 11 of the sites have UGWTs connected to the municipal pipeline (see **Map 13**). Of the 32 AMC BSUP sites, only three sites had UGWTs connected to the municipal pipeline around the time of allotment of houses to evicted families (Balolnagar site, Khwaja Garib Nawaz Nagar – Ajit Mill, and Jupiter Mill Compound). Discussions with municipal officials to understand why so many BSUP sites were not connected to the municipal pipeline brought up two explanations: (i) many sites were located in periphery areas of Ahmedabad where the municipal water network did not exist and where there were no immediate plans to expand coverage to the area; and (ii) many sites were located in areas with municipal water networks but could not be connected to the municipal pipeline because the existing infrastructure did not have the capacity to take on the burden of the additional population from the resettlement sites, and upgrading the infrastructure was not feasible due to constraints in the municipal budget.[39] These explanations point to the ways in which the AMC's planning of housing for the urban poor is disconnected from city-level infrastructure planning. Municipal officials also point out that bore-wells were provided as a stop-gap measure until the BSUP sites could be connected to the municipal network through construction of new infrastructure. However, in the past few years, the UGWTs of only three more BSUP sites have been connected to the municipal pipeline (Sadbhavna Nagar, Kushabhau Thakre Nagar, Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar). There is no information about when the UGWTs at the remaining sites would be connected to municipal piped water. Moreover, at five of the six BSUP sites where the UGWTs are connected to the municipal pipeline, the quantity of water provided through the pipeline is inadequate for the population and so the bore-wells are also used. With this mixing of pipeline and borewell water in the UGWTs, lack of access to potable water in the house remains an issue.

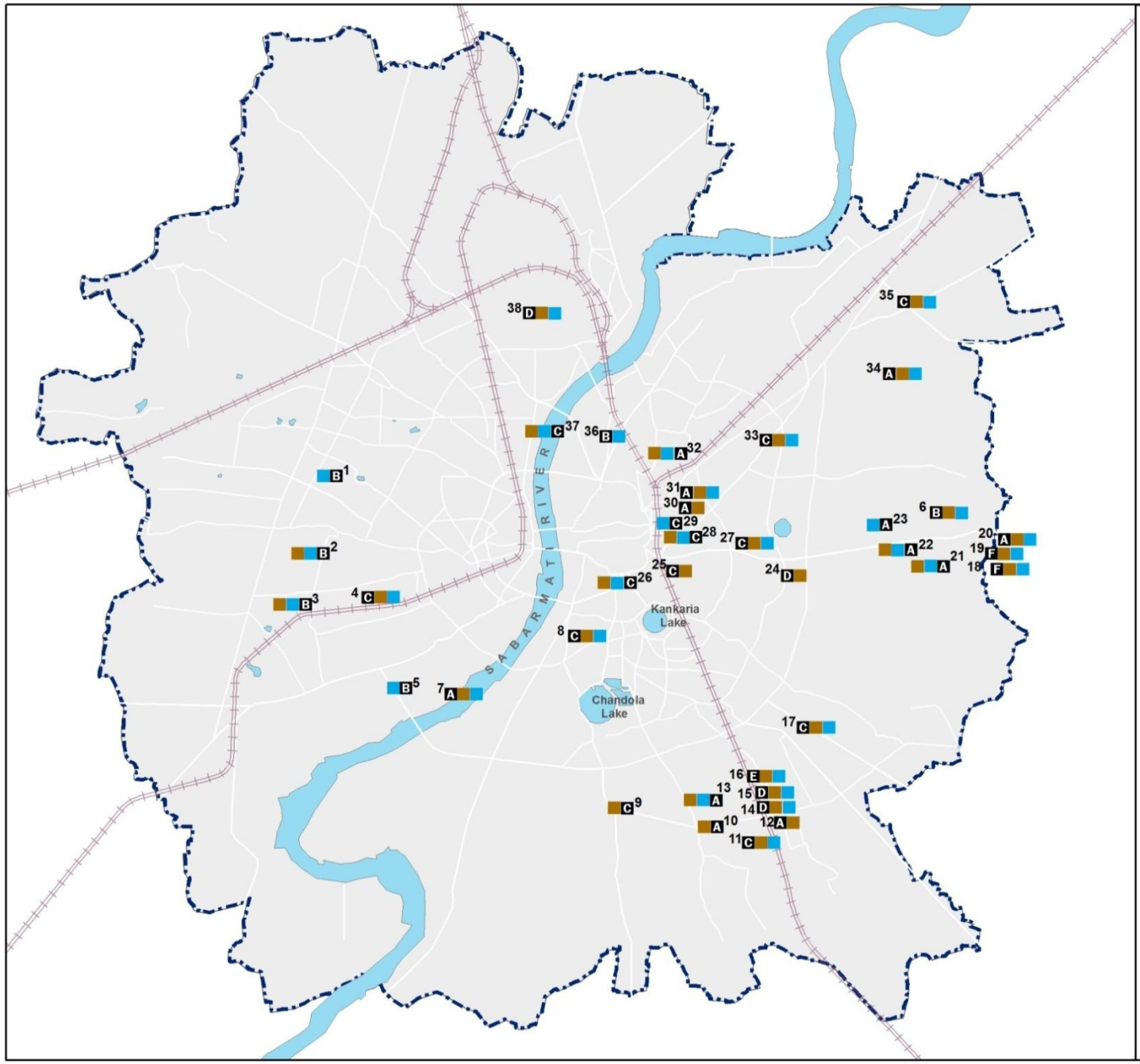
Many residents have been fetching drinking water from surrounding areas, such as from the Vatwa railway station, municipal taps in *bastis* and private societies. Some purchase drinking water. Residents' demands, often communicated through elected representatives, have resulted in installation of municipal standposts at 14 of the resettlement sites (13 of them being BSUP sites) (see **Map 13**). But the number of standposts are generally inadequate. This sometimes leads to conflicts and those with a standpost near their building stake a greater claim over it and allow residents of other buildings to fill water only once they have collected enough water for their own needs. Rustom Mill Compound is the only site where a standpost has been provided for each and every building (Figure 15).

[36] Most of the AMC BSUP sites have more than one UGWT, with each one shared by a particular group of buildings whose residents are to be organized into one CHS. At the AMC non-BSUP EWS sites, each building has its own UGWT.

[37] While the water in the UGWTs is chlorinated at the BSUP sites, this does not address water hardness.

[38] Medical studies have noted the weak correlation between drinking hard water and kidney stones, pointing to adequate hydration as an important factor in reducing the risk of kidney stones. A focused study would be necessary to track kidney stone cases and identify the factors causing them.

[39] Priority is given to expanding the drainage network to periphery areas before expanding the water network. Furthermore, AMC was not able to use JNNURM funds for water supply projects as the JNNURM guidelines required the city to be moving towards provision of 24x7 water, which was not possible in Ahmedabad. (Discussion with Anand Patel, former Additional City Engineer, Housing Department, AMC, August 2017).



Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project

Map 13: Status of Water Supply and Drainage at the Resettlement Sites

Source: Data collected June-Nov 2017

AUDA EWS Sites

1 Vrundavan 1 & 2
2 Gopal 1
3 Vraj Vihar
4 Vraj Nagari

AMC EWS Sites

5 Ganesh Nagar Bhatta
6 Jivan Jyot Society

AMC BSUP Sites

7 Swarnim Nagar, Shahwadi
8 Behrampura Site
9 Pandit Deen Dayal Nagar
10 Vatva Site I
11 Sadbhavna Nagar
12 Vatva Site II
13 Vatva Site III
14 Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar
15 Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar
16 Kushabhai Thakre Nagar
17 Induchacha Nagar, Bag-e-firdosh
18 Sundersinh Bhandari Nagar
19 Vinoba Bhave Nagar
20 Makrand Desai Nagar
21 Shyamji Krishna Varma Nagar
22 Nanji Deshmukh Nagar
23 Jag Janani Awas Yojana
24 Khwaja Garib Nawaz Nagar, Ajit Mill
25 Jayendra Pandit Nagar, Kesar-E-Hind Mill
26 K. Ka. Shastri Nagar Awas Yojana, Ahmedabad Cotton Mill
27 Vivekanand Nagar, Vivekanand Mill
28 Prahladbhai Patel Nagar, Raipur Mill
29 Shri Ram Nagar, Himadri Mill
30 Ravishankar Maharaj Nagar, Saraspur Mill
31 Shiv Shakti Nagar, Ahmedabad Ginning Mill
32 Fine Knitting Mill Compound
33 Bhairav Singh Shekawat Nagar, Vijay Mill
34 Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar
35 Jay Prakash Nagar
36 Jupiter Mill Compound
37 Rustom Mill Compound
38 Balol Nagar Site

Source of Piped Water Supply

- **A** Borewell
- **B** Municipal Pipeline
- **C** Borewell + Municipal Standposts
- **D** Borewell + Municipal Pipeline
- **E** Borewell + Municipal Pipeline + Municipal Standposts
- **F** Connected to Borewell of Nearby Site

Damaged Pipelines in the Blocks

Water Logging

Thirteen of the sites (all BSUP) are supplied water from only bore-wells (see **Map 14**). At two sites located in the industrial area of Odhav (Sundarsinh Bhandari Nagar and Vinoba Bhave Nagar) AMC closed the bore-wells because of the poor quality of water, and connected their UGWTs to a bore-well from an adjacent site (Makrand Desai Nagar). However, as the water is not potable, residents fill water from factories and industrial units in the surrounding areas. Officials at the Odhav ward office acknowledged that while it is technologically difficult to connect the five BSUP sites in Odhav with the municipal water network due to the distance from the network, it is not impossible if a budget were passed to that effect.

Figure 14: Residents queue up with vessels at a municipal standpost inside Vivekanand Nagar

Figure 15: Each block at Rustom Mill Compound has a municipal standpost for drinking water

Water-related issues at the AMC BSUP sites are not confined to the question of water potability. Many residents also get inadequate amount of running water in their houses. The main reason for this is the widespread pipe blockages, damages and leakages. Where there are blockages or leakages in the pipe from the UGWT to the overhead tank this results in inadequate filling of the overhead tank, which therefore leads to inadequate water supply to the houses. Where there are leakages in the pipes from the overhead tank to the houses, the overhead tank never remains filled for long because the water leaks away. Alternately, if there are blockages in the pipes from the overhead tank to the houses, there is inadequate water pressure and therefore inadequate water. At many places the valves on these pipes are also leaking. In fact, depending on the exact location and extent of pipe blockage and leakage, a house may get 24-hour water, water at reasonable pressure twice a day for a few hours, wholly inadequate water, or even no water at all. At some sites, one even sees a mix of these conditions in the same building, with different houses having different water conditions.[40]

[40] See Desai 2018 for a detailed analysis of the water conditions and dynamics at three BSUP sites in Vatwa.

There are different views on the reasons for these blockages and leakages. According to residents, the mineral deposits from the bore-wells' hard water create blockages in the pipes and also eat through the pipes and damage them, leading to leakages. Many of the building terraces have waterlogging due to the leakages in the water pipes laid along the terrace (see Figure 16). At some sites, residents also insist that the contractors have used pipes of poor quality which has led to easy damage to the pipes. But municipal officials disagree that the hard water causes the pipe blockages and leakages, with one official pointing out that UPVC pipes have been used because they are easier to maintain compared to PVC pipes, and the problem is that residents do not regularly clean the pipes. However, cleaning of water pipes is not done regularly in middle-class residential buildings, and why this should be required at the BSUP sites is unclear. Meanwhile, the AMC, without any investigation into the causes behind inadequate water and widespread and recurring pipe blockages, damages and leakages, has increasingly insisted that pipe repairs should be undertaken by the residents no matter the cost since this is AMC's "policy" vis-a-vis EWS sites.

This "policy" envisages the governance of water infrastructure at EWS sites as follows: AMC is to be responsible for maintenance of the bore-wells and its motors and payment of electricity bills for operating these motors while residents are to be responsible for everything else. This includes operating the bore-well motors, operating and maintaining the UGWT motors, paying the electricity bills for running the UGWT motors, maintaining the UGWTs and overhead tanks, and maintaining all underground and building-level pipes and valves. The residents are expected to undertake these responsibilities, including through formation of a resident association and contributing monthly maintenance fees to it.[41]

Figure 16: Water pipes leaking on a building's terrace, Sadbhavna Nagar

Each municipal zone has a separate revenue budget for maintenance for EWS sites located in its jurisdiction, both resettlement sites and sites allotted through the "open draw" system. This budget is meant for major site-level maintenance works, and is not meant to fund UGWT-related operation and maintenance costs. Nor is the budget meant to fund water and drainage pipe repairs unless these are major site-level repairs. However, soon after resettlement took place at the BSUP sites during the 2010-2012 period, the AMC did repair some of the water and drainage pipes at some sites. Some years ago, the municipal commissioner also allocated a special budget for replacing building-level pipes at several BSUP sites. For a number of years after resettlement at the BSUP sites, AMC also undertook repair of the UGWT motors when they got damaged, but stopped doing so in mid-2014. Since 2014, despite recurring damages

[41] Discussions with Anand Patel, former Additional City Engineer-Housing, AMC, December 2017. The governance around basic services at the BSUP sites is reportedly outlined in the Detailed Project Reports (DPRs) prepared by AMC to obtain funding under JnNURM. However, since these documents have been inaccessible to the authors, it has not been possible to determine whether the DPRs conceived of this governance in this detail or whether the details have developed over time. The "allotment letter" given to residents resettled at AMC BSUP sites states that the allottee would have to follow all the conditions in the "agreement letter." The "agreement letter" places 28 conditions on the allottee. This includes becoming a member of the resident association, accepting responsibility for paying maintenance fees to the association, and undertaking responsibility for maintenance and repair of all service lines (water, drainage, electricity, gas) entering their house, building, and site.

to pipes and motors, the AMC has increasingly withdrawn from these maintenance activities, referring to its policy for the EWS sites. The Additional City Engineer-Housing pointed out that if the AMC was to perpetually undertake maintenance in all its EWS sites beyond the responsibilities outlined in its policy, it would require greater resources and even a separate maintenance department.[42] He also pointed out that Central and State government housing programmes like BSUP give funding only towards the construction of the buildings and allied infrastructure and do not have any budget provision for maintenance.

On the other hand, given the form of local governance around basic services in their previous neighbourhoods, many residents of the resettlement sites perceive certain maintenance and repair activities as the AMC's responsibility. These perceptions also consolidated with AMC's intermittent involvement in these activities in the initial years after resettlement. AMC's increasing withdrawal over time from maintenance and repair along with its continuing intervention on some matters like cleaning overflowing drains when pressured to do so, has created confusion amongst residents while adding to their post-resettlement financial difficulties. The resident associations are also not formed or are not functioning at most sites due to various reasons discussed earlier. In any case, these UGWT-based associations would be unsuitable for organizing building-level maintenance and repairs since certain water and drainage-related maintenance and repair costs are likely to vary widely across different buildings.

Despite these challenges for residents, there are many instances where they have spent money on water-related repairs. However, this is generally confined to smaller repairs like changing a valve or a small section of a pipe or at the most replacing the entire length of a pipe. These repairs sometimes result in better water flows and sometimes do not, depending on the condition of the remaining pipes crucial for supplying water to the houses. The coming together of all residents of a building for extensive pipe repairs such as replacing all the leaking pipes in their building has been rare and challenging due to number of reasons. Poorer residents and those whose livelihoods have been negatively impacted by distant resettlement are unwilling to contribute towards costly repairs. Securing cooperation and trust between residents to carry out costly repairs is also difficult due to the social disruptions caused by the resettlement process. Furthermore, many houses are rented out because the allottees do not find it economically or socially desirable to live at the sites, and in such cases raising contributions for repairs is challenging because neither the house-owner nor the tenant is willing to contribute. There are also cases where the blockage/leakage seems to be in the underground pipe and residents feel that the investigation and repair is beyond their financial capacity. As a result, despite many efforts by residents to repair pipes, water continues to be inadequate in many buildings at many sites. Another water-related problem faced by residents at many AMC BSUP sites is the frequent breakdown of the UGWT motors. As per AMC's policy, the cost of motor repairs is to be borne by the residents, but not all residents are able to contribute the necessary money quickly towards the payment for motor repairs. In the absence of a backup motor, this generally leaves the residents without running water in their houses for 3-10 days at a time.

At some sites there are also damages to the drainage pipes. Coupled with the indiscriminate disposal of garbage, this leads to waterlogging and unhygienic conditions (e.g. Sundarsinh Bhandari Nagar). As per AMC's policy, these damaged pipes have to be repaired by the resident associations. For residents at such sites, the only hope is to pressure elected representatives to use their development funds for these repairs.

The AUDA sites which were constructed in the 2000-05 period were initially provided with bore-wells. After a few years, three of the sites managed to get connected to the municipal network due to political intervention on their behalf. At one of these sites (Vraj Vihar), residents in fact made a substantial financial contribution from the association's funds to connect to the network. Despite this, residents complain that the quality of water they receive is poor because the overhead tanks are not cleaned regularly. At one site (Gopal Nagar), residents fill drinking water in bottles and buckets directly from the UGWT to access cleaner water.

[42] Discussion with Harpalsinh Zala, Additional City Engineer-Housing, AMC, December 2017.

Solid Waste Management

Garbage accumulating between blocks and in the common open plots is seen at the majority of the resettlement sites, if not across the entire site then in particular pockets. It is also the most recurring everyday source of conflict among the residents. At a couple of sites, residents were also in conflict with people living in the surrounding locality who were throwing garbage into the resettlement site over their compound wall, leading to filth and unhygienic conditions at the site.

The AMC's garbage collection until mid-2017 was largely confined to provision of municipal dumpsters outside each of the resettlement sites and collection of garbage from them. Residents at most of these sites have protested against the placement of the dumpsters within the locality as they often lead to unsanitary conditions and foul odors. Many residents use the dumpsters while many others do not, indiscriminately throwing their garbage anywhere in the open and even from the upper floors of the blocks, which sometimes falls on passers-by. Residents have reported that the dumpsters are not emptied regularly by AMC and have often filed complaints at the ward-level offices regarding overflowing dumpsters. The presence of cattle, dogs and monkeys have exacerbated the issues of solid waste strewn around the dumpsters. According to AMC officials, the dumpsters are emptied on the basis of the "load" they contain (the amount of waste generated in a day). Ward-level Sanitation Inspectors allocated to monitor waste generation determine the number of times the dumpsters are emptied. If there is a significant amount of waste generated in a locality, the dumpsters may be emptied twice or even thrice in the day and if the quantum of waste generated is lower, then they may be emptied once in two days.[43]

In mid-2017 AMC started door-to-door garbage collection at the resettlement sites to expand its garbage collection services. However, the mapping revealed that the door-to-door waste collection was irregular and uneven, not only between the resettlement sites but also within many of them. Residents are expected to throw their garbage inside the *chotta-hathi* vehicles that stop for a few minutes below each block. However, according to residents at many sites, these vehicles are not regular and frequent phone calls and complaints have to be made to ensure waste collection. When garbage is not collected, many residents end up dumping it in the open plots and common areas of the resettlement sites, impacting public health. Conversations with residents and local leaders at the sites revealed that the relations that these leaders cultivate with their local elected representatives and/or municipal officials at the ward/zonal offices play a very important role in the quality and level of services provided by AMC at a site.

Figure 17: Garbage strewn around dumpsters placed outside Makarand Desai Nagar

[43] Discussion with Deputy Health Officer, East Zone, AMC, December 2017.

Figure 18: Indiscriminate dumping of waste by residents in common areas of the site at Sadbhavna Nagar

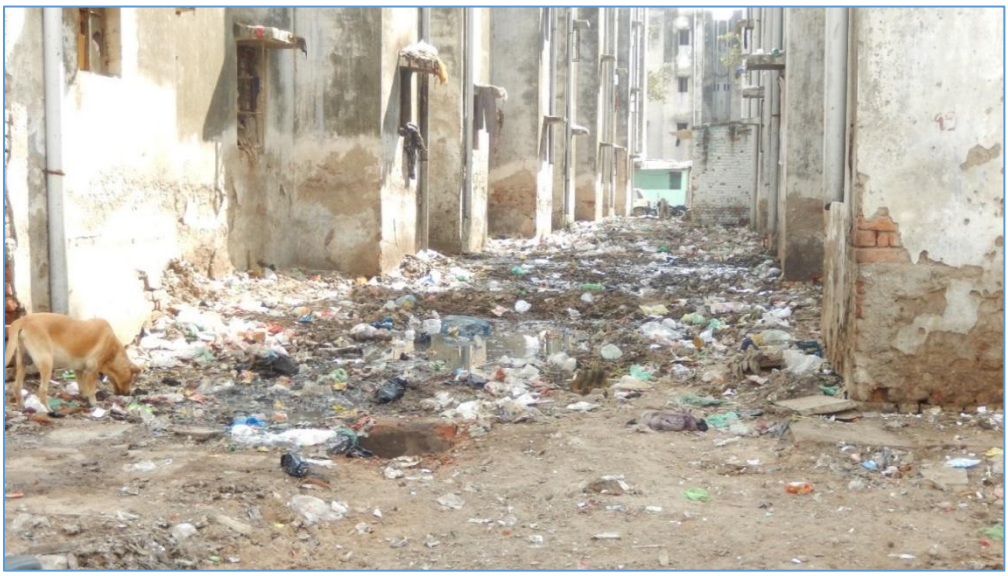


Figure 19: Garbage strewn in the spaces between the blocks, Jivan Jyot Society

Municipal sweeping was found to be done intermittently inside some of the sites depending on complaints from residents, pressures from local elected representatives, visits of VIPs to the site, etc. Discussions in AMC's Health Department revealed that the AMC considers sweeping inside the sites to be the responsibility of the residents and their associations. This is based on the view that the resettlement sites are like any private, middle-class housing society where the AMC is not responsible for sweeping inside the society. However, as discussed earlier, the resident associations are not functioning at most sites due to a number of reasons. Residents cope with the situation and have tried to address it in a number of ways. In many instances, residents of a block or few blocks have come together to hire a sweeper who is paid around Rs.20 a month by each household to sweep common areas such as the roads and footpaths around the blocks and the staircases. But such arrangements are rarely found across the entire site. In some cases, residents burn the garbage heaps that accumulate in the streets and other common areas, leading to poor air quality. Where the resident associations are functioning, in some cases they have employed sweepers to clean the entire site for a monthly salary (e.g. Shri Ram Nagar, Vraj Vihar and Vraj Nagari). However, some residents complained that the sweeping is done only in the areas around the blocks where the association's core committee members live, whereas the other areas are neglected.

Conclusions: Summary of Findings and Future Directions

The findings from the mapping of evictions in the 2005-2017 period and mapping of resettlement in the 2000-2017 period are summarized below. We also discuss future directions, both for building upon this mapping exercise as well for addressing the exclusions that come from eviction, displacement and resettlement.

1. 118 *bastis* have been identified so far as having faced eviction during the 2005-2017 period. The GIS eviction mapping covers 90 *bastis*, which in some cases comprise of a contiguous cluster of neighbourhoods. Since many of these 90 *bastis* have witnessed eviction multiple times, involving different and in few cases the same households each time, this dataset captures 161 evictions.

2. The following findings emerge from the **eviction mapping** covering 161 evictions in 90 evicted *bastis*, affecting a total of 21,480 households:

(i) 36 *bastis* faced 70 evictions in areas west of the river, which has historically had fewer *bastis*, while 54 *bastis* faced 91 evictions in areas east of the river.

(ii) The majority of evictions in this period have been for the Sabarmati riverfront project (67 evictions across 22 *bastis*, affecting 11,360 households) and for road projects (which includes road-widening for the BRTS, bridges and flyovers, and town planning scheme roads) (60 evictions across 52 *bastis*, affecting 5246 households). This reveals the kind of urban restructuring that has been enabled in Ahmedabad by evicting large numbers of urban poor and low-income residents from informal *bastis*. Few evictions have taken place for other reasons such as recreational projects like lake redevelopment although the number of evicted households is high (2600 households) in these evictions. If AMC pursues more lake redevelopment projects in the coming years, evictions for this reason could increase. Evictions due to the Metro project have been few but are likely to increase in the coming few years as the project unfolds. Evictions for clearing land for private development and constructing public amenities have been few so far and it remains to be seen if this changes in the coming decade. Finally, there have been few railway land evictions and while the number of evicted households is not very high (490 households), these evictions are of particular concern since the same households are evicted on a periodic basis. For instance, in one of the *bastis* on railway land, about 200 households have been getting evicted each year since at least 2014.

(iii) The scale of eviction was highest in the 2008-10 and 2011-13 periods in terms of number of evictions (48 evictions in each period). This was due to the nature of urban projects undertaken during this time like the Sabarmati riverfront project which affected 22 *bastis* and where many of these *bastis* also saw multiple evictions. The scale of eviction in terms of number of evicted *bastis* and evicted households was higher in the 2008-10 period (40 *bastis* and 10,495 households) than in the 2011-13 period (29 *bastis* and 6301 households) due to the implementation of the Kankaria Lake development project in 2008-09 (which affected only 3 *bastis* but 2500 households) and the beginning of the Bus Rapid Transit System project which resulted in many stretches of roads being widened in 2008-09 through eviction of large number of households. The mapping shows that in other periods, generally 8-9 *bastis* and 600-750 households have faced eviction each year.

(iv) 42 *bastis* have been fully demolished from 2005 to 2017 – we refer to these as complete evictions – while 48 *bastis* have been partially demolished in this period – we refer to these as partial evictions. The mapping also shows that 52 *bastis* have seen a single eviction while 38 *bastis* have seen multiple evictions. More specifically, these 38 *bastis* have seen a total of 109 evictions. Most of these were *bastis* affected under the riverfront project and some other smaller projects where different groups of households were displaced in each eviction. While some of these are *bastis* where the same group of households have faced eviction each time. The large number of partial

evictions, whether single or multiple, and the large number of complete evictions through multiple evictions, points to a fragmenting of communities.

(v) Out of a total of 21,480 evicted households, the eviction mapping shows that at least 20,000 households have been subject to such community fragmentation due to multiple (single or complete) evictions and single partial evictions because they have been separated from other residents of their *bastis*. This is the case even if they have received resettlement since after each eviction in a *basti*, the resettlement has generally been to different sites. In fact, the eviction mapping shows that there are less than 10 *bastis* where the entire *basti* was evicted and all households were resettled to a single resettlement site. This should be of immense concern since it points to the scale of community fragmentation occurring amongst urban poor and low-income communities in Ahmedabad through eviction (and resettlement). Community fragmentation means a loss of social support systems created by individuals and households over time, and many a time it also results in the loss of social cohesion and legitimate local leadership that made collective action possible.

Furthermore, even in those few cases where all households of a *basti* are evicted and resettled together at a single site, the resettlement mapping shows that the site also generally has households resettled there from other *bastis*. The implications of this forced mixing of residents from different *bastis* at a resettlement site, sometimes in the same buildings, are outlined below in the discussion of findings from the resettlement mapping.

(vi) 94 evictions involving 16,230 households resulted in relocation at AMC's BSUP sites while 33 evictions involving 2240 households resulted in no relocation. Five evictions involving 290 households resulted in relocation to an open plot, without adequate services, while 26 evictions involving 2162 households are likely to have resulted in either no relocation or relocation to an open plot.

3. The following findings emerge from the **resettlement mapping** which covers 38 resettlement sites where relocation was done in the 2000 to 2017 period:

(i) 31 of the 38 sites, comprising of about 19,500 of the total 24,572 houses, are located in eastern Ahmedabad, revealing the east/west class divides created by resettlement. Half of the AMC's 32 BSUP sites are moreover on the eastern periphery with most of the remaining sites in older industrial localities of the city. The majority of the households resettled in the eastern periphery were evicted from either central city areas along the riverfront or from areas between the central and periphery areas. They have thus been pushed 5-15 km from their homes which has had a severe impact on many livelihoods.

(ii) Households relocated at the mapped resettlement sites include communities displaced for roads, the Sabarmati Riverfront project, recreational projects, public amenity projects and the Metro project. This reveals that *bastis* evicted for private development, open plots, and railway evictions – several of which have been captured in the eviction mapping – have never been given resettlement houses.

(iii) There are 33 resettlement sites where there are households from 2-13 different evicted *bastis* at each site, often in the same buildings. The eviction and resettlement mapping also reveals that in the case of most evicted *bastis* the evicted households have been relocated across different sites. The resulting social disarticulation has contributed to the challenges of building strong communities post-resettlement. The forced mixing of residents from different *bastis* through resettlement has created obstacles to informal modes of cooperation and collective action and is also one reason why functioning and effective resident associations have not formed at the resettlement sites, contributing to poor local governance and therefore poor living conditions. At two sites houses have been allotted to evicted households as well as to households who had

applied for a EWS house, with the latter group looking down upon the former group creating issues for local governance.

(iv) There were only three resettlement sites which had evicted households from a single basti. Here, local governance around infrastructure and services was observed to be a relatively smoother process although here too residents were struggling with the poor state of infrastructure provided at the sites.

(v) There are 17 resettlement sites where there are groups of households evicted for different reasons at each site. At one of these sites, a BSUP site, this could create tensions because those resettled under the Metro project were given a more supportive resettlement package than those resettled under other projects.

(vi) While households evicted under all non-Metro projects resettled at BSUP sites are required to pay the same amount as beneficiary contribution, some resettled households managed to obtain a further subsidy on their beneficiary contribution through State Government schemes while others did not. Furthermore, the details of the resettlement package changed around 2014 and required a larger upfront contribution before obtaining possession of the house. Due to various reasons, majority of those resettled prior to 2014 have not been paying their monthly installments, whereas according to some officials those resettled after taking a larger upfront contribution have been paying their installments. Since several BSUP sites have been resettled over time, and have both pre-2014 and post-2014 resettled households, in the future these sites may end up with a mix of residents having house ownership and residents in limbo without house ownership. This means that some will be able to legally sell their house or use the house as collateral to obtain a loan, while others will not be able to do so.

(vii) Earlier AMC largely provided resettlement at BSUP sites only in the event of court intervention but in recent years there are some cases where the AMC has given resettlement at BSUP sites without court intervention. AUDA seems to have generally resettled evicted households without court intervention, although it is unclear if all the evicted households got resettlement or some got excluded due to AUDA's eligibility criteria. In some recent evictions the AMC has also relocated residents to a nearby BSUP site and allowed them to break down their own houses after they moved into their new homes. Under the Metro project, for the first time, an NGO has been contracted to facilitate the entire process of resettlement and rehabilitation although this NGO mediation does not seem to have had any major impact for the resettled communities.

(viii) Physical structures for social infrastructure like anganwadis and health sub-centres have been constructed at the resettlement sites built under the BSUP. Four findings which require policy attention emerged from the mapping of these anganwadis and health sub-centres. First, the number of anganwadi structures constructed at each BSUP site is not as per the norm of one anganwadi for 200 households because the sites were not designed as per the norms and the decision to seek funding under BSUP from the Central Government to construct these facilities was taken at a later stage.

Second, 25 out of the 48 anganwadi structures and 18 out of the 22 health sub-centre structures constructed across the BSUP sites were not being utilized for the purpose that they were built. In the case of anganwadis, official explanations for the anganwadi structures being non-functional revolved around the long approval process of the Central Government (which gives a share of the funding for anganwadi operation) for starting new anganwadis in the city and difficulty in transfering an anganwadi from the evicted basti to the resettlement site in cases where the entire basti has not been evicted. However, these explanations only shed light on why anganwadis did not begin functioning at the BSUP sites immediately after people were resettled, and does not explain why anganwadis were not functioning at so many sites even 2-4 years after resettlement. Furthermore, the Gujarat State government has a budget that can be spent for anganwadis even if

Central Government does not give its share, but it has left a large part of this unspent, pointing to the lack of priority accorded to anganwadis. In the case of the health sub-centres, structures were built for this social infrastructure at 22 BSUP sites, which had more than 300 dwelling units, based on AMC's concept of sub-centres to take health services into more vulnerable pockets of the city. However, only four of the sub-centres were functioning because the AMC had since done away with the concept of providing health services through sub-centres, partly as a result of operational challenges such as staff shortage and inadequate budget. The focus had shifted to providing health outreach services through mobile health vans, ASHA link workers who are supposed to make periodic visits, and periodic medical camps. Meanwhile, AMC's zonal level Estate departments had failed to control the use of the structures built for anganwadis and health sub-centres and maintain them, as a result of which the structures that were not being utilized for these purposes were vacant and vandalized or were captured by musclemen or were being misused for drinking and gambling.

Second, across the 30 BSUP sites which have at least one anganwadi structure, there were 12 sites where not a single anganwadi structure was functioning. Third, a total of 25 out of the 48 anganwadi structures constructed across these 30 BSUP sites were not being utilized for the purpose that they were built, and were lying vacant and vandalized. Some were captured by local musclemen and were being used to store alcohol, and some were being used by groups of men for their drinking and gambling activities. The structures are the property of the AMC and the Estate Department at the Zone-level is supposed to control their use and maintain them, but had failed to do so.

Third, there was not a single anganwadi structure functioning at 12 of the BSUP sites. Fourth, sites where no anganwadi structures are built or are fewer than the norm, the AMC can operate an anganwadi by renting a flat at the site or even taking up one or more of its unallotted flats for anganwadis, however, this had not been done at the BSUP sites.

(ix) AUDA, on the other hand, had not built structures for anganwadis or health sub-centres at its four sites used for resettlement, however, AMC later built an anganwadi structure at two of the sites but without a toilet, while at the two other sites it operated an anganwadi out of a resident's rented flat. While AMC was thus operating an anganwadi at each of the four AUDA resettlement sites, the number of anganwadis were not as per the norm and they did not all have the requisite facilities. In AMC's two non-BSUP EWS sites used for resettlement, not a single anganwadi was functional even though one of the sites had an anganwadi structure.

(x) Based on these findings from the mapping of two types of social infrastructures at the resettlement sites, we recommend that AMC start sufficient number of anganwadis (as per the norms) at the sites on a fast-track basis through the financial support of the Gujarat State government. The manner in which the anganwadis are run should also be designed so that women residents with young children are supported in being able to pursue livelihood activities.

(xi) The resident associations are not formed or are not functioning at most resettlement sites due to a combination of reasons. This includes delays in the process to create the associations, lack of cooperation between residents due to social disruptions caused by the resettlement process (with households from an evicted *basti* often split up across different sites and often resettled with households from other evicted *bastis*), and inadequate economic capacity of many residents to take on additional costs especially where their livelihoods have been negatively affected by displacement. Another reason is the lack of local leadership at the sites. The social disruptions caused by the resettlement process resulted in a loss of leadership for many communities. Moreover, some of the residents appointed by the NGOs as members of the association's core committee have moved out of the resettlement sites due to the distance from their workplaces and poor conditions at the sites. This meant finding a new member for the committee, which was not

an easy process because few were willing to take up such responsibilities which are time-consuming, non-remunerative, and challenging given the disrupted social fabric.

(xii) At 27 of the 38 resettlement sites, water is supplied to the buildings from bore-wells. The supply of bore-well water has been a key issue for residents since they find it to be non-potable because of its hardness. Many residents reported that the hard water was leading to health problems such as kidney stones, which they had not faced in their previous localities where they had access to municipal water. At five other sites, municipal pipeline water is mixed with bore-well water as the former amount is not adequate to meet needs, resulting in the same issue of hard water. The issue of hard water cannot be addressed by the residents of the sites because they cannot afford to install domestic water systems that reduce hardness. At 14 resettlement sites supplied by bore-wells, residents have managed to obtain municipal standposts but these are inadequate except at one site (where one standpost has been installed for each building), resulting in either their capture by residents living close to the standpost or in conflicts over filling water. Many residents across all these sites therefore try to fetch water from various sources outside the site.

Explanations by AMC officials about the reasons for not being able to connect most resettlement sites to the municipal pipeline point to the manner in which planning for housing the urban poor is disconnected from city-level infrastructure planning.

(xiii) Many residents at the resettlement sites also get inadequate amount of running water in their houses due to widespread pipe blockages, damages and leakages. There are also times when there is no running water for up to several days when the bore-well motors break down. Some sites have waterlogging issues that are related to damages to underground or building-level drainage pipes. AMC's "policy" envisages the governance of the water and drainage infrastructure at the resettlement sites as follows: AMC is to be responsible for maintenance of the bore-wells and its motors and payment of electricity bills for operating these motors and large drainage repairs, while residents are to be responsible for everything else. This includes operating the bore-well motors, operating and maintaining the UGWT motors, paying the electricity bills for running the UGWT motors, maintaining the UGWTs and overhead tanks, and maintaining all underground and building-level pipes and valves. The residents are expected to undertake these responsibilities, including through formation of a resident association and contributing monthly maintenance fees to it.

However, this form of local governance is challenging for residents due to various reasons. Given the form of local governance around basic services in their previous neighbourhoods, many residents of the resettlement sites perceive certain maintenance and repair activities as the AMC's responsibility. These perceptions also consolidated with AMC's intermittent involvement in these activities in the initial years after resettlement. AMC's increasing withdrawal over time from maintenance and repair along with its continuing intervention on some matters like cleaning overflowing drains when pressured to do so, has created confusion amongst residents while adding to their post-resettlement financial difficulties. The resident associations are also not formed or are not functioning at most sites due to various reasons discussed earlier including social disruptions due to the processes and nature of eviction and resettlement. In any case, these UGWT-based associations would be unsuitable for organizing building-level maintenance and repairs since certain water and drainage-related maintenance and repair costs are likely to vary widely across different buildings.

Undertaking all manner of maintenance at all EWS sites is also a challenge for the AMC. Central and State government housing programmes like BSUP give funding only towards the construction of the buildings and allied infrastructure and do not have any budget provision for maintenance. Each municipal zone in Ahmedabad does allocate a separate revenue budget for maintenance for EWS sites located in its jurisdiction, but this is meant for major site-level maintenance works, and is not meant to fund UGWT-related operation and maintenance costs or fund water and drainage pipe

repairs unless these are major site-level repairs. Allocating a higher budget that can cover more maintenance works would be preferable but would require looking into how the AMC prioritizes its municipal spending and how it spends its currently allocated funds for maintenance at EWS sites.

4. Below we outline some **broad recommendations** based on the findings from the eviction and resettlement mapping. These are also necessary steps in the context of the "Housing for All by 2022" slogan adopted by the Government of India.

(i) Evictions are justified / legitimized by governments, economic elites and often even professional planners and policy-makers in two ways. One is that these *bastis* are labeled as illegal even though the reason for their emergence is the failure of the state and urban planning / policies to provide adequate and affordable housing for marginalized groups in the formal sector. Instead of recognizing people's efforts to access shelter through informal *bastis* and build a life in the city, statutory planning instruments like city master plans/development plans, town planning schemes, etc, are conceived in a manner that ignores them, creating another layer through which these *bastis* can be labeled as illegal if and when the state wishes to do so.

The other justification for eviction often comes from the notion that the urban development projects that lead to eviction (and are made possible through eviction) are required for modernizing the city and are for the benefit of "the public." However, rarely is "the public" clearly defined. As scholars have noted, the city comprises of many different publics. It is important that this be acknowledged and projects be evaluated with respect to which publics will benefit and how, and which publics would bear the costs. In this regard, the costs of eviction are always borne by vulnerable groups but are never seriously considered and factored into project impacts and costs. The Eviction Impact Assessment Tool (EvIA Tool), which seeks to determine the full consequences that persons, households and communities undergo due to forced eviction and displacement, is one way in which such costs could be quantified (HLRN 2012). This tool, developed by the Housing and Land Rights Network (HLRN), builds on the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement (hereafter referred to as UN Guidelines) which states that "eviction impact assessments" should be conducted prior to the finalization and sanction of any project.

(ii) Needless to say, evictions, displacement and resettlement should be minimized and urban development should be guided by a framework committed to social and spatial justice. However, in the current scenario in Indian cities, there is a high possibility that urban development will continue to entail greater or lesser level of eviction. Anticipating this without condoning it, the bare minimum required is a set of clear written guidelines for evictions and resettlement. Currently the urban local bodies are not required to follow any clear protocol during evictions, which makes possible many ad-hoc and arbitrary practices. For instance, sometimes surveys of households to be evicted are done by the AMC and sometimes by external organizations with the survey results not shared with residents in a transparent manner; sometimes eviction notices are given while sometimes evictions are carried out after verbal threats by government officials; in some cases residents are informed of the eviction and given time to appeal and shift, while in other cases eviction comes as a sudden surprise/shock to residents when government officials appear at their *basti* with a demolition crew. A cursory look at several eviction notices given to evicted households over the last several years also reveals that the number of days to vacate their *basti*, the cut-off date and whether an alternative is offered and what this alternative is varies widely. There are also cases where eviction is a very violent process with presence of police personnel who have sometimes resorted to physical violence leading to injury of residents of these *bastis*. In few cases, residents who tried to resist eviction have been temporary imprisoned. The psychological trauma of eviction is heightened in such instances. In the absence of any clear guidelines, it is difficult to challenge these ad-hoc and arbitrary practices.

The UN Guidelines, which were presented by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on adequate housing and acknowledged by the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2007, lay out operational procedures based on human rights standards, to be followed at each stage of eviction: before evictions, during evictions and after evictions (HLRN 2018). The UN Guidelines can be used as a base document to develop appropriate guidelines for Ahmedabad.

Such a set of guidelines for Ahmedabad should also abolish the official policy/practice of using cut-off dates as an eligibility criteria for resettlement. On-the-ground surveys should be done before eviction to determine the households that would be impacted, and all such households must be included in resettlement. The guidelines developed for Ahmedabad should be prepared such that they can also apply to evictions faced by homeless communities.

(iii) In cases of eviction and displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation must be approached through a commitment to human rights and justice.

An important aspect of this would be to ensure that resettlement is done within 2-3 km of existing sources of livelihood. There is nothing original about this recommendation – it has been said many times and yet it bears repeating because government authorities have not taken it seriously. Resettlement at further distances is often done because the government does not want to use prime lands for the urban poor and low-income groups, but sometimes it is also because public lands are increasingly scarce in central and largely developed areas of the city. However, if resettlement is to be done at distances further than 2-3 km, it is absolutely essential that the city has affordable public transport services with good frequency and connectivity and the resettlement sites have good access to these services. Housing and mobility go hand in hand for the poor and low-income groups, and the current approach to resettlement provides alternate housing but without paying attention to the mobility needs.

Addressing livelihoods post-resettlement is also one of many aspects that make up “rehabilitation,” a word that has been misused to describe resettlement in Ahmedabad and most other Indian cities even though the government approach is confined to only providing a dwelling unit connected to some physical infrastructure. While a dwelling unit is an asset that has value for the poor and low-income groups, providing them with such a unit does not equate to rehabilitation. Livelihoods must be given consideration, and in fact, since the majority of poor and low-income households who face eviction are engaged in informal, more or less insecure work, government authorities will have to think innovatively about how to not only maintain livelihoods but also enhance livelihood security in the post-resettlement scenario since resettlement housing often brings new expenditure burdens such as maintenance costs.

Moreover, while the dwelling unit provided in resettlement is an asset for the poor and low-income groups, its use-value is often not realized by them because livelihood and also social aspects are ignored and destabilized by the current approach to resettlement. The design, nature and process of resettlement must take into account existing social relations and strengthen rather than destabilize those relations which make possible cooperation and collective action amongst residents. These are also essential steps towards realizing local governance structures that can ensure and enhance decent living conditions and urban services.

The resettlement and rehabilitation approach must also pay attention to differences amongst the evicted, and commit to addressing the concerns of those who are the most vulnerable in terms of income, gender, caste and religion.

An important group that goes unrecognized in discussions of eviction and resettlement and rehabilitation are tenants who lived in evicted *bastis*. There is a need for better understanding of rental arrangements existing in informal *bastis* and what happens to the tenants after eviction, and

how guidelines for resettlement and rehabilitation may be expanded so that this group is taken into consideration.

(iv) Planning for resettlement and rehabilitation must also be integrated with city-level infrastructure planning and budgeting. In the absence of this there is a risk that physical construction for social infrastructure may be undertaken but then social infrastructure services are not actually provided. Physical infrastructure may also be constructed at the site-level for water but without integrating with city-level infrastructure planning and budgeting this may not ensure access to adequate potable water.

(v) There is also a need to look into appropriate policy, planning and governance mechanisms to make lands available for appropriate and just resettlement and rehabilitation. In this context, we recommend that AMC, AUDA and Gujarat State government including Gujarat Housing Board make a coordinated and transparent effort to identify and organize potential lands for resettlement in various areas across the entire city. The Town Planning schemes have been used to reserve lands for socially and economically weaker section (SEWS) housing, and many BSUP sites have also been constructed on these lands. However, these were located disproportionately in certain eastern areas of the city. A detailed listing of lands reserved for SEWS and their current status, as well as other vacant lands owned by public agencies and Urban Land Ceiling (ULC) lands should be prepared for the entire city and placed in the public domain to aid inclusive decision-making. This exercise, though challenging, could also be undertaken by a non-governmental organization or institution to facilitate informed and data-driven public engagement on questions related to inclusive housing.

There has been a shift since 2010 in Ahmedabad towards "in-situ rehabilitation of slums through public-private partnership" which uses land as a resource to involve private developers in redeveloping slums. Gujarat State government's 2013 policy as well as the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana's vertical of "In Situ Slum Redevelopment" are framed along these lines. There might be some potential for creating an additional housing stock through this that can be used for resettlement and rehabilitation of nearby *basti* residents if required. However, the potential of this is currently uncertain because projects undertaken under this approach in many "slums" are inviting protest from their residents due to lack of transparency, dissatisfaction with the size of dwelling units being offered, lack of requirement of consent from the residents, etc. If these issues are appropriately resolved in the future, then this could be explored as one of the approaches for organizing land/housing for resettlement in more central areas of the city.

(vi) Particular attention needs to be given to *bastis* on railway lands where residents face eviction almost every year or few years, without any relocation. AMC, AUDA and Gujarat State government should make a coordinated effort to initiate a dialogue with the Railway authorities to find and finance solutions that are appropriate and acceptable to the residents. Public consultations with the residents and organizations working in these *bastis* should also undertaken to find appropriate solutions.

(vii) Finally, although the eviction and resettlement mapping does not throw any light on the eviction of the homeless or those who lived in rental arrangements in evicted bastis,

5. Number of challenges emerged in building a comprehensive database of evictions in the 2005-2017 period, following which we conceived "The Ahmedabad Eviction and Resettlement Mapping Project," an ongoing and open-ended project which recognizes the incomplete and contested nature of such seemingly comprehensive mapping exercises and welcomes inputs to improve and expand the data so as to build a more comprehensive historical-spatial record and understanding of these processes in Ahmedabad. Towards this end, some of the raw data from the project is provided in the annexures while all the raw data can also be obtained from the primary author – the hope is that this dataset can provide base data to other researchers and also that this dataset can be updated and expanded at regular intervals through more

collective and collaborative processes. The dataset can also be expanded and in some cases further verified through the following methods:

(i) Evictions that have not been captured in the eviction mapping could be traced by exploring other data sources such as reports of eviction in the Gujarati newspapers. This would have to be followed by fieldvisits to the eviction sites for verification of eviction and collection of various data about the eviction.

(ii) Evictions that have not been captured in the eviction mapping could also be traced by obtaining data from AMC's Estate departments at the zonal levels about evictions carried out by them. This official data could also be used, albeit with caution, as a further method of verifying the eviction data captured so far.

(iii) The eviction and resettlement mapping could be expanded in a meaningful way by recording the testimonies of city residents who have faced eviction over these years. Capturing the voices of those whose lives have been most impacted through eviction and resettlement would be important for creating a historical-spatial public archive of these processes and transformations in Ahmedabad.

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Annexures

Annexure 1: List of 90 *bastis* that faced eviction from 2005 to 2017, mapped in GIS

No.	Name of Basti	Year(s) of eviction	Number of evicted households
1	Abadnagar	2008	18
2	Akbarnagar	2005, 2015	40
3	Allahnagar Bastis	2008	50
4	Basti near Ambika Nagar	2006	50
5	Anwar Nagar; Ramlal no Khado; Dr Ankleshwaria ni Chali*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
6	Arjun Ashram Basti and Umiya hall basti	2014, 2015, 2016, 2017	240 (evicted in almost each eviction)
7	Arya Mill ni Chali	2016	15
8	Asarwa Police Chowki na Chhapra	2005	64
9	Ashanagar, Banasnagar, Haji Bava na Chhapra, Dawoodbhai ni Chali**	2008	200
10	Azad Nagar*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
11	Azad Society na Chhapra	2006, 2012	25 (evicted each time)
12	Bahuchar Nagar	2017	53
13	Dhabawali Chali	2016	21
14	Dhor Bazaar	2008	25
15	Dudhnath Mahadev ni Chali; Kashmira Mahadev ni Chali*	2009	Unknown
16	Gadhe ki Chali	2010	100
17	Gujri na Chappra near Ellisbridge*	2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012	25 (in 2007), Unknown
18	Gulbai Tekra	2004, 2005	150 (150 also evicted in 2004)
19	Hanumapura no Khaddo	Unknown	25
20	Chandranagar Basti & Haribhai no Bhatto**	2008, 2017	60
21	IIM na Chhapra	2005	90
22	Ishan Towers na Chhapra	2017	110
23	Jai Chamunda ni Chali	2006, 2010, 2012	120
24	Jalvihar na Chhapra & nearby pockets*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
25	Kabir Tekra	2015, 2016	150
26	Kagdiwad*	2010 (Feb), 2010 (Aug), 2011, 2012	Unknown
27	Kailash Colony	2015	56
28	Kantan Vas	2010, 2011, 2013	60
29	Keshav Nagar*	2010	Unknown
30	Keshavni Nagar	2014, 2015	100
31	Khan Jahan Darwaza*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
32	Khanpur Darwaza (including Miriam Bibi ni Chali)*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
33	Khariwadi*	2010, 2011, 2012, 2014	Unknown (2010-12) + 250 (in 2014)
34	Kheta Vanjara ni Chali	2009, 2010, 2015-16	200
35	Khodiyarnagar	2006, 2008, 2016, 2017	970

36	Khumaji ni Chali	2015	50
37	Lakshmi Nagar	2007, 2014, 2015	36 (evicted in almost each eviction)
38	Lal Mill na Rasta na Chhapra	2006	60
39	Machhipir na Chhapra – Indra Society	2008, 2009	2500
40	Sindhi Camp	2008, 2009	
41	Machhipir na Chhapra – J.M. B ni Chali	2008	
42	Madhubhai na Chhapra, Talaji Bitaji ni Chali etc	2006	100
43	Mahakali na Chhapra, Pir Kamal ni Dargah**	2008	150
44	Makubhai ni Chali	2014	26
45	Mangal Dudhwali ni Chali & nearby bastis	2006, 2014	200
46	Maniben ni Chali & NID na Chhapra*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
47	Maya Nagar na Chhapra	2016	13
48	Mohammad Dhobi ni Chali	2012	55
49	Bastis below Nehru Bridge (Chand Bibi ki Dargah, etc)*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
50	Bastis behind Lal Darwaja (Behind AMC swimming pool, Behind Home Guard's office, Kathiyawadi basti, etc) *	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
51	New Cotton Mills na Chhapra	2016	32
52	New Textile Mills na Chhapra	2010	60
53	Bastis near Dudheshwar Water Tank & in Mahakali area & Saharanagar*	2009, 2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
54	Paresh na Chhapra & Rang Sagar na Chhapra*	2008, 2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
55	Power House na Chhapra	2017	57
56	Basti near Punjab Society	2005	100
57	Raikhad Darwaza bastis*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
58	Ramapir no Tekro	2006, 2010	750
59	Sanjaynagar na Chhapra	2015	80
60	Sewage Basti, Gyaspur Bhatta	2015	55
61	Sewage Farm Basti	2014	100
62	Shankar Bhuvan na Chhapra (including Mithan Sayiid ni Chali, Behind Bhavan's College and Rifle Club, below Gandhi bridge, etc.)*	2010, 2012, 2015	Unknown (2010-12) + 50 (in 2015)
63	Shankarpura ni Chali	2008	25
64	Shantilal Chunilal ni Chali	2011	100
65	Shantipura na Chhapra*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
66	Basti near Sharmaji ni Chali	2006	40
67	Sikandar Market Basti	2015	50
68	Silver Mills Chhapra	2016	80
69	Sites and Services**	2008	200
70	Basti near Soni ni Chali	2005	30
71	Somnath Bhudar no Aaro*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
72	Stadium Chali Bastis	2007	50
73	Sundarvan Dholka Line na Chhapra (also known as Sundarvan Basti)	2014, 2015	300
74	Vaishali Flat na Chhapra	2011	200
75	Vejalpur na Chhapra 1	2014, 2015	75
76	Vejalpur na Chhapra 2	2013	50

77	Vidya Mahadev ni Chali; Inamdar ni Chali; Bhairavnath ni Chali; Phulgiri ni Chali*	2010, 2011, 2012	Unknown
78	VS Hospital na Chhapra*	2010 (Feb), 2010 (Aug), 2011, 2012	Unknown
79	Jhagadiya Bridge & Khokhra Mandir na Chhapra	2013 (partial), 2017 (complete)	110
80	Bhuderpura na Chhapra	2005	52
81	Fatehpura Post Office na Chhapra	2005	4
82	Bhavsar Hostel na Chhapra	2007	10
83	Uttam Nagar Basti	2017	8
84	Ram Rahim Nagar	2015	150
85	Doordarshan Tower na Chhapra	2005	300
86	Vandervat basti behind Vatwa BSUP sites	2015	52
87	Basti near Somnath School	2011	108
88	Basti behind Vasna Police Chowky	2013	350
89	Basti near Jashodanagar BRTS	2017	80
90	Basti near Jashodanagar	2009	50

* These are *bastis* which were evicted from the Sabarmati riverfront between 2007 and 2012. The number of households evicted from each *basti* is difficult to ascertain, however, based on data provided in Desai (2014) we estimate that a total of at least 11,290 households were evicted from these *bastis* during this period.

** These are bastis where eviction seems to have been initiated in 2005, evidence for which are PILs filed in the Gujarat High Court. However, eviction seems to have finally occurred in 2008, and maybe even in 2007.

Annexure 2: List of 28 *bastis* that have faced eviction in the 2005-17 period but are not yet included in the GIS mapping

This includes *bastis* whose households are resettled at AMC's BSUP sites but for which there is inadequate data for the GIS mapping. It also includes *bastis* whose evictions were identified as this report was being finalized.

No	Name of Basti	Year(s) of eviction & resettlement	Households resettled	Resettlement site
1	Basti near Narayan nagar, Anjali Cross-roads	Unknown	24	Swarnim Nagar
2	Basti near Jashoda Chowkdi	Unknown	Unknown	Jag Janani Awas Yojana
3	Basti in Bapunagar	Unknown	Unknown	
4	Kashmira Mahadevi ni Chali (Wadaj)	Allotted resettlement houses, was about to be evicted	Unknown	Jupiter Mill Compound
5	Shabar Nagar (Wadaj)	Allotted resettlement houses, was about to be evicted	Unknown	
6	Hanuman ni Chali (Saraspur)	2017	24	Jay Prakash Nagar
7	Basti near Meghani Nagar Chhella bus stand	Allotted resettlement houses, was about to be evicted	45	Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar
8	Basti near Potaliya Char rasta	Allotted resettlement houses, was about to be evicted	Unknown	
9	Kalyan Nagar (Thakkar Nagar)	Unknown	15	Shiv Shakti Nagar
10	Jamuna Nagar na Chappra, Lal Bahadur Shastri Stadium	2014	Unknown	Vivekanand Mill
11	Khodiyarnagar na naliya na chapra (Bapunagar)	2014	Unknown	
12	Santoshnagar (Behrampura)	Unknown	70	Shyamji Krishna Varma Nagar
13	New Bhavani Nagar na Chapra (Odhav)	2012	Unknown	Nanji Deshmukh Nagar
14	Basti on Times of India Road	2006	90	Vraj Nagri
15	Laxmi Krupa	2005-06	15	
16	Nigam nagar ki basti (near Smriti mandir, Nigam road)	Multiple times; resettlement in 2017	80	Vatwa II
17	Basti in Bapunagar near Malek Saban Stadium	2014-15	220	Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar
18	Basti in Naroda	eviction year unknown, resettlement in 2015	Unknown	
19	Shastrinagar na Chapra (Bapunagar)	evicted in 2012; resettlement in 2014	160	Shri Ram Nagar
20	Basti near Malek Saban Stadium	2017	Unknown	Vinoba Bhave Nagar
21	Basti near Vatva talav	2017	Unknown	Vatwa Site I
22	Basti near Govindwadi (Isanpur)	2017	Unknown	
23	Basti in Ramol	2017	Unknown	Vatwa Site III
24	Basti in Bapunagar	2017	Unknown	
25	Basti near Rameshwar bus-stop	2007-08	Unknown	Unknown
26	Basti near Memco	2006-07	Unknown	Unknown

27	Basti near Memco cross-roads	2015	Unknown	Unknown
28	Amul garden ni basti, also called GST phatak ni basti (Ranip)	2017, early 2018, September 2018	60 (huts demolished in 2017 and early 2018); 9 huts demolished in Sept 2018	No Relocation; residents have returned to the same site

Annexure 3: List of BSUP housing colonies constructed by Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation
(Source: Housing Project, Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, May 9, 2017 and primary fieldvisits)

AMC data lists 34 BSUP sites, however, some of these have been built as a single site, resulting in a total of 32 BSUP housing colonies.

No	Location of BSUP sites	Number of dwelling units
1	Odhav TP 3, FP 38, Near Backside Wall of Gujarat Vehpari Mahamandal (Sundersinh Bhandari Nagar)	320
2	TP 12 (New Vadaj), FP 838, Balolnagar	576
3	Ajit Mill Compound (Khwaja Garib Nawaz Nagar)	704
4	Bag-e-Firdosh, Near Annapurna Hotel (Induchacha Nagar)	672
5	Isanpur, Near Gujkomasol (Pandit Deen Dayal Nagar)	384
6	Ambica Tube ULC plot TP 87, 88, FP 25/2, Vatwa Khurana (Sadbhavna Nagar)	2432
7	Ambica Tube ULC plot TP 87, 88, FP 52/1, 25/2, Vatwa (Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar)	1568
8	Ambica Tube ULC plot TP 88, FP 51/1, 51/2, 53/1, (Sintex) Vatwa (Kushabhau Thakre Nagar)	960
9	Ambica Tube ULC plot TP 88, FP 51/1, 52/2, 53/1, Vatwa	896
10	Kesar E Hind Mill Compound, Sarangpur, Behind New Cloth Market (Jayendra Pandit Nagar)	192
11	Shahwadi Vasna, Near Canal, Behind Sorainagar (Swarnim Nagar)	1440
12	Raipur Mill Compound (Prahladbhai Patel Nagar)	416
13	Vivekanand Mill Compound, Rakhial (Vivekanand Nagar)	288
14	Behrampura Torrent Power (Calico Mill), Santoshnagar	992
15	Vijay Mill Compound, Naroda Road (Bhairav Singh Shekawat Nagar)	800
16	Odhav TP 3, FP 37, Near Behind Wall of Gujarat Vehpari Mahamandal (Vinoba Bhave Nagar)	160
17	Odhav TP 3, FP 51, Near Gujarat Vehpari Mahamandal Plot (Shyamji Krishna Varma Nagar)	704
18	Odhav TP 3, FP 86/P, Behind burial ground, Harekrishna Society (Nanji Deshmukh Nagar)	160
19	Odhav TP 3, FP 23, Near Behind Wall of Gujarat Vehpari Mahamandal (Makrand Desai Nagar)	256
20	Naroda, Near St. Mary School (Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar)	192
21	Near Naroda Talav (Jay Prakash Nagar)	256
22	Saraspur Mill Compound, Saraspur (Ravishankar Maharaj Nagar)	224
23	Rustam Mill Compound, Dudheshwar	336
24	The Ahmedabad Cotton Mill Compound, Near Big Bazar, Kankaria (K. Ka. Shastri Nagar Awas Yojna)	224

25	Package 6, Vatwa Ambica Tube ULC (Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar)	1184
26	Package 6, Gujarat Ginning Mill Compound, Amdupura, Saraspur	96
	Package 7, Gujarat Ginning Mill Compound, Amdupura, Saraspur (Shiv Shakti Nagar)	128
27	Package 7, Vatwa Ambica Tube ULC	704
	Package 8, Vatwa Ambica Tube ULC	1216
28	Package 7, Himadri Mill Compound (Shri Ram Nagar)	160
29	Package 7, Odhav Bharvadvas (Jag Janani Awas Yojna)	288
30	Phase 2 Vatwa and other places	352
31	Jupiter Mill Compound, Dudheshwar road	512
32	Fine Knitting Mill Compound, Chamanpura, Near Asarwa bridge	320
	Total	**20112**

Annexure 4: List of EWS housing colonies constructed by Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation in the late 1990s and early 2000s (prior to the BSUP programme)

No	Location of EWS colony	Number of dwelling units	Process of allotment
	Source: Datey et al (2009)		Source: primary fieldvisits
1	Naroda 2 / 44 Near Satyam Vidyalaya	294	Open draw
2	Naroda 2 /16 Near Vimal Mill	104	Open draw
3	Naroda 2 / 20 Near Shitalnath Society	266	Open draw
4	Odhav 2 / 37 Near Arbuda Nagar	440	Open draw
5	Odhav 1 / 141 Near Navrang School	296	Open draw
6	Ghodasar 1 / 82 Near Express Highway	440	Open draw
7	Vatwa 1044 Near S.L.M Maneklal	464	Open draw
8	Nikol 1 /196 Viratnagar 100 feet road	386	Open draw
9	Ghodasar 1 / 129 Cadila Bridge	170	Open draw
10	Vinzol 151 + 153 Near Vatwa Loco Shed	656	Open draw
11	Odhav 1 / 204 Near Malhotra Mill (Jeevan Jyot Nagar)	1332 (1408*)	Open draw and Resettlement
12	Sorainagar R.S. 514 / A / 2 part (Ganesh Nagar Bhattha)	112 (448*)	Resettlement
	Total	**4960**	

* Fieldvisits to Jeevan Jyot Nagar and Ganesh Nagar Bhattha in October 2017 revealed greater number of dwelling units than reported in Datey et al (2009).

Annexure 5: List of *bastis* where eviction needs to be corroborated again through fieldvisits

Most of these evictions were reported by NGOs in 2015, and were mapped in GIS after a fieldvisit to the location, but could not then be corroborated through Google Earth's timeline imagery. It is possible that at some of these locations there was a threat of eviction but eviction was not ultimately carried out.

A few of these evictions are mentioned in PILs but also have to still be mapped in GIS, as well as corroborated through fieldvisits and Google Earth's timeline imagery.

No	Name of *Basti*	Year(s) of eviction	Number of evicted households
Bastis mapped in GIS but eviction could not be corroborated through Google Earth's timeline imagery			
1	Anand Nagar, Gomtipur	2010	150
2	Arjun Vas, Ranip	2010, 2013, 2015	50
3	Badiadev ni Chali, Naroda	2009	25
4	Bakra Mandi, Ranip	2005, 2015	74, 198
5	Chowksi ni Chali, Gomtipur	2008	32
6	Chuvadnagar, Bapunagar	2007	600
7	Garibnagar, Bapunagar	2010	250
8	Hiralal Chowksi ni Chali, Asarwa	2013	20
9	Kaiser-e-Hind Mill na Chapra, Khadia	2009	700
10	Kasai ni Chali, Rakhial	2006	200
11	Mangal Talavdi, Vasna	2013	110
12	Manubhai Zaveri ni Chali, near Soni ni Chali	2008	75
13	Mutton Gali, Isanpur	2012	130
14	Purwa Kasai ni Chali, Gomtipur	2008	55
15	Rajiv Garibnagar, Bapunagar	2012	300
16	Sanjay Garibnagar, Bapunagar	2012	200
17	Santhisagar ni Chali, Asarwa	2014	120
18	Shalimar ni Chali, Isanpur	2013	200
19	Silver Cotton Mill na Chapra, Rajpur Hirpur	2008	50
20	Umangnagar, Dani Limda	2010	100
21	Ushanagar, Dani Limda	2010	250
22	Vandervat, Isanpur	2015	80
23	Wakf Committee ni Chali, Gomtipur	2013	1200
24	Yogeshwar Nagar, Chamanpura	2008 or 2010?	135
25	Hukum sinh ni Chali, ThakkarBapa Nagar	Unknown	69
26	Siyasat nagar, near Chandola lake	Unknown	110
Evictions mentioned in PILs by Janhit:			
27	New Mental Colony, Asarwa (survey no. 146/1, 146/2, 147, 148)	2005	112
28	Talavdi Chali, Holi Chakla, Asarwa, Chamanpura (TP 8 , FP 200)	2005	43
	Total		**5638**

Annexure 6: Status of Anganwadis at the Resettlement Sites
(Source: fieldvisits at 16 sites in June-July 2017 and 22 sites in October-November 2017)

No	Name of Resettlement Site	Number of Anganwadi Structures	Number of Functioning Anganwadis
1	Vrundavan Awas Yojana (1&2)	1	1
2	Gopal 1	1	1
3	Vraj Vihar	0	1 (on Rent)
4	Vraj Nagari	0	1 (on Rent)
5	Ganesh Nagar Bhatta	0	0
6	Jivan Jyot Society	1	0
7	Swarnim Nagar, Shahwadi	1	1
8	Behrampura	6	2
9	Pandit Deen Dayal Nagar	2	2
10	Vatwa Site I (Near Umang Flats)	1	1
11	Sadbhavna Nagar	4	1
12	Vatwa Site II (Below Vatwa Flyover)	3	0
13	Vatwa Site III (TP 88, FP 51/1, 52/2, 53/1)	3	0
14	Vasant Gajendra Gadkar Nagar	1	0
15	Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee Nagar	1	0
16	Kushabhai Thakre Nagar	1	1
17	Induchacha Nagar, Bage-e-firdosh	1	1
18	Sundersinh Bhandari Nagar	1	0
19	Vinobha Bhave Nagar	1	0
20	Makrand Desai Nagar	1	0
21	Shyamji Krishna Varma Nagar	1	0
22	Nanji Deshmukh Nagar	1	1
23	Jag Janani Awas Yojana, Bharvadwas	0	0
24	Khawaja Garib Nawaz Nagar, Ajit Mill	1	1
25	Jayendra Pandit Nagar, Kesar E Hind Mill	1	1
26	K. KA. Shastri Nagar Awas Yojana, Cotton Mill	2	1
27	Vivekanand Nagar, Vivekanand Mill	1	1
28	Prahlad Bhai Patel Nagar, Raipur Mill	1	1
29	Shri Ram Nagar, Himadri Mill	2	2
30	Ravishankar Maharaj Nagar, Saraspur Mill	1	1
31	Shiv Shakti Nagar, Ginning Mill	0	0
32	Fine Knitting Mill Compound	1	0
33	Bhairav Singh Shekawat Nagar, Vijay Mill	2	2
34	Vijaya Raje Scindia Nagar	1	0
35	Jay Prakash Nagar	1	0
36	Jupiter Mill Compound	1	0
37	Rustom Mill Compound	2	2
38	Balol Nagar Site	2	1

Annexure 7: List of Discussions in Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation

1. N.J. Malavia, Deputy Municipal Commissioner (North Zone), August 9, 2017.
2. Dr Bhavin Solanki, Medical Officer of Health (MOH), August 9, 2017.
3. Parag Shah, Assistant Municipal Commissioner (South Zone), August 10, 2017.
4. Dr Bhavin Joshi, Additional Medical Officer of Health (West, South and New West Zone), August 10, 2017.
5. Dr Tejas Shah, Deputy Health Officer (South Zone), August 11, 2017.
6. Anand Patel, Former Additional City Engineer, Housing Project, August 11, 2017 (with follow-ups on the phone).
7. Daxaben Maitrak, Deputy Health Officer (East Zone), December 5, 2017.
8. Harpalsinh Zala, Additional City Engineer, Housing Project, December 12, 2017.
9. Child Development Program Officer (CDPO), Odhav ward, December 2017.
10. Medical Officer, Vatwa ward, August 2017.

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