City Profile:
Ahmedabad

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Abstract

This paper profiles Ahmedabad, the seventh largest metropolis in India and the largest city of Gujarat State, to develop a background understanding of the city for the research project "Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Indian Cities: Towards Inclusive Planning and Policies." The paper comprises of two parts. Part I lays out the relevant urban context by discussing the city's demography; transformations since liberalization and their impacts for urban poverty and inequality; the historical growth of the city and the resulting spatial segmentation; the status of housing amongst the urban poor and low-income groups; and the urban development paradigm in terms of planning, housing, basic services, street vending and public transport. Part II identifies and discusses some of the key arenas of conflicts and violence that are linked to land, planning and governance regimes in the city, namely, slum resettlement, informal urban peripheral settlements, and women's safety and public transport. These arenas of conflict and violence will be the focus areas for the research project.

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INTRODUCTION

Inspite of low rate of urbanisation in India[1] in the last two decades, cities have not been able to provide the growing urban population with viable housing, potable water, adequate sanitation, employment at reasonable wages, access to education and healthcare, accessibility to work and other opportunities and social security. As a result, a large proportion of the urban population is constrained to live in slums or informal settlements, depend on the informal sector for their livelihood, access water supply, education and healthcare in the private informal sector and use informal transport options. Parallel to this, over the past decade or two, governments and elites have been pushing for urban development that would transform Indian cities according to their images of a world-class or global city (see, for e.g. Dupont 2011; Desai 2012a; Mahadevia 2011a). This has resulted in urban exclusions through land-use planning, inequitable land allocations, increasing commercialization of land, implementation of infrastructure and beautification projects, privatization of urban services, criminalization of the informalities of the poor, and urban governance processes in which only the influential and organized sections have a voice (see, for e.g. Benjamin 2008; Mahadevia and Narayanan 2008; Anjaria 2009; Bhan 2009; Graham et al 2013; Kundu 2009). Researchers have also claimed that the urban elites are capturing urban resources, land, finance and water, through various means, forcing the poor to depend on and contest over available resources, for which they pay high economic and social costs. One of the costs that the poor pay are facing and negotiating conflicts in their daily life over survival.

These forces of neo-liberal globalization are leading to evictions of poor and marginalised groups from their informal habitats and livelihoods, withdrawal of state actors from the delivery of urban services with this space being filled up by non-state actors (some call this as the emergence of a proto state) creating "ungoverned territories" and increasing segmentation on account of speculative land markets overlaid on the base of caste- and religious segmentation. As a result, the poor and marginalised face more violence than before from state and non-state actors in the places where they live and work. They respond through coping strategies, non-violent mobilizations in some instances, and counter-violence in other instances. Many Indian cities have also become more segmented along caste, religious and ethnic lines (see, for e.g. Gayer and Jaffrelot 2012), which is likely to further develop chains and webs of violence. While gender has never been mainstreamed into urban planning in India, the above-mentioned processes are often creating even more unsafe urban spaces for women and girls (see, for e.g. Menon-Sen 2008; Polanki 2012; Viswanath 2013). Indian cities are thus seeing increasing deprivations and inequalities, conflicts and violence.

While the incidences of violence are being increasingly reported in the media and captured in the crime statistics, the links between poverty, inequalities, types of violence and urban planning have not been analysed and understood in the context of Indian cities. First of all, the concepts of crime and violence are mixed up and so are the concepts of violence and conflicts. We have not addressed these conceptual issues in this paper. But, this research will investigate potential pathways through which urban planning and governance mechanisms become drivers of deprivations and different types of conflicts and violence, as well as the

experience of and response to these by different social groups. The research aims to develop an understanding of if, and how, urban planning and governance interventions can help reduce urban tensions, inequalities, conflicts and violence in Indian cities. Hence, this research has limited focus and has resisted the temptation to move into other interesting spheres of urban violence and their causes.

Ahmedabad is one of the cities selected for this research. The City Profile of Ahmedabad has been prepared to develop a background understanding of the city in relation to the research questions posed by this research project. The profile, along with other conceptual and methodological papers, will serve as a foundation for the field research undertaken in the city in 2014-15. We begin by briefly outlining urban violence in Ahmedabad and our approach to it, and how that informs this City Profile paper.

Urban violence is often understood and measured in terms of crime in a city. Ahmedabad has for long carried a safe city tag. According to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) report of 2003, Ahmedabad had the lowest crime rate of the 35 Indian cities with a population of more than one million. In 2003, there were 16,199 registered cases.[2] Almost a decade later, the situation has changed significantly. The NCRB report of 2012 stated that the city ranked fourth in India with 21,347 registered cases. Between 2003-12, there was thus a 32 per cent increase in registered cases. The crime rate (complaints registered per one lakh population) in Ahmedabad for 2012 was 336.1; higher than the national crime rate of 294.9 (NCRB 2012).

The NCRB data refers to crimes registered under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and includes murder, robbery, theft, burglary, kidnapping, assault, etc. While this data gives us an insight into the types and levels of different types of crimes, they do not reveal the complete truth as not all the cases of crime get registered owing to various reasons. There is often underreporting of certain crimes, such as if these are perpetrated on the poor and *dalits*, on women (rapes, sexual harassment, honour killings, dowry deaths); thefts;[3] suicides and deaths due to malnourishment (both get accounted as natural deaths) and so on. Also, crimes get reported in places with higher literacy and population awareness and also where police stations are present. Thus, less developed places have lower registration of crime as compared to more developed places. Hence, it would be difficult to tell whether the increase in registered cases over 2003-12 is due to actual increase in incidence of crime or is just because of increased reporting of the crime. It is also difficult to compare cities for incidence of crime, as there will be wide variability with regards to crime reporting in each of them.

The NCRB data also has other limitations. It fails to explain the motive or intention behind these crimes, that is, nothing is known about the epidemiology of the crimes and hence it is not possible to understand the cause of the crime. The data also does not tell us about the spatiality of these crimes in the city. Further, importantly, crimes form one vector in the violence universe. There are other incidences of violence that do not get registered as crime and all crime registered may not be violence. Lastly, it is difficult to make out from the IPC registered crimes whether there is any linkage of these with the urban planning and policies, the focus of this research.

The incidents of violence linked to urban planning and governance sometimes get reported by the media, but these are not usually considered to be crimes and hence not reported as such. Example of these is forced evictions of the urban poor by state authorities under infrastructure development projects like the Sabarmati Riverfront development and road-widening and forced evictions and harassment of street vendors in Ahmedabad. Print media has also reported on the negligence of the authorities towards provision of basic services like water supply and sanitation to poor localities, and has reported on mushrooming of illegal connections, informal arrangements, conflicts over accessing these services and increasing health hazards. A number of news articles have revealed the functioning of illegal activities like drug supply networks, bootlegging and youth gangs in the city. A news article in October 2013 revealed the network and localities of drug suppliers in the city. It stated that the supply of drugs is not just limited to slums and old city areas but is widespread across the city, including in the posh localities of the Paldi and University areas. News articles have also reported on conflicts over land between land mafias, especially in the peripheral areas of the city. In early 2014, media reported protests by women living in low income neighbourhoods against increased presence of local ruffians and goons, engaged in bootlegging, drug supply, etc. who have taken to harassing young and old women of the locality; and women going to the police station to register complaint but being unsuccessful. There is potential of such protests resulting in violence at any time. Newspapers have also reported kidnappings of children. Many of these localities are low-income neighbourhoods. Kidnappings of children are not always reported, and some have happened at some of the slum resettlement sites in Ahmedabad. Kidnappings for ransom seeking from high-income families or settling scores in business do get reported, which do not have links with urban planning and governance.

Since the late 1960s, Ahmedabad has also witnessed violent episodes during which most of the crimes that are committed are not registered. These are the episodes of communal and caste violence in the city. Over the years, the print media, civil society organizations and researchers have written about them. Most recent communal violence took place in 2002 with the majority of its victims being Muslim. The media has often reported on the inadequate basic services in the Muslim ghettos that have emerged in the city as a result of this violence. All of the above are forms of conflict and structural violence in the city, with some of them also including direct violence by the state and state actors or by powerful non-state actors with the protection of the state. These are not registered in the crime statistics.

This research project examines the forms of urban violence that emerge directly or indirectly from urban planning and governance. In Part I of this City Profile we lay out the relevant urban context by discussing the city's demography; transformations in the city since liberalization and impacts on urban poverty and inequality; the historical growth in the city and the emerging spatial segmentation; the status of housing for the urban poor and low-income groups; and the urban development paradigm in terms of planning, housing, basic services, street vending and public transport in the city. This discussion is based on secondary sources, primary research with key informants and field visits in the city as well as an analysis of policies, legislations and programmes. Part II identifies and discusses some of the

key arenas of conflicts and violence that are linked to land, planning and governance regimes in the city, namely, slum resettlement, informal urban peripheral settlements, and women's safety and public transport. This is based on primary research with key informants in the city as well as field visits. These arenas of conflict and violence will be the focus areas for the research project.

PART I: CONTEXT

1. Demography

Ahmedabad, with a population of 5.8 million in the municipal area and 6.3 million in the urban agglomeration area in 2011, is the seventh largest metropolis in India and the largest city of Gujarat State. The municipal area is under the jurisdiction of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC), whose limits were last extended in 2010 to cover an area of 466 sq.km. The previous extension of the AMC limits was in 1986. Hence, the city limits have been extended from time to time once the peripheral areas develop, generally on their own. The Ahmedabad Urban Agglomeration (AUA) includes four towns and 103 villages besides the municipal area, and covers a total area of 1,866 sq.km. There is one more entity in the governance structure of the city and that is Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority (AUDA), which is a planning authority and largely covers the AUA area and more (AUDA 2013). The AUA area is defined by population census office and is not an administrative unit, and is larger than the AMC area (for role of the AMC and AUDA in urban governance, see Mahadevia 2010a).

Table 1: Population and Growth Rate of AMC area and AUA

Year	AMC		AUA		Gujarat urban CAGR over previous decade ***
	Population (in millions)	CAGR over previous decade	Population (in millions)***	CAGR over previous decade***	
1981*	2.16	3.1	2.55	3.5	3.5
1991*	2.88	2.9	3.31	2.7	2.9
2001*	3.52	2.0	4.52	3.2	2.9
2011**	5.57	4.7	6.35	3.5	3.1

Source:
* AMC 2005 (for 1981-2001 population figures)
** Census 2011[4]
*** Mahadevia (2012: 3)

The peripheral areas of the city have registered higher population growth rate than the central parts as expected and hence, the Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of the AUA area has tended to be generally higher than that of the AMC area except in the years when the latter's boundary has been extended (Table 1). In typical nature of a market economy, the land prices determine where the households would decide their location; the low income households affording to locate on the cheaper lands on the periphery whereas the high income groups wanting large plots too moving out to the periphery, leading to urban sprawl and high population growth on the peripheries. Public housing too responds to this market logic and locates low-income housing on the periphery. Ahmedabad is no exception to these processes. Although, Ahmedabad has not registered fastest population growth among the cities in Gujarat (that position is occupied by Surat for many years now), the AUA's population growth rate has been higher than that of Gujarat since the decade of 1990s.

The latest available disaggregation of population by religion is of 2001, according to which, 84.6 per cent of the population of Ahmedabad district is Hindu, 11.4 per cent is Muslim and

2.9 per cent is Christian.[5] The city has a higher proportion of Muslims than in Gujarat as a whole. In 2001, while Muslims constituted 8.7 per cent of the state population,[6] their proportion in Ahmedabad was higher at 12.4 per cent (Jaffrelot and Thomas 2011) and in Ahmedabad district too as seen above. In 2001, Scheduled Caste (SC) were 10.94 per cent and Scheduled Tribe (ST) were 0.94 per cent city's population.[7]

2. The Liberalizing and Globalizing Economy

Over the past few decades, processes of liberalization and globalization have reshaped Ahmedabad's economy and labour markets. This section presents the changing economy of the city against the background of Gujarat's political economy, which has impacted the city's economy as well as urban development paradigm, housing for the urban poor and extent of inequalities.

2.1. The Gujarat Context

Gujarat is one of the fastest growing economies of the country. It had an average economic growth rate of 10 per cent per annum for the period of 2004-05 to 2009-10, making it surpass the national average of 8.4 per cent per annum for this period (Table 2). For the same period, all sectors of Gujarat's economy, i.e., primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, registered higher growth rates than the national averages in the respective sectors. The secondary sector and the tertiary sector contributed to one-third and half of the state gross domestic product, respectively, for this period (Mahadevia 2012).

Table 2: Real gross domestic product growth rates (% per annum)

Fiscal year	India	Gujarat state
2004–05	7.5	8.9
2005–06	9.5	15.0
2006–07	9.6	8.4
2007–08	9.3	11.0
2008–09	6.8	7.0
2009–10	8.0	10.2
Avg. 2004–05 to 2009–10	8.4	10.1

Source: Planning Commission, Government of India, http://planningcommission.gov.in (accessed 31.10.11).

However, in terms of the social development, the economic growth has not translated into improved human development. The state has been ranked first amongst 20 major Indian states in terms of fixed capital investments and fourth in terms of total number of factories, but it ranks poor in the Human Development Index (HDI). The Gujarat Human Development report, 2004 (Hirway and Mahadevia 2005) points that since 1980s, the state has seen high urban-rural inequality and the state lags behind in human and gender development (it was ranked 6[t]h among the 15 largest Indian states then) (Hirway and Mahadevia 2005). Subsequently, the situation has not improved. The Raghuram Rajan Committee Report on Evolving a Composite Development Index of States puts Gujarat's overall, economic as well as social development at 10th rank among 21 large states in India, indicating that 9 states performed better than the state in the development index (GOI, Ministry of Finance 2013: 17). Gujarat's growth has been private-sector driven, in which the government has handed the

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powers and functions of key sectors like roads, power and ports to corporates, more so since 2000. The result is that ordinary people have paid a heavy price for its economic growth (Hensman 2014).

The official poverty line, calculated by the Planning Commission of India, does not put the state at high level of poverty. The incidence of urban poverty, also known as the Head Count Ratio (HCR), which is proportion of population below the official poverty line, has declined by 10 percentage points from 20.1 per cent to 10.1 per cent during the seven-year period of 2004-05 to 2011-12 (Table 3). The absolute number of people below the poverty line has declined by 6.3 per cent per annum (p.a) during the seven-year period. In urban India, this rate is 5.8 per cent p.a. The decline in rural poverty in this seven-year period has been 7.2 per cent p.a. in Gujarat and 5.6 per cent p.a. in India. Hence, both, the rural as well as urban poverty have declined at a faster rate in Gujarat than in India from 2004-05 to 2011-12. In all the years in Table 3, rural as well as urban HCRs are lower in Gujarat than in India.

Table 3: Incidence* of Poverty, Gujarat and India

	2004-05		2009-10		2011-12	
	Gujarat	India	Gujarat	India	Gujarat	India
Rural	39.1	42.0	26.7	33.8	21.5	25.7
Urban	20.1	25.5	17.9	20.9	10.1	13.7
Total	31.6	37.2	23.0	29.8	16.6	21.9

* Percentage of population below the poverty line. It is alternatively termed as poverty Head Count Ratio (HCR).
Note: All three poverty estimates are by the methodology proposed by the Tendulkar Committee (GOI, Planning Commission, 2009).
Source:
a) 2004-05 and 2009-10 – GOI, Planning Commission (2012).
b) 2011-12 – GOI, Planning Commission (2013: 6)

Table 4: Incidence of Urban Poverty (HCR) by Social and Religious Groups, Gujarat and India

	2004-05		2009-10		2011-12	
	Gujarat	India	Gujarat	India	Gujarat	India
Scheduled Castes	18.7	40.6	29.4	34.1	12.7	21.7
Scheduled Tribes	31.2	35.5	32.2	30.4	30.1	24.1
Hindus	17.6	23.1	13.8	18.7	9.7	12.1
Muslims	42.3	41.8	42.4	33.9	**14.6**	**22.7**
All*	20.1	25.7	17.7	20.9	10.2	13.7

* There is marginal difference in the HCRs for all groups in some places between the figures in this table and the previous table due to difference in the source of data.
Note: These estimates are by the Tendulkar Committee's methodology.
Source: Panagariya and More (2013: 38 & 41).

Individual scholars have calculated incidence of poverty (HCR) among different social and religious groups. One of the latest is by Panagariya and More (2013). Table 4 presents data for only urban areas. It shows that the Scheduled Castes (SCs) in Gujarat had lower HCRs as compared to the SCs in India. This was not the case with regards to the Scheduled Tribes (STs), whose HCR was lower in Gujarat than in India in 2004-05, where after, there is speedy

decline in the ST HCRs at India level but a one percentage increase in the HCR of ST in 2009-10 as compared to 2004-05 and then a decline in 2011-12, by 0.9 percentage points as compared to that in 2004-05. Panagariya and More's estimates of HCRs for the Muslims in urban areas of Gujarat present a great puzzle. The same is true also to some extent for all India level as well. In 2004-05, 42.5 per cent of Muslims in the urban areas were below the poverty line when in India this figure was 41.8 per cent. In 2009-10, the two respective figures were 42.4 per cent (for Gujarat) and 33.9 per cent (for India). This means that incidence of poverty among the urban Muslims in 2009-10 remained unchanged in Gujarat but drastically declined in urban India. In 2011-12, there is further drastic decline of HCR among the Muslims in urban India. In urban Gujarat, this proportion declines to 14.6 per cent, which seems to be unbelievable.

Lower HCRs for all population as well as for all social and religious groups in urban Gujarat as compared to urban India are at variance with the low consumption levels in the former. The average Monthly Per-capita Consumption Expenditure (MPCE), as per the data of the National Sample Survey (NSS) in Gujarat urban has tended to be lower than that of urban India in the last decade (Table 5), with the exception of the year 2004-05. The only explanation for low average MPCE in Gujarat is that a segment of the urban population is not consuming adequately.

Table 5: Monthly Per-capita Consumption Expenditure (MPCE) (Rs), Gujarat and India, Urban

Year	Gujarat	India
2004-05*	1,115	1,052
2009-10*	1,909	1,984
2011-12***	2,581	2,630

All figures are at current prices.
*   NSSO (2006: 15).
**   NSSO (2011: 18).
***   NSSO (2014: 18).

Table 6: Percentage of Workers in Urban Informal Sector

	2004-05*		2009-10**	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Gujarat	74.1	66.4	80.6	68.6
India	73.9	65.4	68.5	61.6

Source:
* NSSO (2007).
** NSSO (2012).

Gujarat is the only high income state in India, besides Haryana, which has registered higher than all India rate of urbanization in the last decade, Gujarat registering 3.1 per cent per annum (p.a.) and Haryana 3.7 per cent p.a. rate during 2001-11 decade. Upto 1991, Gujarat witnessed a slower rate of urbanization as compared to that of India, its rate being 3.5 per cent p.a. and 2.9 per cent p.a. in 1970s and 1980s, as compared to 3.8 per cent p.a. and 3.1 per cent p.a. of the latter in the same periods (Mahadevia 2014). However, since economic

reforms of 1991, while the urbanization rate of India slowed down to 2.7 per cent p.a. in 1991-2001 period and 2.8 per cent p.a. in 2001-11 period, that of Gujarat has picked up to 2.9 per cent p.a. and 3.1 per cent p.a. during the 1990s and 2000s respectively. In other words, economic reforms had positive impact on Gujarat in terms of urbanisation (Mahadevia 2014).

Inspite of high economic growth and high level and rate of urbanization, the state has very high proportion of informal workers. In 2004–05, the proportion of male and female workers engaged in the informal sector were 74.1 per cent and 66.4 per cent respectively in urban Gujarat, which were figures slightly higher than the respective proportions at India level (Table 6). The state has witnessed increase in proportion of informally employed in 2009-10 as compared to 2004-05, while all India has registered decline (Table 6).

The Gujarat government has been conducting Vibrant Gujarat summits since 2003 bringing together business leaders, investors, corporations and policymakers to create a platform to explore business opportunities and attract investments. These summits claim to have immensely contributed to transforming Gujarat into a global business hub, but many argue that there is considerable hype about such large investments as the real investments have been found to be a fraction of the amounts promised (Shariff 2011). With its focus on economic growth, the state has pushed for the development of Ahmedabad as a world-class city. This is reflected in the urban development paradigm and the capital-intensive development projects that seek to change the image of the city. Thus, the specific characteristics of Gujarat's economy are in various ways reflected within Ahmedabad city like the urban economy's reliance on the tertiary sector, informalization of labour and pursuit of pro-elite development policies with non-participatory governance that have been excluding the urban poor.

2.2. Economic Changes, Labour Informalization, Poverty and Inequality in Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad has historically been a rich city, based on which the modern industrial economy has been built. The city established itself as the home of cotton textile mills in the later part of the 19th century. By early 20th century, Ahmedabad was known as Manchester of India. The traditional merchant families left behind older business avenues to divert their resources to modern textile mills. Unlike Mumbai, where the mills were mainly owned by the British and Parsis, in Ahmedabad, Hindus dominated the ownership of mills with other communities playing a very minor role. Also, the capital for the mills was indigenous and not of either the British or the Parsis, as was the case in Mumbai as well as Nagpur where the first cotton textile mills came up.

These were composite cotton textile mills, which had an organized labour force under the workers' union, the Textile Labour Association (TLA), set up by Gandhi and Ansuya Sarabhai. These mills were large and each employed workers in thousands. By the 1970s, Ahmedabad had over 60 textile mills, employing a total of 160,000 workers. The growing industry had attracted working-class migrants from other regions of India. According to Varshney (2002), the mills and the labour union offered an associational network that reduced communal tensions and hence violence in the city.

The first phase of informalization took place in 1971-81 period. In 1981, of an urban working population of 750,000, around 500,000 were engaged in the informal sector (Breman 2004). During the late 1980s the composite textile mills collapsed due to their obsolete technology, high cost of production, partly explained by high wages, and stiff competition from the unorganized power-loom sector that kept the costs low due to low wages paid to the workers. At the same time, due to development of petrochemical industries in Gujarat, whose waste was converted to synthetic yarn, synthetic cloth as well as cotton-blended synthetic cloth begun to replace cotton cloth in the day-to-day wear of the middle and lower classes. The demand for the cotton textiles therefore declined. The synthetic textile industry shifted to Surat, largely in the power-loom sector, which was home-based. The composite mills in Ahmedabad gave way to small-scale units with specialised activity, such as weaving and dyeing. All these small-scale units were in the informal sector. Some of the workers of the closed textile mills found employment in the small-scale units, but this led to decline in their incomes. The TLA was unable to assist the workers in this transition and the workers found their own way to cope with the situation of unemployment and decline in real wages.

The decline in the composite cotton textile mills, that had begun from 1985 onwards (prior to which there were 85 textile mills in the city), led to a fall in the number of mills to 23 by 1994 (Bhatt 2003). The Central government's New Economic Policy of 1991 hastened the mill closures. By 1997, nearly 67,000 textile workers had lost their jobs (Bhatt 2003). During the late 1990s, even the power-loom sector in Ahmedabad declined and a significant proportion of the retrenched textile mill workers resorted to casual wage labour and self-employment activities in the informal sector like street vending, driving auto rickshaws, repair work and home-based work. There was a consistent increase in self-employment among men, from 34.7 per cent in 1987-88 to 53.6 per cent in 2009-10 (Table 7). The proportion of self-employed women fluctuated during this period; it increased to 43.6 per cent in 1993-94 just after the closure of the mills in order to fill the income shortage in the households. It again increased further to 49.2 per cent in 2009-10. The increase in self-employment during this period is attributed to the shifting of manufacturing activities to self-employed workers, implying outsourcing of manufacturing work and most of it at household levels as home-based work (Mahadevia 2012; Mahadevia and Sarkar 2012).

Male Work Participation Rates (WPR) have increased since late 1980s while the unemployment rates have declined. The closure of textile mills led to decline in WPRs and increase in unemployment rates for a short while, after which, there has been consistent increase in male WPR, accompanied by increase in self-employment and decline in regular employment among them (Table 7). Closure of textile mills also led to decline in female WPR in the city. Since 1993-94, the female WPR has more or less remains unchanged. Female workers too have experienced increase in self-employment and nearly half of them were self-employed in 2009-10. Nearly one in five employed women worked as casual labour. Proportion of regular employed women workers has remained nearly the same over the period except some decrease in 1993-94, with the closure of textile mills.

Table 7: Employment Statistics, Ahmedabad City

Year	Work Participation Rates (UPSS)	Unemployment rate (UPSS)	% workers self-employed	% workers regularly employed	% workers casually employed
Males					
1987-88	49.0	7.32	34.7	44.9	20.4
1993-94	51.5	4.52	35.2	51.2	13.5
2004-05	56.9	2.62	36.4	53.1	10.5
2009-10	54.4	1.30	53.6	37.8	8.6
Females					
1987-88	30.0	6.49	38.2	29.5	32.3
1993-94	13.3	13.79	43.6	27.3	29.1
2004-05	16.7	2.78	38.9	30.1	31.1
2009-10	13.7	1.24	49.2	30.9	19.8

UPSS = Usual (Principal + Subsidiary) Status[8]
Source: Mahadevia (2012: 19 & 20)

Shift to tertiary sector economy after the collapse of the textile industry in Ahmedabad can also be seen from the fact that of the total economic enterprises in Ahmedabad district in 2005 (as per the economic census), 80 per cent were in the tertiary sector and 46 per cent were in retail trade (Mahadevia 2012: 16). Of the total employment in all enterprises, nearly 71 per cent was in the tertiary sector (Mahadevia 2012: 16). Most of the tertiary sector enterprises were of small size, indicating the presence of a large informal sector, with the exceptions of public administration, defence and social services (Mahadevia 2012: 16). Of the total male workers, only 28.5 per cent were in the secondary sector in 2009-10, one per cent were in the primary sector and the remaining 70.5 per cent were in the tertiary sector. Among the female workers, 5.8 per cent were in the primary sector, 32 per cent in the secondary sector and remaining 62.2 per cent in the tertiary sector (Mahadevia 2012: 20). Mahadevia and Shah (2012) estimate that there were a total of 21.05 million workers in Ahmedabad in 2009-10. Of this about 16.34 million (78 per cent) were in the informal sector or unorganized sector (Mahadevia and Shah 2012). Thus, although the work availability has improved in Ahmedabad, it is largely in the nature of informal work. Any displacement of the informally employed workers from their original place of residence or any conflict and / or violence episodes would disrupt their work availability, causing hardships and pushing the household below the poverty line.

Ahmedabad has also seen the emergence of petrochemical and pharmaceutical enterprises, automobile industries, agro and food processing, and chemical and dying factories. Surrounding regions of Ahmedabad are emerging as automobile hub, and the entire region of Ahmedabad is sometimes referred to as "Detroit of India." These industries are located around the city, interspersed with villages, and have led to significant social and spatial transformations in these peri-urban areas. The upcoming of industries has led to increase in land prices and has attracted large speculative investments, resulting in conflicts around land. There is also high demand for labour in these industries and control over access to jobs has become a source of conflict, often between different caste communities. With these industries attracting migrants from states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, there has been increasing tension between locals and migrants.

3. Spatial Segmentation

Ahmedabad has three distinct urban morphologies, the old walled city, located on the eastern bank of the Sabarmati River; the eastern industrial section that is to the east of the walled city and western Ahmedabad, which is to the west of the river. The walled city was organized in *pols* or residential streets, with each *pol* being homogeneous in terms of religion, caste and community. Although separated thus, the different groups and communities in different pols lived in proximity without threats, restraints or fear (Jaffrelot and Thomas 2011). The area west of the river, then the greenfield sites, developed as the economically upwardly mobile, professional and business families, that were modernizing, began to move out of the walled city in 1930s and 1940s, in search of new housing. The new housing that came up west of the river was bungalow type housing. In this period, western Ahmedabad attracted the university and colleges and the city's first public hospital. From the 1960s it also attracted elite educational institutions and new forms of commercial development. All the public institutions of education and health, including the university, were set up with philanthropic funds. Post-2000, the western periphery has attracted many gated-communities and township developments (Mahadevia 2013). Ahmedabad district, on the north-west and south-west, has attracted automobile industries and hence there is a low-density urban sprawl on the city's western periphery.

The city's morphology is strongly linked to her economic role and dynamics over its modern history. The first few mills were established within the walled city and the future expansion took place towards the villages located to the east of and beyond the walled city. Residents of these villages formed the mill workforce along with migrants from rural Gujarat. Subsequently, migrants from other states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh also joined the workforce. Though workers were a socially heterogeneous group, the tasks were assigned on a caste basis. Workers in the spinning department were *Dalits*, in the weaving department they were Muslims and in the framing department they were mainly *Devipujaks*. The mill workers first lived in areas like Raikhad and Jamalpur within the walled city and later around the mills in Saraspur, Rakhial, Asarwa and Gomtipur in working-class localities known as *chawls* (*chali* in Gujarati) (Map 1). The *chawls* comprised of rows of rooms with or without sanitary facilities (Mahadevia 2002) and were incentive to attract labour to work in the mills. All subsequent low-income housing in eastern Ahmedabad, with a row of dwelling units, are called *chawls*. Many of these *chawls* have now deteriorated and are stuck in ownership litigation. Ancillary industries came up along with the textile mills, making eastern Ahmedabad the predominant industrial area. It therefore had concentration of the working class and even *Dalits,* a section of the latter being part of the industrial working class. The distinction between the east and the west, with the Sabarmati River acting as the dividing line, has remained all through the last century of the city's history. As we discuss later, in the last one decade, the forces of globalization have begun to penetrate the eastern segment of the city.

Map 1: Localities in Ahmedabad

Source: Prepared at CUE.

In 1870, Ahmedabad attained the status of municipality. As the city witnessed unprecedented population growth in 1921 and 1931, the municipality formulated four Town Planning schemes (TPS)[9] in accordance with the Bombay Town Planning Act 1915. One of them, the Ellis bridge development scheme, located on the western side of the Sabarmati, opened up a new phase of urban expansion in the form of cooperative housing societies. The first housing

society was established in 1927 near Kochrab village. This became a popular model for the growing middle class of the city who wanted to flee from the congested walled city. The cooperative housing societies retained the caste-based residential patterns of the walled city. Therefore, there were housing societies belonging to Brahmins, Jains, Patidars, Christians and other communities. This was the beginning of another form of city segmentation, which was based on a combination of class and caste.

After independence, the AMC was formed in 1950. In 1958, the city expanded by 21 sq.km. with the creation of the industrial area of Bapunagar on the eastern side of the existing industrial area and the residential growth west of the river, which was boosted by the establishment of Gujarat University. From 1971 to 1981, the AMC limits remained unchanged but the population grew by 30 per cent. The new slums concentrated around the textile mills in the east absorbed most of the demographic increase. In 1976, nearly 22 per cent of the city population consisted of slum dwellers. The beginning of an industrial crisis in the late-1980s began to lead to closure of mills resulting to impoverishment of the inhabitants of the *chawls*, which gradually became more like slums.

The decade of the 1970s and part of the 1980s witnessed rapid growth of small-scale industries in Gujarat through State government investments in industrial estates developed by the Gujarat Industrial Development Corporation (GIDC). Ahmedabad's industrial base also expanded. Three GIDC estates, in Naroda, Odhav and Vatva, were located beyond the textile industrial areas, where unorganized industries developed, employing large number of unorganized workers. These areas witnessed rapid development of slums. The eastern periphery of the city thus developed with emergence of industrial suburbs with small-scale industries and housing for workers' and low-income groups. During the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, the then eastern periphery even witnessed higher population growth rate than the then western periphery (Mahadevia 2002).

The western periphery has also experienced sprawl since 1990s, when the Indian economy was liberalized and Ahmedabad, already a premier industrial and commercial centre with enterprising population, benefitted. This sprawl was through high-rise development. Sarkhej-Gandhinagar (SG) highway bound the western segment on account of the city's Development Plan (DP)[10] that did not permit non-agriculture development beyond this road. By the end of 1990s, the city's planning authority, Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority (AUDA), had permitted development beyond the SG highway, but had restricted the density through the Floor Space Index (FSI)[11] restrictions. This resulted in development of high-end residential complexes, which for the last decade have become low-density gated communities (Mahadevia 2013). The western segment of the city is relatively low-density development and high land and property prices whereas the eastern segment of the city is relatively high-density and low land and property prices.

The decade of the 1980s saw the beginning of another spatial transformation, creating a city of ghettoes. Till the mid-1980s, *Dalits* and Muslims were allies in their resistance to upper caste politics; they also shared workplaces (the textile mills) and neighbourhoods and

supported each other in times of crisis on account of the historical legacy. However, influenced by the Hindutva propaganda and imagining that they would be accepted into the Hindu fold, many *Dalits* played an important role in perpetrating communal violence against Muslims from late 1980s onwards. This is a period that coincides with the closure of organized textile mills in the city. This dynamics of Hindutva politics along with a changing political economy that was creating increased socio-economic vulnerability and decreased secure opportunities, pit marginalised groups against each other in the search for survival and security: Breman (2002) refers to this as "social Darwinism." As the distance between the two communities widened, mixed Dalit-Muslim localities began to become mono-religious. To prevent this, the Congress-led AMC passed a regulation, "The Prohibition of Transfer of Immovable Property and Provision of Protection of Tenants from Eviction from the Premises in Disturbed Areas Act, 1986," to prevent members of one community from selling off properties to members of the other community or evicting tenants belonging to the other community. However, despite the Act, the transfer of property between Hindus and Muslims continued to occur, particularly since there were further riots in the 1990s (Breman 2004; Jaffrelot and Thomas 2011).[12] Since the 2002 communal violence, during which organized Hindu groups targeted the Muslims, the city has become fully segregated by religion. This has led to further formation of religious enclaves and Muslim ghettos. "The Hindu Right wing groups would want to call their city Karnavati (not Ahmedabad) and by that throwing out the Muslims to their own city, which Hindus call 'Mini Pakistan'" (Mahadevia 2007).

Today, the communal divides in urban space are clearly drawn out. The distance between Dalits and upper caste Hindus also remains unbridged. *Dalits* live in ghettos of their own, in areas like Naroda, Chandkheda and Ranip. Many Muslims have shifted out of the walled city and other Hindu-dominated areas, and due to their concerns about safety during communal violence and the housing discrimination against them in Hindu-dominated areas, they are now concentrated in Muslim ghettos. Mahadevia (2007) estimated that about 50 per cent of the Muslim population of Ahmedabad lived in two large ghettos, Juhapura and Dani Limda. Juhapura, the largest ghetto, continues to experience in-migration of Muslims. Dani Limbda includes older Muslim areas such as Shah-E-Alam as well as more recent pockets like Bombay Hotel that have emerged over the past decade and are not served with municipal services and amenities.

In recent years, as mentioned earlier, the western periphery of Ahmedabad has seen the development of gated communities of the rich interspersed with villages. These colonies are developed by developers through purchase of agricultural lands from farmers at low prices and holding the lands until the TPS is planned and implemented. Once the TPS is implemented, the land prices shoot up and the developer reaps benefits by developing the land. These gated communities face inwards, seeking to isolate themselves from their surroundings (Mahadevia 2013). But, construction of these colonies and the infrastructure to serve them has resulted in development of construction workers' camps, which move from one site to another. We do not see development of any new squatter settlement in the segment that has these high-end residential gated colonies. The public lands that were getting squatted

upon are no more available for the purpose and the public authorities owning such lands have begun to fence them.

Of all these segments of Ahmedabad, the western city has the highest level of basic services, public spaces, schools and universities, and other institutions and amenities. The eastern city and its periphery, which has much lower levels of services and amenities and hence low land prices, has almost all of the newly constructed government housing under the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) component of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Many slum dwellers have been resettled in this government housing after being evicted from more central urban areas. In the last half a decade, new middle class housing along with commercial buildings is also under construction in the eastern periphery, indicating penetration of forces of globalization here.

To sum up, the city is broadly divided into at least three cities: the original core or the walled city where different communities live but where Hindus and Muslims have become more distanced than earlier, the industrial area on the eastern side of the walled city where Dalits and Muslims lived in close proximity in the same *chawls* but have now become segregated and distanced, and the western side of the city where the rich and the middle class migrated to establish their housing societies. Furthermore, the main Muslim ghettos have emerged towards the periphery in both the south-west and south-east. In recent years, the western periphery has developed into gated communities, interspersed with former villages, construction and migrant labour pockets and a few EWS schemes, while the eastern periphery has developed into industrial areas, poor to lower-middle class residential localities and EWS schemes. The city is therefore segmented in terms of class, caste and religion, as well as quality of housing, its typologies, and levels of services and amenities. As Mahadevia (2007) has described it, Ahmedabad is "a city of many borders."

4. Housing, Poverty and Inequality

Amidst the high prosperity of Ahmedabad city, there exists a large section of urban poor whose numbers have been increasing. The 1971 slum census estimated 17.1 per cent of the city population as living in slums,[13] which increased to 21.4 per cent by 1982, and to 41 per cent (comprising slums and *chawls*) in 1991 (Ahmedabad Study Action Group 1992; Bhatt 2003). In the next decade the slum population almost doubled, comprising of around 25.7 per cent of the total population inhabiting 1,123 slums in the city (AMC 2005). In 2009, 834 slums were identified in the city, housing 262,551 households or a total population of approximately 1.31 million, which was about 23 per cent of the city's total population. The official estimates by the AMC of the proportion of slum population are: 16.0 per cent (0.46 million) in 1991, 25.8 per cent (0.91 million) in 2001 (AMC 2005) and 13.0 per cent (0.73 million) in 2010.[14] The number of slum dwellers declined in 2010 due to de-notification of slums after their upgrading.[15] A number of studies have reported that a high percentage of slum dwellers are Scheduled Castes (SCs), Other Backward Castes (OBCs) and Muslims. D'Costa and Das's (2002) primary survey indicated that 22-26 per cent of slum dwellers were Muslim, 21-33 per cent were SC and about 46 per cent were OBC. The latest estimate of

chawls in the AMC area is 958 (consisting of textile mills' chawls and new low-income housing), which house around 149,002 households (AUDA 2013).

As mentioned earlier, most of the formal housing such as *pols*, cooperative housing societies and gated enclaves cater to middle and higher income groups, whereas the only housing options for the urban poor and recent migrants is in informal housing, commonly referred to as slums. There are mainly two types of informal housing. One type are the squatter settlements that have developed on illegally appropriated lands, often public lands, low-lying lands, river-beds or lands acquired for public purpose. The second are quasi-legal settlements, which are developed on private lands without required planning and building permissions.[16] In Ahmedabad, most of the informal housing is quasi-legal. Therefore, a high percentage of slums are located on private lands (Mehta and Mehta 1987). In 1981, 70 per cent of the slums were on private lands and 30 per cent were on public lands. In 1998, the proportion of slums on private lands increased to 80 per cent (Bhatt 2003). In 2001, nearly 50 per cent of slums were on private lands and 20 per cent were on State and Municipal government lands (AMC 2005).

Mahadevia (2010b; 2011b) argues that the slums on private lands have higher tenure security than those on the public lands in Ahmedabad, quite contrary to the understanding that public lands can be easily encroached upon and that access to private lands is limited. In the economic reforms period, since land prices have increased, all levels of government have been protective of their own lands as they are using these as resources for mobilising finance. It is also true that urban governments do not have adequate financial resources to invest in infrastructure. The process of globalization has put pressure on cities to improve their infrastructure. Hence, cities have begun to sell off their lands to raise funds for investment. Ahmedabad too has been doing so, which has made public lands unavailable for squatting by the poor. Only those public lands that are of low value are available for the poor, and these tend to be on the city's periphery.

Besides slums, large numbers of the poor and low-income groups live in *chawls*. This is the rental housing that was built by the textile mill owners to house the mill workers. Due to the Rent Control Act, the rents levied on the dwellers were frozen. As a result, the owners were either not interested in collecting the nominal rents or sold the units. With such low rents, they were also not able to maintain the *chawls*, leading to their deterioration and dilapidation. Many of these *chawls* are also stuck in ownership litigation. The geographic distribution of the slums and *chawls*, as per 2009 estimates, is shown in Map 2 and 3. Most of the slums were located in the Central and South zones of the city while the New West zone accommodates the highest number of slum households (see Table 8). Most *chawls* are concentrated in the North and East zones in close proximity to the mills.

Map 2: Spatial distribution of slums
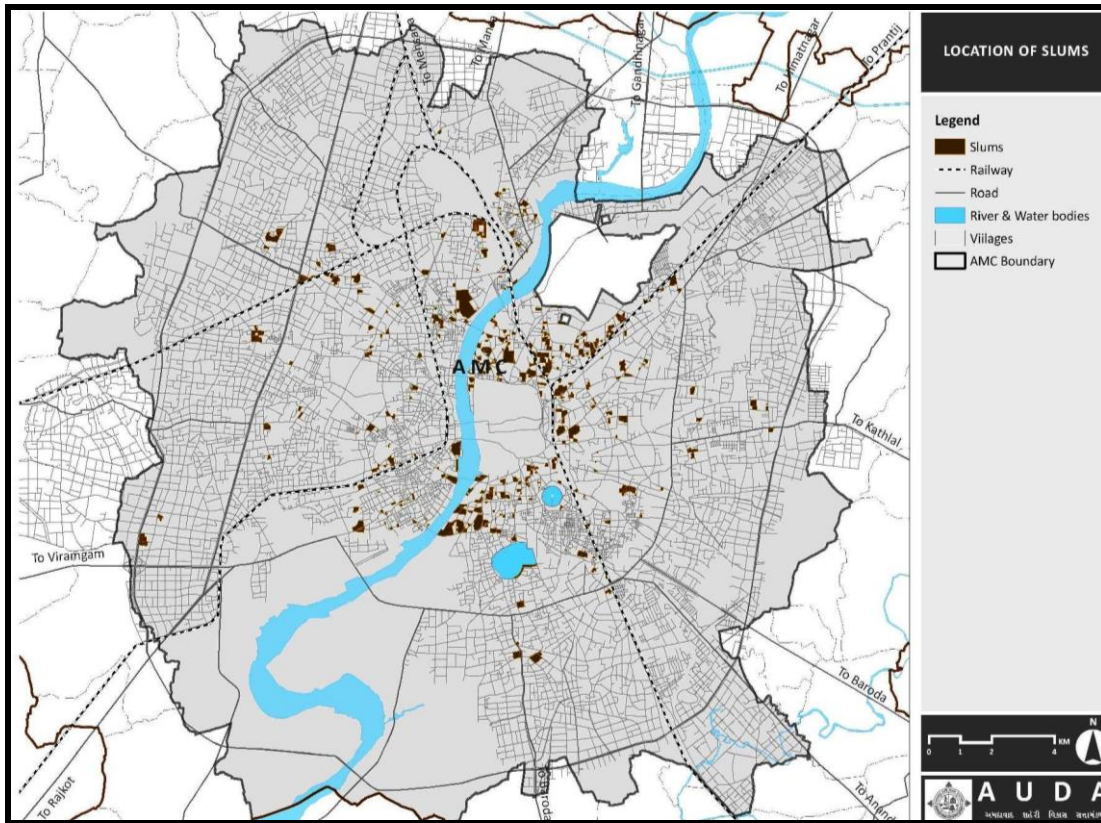
Source: AUDA 2013

Map 3: Spatial distribution of chawls
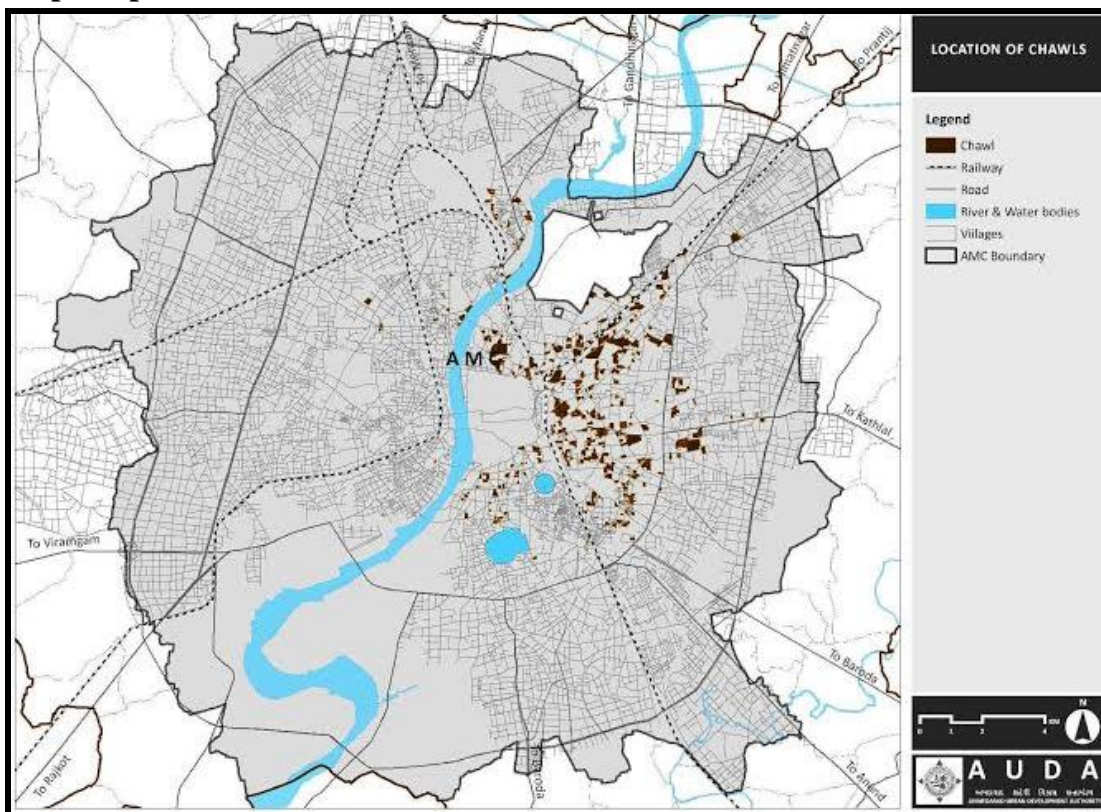
Source: AUDA 2013

Table 8: Spatial distribution of slums

Zone	No. of slums	No. of households
Central	185	50,155
North	143	27,269
South	209	39,212
East	55	23,160
West	159	43,312
New West	83	79,443
Total	834	262,551

Source: AMC 2009, as stated in AUDA 2013

The AMC has extended water, sanitation, street lights and roads within the slums from time to time, however, this has stopped since the past half-decade due to change in its approach to slum development at the behest of the State government. The municipal councillors and MLAs also provide these basic services in ad-hoc ways to slum areas through their funds. Water provision in slums is through public stand posts, individual taps, water tankers etc. According to the City Sanitation Plan (CSP) prepared in 2012, around 52,000 households of 1.82 lakh households (28.5 per cent) did not have individual toilets. At this time, the city had 1,840 community toilet blocks with 7,211 seats.[17] Out of these, 84 blocks were non-functional (UMC 2012). The locations of these toilets are unknown and thus it is unclear how many of these serve the slum population lacking individual toilets. Moreover, the CSP mentions that many of the blocks remained locked between 11 pm and 6 am in some localities. The CSP also found 491 open defecation spots in the city. Of these, 281 were identified as major open defecation spots with more than 50 persons defecating in the open in a day. Lack of sanitation facilities has implications for health as well as for women's safety.

A section of the urban poor also live on pavements and vacant plots in makeshift shelters, mostly made of plastic sheets although some even live directly under the sky. A 2011 news article stated that there are 10,000 homeless people in the city (TOI 2011a). These settlements of the homeless are not considered as slums by AMC. As a result, there is no water or sanitation provision for them. Along with lack of basic services, there is also no provision of health and education amenities for these homeless settlements. Many of the homeless are migrants from tribal areas of Gujarat or other states like Bihar and Rajasthan. In 2011, Prayas Centre for Labor Research and Action identified 42 pockets where migrants were living in such settlements and submitted a memorandum to a number of government officials and departments to ask them to provide basic services and social security to these migrants, but the effort to provide services lasted only for a short time. The AMC has built 46 night shelters for the city's homeless but illegal activities like gambling and liquor consumption take place in some of them, many have no space for women and in general the night shelters are not conducive for migrant families.

5. The Urban Development Paradigm

In 2005, Ahmedabad was declared as a megacity under the Central government's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). This inspired the city government to

initiate various projects to transform Ahmedabad into a world-class city. Mahadevia (2011a) calls it "Branding Ahmedabad." The desirable world-class image and the projects that are supposed to realize this image have often been showcased at the Vibrant Gujarat summits, with Desai (2012a) arguing that there has been a promotional coupling of the city and State, which has also been deployed to rehabilitate Gujarat and Ahmedabad's image, as well as the Gujarat government's image, after the 2002 communal violence.

The city has been citied in best practices and has been awarded for a number of urban projects. In 2011, Ahmedabad was declared as India's best mega-city to live in by an opinion poll conducted by market research firm IMRB for Times of India (TOI 2011b). The Central government has given awards to the AMC for "Best City in the Implementation of Basic Services to Urban Poor (BSUP)" in 2011 and 2014, HUDCO national award to Sabarmati Riverfront Development for innovative infrastructure development in 2012 and many national and international awards to Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) (Table 9). The city has also received number of national and international awards for "development projects." The phrase development projects is in inverted commas as these projects have been pursued without taking into consideration the right to shelter and livelihood of the urban poor. These projects have also created further class segregation.

Table 9: Awards for Ahmedabad

Year	Award title	Award by	Purpose
2003	CRISIL National Award 2003	Credit Rating Information Services of India Ltd	Best Financial Management System
2004	International Best Practices 2004	ICMA International City/Country Management Association, Washington D.C	Best Practices in City Civic Centers & eGovernance
2006	UNHABITAT Dubai International Awards	UN HABITAT	Best Practices to Improve the Urban Environment (Slum Networking Project)
2008	India Tech Excellence Awards	India Tech Foundation	Main Streaming Urban Poor Slum Networking to improve habitat Of Urban Poor & providing livelihood opportunities
2008	Horizontal Transfer of ICT-based Best Practice GOLD Awards	Government of India	Best Practise in e-Governance
2009	Best Mass Transit System	Government of India	Janmarg – Ahmedabad BRTS Project
2010	International Awards on Sustainable Transport Award	TRB at Washington DC USA	Janmarg – Ahmedabad BRTS Project
2010	National Award for Innovations in servicing the needs of the Urban Poor	Govt. of India, India Urban Space Foundation, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) & the World Bank	Basic Services for the Urban Poor – BSUP (JNNURM)
2010	International Award of Outstanding Innovation in Public Transport	International Transport Forum (ITF) and International Association for Public Transport (UITP)	Janmarg – Ahmedabad BRTS Project
2010	Knowledge and Research Award	59th UITP World Congress	Janmarg – Ahmedabad BRTS Project
2010	Daring Ambition Award	59th UITP World Congress	Janmarg – Ahmedabad BRTS Project
2010	Initiatives for Social Housing	41st ANNIVERASRY OF HUDCO	BSUP
2011	AIILSG Nagar Ratna Award	President of India	Best Performing City
2012	Best Practices to Improve the Living Environment	Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO)	Kankaria Lake Improvement
2012	Best Practices to Improve the Living Environment	HUDCO	Sabarmati Riverfront Development

Source: Mahadevia (2014, forthcoming).

Ahmedabad has, in fact, changed over time from being a relatively more inclusive city, which was seen in its efforts to implement the Slum Networking Programme (SNP), to an exclusive

and segregated city, which is reflected in its non-participatory governance and negligence of the urban poor in its large-scale urban infrastructure projects like Sabarmati Riverfront development, Kankaria Lakefront development and BRTS. The city's governance has also become top-down, with the State government playing a larger role than before in the matters of the city. Mahadevia (2010a) states that there has been regression in the city's governance from the AMC deciding on its own policies to it conceding the space to the State government. Some of these projects have been acts of capturing prime lands occupied by the poor. Rehabilitation has also been poorly done. These urban transformations represent the elitist vision to make the city "world class" to attract more investments. Mahadevia (2011a) affirms that the urban policies attempt to cater to both sides, displacing the poor through its urban development projects and including them through urban poverty programmes like BSUP and RAY. However, the latter are usually not designed or implemented sensitively. These inclusionary programmes are also being now diluted by other State government policies like the Gujarat Slum Rehabilitation and Redevelopment Policy 2013, which seeks to attract the private-sector to redevelop slums. Policies also have excluded migrants and their access to shelter, services and amenities from their purview. The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1992, that among other things requires the formation of ward-level committees, and the Community Participation Law, which requires the formation of sub-ward-level area *sabhas* – both of which were mandatory governance reforms under JNNURM to achieve a democratic decentralisation of power and participatory governance – have not been implemented in the city (Mahadevia 2010a).

Having broadly charted out the current urban development paradigm in the city, in the below sub-sections, we now outline and discuss specific planning mechanisms, policies, programmes and approaches taken vis-à-vis land, housing, basic services, street vending and public transport in the city. The objective is to trace the planning and policy interventions in the city that comprise the current urban development paradigm as well as those which have been directed towards the urban poor and low-income groups of the city. Together these paint a picture of poverty and inequality vis-à-vis urban planning and governance in the city, and shed some light on the related processes that might be contributing to conflict and violence in the city.

5.1. Urban Planning: Town Planning Schemes and Urban Projects

Major planning interventions in Ahmedabad are currently designed, planned and implemented in two main ways: through Town Planning Schemes (TPS) and through urban projects. The TPS are part of a two-stage process meant for planning and urban development in a controlled manner. The AUDA, which is the planning authority, draws up a decadal Development Plan (DP) for the AUDA region that includes demarcation of the planning boundary, identifying the expected growth areas of the city, and having broad land use proposals with major trunk infrastructure. The expansion area is then divided into a number of smaller areas, usually 1-2 sq.km. each, for which TPS are prepared. The DP and the TPS are prepared under the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1976 (GTPUDA). The DP is now prepared by the AUDA, while the TPS are prepared and

implemented by two designated authorities, AUDA and AMC, in their respective jurisdictions.

The TPS mechanism is a planning tool, which allows for a detailed reconstitution of the land in the area, with land allocation for various uses as well as raising funds for infrastructure purposes in a private land regime. Under this mechanism, private land plots are readjusted to suit infrastructure (such as roads and trunk network) provision and pooling of lands acquired by the planning authority for the purpose of public facilities' development and commercial use that would raise finances for infrastructure. Lands are reserved for public purposes (such as open parks, health centres and community centres) and housing for the socially and economically weaker section (SEWS housing), commercial land banks, and land for residential and commercial use. The planning authority (AUDA/ AMC) is supposed to retain 40 per cent of the private land at the time of approving the TPS or through acquisition (in case of developed TPSs) and allocates these lands for the purposes mentioned above. The land is deducted at the time of seeking approval for development by the developer and avoids long drawn acquisition process. The private owners do not object to the deduction as they get in return infrastructure access that increases their plot value multiple times. In most cases in the newly developing areas, the lands are acquired without litigations whereas in the older parts, the litigations can drag implementation of the projects for long.

Between 1978 and 1999, 18 TPS covering an area of 2,300 hectare were implemented. Between 1999 to the present, 50 TPS have been completed, covering an area of 5,028 hectares. Of these 50 schemes, 39 are in the west AUDA region and 11 in the east AUDA region. 47 new TP schemes are currently under preparation covering an area of 4,890 hectares.[18] As of late 2009, around 100 TP schemes were being prepared by the AMC and another 100 by the AUDA, with an additional 200 recommended in the DP (Sanyal and Deuskar 2012).

The designing and drafting of the TPS is a lengthy process and its implementation is slow at the ground level. All TPS go through three stages: draft, preliminary, and final. Each stage needs to be approved by the State government, which itself is centralization of decision-making. Even though consultations with affected landowners are held at all stages, the government can take possession of land needed for the construction of roads after the draft scheme has been approved. According to the GTPUDA, the preparation of a TPS is supposed to take around four years. However, the actual time taken to complete each of the three stages (draft, preliminary and final) is much longer. It regularly takes more than a decade for a TPS to move from one stage to the next (Sanyal and Deuskar 2012). There are several reasons behind this such as the slow sanctioning process by the State government, legal land disputes and inadequate financial resources. Further, it allows the State as well as local government to use their discretionary powers to decide the land allocation for various uses, which sometimes do not work in the favour of low-income groups. These discretionary decision-making powers can also lead to arbitrariness and a process that can then be driven by individual vested interests.

As a result of the slow process, what usually happens is that haphazard development begins and spreads before a draft TPS is prepared / sanctioned for the area or before its implementation is started / completed. In the absence of a TPS, an area is not generally entitled to receive basic infrastructure and services like water supply, sanitation and roads.[19] This provision therefore takes place in bits and pieces, formally through MLA or councillor funds or informally through private actors. The private actors may range from a developer to a housing association to musclemen / mafias. This is what is found in most of the urban periphery. Some of the areas become very densely developed before the TPS is prepared, sanctioned or implemented. The land mafias / developers are in the know of the scheme preparation and they capture prime lands to speculate. This is how a situation develops wherein the land / house buyers are at the mercy of the private developers / mafias, relinquishing any say in prices to service levels.

Due to the dense development that has already occurred, demolitions are often required to implement the TPS. A 2013 news article reported that the AMC had not implemented the TPS numbers 38/1 and 38/2 at Dani Limda for 38 years and the implementation of it now would lead to demolition of thousands of houses (DNA 2013a). Implementation of TPS in such areas also leads to displacement of the poor and low-income groups from lands acquired for provision of infrastructure and amenities, and since they are either squatters on these lands or have bought the land on stamp papers and do not have proof of landownership, their rights to the land are not recognized and they are not compensated. Sometimes they are recognized as "slum dwellers" and then they might be entitled to resettlement, but this is usually given in distant locations. The recently legislated Gujarat Regularization of Unauthorized Development Act, 2011, and Rules 2012 might provide a way for those with stamp papers to regularize their constructions. However, as the Act states, no regularization is permitted if the land is designated for specific purpose or is under alignment of roads. As a result, the constructions on TPS reserved plots would not be regularized. Even if regularized, it is not clear whether this Act would entitle them to compensation if their land is acquired in the future under a TPS. The developers engaged in the supply of middle-class to high-end housing tend to follow the provisions of the proposed TPS whereas those supplying to lower income groups do not, making the latter's informal housing vulnerable to evictions.

Urban planning has also moved towards a project-oriented approach. Urban projects like the Sabarmati Riverfront Development project, the Kankaria Lakefront project and most recently, the Bhadra redevelopment project, are designed, planned and implemented to redevelop, beautify and / or upgrade infrastructure in existing parts of the city. These are often treated as discrete projects, and planning is often done in the project area without paying attention to adjacent areas and links of the "project area" to the rest of the city and its dynamics. In the riverfront project, a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) called the Sabarmati Riverfront Development Corporation Limited (SRFDCL) was created for developing the project; the SPV comprised of the mayor, opposition leader, and several bureaucrats from the AMC and State government (Desai 2012b). Often, the nature and process of resettlement for the urban poor displaced under different projects have been different as there is no city-level policy governing resettlement and rehabilitation. Since project-based urban planning is divorced

from city-wide planning and its more holistic concerns, narrow concerns are often pursued and ad-hoc decisions are often taken, narrowing the possibilities for achieving more inclusive urban development.

5.2. Housing and Basic Services for the Urban Poor: Policies and Programmes

In India, the Central government directs housing policies and programmes by framing national policies and programmes, while their adoption and implementation is left to the State governments, resulting in varying levels of success. Most recently, it formulated the National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy (NUHHP) 2007, which was further supported by programmes like Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY), Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) under the JNNURM, and Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY). The NUHHP as well as programmes like BSUP and RAY have acknowledged that in-situ rehabilitation and upgrading along with provision of tenure security of housing is a more successful approach then rehabilitating the urban poor in new housing that generally tends to be in the urban periphery. Even then, the BSUP approach in Ahmedabad has consisted of building new housing units in the city periphery, leading to relocation and uprooting of slum dwellers from their original habitats and livelihoods. Under RAY, the preparation of Slum Free Plan of Action (SFCPoA) is under process in Ahmedabad.

The State government has no overarching policy to address the issue of housing for the urban poor. Instead, there are various legislations, policies and programmes that address this issue in different ways. This includes the GTPUD Act, 1976, under which AMC and AUDA are required to reserve land in the TPS for SEWS housing. It also includes various housing programmes funded by the State government and implemented by the Gujarat Housing Board (GHB), AMC and AUDA. And it includes slum-related legislations such as the Gujarat Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act, 1973, and numerous slum-related policies framed over the years. The latest one is The Regulation for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of the Slums 2010, which seeks to do in-situ redevelopment of slums through private-sector participation and going vertical on the plot of land to make the project viable. This is modelled on Mumbai's Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS), whose possibility of success solely rests on high property prices.

At the city-level, AMC had also initiated a number of programmes for slum improvement and provision of basic services like individual toilets, household-level water tap and sewerage connections, paved roads and street lights to the urban poor. These include the Slum Networking Programme (SNP) implemented in Ahmedabad from 1996-2009 as well as the 80:20, 90:10 and 500 NOC slum sanitation schemes. In this section, we discuss, and in some cases analyse, the major policies and programmes.

5.2.1. Reservation of Land for SEWS Housing in Town Planning Schemes

The TPS, as explained before, provides a planning tool through which land can be and is reserved in different parts of the city for housing for the socially and economically vulnerable groups. However, due to vested interest of the authorities in the land markets and exclusionary attitudes towards the poor, the provisions of these land reservations have not

been effectively used. A study on land reservation for the urban poor states that by the year 2006, 172 plots had been allocated for SEWS housing of which 27.5 per cent plots were lying vacant and 20 per cent were still under agriculture use. SEWS housing was built on merely 6.11 per cent of the land (Joshi and Sanga 2009). This shows that lands are available to improve the housing stock for the poor, but they are improperly utilized and managed.

5.2.2. Slum Networking Programme (SNP)

During 1996-2009, the AMC implemented a pro-poor housing programme called SNP, also called Parivartan, that aimed at in-situ upgradation of slums through provision of a package of basic services like individual water connections, individual toilets and drainage lines, street lights and paving of internal roads. As the name suggests, the scheme was to network the existing slums with the city by improving living conditions within them. The programme was based on a partnership between the AMC, the slum community and NGOs. The slums selected for SNP were given tenure security in the form of a no-eviction guarantee by the AMC for a period of 10 years (For details see Acharya and Parikh 2002; Dutta 2002). A NGO mobilized the slum community and encouraged their participation. Resident Associations were formed which pooled savings from beneficiaries to be used as community contribution. Around 60 slums have been upgraded covering 13,000 households in the city under the programme (Mahadevia 2011b). Studies state that the pace of implementation was slow due to land related disputes and litigations, capacity constraints and lack of political will (Anand, n.d). The programme could not be implemented in slums on private lands since the AMC could not give land tenure on these lands. Unfortunately some slums covered under SNP have since been threatened by demolitions despite being assured tenure security for 10 years. According to one news article from 2009, around 30 SNP slum pockets risked demolition by AMC under TPS. Three major SNP pockets (K.K. Vishwanath ni chali, Machhipir and Khodiyarnagar) were demolished for the Kankaria Lakefront project and the Sabarmati Riverfront project, leaving 1,478 families homeless (Indian Express 2009).

5.2.3. Slum Sanitation Schemes

AMC has also launched a number of programmes to provide and improve sanitation facilities in the slums. In the 1980s, the 80:20 individual toilet scheme was introduced in which 80 per cent contribution for toilet construction was given by the State government / AMC and 20 per cent by the beneficiary. This scheme reached approximately 3,000 families in the slums over a 10 year period. The low number of beneficiaries was due to rigid specifications and complex procedures. In 1990, this scheme was modified into the 90:10 scheme in which AMC's contribution towards toilet construction increased to 90 per cent. This benefited approximately 14,000 families (AMC and PAS 2010). Following this, under the Nirmal Gujarat Sanitation Yojana (NGSY), AMC had targeted constructing 21,000 individual toilets in the year 2009-10; it finished 18,223 by the end of the year. AMC targeted constructing 18,772 individual toilets for 2010-11 and as of November 2011, only 1,737 were built while the remaining 16,988 had not been started (UMC 2012). In 2002, AMC launched the 500 NOC scheme to provide sewerage connections in the slums. The scheme, which is currently under implementation, aims at providing slum residents with a No Objection Certificate (NOC) that allows them to apply for legal individual water and sewerage connections for

their houses. In order to be eligible to apply for the scheme, the applicant should be residing in the slum in a unit of not more than 40 sq.m. and should have residence proof such as ration card, voter ID, tax receipt, electricity bill or land ownership document. The applicant has to pay Rs.500 to the tax department in order to get the NOC.
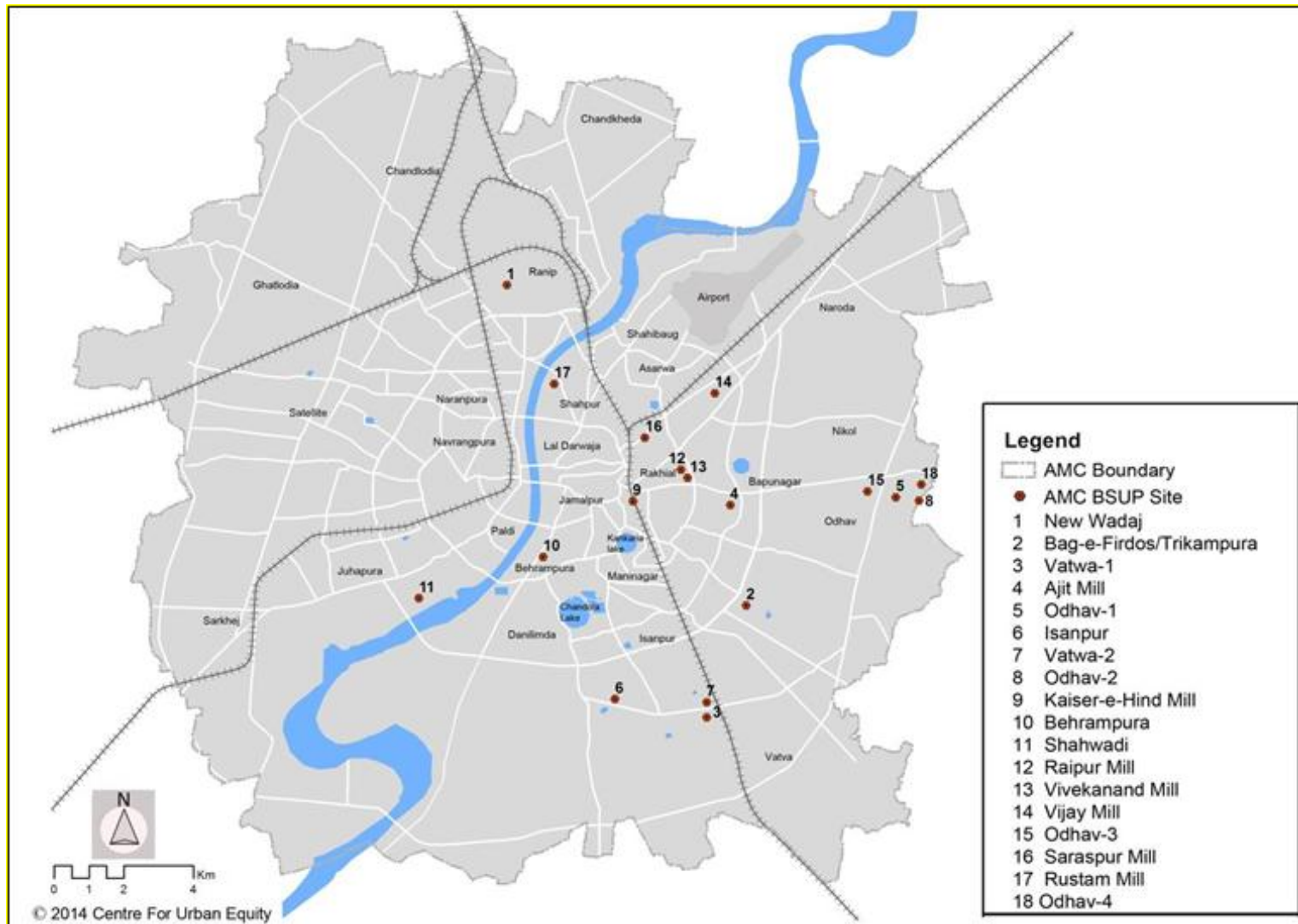
5.2.4. Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP)

The Central government's JNNURM included BSUP as a sub-mission to provide housing and basic services to the urban poor. In Ahmedabad, AMC and AUDA took an approach of constructing new housing. In fact, one reason why SNP was stalled was that its incremental approach did not bring in big players such as consultants, contractors, builders and rent seekers which was possible in the new housing construction approach (Mahadevia 2011b); this is also why the SNP approach was not taken under BSUP. By December 2013, AMC and AUDA had constructed 32,842 dwelling units under BSUP across more than 25 sites (AMC 2013). The dwelling units are of 28 sq.m. built-up area and have been built as G+3 / G+4 buildings. Each dwelling unit is provided with water supply, sewerage and electricity connection and each BSUP site has been provided with an anganwadi and health centre. Under BSUP's financing pattern for Ahmedabad, of the total project cost, the share of the Central government was 50 per cent, share of the State government was 20 per cent and share of AMC / AUDA and beneficiary was 30 per cent (MHUPA 2009). Beneficiary share was not to exceed 12 per cent of the cost of the dwelling unit. The beneficiary share in Ahmedabad came to Rs.66,900.

The AMC used the BSUP houses to resettle families displaced from the city's slums for various development projects such as the Sabarmati Riverfront project, the Kankaria Lakefront project, road-widening and flyover projects and the BRTS. In other words, the BSUP sites built by AMC are resettlement sites. About 11,000 families were displaced under the Sabarmati Riverfront project (Mahadevia 2014), about 2,000 under the Kankaria Lakefront project, and atleast 1,000 seem to have been displaced for road-widening and BRTS projects. Thus, BSUP essentially became a tool for facilitating slum displacement and in some cases, capturing public lands from the urban poor in prime locations (Desai 2012b, 2014; Mahadevia 2011b).

A couple of the BSUP sites are located in western Ahmedabad, many are located in the former textile mill areas of eastern Ahmedabad and many are located in the eastern industrial periphery. Since most of the sites are far from the displaced slum residents' original locations, this has led to negative impacts on their livelihood and social networks. Many are unable to continue with their earlier occupations and for those who have continued, this has resulted in greater travel time and cost. Moreover, the resettlement took place in a piece-meal and fragmentary manner without any clear resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) policy for the city or even for each of the projects under which displacements have occurred. The process of inclusion for resettlement has taken place through intense negotiations and mobilization at the grassroots as well as litigations in the courts (see Desai 2012b, 2014). With no city-wide R&R policy, this also means that there was no city-wide policy on the eligibility

Map 4: Location of BSUP sites

Legend

- AMC Boundary
- AMC BSUP Site

1 New Wadaj
2 Bag-e-Firdos/Trikampura
3 Vatwa-1
4 Ajit Mill
5 Odhav-1
6 Isanpur
7 Vatwa-2
8 Odhav-2
9 Kaiser-e-Hind Mill
10 Behrampura
11 Shahwadi
12 Raipur Mill
13 Vivekanand Mill
14 Vijay Mill
15 Odhav-3
16 Saraspur Mill
17 Rustam Mill
18 Odhav-4

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Source: Map prepared by CUE

criteria. Thus, in some cases, 1976 has been used as the cut-off date for eligibility while in other cases, 2011 has been used. Additionally, in the case of many evictions under the riverfront project, residents from almost every riverfront slum have been scattered across different resettlement sites, eroding their social networks and increasing chances of conflict at the sites as they have been resettled randomly with residents from other slums (Desai 2014). Forced demolitions were carried out a number of times on the riverfront before completing the resettlement. Many displaced slum dwellers were not given this alternate BSUP housing directly and were herded into an open plot next to the city's garbage dumping site on the urban periphery. About 2,500 families were shifted here in 2011 without adequate amenities (see DNA 2011; Our Inclusive Ahmedabad 2012). Even later, not all displaced families received BSUP housing.

5.2.5. In-Situ Slum Rehabilitation Schemes

In 2010, the Gujarat government released "The Regulation for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of the Slums 2010." Like the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) in Mumbai, these regulations, constituted under the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1976, intended in-situ redevelopment of slums (irrespective of their landownership) through the participation of the private-sector. In the rehabilitation schemes approved under the regulations, a dwelling unit of minimum 36 sq.mt. built-up area is to be provided to all eligible slum dwellers with basic amenities. Social infrastructure is to be provided based on the size of the settlement. In addition to the dwelling units, the private developer is required to construct minimum 10 per cent of extra dwelling units and surrender them to the authority. This is intended to create a housing stock to rehabilitate project-affected persons (PAPs). After completion of construction of dwelling units and other infrastructure, the developer may commercially develop the remaining unutilized land, which he would have to acquire from the authority at 100 per cent of prevailing *Jantri* rates.[20] The beneficiaries of the dwelling units can transfer / sell their dwelling unit after 20 years from date of possession.

The regulations define an eligible slum resident as "a slum dweller who is not a foreign national and is an occupant of hutment for a period of minimum of 10 years and has domicile of Gujarat for 25 years or his/her descendent." The required proof of occupancy include any two of the following documents: copy of ration card, copy of electricity bill, proof of being in the electoral rolls and any other proof as decided by the authority. The regulations make it mandatory for the developer to acquire consent of at least 75 per cent of the occupants. The developer is then required to form a registered cooperative housing society of the eligible residents with a core committee of 11-12 members. During the whole process of redevelopment, the developer is required to provide transit accommodation to the eligible residents.

The proposed scheme required the approval from the Slum Rehabilitation Committee (SRC) comprising of senior officials from Municipal Corporation, Urban Development Authority and State-level Urban Development Department. It seems that these regulations failed to attract the private sector and subsequently an amendment to the regulations was introduced in May 2012. The amendment provides more incentives to developers such as transferable FSI

(also known as Transfer of Development Rights or TDR). It also specifies the zones in which the FSI can be used and the time period during which it must be utilised. Following this amendment, rehabilitation schemes by leading developers for around eight slums, situated in both eastern and western parts of Ahmedabad, got approval from the State government (DNA 2012).

Significantly, neither the 2010 regulations nor its 2012 amendment mentioned involvement of any NGO or external agency to mobilize the slum residents. Some developers have, however, involved a NGO having presence in the slum. For instance, Mahila Housing Trust (MHT) has been involved in the rehabilitation schemes in Kailashnagar in Sabarmati and Abhuji na Chappra in Ambawadi.

In July 2013, the State government released another set of regulations called "Planning Regulation for Rehabilitation of Slums on Public Land." This is applicable on slums located only on public land parcels, that is, land owned by the urban local body or State government. In schemes approved under these new regulations, dwelling units of minimum built-up area 25 sq.mt. are to be provided to the eligible residents. Social infrastructure is to be provided based on the size of the settlement and a common plot is to be provided. The regulations allow FSI of 3 on land used for slum rehabilitation. Transferable FSI can be utilised by the developer involved in the slum rehabilitation scheme or transferred or sold or traded to another person. The regulations specify the zones in which the FSI can be used. The period of utilizing the TDR was increased from five years to seven years. Provisions under the 2010 regulations and its 2012 amendment were repealed. Any previous decisions taken were now to be governed by these new regulations. By October 2013, around 12 slum rehabilitation schemes (including the prior 8 schemes) were under various stages of implementation across the city (see DNA 2013b).

The State government then went on to formulate a Draft Gujarat Slum Rehabilitation Policy in 2013, which further modified the regulations to make them more developer-friendly. This policy is applicable to notified slums on public and private lands which are within the jurisdiction of the Slum Rehabilitation Authority to be constituted under the Gujarat Slum Area (Improvement, Clearance and Rehabilitation) Act, 1973. The policy relaxes the eligibility with a cut-off date of December 1, 2010, but has removed the minimum consent clause. It makes community participation mandatory, referring to participation in terms of ensuring cooperation of the people in mapping, survey, registration and creating a database for the scheme as well as in implementation and maintenance of the scheme. However, there is no mention of the specific institutional mechanisms through which community participation is to be ensured, and the policy only mentions that the developer may engage a NGO or CBO for this purpose. The planning regulations in the policy describe the requirements in terms of development of common plots, parking spaces etc. Besides undertaking the construction costs, the developer would also have to create an initial fund for the slum dwellers which would be later transferred to their cooperative society for operation and maintenance purposes of the rehabilitation scheme. No projects have been undertaken yet under this policy.

5.2.6. State Government Housing Policies and Programmes

In the 1980s, the Gujarat Housing Board (GHB) was the most dominant public housing agency in the city. The bulk of its housing construction in the initial period was of subsidised housing for industrial workers under the scheme initiated by the Central government in the second Five Year Plan. Its other housing stock was divided among EWS, LIG and MIG groups (Mehta and Mehta 1987). By March 2008, GHB had constructed a total of 69,364 housing units for the EWS, LIG, MIG and HIG categories, of which 20 per cent was under Integrated Subsidised Housing Scheme (ISHS) and 22 per cent was for the EWS group.[21] After being defunct for 14 years, GHB was revived in 2013 by the State government. Under the Mukhyamantri GRUH Yojna (MGY), GHB has commenced construction of housing units (see Table 10) whose beneficiaries would be selected through allotment draws. To begin, GHB has launched 1,920 units, comprising 456 units for LIG-II and a total of 1,464 units for MIG in two locations of the city (Gota and Sola Road) (DNA 2013c). Under MGY, the urban local bodies would also build EWS and LIG housing. In Ahmedabad, the AMC plans to construct a total of 9,959 housing units: 5,082 for EWS and 4,877 for LIG (see Table 11). These housing units will be built on the SEWS plots reserved in the TPS at various locations in the city (The Indian Express 2013).

Table 10: Mukhyamantri Gruh Yojna: Housing to be built by GHB

Housing type	Annual income of beneficiary (Rs)	Size of dwelling unit	Cost of dwelling unit (Rs)	Mode of payment
LIG 1	100,000 to 250,000	35 sq.m. (1 BHK)	700,000	20% before the allotment
LIG 2	100,000 to 250,000	45 sq.m. (2 BHK)	1,000,000	draw; 80% after the draw in 10
MIG 1	250,000 to 500,000	65 sq.m. (3 BHK)	1,700,000	quarterly instalments

BHK = Bedroom + Hall + Kitchen
Source: GHB 2014

Table 11: Mukhyamantri Gruh Yojna: Housing to be built by AMC

Housing type	Annual income of beneficiary (Rs)	Size of dwelling unit (carpet area)	Cost of dwelling unit (Rs)	Mode of payment
EWS	Upto 100,000	28 sq.m.	300,000	
LIG	100,000 to 250,000	45 sq.m.	1,050,000 to 1,150,000	

Source: Indian Express 2013.

In mid-201, the State government declared that it would make provision for construction of 22 lakh houses in urban areas of Gujarat in the next five years (Ahmedabad Daily News 2013; Daily Bhaskar 2013). The two programmes mentioned above are part of this larger initiative of the State government. It is believed that the State government had announced this programme in response to the Congress Party's election manifesto for the 2012 State Assembly election which included houses to the poor. Another programme that has been subsumed as part of this initiative includes the previously discussed in-situ rehabilitation of slums. As discussed, at first these schemes were to be implemented under "The Regulations for Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of the Slums 2010" which was amended in 2012. These regulations were repealed and a new set of regulations were introduced in July 2013.

This was followed by a policy at the end of 2013. An affordable housing belt has been introduced in the DP of Ahmedabad 2021, which is zone R-AH planned in 76 sq.km. area encircling Sardar Patel Ring Road (SPRR) apart from land of 38 closed mills in Ahmedabad, for the construction 1.5 million housing units of 36-80 sq.m. (AUDA 2013).

5.3. Urban Policies and Legislations affecting Street Vending

As discussed in an earlier section, a large proportion of Ahmedabad's workforce is employed in the informal sector with low wages, no social protection and security and regulated by a hostile legislative framework. A large section of this workforce is engaged in the street vending sector. The National Policy on Urban Street Vendors 2009 states that approximately 2 per cent of a city's population is engaged in street vending. A number of studies have been conducted in Ahmedabad by different organizations to estimate the number of vendors in the city. A study by Bhowmik (2001) suggests that there were around 80,000 street vendors in Ahmedabad at that time, 40 per cent of whom were women. A 2011 census of street vendors in Ahmedabad conducted by the All India Institute of Local Self Government (AIILSG) on behalf of the AMC enumerated 66,559 vendors in the city across six different zones of the city (PRUDA 2011), a figure much lower than that estimated by Bhowmik.

Economic crises of the late 1980s and 1990s on account of closure of the textile mills led to retrenched labour, many finding livelihood opportunities in vending. Migrants, inter-state and intra-state, too have taken to vending as an entry-level profession with low investments, relative ease of entry and exit and flexible working hours. This is also a reason for large numbers of women engaged in street vending. About 35 per cent of the vendors were females in a study by Mahadevia et al (2013). Besides, there are certain communities traditionally engaged in vending activities. These are the Scheduled Caste communities like Patni, Kori and Dantani, for whom vending has been a family tradition since generations.

Street vending is not just a source of employment for the poor but also a means to provide valuable goods and services at affordable prices and convenient locations. Street vendors further contribute to the local economy by providing ancillary employment such as for head loaders and transporters, paying taxes on purchases at the wholesale markets, sourcing goods from local manufacturers and selling goods of the formal-sector outlets. A study by Jajoo (2011) for the year 2011 estimated that there were 3,500 small enterprises in the Bhadra area of the city, engaging 8,750 workers and having annual average turnover of Rs.2,368 million (US$ 43.75 million)[22] (Mahadevia et al 2013: 37). The overall street vending economy in the city was extrapolated to be about Rs.54 billion per year (US$ 1 billion).[23] In spite of recognizing the important contribution of street vendors to the city and its economy, and recent possibilities for regularizing them through the National Policy and the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act 2014, Ahmedabad's regulatory framework is very hostile towards them.

The legislations governing street trade have been imposed from the British period and are very restrictive in nature. The plethora of legislations that control street trade include the Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporation Act, 1949 (BPMC Act); the Indian Penal Code,

1860; the Bombay Police Act, 1951; the Motor Vehicle Act, 1988; the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973 and the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1978 (Mahadevia and Vyas 2012). The municipal and police laws authorize the local authorities to regulate vendors by penalizing and harassing them for obstructing the free flow of traffic, selling goods in public places without licenses, or simply being seen and accused as an obstruction and nuisance in streets and public spaces. Sections 231 and 384 of the BPMC Act have been used time and again to evict and prosecute street vendors.[24] Under the Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporation (BPMC) Act,[25] it is also the duty of the municipal authority to issue licenses to vendors. However, due to the unwillingness of the authority and the complex licensing procedures, only a very small percentage of vendors in the city have licenses. These laws do not directly forbid vending but impose a gamut of restrictions and constraints (Mahadevia and Vyas 2012).

The street vending sector not only lacks pro-street-vendor regulations but is also excluded from the urban planning process, be it in the TPS or recent urban infrastructure and development projects like Sabarmati Riverfront project, Kankaria Lakefront project, Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS), Model Roads, road-widening projects and Bhadra Redevelopment Project. Since there are no laws or policies protecting street vendors against displacement due to urban infrastructure and development projects, many have been displaced in recent years. The TPS, which provide for reservation of land for public purposes and also SEWS housing, can be used by the local planning authority to reserve lands for vendor markets. The National Street Vendors' Policy and Act also envisaged this. However, due to the AMC's unwillingness to include vendors in the formal planning process, there are few attempts at reserving lands for vendor markets. It is being alleged that the AMC does not promote construction of wide footpaths with the fear that these would be encroached upon by the street vendors.

In absence of a dialogue with the local authorities and non-responsiveness of the authorities to their protests, Public Interest Litigations (PILs) through representation from organizations like Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) have been widely used as a means of intervention. In 2006, SEWA had filed a PIL in the Gujarat High Court, seeking to stop the violation of the rights of vendors and asking for implementation of 2004 National Policy. In response, the High Court ordered AMC to prepare a street vending scheme for the city. The resultant Street Vending Scheme is very restrictive and prohibits vending on major roads. It also does not take into consideration the natural markets in the city.[26] According to SEWA, if the scheme were implemented unchanged then 129 out of 174 natural markets in the city would be adversely affected. A recent PIL filed by Krishna Foundation on behalf of vendors at Nehrunagar market resulted in a stay order on evictions and constant harassment by the authorities. The market was under threat of eviction after the AMC declared the road as a Model Road and because of demands for its removal by the surrounding elite and affluent class residents (TOI 2013). The efforts of including the vendors in development projects or providing alternative space have been very limited and are done partially, creating a sense of insecurity for future.

The anti-street-vendor regulations in the city, lack of a legal recognition of street vendors, and the lack of allocated vending space for these vendors leads to conflicts amongst vendors for securing their trading space and also makes them more vulnerable to evictions and confiscation of goods by local authorities. Number of times the authorities also lathicharge the vendors and abuse them verbally. To avoid or resolve conflicts with the authorities the most common practice by vendors is to pay bribes and protection money (known as *hafta*). During festivals like Uttarayan, Diwali and Holi, the frequency and amount of bribes to be paid also increases. In a study by Mahadevia et al (2013), vendors in the Bhadra market area paid Rs.2,500 per month as *hafta* to secure their vending space when they earned around Rs.10,000 per month. In number of markets, vendors also pay *hafta* to formal shopkeepers, anti-social elements or local leaders referred to as *aagyavans* to allow them to vend at those sites.

In recent years in Ahmedabad, vendors in number of locations have been evicted and displaced by urban infrastructure projects such as road-widening, Bus Rapid Transport System (BRTS) and flyover construction. The AMC also has a plan to develop 27 roads in the city as Model Roads. The design of the Model Roads is such that it requires the removal of all vendors and hawkers from either side of the road. SEWA has estimated that 5,143 vendors have already been adversely impacted due to the implementation of the Model Road scheme due to the first phase of the BRTS. At the same time, due to SEWA's efforts, the AMC has tried to give the displaced vendors alternate space at some of the locations, with varying degrees of success. Vendors at the Mansi Tower market who were affected under the Model Road scheme were provided with alternative space in the nearby public garden, on an internal road with no through traffic. This did not work as no clientele was available and the vendors then scattered themselves in the nearby areas. But, a market developed with the provision of space under a flyover near the Jamalpur market to house 280 vendors has been partly successful, however with complaints of some being left out. In absence of legal recognition of vendors, the harassment by the local authorities continues.

Vendors are also excluded in the design and preparation of urban development projects as a result of which many natural markets have been destroyed or dispersed through a series of evictions by the AMC. Under the Kankaria Lakefront beautification, there is no longer free access to the lake and the street vendors doing business in the vicinity have been evicted and instead licensed kiosks have been set up inside the gated urban space. Hence, the commerce run by the vendors has been taken over by a relatively better-off segment of traders. Many vendors were living in the slums nearby, such as Machhipir slum, which have also been demolished and the residents pushed out to the city's periphery. Coming back to vend near their original place of business has become extremely difficult for the displaced vendors and hence their numbers have declined. However, a section of former vendors continue to carry out their business around Kankaria Lake, outside its gated section, in spite of harassment from the authorities.

The Bhadra redevelopment project has also excluded vendors in the design and preparation of the project. The Bhadra market, according to one estimate, consisted of approximately 3,500

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vending enterprises (Jajoo 2011) while the redevelopment plan proposes to accommodate only 860 vendors. The vendors are uncertain about their future and apprehensive of finding vending space in the redeveloped Bhadra square. Since the inception of the redevelopment work at Bhadra in 2011, the authorities have cordoned off the area and the vendors have dispersed in the areas along the barricades. Many vendors have also lost their livelihoods or had to scale down their business. There also has been constant moving around of vendors in the area as the project construction work has progressed without giving them any information on the duration of the project and the future plans of space allocation inside Bhadra plaza. In this constant shuffling of space, there is competition over space which sometimes results in conflicts or tensions amongst vendors. The moving around of vendors is facilitated and negotiated between *aagyavans* (local leaders), the police and the municipal authorities. Since years the market has been functioning through *aagyavans* who have been dealing with the local authorities on behalf of the vendors and in return have been charging *hafta* on daily basis from the vendors (Mahadevia et al 2013). These *aagyavans* may have their own shops along with some vendors working for them as employees and they also seek rent / *hafta* from vendors who do not work for them. Some of the *aagyavans* have been trying to negotiate with the authorities through the Self Employed Labour Association. Recently, vendors from the stretch between Teen Darwaja to Pankornaka were moved. The vendors accommodated themselves into four lines, which was later reduced to three lines after complaints from the formal shopkeepers over the reducing width of the access road. The Bhadra redevelopment project was supposed to be completed by April 2014, but, at the time of writing this paper, it was not yet complete. With many dynamics in the functioning of the dispersed market, it remains to be seen who gets accommodated in the project precincts and who gets excluded.

The vendors who were vending in the Gujri bazaar or Sunday market on the Sabarmati River were also not included in the development process of the Sabarmati Riverfront project. Space was allocated for the market on paper, however, the AMC had communicated nothing to the vendors, leading to rising insecurity amongst them and spurring them to approach the court with a PIL. A new market space has been built on the riverfront, however, it is not clear if all former Gujri vendors have been allotted space or not. In any case, the AMC had to be pressured through the court to engage with the vendors through its vendor association.

5.4. Public Transport Approach

Public transport in Ahmedabad, like the other Indian cities, has not kept pace with the population increase and geographic spread of the city. In particular, those living in the suburban locations and peripheral areas tend to face challenge in terms of access to affordable transport for going to work, educational institutions and health care. Urban transport has been perceived as construction of and widening of roads for motorized vehicles, leaving very little or no space for Non-Motorized Transport (NMT) vehicles and pedestrians. The urban poor, who are losing out on safe transport options in the cities, generally use the NMT modes. This is as much true for Ahmedabad as for other cities.

Ahmedabad's public transport service called the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service (AMTS) started way back in 1947 and successfully catered to the needs of the city population

up to the late 1990s. The AMTS has been providing bus services in the peripheral areas including the areas within the AUDA. Since the beginning of 2000s, the AMTS fleet and utilization rate started falling, leading to also drop in number of passengers (Mahadevia et al 2012). Since 2006, the AMTS has decided to privatize the bus fleet ownership. Its revenues have declined and its budget is in deficit. Its 2010-11 budget has shown an outstanding loan of Rs.6,710.8 million, borrowed from various sources such as the AMC, the Central government, the State government and other finance institutions. There are also concerns regarding its increasing debt burden, and imbalance of income and expenditure (AMC 2010) The modal share of AMTS was just 7 per cent in 2005, which also shows its decreasing patronage. The average speed of an AMTS bus is 15 km/hr and the average waiting time at bus stops is around 15 minutes. (AMC, AUDA and CEPT University 2007). To respond to the situation, the AMC introduced a Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) in 2011, called Ahmedabad Janmarg, after which the situation of AMTS has further deteriorated. Its bus fleet utilization is just 30 per cent to 40 per cent (Mahadevia et al 2012).

The other transport modes are autorickshaws, used as full fare as well as shared, the latter popularly called "shuttle" rickshaws. For many years now, shared autorickshaws have become substitutes for public buses on account of similar fares but greater frequency and better connectivity. Political patronage to the shared autorickshaws is alleged. Since 2004, autorickshaws have carried major trips in Ahmedabad. In 2000, a study by LB-IPTS estimated the modal share of shared autorickshaws to be 5.73 per cent whereas that of full autorickshaws was 2.54 per cent, taking this mode's total share to 8.27 per cent of the city's trips (AMC, AUDA and CEPT University 2007).

Ahmedabad has also experienced a great increase in number of two and four wheelers. There were 9 million vehicles in Ahmedabad till the year 2007. In 2011, of the total vehicles registered with the Ahmedabad Regional Transport Office (RTO), 32 per cent were four-wheelers and 68 per cent were two wheelers (Mahadevia 2012). Increasing vehicle numbers in the city and growing reliance on them for daily commuting has led to road congestions, specifically in old city areas where road widths are already very narrow, causing high carbon emissions as well as pollution. On the major roads, therefore, it has led to narrowing of footpaths and evictions of hawkers. In fact, the idea of a Model Road is one where there are narrow footpaths, no cycle lanes and no vendors.

Table12: City-level Modal Split

Mode share in earlier studies	Walking	Cycle	Public bus	Shared auto rickshaw	M2W	Auto rickshaw	Car-van	Others	Total
LB-IPTS study 2000 [1]	37.6	17.6	8.4	5.7	25.3	2.5	2.5	0.3	100.0
AMC-CEPT 2006 [2]	13.2	18.8	15.0	-	35.0	8.8*	3.1	5.8	100.0

Notes:
* Shared auto rickshaw is assumed to be part of this as it is not mentioned separately.
1 As quoted by AMC et al 2007 (Detailed Project report for BRTS Phase-1)
2 As quoted by AMC 2008 (Detailed Project report for BRTS Phase-2)

Ahmedabad has undoubtedly remained an example of deteriorating bus services, increase in number of accidents involving pedestrians and bicyclists and growth of reliance on private vehicles. The city therefore needed positive interventions in Public Transport options, and equitable distribution of road space, with proper delineation and demarcation of roads, footpaths with space for street vendors, and bicycle tracks.

There have been two major transport studies in the city in last decade or so. First one was "Integrated Public Transport System" in year 2000 and the second and third were the detailed project reports for the metro rail and BRT in 2005 and 2006-07 respectively. As per the modal split described in both the reports, motorized two wheelers have dominated the city traffic and its share has increased in the city over time. Walking has drastically reduced because of the lack of infrastructure, the perceived danger and sprawl. The bus based public transport has not been significant but the situation has moderately improved over the years. The shared auto rickshaw have been very popular option in place of public bus services amongst the lower middle class and the urban poor. Overall, there has been clear deficit of public transport, leading to reduction in accessibility of the urban poor to various opportunities in the city.

Table 13: Profile of BRT Users

	Indicators	Male	Female	Sex ratio
	Income groups of the users			
1	% among users with income less than Rs. 5,000 pm	14.4	11.5	244
2	% among users with income more than Rs. 40,000 pm	10.9	16.8	585
	Age group			
3	% among users in age group 15-40 years	75.9	73.8	369
	Employment			
4	% workers among BRT users	71.8	42.7	226
5	% among users who are casually employed	6.1	3.3	121
6	% among users regularly employed in public sector	8.1	18.0	500
7	% among users regularly employed in private sector	63.8	65.6	232
	Trip purpose			
8	% using BRT for work	55.4	35.0	239
9	% using BRT for education	15.8	19.6	471
11	% using BRT for social, religious and recreational purposes	24.7	38.5	591

Note: Exchange rate assumed to be Rs.45 = 1 US Dollar (USD)
Source: Mahadevia et al (2012)

The construction of the BRTS in the city has not helped the urban poor much. The BRT system user group is dominated by males (72.5 per cent). Of the total users, just 13.7 per cent belong to household income of up to Rs.5,000. BRTS is being used largely by the middle-income groups, with monthly income between Rs.10,000 to Rs.40,000. Half the BRTS users fall within this group. Households with income of Rs.5,000 per month are the bottom half of the urban spectrum and they do not use the BRTS to any great extent. The women among them even use BRTS lesser than the men – sex ratio (females per thousand males) amongst all the users is 244 and among those who are the workers is 226. The sex ratio in the non-workers category using the BRTS is 770, indicating that women are using the BRTS to a

great extent for other purposes than work. A very large proportion, about a quarter among the males and about two in every five among the females use the BRTS for social purposes. It is possible that many of such trips have been induced by a new mode of transport in the city. For example, BRTS connects the western Ahmedabad to the recreational facilities located at the Kankaria Lake in the city's southeast. In other words, BRTS has made the long-distance recreational facilities more accessible for the middle-class from western Ahmedabad and created new demand for transport. Only 42 per cent of the users were taking BRTS for more than 21 days in a month, which means that the BRTS is still to find regular and sustained ridership in the city.

PART II: URBAN PLANNING, CONFLICTS AND VIOLENCE

Numerous conflicts and types of violence in contemporary Ahmedabad are linked to urban planning, policies and governance. Part II discusses three key arenas of conflicts and violence which we have identified as focus areas for research. The first are the slum resettlement sites which were built under JNNURM's sub-mission of Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP). Over 15,000 families have been resettled in BSUP housing following their displacement from various parts of the city under projects such as the Sabarmati Riverfront project, Kankaria Lakefront project, Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) and road-widening / flyover projects. Here, we provide a background for these sites and we outline the deprivations, conflicts and violence at the sites on account of the displacement and resettlement, the inadequacy of infrastructure and service provision, and urban governance. The second are urban informal peripheral settlements that have been formed by informal subdivisions of agricultural land to meet the housing needs of poor and low-income families. Since these are informal subdivisions, the local government has not taken responsibility for providing infrastructure and basic services and a range of informal arrangements have emerged to meet people's needs. Some of these settlements have also emerged as Muslim ghettos as this religious community has faced increasing housing discrimination in other parts of the city. Here, these settlements also comprise of the middle-class and elites. We outline here the background for these settlements and we outline the deprivations, conflicts and violence on account of land, infrastructure and basic services and urban governance. The third focus area for research is public transport where our focus is specifically on women's safety. Here we outline some of the conflicts and violence that women living in poor and low-income localities face in relation to accessing and using public transport. This discussion sets the stage for detailed case studies for research in each of the three focus areas.

6. Slum Resettlement

In the 2000s, AMC initiated several urban development projects in Ahmedabad, many of which overlapped with spaces inhabited by the urban poor and low-income groups. When AMC began implementation on these projects, it did not have a Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) policy. The riverfront dwellers affected by the Sabarmati Riverfront project approached the Gujarat High Court with support from some concerned citizens and non-governmental organizations. A PIL was filed by them through Girish Patel, a well-known lawyer and human rights activist (Mahadevia 2014). The court gave a stay order on evictions, asking AMC to submit a R&R policy to the court, which AMC did three years later. Moreover, this R&R policy was minimal and ambiguous, and given the AMC's politics around riverfront development, the resettlement process that unfolded under this policy was deeply problematic (Desai 2012b; 2014). The R&R policy was implemented in haste inspite of forming a R&R monitoring committee, which resulted in wrongful inclusions and wrongful exclusions (Mahadevia 2014). In many cases, slum residents found it difficult to prove their eligibility, having lost important documents in the river's floods or during communal riots. Many were not able to submit proof documents since neither ration-cards nor election cards had been issued by government authorities since 2007. Many were

harassed due to incorrect spelling of their names in the surveys and insufficient proof documents. When the resettlement process began, it was based on a 2002 cut-off date, which was later extended to 2007, and finally to 2011; these extensions happened through contentious processes involving forcible demolitions by AMC in the midst of the resettlement process and court orders following this.

Following its forcible demolitions on the riverfront, AMC asked the evictees to shift to a locality called Ganeshnagar on the city's outskirts, near its rubbish dump, however, the location and conditions there led many to treat it as a part-time home at best. Many evictees were therefore forced to scatter across the city through their own coping mechanisms. This also made it even more difficult to ensure their inclusion in resettlement. The local leaders, who were part of the PIL process, were coopted by the AMC as the resettlement process unfolded and they turned into brokers. Narratives abound about these leaders having taken money to include people's names on the last survey list that the court asked them to prepare (Desai 2014). The resettlement also did not include any rehabilitation measures to speak of. It was through such processes that by 2012, about 11,000 families from the riverfront had been resettled across approximately 20 different sites built under BSUP.

Different groups of slum dwellers displaced from along the BRTS corridors also approached the Gujarat High Court with PILs through Mukul Sinha, another well-known lawyer and human-rights activist in the city. Through the court process, they were first shifted to Ganeshnagar, where many of them lived for 3-4 years while many others treated as a part-time home, before being resettled at the housing sites built under BSUP. In fact, Ganeshnagar emerged as a dumping site for the urban poor displaced by different development projects in Ahmedbad. It continues to be so and the condition of services and amenities were, and continue to be, dismal (Our Inclusive Ahmedabad 2012). Even as our focus is on the BSUP resettlement sites, it is important to remember that many slum dwellers have remained at Ganeshnagar, endlessly making efforts, or simply waiting, to be considered eligible for BSUP housing. Based on previous research and preliminary fieldwork, below we briefly outline the conditions at the resettlement sites and people's experiences in relation to them.[27]

The resettled families have been given *pucca* houses of 28 sq.m. built-up area comprising of two rooms and a kitchen. Many from the riverfront are happy that they got *pucca* houses as earlier their houses along the river got flooded during the monsoons. However, there are others, from the riverfront as well as other areas of the city, who had *pucca* houses in their earlier localities, which were larger than the BSUP units and were also conveniently located in areas where they had their livelihoods and investments in social capital. The latter types of families are less satisfied with the BSUP houses and some even feel bitter that they lost the houses they had built along with their social networks. Moreover, with the resettlement sites being far from their original localities, the majority of the resettled families have experienced negative impacts on their livelihood. Many are therefore resentful and question the advantage of having a *pucca* house when resettlement has led to a greater struggle around earning their livelihood.

Most of the families, before resettlement, were earning their livelihood in the informal sector, often within walking / cycling distances of their home. Majority of women worked as domestic maids, street vendors or were engaged in home-based work such as kite-making and stitching garments, while majority of men were engaged in daily-wage labour, low-wage regular work (for instance, in small shops and workshops) and street vending. The resettlement had profound impacts on their livelihood due to the distance of the resettlement sites. The average distance of the resettlement sites from the central city area is seven kilometres. Some of the sites like Vatwa and Odhav (which comprise of almost one-third of the BSUP houses built by AMC) are more than 12 kilometres from the central city area. After resettlement, travel distances, travel time, and travel costs have increased tremendously, the latter cutting into their savings. For some, the increased travel costs left so little to save that it simply did not make sense to continue work. Home-based workers faced difficulties in obtaining work; domestic maids found it increasingly difficult to manage work and their own home; street vendors were unable to walk with their handcarts to the markets where they bought / sold their goods. With many resettlement sites located in areas with poor provision of health and education, and their ration-cards not yet transferred to the new locations, many have to go to the central city area to access these, also leading to increased expenditures on travel.

Many of the resettlement sites do not have adequate water, drainage and solid waste management. Most of the sites have been provided with bore-wells, including for drinking water. This water is not potable and there are widespread complaints about the hardness of the water and its effects on health. Some of the residents fetch water from public standposts outside the settlement. Very few have been able to afford installing domestic water filtration units in their flat. Although there is supposed to be running water in each flat, low water pressure and pipe leakages intermittently leads to many having to obtain water from other flats or other buildings. Without proper running water, domestic sanitation, including upkeep of the toilets provided in each flat, also becomes difficult. Sanitation is also poor in the streets and open spaces due to irregular municipal services to clean the drains, collect garbage and sweep the area as well as indiscriminate littering by some residents. Most residents contribute money towards getting the drains cleaned by an informal sanitation worker. At the resettlement sites, physical infrastructure for an anganwadi (which refers to a government-sponsored childcare and mother-care centre in India)[28] and a primary health centre has been built, but at most sites they are not functioning and the buildings are lying vacant and have been vandalized.

As a result of the distance of the sites from workplaces and many sites located in less developed areas of the city, some families have left after either illegally selling their houses or renting them out. As mentioned earlier, since the resettlement process was so problematic, many families were sent to Ganeshnagar and those whose eligibility for resettlement was not clear continue to live there. However, due to the inhuman conditions there, many of them also moved to the resettlement sites and began to occupy the unallotted flats there. AMC has sometimes carried out checks to identify these illegally occupied houses. This creates insecurity amongst such residents of the sites, and middlemen have emerged who collect

money from such families and bribe municipal officials to not harass them. High electricity bills at some of the sites have also spawned providers of illegal electricity connections.

Since the resettlement split residents of many of the demolished slums across different sites, and, moreover, randomly resettled them with residents from other demolished slums, this has had profound effects on social networks and social cohesion. Many residents contrast the strong social bonds they had with their neighbours in their earlier localities to the lack of trust amongst residents at the resettlement sites. Some point to the effects of this on addressing issues that need cooperation between residents. Residents often blame particular communities for poor sanitation, for running illegal liquor dens, and for picking fights. While the resettlement process segregated Hindus and Muslims into different sites (see Desai 2014), there is one site in Vatwa where the religious communities have been resettled together. An adjoining site has been resettled with only Muslims. The former is referred to as Hindustan and the latter as Pakistan by the residents, some of whom blame the other religious community for the high crime and violence in and around the localities. Residents are also facing hostility from surrounding localities at some of the resettlement sites. At the resettlement site built on the former Vivekanand Mill land, local youth from the surrounding working-class localities harass the resettled residents by intimidating them and forcefully using the open spaces of the site. A group of the women also complained to the police about this harassment. At another resettlement site, this one located in Vatwa, there has been a violent clash between a group of young men from the site and some residents of a nearby squatter settlement.

A number of the sites have seen frequent thefts and burglaries, and there is a sense of lack of safety amongst many women. Illegal liquor dens and gambling dens have come up at many of the sites, in the open public spaces or the unused anganwadi and health centre buildings or the vacant flats not yet allotted by the AMC. In the largest resettlement site, comprising of almost 2,500 flats, there are also reports of prostitution in some of the vacant flats, with girls being brought in from cities like Mumbai. Some residents argue that while there were illegal liquor dens in many of their previous localities as well, and this used to create a troublesome environment and had a bad influence on their children, many residents feel that at the resettlement sites the environment has become much worse. The point of view differs depending on the specific locality that a resident lived in earlier and the particular resettlement site they have shifted to.

AMC envisions that the management and maintenance of basic services at the resettlement sites would be handed over to cooperative housing societies formed at each site. It has also engaged two NGOs, the Mahila Housing Trust (MHT) and SAATH to form these societies. This involves forming a committee of core members, getting the society registered, opening a bank account for it and collecting money from each member-resident to deposit in this account, following which AMC would hand over the sites to these societies. Both NGOs are facing enormous difficulties in this process at every stage. At most sites, core committees have been formed but the remaining member-residents refuse to contribute money. Residents cite the reason as lack of support from the NGO in addressing any of the problems they face,

be it water, sanitation or any other. The poor socio-economic conditions of the majority of residents and the social disruption that has occurred through resettlement are other reasons that prevent the formation of the society.

In conclusion, we have selected the three adjacent sites at Vatwa, which together form the highest concentration of resettlement flats in the city, and one site at Ajit Mill as case studies. Below we briefly identify several potential points of conflict and violence at these sites. The first are conflicts and violence arising out of the challenges to livelihood that many residents face at these sites. The second are conflicts arising between residents (or groups of residents) over basic services or between residents and those who informally manage these services at the sites. Some of these conflicts appear to be arising as a result of inadequate resources and services as well as the social disruption caused by resettlement. A third point of conflict is around the formation of the residents' cooperative housing societies. This appears to be linked to the social disruption caused by the nature of resettlement and resulting lack of trust between residents.

A fourth point of conflict is around the flats which some people want to sell and over the unallotted flats. Middlemen and musclemen are often involved in the processes of sale/purchase of flats as well as in illegally opening up vacant unallotted flats and giving these out on rent and/or protecting those who have illegally occupied such flats. Conflicts and violence arising as a result of gangs and musclemen engaged in various activities such as liquor sale/consumption, gambling, drugs and prostitution, is a fifth point of conflict and violence. Not just open public spaces, but also vacant unallotted flats and the unused *anganwadi* and health centre buildings have been taken over for these activities at some sites. Crimes such as burglaries, thefts and even stabbings have been reported at some of the sites, and they form a sixth vector of conflict and violence. Conflicts between residents and surrounding host communities is a seventh point of conflict. Such conflicts appear to be occurring on different issues at different resettlement sites and the links to planning, policies and governance would have to be explored. Women and girls are amongst the most marginalized group and the above mentioned conflicts often involve or result in violence against women in public spaces in and around the sites.

7. Informal Urban Peripheral Settlements

The communal riots in Ahmedabad, starting from the 1969 riots to the recent 2002 riots, have led to increasing communal divides in the city and the ghettoisation of Muslims. Many Muslims moved out of the old city and mill areas of eastern Ahmedabad to the western periphery of the city to an area commonly known as Juhapura. After the 2002 riots, the communal polarisation and ghettoisation increased. Other smaller Muslim ghettos emerged in different parts of eastern Ahmedabad. One of these is an area in Dani Limbda which is commonly known as Bombay Hotel.

The area known as Juhapura amongst outsiders actually comprises of eight pockets: Juhapura, Maktampura, Fatehwadi, Makarba, Sarkhej, Okaf, Vejalpur and Gyaspur. Until

2006, the area was under the jurisdiction of AUDA and comprised of five panchayats, namely, Vejalpur, Maktampura, Shahwadi, Sarkhej and Gyaspur (Jaffrelot and Thomas 2011). In 2006, it was included in the AMC limits under the New West zone. The residential growth in Juhapura began in 1973 after the floods in Sabarmati River which devastated houses of 2250 slum dwellers along the river banks. The flood victims, Hindus and Muslims, were relocated in a small locality called Sankalit Nagar. Some upper-middle-class housing societies, some Hindu and some Muslim, also came up in the nearby areas. Kajal Park, Saddam Park, SunRise Park, Gulmohar Society and An-ul-haq are some of these societies. These are formal developments, with clear land titles and provided with infrastructure and basic services. After the 1985 riots and then the 1992 riots, Muslims from other parts of the city migrated to the area around Sankalit Nagar. Sankalit Nagar itself became almost entirely Muslim with the Hindus moving out. After the 2002 riots, even affluent Muslims migrated to this area for safety. Most of the Hindu societies came to be inhabited by Muslims as the Hindus left the area. A clear divide exists today between these Muslim dominated areas and the adjacent Hindu dominated areas in Vejalpur, and the space between the two areas is commonly referred to as the "border" by both sides. During the 2002 riots, many incidents of violence took place along this "border." The Hindu societies adjacent to Juhapura have built high compound walls, making the divide visible and stark.

With the communal divide increasing after every riot, and access to housing for Muslims in other parts of the city becoming more and more difficult, an ever increasing number of Muslims turned towards this area. The high demand in the area for housing amongst the city's Muslims was met through housing societies developed by builders through the informal subdivision of agricultural lands. Some of the societies were simply plotted developments while in others, the builders also built the houses. These transactions of land and houses took place through documents such as stamp papers. While some builders legally bought land and then illegally subdivided it, many others forcefully captured land and then illegally subdivided it. In the former situation, the residents might legally own the land but the non-agricultural use and construction is illegal since non-agricultural (NA) conversion has not been done and planning and building permissions have not been taken. In the latter situation, which seems to be the majority of cases, particularly amongst the low- and middle-income groups, not only is the non-agricultural use and construction illegal but the residents do not legally own the land either.

During the time that the area was under AUDA and the nagar or gram panchayats, it was not provided with basic infrastructure services and amenities (see Roy 2006). Even after being included in the AMC limits in 2006, the area did not receive basic infrastructural services and amenities of water supply, drainage, schools and primary health centres. The reason that is commonly given for this situation is that services can be laid only after Town Planning (TP) schemes are implemented in an area. According to our interviews with some key informants, there are six municipal bore wells in the area, but these cater to just 25 per cent of the population of Juhapura. In absence of municipal services, informal arrangements have evolved to arrange for provision of services. The upper middle class formal societies (for example, near Muskan Garden and in the area opposite Sankalit Nagar, on the other side of

Juhapura-Sarkhej Road) have their own bore wells or have municipal connections but the informal societies are mainly served by informal water providers who charge around Rs.200 per month per household for the supply. The water is provided through water supply lines laid from their private bore-wells. The water providers seem to operate through mafia-type processes as they control certain territories for water supply and seem to have groups of youth to collect the money. Such water providers are not to be found in all the areas, however. In most of Fatehwadi, the area south of Juhapura, across the Juhapura-Sarkhej Road, most of the households have hand pumps since it is close to the riverbed and thus there is higher water table. Water supply lines with Narmada water has also been laid in few pockets but are not operational yet. The reason is not known. One reason worth exploring is whether the water mafias have played a role in discouraging formal water supply from entering the area since their business that would be adversely affected. At some places, institutions like masjid committees are supplying water to the societies. In a few areas, municipal councillors send water tankers, but this water is not adequate. It is interesting to note that in contrast to the poor level of services in Juhapura, Praveen Nagar-Gupta Nagar slum settlements just across the road are provided with good level of services and even recently with gas pipelines. Recently, construction has started of a large underground water tank in which Narmada water would be stored and distributed.

Along with the water supply problems, there are severe waterlogging problems in the area because of lack of drainage system. Builders have constructed housing societies by filling up the natural *nallahs* and blocking the drainage paths. In absence of drainage lines, residents have built septic tanks which often overflow and contaminate the ground water. Since water, including drinking water, is ground water, obtained through hand pumps and bore wells, this leads to health hazards. In order to avoid hefty expenses of getting septic tanks cleaned, illegal drainage connections are also made into nearby municipal drainage lines. These drainage connections are often arranged through bootleggers, who charge around Rs.1500 to make the connection and who also operate through mafia-type arrangements. However, even the illegal drainage connections do not help much since the capacity of the municipal lines to which they are illegally connected are not equipped for this inflow. A news article reported that after four years of being within the AMC limits, residents had filed a PIL in the Gujarat High Court complaining that AMC had taken no step to supply basic services in the area in spite of residents paying water and sanitation tax to the civic body (TOI 2010). The court directed the State Urban Development department and AMC to create a water distribution network and sewage facilities for the area, but not much work has been done yet.

The area also lacks in terms of social amenities like schools and hospitals. The area has only 27 primary and secondary schools of which only four are government-run. A survey conducted by the NGO Samerth stated that while there are around 6,000 children who come of school-age in the area every year, the government schools can admit only 10 per cent of them (Jaffrelot and Thomas 2011). People are mainly dependent on two private hospitals apart from many private dispensaries.

Although there are municipal-level and State-level political representatives for the area, their demands for better services and amenities for the area are not met by the BJP-led local and State governments. In fact, the manner in which the boundaries of the electoral constituencies are drawn also mean that the elected representatives do not necessarily represent the interests of the residents of these Muslim areas. Initially, this Muslim area was part of the Assembly electoral constituency of Sarkhej-Lambha. However, for the last State Assembly elections (conducted in 2010), the entire Muslim area was divided across a number of Hindu-dominated constituencies because of which it was not possible for a leader from this area to get elected.

Mafias exist not only around water and drainage provision but also around land. The forceful capturing of land by land mafias in many pockets of these areas, including the entire area of Fatehwadi, have also led to instances of conflicts between different groups of land mafias. The functioning of the land mafias, who are also interlinked to various other illegal activities such as bootlegging, seems to be through gangs (referred to as "folders"), many of whose members are youth who are drawn into these activities at the prospect of easy money.

The communal polarisation and ghettoisation of Muslims in the city has also had socio-economic impacts for Muslims. The impacts are particularly severe for poorer Muslim women, who have resorted to prostitution and medical testing due to lack of employment opportunities in these ghettos.

Another area that has developed in a similar manner to Juhapura, but mostly after the 2002 riots, is commonly known as Bombay Hotel. It is located west and south-west of Chandola lake in eastern Ahmedabad, and is part of Behrampura municipal ward. The residential area is surrounded by industries on its eastern and northern sides, the city's garbage dump on the western side and Narol highway on the southern side, making it more secure for Muslims. It has similar characteristics as Juhapura in terms of the demand for housing among the city's Muslims being met by informal subdivisions carried out by various builders. However, while Juhapura has a socio-economic mix, Bombay Hotel is almost entirely poor, lower class and lower-middle class. The men and women in the area are employed in nearby small industries like dying, embroidery, stitching; many women work as domestic maids in other, mostly Muslim, areas of the city. In some cases, builders built housing societies of *pucca* houses, selling them on stamp papers at low down-payments of Rs.25,000 and then low instalments. In some cases, these were even daily instalments of Rs.25-30, which made it accessible to those with low affordability. Many of the residents are now paying property tax since past 3-4 years but have not received basic services since no TP scheme has been implemented in the area.

In absence of municipal services, the whole area is provided with water through informal arrangements. This mainly includes bore-wells built by the builder for a particular housing society and operated by his man. In some societies, a resident has dug his own bore well and is then supplying to others around him. The supply takes place through water supply lines that are laid or through a rubber pipe. The charges differ between Rs.180-300 per month. In

one pocket, Rs.200 was being collected from dwelling units on the ground floor and Rs.300 for G+1 housing unit, with the supply being for one and a half hours on alternative days. These arrangements often operate through mafia-type processes since the territories in which each water provider supplies water is controlled and alternative suppliers cannot easily emerge. The water supplied from the bore wells is not suitable for drinking since it is not only hard water but also contaminated due to the nearby industries. Many therefore collect water from nearby industries like Muskan Storage whose owner has installed a free cold water supply point. Some buy bottled water. Drinking water is also supplied through municipal water tankers, but the timings and location are not fixed. Long queues and irregularity of the tankers often lead to verbal fights and conflicts amongst residents. Hence the residents have to contact the municipal officials to send water tankers to the area.

This area also faces acute waterlogging problems because of lack of drainage. Many households have built a shallow pit to collect waste water from washing clothes and utensils. In many societies builders have built drains but since there is no connection to a municipal line, the drains either overflow onto the streets or are emptied into the small ponds in the area. In the monsoons, this leads to severe waterlogging and eventually waterborne health hazards. Besides three entry roads to the area which are tarmac road (*pucca*), all the other roads are *kutcha*. These roads are often clogged with overflowing gutters in the monsoon, and then residents have no choice but to walk through them in order to leave the locality. Although the area has been provided with electricity connections by Torrent Power, many small industries, in order to reduce the running costs, have made illegal connections, which leads to overloading and bursting of wires and hence long power cuts.

Bombay Hotel also lacks other social amenities like schools, health centres and hospitals. There is only one government school nearby, with the remaining 6-7 schools being privately-run. With lack of government schools and high expenses of private schools, many children have dropped out of schools. Under the government ICDS scheme, there are some anganwadis that are run by NGOs. The Centre for Development (CfD) has started several schools for drop-outs. There are also a number of other NGOs working in the area, whose initiatives seek to empower local residents. Sanchetna works in the area on health issues, particularly amongst women. It has also identified women from the community for training on civic issues, health issues, etc. These women make up Sanchetna's "Community Development Volunteers" (CDVs). The CDVs often make demands on the government for better services and amenities. In 2006, a decision to demolish a municipal school was opposed by the residents who were mobilized by the CDVs. They later met with the Education Minister and eventually got a new school in the area. Every year on World Health Day, Sanchetna mobilizes residents to rally and protest on the issue of basic services at the Dani Limda municipal zonal office. Before the last municipal elections, CDVs make a demand charter and submitted it to the candidates.

There are land mafias in this area also. Frequent conflicts occur around land grabbing and there have also been reports of *supari* killings in the area. Lack of street lights and presence of illicit activities like *daru addas* and gambling makes it unsafe for women and girls,

especially during late evenings. Many parents hesitate in sending their daughters for education and work. There have been reports of gang conflicts over establishing their territories for functioning of these illicit activities.

Recently, implementation of a TP scheme has begun in Bombay Hotel. Work has started by widening the main market road and a few other roads in the nearby industrial part. While provision of basic services and amenities is urgently required, if the TP scheme as it is currently designed gets implemented, it will lead to demolitions of many houses. According to one estimate, approximately 1200 houses would be demolished. There is no clarity on whether or not the residents would be rehabilitated or given any compensation. Although they have spent their money on purchase of land and houses, they are not the landowners and only have documents like stamp papers. The landowners and the builders of the societies are likely to reap the benefits from the increase in the land prices after implementation of the TP scheme.

In both Juhapura and Bombay Hotel, in the absence of the state, private and non-governmental actors have taken important initiatives in provision of services and amenities. However, not all the initiatives are philanthropic or empowering in nature and often seem to involve forcible control of territories and muscle-power to provide services as a business. Some of these actors act as the state, and some also have inter-linkages to various state and political agents. The question is what kinds of deprivations, conflicts and types of violence does this mitigate as well as create.

In conclusion, we have selected the Bombay Hotel area as a case study, and have identified several points of possible conflict and violence. The first is that water supply through informal arrangements may lead to conflicts amongst the residents and bore well water suppliers who charge heavily for the service. In most of the cases, the water suppliers are the builders who have sold the housing units but still own the bore well as a means of earning money. These bore well owners have appointed one person from the society to maintain the functioning of the bore well and collect money from the residents. There may also be conflicts amongst residents and those maintaining the bore wells. In case the bore well of one society gets damaged or is under repair, the residents of other societies do not share their water. The owner of the bore well has put restrictions on sharing of water, but he sometimes sells water to residents of other societies. The second are conflicts over collecting water through water tankers. The drinking water supply is through the water tankers, but their timings and locations are not fixed. Residents from one society do not allow other society residents to collect water from tankers that have come into their society. Often there are conflicts amongst women who have to stand in the queue to collect water.

Third is conflicts linked to drainage. Many builders have provided drainage connections at the time of selling the houses, but connections are mostly illegal and haphazard in nature. Over the years, with the increasing population in the area, the drainage lines do not have the capacity and hence lead to clogging and overflowing. The overflowing sewage is another

reason that leads to conflicts amongst societies. Often the AMC would not come to clean the drainage lines, hence the residents have to call private persons to clean the drainage lines.

The fourth possible conflict is related to land. There are various builders and land mafias functioning in the area and there are possible conflicts amongst them. The fifth is the conflicts that are likely to arise in the context of the TP scheme implementation. Builders have sold houses through transactions on stamp papers, and hence the current owners' claims on the land are not considered legal. Despite paying property tax for several years, residents have not received any basic services. With the implementation of TP scheme, there is a promise of services, but there is also fear amongst residents of losing their house, without compensation, due to demolitions for road widening and laying of infrastructure.

Sixth is that illegal activities like bootlegging, supply of drugs and gambling has increased and these activities are attracting youth in it. There are also conflicts amongst youth gangs within the area. Related to this is that the presence of illegal activities and youth gangs, along with lack of street lighting in the area, create threats to women's safety. Women hesitate to come out during late evenings and many girls have also dropped out of school for this reason. Finally, there might be types of violence emerging due to the lack of employment opportunities. There are also reports of high domestic violence due to deprivation of source of incomes.

8. Public Transport and Women's Safety

According to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), in the year 2013 there was an alarming 30 per cent rise in crimes against women in Gujarat compared to 2012. In the same duration, incidents of rape and assaults on women arose by almost 50 per cent (TOI 2014). Among 53 cities, Ahmedabad ranked fourth in crime against women by accounting for 4.6 per cent of the total such crimes in India (NCRB 2013). These crimes occur both in private as well as public spheres like public transportation. This has impacts for women's mobility. For instance, a 2009 study by Centre for Equity and Inclusion in New Delhi stated that 95 per cent women surveyed said that their mobility was restricted because of fear of harassment in public spaces (Kearl n.d). While Ahmedabad has made a number of visible interventions in public transport in the past several years, and research has shown that this has not been particularly beneficial for the poor, there is a lack of research, and therefore understanding, on what the issues of security faced by women in accessing and using public transport. This is the reason for selecting this as a focus area for research.

Ahmedabad public transport is mainly served by AMTS, BRTS and intermediate public transport (IPT) like private and shared autorickshaws. As mentioned earlier, AMTS ridership has reduced over the past decade and introduction of BRTS has led to further decline of AMTS. A study by Mahadevia et al (2012) found that BRTS users in the city is dominated by males, with just 13.7 per-cent of them belonging to income group of up to Rs 5000. This percentage is even lesser for women in this income group, implying that it is either not affordable or does not cater to their needs. In absence of direct connectivity by BRTS, and

poor frequency and connectivity of AMTS, especially in certain parts of the city, there is high dependency on IPT, which is easily available and has the necessary connectivity. It is often seen that women from poor localities rely on shared autorickshaws to reach their work place. But shared autorickshaws are often overcrowded with 8-10 persons (four in the front and four at the back) as the drivers seek to earn more, making women commuters more vulnerable to harassment. Besides, the ride itself is unsafe as the three-wheelers are not stable and overloading can lead to their toppling. Poor working women have fewer transport choices and hence many also resort to walking to their work place. Those using non-motorized transport (walking or cycling) are also more vulnerable to thefts taking place on the road.

Some women, however, continue to use AMTS due to greater affordability, but the low frequency can have impacts on their safety. Other factors contributing to lack of safety while accessing and using public transport in the city are poor street lighting, poor maintenance of public spaces and lack of police stations. Illicit activities in localities can make traversing streets passing through these areas unsafe in general and for women in particular. These factors also further deter women's access to livelihood. This is seen to be particularly the case for women who live on the urban periphery which is less developed in terms of both public transport options and other infrastructure. The large-scale displacement carried out for implementation of development projects like BRTS and Sabarmati Riverfront project has pushed more poor women out to the periphery. In lieu of increasing transportation costs, time consuming and unsafe travel options, many displaced women have also opted to drop out from the labour market, which has impacts on their sense of security.

Based on the existing research on transport and mobility, and our preliminary observations in Ahmedabad, we therefore conceptualize women's safety and security in relation to accessing and using public transport as involving three dimensions. First is safety and security in terms of violence against women (VAW). VAW refers to violence that women experience *because they are women.* This includes sexual harassment, eve teasing, stalking, flashing, etc. Second is safety and security in terms of vulnerability to road accidents. Third is safety and security in terms of security of livelihood since lack of mobility or expensive transport can lead to insecure livelihood, especially for poor women.

CONCLUSION

This paper has developed a background understanding of Ahmedabad by discussing its demography; economic transformations since liberalization and their impacts for urban poverty and inequality; the historical growth of the city and the resulting spatial segmentation; the current status of housing amongst the urban poor and low-income groups; and the urban development paradigm in terms of planning, housing, basic services, street vending and public transport. This background sets the context for interrogating conflicts and violence in Ahmedabad. In this concluding note, we summarise the Ahmedabad context as well as the conflicts and violence that we have identified as focus areas of research.

Ahmedabad, a city of about 6 million population, is the commercial capital of the western state of Gujarat. While Gujarat is one of the fastest growing economies of the country, it has not translated into improved human development in the state. The specific characteristics of Gujarat's economy are in various ways reflected within Ahmedabad like the urban economy's reliance on the tertiary sector, informalization of labour and the pursuit of pro-elite development policies with non-participatory governance that exclude the poor and low-income groups.

The shift to the tertiary sector and increased informalization of labour (leading to workers moving into casual labour and self-employed work) occurred in Ahmedabad as a result of the closure of the city's textile mills from the 1980s. While there were several reasons for the closures, the situation was hastened by the Central government's liberalization and privatization policies since 1991, pursued with more vigour and efficiency in Gujarat than other states of India. The changing economy and labour markets of the city under liberalization has contributed to increasing vulnerability amongst the poor and low-income groups as well as a breakdown of associational life, leading to fewer possibilities for containing communal tensions.

The city's growth over various periods of its history has shaped its socio-spatial patterns, which have layered and transformed over time, resulting in a deeply segmented city. Today, Ahmedabad is broadly divided into at least three cities. The first is the original core or the walled city located on the eastern bank of the Sabarmati River, where different communities live but where Hindus and Muslims have become more distanced than earlier. The second is the industrial area on the eastern side of the walled city, which emerged with the establishment and growth of the textile mills in the late-19th and early/mid-20th century, which came to be surrounded by *chawls*, inhabited by the working class. From the 1970s, slums also began to emerge around the *chawls*. Dalits and Muslims lived in close proximity in the same *chawls* but have now become segregated and distanced. The third is the city west of the Sabarmati River, where the rich and the upper/middle classes and castes migrated to establish their housing societies.

The eastern and western peripheral development has been partly shaped by the nature of the eastern industrial area and western middle/upper class area, although the nature of

development also partly differs. The eastern periphery developed into industrial areas comprising of unorganized industries and slum housing for workers and low-income groups. In recent years, EWS housing has been built by the government in this area and lower-middle class residential localities have also emerged here. On the other hand, the western periphery developed first through high-rise development and then through low-rise gated communities, interspersed with former villages, construction and migrant labour pockets and a few EWS schemes. The western segment of the city has thus developed as relatively low-density development and high land and property prices whereas the eastern segment is relatively high-density and low land and property prices.

The decade of the 1980s also saw the beginning of another spatial transformation spurred by episodes of communal violence, with organized Hindu groups often targeting Muslims in a systematic manner. This has led to clearly drawn out communal divides in urban space, resulting in a city of ghettoes. The main Muslim ghettos have emerged towards the periphery in both the south-west and south-east. Many parts of these Muslim ghettos are under- or unserved by municipal services and amenities. Today, the city is therefore segmented in terms of class, caste and religion, as well as quality of housing, its typologies, and levels of services and amenities.

With the Gujarat government's increasing focus on economic growth over the past decade, it has pushed for the development of Ahmedabad as a world-class city. This is reflected in the urban development paradigm that has sought to change the image of the city. Recent urban transformations represent the elitist vision to make the city "world class" to attract more investments. Mahadevia (2011a) affirms that the urban policies attempt to cater to both sides, displacing the poor through its urban development projects and including them through urban poverty programmes like BSUP and RAY. However, the latter are usually not designed or implemented sensitively. In Ahmedabad, this has resulted in numerous evictions of slum dwellers, who had to approach the courts for alternate housing. Alternate housing for the evicted slum dwellers was built under BSUP but the relocation has uprooted the people from their original habitats and livelihoods as well as social networks. This is a shift away from local government programmes like SNP that focused on in-situ upgrading and provision of basic services. Moreover, BSUP sites have not been provided with adequate services. In fact, BSUP essentially became a tool for facilitating slum displacement and in some cases, capturing public lands from the urban poor in prime locations.

While the TPS mechanism provides an important tool for providing lands for the urban poor and low-income groups in the city, due to vested interest of the authorities in the land markets and exclusionary attitudes towards the poor, the provisions of these land reservations have not been effectively used in Ahmedabad. In recent years, some of these reserved lands in eastern Ahmedabad have been utilized for housing, however, since the BSUP housing built on these lands has been used for relocating slum dwellers evicted from other parts of the city, this has also not served the purpose of the land reservations which is to provide the urban poor and low-income groups with access to land in some kind of equitable manner across the entire city.

In spite of recognizing the important contribution of street vendors to the city and its economy, and recent possibilities for regularizing them through the National Policy and the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act 2014, Ahmedabad's regulatory framework continues to be very hostile towards them. In fact, the application of an earlier policy on the street vendors through framing of a scheme has resulted in evictions rather than inclusion in the urban planning process. Thus, the street vendors have also been excluded from the urban planning process, leading to eviction of vendors by development projects, conflicts between vendors over space, and harassment and insecurity by officials over the very question of inhabiting urban space.

Thus, while Ahmedabad has been citied in best practices and has been awarded for a number of urban projects, these projects have been pursued without taking into consideration the right to shelter and livelihood of the urban poor, and have also deepened class segregation in the city. Moreover, a number of the capital-intensive projects like Sabarmati Riverfront project and Kankaria Lakefront project represent a shift towards project-based urban planning that is divorced from city-wide planning and its more holistic concerns. As a result, narrow concerns are often pursued through discrete projects and ad-hoc decisions are often taken, narrowing the possibilities for achieving more inclusive urban development.

Policies also have so far excluded migrants and their access to shelter, services and amenities from their purview. In the past year, the Gujarat government has launched the construction of new housing for EWS and LIG through its Gujarat Housing Board as well as through the urban local bodies like AMC and AUDA. Some of this housing is to be built on lands reserved for SEWS under TPS, but it remains to be seen at what distance from the central city areas these are built, and, if far, then how and whether these would be connected through affordable transport options. Existing slums, meanwhile, are meant to be redeveloped in-situ through private-sector participation. While such schemes have begun in about a dozen slums, private-sector participation will depend on high property prices. It also remains to be seen how this scheme benefits slum residents in Ahmedabad as compared to Mumbai where redevelopment has not necessarily translated into better living conditions for them since maintenance of services (lifts, electricity for filling overhead water tanks, common lights, etc) in multi-storey buildings is not easily affordable for this class of the city's residents.

Furthermore, over the past two decades, the city's rapid expansion on its peripheries has taken place through a high extent of informal development. The government is supposed to design and implement TPSs in the peripheral areas to provide adequate services and infrastructure to these new areas, however, the process takes place at a very slow pace. This too is leading to various deprivations and exclusions.

The other major intervention that the city has made in recent years is in urban transport infrastructure. However, the authorities have perceived urban transport as construction of and widening of roads and flyovers for motorized vehicles, leaving very little or no space for Non-Motorized Transport (NMT) vehicles and pedestrians. Great investment has also been

made into a new public transport system, the BRTS, but the urban poor who generally use the NMT modes have not been able to avail of the benefits of this investment. Meanwhile, the older public transport system, the AMTS, which is more affordable and had widespread connectivity, has deteriorated.

In terms of policies and governance, Ahmedabad has thus changed over time from walking down the path towards being a more inclusive city (seen in its efforts to implement the Slum Networking Programme) to becoming a more exclusive and segregated city. This is reflected in many of its policies and also its non-participatory governance. The city's governance has also become top-down, leading to regression in the city's governance from the AMC deciding on its own policies to it conceding this space to the State government. The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1992, which requires the formation of ward-level committees, and the Community Participation Law, which requires the formation of sub-ward-level area sabhas – both of which were mandatory governance reforms under JNNURM to achieve a democratic decentralisation of power and participatory governance – have not been implemented in the city.

Based on this historical social, economic, political, spatial and planning context of Ahmedabad, we have selected three focus areas for research under this project and discussed them in Part II. The first is conflicts and violence at slum resettlement sites in the city. The paper has outlined the displacement and resettlement process, and the issues at the sites such as distance of this alternate housing from people's livelihood; lack of adequate services and amenities provision at most sites; indiscriminate inter-mixing of different communities at each site; and nature of governance at the sites. It has also identified several potential points of conflict and violence as a result of these.

A second focus area for research that we have selected is conflicts and violence in urban informal peripheral settlements, specifically those which are inhabited by Muslims from poor and low-income backgrounds. The paper has outlined the historical growth of some of these settlements, and the issues such as informal land development; lack of adequate services and amenities provision; nature of governance, especially with rise of mafia-type arrangements; and delayed TPS implementation. It has also identified several potential pints of conflict and violence as a result of these.

A third focus area of research is public transport and women's safety. Women's safety has become a key issue of concern in India, and while factors like patriarchy and sexism are certainly responsible for gender violence, several factors related to urban planning and governance also create a sense of security or fear amongst women and allow or discourage sexual harassment in a city's public realm. And yet, gender concerns are not mainstreamed into processes of urban planning and governance in Ahmedabad – be it during the preparation and implementation of the Development Plan and TPS, the planning and provision of infrastructure and services by AMC and other government agencies, or municipal budgeting and decision-making. The lack of services or improper implementation of services provision creates further gendered exclusions and conditions conducive to violence against women. In

order to explore these aspects, the paper has identified the potential factors related to urban planning and governance that contribute to security or lack of security experienced by women when they access and use public transport. On the whole, this paper has provided overall political economy of the city that would form the background for analyzing sector-specific dynamics leading to conflicts and violence experienced by the poor and low-income residents of the city.

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Notes

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[1] Rate of urbanisation in India was highest in 1971-81 decade, which was 3.9 per cent per annum (p.a.), which then declined to 3.2 per cent p.a. in 1981-91 decade, and 2.8 per cent per annum in 1991-2001 and 2001-11 decades.

[2] Available at: http://ncrb.nic.in/CDCII2012/Additional_Tables_CII_2012/Additional%20table%202012/DistrictWise%20IPC%20cases%20during%202001-2012.pdf (accessed on 20.3.2014).

[3] Some of the thefts of unaccounted wealth do not get reported.

[4] Available at: http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/India2/Table_2_PR_Cities_1Lakh_and_Above.pdf (accessed on 5.6.2014).

[5] This data is from the population finder on: http://www.censusindia.gov.in/PopulationFinder/Population_Finder.aspx (accessed on 23.4.2014).

[6] According to the Sachar Committee Report, Muslims were 9.1% of Gujarat's population in 2001 (Sachar Committee 2006: Appendix Table 1.1).

[7] Data retrieved from report "District wise / taluka wise major demographic indicators, Gujarat", Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Gujarat, Gandhinagar. Available at: http://gujecostat.gujarat.gov.in/wp-content/uploads/CMGE/MajorDemographic.pdf (accessed on 20.3.2014).

[8] Principal Status workers are those finding work more than 183 days in a year. Those working for less than 183 days are called Subsidiary Status workers. Usual status workers means those who state that their round the year activity is as a worker. The other status of workers as per the NSS data is weekly status, as those who reported working in the last week and daily status workers, as those who reported working on the previous day.

[9] Town Planning Schemes (TPS) are formed under the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1976. Prior to that, these were formed under the town planning legislation of Bombay presidency. TPS is a land planning mechanism wherein land parcels are pooled together and then readjusted so that part of the land parcel is retained by the planning authority for public purposes and infrastructure networks, including roads. Individual land parcels tend to be haphazard and planning intervention is not feasible as a result. The TPSs are generally prepared for areas on the urban periphery with the intention that the periphery gets urbanized in a planned manner.

[10] Ahmedabad prepares a Development Plan, which is a statutory land use plan. In other parts of the country, the statutory land use plan is known as "Master Plan."

[11] Floor Space Index (FSI) is a ratio of total built-up area divided by the land plot area. If the FSI is 1 then the built-up area is equal to the area of the plot. The relationship of

population density (persons per unit area of land) and FSI is through per capita space use. If the per capita space use is low, which is the case in low-income situations, the population density will be high at low FSI. In high income areas, because of high per-capita space use, the population density will be low even at high FSI.

[12] The legislation can be found at: http://www.lawsofindia.org/pdf/gujarat/1986/1986GUJARAT30.pdf (accessed on 23.4.2014).

[13] Slums are manifestation of low incomes and high land prices. Not all poor live in slums and not all households in a slum are poor. But, in absence of any other data, slums can be and are considered as proxy of poverty in this article.

[14] Biometric socio-economic household level survey, as quoted in AMC and PAS 2010. "Slum Free Cities: A Case for Ahmedabad," Presentation at the Workshop to Advance City-Wide Strategies for Slum Upgrading, CEPT University, Ahmedabad, August 13, 2010.

[15] The local government in India follow a process of notifying a slum, which means that the settlement is recognised as a slum, which calls for them being provided with basic services namely, water supply, sewerage, local roads, street lights, and waste collection. Non-notified slums do not qualify for these services. Once the slum is upgraded with these services, they may be de-notified so that they do not receive the same services once again.

[16] Quasi-legal settlements are of three types in Ahmedabad. First is when the landowner has illegally subdivided the land and sold the plots on stamp papers. This has been done sometimes because the land was to be acquired under Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act, 1976, and the landowners holding the excess vacant land subdivided it and sold the plots. Second is when someone has captured the land forcefully and illegally subdivided it and sold the plots on stamp papers. Third is when the landowner has transferred the land to a person on lease or through Power of Attorney and that person has illegally subdivided the land and sold the plots on stamp papers.

[17] It is not clear from the CSP whether this includes the private pay-and-use toilet blocks that have come up in the city.

[18] AUDA website: http://www.auda.org.in/tp_scheme.html (accessed on 20.3.2014).

[19] The exception is that if building permission is taken in non TPS area, the building is entitled to water supply and drainage services.

[20] Indexed rates set by the revenue department to set price for levying of property tax.

[21] Gujarat Housing Board website: http://gujarathousingboard.org/schemes/completed-projects.aspx (accessed on 5.8.2014).

[22] At the rate of 1 US Dollar (USD) = Rs. 54 in 2011.

23   Considering the average turnover as per Bhadra area study. The figures are of 2011.

24   The Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation was formed under this legislation.

25   It has now become Gujarat Municipal Corporation Act. The source paper mentions BPMC Act as this was amended after that.

26   As defined by the National Policy for Urban Street Vendors, 2009, natural markets are those where sellers and buyers have traditionally congregated for more than a specified period for the sale and purchase of products or services as assessed by the local authority.

27   Focus group discussions were carried out by researchers at CUE at different BSUP sites in mid-2012. Preliminary fieldwork for the IDRC project was carried out in three adjacent BSUP sites, two of which are amongst the largest sites, in late-2013 / early-2014.

28   It is meant to provide children in the 0-6 age group with non-formal pre-school education, nutrition, immunization and health check-ups, and mothers with nutrition, health check-ups and health education.

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