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Urban ARC
IIHS Annual Research Conference

Equal Cities

Conference Proceedings 2020

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Urban ARC
IIHS Annual Research Conference

Equal Cities

This fourth edition of Urban ARC, the Annual Research Conference of the Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS) focussed on the conceptual, theoretical and practical understanding of notions of equality and equity in the context of a rapidly urbanising world. More than 55 per cent of the world's population now lives in urban regions (United Nations, 2018). In particular, urbanisation has rapidly increased in low- and middle-income countries in Asia and Africa, sometimes more than three or four times in the last 50 years (ibid). However, urban areas are now more unequal than they were 20 years ago: although cities have emerged as global economic platforms for production, innovation and trade, 75 per cent of the world's cities have higher levels of income inequalities than two decades ago (UN Habitat, 2016). This is compounded by persistent challenges around urban growth and employment, affordable housing, and service provision as well as the emergence of newer concerns around climate change, growing insecurity and international migration.

While urban regions across the world present some of the most complex challenges with regard to environmental, economic, and social sustainability, they also offer some of the greatest opportunities. In recent years, global policy processes have also recognised the role that cities must play – the New Urban Agenda from Habitat III, the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, the IPCC 1.5C Special Report, the U-20 development agenda have all acknowledged the necessity for cities and urban regions to play a stronger role in tackling environmental, social, and economic challenges. This has led to an urgent call to understand and address its inherent challenges.

Research on the urban has grappled with the conceptual nature of equality and equity as well as their everyday manifestations in lived experiences within urban agglomerations. Debates around equity in cities have engaged with a wide range of themes – around questions of identity (through the politics of race, or caste, for example), around issues of income inequality and poverty, on the implication of and the relationship between emergence of new forms of work and employment on the urban (through the 'gig' economy, for instance), spatial inequality, access to affordable housing and segregated cities, to mention a few. These have also often been determined by disciplinary boundaries and methodological approaches.

Urban ARC 2020 built on these debates, and provided a space to contest, deliberate and engage in conversations on how to make our cities more equitable. The conference addressed questions of equality and equity from various disciplinary spaces, emphasising cross-disciplinary and inter-sectoral approaches across the three days of the conference. The conference was held from 16 to 18 January 2020 at the IIHS Bengaluru City Campus. These

Conference Proceedings feature the abstracts submitted by selected participants for Urban ARC 2020.

References

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Schedule

16 January 2020

8:30 am – 9:00 am		Registration
9:00 am – 9.30 am		Opening remarks by Aromar Revi, Director, *Indian Institute for Human Settlements*
9:30 am – 11:00 am	**Panel 1**	**Informal work, gender and health**
	Chair	*Shalini Sinha (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing)*
		Urban informal workers and health: An overview Shalini Sinha (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing)
		Exploratory study on maternal time-use and breastfeeding practices *Divya Ravindranath (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)*
		Maternal and child health amongst domestic workers in Jaipur: Preliminary findings and methodological learnings Antara Rai Chowdhury (Indian Institute for Human Settlements) and Mewa Bharti (Rajasthan Mahila Kaamgaar Union)
11:00 am – 11:30 am		**Tea-Break**
11:30 am – 1:00 pm	**Panel 2**	**Understanding and managing urban risk: A critical exploration of the links between resilience and urban equality**
	Chair	*Cassidy Johnson (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL)*
		Co-producing integrative risk governance in rapidly growing urban Africa: Lessons from informal settlements in Freetown, Sierra Leone Emmanuel Osuteye, Cassidy Johnson (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL), Braima Koroma,

		Joseph Macarthy and Sulaiman Kamara (Sierra Leone Urban Research Centre – SLURC)
		Imaginaries of disaster risk, resilience and livelihood priorities: Views from the front and the backline. Allan Lavell (Latin American Social Sciences Institute – FLACSO)
		Getting action on disaster risk: Co-production of disaster risk reduction in informal settlements in Dar es Salaam Cassidy Johnson and Emmanuel Osuteye (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL), Tim Ndezi and Festo Makoba (Centre for Communitiy Initiatives Tanzania – CCI)
		Rendering visible the multi-scalarity of everyday risks in Metropolitan Lima: towards the construction of a systemic and collaborative approach to urban resilience Belén Desmaison and Luis Rodríguez Rivero (Pontifical Catholic University of Peru – PUCP)
1:00 pm – 1:30 pm		Urban ARC Exhibition opening: Remarks by Caren Levy (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL) and Aromar Revi *(Indian Institute for Human Settlements)*
1:30 pm – 2:30 pm		**Lunch**
2:30 pm – 4:00 pm	**Panel 3**	**Reframing and operationalising notions of prosperity and extreme poverty to address urban equality**
	Chair	Colin McFarlane (Durham University)
		Pathways to the “good life”: Co-producing a contextual understanding of prosperity (maisha bora) in informal settlements in Dar es Salaam Saffron Woodcraft (The Institute for Global Prosperity, UCL), Emmanuel Osuteye (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL), Tim Ndezi and

		Festo Makoba (Centre for Communitiy Initiatives Tanzania – CCI)
		A study on the fishing communities in Da Nang city with special focus on assessing local assets and resources to improve their livelihoods in response to rapid urbanization Phan Tran Kieu Trang (Danang Architecture University), Vo Ho Bao Hanh (UN Habitat – Vietnam) and Chu Manh Trinh (Cham island MPA)
		Addressing urban equality in Havana: Interrogating the prosperity perspective Jorge Peña Díaz, Joiselen Cazanave Macías, Dayané Proenza González (Technological University of Havana – CUJAE)
		Understanding the relationships between socio economic shocks, poverty and inequality in Kampala Shuaib Lwasa (Makerere University, Kampala)
4:00 pm – 4:30pm		**Tea-Break**
4:30 pm – 6:00 pm	**Panel 4**	**Navigating the Urban: Gendered experiences in the City**
	Chair	Divya Ravindranath (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
		Gender Equal Cities: 'Right to the City,' through the perspective of gender Swapnil Saxena (National Institute of Urban Affairs)
		'As It May Be?' Young women's everyday actions in informal settlements in Dehradun Febe De Geest (The University of Melbourne)
		Spatial justice, gender and urban transport nodes Ankita Gaur and Tejendra Nagabhoina (Dehradun Institute of Technology University)
		Social & gender analysis of road crash fatalities in India

		R. Kanika Gounder and Sonal Shah (The Urban Catalysts)
		Negotiating insecurities in housing and livelihood: Locating women workers in a resettlement colony Malavika Narayan (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing) and Abhishek Sekharan (Comic Relief, Sainsbury's)
6:00 pm – 8:00 pm		**Opening Plenary: Framing Urban Inequality**
		The opening panel of the conference is titled "Framing Urban Inequality". As part of this, speakers will share reflections from their work on questions that relate to challenges of urban inequality. The panel is scheduled for 16 January 2020, from 6 pm to 8 pm.
		Chair: Aromar Revi
		Speakers: Rathin Roy, Caren Levy, Colin McFarlane

17 January 2020

9:00 am – 9:30 am		Registration
9:30 am – 11:00 am	**Panel 5**	**Taking people driven responses to urban inequality to scale: Opportunities and challenges**
	Chair	Barbara Lipietz (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL)
		Reducing urban inequality, scaling up the community development network: The case of Nakhon Sawan in Thailand Supreeya Wungpatcharapon (Faculty of Architecture, Kasetsart University)
		Understanding the contribution of community-led housing to the reduction of urban inequality in Yangon Marina Kolovou Kouri and Shoko Sakuma (Women for the World)
		Community empowerment and collaboration: Strategy towards urban equality in Yogyakarta

		Annisa Hadny Zakiyaturrahmah (Arkom Foundation) and Achmad Uzair (State Islamic University Yogyakarta)
		The experience of the Community Learning Platforms and the City Learning Platform in Freetown Braima Koroma and Joseph Macarthy (Sierra Leone Urban Research Centre – SLURC)
11:00 am – 11:30 am		**Tea-Break**
11:30 am -1:00 pm	**Panel 6**	**Understanding urban livelihoods: mobilities, rights and access**
	Chair	Neethi P (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
		Informal, inadequate, inconsistent: Studying circular migrants' temporary claims to public provisioning in Ahmedabad Nivedita Jayaram, Raghav Mehrotra and Divya Varma (Aajeevika Bureau)
		Peripatetic labour in Bangalore's new service economy: Aspirations and pathways of (im)mobility in the global city Carol Upadhya and Harpreet Kaur (National Institute of Advanced Studies)
		Interstate migrants, policy bias and network-enabled access to city spaces: A social network analysis on inter-state migrant workers in Bangalore Elishia Vaz (Manipal University) and Harshit Garg (Erasmus University)
		New revanchism and urban 'Undesirables': Street-based sex workers of Bangalore Neethi P (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
1:00 pm – 2:30 pm		**Lunch**
2:30 pm – 4:00 pm	**Panel 7**	**Translocal pedagogies for urban equality**
	Chair	Shriya Anand (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)

		Learning the city through activist practice Anand Lakhan and Gautam Bhan (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
		Transformative pedagogies: Learning from the Habitat International Coalition – Latin America 'Escuela de Urbanismo Popular' Adriana Allen, Julia Wesely (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL), Lorena Zárate and Maria Silvia Emanuelli (Habitat International Coalition Latin America – HIC-AL)
		Planning education at Ardhi University: Opportunities and challenges for transformative planning and praxis in Sub-Saharan Africa Wilbard Kombe (Ardhi University, Tanzania)
		Urban learning, comparison, and inequality: Possibilities and limits Colin McFarlane (Durham Univeristy)
4:00 pm – 4:30pm		**Tea-Break**
4:30 pm – 6:00 pm	**Panel 8**	**Finding place: Housing at the intersection of policy and praxis**
	Chair	Namrata Kapoor (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
		Slum dweller's resettlements in Konark Aathira Krishnan (Xavier School of Rural Management)
		The work of a person and the GHARAUNDA Scheme: An exploratory study of housing and home concerns of adults with disabilities Naina Seth (Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Hyderabad)
		Defending the right to housing in Vizag: Local democracy without elections and modes of engagement with the State G. Aarathi (Centre for Development Studies)
		Typologies of rental housing for urban domestic workers

		Kinjal Sampat and Nidhi Sohane (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
		Housing the housed: A paradox between people's needs, a central housing scheme and state regulations Marina Joseph and Nitin Meshram (Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action)
7:30 pm onward		**Conference Dinner**

18 January 2020

9:00 am – 9:30 am		Registration
9:30 am – 11:00 am	**Panel 9**	**Building pathways to urban equality: Reflections on knowledge translation, learning and impact**
	Chair	Alexandre Apsan Frediani (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL)
		Researching and supporting knowledge translation processes: Pathways to institutional change in Freetown and Havana Alexandre Apsan Frediani, Camila Cociña (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL), Stephanie Butcher and Michele Acuto (Connected Cities Lab, The University of Melbourne)
		How co-production changes the trajectories to urban equality: Learning from the experience in Hanna Nassif, Dar es Salaam Wilbard Kombe, Alphonce Kyessi and Tatu Mtwangi-Limbumba (Ardhi University, Tanzania)
		From participation to co-production: Impact from different trajectories on citizen' involvement in urban change towards equality Vanesa Castán Broto (Urban Institute, Sheffield University), Catalina Ortiz and Cassidy Johnson (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL)
		Planning trajectories: Reflections on framing and inquiry

		Vikas John and Priya Singh (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
11:00 am – 11:30 am		**Tea-Break**
11:30 am -1:00 pm	**Panel 10**	**Constructing communities in the Urban**
	Chair	Aditi Surie (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
		Impact of Digitalization on Equity: Creating an Inclusive Urbanism Jayasmita Bhattacharjee (School of Planning and Architecture, Bhopal)
		Re-building Juhapura: Role of civil society, community leadership and self-development initiatives in rebuilding a ghetto Bhargav Hiren Oza (Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology)
		Private surveillance in working-class, Muslim neighbourhoods of Delhi Thalia Gigerenzer (Princeton University)
		Unpacking gender and the fundamental role of unionising: A case of women street vendors in Ranchi, Jharkhand Brishti Banerjee (Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action)
		The citizenship crisis and Guwahati's adequate housing shortage Syeda Mehzebin Rahman (Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action)
1:00 pm – 2:30 pm		**Lunch**
2:30 pm – 4:00 pm	**Panel 11**	**The ethics and politics of development and research practice**
	Chair	Caren Levy (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL)
		Dilemmas and reflections in the building of an ethics lexicon

		Yael Padan and Jane Rendell (The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL)
		Participation as planning': ethical considerations around the limits of planning Alexandre Apsan Frediani and Camila Cociña (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL)
		Motivations and strategies underpinning the UCLG Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights Amanda Fléty (UCLG Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights)
		There is always something else: Reflections on the relationship between urban ODA research and policy in the UK Christopher Yap and Colin Marx (The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL)
4:00 pm – 4:30pm		**Tea-Break**
4:30 pm – 6:00 pm	**Panel 12**	**Urban equity and planning**
	Chair	Sudeshna Mitra (Indian Institute for Human Settlements)
		Planning and inequality: How spatial plans address the poor Malini Krishnankutty (Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay)
		Role of state in urban restructuring in neoliberal India and its impact on urban life Deepshi Arya (Tata Institute of Social Sciences)
		Subverting the SDGs and the right to the city: The lack of financial and social accountability in India's smart cities mission Ravikant Kisana (FLAME University), Glen David Kuecker and Farukh Sarkulov (DePauw University)
		Understanding formal and informal relationships in settlement upgrading in Phnom Penh, Cambodia and their contribution to planning knowledge for urban equality in the global south

	Johanna Brugman Alvarez (The University of Queensland)
6:00 pm – 8:00 pm	**Closing Plenary: Pedagogy of Urban Inequality**
	The closing panel of the conference, titled “Pedagogy of Urban Inequality”, is scheduled for 18 January 2020, 6 pm to 8 pm. As part of this, speakers will reflect from their research and practice on pedagogy in the Urban, and how this connects with questions of inequality.
	Chair: Aromar Revi
	Speakers: Bish Sanyal, Adriana Allen, Shrawan Acharya, Chandrika Bahadur

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Panel 1

Informal work, gender and health

Panel Abstract

It is estimated that approximately 2 billion of the world's employed population earn their livelihood in the informal economy. Globally, while this includes a significant proportion of male workers, it has been found that women are more likely to encounter the most vulnerable work arrangements or undertake the lowest paid jobs (ILO, 2018). In India, 94 per cent of female workers are employed in the informal economy, which includes self-employed, home-based work as well as wage work. Evidence suggests that most tend to belong to poor households, and Dalit, Adivasi and Muslim women are disproportionately represented in the informal economy (Harriss-white & Aseem, 2010).

It has been widely acknowledged in literature that female workers experience precarious work conditions – long hours, less than minimum wages, and hazardous work. These factors have direct and long-lasting implications on the health and overall wellbeing of workers as well as their children who are, more often than not, exposed to their mother's work environments. Some commonly documented health challenges include occupational and work-related diseases and injuries, undernutrition, low BMI status, and poor reproductive health outcomes. However, financial constraints, time poverty, and absence of social protection impairs women's ability to seek quality and timely health care, whether for themselves or for their children.

Keeping with the theme of the conference, the proposed panel brings together four presentations that broadly focus on 'health inequities' experienced by women in informal work. While recent global conversations on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) [SDGs 1 (No Poverty), 3 (Health and Well-being), 5 (Gender Equality), 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth) and 10 (Reduced Inequalities)] and Universal Health Coverage (UHC) by 2030 focus on achieving universal and equitable access to healthcare, it remains a distant goal for a large proportion of population in the country.

Against this backdrop, our panel seeks to amplify the diversity and complexity of health experiences of women and their children in informal work. Three of the presentations have a sectoral focus (domestic work, construction work and waste picking) and the fourth reflects on the overall thematic area. Collectively, these presentations reflect on methodological frameworks and empirical observations.

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Urban Informal Workers and Health: An Overview

Shalini Sinha; Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)

Informal livelihoods sustain low-income households in cities and towns across India with nearly 80 per cent of the urban workforce being employed in the informal sector. Of the urban informal workforce, 51 per cent were self-employed and the remaining 49 per cent were employed on wages. (Chen & Raveendaran).

Within the urban informal workforce, differences between women and men workers exist, most importantly by industrial branch, employment unit, status in employment, and specific groups. Compared to male informal workers, the percentage of female informal workers was 5.3 times higher in domestic work, 4 times higher in waste picking and 1.5 times higher in manufacturing. A higher percentage of men (72%) when compared with women (60%) were employed in informal enterprises; and the percentage of men informal workers who were unpaid contributing family workers (8%) was less than half that of women (20%). The percentage of men (3%) who were domestic workers was around one sixth that of women (17%). The percentage of men who were waste pickers (1%) was one quarter that of women (3%). And the percentage of men who were home-based workers (12%) was less than one third that of women (40%).

There is a spatial dimension to informality – the 'place of work' of the informal workers is informal too – streets, homes, and dumpsites. The conventional view of the place of work has been that of a factory, shop, or office, as well as formal service outlets such as hospitals and schools. Some informal workers particularly those who work for formal firms, are employed in conventional workplaces such as registered factories, shops or office spaces. But most informal workers work in non-conventional workplaces such as private homes, open spaces, and unregistered shops and workshops.

Only one-third of the urban workforce in India worked in a formal factory or firm. Nearly 60 per cent worked in informal shops or workshops or in and around private homes. In fact, 17 per cent worked in private homes (as domestic workers in their employer's home and as home-based workers from their own homes) and 22 per cent worked in open public spaces.

Urban Informal Workers and Health

At WIEGO, we have been trying to understand health service provision from the perspective of informal workers – understand better the risks faced by poorer workers in workplaces; identify how to modify legal and institutional barriers to the inclusion of informal workers and workplaces into OHS; and understand the allocation, control and flow of resources to OHS in order to identify spaces for reallocation or increased allocation to informal workers and workplaces.

Health is important to informal workers because their income relies on their ability to work. However, they often can't access the services they need to maintain good health or cope with injury and illness. While poorer informal workers face the same problems in accessing health services as do all poor citizens, they also face specific exclusions and barriers.

Public health service provision — whether preventive, promotive, or curative — is generally oriented towards access for poor citizens, but not poor citizens who are *workers*. Services do not take into account workers' needs. Long waiting time at health facilities, cumbersome registration procedures, and difficulties in getting accurate information all hinder access for informal workers, who must prioritise time for earning income over time towards their own health. Further, sidelining preventive and promotive health services has a particularly deleterious impact on informal workers, who lose essential income when sick or injured.

Municipal health systems play a central role in regulating the working lives and determining the working conditions of informal workers who work in urban public spaces. However, municipal health regulations often class informal workers as “nuisances” from whom the public is meant to be protected. Because these systems are not designed with a livelihood perspective in mind, health regulations often do little to protect informal workers from health and safety problems in their workplaces, and can actively work against livelihoods (for example when environmental health regulations are invoked to evict traders from their workplaces).

Occupational health systems, which often fall under the mandate of labour ministries rather than health ministries, do not cover many informal workplaces (roadsides, markets, private homes, landfills and so on), and rely on the employer-employee relationship for enforcement purposes.

Health interventions which target informal workers have to take into account some of these specific needs. By re-formulating urban health regulations to be more supportive of informal workers, local authorities can provide an environment where healthier and safer conditions are possible to achieve. More attention could be paid to how health and safety is incentivised, rather than to punish workers for operating in an environment where it is difficult to maintain adequate hygiene standards. It would also mean paying more attention to the provision and control of basic services in and around informal workplaces. Not only does this type of supportive regulation enable a better-managed city, but it also achieves better results in public and worker health. This, in turn, can allow authorities to “see” people as workers making an economic contribution instead of as public health nuisances.

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Exploratory study on maternal time-use and breastfeeding practices: methodological reflections and preliminary observations

Divya Ravindranath; Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS)

A majority of female workers in urban India are employed in the informal economy. While informal work environments – typically characterised by low wages, poor work settings, long hours of work – expose women to precarious and exploitative conditions, their drudgery is further exacerbated in the domestic sphere where they shoulder additional caregiving responsibilities and household duties. The double burden of paid work and unpaid work imposes acute time-stress on women, particularly those with newborn children, who are biologically dependent on the mother for exclusive breastfeeding (EBF) (ILO, 2018). While EBF has immediate and long-term health benefits for the mother and the child, as Smith & Forrester (2013) write, a crucial aspect that is often forgotten is that EBF is "time intensive, which is economically costly to women". For mothers in the informal economy who do not have access to paid maternity leave, lack social support or cannot afford additional help for other domestic chores, EBF is unsustainable, especially when income insecurity compels them to return to work within a few weeks of childbirth (ILO, 2016).

In this ongoing exploratory research project, within the context of competing time demands, we aimed to understand the multiple ways in which time scarcity and dual burden of work constrain women's ability to breastfeed their children. While researchers have explored time as a resource that mothers invest in their young children's overall development (Craig, 2007), its relationship to exclusive breastfeeding practices, a critical but often invisibilised form of investment, has remained understudied. Evidence suggests that exclusive breastfeeding (EBF) provides ideal and adequate nutrition to children in the first six months, has developmental and cognitive benefits, and provides immunologic protection to infants from acute and chronic diseases (Black et al., 2008; Hanson et al., 1996; WHO, 2003). Yet, a significant proportion of mothers across the world do not adhere to EBF. While a large body of work has emerged examining the influence of maternal factors on breastfeeding practices, most of these studies focus on the reproductive role of the mother, viewing them as bearers and nurturers. Literature on mothers as productive workers or wage earners is sparse. Among the studies that have explored the relationship between postpartum employment and breastfeeding practices, the discussion has typically been within the domain of formal employment with a call for better maternal benefits or provision of day-care facilities. Fewer researchers have drawn attention to the experiences of mothers in the informal economy (Rai Chowdhury & Surie, 2018; Swaminathan, 1993). However, while time-use has been used as a variable to study childcare, the relationship between time-use (in terms of maternal employment and unpaid work) and breastfeeding practices has been rarely considered; this study seeks to understand this intersection.

In order to address this, we used time use survey with a group of informal daily wage labourers, who work at construction sites. The field work for this study was undertaken in collaboration with Aajeevika Bureau (AB) in the city of Ahmedabad, where AB runs day-care centres at construction sites. A purposive sampling approach was used to reach out to women who had infants under the age of six months. Two forms of time use survey methods: the recall method and the shadowing or non-participant observation method were used. Each participant was shadowed by the research team (comprising the researcher and the day-care staff or the research assistant) for half a day, and the recall method was used to construct the other half of the day. The recall method draws from the traditional time diary method where the participant is asked to note and describe all activities undertaken by her across various time intervals in open-ended or predetermined formats. Since the study focuses on a population that has low literacy rates, the research team assisted the participants to note the recall (Paolisso & Hames, 2010; Soeftestad, 1990). In the shadow method, the research team observed the time use of the participant from a distance noting information, at short time intervals, throughout the day (Mueller & Mueller, 1999). The researcher aimed to gather information on the time allocated by the participant on various activities.

There are a number of challenges in imagining the site of work as a site of research. In most cases, three to four days of 'setting up' was required to begin data collection. To gain entry at the construction site, permission was sought from site in-charge or contractors. Sometimes this required approaching contractors at various levels. Consent was sought from the female participant. We also realised the importance of seeking permission from the spouse of the participant.

On the basis of pilot studies, the observation or shadowing method, which was initially planned for an entire day's work, was reduced to half a day's work. Half the participants were shadowed from morning (usually 5.30 am) until lunch time (2.00 pm). The other half were shadowed from lunch time (1.00 pm) to evening when they returned home (7.00 pm). The change in duration of shadowing was due to two reasons: first, shadowing is a deeply intrusive process. It was felt by the research team that a full day of shadowing would make the worker deeply uncomfortable; second, full day shadowing required enormous logistical support. The team usually arrived at the place of residence at sunrise and, on some days, ended after sunset. The safety of the team (two women), while travelling to the labour colony and the worksite was a major cause of concern.

As had been hypothesised at the start of the study, in the recall, women did not account for each of the tasks they undertook. The multiplicity of tasks or duration of a particular task was not articulated. For instance, while women noted 'cooking' they did not necessarily report how much time they spent on it or did they report any other work they undertook alongside the primary task. The shadowing method enabled richer insights. We were able to document the multiplicity of tasks as well as their duration. The team was able to record thick data – example: how many loads of cement, how many steps, how many breaks etc. – that accounts

for women's time use but also simultaneously capture various levels of information on the 'site'. Here we report on the various patterns of work and how it affects breastfeeding practices among three types of work, of a sample of five women (the full study will have a larger sample).

a) Jodi ka kaam, where the husband and wife work in a pair. In this work, the woman is considered to be the 'helper' even as she works the same number of hours, doing equally strenuous tasks as her husband. She mixes cement, passes loads, measures bricks, at all times working with her husband. We observed the woman would refrain taking breaks, and this could be because it affects the man's pace of work too. The child, who was in the day-care, was breastfed two times during this period.

b) Item or piece ka kaam, where the woman has to complete a task within a day. This could include moving bricks (pile of 24 in each headload), cement (bags of 50 kg in each load), iron rods from one part of the site to another, or filling material into the lift. Women seemed to prefer finishing this work as quickly as possible, with minimum breaks. The child who was with the mother in the first half of the morning was breastfed two times, but after the child was dropped at the creche he was not breastfed. This mother had help from a seven-year-old brought from the village to look after the infant. He cleaned, set up the cloth jhoola and swung the baby from time to time.

c) Plastering ka kaam, where the woman couldn't take a single break until the entire task was over, irrespective of the duration. The child was breastfed once as she was kept at the site of work. This work required extreme precision and women worked in tandem with men.

Each of these instances provide glimpses of the relationship between women's time and breastfeeding. In most cases it was seen that the mothers took less than 20 minutes break at a time, breastfeeding their children between 8 and10 minutes each time. The time-use framework also provides an opportunity to understand care-giving practices - role of day care centres, role of other children brought to look after the infants; as well as the relationship between various workers and the contractor.

This study holds importance in the context of recent conversations on maternity benefits for women in the informal economy. In the absence of a maternity break and wage compensation, breastfeeding is highly restricted at the worksite.

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Maternal and child health amongst domestic workers in Jaipur: Preliminary findings and methodological learnings

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The research in development and public health at the intersection of informal work and health had for long focussed only on issues of occupational hazard, workplace accidents, and social determinants of health inequalities (Marmot, 2005), and only more recently it has focussed on the conditions of employment (Benach et al, 2010). In both these frameworks, the effect of informal work on maternal and child health (MCH) is missing. It is a critical gap when globally most working women are in the urban informal economy in the Global South. In India too, a majority of working women are employed in the informal economy, bereft of maternity protection schemes and paid breaks during work to express and store milk, which are legislated to improve maternal and child health. Despite the large number of women working in the informal economy, we know very little about how informal work affects maternal, newborn and child health. How do women working in the informal economy cope with competing decisions of childcare versus earning a livelihood and maintaining their physical and mental health?

In a political economy where informalisation of work is on the rise, the labour-market reforms are limiting social protection, and the health-sector reforms are increasingly relying on insurance and out-of-pocket payments, health inequities are bound to rise unless corrective measures are taken across research, policy, and implementation to address these questions.

An exploratory study in 2017 yielded insights and evidence from nearly 200 working mothers in domestic work, street vending, *pheri*/bartering work and home-based work on the possible pathways that can reduce maternal stress and improve rates of exclusive breastfeeding for informally working mothers (Rai Chowdhury & Surie, 2018). It also called specifically for experimental interventions in forms of institutional delivery of social protection that can help working mothers in a particularly vulnerable period of their lives.

Currently we are in the next phase of this work which entails research, design, and delivery of select interventions from the formative insights, and a proof of concept study to evaluate the impact of these interventions to improve maternal and child health.
The study recruited 158 participants from the women working as domestic workers in Jaipur. All of them participated in a baseline survey between January and June 2019, and they will go through an endline survey early next year. The baselines were semi-structured survey interviews tailored to collect data on the primary objectives of the interventions i.e. the spatial and temporal proximity between informally working mothers and their infants, informally working mothers' knowledge status on exclusive breastfeeding, and the constraints that

motherhood and informal workplace had on their ability to manage and respond to maternal stress.

The interventions are being rolled out in phases between August 2019 and January 2020. A sample within the 158 participants will participate in modes of evaluation other than the endline survey. The iterative design process of the interventions reached out to some of these participants for research and feedback in the form of observation visits, shadowing, and group discussion. The participants are either in their third trimester of pregnancy or have a child less than 12 years, having worked for at least 6 months as domestic workers. The women who are pregnant or with a child less than 6 months may or may not be currently working, and those with a child between 6 and12 months were currently working.

We decided to have a sectoral focus, as the challenges identified in the exploratory study had many aspects specific to the sector of work. With work as our entry point, we partnered with a worker's Union in Jaipur, Rajasthan Mahila Kaamgaar Union, to reach out to the participants and implement the study.

In this paper we would present our a) initial findings and learnings on the conditions that shape health inequities in MCH among the study population and b) methodological reflections on the mode of working with a worker's union in this research study. A discussion on the mode of working is critical to contextualise our findings and learnings as it substantially shaped them and incorporated it in practice.

The demographic details and the experiences of pursuing maternal and child health of the study population amplify and unpack the complex of conditions that are shaping health inequities in maternal and child health among domestic workers in the city of Jaipur. Such a descriptive work with sectoral and geographical focus is important to amplify the multi-discrimination rooted in regional histories. The findings are interpreted in discussion with the members of the Union.

Socio economic demographic details and the experiences of pursuing optimum maternal and child health

The working mother in the informal economy is facing the structural challenges of being a woman (gendered division of care work, gender-segregated work in informal economy, lacking a sense of selfhood), an informal worker (non-standard contract and employment relations), a migrant (burden of rental housing, discrimination in access to public services and welfare schemes, discrimination) – which operate individually and also reinforce each other. Any public health effort to improve maternal or child health in cities must consider these overlaps, otherwise it risks excluding this demography from the perceived benefits of the social protection.

The preliminary findings

Irregular employment for men, inadequate family wages, apathy along with a gender-segregated employment structure have led to an *increased responsibility of women to earn regular income*. This has resulted in an *inability to take maternity break*. *Informal employment doesn't have maternity protection*, and other *non-work maternity protection schemes to enable maternity break have major gaps with access and adequacy*.

The migrant status of many of the informal workers make them either *ineligible for the welfare schemes* due to lack of adequate papers. They *report discrimination in public health services*. Their migrant identity often makes them more vulnerable in the employment relationship with their employer.

Early marriages and marriage under familial pressures are creating an unhealthy interpersonal dynamic between the husband and wife that the women reported as a major stressor on their mental health, created financial stress, and imposed early motherhood. They reported that men are hesitant to take up marital or parental responsibilities while many of the women are yet to develop a sense of self and assert their needs. Due to restrictions on the mobility of a new bride and a new mother, many of these women are not part of any community/group/union.

Immense stress around the decision and experience of delivery due to a complex of reasons.

The partnership with the Union allowed us to be aware of the contextual complexities, thus making the analysis more comprehensive. This also gives the opportunity to reframe the questions of health and wellbeing in public health and development research from their perspective and lived experience.

While working on the theme of MCH for the research, the union also identified that they had overlooked these challenges in their activities and focus. Two reasons identified by them for this oversight were, a) there is negligible membership from young workers (who are also young mothers) in the union due to constraints on their mobility and b) being a worker's union, not considering maternal and early child health a worker's issue. They are actively trying to respond to both these reflections in their Union strategies.

The Union's presence in day-to-day activities was a source of critique representing the voice of a worker in the team. When the idea for a cognitive workshop for women was suggested as one of the interventions, there was an echo among the women that such workshops and meetings should be organised for their husbands as well, otherwise the burden to expand one's understanding and resilience falls only on the woman. While such information or demand isn't new, but because of the challenges of doing such a thing it is often not put in practice. In creating a shared space with an actively engaged Union, such voices are amplified and asserted strongly.

Methodological learnings from the instruments to capture levels of stress (anxiety, depression, and stress) among women in the peri-natal period

The primary purpose of measuring maternal stress was to have an outcome indicator to measure the impact of cognitive and knowledge workshops on stress, and a secondary purpose was an exploratory investigation in maternal stress. We employed globally recognised and tested cognitive tools with likert scale, grounding it in the context based on our previous research and pilots. The likert scale translation is adopted from other studies among Hindi-speaking population who have used and verified the same. There were some other methods for capturing maternal stress such as voice journaling, but it was challenging to come up with an evaluation frame with such a technique.

The selected tools and techniques, while eliciting responses occasionally and giving us a sense of the prevalence of stress, did not connect with the language and expression of stress that is inherent to this population. The tools and techniques for such an investigation need more thought, interdisciplinary work, innovation and grounded work. If mental wellbeing is to be prioritised as a public health priority, and to be incorporated in health surveys and project evaluation frames, there has be further work on how we can do so in a meaningful way.

In our exploratory study and baseline survey, there was a very strong sense of stress among mothers to manage all of their responsibilities as they would like to, and thus a better understanding of it is necessary to address it. There are very few studies that study stress and mental health in the low-income group in India.

This research and project work is on-going, and we are continuing to find more ways to collaborate and amplify the voice of the workers in our research and action. The work over the last 12 months have proved this mode of working to be an effective tool for sharing control over the processes of the research and the project, having checks within the system, and (maybe) even a space to communicate action. Without having the Union as partners on this work we would be the primary actors for both, doing the action and the one to critique the action. Thus, in creating a shared space with the Union from the very beginning, we have another actor in the role of a critique whose priorities and values are different than us and are much closer to representing the workers. It would be interesting to further learn and experiment with various methods, through which the mode of co-working with worker's representatives can create corrective spaces.

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Panel 2

Understanding and managing urban risk: A critical exploration of the links between resilience and urban equality

Co-producing integrative risk governance in rapidly growing urban Africa: Lessons from informal settlements in Freetown, Sierra Leone

Emmanuel Osuteye and **Cassidy Johnson;** The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, University College London (DPU, UCL)

Braima Koroma, Joseph Macarthy and **Sulaiman Kamara;** Sierra Leone Urban Research Centre (SLURC)

Over the last four decades, Freetown has seen a rapid growth in urban population, unregulated patterns of sporadic infrastructural investments and a sprawl of informal settlements due to its continuous lure of rural-urban migration. This has led to an unequal production of a range of risks (including both episodic and the 'everyday'), which are particularly more concentrated in these pockets of informal settlements; becoming progressively embedded in the way of life of residents. The disproportionate burdens borne by residents is exacerbated by the fragilities of formal regulatory processes of disaster risk management that leave informal settlements predominantly unaccounted for.

Through empirical research conducted in two selected informal settlements in Freetown, the paper highlights how community mobilisation through existing and well-defined community structures allow for effective DRM practices at scale, and how these capacities for local risk governance are further expanded through co-produced knowledge and practices with local government and other support agencies. Co-producing and drawing on different knowledge sources and actors creates a contextualised understanding and solutions to urban risk, which have been trialled in the selected settlements through previous and ongoing initiatives. The evolution of democratic and political spaces, and increased participation of community residents in DRM has been significant to the sustenance of the integrative approach to resilience building that is seen in Freetown's informal settlements.

Key Messages

- Sporadic city development leads to the production of risk. Risk is disproportionate in informal settlements i.e. the relationship of growth, investments and other trends to risk production (and inequalities)
    - E.g. Spatial constraints leading to settlement on marginal lands, land banking and reclamation along coast + deforestation in hill slopes.
    - Improper waste management.
    - Coastal community practices and fire risk (indoor fuel storage and illegal electric connections).
    - Regulatory frameworks out of date and out of sync with development
    - Institutional fragilities and conflicts (e.g. Process of Land title issuance, relaxation of wetland protection etc.)

- Risk governance at community level in Freetown is an integrative approach for resilience building (a co-produced one) as seen in the case of Dwazark and Cockle Bay, and through the work of the federations, SLURC, community leaders and residents, various NGOs and FCC. (Also the story of the establishment of disaster management committees).
- Co-producing and drawing on different knowledge sources and actors creates a contextualised understanding and solutions to urban risk. Especially in informal settlements in Freetown plays a critical role in the sustenance of action.
    - (recall the research process and prioritisation of interventions funded by Urban ARK and the CAAP, and nuanced lessons through community knowledge)
    - Highlight the KNOW work at the community level and establishment of mixed actor groups to establish the community platforms.
    - Highlight the evolution of new spaces of participation and democratic involvement in decision making
- Connect lessons of integrative approach to city-wide impact (i.e. Link to the role of SLURC + communities in contribution of the DRM inputs for Transform Freetown agenda and other recent review processes). Re-emphasising the value of contextual co-produced knowledge.

Imaginaries of disaster risk, resilience and livelihood priorities: Views from the front and the backline.

Allan Lavell; Latin American Social Sciences Institute (FLACSO)

Between October 2018 and 2019, the KNOW project has supported the development of the first phase of a cross-national, regional research project on resilience, poverty, prosperity and inequality in Latin American urban areas. Coordinated by the Secretary General's office of the Latin American Social Science Faculty, the project is run in three major metropolitan areas in the region: San Jose, Costa Rica; Barranquilla, Colombia; and Lima, Peru.

A first phase completed in November 2019 sought to research and identify patterns of disaster risk in the cities and potential causal relations with other pervasive socio-economic conditions. A second phase from January to November 2020 will examine how disaster risk and disaster is seen and acted on by differentiated urban communities and how government has practiced prevention and mitigation. The study will search to co-produce knowledge on context and on alternatives which are more appropriate for reducing inequality and poverty and increasing welfare and prosperity using DRM and CCA as strategies. Relational, co-produced research will purportedly allow a confirmation of the imperatives of integral, planned, cross-sector and territorial approaches to overcoming the barriers to resilience in cities, contributing to risk reduction and control, together with increases in socio-economic conditions as measured by relevant indicators and variables.

Resilience, as a concept, process and goal, has taken a forefront in much study of and policy and action for increasing security and sustainability in cities when faced with increasing numbers of shocks and crises affecting the economy and the welfare of individuals and collectivities (also, potentially, and in reality, levels of poverty, inequality and livelihood efficiency and productivity). In the cases we will deal with in the paper, the triggers to these shocks and crises can be found in natural or socio-natural (hazard caused by human intervention in natural systems) processes such as earthquakes, hurricanes, flooding and landslides. Such "shocks" may take the form of "intensive" large scale events, impacts and effects or, on the other hand, of increasing importance, "extensive", recurrent, small to medium scale events, and their accumulative impacts and effects, especially within a context where climate change and global warming play a part in the growing occurrence of hydro-meteorological hazards.

The study of resilience in the frame of physical hazard induced shocks and disasters is dominated by work on Disaster Risk Management and Climate Change Adaptation. In these spheres, the most accepted use and definition of resilience is that used by the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction-UNDRR (formerly UNISDR): "The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions" (UNISDR, 2009, p. 24).

In much work on resilience the notion of transformation is now present. Resilience should in practice lead to more than a mere act of recovery to the former status quo and lead to change and improvement in existing structures and functions. This ad hoc addition to the resilience definition, moving it from “bouncing back” to a “bouncing forward” notion has been a principal modification allowed for by scientific imagination and license. This same scientific license has led to multiple, at times incompatible, definitions of resilience. Faced with this context, our “solution” to definition and concept is to see resilience as a process or goal that may be achieved through a coordinated and integral process involving DRM and CCA, formulated from a sustainable development and livelihood planning, support and strengthening angle, including both ex ante and ex post measures related to shocks and disasters. Clearly, definition and understanding of the process requires a consideration of the very substantial differences between planned and ordered “northern” cities and the more spontaneous growth seen in many “southern” cases.

The paper is rather more theoretical and conceptual than empirical, and is based on discussions in the frame of our KNOW work in the three LAC cities during its first phase on typologies or characterisation of disaster risk, which was basically constructed using secondary data sources, with only preliminary direct contact with urban at-risk populations and government officials in charge of DRM and CCA concerns (this contact was more extensive in the case of Barranquilla). The second phase of our work to take place throughout 2020, will be based on the use of both individual and collective group interviewing techniques in three urban communities in each city and the application of novel methodologies for measuring impact and resilience. Preliminary work and discussion on resilience measurement and indicators (using first level ideas developed by Chris Lavell) is leading us to argue for the use of a Resilience measurement that would be constituted as a risk-free discretionary median income indicator. The idea is that in a “properly functioning” country/territorial unit/household, income would first be used to cover non-discretionary (mandatory) expenses (such as food, shelter, transport to work, basic service access, security, etc.), then to mitigate (in one way or another) all of the risks they face. Residual income after mandatory expenses and mitigation expenses would be considered risk-free discretionary income. Its level, both in absolute and relative terms above/below $0, indicates how much potential a country/territorial unit/household has to be resilient in the face of a shock (those with positive values) or how much it lacks the potential to be resilient on its own to large, or even smaller, events (those with negative values).

Measuring resilience in the manner under development will hopefully allow us to see the effect of poverty or prosperity and its linkage to governance processes on risk-free discretionary income, and thus actual resilience levels. By tracking both medians and averages and interpolating from them likely income distributions, we may be able to provide a clearer picture of the role inequality plays in achieving resilience in different cities and spaces within them.

The essence of our understanding of the ways risk is perceived, constructed and acted on in the minds of risk bearers and risk managers derives from the very early analysis of disaster and disaster risk that Ken Hewitt offered us in 1983 in his classic chapter on The Idea of Calamity in a Technocratic Age. Faced with the dominant image and understanding that disasters or shocks constituted severe interruptions to the normal routine functioning of society, Hewitt postulated the very opposite, arguing that disasters and shocks in most cases represent continuities and actualisations of every-day life. Disaster or shocks are the ongoing result of the pre-existing social, economic and political conditions and not breaks or ruptures with these. This is an essential component of the understanding of risk from a vulnerability perspective.

Two theoretical, moving to empirical, considerations will be discussed in our presentation.

Firstly, following the more integral way of looking at risk and disaster, categories or types of risk are many times interrelated causally and in terms of needed action, and not discrete. When dealing with disaster risk and disasters this is clearly seen in the continuum principle elicited by Hewitt: disaster risk is the continuity of every day, “normal” life and the everyday, quotidian conditions that typify poorer populations. That is to say lack of access to work and income, problems of health and security, mal-nutrition, lack of access to basic services and to safe land due to exclusion from formal land markets, etc. all add up to a very challenging context in which to be “resilient”. From the perspective of affected population groups this leads to what we are now calling “normalisation” or “routinisation” of disaster risk. That is to say, for affected populations many trade disaster risk against a reduction of every day risk and in fact many times find advantage in living at disaster risk. Moreover, exposure to hazard of some level or other is the only option they have for acquiring land. Such a context means resilience is not about shocks as such but rather the conditions that allow them to occur and seriously impact some more than others.

A second fundamental and related challenge can be seen in the still dominant “exogenous” view of disaster among many DRM agencies, as opposed to risk being conceived and acted on as the result of “endogenous”, failed development processes. The result of such exogenous views of shock and disaster is an approach to DRM and CCA depicted in solutions that principally affect the hazard component but not the underlying root causes of risk and disaster, including exposure. It is also reflected in a general separation of concerns for disaster and disaster risk from more pervasive development concerns. Poverty is dealt with as a sector as is public investment, and disaster is still seen to be the domain of response-led organisations that may preach reduction and prevention but which when assigning resources still are dominated by response activities.

Faced with these two dilemmas or contexts, realignment and redefinition of approaches at a community level can only come through a new consciousness, which, using techniques such

as co-production of knowledge, allow the front and back lines to come closer in their interpretations of the how and why of intervention and place prospective planning on the agenda as opposed to remedying past problems in an unsatisfactory way.

Getting action on disaster risk: Co-production of disaster risk reduction in informal settlements in Dar es Salaam

Cassidy Johnson and **Emmanuel Osuteye;** The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, University College London (DPU, UCL)

Tim Ndezi and **Festo Makoba;** Centre for Communitiy Initiatives Tanzania (CCI)

Introduction

Community based disaster risk reduction (CBDRR) has forwarded the practice that communities need to be at the centre of disaster risk reduction initiatives. Rooted in the practice of participatory development, CBDRR is based on the premise that local communities have the skills, experience, local knowledge and networks to undertake locally appropriate activities that increase resilience and reduce vulnerability to a range of hazardous events (Dodman and Mitlin, 2013). However, CBDRR does not signify the implementation of mitigation measures exclusively at the community level of action, but the progressive activation of all the levels, starting with the community itself (quoting Maskrey 1984, in Maskrey, 2011). Proponents of CBDRR claim that while community-based methods are useful for understanding the risks people face in their daily lives and for organising community action, they are less useful for transcending needed actions up to the policy sphere (Gaillard, 2012).

Participatory disaster risk assessments are part of multiple-methods and approaches that exist for disaster risk identification and reduction. Participatory disaster risk assessments have the potential to be empowering, to generate new local knowledge, to be scaled up, and to be a vehicle for negotiating local change (Pelling, 2007). There is a burgeoning array of participatory disaster risk assessment methodologies, and these can be differentiated by procedural elements, i.e. the relative power and ownership over the process, by qualitative or quantitative methodologies and by their ideological perspective, i.e. the degree to which they are emancipatory or extractive. At the same time, methods to measure 'urban resilience' undertaken by municipal governments (sometimes with participation from communities) might be useful for getting big investments at the city-scale, but they lack the detailed knowledge and capacities about the realities of communities on the ground, for the localised risks they face. Thus, what it appears in practice is the need for co-produced knowledge and action, that brings together knowledge from communities, governments and others and creates actions at different levels.

This paper looks at a process of an action-research project conducted in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which employed the Action at the Frontline method (AFL) to understand localised risks in two neighbourhoods and to take actions on addressing these risks. The AFL methodology was originally developed by Global Network of Civil Society Organisations for Disaster Reduction as a bottom-up method for monitoring the implementation of the Hyogo

framework. However, it has taken on a life of its own, being applied in many different contexts and guises (Gibson and Wisner, 2016).

Although residents across urban areas in the Global South are exposed to both large-scale intensive risks as well extensive risks, findings show that losses coming from smaller-scale and localised disasters are just as much or greater than those coming from large-scale disasters (UNISDR, 2015). Part of the reason for this is that residents of informal settlements have less access to the kinds of infrastructure that can reduce their exposure to risks. If we define disaster as a 'disruption to the normal events of daily life that result in some kind of losses, and is caused by human-environmental interactions', (Oliver-smith, 1998) then we will see that the range of risks women, men and children face in cities, what we term 'urban risks' is wide-ranging, and may include health impacts and material losses from events such as flooding, crime, evictions, accidents, building collapse, fires and the like (Adelekan et al., 2015). Thus, as stated in the panel description, "at the centre of this complex causal nexus are impending and growing social contradictions associated with poverty, inequality, lack of prosperity and livelihood security that make cities unequal spaces for residents. Risk is a social product that in good part is immersed with the processes leading to, and expressions of urban inequality."

In the lead-up to the KNOW project, The Centre for Community Initiatives in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, along with DPU, conducted a participatory action research project in two neighbourhoods. The aim was to co-produce knowledge about risks with residents, ward and municipal government officials, NGOs and others and to develop action-plans to tackle the risks both at the community and municipal levels (Osuteye et al. (2019).

The study was done in the two informal settlements of Dar es Salaam – Bonde la Mpunga located in Msasani ward and Mtambani located in Vingunguti ward using the Action at the Frontline Methodology. This came up with major day-to-day risk that the community from those neighbourhoods are experiencing, impacts from those day-to-day risks, also the proposed actions and barriers. [need to add more details about the methodology]

Findings and Discussion

This paper reports on the findings from this knowledge co-production process and reflects on what these mean for managing disaster risks and building resilience. The findings revealed that small-scale and everyday risks were the greatest threats to these communities and tackling these issues are strongly linked to urban service and infrastructure deficits, such as solid waste collection, sewage and waste-water infrastructure, security and health care (figures 1 and 2). In the policy and municipal practices in Dar es Salaam, disasters are seen as large catastrophic events and all the resources go to preparing and responding to large events. Meanwhile, it is the smaller events that affect people's lives more and therefore there needs to be a stronger link between disasters and development.

Findings Risks, impacts and potential actions from the communities

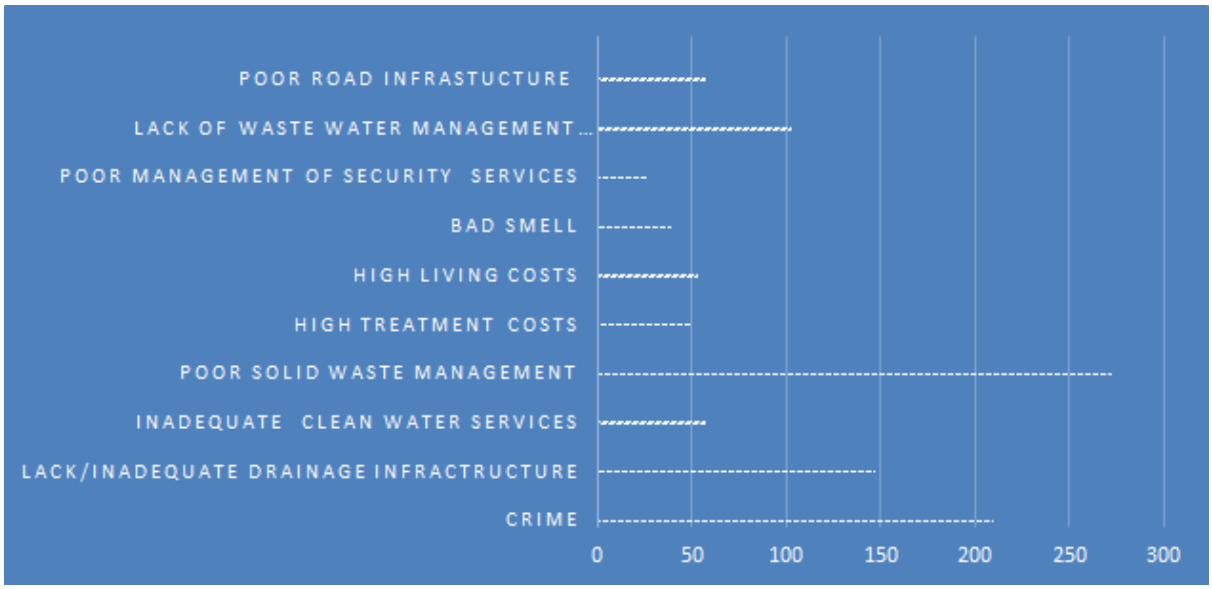

Figure 1: Major risk for Mtambani settlement

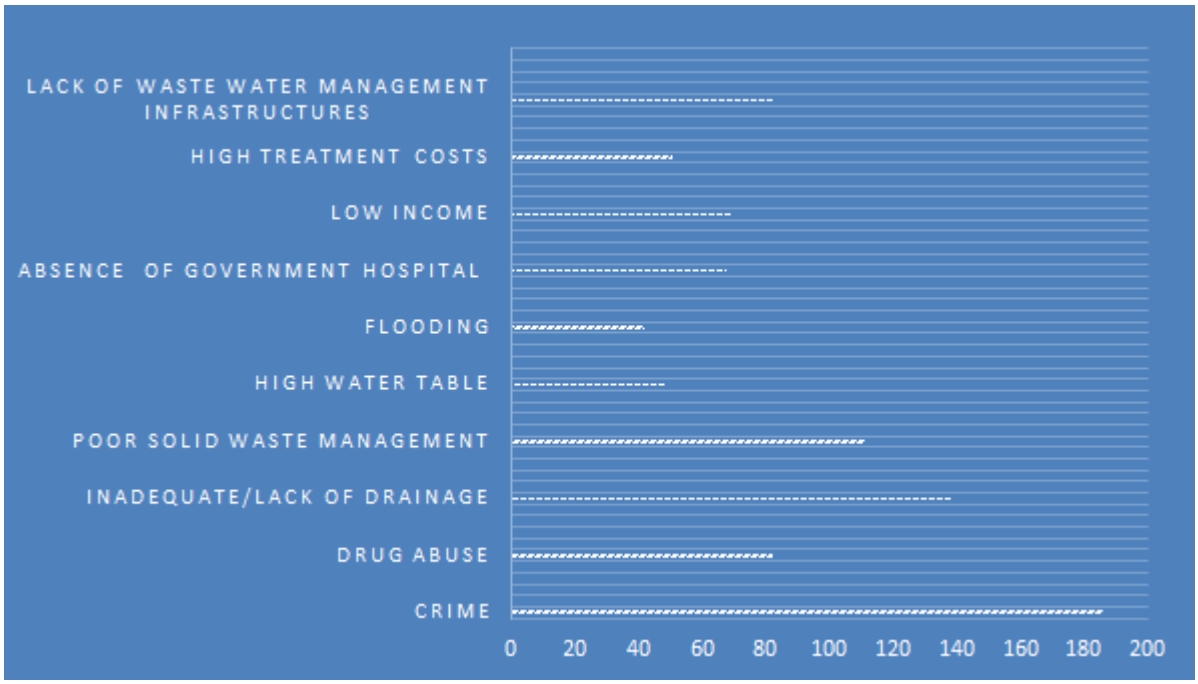

Figure 2: Figure 2: Major risk from Bonde la Mpunga settlement

Figures 1 and 2 for Mtambani and Bonde la Mpunga, present a wide range of small risks that communities who live in these informal settlements are experiencing in their day-to-day lives – issues such as poor solid waste management, crime and inadequate drainage are perceived as the greatest risks. These risks are quite different from the government's formal list of risks.

The same as the day-to-day risk, the community using AFL methodology were able wide range of the effects of day to day risks that affects their daily lives (Figures 3 and 4) and proposed a number of actions (Figure 5).

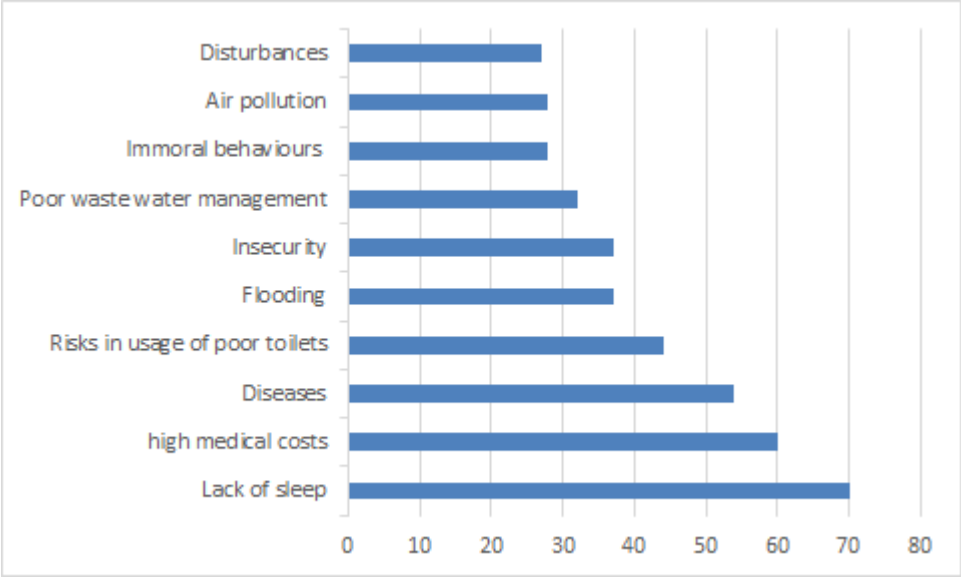

Figure 3: Figure 3: Impacts for community from Bonde la Mpunga

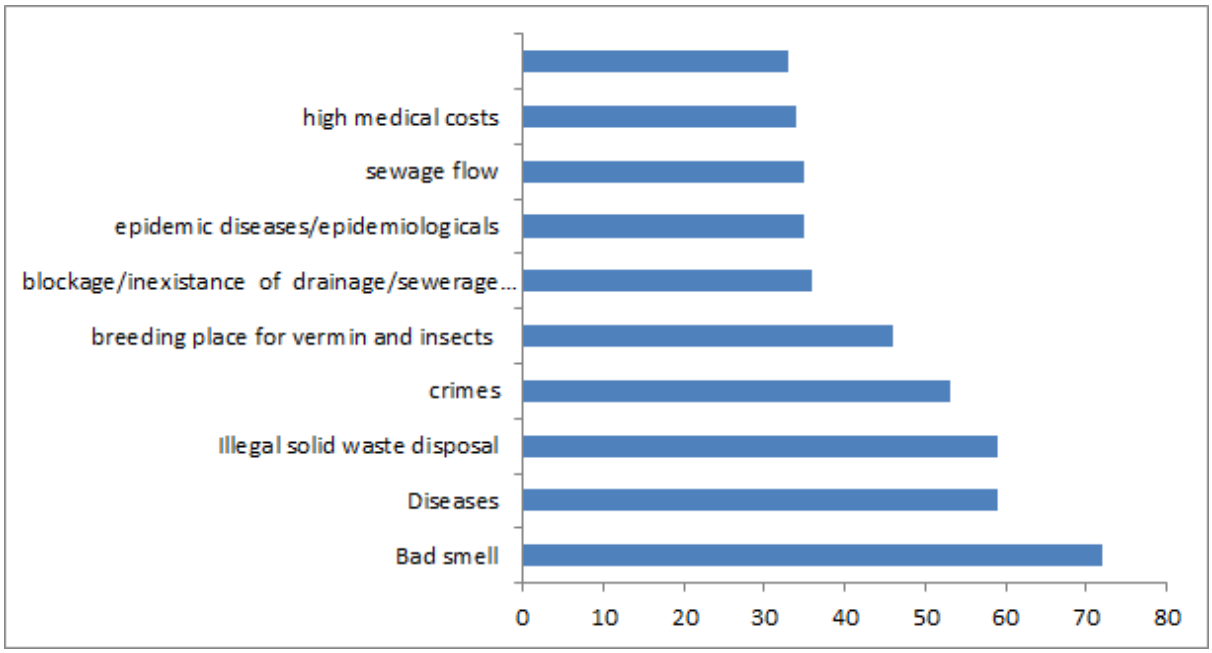

Figure 4: The impact from community in Mtambani

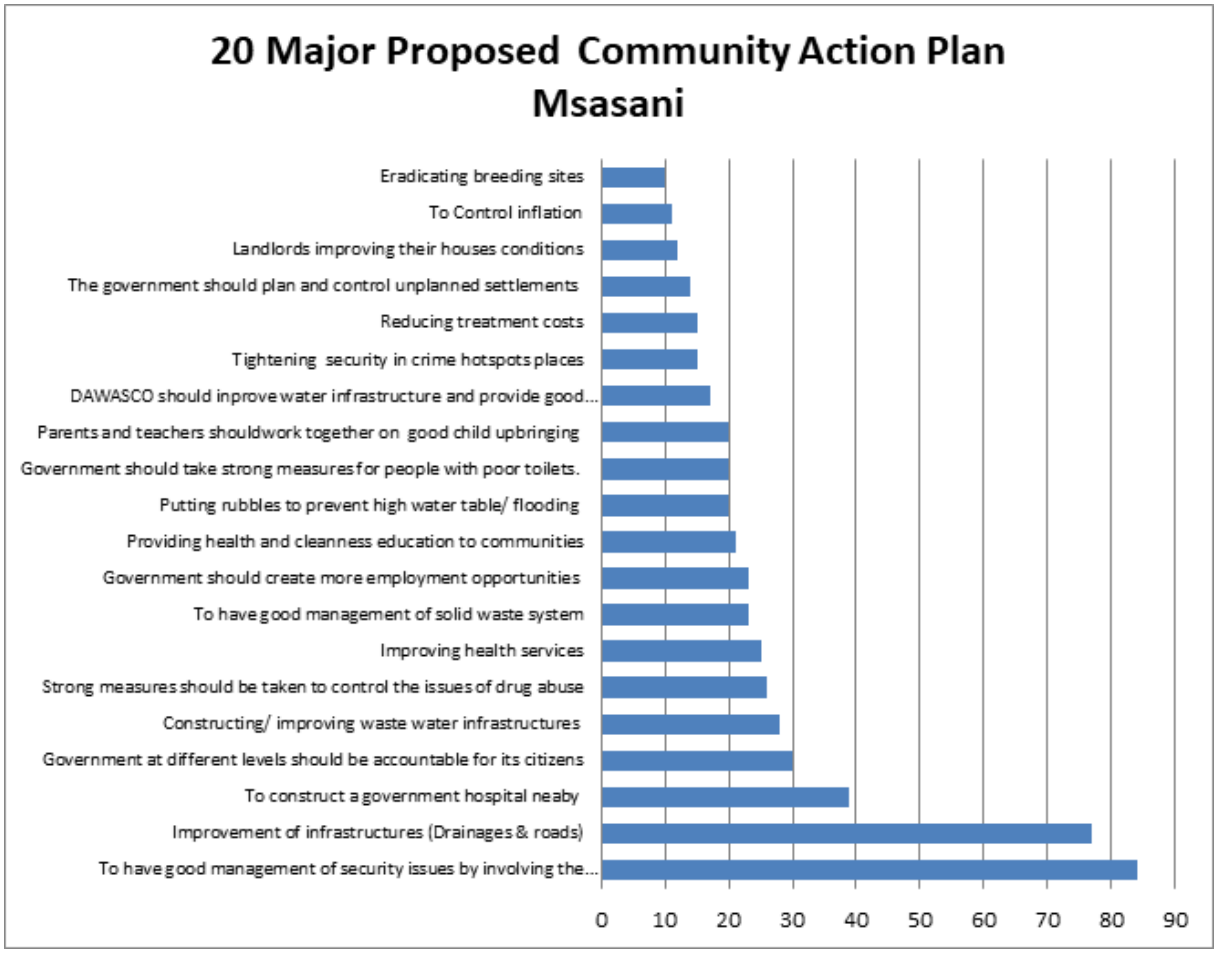

Figure 5: Community-proposed actions with regards to day-to-day risks

Findings about the municipal disaster management system

Tanzania has a Disaster Risk Management (DRM) law (Draft 2016) and a DRM structure that devolves institutional roles from the national through to the local scales. This is operationally top-down in nature and allows for the flow of information and resources along an established chain. Although this is reasonably commendable, its utility in bottom-up processes and information flow appears limited. Currently, information comes from the top-down, particularly when a disaster strikes, and there is little information flow from communities upwards. This means that the system is largely reactionary, that is, action happens only to respond to disasters, and it is not pro-active in disaster risk reduction.

Furthermore, the official structure did not explicitly cover the dynamics of community organisation below the ward level in urban areas. As such, it was interesting to investigate what existed both in principle and in practice at the sub-ward level, and explore the linkages and relationships to the formal DRM structure above the ward level and its potential utility for communicating risks that were experienced at that scale to stakeholders and decision makers at higher levels. For instance, several sub-wards have some form of a disaster committee which, together with other ward executives provided essential disaster relief and mobilisation efforts, although their roles needed to be expanded to cover more DRR functions. The committees were known first responders in the event of episodic and large disasters.

This enquiry into the role of sub-ward structures in DRM and risk communication is also timely, as there has been a recent shift in reporting mechanisms between the ward, municipality and district levels. The Municipal Disaster Management Committee which previously reported directly to the District Commissioner, now reports directly to the technocratic Municipal Director who is more equipped technically and financially to deal with DRM issues. Similarly, at the sub-ward level, the disaster committees were now mandated to report to the Mtaa Executive Officer and not the Mtaa Chairperson. This was a potential positive step since the Mtaa Executive Officer (an appointed local government official) had a direct reporting link to the Municipal Director and could prioritise and escalate community concerns for funds at the disposal of the municipal director compared to the elected Mtaa chairperson. The critical link was for the Mtaa Chairperson to establish adequate communication and exchange of risk information that elected officials like themselves (who were also residents) knew, experienced or had collected data on. Furthermore, this link was necessary as appointed local government officials who could help drawn down municipal funds, may not be residents of the Mtaa, worked limited office hours, and experienced a higher turnover of staff.

Conclusion

What are we learning about urban equality? More specifically, do the findings and the methodology used focus any light on the following?

- What do the findings say about the distribution of access to income and services for all citizens in a sustainable manner?
- What do the findings say about the recognition of different social identities and the environment in the way it plans, manages and operates?
- What do the findings say about the active engagement of all citizens in deliberations and decisions about the topic of the research in the current and future city?

During the research, there have been a number of reflections on the AFL methodology and its contribution towards urban equality. For example, in relation to *recognition*, it was found that the Ward Development Committees are a good forum for bringing risk and development concerns from the community upward into municipal budgeting, and the co-produced knowledge that came from the AFL exercise has enabled a more informed discussion about risk issues at the ward level and link to on-going interventions. Furthermore, the AFL exercise provided an opportunity for learning and capacity building among the actors, building new relationships, for example with community health officers as well as government representatives working directly with community members, thus understanding residents' problems first-hand.

Secondly, in terms of *distribution*, the action-planning done by communities in the AFL exercise outlined small-scale and relatively inexpensive ways that can dramatically improve people's lives, whereas the actions defined by government were much more resource

intensive. This points to the utility of community-based assessments and the need for local governments to invest in relatively inexpensive improvements leading to risk reduction. [Could add examples here]. We also highlight that policy makers need to consider the aspect of risk reduction within their planning and that municipal budgets need to consider DRR as a development issue, to enable them to spend budgets allocated for development on those things that will reduce the daily risks that communities face.

Thirdly, in terms of representation, through completing this project, the Centre for Community Initiatives, and the Tanzanian Federation of the Urban Poor now have a seat at the table in the Municipal Disasters Committees. This committee sits every three months in each municipality and looks at disaster events and what happened afterwards. CCI and SDI are currently advocating for municipal disaster committees to focus more on the risks that each municipality faces, rather than reacting after disasters.

This paper concludes that knowledge co-production is an integral methodology for addressing disaster risks in urban areas. Neither CBDRR, nor government action is enough, and we need co-produced knowledge and continuous action from communities, practitioners and policy makers to make a difference in risk reduction.

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Rendering visible the multi-scalarity of everyday risks in Metropolitan Lima: towards the construction of a systemic and collaborative approach to urban resilience

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To understand urban inequality and its relationship to risk, we propose to analyse through its tangible manifestations, its structural drivers and its symbolic materialisation in the built-environment. For this, we look at Lima, a coastal city of the Andes where every day urban risks are intrinsically linked to this geographical condition. However, solutions to upfront risks are fragmented since they neither respond to broader territorial causes of risk nor to socio-economic and political structural factors that consolidate risk exposure. A multiplicity of underlying factors lead to these fragmentations which are manifested politically, socially, and spatially across the Metropolis. In social terms, the atomisation of neighbourhood associations weakens the possibilities of a sustained social mobilisation that demands access to urban facilities beyond the residential dimension. This atomisation also limits the power of negotiation between municipal agencies and the population as well as the co-creation of Disaster Risk Management strategies beyond very localised and short-term investments. On the other hand, institutional fragmentation manifests itself in sectorial decision-making processes and a marked absence of a comprehensive vision of both district and city scales and a divorce between social and territorial programmes. Finally, physical fragmentation is evidenced in the projects carried out by both citizens and the State in the territory, characterised by being punctual and disjointed with each other. The paper seeks to explore and discuss some of these factors as well as to delineate possible strategies towards disrupting current fragmented approaches.

Keywords: Systemic Approach to Urban Inequality, Multidimensional Fragmentation, Lima, Territory

1. Defining Urban Inequality

Vulnerability and exposure to risks are directly linked to the manifestation and consolidation of urban inequalities, which are understood as complex systems of physical, environmental, social, and economic disparities articulated through urban space, which affect everyday life and limit people's capabilities to pursue their life projects. We argue that the higher the risk for certain communities, the higher the levels of urban inequality. We propose that the reduction of vulnerability and anthropic hazards can reduce urban risks and therefore contribute to lowering the levels of urban inequality. There is a current shift in Disaster Risk Management (DRM) literature from vulnerability reduction towards a relief-to-development continuum (Desmaison 2016, Allen et al 2017) by seeing vulnerability reduction strategies as catalysts "for relief and development interventions which can lead to sustainable development" (Zetter & Boano 2010, p. 205). Vulnerability reduction schemes could lead to an increase in social resilience and a reduction of urban inequalities by tackling socio-economic causes of physical vulnerability.

Inequality can be grouped into three main subsystems: spatial or tangible inequality, structural (economic and social) inequality and cultural (which includes symbolic dimensions). The interactions between these spheres is defined by power relationships within society. Additionally, an all-encompassing institutional or governance sphere, rendered visible through public policies and programmes, is able to directly transform how the other spheres evolve, interact with each other, and transform urban processes, thus reproducing or decreasing drivers of inequality.

The particularity of urban inequality is the great relevance that the built-environment has in determining a differentiated access to material, political, and symbolic resources. Our approach to urban inequality is to analyse it through three interconnected lenses: first, tangible urban inequality that can be perceived directly through the observation of differences in the built-environment and territorial occupation. Secondly, structural urban inequality which is found in the policies and laws that govern the city, as well as in the procedures of the institutions in charge of managing the city (municipalities, ministries, etc.) and how citizens' actions towards city-making interact and are shaped by the current governance system. Finally, cultural or symbolic urban inequality, which is expressed in social behaviours and dynamics, in language, and in direct and indirect discourses built by citizens and the city alike.

2. State-led Approximations to Urban Inequality and Risks

State-led approaches to understanding inequality are mainly constructed through census data, which are generally based upon "home" (for social indicators) and "housing" (for physical indicators) as their units of analysis. This information is neither complemented with information of other dimensions of the urban nor of drivers of inequality such as a fragmented governance system and institutions with differentiated access to resources and, therefore, with unequal investment capacities for the improvement of urban space. This type of approach makes other factors that reproduce conditions of urban inequality invisible. Most of the spatial realities and daily experiences of women and men within these homes and their differentiated access to quality public spaces, accessible and convenient public transport, public services, and fair and equitable working conditions are omitted.

Moreover, this understanding reduces policies and programmes to abstractions from the individual - family sphere. Existing public policies at the national level work under the logic of poverty reduction, seeking to attack the quantitative problem, without transforming the structural dynamics that generate poverty, risk exposure, and inequality. This becomes visible, for example, in the granting of land property titles devoid of basic services and located in high-risk areas without the accompaniment of these initiatives with others that tackle other dimensions of the urban and, with that, the capacity and the possibility of breaking traps or vicious circles that reinforce poverty. Thus, current policies help to sustain a system that generates and reinforces inequality.

3. Systemic Approaches to Understanding Urban Inequality in Lima

3.A. Physical-Spatial Urban Inequality & Risk Exposure

The recent IPCC Report (2018) foresees the rapid and continuing disappearance of year-round ice covering the White Mountain Range in the South American Andes, even without an increase in temperature. In Peru alone, 42.64% of the glaciers have disappeared in the last 40 decades (MINAM 2014). These figures are concerning, considering that 75% of the water supply to the population of Lima comes from the Lurín, Chillón, and Rímac Rivers, which depend entirely on permanent glaciers from the high Andean regions adjacent to the capital. Thus, Lima is set to experience a growing water crisis that requires urgent adaptation measures in order to deal with the challenge. We seek to explore these challenges along with Foro Ciudades para la Vida (FCPV), an NGO that works closely with policy makers towards the inclusion of environmental and climatic concerns into legislature.

Additionally, Peru is located in the Pacific's Ring of Fire, which means Lima is highly vulnerable to seismic movements, including not only large earthquakes but also small tremors. This condition is exacerbated in a city where over 70% of the constructions are self-built in fragile terrains with high-slopes and prone to landslides, or ill-maintained historic buildings made with adobe, thus increasing the probabilities of structural failure in case of seismic activity.

The scale of these risks calls for a territorial and systemic understanding of the city, how it is continuously transformed and occupied, and its relationship with its broader territory, which is currently understood mostly as a source for basic resources needed for the functioning of Lima. What is the role of planning and urban design in preparing for upcoming environmental challenges?

3. B. Structural Urban Inequality: Fragmentation Traps

Institutional fragmentation manifests itself in sectorial decision-making processes and a marked absence of a comprehensive vision of both district and city scales, and a divorce between social and territorial programmes. Lima has been subject to an important process of administrative fragmentation since the 1960s, with the creation of new district municipalities and the transfer of greater powers to them, although not accompanied by the necessary resources. At present, Metropolitan Lima is made up of 50 districts. Being a structurally unequal city, this means that one of the districts where the wealthiest population lives - San Isidro - has an annual per capita budget of 3052 soles (approx. 900 US dollars) while one of the poorest districts, Comas, has an annual budget of 150 soles (approx. 45 US dollars) per capita (LCV 2012).

In social terms, the atomisation of neighbourhood associations weakens the possibilities of a sustained social mobilisation that demands access to urban facilities beyond the residential dimension. As expressed by the NGO CENCA, which works closely with peripheral

neighbourhoods, this atomisation also limits the power of negotiation between municipal agencies and the population as well as the co-creation of Disaster Risk Management strategies beyond very localised and short-term investments. This atomisation is rendered visible in changes in land occupation between the latter half of the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st century.

The self-urbanisation projects promoted by the State during the 60, 70s, and 80s were characterised by being in flat lands, designed with clearly defined areas for the future development of industry and the provision of urban facilities and metropolitan roads. The most significant examples of these neighbourhoods are Villa El Salvador, Huaycán and the first neighbourhoods of San Juan de Lurigancho. Additionally, the social groups that came to these neighbourhoods were made up of a large number of families, which sometimes exceeded a thousand people simultaneously occupying the plots provided by the State. These neighbourhoods have managed to consolidate over time, becoming Lima's new middle class living in buildings with a higher building density in neighbourhoods where a variety of services and infrastructure have emerged, although of diverse quality and distribution.

Starting at the turn of the century, a different mode of land occupation took place which continues to be predominant today, occupying residual areas in high slopes adjacent to the large planned neighbourhoods of Lima. Smaller groups that do not know each other occupy smaller areas which are ill-communicated with each other, thus hindering their negotiation capacity with the State and even competing with each other for the acquisition of basic services. Thus, in addition to the fragmented government management of the city, since the 1980s, there is a crisis of neighbourhood organisations and weakened popular urban movements.

Finally, physical fragmentation is evidenced in the projects carried out by both citizens and the State in the territory, characterised by being punctual and disjointed with each other. These projects emerge due to limited resources and capacities and the absence of urban strategies to tackle risk exposure and inequality beyond very localised interventions.

3.C. Symbolic Urban Inequality: Epistemological Issues of the Dualism Centre/Peripheries

Land value is dependent on the buildings that are located in a given area of the city. The programme of the buildings will be important, whether it is a theatre, a Ministry or a cultural centre, but as important as the programme will be the building's quality itself. Thus, the State and the private sector are able to assign the value of an area from the value they give to its buildings, and this goes into the calculation of the urban land value. We could say that the economic value of a land has a symbolic component, and that this component functions as a discourse. In other words, spatial inequality has a symbolic component that depends exclusively on architectural decisions: the location of a building, the procedure in which the project is assigned, the project's programme, and its cost. The same applies to Disaster Risk

Reduction Infrastructure: it can either add or reduce value to the land according to its symbolic quality and significance.

4. Rendering Visible Urban Inequality in Lima: a Biopsy

Seeking to expand the knowledge of the daily experiences of spatial inequality in Lima, we proposed to analyse a representative fragment of it, a section that crosses the city through districts of upper, middle, and lower strata. This proposal explores a novel and alternative methodology to understand the main dynamics and problems of the Metropolis through an exhaustive study of a fragment of it that represents the vast diversity of realities and experiences in the city. Thus, this "biopsy" promotes an exploration and understanding of inequality in all its diversity, thereby avoiding the concentration of the analysis in less favoured areas of the city, understanding that the latter approach would generate an analysis of poverty but not inequality. These explorations were constructed with students of architecture, promoting a self-recognition of themselves as citizens of Lima who also experience inequalities in their daily lives.

Additionally, this approach sought to open the exploration of cartography and other graphic resources as tools of a necessarily political and subjective nature, capable of highlighting (or rendering invisible) characteristics of the reality that they seek to represent (Harley 1988, Connolly 2008, St. Martin 2009, Borie et al 2019). Thus, the biopsy also questions the possibilities and limitations of frequently used and consulted indicators of inequality and also how the graphical representation of these indicators collaborates in the construction of discourses of the different manifestations and dimensions of inequality. In this way, we sought to open new spaces for academic and inter-institutional debate about the main problems that cause inequalities, how they manifest and reproduce in the built-environment and, thus, opening platforms towards innovative and collaborative co-construction of urban strategies to challenge them.

The section allows a more detailed understanding of certain sectors of the Metropolis while articulating them with broader temporal and territorial scales. Working with our partner NGOs, CIDAP and CENCA, we have developed a detailed analysis of the main structural drivers of everyday inequalities as experienced by the residents of Barrios Altos (in the historic centre) and Jose Carlos Mariátegui (in the peripheries). The analysis of the latter has allowed us to construct a timeline leading to increasing fragmentation traps in city governance while the former depicts an incremental conflict between residential areas and commerce of a Metropolitan scale. For the analysis of both areas, we sought to render visible how the "subsystems" of inequality are manifested in the particular urbanisation processes and transformations in each area and how they fall within broader tendencies at the city and regional levels.

Recognising the limitations of current existing data and representation techniques, in 2020, we are co-developing strategies for the manifestation of everyday experiences of inequality

and risks with each NGO. With Foro and their selected focus groups, we seek to shed light on how current investment in water provision is unfair and insufficient. This includes an analysis of everyday difficulties in water provision in different neighbourhoods located within the section. Simultaneously, CIDAP is proposing the co-construction of a survey and accompanying activities to shed light on the interdependence between the commercial area and the residents of the historic centre. Lastly, CENCA is proposing an innovative tool to bridge the gap between top-down approaches to planning and ultra-localised investment, seeking to provide an alternative (and currently unavailable) scale of urban planning and design which promotes a more efficient use of resources towards disaster risk reduction.
The next step contemplated, and for which these actions serve as a basis, is to initiate applied research promoting practice and experimentation through collaborative, interdisciplinary, and inter-institutional urban design, presenting these actions as processes that seek to generate concrete urban transformations. In this way, KNOW-Lima seeks to go beyond the understanding and visibility of inequality, promoting the generation of skills and knowledge to challenge it through collaborative urban design.

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Panel 3

Reframing and operationalising notions of prosperity and extreme poverty to address urban equality

Pathways to the “good life”: Co-producing a contextual understanding of prosperity (maisha bora) in informal settlements in Dar es Salaam

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Residents of informal settlements in urban centres in Africa are known to suffer disproportionate burdens of environmental and socio-economic inequalities and are often excluded from macro-level visions and policies that seek to make cities safer and prosperous (Birkmann, 2007; Dodman et al, 2013; da Silva and Morera, 2014). This tension undermines the validity of orthodox, ‘expert-led’ visions, policies and measures of prosperity that are distant from the lived-experience of marginalised urban residents. Based on new empirical work with communities in three informal settlements in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, this paper argues that novel methodological and theoretical approaches to co-producing context-specific policy-relevant knowledge about pathways to prosperity (translated by the communities as ‘maisha bora – the good life’) creates inclusive spaces for both community participation in processes of urban knowledge production and critical social enquiry that can lead to grounded theory building. By co-producing both an agreed and relevant methodological approach for the study, and its subsequent documentation and analysis, this work contributes valuable empirical insights about the capacities and capabilities of local communities to shape and influence urban policy-making, and in this way speaks to calls for a global urbanism (Robinson 2016; Ong 2011) that brings diverse voices and geographies to urban theory, to better account for the diversity of urban experiences and processes found in 21st century cities.

A study on the fishing communities in Da Nang city with special focus on assessing local assets and resources to improve their livelihoods in response to rapid urbanisation

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Vo Ho Bao Hanh; UN Habitat, Vietnam
Chu Manh Trinh; Cham island MPA

Da Nang is known as the largest and most dynamic city in the Central region of Vietnam. With an urbanization rate higher than the country's average, in 2009, 77.6% of the population of Da Nang province was considered urban.

Economic growth has been the essential measure for Da Nang's story of successful city development and prosperity. However, the city has not considered the value and potential contributions of tangible and intangible cultural heritage into its overall development and notion of prosperity. An example of this are the city's fishing villages, who are disappearing with their assets, rich social fabric, shared history, and traditional knowledge. Under the pressure of urbanisation, the fishing villages are seen as challenging areas that the city needs to address in terms of livelihoods, poverty reduction or preserving local identity, rather than a potential to go along with the rapid urban development process.

Focussing on assessing local fishing villages' assets and resources, and valorising the internal strengths of the community and building community data, this project aims to strengthen and empower the fishing community connections and affirm their contributions, roles and values to the sustainable and prosperous development of Da Nang City.

Addressing urban equality in Havana: Interrogating the prosperity perspective

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The paper presents partial results achieved by KNOW-Havana in identifying pathways to urban equality while interrogating the installed notions of prosperity. The Havana situation shows how even in a case where the socio-economic framework has sustainably been based on paradigms of social justice for all for more than 60 years, structural changes derived from external dynamics can generate permanent risks to this endeavour. The fall of the European socialist block and the intensification of the commercial, financial and economic blockade against Cuba by the USA forced a rupture in the logics generating equality. The response was an economic reform that has evolved while adapting itself to new contexts. Meanwhile, it has incorporated the results of an intense popular debate that led to the approval of a new Constitution in 2019. Amid this process a phrase has started to populate official documents: "...building a prosperous and sustainable society". It matches both popular salutations in which "prosperity" appears as a key component of goodwill wishes and a reference to dissatisfaction with the economic performance. Through both analysing publications and regulatory documents, and surveying focal groups in four case studies, the team has been identifying matching elements in both areas with the purpose of translating the findings into public urban policy.

Understanding the relationships between socio-economic shocks, poverty and inequality in Kampala

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The rapid urban growth in Kampala causes major socio-economic and environmental shocks that lower the quality of life of the urban dwellers. These shocks exacerbate poverty among the urban poor, pushing them further into the temporal cycles of inequality. The frequency and severity of the shocks tend to have lifelong impact not only on the present household members but their next generations as well, leading to chronic poverty among some households. Much of the inequality literature has focused on national inequality but local inequality is also important, especially in cities where spatial variation is significant like in Kampala. This paper's main objective is to understand whether people in urban areas recognise the socio-economic and biophysical shocks to their daily lives and activities. The paper uses Kampala as an example to understand the influence of shocks on poverty and inequality and also identifies shocks and their impact on livelihoods, and the coping strategies that people adapt. The paper uses spatial poverty maps to describe the income distributions and explored the shocks of poverty and inequality ideas using a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods by analysing how income, financial and social shocks to urban livelihoods are interpreted and what responses individuals, households implement to minimise the impact. A better understanding of people's coping strategies can help design triggers for action that can prevent households from moving to more desperate measures, and using these coping strategies as early warning indicators could help prevent sudden losses in well-being.

Keywords: Shocks, Inequality, Poverty and coping strategies

Introduction

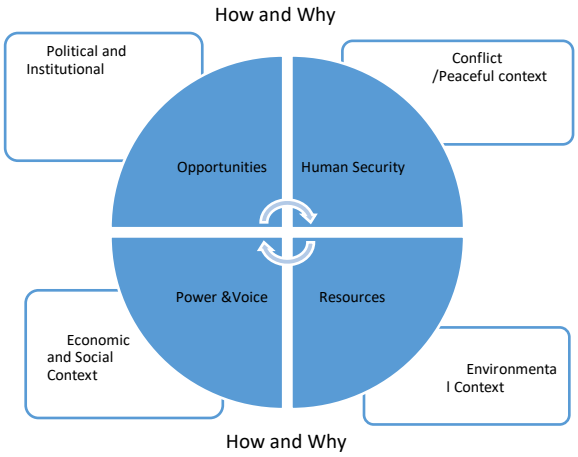
There is a rising inequality in Kampala since 30 years (UNHABITAT, 2016) due to public services planning and development implementation in the city. The national income inequality increased from 0.40 to 0.42 between 2012/13 and 2016/17(UBOS, 2018) but this obscures urban inequality (Glaeser, Resseger, & Tobio, 2009), making it invisible to research as well as policy. Urban inequality does not only mean city-level inequality but also city-regional intra-differences. One of the drivers of inequality relates to socio-economic and biophysical shocks which interact to keep households and individuals in an economic status quo or inhibit them to progress positively. This paper spatially analyses shocks and how they relate to inequality in Kampala city-region.

Aim and objectives

To characterise spatial distribution of poverty
To investigate the temporal influence of shocks on inequality
To investigate the relationship between socio-economic and biophysical shocks

Framing shocks and inequality

Poverty, defined as the lack or deficiency of the necessities required for human survival and welfare, is rising in many urban settings, especially in Africa. Because there is limited involvement in the primary means of production, individual and or household income in urban areas is the primary means to meet needs. But the income is also unstable let alone being reliable. In the midst of income instability, shocks or spikes or unusual events that interrupt the daily wellbeing of individual or households have an impact that transcend the duration of occurrence. There are various shocks including, Biophysical Shocks (extreme rainfall and flash floods); Socio-economic shocks (Unemployment/loss of a job, period of transition from one job to another), theft, death, chronic diseases, disability, divorce and separation, evictions from land and evictions from houses). These shocks interact with household living conditions to widen the inequality leading to uneven distribution of resources and services in the city. The framework below tries to contextualise how shocks influence inequality by relating political, institutional, power, economic and environment processes.



Adopted from SIDA, 2017

Background of Kampala

Kampala City is described as a primate city in Uganda due to its sheer share of the urban population and dominance of urban functions. The city is geographically situated at 0o19'North latitude and 32o25' East longitude. The city has now emerged as an engine of growth for the country that contributes greatly to national GDP which has grown at an average rate of 7.4% in the last 7 years. Apart from being the political hub of the country, Kampala is also the industrial and educational centre attracting various associated activities. For administrative purposes, the city has five lower municipalities responsible for local planning, though resource allocation and implementation is centralised at the city level. These municipalities include Kampala Central Division, Kawempe Division, Makindye Division, Nakawa Division and Lubaga Division. The national census in 2002 put the population of the city at 1,189,142. This figure was adjusted to 1,420,200 in 2008 following the national

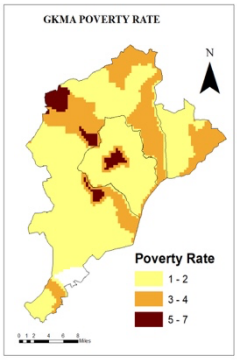
demographic and health survey of 2007. In 2011, the mid-year population of the city was estimated at 1,659,600 and the recent survey preceding the Kampala Physical Development Plan estimates the population at 1.72 million within the boundaries and 3.56 million in the city region. This growth is linked to urban population growth though migration still contributes to the demographic dynamics of the city.

Materials and methods

- Secondary sources
  - Uganda Bureau of Statistics Population data 2014
  - Greater Kampala Metropolitan Authority administrative boundary
  - Kampala Slum Profile (ACTogether Uganda)
- Data preparation
  - Gridding population, poverty, income, services and infrastructure to derive inequality data. Visualisation of inequality
- Primary sources
  - Qualitative analysis of lived experiences attained from the participatory video

Results

- Population concentration
  - High concentration in pockets around city region with up to 6,000 p/sq km
- Spatial inequality
  - Over all, there is moderate inequality but pockets of high inequality exist in Kampala Central and Wakiso district. Spatial distribution of Gini coefficient highlights very poor settlements in city region most of which are in the centre of the city compared to peripheral areas.
- Poverty rates
  - Headcount poverty rates range widely with 70 percent of people living below the poverty line. Big disparity between peripheral neighborhoods with those in the city centre
  - Access to services, health, education, water, sanitation is disproportionate between neighbourhoods.
- Shocks and inequality
  - From lived experiences, a highly variable temporal influence on shocks by communities
  - Relationship between biophysical shock and socioeconomic shocks is manifest in frequency of flash floods that interrupt livelihoods and knock out infrastructure



Parish/Settlement	Percentage below poverty line
Mengo	20
Bukesa	20
Kagugube	20
Kamwokya	15
Old Kampala	20
Industrial Area	25
Nakivubo Shauriyaako	20
Nabweru South	45
Nansana East	80
Nansana West	50
Ochieng	25
Kazo	25
Mutundwe	85
Bunamwaya	90
Namusera	69
Kasengejje	80

Discussion

Beyond the analysis of inequality in the city, this paper highlights the importance of opportunities in the emerging or informal sector; particularly looking at those instances wherein the informal sector, through individual household and community ingenuity, has found ways to become integrated into the urban economy towards equality. It highlights the critical importance of promotion and enhancement of unconventional economic initiatives and practices taking place within those communities, to enable their inclusion into the urban economy.

Conclusion

Intra-city regional inequality is high in Kampala and reveals a social economic dimension of the city fabric that needs research and policy attention.

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Panel 4

Navigating the Urban: Gendered Experiences in the City

Gender Equal Cities: 'Right to the City,' through the perspective of gender

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Despite decades of dialogue and discourse on feminist planning scholarship, gender continues to remain neglected in urban planning theory and practice. Women continue to face social, economic marginalisation and violence that manifests into a gendered mediation of space. Urban theory and planning that emerged during the 1970s, was shaped by corporate capital under neo-liberal policies. The critique that emerged during this time demonstrated the creation of environments that suited the needs of men. Traditional approaches to land use planning led to fragmented urban environments where residences, shopping, workplaces, and leisure areas were planned in separate areas connected by transportation systems. Dwellings, neighbourhoods, and cities were being designed considering that women are mostly homebound (Hayden, 1980).[1] This not only led to isolating women at home but also discouraging home-based work, which especially for poor women is a productive space where they work for a living.

Women not only perceive and experience cities in a way different than men but also use public spaces in different ways.[2] Work patterns play a major role in determining the spatial nature of the city. However, not all work patterns are the same, rather range over a wide spectrum of concerns including housing, transport, employment, open spaces, and environment. Standardised urban planning approaches do not address the intersectionality of gendered experiences and lead to exclusionary trends and disadvantages in urban development. Disadvantage is often based on social identity, which may be derived from gender, age, location, occupation, race, ethnicity, religion, citizenship status, disability, and sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI), among other factors (World Bank).

The gendered perspective has been reduced to being a binary classification of men and women, which is a key barrier in the process of making informed decisions in the context of city planning and design. Here, it is important to recognise that the city is gendered not through the binary of men and women, but through multiple actions and experiences of its inhabitants, who may have different gendered experiences based on their ethnicity, class,

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[2] Safe Cities Global Program, UN Women, 2009. Available at: https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/~/media/44F28561B84548FE82E24E38E825ABEA.ashx

age, or sexuality (Doan, 2010, 2015).[3] Understanding the intersectionality of identities, and recognition of the fact that these identities are complex, overlapping and they can change over time and vary by context is key to inclusive planning.

Gender mainstreaming in planning is not just about women's issues and concerns. It is about understanding the views of women and men equally when undertaking budgeting, consultation, design and evaluation of physical and social infrastructure such as housing, employment generation schemes, community services, transport and so on (Commonwealth Secretariat Discussion Paper, 2009).[4] Gender-sensitive planning stems from the recognition that different groups of women and men have different needs, different levels of access and control over resources, and different opportunities and constraints (Moser C, 1989).[5]

Over 50 per cent of the world's population is urban and 80 per cent of the worldwide gross domestic product comes from cities.[6] The rapid speed and growing scale of urbanisation brings with itself complex challenges, including increased demand for housing, transport, livelihood, food, and access to basic services. However, the city of today, unfortunately, does not recognise everyone equally. Due to privatisation of civic services, there is growing income inequality, which manifests itself in the growing ghettoisation and spatial segregation of people within cities. The poor continue to be evicted on grounds of development. Globally, over 60 per cent of displaced people live in urban areas (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees).[7] Women and children suffer the worst violations when a family is evicted. These include violations across a range of human rights, including the right to adequate housing,

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[6] The World Bank, Urban Development Webpage. Available at: https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/urbandevelopment/overview

[7] 'Global Trends- Forced Displacement in 2018, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Available at: https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2018/

food, shelter, education, health, social security, and equality. At the individual level, the loss of wages, lifetime earnings, poor education, and employment outcomes are the commonest measures of costs. As per 2018 data by the International Monetary Fund, the current gender gap in the labour force costs countries at the bottom half of gender inequality around 35 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product.[8] To recognise this, the United Nations has committed to 'leave no one behind,' and help promote inclusive growth of cities through the attainment of Sustainable Development Goals.

The adoption and integration of human rights-based approach in the planning processes should be a strong way to ensure equal rights to the city for all. Thus the application of the concept of the right to the city as a tool to combat the exclusionary development, marginalisation, and discrimination in cities becomes important to ensure inclusive city planning.

This paper on 'Gender Equal Cities – 'Right to the City,' through the Perspective of Gender,' will outline the causes for the urbanisation 'crisis'; the consequences of city policies from the gender perspective; and their impacts on human rights, especially on women's rights. The paper shall discuss important questions and existing debates around the theme of the right to the city, with an emphasis on gender. Also, the paper would use the existing reality in cities to argue for the need for a broad-based, holistic and encompassing the right to the city, with an emphasis on women's issues. It would end with some recommendations for city and national governments on providing solutions to aid a holistic, sustainable, and multicultural development of cities.

It is only when the women of the country, especially the most marginalised women attain full realisation of their human rights, India can truly develop as a nation.

Keywords: Right to the City, Gender, Human Rights, Urban Planning, Urbanization, Development

[8] Ostry, M. J. D., Alvarez, J., Espinoza, M. R. A., & Papageorgiou, M. C. (2018). Economic Gains from Gender Inclusion: New Mechanisms, New Evidence. International Monetary Fund.

As It May Be?' Young women's everyday actions in informal settlements in Dehradun

Febe De Geest; The University of Melbourne

This paper examines how the everyday actions of young women living in informal settlements shape the urban space in which they live. This study also reveals how young women reflect on their everyday actions, as well as how other actors – such as state actors at the national level, local urban governments, urban planners and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) – understand these actions. By doing so, this research reveals to what extent everyday actions can challenge social inequalities such as class, caste, gender and age.

To approach this research aim, I used exploratory ethnographic approach to illuminate how young women in informal settlements could potentially create alternative urban spaces, in contexts where state support is lacking. The ethnographic methods used are: semi-structured interviews, participant observation and photography. A focus on these actions could provide a positive counter narrative to stereotypical and rather negative descriptions of informal settlements and (female) youth in India that further generate inequalities (Bhan, 2016).

Knowing the generative potential of how urban actors create urban space in the Global South is important because these places often lack state support and provision (Nijman, 2015). Moreover, state interventions tend not to meet the needs of informal settlement inhabitants, recognise their value, and thus do not address the wishes of residents (Burra, 2005, Charlton, 2018). Informal urban settlements house income-poor residents, and are built slowly and incrementally (Bhan, 2016). Incremental building is the process of making gradual low-cost improvements to daily life including the materialities of houses by urban dwellers, which is in a dialectical response to socio-environmental conditions (Simone, 2004; see also Caldeira, 2014). Research in the Global South has shown how informal settlements are at once spaces of possibilities, hardship and uncertainty. It is often within these spaces that alternatives to contemporary urban realities emerge through various acts of everyday political and social action (McFarlane, 2011; Silver, 2014; Vasudevan, 2015a, 2015b; Caldeira, 2017). However, although state interventions in informal settlements have been studied – including evictions (Bhan, 2009), slum upgrading (Mukhija, 2003) and public housing projects – the ways through which inhabitants of informal settlements construct their urban environments (particularly in India) – are still understudied (Silver, 2013; Ren, 2018).

Youth – especially, young women – play an important yet under-examined role in creating and shaping urban spaces. Research on the politics of youth in informal neighbourhoods has mainly focused on the challenges that young people face (Kamate, 2010; Kabiru et al., 2013; Dawson 2014), and few scholars have addressed the alternatives and possibilities that youth create (Simone, 2005; Thieme, 2010, 2013, 2017; Makau, 2011). Some studies on everyday life

in informal settlements have examined the spatial and temporal materialities that derive from young peoples' actions in informal settlements, and the potential of these actions to model desired alternatives (Dyson & Jeffrey, 2018). By looking at the extent to which youth create possibilities – such as organising community meetings and informally teaching younger children – in informal neighbourhoods, we can better understand the value of their actions within urban contexts and their potential contribution to civil society (Edwards 2009).

Urban planning is highly informalised in India, leading to the creation of informal urban spaces. Urban informality is characterised by deregulation, ambiguity and exception. As part of this, residents often incrementally build and construct their own urban space (Roy 2009, 2011; Bhan, 2016). Indeed, approximately one fifth of India's population is living in informal settlements (Census of India, 2011). Although, state policy pays much attention to improving life in these places, the way they do so does not often align with the needs and aspirations of local people (Burra, 2005, Banerjee-Guha, 2009).

Within the process of creating urban space in India, youth play a very important role. In India, there are 430 million young people between the ages of 15 and34, and by 2020 the average age will be 29 (Census of India, 2011). Youth are seen as the most dynamic segment of India's population and its most valuable human resource. Many young Indians identify themselves as 'innovative actors' who try to improve everyday life and are an important part of civil society, especially in cities (Government of India, 2016). Youth studies in India offer only few rigorous qualitative studies on the relationship between everyday young people's lives and the changing urban spaces in which they live. To a large extent, academic research, Indian policy documents and local narratives still focus on the activities of young men in informal settlements, downplaying the important role that women play and the knowledge they have.

In order to study how (female) youth influence the urban space that they live in and whether these actions increase/decrease social inequalities, I have conducted 8 months of ethnographic research in the North Indian city of Dehradun. The medium-sized city of Dehradun (667,849 people) – which has become the capital of the new state of Uttarakhand – is an ideal location for conducting this research because it is urbanising rapidly, particularly in response to the implementation of urban projects and related migration from poorer states in India including Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab (Jakimow 2017). As a result of the dynamics of rapid urbanisation and migration, urban poverty in the city has increased (World Bank 2012). In the decade 1991-01, for example, Dehradun achieved decadal population growth rate of 39%, which was considerably higher than the national average of 21% (Census of India 2001). The current population of the city as per the 2011 census is 667,849 and floating population is near about 900,000 people. The increase in population has led to heightened demand of housing and increased the numbers of informal settlements in the city - ranging from well-established, older migrant colonies to very new, precarious settlements (Nagar

Nigam Dehradun, 2016). Dehradun has a big youth population as compared to other cities in India, of which a remarkable portion lives in settlements (Government of India, 2016).

Preliminary data from our research reveals that the social and political actions of young women play a crucial role in everyday life in informal settlements by negotiating land rights, maintaining political relations, creating job opportunities in the settlement, etc. I argue that women sometimes challenge patriarchal norms in the urban environments that they live in – the city, their neighbourhood and their household – through their everyday actions. The extent to which young women are able to be active across social and political domains varies within the community and depends on class, caste, gender, migration status, family history and community relations. However, their actions are only effective in a limited way, and often rather effective at a community level than at the personal level.

Key words: youth, informal settlements, housing, urban development, India.

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Spatial justice, gender and urban transport nodes

Ankita Gaur and **Tejendra Nagabhoina;** Dehradun Institute of Technology University

The urban spaces in cities form an integral part of the structure of the city. They are the physical manifestations of the socio-cultural structure of the society. Space encourages and discourages certain forms of interaction and gives form to social structures and ideologies (Kumar, 2017). Urban spaces are generated in many forms in the cities such as parks, playgrounds, and around modes of transit and plazas. Inclusivity, access, and safety are dynamically produced through space and negotiated in tandem with other people (Beebeejaun, 2017). The success of any public space is defined by how well it is accessible to various gender, age, caste and race. The feminist critique of urban theory and planning that developed in the 1970s demonstrated how urban planners have created gendered environments that are predominantly suited to the needs of men and the heteronormative family (Beebeejaun, 2017). In the neo-liberal times, the concept of neo-lefebvrian "*right to city*" has become very prominent. The dialogue for reclaiming urban spaces by all genders has become more active. The concept of spatial justice first came out in 1973 in the book "*Social justice and city*" written by geographer David Harvey. Spatial justice deals with the domain of justice and urban spaces. Spatial justice as such is not a substitute or alternative to social, economic, or other forms of justice but rather a way of looking at justice from a critical spatial perspective (Soja, 2009). It looks at the ability of various class, race and gender to participate in the production of spaces. Locational discrimination, created through the biases imposed on certain populations because of their geographical location, is fundamental in the production of spatial injustice and the creation of lasting spatial structures of privilege and advantage. The three most familiar forces shaping locational and spatial discrimination are class, race, and gender, but their effects should not be reduced only to segregation (Soja, 2009).

Women face specific constraints when it comes to accessing urban space and other urban resources – a fact that has a major impact on their lives (Rewal, 2011). In a country like India where around 48.46% of the country's population comprises women (as per census of India 2011) the participation of women is not much to be seen in the urban spaces. The social construct of our country is such that it is still a pre conceived notion of space which dictates the movement of the women. According to the "ideology of respectability" that is dominant in India, women belong to the private sphere, that is, to private spaces (Rewal, 2011). For the purpose of this paper, the term women will refer to women as a single group inclusive of all ages, economic status, religion and caste.

In the Indian context "restrictions imposed on…women's mobility and access to public space…include controls on timings, purpose, place, dress and companions [which are linked to concerns regarding] their sexual safety and respectability" (Khan, 2007). Urban spaces in

India are hugely gender exclusive spaces. Studies on Mumbai, a city reputed to be woman-friendly show that there are never more than 28% of women in public urban space in that city (Phadke, 2010). The social construct of our country is such that the women of our country are still not able to stake claims on the public spaces. They are majorly still dependent on their male counterparts when it comes to mobility. Turning our attention to how everyday life is negotiated can provide productive insights into the multiplicity of spatial practices that illuminate gendered experiences (Beebeejaun, 2017).

Urban transport nodes form a primary environment where people meet for transportation. Mostly these spaces have at least one major regional or local transportation facility which make them essential urban spaces accessed by almost every single city dweller as part of their everyday urban life. The spaces generated around the major transport nodes have a certain character. There are certain optional and social activities (informalities) which are generated due to the presence of the necessary activity (transportation). The nature of these optional activities is such that they are majorly male dominated activities and hence the urban space becomes dominated by a certain gender. These spaces generate opportunities for a specific gender only. Women not seen at the informalities generated in the urban transport nodes form a part of the social construct. The dominance of male gender influences the patterns of mobility for women. The activities around railway station predominantly include places for temporary accommodation, formal and informal food zones, shopping areas, etc. There are other modes of transportation linked to the station and these include both public and private transportation serving the local transport needs. With all of these activities constantly intersecting with each other, the station areas form a complicate web of activities that are essentially involved with interests of various stakeholders. As Indian railway stations are under the wave of redevelopment and modernisation, it is necessary to look at the spatial inclusivity of the surrounding areas from the women's perspective. This study becomes necessary, as still, many of the station precincts in the country are considered worst when it comes to women safety. A constant surveillance and police patrolling might reduce the crime but the physical setting and the design of the area as a whole influence the functionality and generation of activities of certain nature. Women do not feel safe in crowded streets, near abandoned sites, areas dominated by lodges, informal smoking areas dominated by men and informal eateries, etc. The station areas are also places where women are sexually harassed. As the station precincts are highly crowded spaces, if a woman is touched inappropriately, she is not able to identify who might have done it (Richa Pinto, 2014).

So, this study primarily aims to understand the reasons for the formulation of gender exclusive spaces in transport nodes. The paper looks at the notion of justice, space and mobility through the lens of gender. It looks at the everyday negotiations of women in transport nodes. This paper looks at the nature of activities generated around transport nodes with the railway stations as nucleus.

The paper is formulated on the theme of gendered mediation of space around transport nodes in urban areas. The paper is based more on the empirical analysis rather than on the social theorisation. The findings of the paper would be based on the methodology that involves a comparative analysis of major railways stations from metropolitan cities in the following aspects:

- Defining the area under the influence of the transport node which can be classified in the said city.
- First-hand observations on the site which would include spatial mapping of the urban space influenced near railway station and analysis of women behaviour in urban space.
- Mapping of the movement pattern or the reason for the movement for women by first-hand observations.
- Categorising the activity patterns of women of different ages and finding out the types of safety issues they face around railway stations through empirical studies.
- Analysing the surrounding urban area with respect to the recommendations of TOD and safety parameters.
- Analysis of the ways in which various spaces at different times of the day can promote violence and sexual harassment.
- Analysis of ease of approachability by women to the optional and social activities in the transport node.

The outcome of the study would generate a list of parameters which would help women in staking claim in transit-oriented urban spaces. It will also help in identification of the factors that generate unsafe public places for women at different times of the day. The activity patterns and related behavioural studies in the station areas are expected to give a better understanding of the psychological aspect that leads to the violence and crime towards women. The paper concludes with recommendations in terms of urban design and spatial planning for transit-oriented urban spaces (railway station surrounding areas) to make them safe for women of all ages which would ultimately give inclusive spaces for women.

Key words – gender, mobility, spatial justice, transport nodes, urban space

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Negotiating insecurities in housing and livelihood: Locating women workers in a resettlement colony

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Access to secure affordable housing, public services and dignified employment are interlinked necessities. In a city like Delhi that has grappled with an acute shortage of state-provisioned affordable housing and infrastructure for decades, these necessities are often self-constituted by the urban poor incrementally over a significant period of time (Bhan, 2013). However, state-sanctioned evictions and resettlement, which lead to large-scale displacement of urban poor from centrally located areas to distant peripheries, constitute a structural shock that erases both material and social resources, due to the loss of place-based networks and value chains, and lack of viable employment in resettled localities (Bhan & Menon-Sen, 2008). Women's labour market decisions tend to be much more sensitive to "place" and dependent on their agency in traversing gender relations across scales, and localised configurations of service delivery (Sharma & Kunduri, 2015) (Coelho et al; 2013). Our paper seeks to understand the gendered impact of evictions on livelihoods.

Based on field-work in Savda Ghevra, a resettlement colony in North-west Delhi, this paper explores the aftermath of eviction on women's livelihoods. It aims to unpack the influence of women's spatial location on their labour-market decisions and, the set of negotiations that they devise to structure paid work with other responsibilities of care work and unpaid work. By drawing attention to the daily forms and experiences of work by women, we attempt to understand what constitutes "women's work" in these colonies and why, what options become available for women and what values are placed on each of these, why women choose one over the other, and how they move from one to the other through their lives. The availability of certain forms of work in certain blocks of the resettlement colony also points to a spatial pattern of "place making" by drawing on networks that were fostered prior to resettlement. We also attempt to read the impact of such a spatial pattern on women's work outcomes. Doing so also allows us to understand the many ways in which women's everyday structuring of paid and unpaid work and their daily negotiations with actors ranging from the state to market, leads to shaping of their homes, neighbourhoods and the city.

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Panel 5

Taking people driven responses to urban inequality to scale: Opportunities and challenges

Reducing urban inequality, scaling up the community development network: The case of Nakhon Sawan in Thailand

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The partnership between the Nakhon Sawan Community Development Network (NSCDN) and the Baan Mankong Program (a Thai national government's housing programme) is one of the best practices in citywide partnerships for land, housing and poverty reduction. These partnerships have allowed communities to successfully negotiate long-term land rental agreements with public landowners at a citywide scale, implement many forms of housing development for the urban poor (in-situ upgrading, reconstruction, relocation) and self-organise various schemes of collective funds and community welfares.

This paper presents initial research-action findings suggesting that the community-led programme and experiences of the NSCDN itself can contribute to reduce urban inequality. The paper is divided into two main parts. Firstly, it will highlight how information and knowledge produced through community mobilisation and owned by the poor people themselves can be employed as a tool for building community, city-wide upgrading, creating reciprocal recognition, and empowering the people in the political process, while identifying and tackling inequality in access to urban land and resources. Secondly, challenges and limitations of scaling up this community-led process will be addressed.

Understanding the contribution of community-led housing to the reduction of urban inequality in Yangon

Marina Kolovou Kouri and Shoko Sakuma; Women for the World

Against the backdrop of rapid urbanisation, a growing population, pressure for economic development, poorly-enforced planning, and a complex land and housing landscape, this paper looks at community-led approaches to housing in the context of Yangon, Myanmar, and their contribution to the reduction of inequalities. The recognition and understanding of inequality is still low in this context, and it rarely forms part of the discourse or is included in policy. Looking at community-led practices beyond their impact on poverty reduction, but focusing on the reduction of inequalities instead, allows for a more relational understanding of their implications for the urban poor. As such, this paper looks at the impact, potentials and challenges of the community-led approach through three lenses; equitable distribution, reciprocal
recognition and parity political participation. These are examined through investigating changes in the experience and perception of inequality at individual and collective level in three different housing models. Through a comparative analysis, the three models illustrate and reflect on the trajectory of scaling up community-led housing initiatives. The paper argues that people-centred approaches to housing have the potential to reduce injustices, but raises a flag for the need to assume a multi-sectoral approach to effect systemic change, as the current pace and trajectory of urbanisation risk amplifying existing inequalities.

Community empowerment and collaboration: Strategy towards urban equality in Yogyakarta

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Like other cities in Indonesia, Yogyakarta faces high rates of poverty with the prevalence of slums and informal settlements, particularly along the riverside of the three main rivers: Code, Gajahwong, and Winongo. While communities along the Code River have gotten the support of government and even private sector's programmes, the communities along the other two rivers have experienced the absence of such interventions. Under the threat of eviction and the inability to fulfill their daily needs, the communities along the Gajahwong, and Winongo have organised themselves into a movement to find collective solutions. In 2012, the people formed the Kalijawi Community Network, with Arkomjogja as their technical assistant organisation. Kalijawi consists of 300 people organised in 20 groups from Gajahwong and Winongo riversides, of which 95% are women. The network has undertaken community mapping, planning, saving and advocacy activities as their main tactics to gain recognition as a part of the city and attain a safe and decent life. This paper reflects on the discussions this community network is undergoing around their work and achievements in the past seven years and the ways to go beyond community-level solutions, towards a wider-partnership with government and other stakeholders (academic, other organisation, etc.) to develop policy agendas that enable a more sustainable attainment of their rights.

The experience of the Community Learning Platforms and the City Learning Platform in Freetown

Braima Koroma and **Joseph Macarthy;** Sierra Leone Urban Research Centre (SLURC)

Freetown faces enormous problems in terms of urban equality, that range from access to basic services such as water, unplanned urban growth which encourages the expansion and growth of informal settlements, to issues of disaster risks and public health challenges – which not only worsens disparity but also increases the vulnerability of the poor to a range of challenges facing the city. Building a democratic space in a city with such enormous challenges can take different forms. Arguably, the formalisation of informal modalities in the form of 'Community and City Learning Platforms' - that allows genuine policy dialogue, debates, knowledge exchange and co-learning that build pathways to urban equality is proposed as a novelty for making cities work for the poor.

The paper will discuss how the Community Learning and City Learning Platforms have provided safe spaces for opening up both lateral and vertical linkages to bring to the doorstep of city authority, the key concerns and aspirations of informal settlements. By way of this discussion, we hope to stimulate debates as well as draw attention to more appropriate ways to ensure inclusive, equitable and sustainable urban development; change the mindset of different actors towards community-driven approaches, including how best to manage relationships between stakeholders in making decisions about the city. The paper is particularly interested in reflecting on the role the two platforms have started to play in making meaningful contribution to urban transformation in Freetown. It will also discuss the challenges and opportunities in establishing and managing Community Learning Platform and City Learning Platform in Freetown and elsewhere.

Panel 6

Understanding urban livelihoods: mobilities, rights and access

Informal, inadequate, inconsistent: Studying circular migrants' temporary claims to public provisioning in Ahmedabad

Nivedita Jayaram, Raghav Mehrotra and Divya Varma; Aajeevika Bureau

The post-liberalisation period in India, as in the rest of the Global South, has been marked by an urban-led capitalist growth model, centred on large urban agglomerations that are designed to attract foreign capital investments and geared towards production for competition in export markets (Hoelscher, 2016). A glaring result of such a shift, according to Banerjee-Guha (2009), is the extreme transformation of urban regions to reflect the priorities of the contemporary global capitalist order. This transformation is not restricted to a shift in economic policies, but has also resulted in the re-orientation of social spaces and relationships as well as democratic and governance institutions, based on the state's legacy of complicity with the interests of elite classes and accumulative growth models, which in present times is driven by the hegemonic neoliberal narrative of global capitalism (Das, 2015).

In this context, cities have been conceptualised as sites of contestation – where local, urban poor populations subvert and challenge the neoliberal narrative and its everyday manifestations. They perform this through electoral and neighbourhood-based mobilisations, and an assertion of their citizenship rights for the re-appropriation of resources to be invested in basic facilities and services for the poor (Banerjee-Guha, 2009). This paper focuses on the everyday realities of a particular category of urban poor, namely, circular migrant labour, and attempts to understand the manner in which they negotiate their claims over the city. It uses "circular migration" as a category involving diverse kinds of mobility. These might be short term or long term, short distance or long distance, by men, women and children, single or family migrations, with workers remaining at their work destinations for three to 11 months at a time, but always returning to their source villages and never settling in the city (Aajeevika Bureau, 2014).

The promise of the neoliberal policy regime – that rapid urbanisation fuelled by rural-urban migration for work in high growth urban sectors would result in improved standards of work and living for impoverished rural populations – has not been fulfilled. Rather, urban growth has been exclusionary and exploitative in nature, leading to the reproduction of poverty and socio-economic inequalities at the work destination (Breman, 2013). The paper is based on the case of Ahmedabad city, which is celebrated as the poster child of the Gujarat model of development and cited as a successful example of economic liberalisation. Morris (2014), however, illustrates that Gujarat's growth is based on its combined comparative advantages of low labour costs, repressed wages, large scale migrations to its urban centres and tax concessions on corporate investments for fuelling urban industries and infrastructural development. As a result, high growth features alongside poor socio-economic indicators, making the state a prime example of exclusionary and exploitative urban growth.

According to Aajeevika Bureau's informal estimates, there are 1.3 million circular migrant workers in Ahmedabad city, forming the labour power that drives three of its largest sectors – construction, manufacturing, and hotels and restaurants. Circular migrants in Ahmedabad travel from the adjoining districts of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, largely from tribal and lower caste households, who were severely affected by neoliberal restructuring and consequent rural immiseration since the 1990s. They also come from states farther away, mainly from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Chhattisgarh, which experienced similar processes of dispossession and alienation from traditional livelihoods. Presenting large volumes of data on labour processes from the major industries that employ circular migrants in Gujarat, Jain and Sharma (2018) show how employers use the desperation of these communities for maximum extraction, keeping them isolated in ghettoised segments of the labour market where laws (related to health, social security as well as regular and fair employment) are suspended. Moreover, they enjoy near total impunity in doing so, from lax regulatory authorities that have been purposely weakened by a neo-liberal state. These workers are subject to a work regime that is erratic, casualised, with stagnant wages and limited vertical mobility even across generations. They continuously subsidise the growth of the city but remain unable to maintain even basic consumption required for a dignified life (Jain and Sharma, 2018).

While "local" urban poor populations in informal livelihoods across the country have responded to the expanding casualisation of employment by mobilising on the basis of citizenship rights (Agarwala, 2018), posing their demands against the state as opposed to employers through shop-floor mobilising, circular migrants face several challenges in organising along such lines. While legally, citizenship rights in India are rooted in Article 19 of the Constitution, which articulates the practice of egalitarian principles between the state and its people, the everyday practice of citizenship is mediated by multiple forms of inequality. The sedentary bias of institutional design does not consider the movement of people across borders, while the ethnic nature of federalism in the country leads to the language and region-based stigmatisation of circular migrant populations at their work destinations (Abbas, 2015).

In this context, the paper utilises evidence based on primary survey data collected from 337 circular migrant workers across three major work sectors – construction, manufacturing, and hotels and restaurants – cutting across gender, caste, region and language, as well as single male and family-based migrants. Using this evidence, along with 24 focus group discussions, involving over 100 circular migrants about the daily lived experiences of these groups, the paper attempts to understand the manner in which they negotiate access to a minimum standard of living in the city – particularly to housing, water, sanitation, food and healthcare. It finds that due to the informal nature of their employment and lack of platforms for collective bargaining, they are unable to access legally mandated wages or welfare benefits from their employers. At the same time, their seasonality and lack of domicile status implies that they are unable to hold the state — including urban local bodies — to account for guaranteed

access to basic public provisioning. Without official count, identity or voting rights in the city, and often criminalised and considered undesirable by the state and local populations, circular migrants are unable to establish civil and political citizenship rights, in order to demand their socio-economic rights. They end up in highly informal settlements, which are outside the purview of urban planning and schemes, where they live in deplorable conditions, and are pushed to the margins of cities, both spatially and in its imagination of itself. They live either in: (a) open spaces across the city (on pavements, near railway tracks, under flyovers or on private or public land); (b) informal rental accommodation provided by local landlords, which cater exclusively to these categories of workers; or (c) within their worksites based on arrangements with the labour contractor or employer (on construction sites, inside factory compounds or hotels or restaurants).

The paper reveals that circular migrants, located in such spaces in the city, are unable to find avenues to collectively negotiate with either the state or their employers. Rather, they negotiate individually or as small ethno-linguistically homogenous groups, with dynamic informal networks that mediate their access to basic facilities and services. These informal providers themselves come from urban poor populations – including petty contractors, security guards, shopkeepers, landlords in informal rental markets, etc. – and they create relationships of simultaneous patronage and exploitation with circular migrants. Unlike the result of electoral mobilisations which resulted in legally mandated state provisioning and employer subsidies that are "guaranteed," the informality of these negotiations mean that their effectiveness varies daily, and as a result, circular migrants face arbitrary, insecure and inadequate access to basic facilities. By studying these networks through a socially grounded methodology, the paper also assesses the mental, physical and monetary costs to circular migrants in the course of such negotiations, which it finds are differentiated on the basis of social identity markers such as gender, caste, region and occupational category.

As a result, the paper places circular migrants' relationships to the city at the intersection of two inter-related themes: (1) their adverse incorporation into the urban growth model where they provide cheap and flexible labour in highly extractive and exploitative work conditions; (2) their exclusion from urban governance facilities and services which relegates them to informal and insecure living conditions. Their attempts to overcome these structural impediments differentiate them from the broad-stroke category of "urban poor," as their claim-making in the city is not of a permanent nature or based on sedentary or ethnic citizenship. Rather, it is based on the temporary and everyday negotiations of diverse, mobile populations for basic consumption during their transient presence in the city.

Such a conceptualisation and the resulting evidence have relevance for both policy and praxis. By highlighting the heterogeneity among circular migrant groups *within* the city, the paper questions the completeness of using "city-wide" policies to singularly address the precarities faced by *all* circular migrant workers. Such policies homogenise localised, messy realities as

well as the category of the “migrant worker” and reflect the governmentality of the state, which neatly classifies in order to control. In contrast, the paper seeks to legitimise the unique, organic systems and diverse strategies that circular migrants, depending on their demographic, socio-economic profiles and the nature of their informal networks, use to sustain their lives in a hostile city. In doing so, it calls for praxis to invest in strengthening their claims that are embedded in their logic, using socially grounded methods and participatory advocacy, in order to work *within* the framework of migrants’ seasonality and informality.

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Peripatetic labour in Bangalore's new service economy: Aspirations and pathways of (im)mobility in the global city

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As the market for luxury consumption expands – through shopping malls, exclusive hotels and restaurants, spas and beauty parlours, and fleets of cars and taxis serving middle-class urban commuters – there is a growing demand for workers to deliver these services. Consequently, India's metropolitan cities have witnessed the proliferation of new kinds of jobs in 'organised services' such as hospitality, big retail, transportation, and beauty and wellness, creating employment opportunities for educated and semi-educated rural youth and engendering new pathways and modalities of spatial and social mobility. In what ways has the new urban economy and occupational structure reshaped patterns of migration, work, livelihoods and the possibilities of economic and social mobility? How has the changing political economy of metropolitan cities in India and the recent trajectory of urbanisation altered existing forms of economic and social inequality?

This paper draws on a recently completed two-year study of labour and migration in Bangalore's service economy (funded by ICSSR) to explore these questions, particularly in relation to retail workers. The research mapped the linkages between the expansion of the service economy, rural-urban circulation, job training programmes, the changing employment scenario, and youth aspirations. The paper will also highlight the problem of housing faced by migrant service workers in Bangalore's rental economy, linking this with Bangalore's recent real estate led trajectory of urban growth and the precarity of service sector work.

Organised retail and unorganised labour

The second section of the paper will provide a brief overview of the changing nature of work and employment in the 'new service economy', which is generating an increasing proportion of India's GDP and employing a growing number of workers with 10th class or higher education (Basole et al, 2018, 20). This expansion reflects the professionalisation and corporatisation of services that were earlier provided mainly through informal arrangements — such as retail and transportation — as well as the emergence of new industries such as beauty and wellness, and security services. The few studies available of employment in these sectors suggest that most of these jobs—while technically located within the 'organised sector' — are largely marked by non-formal employment arrangements, precarity, and high rates of employee turnover. Gooptu has highlighted the creation of a 'precariat' within the corporate sector, by which she means not just short-term contractual arrangements and job insecurity, but also 'the lack of a secure niche in the labour market, and the absence of steady occupational and employment opportunities relating to a particular set of skills, thus preventing upward social mobility and a stable career trajectory' (Gooptu, 2013b, p. 11). This

section also reviews the emerging body of work on service sector workers that explores questions of labour and subjectivity across several domains (Gooptu, 2013a, 2013b; Mankekar & Gupta, 2016, 2017; Maitra & Maitra, 2018; Mirchandani, 2012; Surie, 2018; Upadhya & Vasavi, 2008). The paper builds on this literature by analysing our findings on these issues in the case of organised retail workers in Bangalore.

Social and spatial trajectories of retail workers

The third section presents findings from our interviews with 32 retail workers in Bangalore, most employed in different stores in a single mall, including 10 in-depth interviews and 22 shorter interviews. The section covers their socio-economic profiles and family backgrounds, migration histories and reasons for migration, and their employment histories. Interviews revealed that this cohort of retail workers come from small land-owning families or working class urban backgrounds; while their families cannot be classified as 'poor' (below-poverty-line), they were clearly in financial need. Most respondents had discontinued their education and started working at a young age (18-19) to help support their families. Lacking job opportunities in their hometowns, the migrants in this cohort (half of our respondents) had come to Bangalore from across different regions of Karnataka and other states in search of work — in some cases driven by agrarian distress.

The peripatetic retail workforce

The fourth section describes the footloose and highly mobile nature of the retail workforce, based on interviews with workers as well as HR managers and other key informants. While it is well known that most service sector industries, such as BPOs and call centres, transport, and big retail, face very high levels of staff turnover, our study explores the reasons for this instability. We found that semi-educated youth (most had 10th or 12th standard education and some also college degrees), who come from rural areas and small towns of Karnataka, tend to become itinerant workers in the city, moving from one job to another for as little as a Rs. 500 pay hike, returning home for periods of time when it becomes too tough to survive and save money or to help out on the farm, and later coming back again due to the paucity of opportunities at home. We argue that this situation benefits organised service industries such as big retail, which profit from having a large pool of potential employees and fluid, 'flexible' and non-permanent workforces.

On the other hand, such jobs may provide a useful platform for youth in shaping strategies of social mobility. The short life histories of our interlocutors reveal complex pathways of movement between Bangalore, their hometowns, and other cities – coming to the city to join a training course and then working a few months, returning home for a while, or moving on to another temporary job to save some money in order to start a business or continue their studies. These peregrinations are interwoven with periods of self-cultivation, in which they join various courses – computers, stenography, spoken English, coaching classes for

competitive exams – in the hope of forging better lives.

Future in retail? Aspirations and pathways of (im)mobility

While they harbour dreams of much better jobs, the stratum of youth that our study has documented – who have at least 10th standard education but without good professional or higher qualifications, and with very limited English language skills – cannot aspire for more lucrative service sector jobs such as in international call centres or banks, or even government jobs, which are largely monopolised by the stable urban middle class. But they are well suited to the requirements of industries such as retail, which hire large numbers of workers with minimal skills and are able to pay low salaries because of the seemingly unending supply of workers. Section 5 explores workers' aspirations and their 'entrepreneurial' strategies of mobility through retail jobs. It also describes the working conditions in large retail stores and employees' experiences of work, which shape their ambitions but also place severe limits on their capacity to achieve them.

More than job insecurity, the high level of attrition in corporate retail reflects the deep lack of job satisfaction, which is due to several reasons. Working conditions are marked by low pay (relative to living expenses in the city), few benefits, and lack of permanent contracts or unions. Our respondents articulated their discontent especially about job insecurity, tough managerial surveillance methods, and the monotonous but onerous nature of the work which does not allow them to develop any marketable skills or knowledge. A recurrent theme in the narratives of our cohort was the lack of a clear career path in this sector: 'there is no future in retail', many said.

Interviews with HR managers and industry representatives corroborated our findings on attrition rates, but also uncovered the absence of investment in worker training which might encourage employees to stick with the job and enable them to develop their careers. Consequently, many employees regard shop-floor customer service work as an unattractive but necessary option (given their lack of qualifications for other jobs) to earn some money while pursuing their actual goals. As they do not see any benefit to sticking with one employer, they change jobs frequently. Several respondents expressed aspirations of starting their own enterprises or getting into more stable and lucrative jobs after improving their English and customer service skills. Many women workers also perceive the job as transitory but necessary as it is one of the few ways they can contribute to the family income, but most cannot visualise themselves moving into managerial positions.

Refashioning patriarchy: single women workers

A striking finding was the significant number of unmarried migrant women living and working in the city, and providing substantial financial support to their natal families from their earnings. In this section, we present the stories of several female retail workers who have

become the sole or main support for their families, to reflect on the changing dynamics of patriarchy in a context of sharp demand for educated female service workers and high rates of educated male unemployment. These stories point to a larger shift in the gendering of work and family responsibility in India (Gidwani and Ramamurthy 2018). What appears to be a positive development in terms of increasing education levels for girls and their entry into the urban workforce may actually reflect less positive gender equations within the household. Through education, urban migration and employment, young women from small land-owning households may achieve a partial escape from the patriarchal family which earlier generations could not, only to face oppressive labour conditions in big retail, working in dead-end jobs to support their parents or their siblings' education or until their marriages are arranged.

Living and working in the city

Our research found that a major reason that service workers are unable to attain a firm foothold in the urban economy is the unaffordability of housing in Bangalore. This section describes the rental economy in a central area of the city (which we have studied as part of another project), and explores the linkages between rental housing catering to mobile workers and the burgeoning service economy.

Most of our migrant respondents cited the unavailability of affordable and adequate housing near their place of work as a major constraint on their ability to stay in employment in the city, together with the high cost of other necessities, especially transportation. Most migrants came to the city with the intention of sending money home to support their families, but they found it impossible to save enough from their salaries to do so.

Conclusion

The paper demonstrates that the growing new service economy has created new pathways of migration and has produced a new kind of semi-educated, semi-skilled labour force — one that is highly fluid and unstable. Organised retail in particular benefits from having a large pool of mobile and temporary potential workers. This peripatetic workforce is the product of several decades of investment in education, creating a large pool of rural and semi-urban youth who have enough formal education to get into low-end service jobs, but not enough cultural capital to aspire for more stable and well-paying positions in private and public sector organisations. Consequently, these workers strategise their 'careers' by moving from job to job, sector to sector, and place to place, in search of better pay or work rather than a clear career path. These realities of the urban service economy make it difficult to imagine adequate labour regulations or new policies or programmes that could protect the interests of workers while also sustaining employment opportunities.

In addition, the trajectory or urban growth in cities such as Bangalore has increasingly priced

the working classes and lower middle classes out of the housing market. While informal sector workers largely occupy informal settlements that cost little (but must struggle to solidify their precarious rights to land and housing), employees of the corporate service sector such as our retail workers must make do with substandard and expensive shared rental or 'PG' accommodation, sharing a room or small flat with three or four friends or colleagues. Moreover, they may spend several hours a day and substantial money commuting to work, six days a week. While the 'worlding' of Bangalore has served the affluent and upper middle classes well with lucrative corporate jobs and high-end apartment complexes and gated communities, there is no housing policy that addresses the needs of the masses of (largely migrant) workers who provide the labour for the consumption-oriented 'new service economy'. The high cost of housing prevents them from saving enough from their salaries to invest in further education or any other mobility strategies, effectively trapping them into a cycle of precarious, low-paid and unsatisfying (and often humiliating) customer service jobs.

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Interstate migrants, policy bias and network-enabled access to city spaces: A social network analysis on inter-state migrant workers in Bangalore

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This study looks at the ways in which urban spaces are reconfigured to accommodate the influx of inter-state migrant workers in Urban Bangalore. According to Castells (2005), network society is not an achievable social structure, but is already contemporarily relevant in ways that includes certain individuals and excludes others. It can emerge as the point of departure to study the configuration of formal, informal and state networks, and is premised on information flows and communication technologies (Castells, 2005). It is within this broad framework that this study emphasises the network centrality and associated information capital in defining those socio-economic conditions that determine inter-state migrant workers' access to city spaces in Urban Bangalore. In doing so, this study applies three levels of interdisciplinary analyses. Firstly, the study critically assesses the laws and policies that apply to inter-state migrant workers in Karnataka. Through this, it establishes the inadequacy of these laws in achieving equitable spatial configuration (housing). It alternatively emphasises the importance of migration networks in determining access to housing in Bangalore.

Secondly, it applies the methodology of Social Network Analysis (SNA) to inter-state migrants in Bangalore to map the ways in which migrant networks facilitate differential access to city spaces, specifically housing. This is affected by socio-economic factors, in addition to cultural factors such as language and ethnic barriers that reconfigure migrant networks in Bangalore. Finally, it studies the ways in which network-enabled inequitable spatial access translate into the difference in measures of multi-dimensional poverty between inter-state migrant and local workers in Bangalore.

1. Migration and Biased Legal and Policy Frameworks

The legal framework in India is arranged such that it renders workers in the informal sector, specifically inter-state migrant workers, invisible. Consider the following cases. According to the Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, an 'inter-state migrant workman' is any person who, following recruitment by a contractor in one State under an agreement or other arrangement works in an establishment in another State. It is applicable irrespective of the principal employer's knowledge of the employing establishment. It can be noted that section 16(d) of the Act makes it the contractor's duty to provide inter-state migrant workmen suitable residential accommodation during the period for which they are employed. Further, the Inter-State Migrant Central Rules

(1980) direct contractors or employers of inter-state migrant workers to provide migrants with adequate housing facilities called restrooms. Each room must be clean, ventilated and every migrant worker must be allotted a minimum floor area of 1.1 square metre.

Despite these specifications that aim for a minimum standard of living for migrant workers, it does not translate to lived realities of workers. Here, Premchander et al (2014) studied migrant construction workers in Urban Bangalore to conclude that workers often stay in small plastic sheds with no ventilation. Further, the Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act (1979) is now awaiting subsumption under the Code on Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions Bill (2019). The interventions in this Bill, similar to the Code on Wages (2019), tend to exclude workers who belong to the informal sector.

In addition, human settlement and affordable housing policies in India often do not make provisions for inter-state migrant workers' housing needs. Consider the Karnataka Affordable Housing Policy (KAHP) 2016 that aims to provide affordable housing access to beneficiary households that it identifies as Below the Poverty Line (BPL) and as the Economically Weaker Section (EWS). It aims to remedy the human settlement conditions in Urban Karnataka where, of the 50.9 lakh urban households, 13.7 per cent live in *Kutcha* houses (SECC, 2011). Policies include the restructuring and improvisation of slums (KAHP, 2016). However, the policy itself, which works with the pan-India Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) defines beneficiaries as those BPL/EWS/LIG households that live in *Kutcha* houses, congested houses or are homeless and have been residing in the urban area for not less than a year (KAHP, 2016). By default then, the policy excludes and renders invisible all newer inter-state migration workers who have inhabited city spaces for less than a year. Owing to this exclusionary legal framework, migrant workers are unable to maintain a minimum standard of living and hence return to their home states, perpetuating the phenomena of circular migration. While still residing in the destination city, they resort to their migrant networks to access city spaces in cases where legal and policy frameworks exclude them.

2. Migrants' network affiliations

Migrants' access to city spaces, then, is dependent on those socio-economic determinants that are closely intermeshed with their contemporary networks. A migrant worker's spatial access to the city may, instead, be framed through the network that he or she is affiliated with, as opposed to the larger laws that seek to regulate migrant welfare. Further, migrant workers are also absorbed within the informal sector which falls largely outside the regulatory framework of labour laws. In such cases, inter-state migrant workers access city spaces largely through their network affiliations in the city. These networks often work through knowledge flows between older and newer migrants, thus reconfiguring access to urban spaces in the process.

It must be noted that cities do not make policy choices in isolation but their choices are often influenced heavily by policy decisions and rhetoric at the national and international levels (Fan et al, 2017). In contexts where this creates a toxic rhetoric around migrants, and a failure of the state or municipal governments to foster inclusion, migrants resort to their social networks to negotiate belonging (Fan et al, 2017). However, as Fan et al (2017) note, such belonging is often fragmented as city spaces tend to create barriers and borders that curb collective access. Fan et al (2017) also suggest the importance of the sub-city level in the inclusion of migrants within cities. There exist in cities, spaces of violence and disorder outside direct governmental control and spaces that are intricately organised (Fan et al 2017). This study aims to address the realities around these spatial differentials and map the multiple socio-economic determinants that allows migrants access to these spaces.

It can be noted here, that inter-state migrants' networks and their consequent access to city spaces, including housing, have not been studied in the Indian context. It is for this reason that this study attempts a preliminary exploration of migrants' spatial access to Urban Bangalore by using Social Network Analysis (SNA) methods.

Social Network Analysis (SNA) is an appropriate method to study the spatial configuration of migrants in the city, as the phenomena of migration itself, in India, is largely organised in patterns of chain migration (Reimengam 2016). Chain migration indicates a pattern of migration where current migrants' primary social ties with former migrants emerges as a key contributor to the arrangement of migrant lives, their decisions both in the home and receiving state. Here, factors such as the former migrants' income, his contribution to remittances sent home, and his social and cultural experiences reinforce migratory patterns by encouraging a fresh influx of migrants to the destination state. Reimengam (2016) further suggests that chain migratory patterns facilitate the initial flow of information from the former migrant to the current migrant, providing support networks that ease access to housing and mediate social transitions.

3. Methodology

This study maps the socio-economic determinants of inter-state migrant workers' access to city spaces, specifically housing, in Urban Bangalore. To determine the demographic, it defines a migrant as a person who has stayed for six months or more, continuously, in an area other than the area where the person was enumerated (NSSO, 2001). It does not consider other demographic specifications but allows the demographic to emerge through Social Network Analysis. Hence, it employs snowball sampling to locate both the inter-state migrant and local labour population in Urban Bangalore.

This paper performs two analyses. Firstly, it applies Social Network Analysis (SNA) to measure the utility provided by those networks which help an individual with the decision to migrate.

Secondly, it analyses the marginal difference in the levels of Multi-Dimensional Poverty between migrants and local labour in Urban Bangalore.

3.1 Social Network Analysis (SNA)

The network theory literature links network-based utility, i.e., the utility derived by an individual from their social contacts, to the topological structure of the networks (Jackson, 2018). Hence, in this study, we use two kinds of social capital, as defined by Blumenstock, Chi and Tan (2019) – information capital and cooperation capital – which help understand the decision to migrate. Information capital is understood as the potential for the social network to provide access to information related to jobs, housing, etc., which can also be found in the theoretical and empirical literature (Topa, 2001, Banerjee et al., 2013). This uses the measures of decay centrality (Jackson and Wolinsky, 1996) and diffusion centrality (Banerjee et al., 2013). Cooperation capital is defined as "the network's ability to facilitate interactions that benefit from cooperation and community enforcement, such as risk sharing and social insurance" (e.g.Blumenstock, Chi and Tan 2019, Jackson, Rodriguez-Barraquer and Tan, 2012, p.9). Hence, social capital is assumed to be the total utility that an agent *i* received from a network *G* as a combination of the information capital (uIi) and cooperation capital (uCi) that *i* receives from *G* , i.e., (Blumenstock, Chi and Tan 2019).

ui = U(uIi,uCi)

This part of the analysis further uses linear modelling to estimate the decision made by an individual to migrate, by regressing it against other factors, such as wage differential, standard of living, etc.

3.2 Multi-Dimensional Poverty

The second part of the analysis studies the unequal distribution and access of city spaces and services that leads to a difference in the levels of multi-dimensional poverty amongst migrants and local labour. We assume that the wages given to the migrants and local labour is the same for similar work, due to the existence of a perfectly competitive labour market. Also, it is expected from the SNA analysis that there exists a wage differential amongst the states, which also acts as a central determinant of migration. Hence, we use multi-dimensional poverty as an indicator of living standards, instead of wages earned. For this, we modify the Multidimensional Poverty Index created by Alkire & Santos (2013). The Multidimensional Poverty Index is divided into three dimensions of poverty which is further divided into 10 indicators, i.e., Health (nutrition and child mortality), Education (years of schooling and school attendance) and Living Standard (cooking fuel, sanitation, water, electricity, floor and assets). For the purpose of our analysis, we eliminate child mortality, as we calculate the index for all *n* number of migrants and local labour. Further, this paper extends the Education dimension to study workers' children's education as opposed to their own. It also considers the marginal change caused by the differential in the dimension of Living Standard, which implies a change

in the indicators of living standard from the migrants' hometown to the receiving state. This allows us to measure the change in living standards of the migrant in a more robust manner while simultaneously allowing us to examine the unequal distribution of spaces between the migrants and the local labour. The index is created using the methodology of composite index with weighted indicators (Cook & Kress, 1994).

These two levels of analyses establish the centrality of networks in mapping the socio-economic determinants of migrant workers' access to city spaces. The politics of space, then, allots inter-state migrants those city spaces that include inadequate housing conditions, tenancy discrimination based on language and ethnicity etc. Under such circumstances, if migrant networks fail to provide a worker accommodation and access to other city spaces, workers then find no legal or policy redressal, and return to their home states become the alternative. This promotes the phenomena of circular migration which derivatively inhibits the unionisation and formation of formal networks of inter-state migrant workers in the destination city. In the absence of such formal networks regulated by law and policy considerations, informal networks form the basis of urban spatial access among inter-state migrant workers.

This paper, hence, maps the ways in which migrant networks reconfigure spatial access in Urban Bangalore. Through this, it studies the differences in spatial access that emerge between inter-state migrant and local workers. It largely studies the socio-economic determinants of network-driven unequal cities.

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New revanchism and urban 'Undesirables': Street-based sex workers of Bangalore

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Over the last two decades, urban restructuring has become an unequal and contradictory process, where the city and its various populations have been differentially affected; securing a public space has become increasingly safer for 'acceptable' or 'legitimate' users of that space, while the 'undesirables' are left to feel excluded, harassed, and unwanted in their everyday lives (Banerjee-Guha, 2010; Nayar, 2015). Even state-led production of space has had its own part in producing new forms of structural violence into the lives of the marginalised (Burte & Kamath, 2017), who are cast as 'the other' as an outcome of policies and state practices (Sanders, 2004). Thus, to understand the city in the contemporary era, 'neoliberal urbanism' as a concept provides the doorway to interpreting contemporary urban restructuring, rescaling, reconstitution, and mutation (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Hubbard, 2004a, 2004b; Banerjee-Guha, 2010). Neoliberal urbanism has had extensive academic treatment (e.g., Harvey, 1989; Weber, 2002; Walks, 2006; Leitner et al., 2007; Büdenbender & Zupan, 2016). However, a key point drawn from the literature, which I commence this paper with, is that not only does neoliberalism affect cities, cities have in fact themselves also become key institutional arenas in and through which neoliberalism evolves (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

In this backdrop of a particular moment of urban development, *revanchism*, associated with urban neoliberalism, serves as a valuable concept as it has been often employed as a basis of justification for unequal urban restructuring. The 'revanchism' thesis — a term first coined by urban geographer Neil Smith in the 90s — is based on the spatial and economic processes and exclusions observed in New York City during that era. Smith's definition of a 'revanchist city' refers to "revenge against minorities, the working class, women, environmental legislation, gays and lesbians, immigrants, became the increasingly common denominator of public discourse. Attacks on affirmative action and immigration policy, street violence against gays and homeless people, feminist bashing and public campaigns against political correctness and multiculturalism were the most visible vehicles of this reaction" (Smith 1996, p. 45).

In essence, revanchism connotes the 'vengeance' of cities intent on eradicating undesirable populations in order to create a positive image for themselves, in an increasingly competitive global market (Smith, 1996; Johnsen & Fitzpatrick, 2010; Swason, 2007). According to Atkinson (2003) and Macki et al. (2014), revanchism marks a distinctive policy formulation related to notions of public space, such as streets, parks, public toilets, and play areas, and to secure these spaces from the poor, a variety of minorities, and progressive movements. The first battleground of revanchism hosts the fundamental battle over the issue of *space*, the

consequence of which determines whether physical displacement occurs (Macki et al., 2014). One such city where this battle has been fought for long is Bangalore.

The concept of revanchism assists in understanding a wide range of social, economic, and geographical urban shifts in a swiftly-transforming city such as Bangalore. Hence, this study captures and explores the nature and impact of revanchist policies in the everyday life and work experiences of one of the most vulnerable sets of informal workers, street-based sex workers[1] in Bangalore city.

Sex workers have historically faced routine removal from spaces associated with more 'respectable' populations (Hubbard, 2004a; 2004b). Consequently, the state and the law often conspire (along with 'good' citizens) to police the limits of public spaces, preventing leaking out into the public view (Hubbard, 1999). Even when all individuals are apparently equal in the eyes of the law and the state, sex workers, in their everyday experience of urban space, face social stigma for failing to match the ideas of how a 'good' citizen should act, and are hence demoted as the 'other', the second-class citizen, not only by the state but also by the 'decent' and 'respectable'. This notion of morality – what is right or wrong in the eyes of the state and the citizen – creates sexual geographies at a variety of spatial scales (Hubbard, 2001).

Among the street-based sex workers of Bangalore city, we see that several such confrontations thrive. Bangalore is characterised with street-based sex work across the city, as opposed to sex work being concentrated in certain identifiable parts, or red-light areas. This expands the scope of surveillance, visibility, exposure, and general geographic presence of these workers across urban spaces. I analyse this experience over the last two decades, which have been dramatically transformational for Bangalore, one of the fastest-growing cities in India.

While capturing the process of revanchist urbanism and its resultant impact on street-based sex workers in Bangalore, following Duncan (1996), I focus on their highly spatial and social marginalisation by both law as well as societal attitudes. The likelihood of verbal and physical abuse against street-based sex workers would be inherently high in their traditional operating areas such as streets, parks, bus stands, railway stations, public toilets, cinema halls, and other public spaces. But when these public spaces were subject to large-scale transformations, when they shrank, or even disappeared altogether, crime towards street-based sex workers skyrocketed. This has been increasingly the case in Bangalore for over two decades. Strategies have ranged from raw aggression on the streets or in police stations, to public humiliation and raids in private or public spaces, or to even bare display of individuals on television media. All these concerted efforts aim to actively 'clean up' the city and 'restore its decency', at the cost of the dignity of women and men who are informal workers, not criminals or miscreants.

With the lacuna left by the state's general impassivity, a whole range of civil society actors such as individuals and organisations have played a significant role in empowering their rights and agency in negotiation, which fall into three broad categories: (i) organisations engaging in activism and intervention that are concerned specifically with the law, (ii) civil society organisations concerned with human rights or rights of minorities, and (iii) individuals (including academics, lawyers, medical professionals, outreach workers who are either part of any of the above organisations or at their own capacities) and various mainstream and online media avenues.

To capture the experience of everyday revanchism among sex workers in Bangalore, primary information was collected[2] over 18 months of fieldwork among five dozen street-based sex workers in Bangalore city and about half a dozen organisations supporting them across the city. My respondents included men, women and transgender sex workers, and also elderly sex workers who have withdrawn from this profession due to age or other reasons. While collecting everyday experiences of these workers over the last two decades, I had also identified other actors who either further the agenda of revanchism in the city, or provide legal and other moral support against this challenge. To elicit information from my respondents, I primarily employed the oral histories method. This is valuable in gaining a foothold on an experiential 'history from below', sensing and appreciating those whose voices are generally, either deliberately or unconsciously, inaudible within mainstream historical narratives of a region or population. In this attempt, following Kamath (2018), I did not seek lengthy oral histories of their entire lives; instead, I collected *micro* life histories, i.e., oral accounts of 20 years – much shorter than an entire lifetime. While conducting research with street-based sex workers, special care was given to ethics and informant privacy. Verbal consent was sought before conducting the interviews, audio recordings were avoided, and I took down handwritten notes as much as possible. No identifying information was collected and workers were ensured anonymity throughout the study.

The secondary material is pertinent considering that this paper – in demonstrating a critical engagement with the question of street-based sex work and urbanisation in a *revanchist* sense – stands as deviant to the existing moralistic or feminist discourse on sex work. The paucity of an entirely accurate chronological everyday account of this section of workers, the inaccessibility or absence of FIRs (first information reports by the police), and also the scanty academic work on street-based sex work in Bangalore, prodded me to follow Tani (2002) to turn to newspaper reports and media narratives, elicited from the archives of the Bangalore edition of English newspapers such as *The Times of India*, *The Hindu*, *The Asian Age*, *The New Indian Express*, and *Deccan Herald*, among others, from 1998 to 2018. The journalistic narratives were followed chronologically and this was appended by reports, press releases and booklets of various other organisations providing support to sex workers. This attempt

helps us to gain further clarity on the primary oral narratives we have collected from sex workers in their different life cycles. The complementing of primary oral data with secondary archival information (instead of maintaining them separately as purely primary and purely secondary, respectively) have been used together here to come up with the revanchist narrative around street-based sex work in Bangalore. In this process, I gained invaluable support from *Sangama*, a Bangalore-based organisation working for the rights of sex workers and sexual minorities and people living with HIV. In this research, it was principally *Sangama's* vast and well-ordered archival collection of newspapers that served as a treasure trove in excavating a two-decade-long revanchist narrative.

This study intends to contribute in three directions. First, to expand and enrich the geography of the discourse pertaining to urban neoliberalism and its associated revanchism to the global south. Second, to narrate the everyday experiences of street-based sex workers in this geographic milieu, in the context of being one of the most vulnerable and historically stigmatised sections of informal labour, for the purpose of examining how revanchist policies have further deteriorated their position or their 'right to the city.' Third, to capture the ongoing endeavours that strengthen human rights and citizenship rights for these workers.

Endnotes

[1] Based on the work of Kotiswaran (2012), street-based sex workers perform in the institutional setting of street economy, soliciting their customers at public venues, bus stands, railway stations, cinema halls, and highways, and perform sex work at locations such as lodges or secluded public areas, *without* regular third-party mediation.

[2] This paper emerges as part of a larger study on street-based sex work in Bangalore.

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Panel 7

Translocal Pedagogies for urban equality

Learning the city through activist practice

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This presentation reflects on building networks between institutions of higher education and urban activists engaged in rooted and practice-oriented social movements. Drawing on IIHS' Fellows in Practice programme, it offers learning in both directions. While Lakhan will speak about being an activist who has anchored Planning for Activist courses, supervised student projects and taken Masterclasses; Bhan will speak about targeting teaching and research to benefit the work of urban practitioners in social movements. Together, we will examine the exchanges of such a relationship as a form of a network relation and suggest that it offers a model of pedagogical praxis as well as action research and movement work.

Transformative pedagogies: Learning from the Habitat International Coalition – Latin America 'Escuela de Urbanismo Popular'

Adriana Allen and **Julia Wesely;** The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, University College London (DPU, UCL)
Lorena Zárate and **Maria Silvia Emanuelli;** Habitat International Coalition Latin America (HIC-AL)

The Habitat International Coalition in Latin America (HIC-AL) was created over 40 years ago. Known as '*Escuela de Urbanismo Popular*', today, it brings together 116 grassroots organisations, NGOs, universities and research institutions from over 20 countries. This presentation traces the genesis of grassroots urbanism and how it operationalises its rights-based advocacy work, shared values and principles, and the notion of the social production of habitat into variegated pedagogic practices. The analysis is based on a pedagogic ethnography, conducted through a series of ongoing in-depth conversations with HIC-AL members in Colombia, Chile, Cuba, Mexico and the Coalition's regional office in Latin America. Preliminary findings suggest a productive tension between member autonomy and shared values and principles across the network, which is expanding the repertoire of critical pedagogy beyond a pedagogy of resistance towards a pedagogy that is generative to the social production of habitat. We explore how making these pedagogies visible and conceptualising them as learning-action tactics can stimulate debates about their transformative effects. Research with this "network of networks" can contribute to an understanding of the potential to leverage generative pedagogies so they become conducive to pathways to urban equality while multiplying grounded translocal learning.

Planning education at Ardhi University: Opportunities and challenges for transformative planning and praxis in Sub-Saharan Africa

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Introduction

Tanzania is one of the Sub-Saharan African countries that has experienced persistent and rapid urban growth over the last four decades. Recent trends show that Tanzania has not been able to tap the economic, social and environmental benefits of rapid urbanisation (TULab, 2019). Ineffective urban planning systems and paradigms, insufficient infrastructure, poor policy coordination and governance deficits are some of the major causes of ineffective planning (Kombe, 2017; Kombe and Kreibich, 2006). Lessons from elsewhere in Africa do not seem to differ or offer much in terms of positive outcomes of rapid urbanisation (TULab, 2019). Other important features of urbanisation in Tanzania, like many other SSA countries, are that it is characterised by endemic poverty levels and large informality both in spatial and economic terms. Dar es Salaam city, the largest city in Tanzania and the commercial hub, accommodates about a third of the national urban population with a current annual growth rate of 4.8%. The city is among Sub-Saharan Africa's fastest-growing cities.

This extended abstract aims at mapping the genesis of the planning education at Ardhi University and understanding how the training has impacted urban planning practice in the country and elsewhere in the sub-region.
Data and information presented in this abstract was largely collected from secondary sources. Face-to-face discussions were held with lecturers at Ardhi University and telephone conversations were held with selected practitioners upcountry.

Town planning training at Ardhi University

The training of town planners in Tanzania started in 1972 when a three-year Town Planning programme was introduced at the then Ardhi Institute. This programme was implemented with financial and technical support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Initially, the curriculum aimed at producing town planners who would be responsible for preparing and monitoring the implementation of town and village plans. Drawing inspiration from the architectural-oriented training and practice in the Scandinavian countries, the initial town planning programme was based on the conception of urban planning as mainly an urban design training. Most of the financial support, equipment and training staff were from the continental Europe, especially the Scandinavian countries. In fact, the Danish Government, through DANIDA, was the main development partner, and provided technical support to run the planning and related programmes at Ardhi University for nearly 20 years. The initial focus of the programme was to train middle care personnel to acquire urban

planning and design skills for producing general planning schemes such as master plans, structure plans and detailed planning schemes including house and site designs, neighbourhood layouts and landscape plans/design. Architect-planning firms from the Scandinavian countries also played a significant role in shaping urban planning practice through the preparation of several master plans and regional integrated development plans in the 1970s (Nnkya and Lupala, 2010).

In the 1990s, changing urban planning paradigms from top-down to bottom-up necessitated the adoption of the collaborative and participatory urban planning and management approach. This coincided with the extension of training period from three to four years in 1996 and subsequently the award of Bachelor's Degree in Urban and Rural Planning instead of the Advanced Diploma. In 2002, the course was re-named 'Urban and Regional Planning' primarily to capture the increased need for enhancing regional development perspectives (*ibid*). The adoption of neo-liberal economic policies implied an increased role of the private sector, and leaning of the government control over the economy and in the delivery of basic services. Similarly, after the Rio Conference of 1992, environmental issues were much more integrated in the development plans.

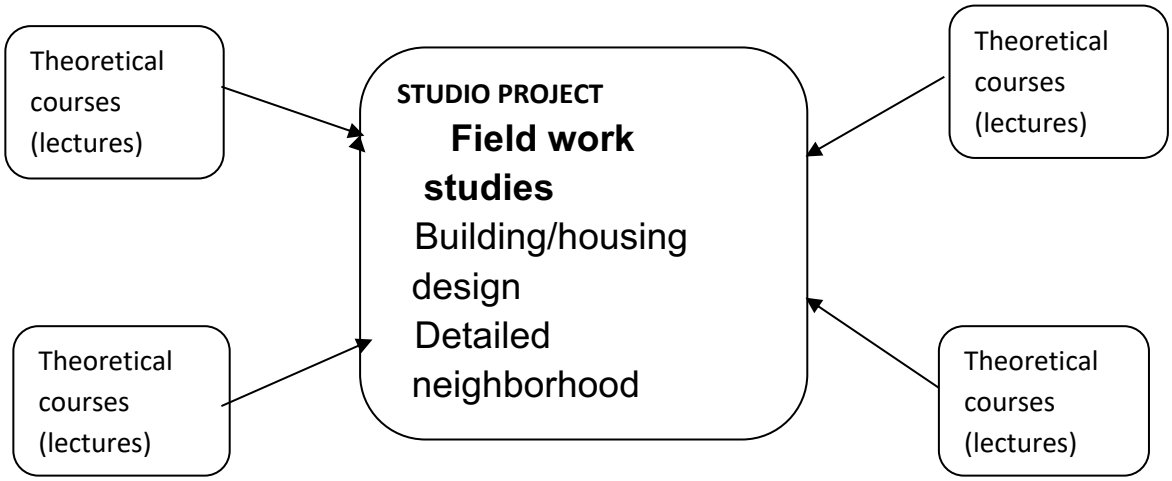
Subsequently, planning education and practice increasingly took into account these developments. For instance, private planning firms were considered partners and engaged in a wide range of public services delivery activities. Also, planning education shifted from being prescriptive to focus on strategic issues. This shift was manifested in the change from master planning to the preparation of strategic urban development plans (SUDPs). Starting from the mid-1990s, the participatory Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) approach became the conceptual basis for the preparation of SUDPs. Several cities in Africa, Asia and Latin America were involved as pilot cases. It ought to be underlined that the shift from master planning to strategic urban development planning was also marked with intensified engagement and participation of cross-sectoral stakeholders in plan generation and implementation. In Tanzania, the UN-Habitat and UNEP collaborated with Ardhi University to pioneer the transformation of the planning system i.e. change from master planning to SUDPs during the period (Kombe, 2001). What is also worth noting is that apart from the persistent failure of western planning system in African cities, there was also a mounting critique on the urban planning theory particularly among western scholars (John Friedman, 1973; Patsy Healey, 1997; Huxley, 2000) as well as reforms effected in urban planning system in the country. However, urban planning theory taught in the planning programme did not change significantly. It was still based on the western planning models that had emerged from quite a different geographical, socio-economic and institutional context.

Training Philosophy and programme delivery

The main objective of the planning curriculum has been to prepare students for a career in the fields of urban and regional development planning, housing and infrastructure planning and management. The main thrust and philosophy of urban planning education at Ardhi University are to impart theoretical knowledge and hands-on skills to address real problems in local communities. This is done through a combination of lectures, field studies and studio exercises.

The upgrading of the programme to a Bachelor's degree and the establishment of a postgraduate degree in Urban Planning and Management (MSc. UPM) also meant reorienting the planning education to enhance critical thinking, analytical skills and research capabilities. During the second semester of the final year, undergraduate and postgraduate students are required to identify a research problem or issues for their dissertation work. Both sound theoretical considerations that frame research issues and empirical (field) studies are important components of BSc. and MSc. theses. At BSc. level, theoretical issues are generally given lighter weight. But in both cases, trainees are required to come up with practical solutions to address the real-life problem studied.

Studio projects provide a ground for the application of theoretical courses taught during a particular semester (Figure 1).



Teaching methods include lectures where conceptual and theoretical ideas are discussed. Studio sessions are conducted with the aim of enabling students to synchronise ideas from theoretical knowledge in real-life situations.

In 1996, a new Master of Science in Urban and Regional Planning and Management (MSc-URPM) was introduced to provide advanced training in urban and regional planning. This

programme is jointly offered with the Technical University of Dortmund (TUD). The focus of the programme was to train urban and regional development planners who are equipped with the skills in planning, policy formulation, developing strategies and managing sustainable urban and regional development in developing countries. Both MSc. programmes have attracted many students from various countries in the region. Ardhi University offers several PhD programmes by research and by coursework and dissertation.

The advent of ICT and increased student enrolment has necessitated the application of ICT-based teaching aids and instruments. In some courses such as Professional Practice and Urban Governance, students are required to conduct (minor) field studies and prepare field study reports. Practitioners from private and public offices are occasionally invited to offer lectures and share experiences with students. Some offer full courses as part-time lecturers. At the end of the first, second and third academic years, students are attached to practical training (industrial training) areas for a period of six weeks. Industrial training (IT) is intended to further expose students to real-life and practical problems facing urban communities and the profession in general. During industrial training, students work under the supervision of practicing professionals. A log book and IT report which include assessment of the field supervisor have to be submitted to the School/Department for final assessment.

1. Opportunities and Challenges

4.1. The unique features of planning education at ARU

- *Strong practice oriented training (learning by doing).* This combines theories and real-life studio projects; and is carried out in close collaboration with LGAs/central government practitioners. Networks between staff and alumni in the LGAs are instrumental to facilitate field work studies.
- *Focus on the contextual issues of African cities*. Most SSA cities are predominantly informal; have weak resource capacities; and weak institutions and governance systems. No wonder for decades informality has not only been accepted as a mode of urbanisation but significantly influenced planning programme at ARU, as well as informed urban development policies, legislation and practices in Tanzania and increasingly in SSA countries.
- *Informality is seen as a cause and an effect of urban inequalities*. Government has maintained an affirmative position towards informality essentially because of the inequalities resulting particularly from fragile source of livelihoods and basic services deprivation.
- *Urban planning programme offers multi-disciplinary skills.* A variety of supporting disciplines such as land survey, civil engineering, land administration, architecture and environmental management. These ought to make graduates well prepared to work in multi-disciplinary environments.

4.2. What has worked

- ARU has trained many planners from East and Southern African countries such as Zambia, Lesotho, SA, Malawi, Namibia, the Gambia, Ghana, Botswana, Uganda, Kenya, and so on.
- Attracted joint postgraduate studies – joint MSc & PhD programmes.
- Won joint GIZ & African Union funded centre – Centre of Excellence in Land in Administration.
    - Local recognition – staff and graduates are extensively involved in the preparation and review of plans and national policies – the National Land Policy; the Urban Planning and Management Policies; the Housing Policy & Human Settlements Development Policies and National programmes such as the national regularisation of informal settlements.
- Graduates are nationally acknowledged because of their strong professional knowledge and skills.

4.3. What has not worked/challenges

- Policy and action often lag behind political decisions - research ideas are not swiftly adopted by government.
- Limited interdisciplinary engagement in addressing real-life problems despite inputs and training.
- Governance challenges i.e. increasing move towards centralisation vs. decentralisation by devaluation; this limits absorption of research ideas/outputs
- Little appreciation of the nexus between planning education – urban inequalities - planning practice. As a result, in many cases, critical urban inequality issues are given cursory treatment in urban plans and actions.
- Limited absorption capacity - only 30% of planners are on post.
- Research on planning knowledge generation remains limited, while multi-disciplinary research activities are also limited. There are limited initiatives to contribute to planning theory that can improve practice.
- Increasing initiative to raise enrolment may compromise quality of training and graduates.
- Classical theories still dominant - learning/training predominantly from the West (UK/US).
- Little resource capacity to retrain (alumni) or provide refresher courses. Also networks with practitioners/LGAs are not institutionalised.

4.4. What pedagogy approaches have helped to enhance partnerships at ARU

- Cross-disciplinary training (studio work involves several disciplines/professions)
- Practice-oriented training – this has attracted support and recognition from local and external partners.

Conclusion

Planning education and training offered at Ardhi University has played important role particularly in building capacity of planning in several countries in the sub-region. Its training and pedagogy approaches that combine theory and practice while emphasising 'hands-on skills' are the key features that make the planning programme unique. Overall, the planning education and training has had limited impact on addressing challenges of urbanisation especially urban inequalities. Part of the explanation is that the planning paradigm and system is still locked into the western planning paradigms and traditions; these conflict with the contextual realities. The latter underlines the need for rethinking the current planning theory and practice and forging interdisciplinary platforms for better understanding of African cities through the eyes of the people who create and live with them.

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Urban learning, comparison, and inequality: Possibilities and limits

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Cities are increasingly thought of not only as spaces where learning of different kinds takes place, but that are themselves learning projects. All kinds of actors have invested urban learning with various potentials to remake the city, and positioned it as a central constitutive factor for the future of urban equality. At the same time, the intensity of translocal learning – its status, speed, and regularity – has increased, given the growing ease through which it can take place both online and offline. As a particular mode of translocal learning in and of cities, *urban comparison* has long played a pivotal – and now increasingly important - role in how cities are thought, imagined, and governed.

In this reflection, I consider the role that urban comparison can play in enhancing learning capacities to confront urban inequality. In doing so, I consider how urban comparison emerges as a matter of concern, or of active practice, across different debates on learning and cities. I also reflect on both the possibilities and the limits of urban comparison, both as a specific form of learning, and in relation to confronting urban inequalities.

By 'urban comparison', I have in mind not just a method but a mode of thought that brings different ideas or places into a conversation. In urban studies, it has been positioned as part of a wider emphasis on developing a postcolonial urban theory and understanding, in which the 'usual suspects' – predominantly North American and Western European cities – do not act as the explicit or implicit referent points for wider knowledge and learning of 'the city', 'urbanism', or 'urbanisation' in general. It is, then, not just a method of case study evaluation, but an invitation to think with multiplicity, to learn across many cases, contexts, voices, and theoretical approaches.

As learning has become central to how cities and their challenges are understood and intervened in, the role of urban comparison has emerged in different ways depending on the form of translocal learning in question. Two trends stand out here. One is the entrepreneurial discourse of 'creative cities' and 'urban innovation'. The city is increasingly promoted as a generator of economic, social and environmental creativity and innovation, for which learning of different kinds is a necessary infrastructure of transformation. In these accounts, an often narrow conception of urban comparison is put to work, one that seeks out what Jenny Robinson (2016) has elsewhere called 'genetic' forms of recurring and shared attributes, especially around the combinatory possibilities of density, knowledge, and novelty.

A second important trend here is the global development agenda, which – via the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with its own standalone urban goal (SDG 11),

and the 2016 New Urban Agenda – has placed the learning city, and in particular partnerships across public, private, and civil society sectors, as important to sustainable development. Writing about the SDGs, for example, Zarina Patel *et al* (2017: 787) argue that learning is crucial for "generating new information that is credible, legitimate and salient", and which "results in enhanced capacity and appropriately targeted place-based interventions". As with the discourse of urban entrepreneurial creativity and innovation, translocal learning here takes two related forms: explicit learning from elsewhere, and in the bringing together of multiple people and knowledge into dense experimental learning spaces.

Debates on the co-production of knowledge have emerged as important here. Here, proponents argue that co-production is important for better urban development outcomes because it widens the range of issues and concerns on the table. In addition, co-production is positioned as important to building the skills and capabilities of different actors, including residents and civil society groups, as well helping to develop new confidences and empowerment, and as a means to urban social justice. For example, Diana Mitlin *et al* (2019: page) write: "We believe that more equitable knowledge processes are required for transformative urban outcomes… that the inclusion of low-income and disadvantaged groups in research is itself an issue of social justice, as well as producing outcomes that advance that goal".

Urban comparison emerges in a different way in these accounts from those in the more entrepreneurial debates, and is closer to the 'generative' comparison that Robinson (2016) describes, where variation provides a basis for generating conceptual insight. The point, after all, is to seek to learn across a multiplicity of knowledge and positions, including a multiplicity of places. At the same time, the urban here is not simply a set of attributes, but a space of difference, in which distinct views are often embedded in historical power inequalities between different constituencies within and beyond the city. What is being compared is not a narrow, stripped down machinic view of the city, where getting the levers in the right place might lead to equality, but a set of subject and knowledge positions that must be carefully managed towards shared goals, and where contestation is inevitable.

However, as a mode of translocal learning, comparison is too easily folded into a set of clear expectations based around deliberation, transparency, and consensus, and even assumptions about shared concerns and aspirations. This may in part be a result of its history in the social sciences as an evaluative and structured process of case study attributes of similarity and difference. Too often, what is lost is attention to excess, difference, and incommensurability.

In a provocative and important paper on 'singularity' and 'incomparable geographies', Tariq Jazeel (2019) sets out a case for working with difference. Singularity names an approach to knowledge production, conceptualisation and research. As Jazeel shows, singularity is not

about defining and subsuming knowledge, but is instead "a point at which a given object is simply not defined" (p11). These undefined 'objects' – ways of knowing or seeing, forms of practice, modes of inhabiting, structures and styles of expression, and so on – can emerge from any source, perhaps in surprising ways. The challenge is to research with modesty and attention, which requires being open to following different frictions, traces and meanings that provoke us in all kinds of settings: archives, interviews, ethnographies, fiction, film, drama, oral histories, unexpected encounters, and so on. As Jazeel shows, the point about not subsuming knowledge is a challenge of then remaining with that which surfaces as 'unfathomable' and remains a trace or fragment, but which is nonetheless productive in how it unsettles concepts, positions, and arguments.

This goes to the heart of what it means to produce rigorous translocal learning through urban comparison. If rigour tends to entail an implicit expectation of clarity in communication between concepts and 'field sites', here rigour is more a kind *un*communication. What's particularly important about Jazeel's account is that this moment of uncommunication – be it knowledge within places, the concept itself, or of a form of conceptualisation that works with particular conventions of rigour - is not only a failure; it also produces something. Something, provided we learn to listen carefully and reflexively, is passed on, registered, has an impact, but not in a way that might have been expected.

A vital argument made by Jazeel here is the need to push back against the tendency to separate 'theory' and 'method', muddying the waters between theory, method and world so that they become about learning and unlearning what and how we know. In pushing against the neatness of conceptual work and knowledge production, this view of rigour echoes Raewyn Connell's (2007) description of 'dirty theory', the theory that seeks to multiply difference, voice and perspective and the power relations that surround that multiplication. Comparisons can be messy and replete with frictions and fragments, and can be characterised by absences as much as presences, by uncommunication rather than transparency, by differences that can't quite be grasped, by incommensurable positions, knowledge or ideas. That does not mean they are not generative, but that what they generate may be elusive, and this itself may lead to new understandings and concepts. A kind of co-nonproduction. As a mode of translocal learning, the point is not so much that urban comparison is limited, but that it can open up to its limitations and generative potentials when it becomes aware of the traces, fragments, and frictions of what exceeds its framings.

What, then, is the larger potential of urban comparison in translocal learning for confronting urban inequality and fostering transformation? Part of what I am arguing here is that this demands attention not just to the work of deliberation, transparency, and consensus, but to excess, difference, and incommensurability. There is an ethic of care in that postcolonial approach. In addition, there are questions about the work of translocal learning itself to

reflect on here, including both the question of investing in it – after all, translocal learning involves particular labours of time and attention – and the related question of the demands it makes on the urban poor and marginalised.

To go to the first concern, there is a straightforward point to make here: we often already know enough about urban poverty and inequality to proceed with tackling them. I want to be careful here, because I do not want to argue against the real value of urban comparison and translocal learning more generally. But, notwithstanding the positives that urban learning can offer in fostering new relationships, agendas and skills, we – simply put - already know many of the economic and political mechanisms for reducing urban poverty and inequality, whether in relation to housing, infrastructure, services, health, education, or training. For example, a pivotal challenge for addressing poverty on the economic margins is housing. Yet, as Owen Hatherley (2019: no page) has written, while "the sheer scale of the problem is chilling", what's "maddening" is that "we already know how to solve homelessness and housing poverty".

Sure, there are cases out there that can be drawn on through comparative learning as a basis for building effective approaches, but – again – much of this is already well documented and shared, albeit unevenly globally. For example, analysis after analysis has shown that the inequalities that shape the urban condition today are intimately tied to land and housing, pushing lower-income residents into marginal spaces in the often with limited infrastructures, services, public provisions, and economic opportunities. The recent rush of high density tower blocks across the world, from Mumbai and Jakarta to New York, London and Manchester, are often caught up in exclusive real estate economies. In many cases, the developments are accompanied by violent displacements. Hussain Indorewala (2019) has described the process in Mumbai, and in particular the construction of land scarcity.

We know this story – and other stories of urban poverty and inequality – so well now. We have a rich set of cases to learn from, including through comparison. There is a powerfully rich body of research – not just by academics but by social movements, civil society groups, think-tanks, journalists, and even in some cases by municipalities that are partly responsible for the crisis in land and housing we so often see – which details the problems and solutions. What's missing, often, is not more translocal learning – comparative or otherwise – but more action around transformation.

In this context, should translocal learning be our focus? There are risks in pursuing learning too. Vested powers can use urban learning forms as ways of seeming to act while having no real intention of radical reform. This, after all, is what governments so often do when faced with a challenge: send the issue to deliberation or inquiry. I am not, to be clear, advocating a return to out-moded forms of centralised planning – community voice and forms of learning can and do matter. On the other hand, a great deal of weight and attachment is given by all

kinds of people and sectors to the idea of residential participation, people often with little time or energy to give, even in cases where there is established understandings of what needs to be done. This too is an ethics of translocal learning, and one that perhaps demands a pause and a reflection as to whether it is always the best route forward.

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Panel 8

Finding Place: Housing at the intersection of practice

Slum dweller's resettlements in Konark

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Nearly 23 per cent of Odisha's population lives in slums (Business Standard, 2019), and always in the perpetual fear of eviction while continuously facing challenges of access to sanitation, clean drinking water, and electricity. In order to address the issue, the state assembly passed the Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Bill 2017, that claims to be the world's largest slum titling programme. The project, known as "Jaga Mission" was started in Gopalpur Khurda, Konark district of Odisha. Through this paper, we have attempted to highlight how the resettlement has affected the wellbeing of the community. Further, we have tried to understand the effect this resettlement has had on the gendered wellbeing and also whether the social stratifications, namely gender and caste have affected the community wellbeing. Since the land rights certificate has been issued in the name of both spouses, it helped us in studying the effect it had on the women of the household. To understand the gendered wellbeing, we have used factors like education, work, employment, empowerment, nutrition and health. The insights gathered through personal interviews with the community members highlight that the meaning of wellbeing was different for men and women. What women wanted primarily from the project was proper education for their children, toilets near their homes and hospital facilities. On the other hand, men who were primarily engaged in fishing, wanted a cold storage facility, fuel pumps for boats, an open common platform where they could sell their fish. Further, our exploratory study indicates that there were no evident caste discrimination plausibly due to majority of the community members belonging to the same caste in the focused community. However, there were tensions between the Odia speaking and Telugu speaking communities over the land rights issues.

1. Introduction

The Odisha Government is pioneering a first-of-its-kind project, which is arguably set to become a rejuvenation model of slums in India, one that can be emulated across the country and elsewhere. As a part of the Slum Land Rights Act, the project is assumed to benefit a million people residing in 2,500 slums across the state over the next few years. The print media has already hailed this as the world's largest slum land titling project (Business Standard, 2018). A radical approach as claimed by many, this project is a new initiative in the history of the development measures in the country, and by awarding land rights to the poor, the state government has created history and paved the way for others (Economic Times, 2018).

Along with the economic benefits of land titling there are social implications attached to the move. The Act follows previous legislation in the state requiring the certificates of land rights to be issued in the name of both of the spouses. (Odisha land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act,

2017, India). Studies have shown that legislative measures such as mandatory inclusion of both spouses in land titles in the state have previously led to a decrease in gender disparity, thus creating a more inclusive society (Observer Research foundation, 2019). The implication of settlement formalisation has to be from the community's perspective to promote tenure security throughout India and the world. The present research will examine how the rights have benefited the community wellbeing in the present situation.

Since this Act is new and first-of-its-kind, it is important to understand the policy perspective and its implications on the slum dwellers in Odisha, and also on the wellbeing of the community.

2. Research Objective

The broader objective of the study is to understand the effect of resettlement on the community wellbeing by means of the following:

1. To understand gendered wellbeing i.e., men and women, and its association with resettlement;
2. To understand the influence of caste on wellbeing since resettlement.

3. Methods

The study is an ongoing exploratory study comprising in-depth interviews and focussed group discussions following the qualitative approach and tools. Qualitative methods are best applied in areas involving unexplored, sensitive or intense personal experiences, issues within small and difficult-to-access groups, culturally-defined experiences or perspectives which the researcher does not share. (Treloar C, Champness, Simpson, Higginbotham, 2000)

3.1 Pilot study

Pilot Study was used in this study for developing and testing the adequacy of the research instruments, thereby helping in identifying if the interview questions are relevant to the research objectives. A pilot study might give advance warning about where the main research project could fail, or where research protocols may not be followed (Teijlingen, Hundley, 2001). It may also help in identifying potential research problems. Further, it could also help us in identifying our respondents, grouping them based on their Gender and Caste or any other relevant social stratification in the context of Konark. Finally, it would also help in testing the feasibility of the approach that is to be used for a larger study (Hundley 2001). The Pilot study was conducted in Nolia Sahi, Konark before beginning the field work in order to establish field contacts and also to get an experience of the place, and informal interaction with the community members. After the pilot study some changes were made to the questions, such as questions on what women and men wanted primarily from the project, while some questions on the fishing season, and alternate livelihoods were added.

3.2 In-depth interviews

The rationale of conducting intensive individual interview is to ask participants, staff, and others affected by this project about their experiences and expectations related to the project, the thoughts they have concerning resettlement operations, processes, outcomes, and about any changes they perceive in themselves as a result of the project. It is useful when we want detailed information about the person's thoughts and behaviour, as well as when the person is not comfortable talking openly in a group. Questions were open-ended rather than close ended. The interviews were unstructured, thus allowing flexibility. The interviews were recorded with due permission of the respondents, and then later were analysed using thematic coding and with the help of the software MAXQDA.

Many researchers, particularly qualitative researchers, elect to use interviews (Fontana and James, 1998). We use them not only because we wish to delve beneath statistically driven generalisations that are made but also because they have the potential to validate the knowledge of 'ordinary' people especially 'ordinary' women who are liable to be omitted from many research projects (Benmayor, 1991; Coates, 1996; Eisikovits et al., 1998; Reinharz, 1992)

4. Findings

4.1 The community background

The settlement consisted of people belonging to mostly two religions – Christianity and Hinduism – and none from the Muslim community. In case of Telugu-speaking people, all belonged to the OBC category, although they haven't received the caste certificates yet. For Christians, they are all Pentecostal church goers. In terms of the language spoken in the community, differences between the Odia and Telugu-speaking people were visible; the Odia-speaking people feel that their benefits are being taken by the Telugu settlers. One woman with whom we interviewed said,

"*The government should do something for us as we originally belong to this place, so they should get some advantage over the Telugu speaking people who are migrants and have settled*" (Interview 1).

Also, it emerged in our interactions that the settlement being largely populated by Telugu-speaking people appears to have made the Odia-speaking people feeling left out, like a minority.

4.2 Factors affecting wellbeing

Our interviews and focus group discussions have revealed certain challenges faced by the community. These, as mentioned below, give us insights into the array of factors that affect the wellbeing of the community. We are using these to answer our broader research question on the overall wellbeing of the community as well as the gendered and caste-based wellbeing.

4.3 Uncertainty about the project

1. Some families had already started building their own house before the land allotment, but the authorities have told them to stall the projects, as a portion of the structure would be taken for the road that is planned to be built from the same site. Now the families don't know whether they would be compensated or not.

"I have spent all my earnings on this house and if it gets demolished then I don't know what to do" (Interview 3)

2. Some families have built the entire house before the project was announced. Now, they would be displaced as the land they have built the house on is by the shore. All the houses by the shore would be displaced, they are worried as this would result in a huge loss for them if they don't get compensation.

" I built my house just two years back, now I hear the authorities are trying to shift us from here, they haven't talked anything about the compensation , what would I do with the land if I don't have money to build a proper house" (Interview 6)

3. People who have not got the land rights are not aware whether they should start building their own house, or wait. According to them, the project is slow and after Fani cyclone it had been stalled for a few days.

4. Many families have settled in the village after 2017, they are neither fishermen nor have the residential proofs or valid documents. The villagers claim that they have come for getting the land titles.

5. There were certain plots on which building houses were prohibited, even then there were some houses built. Now they would get demolished.

4.4 Post benefit Implementation

1. People after getting the certificate have not received the Rs. 2 lakh, and banks too are not giving them the formal credit, so they are not able to start construction work.

2. Underground electricity connection work has not yet started and the village faces the difficulty of frequent load shedding.

4.5 Gendered wellbeing

1. For women, wellbeing was the security they had with the land rights certificate, proper education that their children would be receiving, and the safety when they use the community toilets.

2. For men, wellbeing meant having proper access to transportation, infrastructure facilities associated with fishing, cold storage, petrol pumps, and workshops for repairing fishing nets.

For each, wellbeing had a different expectation from the project.

5. Policy Implications and future Research

The Odisha Land rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2017, is a landmark and historic legislation, which aims to grant in situ land rights to 25,0000 households living in about 2,500 slums in the state. The provisions of this Act have been unique in terms of the technology used and the community mobilisation it has done. As pointed out in our preliminary findings, there are related issues affecting the wellbeing of the community through this project. And, they need consideration in the context of this resettlement policy. In addition, gendered needs also need to be considered in the implementation of this policy, over and above the joint titles, to make wellbeing transcend the gender divide.

With the help of drone surveys, high resolution maps had been made, which could also be used in future for improving the quality of life of the slum dwellers and also contribute to the research on implementation of future programmes for slum dwellers. The creation of Slum Dwellers Associations (SDAs) in each slum, with the support of NGOs, put in place a mechanism for institutionalising these participatory processes G. Mathivathanan (2019). Based on our ongoing study, some of the questions that future research should look into are the following:

1. How has the infrastructure planning of the project affected the community wellbeing?
2. Does including the name of both spouses have an impact on the lives of women or is it just on paper?

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The work of a person and the GHARAUNDA Scheme: An exploratory study of housing and home concerns of adults with disabilities

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In the context of India, research in the areas of disability, and housing even more so, has scarcely dealt with the question of housing concerns of people with disabilities. Even discussions on education and employment services, in case of persons with disabilities have bypassed the attendant issues surrounding suitable shelter in the towns and cities where these services are largely present. This paper focuses on the life-long residential facilities made available through various stakeholders, for adults with autism spectrum disorder, cerebral palsy, intellectual disability and multiple disabilities, and is thereby a step in the direction called for by the special rapporteur to the United Nations on the right to adequate housing of persons with disabilities.

Approached from the lenses of urban studies and disability studies, the focus on these residential spaces makes apparent a change in the usage and thereby understanding of categories of the housing unit/arrangement vis-à-vis the home, the household vis-à-vis the family, in both policy and practice. Also, having taken up the scales of the national and a few local organisations in two cities, tensions between as well as the coming together of these two lenses is revealed by examining the spatial and socio-economic positions of the stakeholders viz. voluntary organisations and state institutions facilitating the residential and rehabilitation facilities, residents and their families, their 'communities', the staff and teachers, and how these impact each other. The more structural question of these variedly separated residential spaces' requirement in India requires further research, the starting point being the mapping of all existing and emerging facilities.

Introduction

This paper situates the various living conditions of people with disabilities within the larger context of housing issues in urban areas in India. The sub-theme was thought around the various living arrangements enabled by the state, and intended for persons with disabilities. These include, but may not be restricted to, hostels, shelter homes, long-term residential facilities and provisional land allotment schemes. While the initial aim was to undertake a spatial-economic analysis of one of the living arrangements, "group homes", in line with the work of Vizel (2009) who conducted it in Australia, the present focus is on the emergence of a small range of these spaces via a combination of non-government, voluntary, private and state institutions in India where family has been the primary unit of care. Additionally, motivations behind state intervention in the form of a scheme for life-long residential facilities i.e. the GHARAUNDA (Group Home and Rehabilitation Activities under National Trust Act for

Disabled Adults) Scheme are looked at. The Scheme (*Gharaunda* hereinafter) facilitates registered organisations (ROs) in providing life-long shelter and care to adults (18 years and above) with intellectual and developmental disabilities (IDDs) that are under the National Trust Act, 1999 viz. autism spectrum disorder, cerebral palsy, intellectual disability and multiple disabilities.[1] The scaled-down analysis of the role of space-makers viz. the residents, the concerned voluntary organisations' management, families and staff in the process of imagining, setting up and maintaining these facilities was a third aspect of the research.

These questions have been studied from two angles viz. through an urban housing policy perspective and a disability studies perspective which included interviewing former and current officials at the National Trust (NT), an academician and the management of three organisations, out of which two are registered organisations under the NT. An in-depth case-study of one of these organisations, NGO Primary Field Site (NPFS hereinafter), which involved interviews with 22 residents (11 under *Gharaunda*), faculty and staff members, management/administration persons and four sets of guardians helped me in focusing on the study's third aspect and then tying the analysis to the larger discourse. This primary research was carried out between end-October and end-November, 2018. While a maximum variation approach within purposive sampling was aimed for the residents' interviews, the author's limitations on familiarity with different modes of communication (signing, usage of interaction-based activities etc.) compounded by the time shortage, narrowed the sampling frame.

Persons with intellectual and development disabilities: Family care and being out-of-home

To understand the 'housing' issues of persons with IDDs, we need to evaluate the historical context in which they have taken shape. The key point to hold on to is that these "housing" issues were not inherently present. As against the case of housing units and the built environment in general being constructed keeping in mind a certain construction of the "normal family", the idea of only a limited kind of 'normal' human beings led to the construction of several types of institutions for, 'others'.

The creation of these institutions took place in the time of the eugenics movement in different parts of the world, the main idea behind it being the genetic inferiority of persons with physical, psychosocial and intellectual disabilities and they being a "threat to society" (Rimmerman, 2017, p. 51). As regards 'mental hospitals' in India, Kumar & Varma (1984) attribute the origins of this segregated construction to the British colonisers who again based it on wanting to protect the 'society'. It is important to examine this notion of relative danger and scare to a 'society' to the spatial segregation of other marginalised communities as has been done in the case of those living in *bastis* (Ghertner, 2013) and Dalit neighbourhooods (Ganguly, 2018) in Indian cities. On a related note, Mehrotra and Vaidya (2012) in a study on

the understanding of intellectual disability in Haryana and Delhi, point out that the attachment of stigma to intellectual disability was not universal, but depended on the extent of the disability. The care of persons with IDDs has been associated to the presence of strong family networks and the rural, agriculture-based community at large, as in other global south settings (Girimaji, 2011; Kamath, 1978; Mehrotra & Vaidya, 2012).

The concern then, around future care and livelihood (including employment, family-making and living conditions) of persons with IDDs outside their familial home has been brewing since some decades because of a combination of factors viz. increased life expectancy of the population in general along with that of persons with IDDs (Salvatori, Tremblay, & Tryssenaar, 2003), urbanisation and industrialisation at a broader level and their effects on and changes otherwise in the family structure (Chakravarti, 2018; Girimaji, 2011; Mehrotra & Vaidya, 2012). Another outlet for the care to shift "outside" is by way of life-long residential facilities and 'community' spaces being imagined and built by parents and parents' organisations (George, 2018; Mehrotra & Vaidya, 2012). Here, I pick up the thread provided by Mehrotra and Vaidya (2012) which is to assess the interactions between the voluntary organisations, state and family in the everyday formation of a few of these spaces.

Coming 'outside': Findings and discussion

Gharaunda was introduced in 2008 to overcome the shortcomings of the previous residential schemes, Establishment of Relief Institution and the Samarth Scheme as well as to meet the changing demands of families and persons with disabilities. While Samarth was envisioned as a crisis shelter scheme for persons of all age groups, ROs that were supposed to provide the infrastructural, human and knowledge resources were not taking in adults with disabilities because they 'did not know how to look after them'. Running the residential facilities in rented buildings was another roadblock as the organisations would have to keep shifting their operations to new rented accommodations which would prevent the monitoring of these facilities. Gharaunda was a response to these shortcomings: having one's own building or leased premises was a prerequisite and the scheme is specific to adults with disabilities.

There are four broad qualifications emerging from the primary research. Firstly, Gharaunda homes or (group) homes in general are not a singular residential arrangement. The field sites rather present a range of arrangements, and operations methods. And as indicated by conversations with the NT officials, the state is cognizant and accommodating of these multiple arrangements. Meanwhile, the scheme's provisions are just one more source of funding for the voluntary organisations.

Further, the narratives indicate the complexity of doing 'charity', as has been found by Staples (2018) in his study in the south of India. Some are guided by the Companies (Amendment) Act, 2017, while others find a familial association with the 'cause'. Moreover, it appears that

deindividualisation i.e. “mass management” (Wolfensberger, 2000, p. 109) of persons may not just operate as a function of devaluation of individuals (2000). It may get exacerbated because of the individuals’ placement, as learners and/or as residents, within organisations such as the studied voluntary organisations which are primarily dependent on private donors and corporations, and to an extent the state, for both monetary and in-kind resources. I therefore also argue that both contextually-specific policy, and institutional structures which are steered by the voluntary organisations, themselves present the non-linear reality of the rights-based approach which is envisaged with the passing of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016.

Thirdly, the emergence of such residential models located at the periphery of cities due to constraints of land and finance, and an underlying need for segregation, along with the formation of state institutions such as Local Project Committees may imply support for the formation of newer communities. And these communities may primarily be engaged in economic relations with the residents. This could include care-giving work, being a staff, such as a cook, gardener with the residential facility or even as donors.

Lastly, it may be contended that the challenges faced in and thereby ambiguity around activity-creation, which is the second objective of these residential facilities, and the point that activity has to be ‘created’ may further be complicating the idea of a ‘home’. The question that then arises is as follows: does a space such as a group home where residents are doing the household chores, vocational activity assigned by the organisation and engaging in some form of leisure etc. gain ‘full’ constitution of a household which is primarily based on economic activity creation, for subsistence and beyond? Or are we subscribing to linear notions of a home here?

In conclusion

While making structural arguments against socio-spatial segregation[2] may not be possible through the present study, taking the findings as well as the larger socio-economic variations and the limitations they may pose at the household-level, one recommendation that emerges is the equal involvement of the concerned residents in the ‘process of living’. It is found to be absent because the organisations’ other
stakeholders continue to understand their role as a service to the concerned persons with disabilities who have incapacity and also that they themselves have greater capacity. The former NT Chairperson, who too is planning a home for adults with disabilities in her city is doing so by undertaking a ‘needs-assessment’ exercise with persons with the concerned disabilities and their families. The above statement brings us back to square one, to starting with participation and understanding the methods and tools for participation since the childhood.

Also, the title and the discussion are trying to hint at an understanding of the creation of these residential spaces which is broader than welfare of persons with disabilities. They are being driven by the interests and roles of various defined actors: the residents guided by routine and activity-creation, the primary care-giver, mother-turned volunteer or special educator at NPFS, the caretakers who have come from neighbouring states looking for employment, the CSR-guided firms, the residents' siblings who have to work for 'their new families' etc.

Endnotes

[1] The National Trust is a statutory body formed as a result of the National Trust for the Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities Act, 1999. It is a body corporate whose first objective is "to enable and empower persons with the [concerned] disability to live as independently and as fully as possible" (National Trust Act, 1999). The Act was a result of advocacy by parents and families of persons with IDDs as the Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995 did not meet their specific needs. Since persons with the specified disabilities generally require greater support to perform daily activities and those related to education and livelihood, the question of their children's care post their death led to the parents calling on to the state.

[2] For instance, see public-related circulars released by the Department of Social Welfare of Delhi in the recent past. One of them dated December 24, 2018, notifies the release of INR 1,70,00,000 as second installment for the "construction of home for mentally challenged female [*sic*] at Dallupura" (Delhi Department of Social Welfare, 2018) in Delhi.

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Defending the right to housing in Vizag: Local democracy without elections and modes of engagement with the State

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Although constitutionalised through 73rd and 74th amendments, elections to the local bodies in India varies across the provincial states depending upon the level of commitment of political parties towards the objective. Decentralisation, when implemented rightly, is argued to bring the poor or the marginalised to the policy making avenue (Heller 2001). However, Andhra Pradesh is ill-famed for flouting the decentralisation initiatives, which means, the state has not conducted election to its local bodies since 2006. In the absence of elected representatives, local governance in the state is characteristically managed by the bureaucrats. The vacuum of representation thus created is expected to be dodged with bureaucratic decentralisation (Janmabhoomi[1] initiative) or through involvements of other political representatives such as Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA). But, close observations of the implementation of a slum rehabilitation programme in Visakhapatnam illustrates that the poor engage with the state through multiple methods in the absence of a local elected government. For example, in this study it is observed that the poor created clientelistic relations with the ruling political party at the provincial State level, negotiated with top bureaucrats and embarked on protests at different levels to uphold their right to land and housing. Undertaking various strategies of involvement has helped the poor in defending their rights over the land they have started occupying since the late 1990s. The paper unravels how the slum dwellers influenced the bureaucratised local state to mould a centrally planned/sponsored programme.

The study has been undertaken in Surya Teja Nagar, a slum in Arilova, Visakhapatnam. Three decades ago, the land was situated in the sparsely populated outskirts of the city. At that time, the poor who came in search of employment in the 'city of destiny' from nearby villages, those who lost their houses in the city due to the development programmes, those who split from the joint families to own a new house and many others, for different reasons, started occupying this plot of land 'illegally'. Anecdotal evidence also suggests that the former Chief Minister N. T. Rama Rao had requested some of the slum dwellers to move to the outskirts in Arilova and vacate the land in the prime locations to carry out infrastructural developments there. But, soon after, the area (outskirt) has seen a rise in the speculative value of land. This rise in land value can be attributed to the local state initiation of private investment in health sector. The nearby areas along the main road (100 m away from the settlement) has witnessed mushrooming of private hospitals and because of which the area is nicknamed as 'Health City'. The rising demand for the land and illegal status of the slum has put the inhabitants on constant threat of eviction. But, the residents of Surya Teja Nagar slum have successfully resisted projects which either attempted to relocate them or proposed the

transfer of portion of their land to the builders. For example, under VAMBAY (Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana), the residents were offered flats in Madhurawada which is situated around 10 km away from the city. The residents rejected this proposal and refused to move out and demanded in-situ rehabilitation. The project was dropped due to the protest. Later, in 2011, Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), an in-situ slum rehabilitation programme was introduced in the locality.

Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) was announced as a centrally-sponsored pilot housing programme which envisaged a 'Slum Free India' with 'inclusive and equitable cities', where every citizen had access to basic civic infrastructure, social amenities and a decent shelter. Following the pathway of previous centrally-sponsored urban development programmes like Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURAM), RAY too emphasised on community participation, assistance of NGOs/ CBOs and public private partnership (PPP). Community participation in urban development programmes is intended to enhance democratic representation of the poor in the decision-making process. But whether such mandatory participatory meetings demonstrate a transformative capacity in reality is a matter of enquiry.

The initial plan was to construct multi-storied apartment complex in one portion of the land by private developers in return for the rest of the land handed over to the builders for commercial development. But, this faced backlash from the community who were not ready to settle for anything less than single-storied individual houses. Multiple rounds of discussions and protests were conducted and finally, the slum residents managed to reshape the centrally-planned programme allocated for their locality according to their own needs. Now, 100 houses are constructed as single storied one-bedroom apartments with shared walls and another 50 in G+1(two floors) model. Those who are allotted G+1 houses are those who were not permanently living in the slum. To provide single-storied housing, as demanded by the community, a government-owned plot of land nearby was also pooled for the rehabilitation.

All these achievements were attained because of the unity of the community in channelling their demands. The residents of the slum was strongly organised under the head of a Residential Welfare Association (RWA) named Polamamba Seva Sangham (PSS). Polamamba is a local Hindu deity in a temple situated right in front of the slum. Although, the residential organisation is named after a Hindu deity, the community is multi-religious with Hindu, Christian and Muslim members. Most of the residents belong to backward and scheduled castes. But, the leadership (secretary, president, treasurer etc.) of the organisation is mainly bestowed on members belonging to one caste. The association also had a women wing but was dysfunctional when the survey was carried out. Also, the leaders of the organisation were mostly men. This organisation, through its leaders channelled suggestions/demands of the community to the local politicians and bureaucrats. Such united demands put pressure on the authority to reshape the programme. Together with this, it was also important for the local government not to discontinue the programme and lose the central funds

approved/allocated, and hence were ready to negotiate with the residents and alter the programme.

The community also bargained collectively with their votes with the then ruling party in the state. The colony is nicknamed as a 'TDP colony' and they vote for the party expecting a clientelistic relationship. There is also high prevalence of bribing for votes and each voter has taken around Rs. 1000 for voting from different political parties. The ex-councillor still acts as a channel between the residents and the MLA or bureaucrats. Although he is less powerful without the post, he still acts as the primary contact for the residents in channelling their requests. But, some of the residents have complained that after the expiration of the term, he mostly favours those from his own caste. He was into liquor business and social work before becoming a politician. The connection of the residents with TDP started when the particular person joined politics. Before that, he had undertaken some social work activities in the slum. But now, the residential organisation leaders keep close ties with higher level politicians such as MLA or Member of the Parliament (MP). In the absence of the local elected government, MLA is considered as the authority in power to be contacted for fruitful interventions. They voted and went for campaigns and protests whenever requested by the party and in return they expect the party to provide them basic facilities. Because of these connections, it was easier for the RWA to attain the support of local politicians in demanding single-storied houses. But, still there were official delays and other issues related to programmes. The residents, on such occasions, with the backing of politicians have undertaken protests in the corporation office. These protests more often led to compromises from the official authorities after several rounds of negotiations.

The paper tries to analyse the above mentioned relations in detail to understand how the urban poor were successfully able to defend their housing rights. Housing is one important aspect of inequality within a city. Although it cannot be generalised, slums are often geographical manifestations of poverty within a city and claiming of land and housing still remains to be a revolutionary act. In this context, it is important to find out under what circumstances the poor are able to defend their rights in highly unequal cities of India. How the poor claimed their right over their land under seemingly non-conducive circumstances for any democratic participation in local governance can shed light towards this. The study also converses with those studies which analyse the political as well as social organisational activities of the poor in India and elsewhere (Appadurai 2002, Chatterjee 2004, Harriss 2007, Holsten 2008, Lama-Rewal, 2007, Zerah, 2007, Coelho and Venkat 2009, Weinstein, 2012, Doshi, 2012, Dupont et al, 2014). To undertake the analysis, a household survey in the slum followed by interviews of residential association leaders, selected slum dwellers, bureaucrats and local politicians were conducted.

Endnote

[1] Janmabhoomi' programme was initiated for community participation in development

programmes based on the South Korean model 'Saemul Undong'. At village level, each activity was managed by any one separate agency. These organisations were brought under the umbrella of Janmabhoomi which had no relationship or connection with the local governance institutions or Panchayats and have come to be parallel institutional structures to constitutionally-mandated local government institutions. At district level, the District Collector operates the funds. The programme is implemented by the local bureaucracy and the committees are appointed by the departments, rather than elected bodies (Kumar 2009).

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Typologies of rental housing for urban domestic workers

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This paper will examine intersections of rental housing accessed by paid domestic work, promising to bring to light a set of challenges particular to the cities of the Global South. Informal rentals offer advantages of affordability, flexibility and proximity to livelihoods for workers, while also being sites of exploitation and poor living conditions. We propose to examine this tension by looking at the interconnections of domestic work and rental housing in Jaipur. The nature of work for domestic workers involves reproduction of everyday domesticity at the site of work. It duplicates the role domestic workers play at their own homes and demands a physical proximity to the place of work, therefore necessitating a strong spatial frame for the inquiry. The paper relies on empirical data collected in Jaipur over the months of July 2019 - October 2019 for purposes of a multi-phased study in partnership with members of the Rajasthan Mahila Kamgar Union (RMKU). We defined 'setup' as a set of units in physical proximity to each other, marked by having at least two of the following three in common with each other: shared services, landlord/rental agreement, and physical form. The first phase used a research instrument to undertake an assessment of 100 such setups of varying sizes across the city which allows us to assess locational, spatial, material, legal and quality of life dimensions of these rental housing arrangements.

Through analysis of this data we aim to understand the role played by rental housing arrangements in shaping the quality of life for domestic workers. We explore different typologies of rental housing arrangements defined by the specifics of form, materiality and legality accessed by domestic workers in Jaipur. Further, we investigate how these arrangements impact quality of life as measured by - adequacy and quality of housing, presence of infrastructure and services, ability to practice a meaningful socio-cultural life.

The paper introduces the term Rental Housing Arrangements (RHA) to understand housing in expansive terms beyond just the physical structure of a house. A 'Rental Housing Arrangement' (RHA) is imagined as a combination of legal, geographical, material, spatial, infrastructural and socio-economic conditions that underpin a landlord-tenant relationship. This allows for inclusion of socio-cultural, economic, legal and spatial dimensions over and above the well accepted locational and material aspects of housing. The paper will present typologies of rental housing available for domestic workers and use descriptive findings from the research instrument to posit pertinent hypothesis in this regard. Rental thresholds and their relationship with locational, spatial, material dimensions of housing is the primary relationship we uncover. Additionally, we look at the larger questions of what kind of socio-cultural life rental housing arrangements offer and how they impact peoples' experience, expression as individuals and as communities. Through these, the paper will present a

comprehensive snapshot of the balance of power between landlord/ homeowners and tenants.

The lens of precarity will inform this analysis which will transverse across economic, social, infrastructural, geographical, and legal dimensions. We will rely on certain data points derived from the assessment as indicators of precarity. As the data has been gathered at setup level, we will analyse how these indicators translate into everyday lived experience. Rent, number of hikes in the duration of stay, remuneration in the instance of work as a requisite to reside, costs demanded towards maintenance and repair, costs demanded towards services of electricity, water and sanitation as well as means of providing these services will be used to quantify the financial implications on residents.

The nature of rental agreement, the ability of residents to get documents made on the address with reference to landlord's consent will be metrics of legal landscapes. In addition to the aforementioned, restrictions and interference by the landlord with regard to markedly individual choices such as guests, food habits, purchase of ration, religious beliefs will enable readings on the freedom of residents in practicing a socio-cultural life to their liking and the socio-legal precarities of landlord-tenant relationships. Such particular inquiries will inform our rental typologies.

Age and present condition of structure, number of storeys, and material of walls and roof of the lowermost and uppermost floors will provide pointers to gauge the material risks associated with a setup. Total number of rental units and number of residents in a setup will be cross-examined against numbers of water points, toilets, and space for washing to gain an understanding on the density of use and the per capita provision of infrastructure in the setup. These indices will be further examined against rent and additional costs towards water and sanitation as charged. Similarly, integration with the urban will be analysed through the distances from the setup to the nearest access to state-provided social infrastructure like schools, hospitals, dispensaries, PDS and anganwadis, as well as the geospatial location of the setup in relation to the city as well as precarity caused by proximity to open drainage, landfills, water bodies, railway tracks or any other such risks.

The paper aims to expand the understanding of housing itself but within the larger context of employment opportunities and spatial configurations in an urban context. It will bring to light precarious living conditions that residents of these RHAs encounter everyday and the interconnections between the specifics of that lend to amplifying or generating these vulnerabilities. Through this paper we propose to present our findings on such precarities that are introduced into the lived experience of residents by virtue of residing in these RHAs. A diagnosis of specificities of the RHA allow it to be translated into actual real world practices.

Much of the analysis is driven towards helping RMKU conceive a set of responses, recourses and practices to mediate the tenant – landlord[1] relationship towards fair rental practices.

Research methods

The study was designed to be conducted in two phases. The first phase involved surveying physical set ups of rental housing occupied by domestic workers and laid out the landscape of rental housing for domestic workers in the city on parameters of geographical, spatial, material, legal and socio-cultural dimensions of housing. The research instrument for this set of assessments relied on structured, close-ended parameters and few open-ended inquiries about affective dimension. The instrument was itself an outcome of an iterative process designed in consultation with Rajasthan Mahila Kamgar Union, a union of 20,000 domestic workers based out of Jaipur. Unstructured interviews and focussed group discussions were conducted with domestic workers on issues around employment and rental housing. These insights were applied into developing answer categories and the architecture of data collection. The template was further refined with learnings from the pilot, conversations from field and subsequent workshops to create conceptual categories which allowed capturing of diverse reality into answer categories. The final instrument uses open and close-ended questions to gather particulars on the physical form of the setup, quality of services and infrastructure, connection with the core of the city and the surrounding neighbourhoods, legal/contractual underpinnings of the rental arrangement, implications on socio-cultural life. These assessments have been administered by members of the Union, by physically visiting the setup, and recording responses to questions that are further categorised into those to be answered by observation, assessment or directly asking residents. These assessments have been accompanied by periodic workshops between the team while simultaneously plotting GPS locations on map to ensure spatial dispersion across the city.

The innovations (surveying set ups rather than tenants, introducing conceptual categories and focusing on form and experience) in the method employed were introduced to be responsive to the intersections that were being studied, namely those of employment and housing and material and experience. In doing so, the paper will contribute empirical value to the growing literature on low-income rental housing in urban India. Additionally, by transcending the silos of housing and employment and offering interconnections between the two, it promises to engage and unearth the messiness of lived realities in turn lending valuable insight for the purposes of academic inquiries and grass root level practice.

Endnote

Landlord/Owner: Refers to dejure or defacto owner. The receiver of rent.
Tenant: Either pay in money or labour to occupy a unit - home/ shopfloor/land: For the study we restrict the use to primary purpose being residential.

Housing the housed: A paradox between people's needs, a central housing scheme and state regulations

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The housing continuum marks multiple progressions towards securing adequate housing - affordability being a significant component. Over the last few years, the discourse on housing in India has taken on a new dimension with the 'Housing for All Mission' launched in 2015. On one hand, 'housing' has been narrowly categorised as 'affordable housing' defined in terms of provisioning new housing as per income brackets. On the other hand, 'Housing for All', promotes access to adequate housing for every person. This includes a variety of housing options across the housing continuum – shelter and housing for the homeless, housing upgradation, provisioning of tenure security, protection against forced evictions, slum notification, provisioning of basic services and infrastructure, land reservation for housing and developing new housing stock, among others.

Using the case of Nagpur, this paper analyses the philosophy and implementation of two housing interventions that aim to provide 'housing for all' – the central housing scheme Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) and the Maharashtra government's land titling (*malki patta*) programme. Using the findings of a study by Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) and Indian Housing Federation (IHF) among 3,000+ households in nine notified and five non-notified slums, it analyses the possible delivery of the PMAY vis-a-vis the eligibility criteria for urban poor households. Based on ongoing work, it assesses complications in land regulations towards accessing land titles and the cumbersome nature of ensuring tenure security in informal settlements. The paper illustrates the 'demand side' of housing - its realities and challenges and juxtaposes it with 'supply side' attempts by the state. It reveals important trends in housing needs and aspirations, highlighting the disconnect between state-driven ideas of housing provision and people's access to such housing.

Addressing the 'housing shortage'

In 2015, the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing acknowledged the increasing rates of forced evictions, the expansion of informal settlements (often without basic services like water, sewage, electricity or roads), the development of unaffordable rental properties, and the tenure insecurity of millions of people. Since land is a limited resource and increasingly unavailable within cities across the world, intensified pressures on urban land can lead to a shortage of land and multiplying land values. For the urban poor, this means that access to land becomes increasingly difficult, be it for housing, food production, or trading. Lack of access to land can result in "informal" or unregulated land management and occupation (Habitat for Humanity International, n.d). It is also a fact that the bulk of housing has been produced by people themselves though these forms of housing are most often

considered unauthorised, illegal and inadequate.

The Report of the Technical Group on Urban Housing Shortage (2012-2017) constituted under the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, estimated the shortage of urban housing in India to be 1.9 crore dwelling units. However, the number of vacant houses have also increased in India (The Hindu BusinessLine, 2018). The system that produces housing requires land. Land was monitored and regulated by the government alone, the reason being that the private sector does not necessarily act in public interest and cannot produce public good. However, in the current scenario the government is allowing heavy private investment in housing. This is also fuelled by real estate incentives for slum re-development projects like incentive Floor Space Index (FSI) and Transferable Development Rights (TDR) that deepen housing inequalities in cities.

The current housing scheme

With a mission to provide housing for all, the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana PMAY(U) was launched by the current National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in June 2015 to solve India's housing shortage by offering four different housing options, particularly to those belonging to the economically weaker section (EWS) and low income group (LIG) categories. The scheme guidelines were amended in 2017 to include middle income group (MIG) as well (MoHUA, PMAY). The scheme initially set up a target of constructing two crore houses by 2022, which was later reduced to one crore (according to the demand survey conducted in different states (YUVA, 2018)).

The PMAY has four broad verticals under which housing is provided:

I. In-Situ Slum Redevelopment (ISSR): Rehabilitation of slums by building houses through private participation for eligible slum dwellers on land where the slum is located.
II. Affordable Housing in Partnership (AHP): Central assistance of INR 1,50,000 per tenement for affordable housing projects done by states, either through its agencies or in partnership with the private sector for the EWS.
III. Beneficiary-led Individual House Construction/Enhancement (BLC): Direct central assistance of INR 1,50,000 to households to either construct a new house or enhance the existing house on their own.
IV. Credit-Linked Subsidy (CLS): Enabling loans ranging from INR 6–12 lakh at lower rates of interest, for the construction of new homes or renovation of existing homes.

Ongoing land titling (*malki patta*) in Nagpur

In Maharashtra, the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) has been in existence since 1996. The SRS is implemented with reliance on private developers who are provided incentive FSI and slum TDR to carry out slum redevelopment projects. The SRS model has been replicated by many state governments and more clearly in the In-Situ Slum Rehabilitation (ISSR) vertical of the PMAY.

In Nagpur, people's groups have ensured that the SRS is not implemented and have made great efforts to ensure that land titles are provided to individual slum households. Land titling programme in Nagpur began due to a people's movement spanning nearly 15 years (and still ongoing). This is a major step towards ensuring tenure security of settlements. The provision of land titles (*malki patta*) for slum residents in Nagpur enable residents to access housing upgradation under the BLC vertical of the PMAY that requires land to be in the name of the owner.

The provision of land titles is not based on a scheme or law, but is based on a series of Government Resolutions passed by the Government of Maharashtra. The first Government Resolution (GR) passed by the Urban Development Department of Maharashtra related to land tenure for slums in Nagpur was in 2002. As per this GR, households were eligible to receive land titles if their names appeared on the voter's list on or before 01/01/1995 and if the residents possessed a government-issued photo pass (a document issued to all slum households). However, to get land titles the informal settlement residents had to form a co-operative society, with the tenure rights held by the society — a mandatory requirement. The continuous movement led to two more GRs (dated 16 July 2016 and 24 August 2016) for informal settlements in Nagpur. The GR of August 2016 was applicable only for slums on land under the Nagpur Improvement Trust (NIT). Slums on NIT land were offered tenure rights for 30 years on a joint-ownership structure (with the husband and wife as co-owners), with the first 500 sq.ft provided free for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes/Other Backward Classes (SCs/STs/OBCs) in Nagpur and other cities of Maharashtra (except Mumbai, Pune and Pimpri Chinchwad). This GR stated that this would help resident's access assistance for housing upgradation under the PMAY upgradation vertical, dependent on land being in the name of the owner. Another positive initiative followed soon after — the 3 January, 2017 GR which extended land tenure to all slums of Nagpur on government-owned land (Meshram, 2018).

The paradox

The PMAY provides broad guidelines for defining the eligibility criteria to access housing under any of the four verticals. It allows state governments to define their own criteria based on the local situation. This provided an opportunity to the Government of Maharashtra to dovetail the PMAY with the *malki patta* programme. However, implementation is slow and so far only 3,000 land titles have been provided. The process to receive a single land title is time consuming and is fraught with institutional roadblocks. The paper will delve deeper into this paradox of access.

Upgradation under the BLC vertical of PMAY has been centrally restricted to households under 322 sq. ft. The Government of Maharashtra has allowed 500 sq. ft. of space for the same (Government of Maharashtra, UDD, 2016) However, till date not even a single

beneficiary in Nagpur has received the subsidised amount to upgrade or build. This apart, it remains a challenge to access formal lending institutions to top the loan amount provided by the government as lending institutions are unwilling to recognise the 'land title' as an ownership document to mortgage.

While majority aspire to upgrade their existing homes in Nagpur, to do so under the PMAY they need to fulfil the scheme criteria. The paper dwells deeper into these aspirations vis-a-vis concerns on tenability, land ownership, state government determined cut-off dates, ownership, possession of legal identity documents, size of the house and financial capabilities to improve their housing conditions.

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Panel 9

Building pathways to urban equality: Reflections on knowledge translation, learning and impact

Researching and supporting knowledge translation processes: Pathways to institutional change in Freetown and Havana

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This paper presents a conceptual and methodological discussion for how different knowledge have been assembled over time to support the advancement of urban equality — taking the cases of Freetown, Sierra Leone, and Havana, Cuba. It does so by exploring the notion of 'interfaces of knowledge translation' – defined as dynamic interactions between different actors, tactics and instruments – in which knowledge is constructed and mobilised towards specific agendas (Frediani, Cociña, & Acuto, 2019). We understand these interfaces as multi-scalar and non-linear processes of encounter between research and practice, in which different forms of knowledge are articulated and recognised; as such, they are never neutral (Latour, 1987; 1999; McFarlane, 2006).

In doing so, this paper makes the case that knowledge is produced in a variety of sites, by a range of different actors, and can emerge from the everyday practices of informal settlement residents as much as it can from academic institutions, government offices, policy experts, or practitioners (Miraftab, 2009; Legacy 2017; Thorpe 2017). Moreover, it proposes that the interaction between — or co-production of — these diverse knowledge is vital for addressing the distributional, recognitional, and representational questions that are key for building pathways for urban equality (Watson, 2014; Ostrom, 1996; Mitlin, 2008). Most importantly: we are particularly interested in examining translation process by which co-produced and situated knowledge is operationalised towards citizens' needs and aspirations. As such, this paper offers a conceptual framework for addressing longstanding questions around who produces and validates knowledge, and how different forms of knowledge interact to influence urban policy and planning over time.

In order to further develop this idea of 'interfaces', this paper explores this conceptual framework across two different cities. The focus of analysis has been designed with teams in Freetown and Havana, collectively deciding on a specific entry point to interrogate urban equality in each of the cities. In Freetown, urban equality is explored through the focus on the advancement of an informal settlement upgrading agenda. In Havana, it is focused on the role of the university as a key urban actor in promoting an urban equality agenda. By tracing the historical and context-specific setting in each case, the paper discusses the strategic value of mapping the multiple constellations of interfaces of knowledge translation that have progressed these agendas over time.

Reflecting on this conceptual and methodological approach, this paper seeks to firstly unpack how diverse knowledge translation processes take place and explore what this can teach us about urban equality. And secondly, it reflects on the possibilities of building research around *impact,* using the mapping of interfaces to identify strategic entry points for future research and action. In doing so, this paper seeks to examine interfaces of knowledge translation as a way to promote the conditions and support the construction of pathways for institutional change.

Methodology and scope

In order to explore the discussions presented above, this paper applies the concept of *interfaces* to build a historical mapping of knowledge translation experiences in two different contexts: Freetown and Havana. This work is part of an ongoing collaboration between city-partner institutions (Sierra Leone Urban Research Centre –SLURC– in Freetown, and CUJAE in Havana), and researchers from the Knowledge in Action for Urban Equality (KNOW) programme. This collaboration seeks to support and research the processes of translating learning generated by city-partners' activities into policy and planning practices at different scales, strengthening pathways to urban equality. In this context, these historical mappings seek to outline the local conditions that have supported the advancement of the urban equality agendas over time, as set by the local partners, and to identify strategic entry points for future action.

This mapping draws on empirical work from each case, exploring in particular their history and changing contexts, and the key stakeholders and processes at the local, national, and international level which have supported the progression of each specific urban equality agenda.[1] In the case of Freetown, activities entailed interviews with key informants from local and national government, research institutes, and NGOs and CBOs, and two focus groups with residents in two informal settlements. Discussions focussed on exploring key experiences which have advanced an informal settlement upgrading agenda, charting the move away from relocation or eviction approaches and discourse. In the case of Havana, this entailed interviews, site visits and focus groups with a series of key informants that have participated in experiences of university/public sector interaction. These included faculty members, public servants, students and members of innovative initiatives across the state, municipalities and universities. Work focused on exploring key experiences which have advanced and interrogated the role of university as a key urban actor in promoting equality.

Critically, the intention of these mapping activities is not to compile a comprehensive account of the history of key events, but rather to act as a heuristic to unveil the dynamic interaction of different knowledge at key moments, analysed through the lens of tactics, actors and instruments. Concretely, what these historical mapping exercises show is the variety of instruments and tactics that different actors have used to mobilise knowledge over time. It is

through the analysis of different interfaces — driven by different sorts of knowledge — that it is possible to identify overlapping 'strategies' which repeat over time, and cross-cut different interfaces. This highlights the ways in which key strategic moments are situated within a wider constellation of experiences over time and space. These, in turn, are the basis of ongoing discussions and activities with city-partners, reflecting on how previous strategies of knowledge translation have been employed, and might be wielded again in the future to continue building pathways to urban equality.

Tracing interfaces: historical mapping in Freetown and Havana

Freetown: Shaping an inclusive informal settlement-upgrading agenda

The analysis in Freetown is focussed on interfaces of knowledge translation which have advanced an informal settlement upgrading agenda. Tracing the historical processes through which this agenda has progressed — whether expressed through policies, planning, or practices — this documents the contextual opportunities and constraints which have shaped the possibilities for upgrading activities to become institutionalised and scaled-up.

In tracing these experiences, we have built a timeline of interfaces over the last decade. What this activity reveals are three broad 'eras' of knowledge translation, which we have identified as: first, *the emergence of new knowledge and consciousness*, which is marked by the emergence of community action and organisation, linked with the arrival of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) and the setting up of the Federation of Urban and Rural Poor (FEDURP); this era is also marked by the first attempts to institutionalise planning instruments at the city level. The second era can be seen as one of *raising recognition of knowledge*, which started to pose a significant challenge to the asymmetries in who gets to produce and validate knowledge about informal communities. This saw the rise of coordinated groups through the "Pull Slum Pan Pipul" programme (PSPP), as well as the eruption of conflictive knowledge claims and tactics by communities in the context of multiple hazards. And third, an era of *consolidation of 'epistemic' communities of practice*, marked by the strengthening of democratic spaces of deliberation and action through well-articulated consortiums, and the consolidation of systems of representation at the community level.

Looking closely at the different actors, tactics and instruments mobilised through different interfaces, we can identify several overlapping 'strategies' linked with raising the visibility of marginalised knowledge, which have repeated across time and the different interfaces. These six strategies can be summarised as: First, *mutual validation of knowledge* produced by different means and actors, such as through the use of SLURC reports to validate federation-produced data; second, through *mobilising knowledge through space/scale*, such as leveraging on international events such as Habitat 3 and the World Urban Forum to progress local aims; third, consolidating collaborations through the *setting up of durable structures of*

representation, which allow continuity over time; fourth, these structures rely on *leveraging on existing frameworks at different scales*, including legal, policy and organisational precedents; fifth, a key strategy is to react with *timely collaboration,* which seems to be only possible when there are long-term partnerships and processes of trust building, including a mutual commitment to recognise different knowledge; and finally, sixth, the *demonstration of new methodologies*, by showcasing new ways of engaging citizens in planning. This analysis highlights the multiplicity of actions — initiated inside and outside of the multiple organisations, and at different scales (from international to local) — which are required for marginalised forms of knowledge to achieve recognition in the city.

Havana: Positioning university as a key national urban actor and broker

In the case of Havana, mapping focussed on exploring the knowledge translation strategies which have positioned the university as a key national urban actor, and a broker between citizens and the state at different scales. Rather than a timeline, as in the case of Freetown, this mapping led to a matrix of contemporary experiences that have utilised different tactics and instruments to mobilise knowledge.

These experiences, however, are of course positioned in a historical context. What emerged from the mapping exercise was the relevance of wider national processes to urban debates, and how this has shaped the institutional arrangements that have allowed university to play a role over time. Broadly, we can recognise three historically distinctive moments in relation to the university: first, the period of the revolution, with a clear mandate of *building institutions for a 'country of science men'*. This period saw the consolidation of universities as key national institutions, but is also recognised as an era in which knowledge production was contained in silos, both in terms of disciplines, and in relation to the rest of society. This scenario changes during the 1990s, during the 'special period' that followed the fall of the Soviet Union. This era pushed the country to look for new paradigms to tackle new and urgent challenges. In terms of universities this era is seen, on the one hand, as one in which society starts reaching out to the academy as a space for new questions and solutions; and on the other, as one in which academy itself starts to create *bottom-up instances of trans-disciplinary integration* through specific projects, trying to dissolve existing silos. However, these 'nodes' of integration appeared as punctual initiatives rather than structural changes. Finally, a third period has emerged in the context of the 'reform' era, with a series of processes that have occurred during the last decade. These reforms brought about the official recognition and mandate, at least on the paper, of the key role of university as a social actor. This period has been characterised by an ongoing opening up of institutions towards new networks and transdisciplinary work. Likewise, the vision of the knowledge produced by universities has shifted '*from thematic packages, to problematic packages*'; namely, from disciplinary silos, to the integration of different knowledge towards cross-cutting societal problems. As in the era of

consolidation of 'epistemic' communities of practice in Freetown, this third period is an era of consolidation of knowledge and action networks around complex urban problems.

The mapping of interfaces developed in Havana focused on this third period, on a series of contemporary university/public sector interfaces that have transited from *thematic* to *problematic* questions. This range of experiences goes from those in which the complexity of the 'problematic' questions have pushed for more flexible governance structures in public institutions that have opened up spaces for institutional change, to experiences that — even if they remain in more traditional thematic/disciplinary approaches — have created innovative links between the university and urban question.

Overall, as with the case of Freetown, we recognise six main strategies of knowledge translation through which the university has been positioned as a key national urban actor. First, a key approach lies in *leveraging on institutional flexibility for innovative collaborations*, which is pivotal in the Cuban case given the diversity of institutions that conform to the public sector, illustrated by experiences such as the Habitat Project and Oficina del Historiador; second, this flexibility can be used for the *reciprocal creation of capacities and capabilities*, in which university and public sector find spaces to benefit from each other's knowledge and practices; third, there are some specific assets that universities can offer that become a key strategic entry point for this exchange, such as *connecting student work with multiple knowledge and spaces*, through structured internships, research, coursework, and so on; fourth, universities and academic projects *facilitate long-term spaces of reflection and knowledge exchange*, which often is restricted in the public sector spaces, and is therefore enormously valued; fifth, these reflection spaces also allow the possibility of *testing the co-production of methodologies*, often with a transdisciplinary focus, as with the experiences around community involvement that emerged from the collaboration between the General Direction of Transport and CUJAE; and sixth, a key strategy to strengthening interfaces of knowledge translation lies on *mobilising and consolidating networks of collaboration and exchange*, leveraging on long-term partnerships open to multiple actors, and in which universities play a key role as an articulator and broker.

Discussion: What do we learn from this?

Reflecting on these interfaces, the cases of Freetown and Havana show us three key things. First, the strategies summarised in each case show us not only some of the crucial 'ingredients' for mobilising knowledge, but also support the identification of entry points for future impact strategies. As an action-research initiative, we hope that understanding the conditions that have shaped these strategies in the past can provide insights in the future for research and capacity building activities conducted by the local partners.

Secondly, the analysis of these interfaces of knowledge translation highlights the slow anatomy of change over time, tracing the densities and clusters which 'thicken' and manifest around certain events. This makes more explicit the process through which individual and institutional capabilities are constructed over time, before consolidating and becoming visible at particular moments. While reflective of very different realities, the two cases share overlapping lessons in terms of creating durable partnerships, adopting flexible and co-produced methodologies, leveraging creatively on existing frameworks, and moving knowledge through different spaces and scales.

Thirdly, however, this paper cautions against an overly linear reading of the progression of these interfaces. While capturing the increased acknowledgment of the urban equality agendas in each city, multiple narratives around the same events are illustrative of the enduring power asymmetries in knowledge production. As such, a point of future work might be to further examine how particular interfaces are more readily recognised than others, and the 'uneven' translations that might occur amongst actors with very different sets of power.

Finally, if we understand urban equality from a relational perspective — in which distribution, recognition and parity participation are intertwined — this requires the mobilisation of multiple forms of knowledge. Tracing these 'interfaces of knowledge translation' allowed us to map the density of instruments, tactics and actors behind processes of change in each city. This demonstrates the multiple sites in which knowledge is produced and travels, and the conditions that have allowed this to happen. Together, this offers clear entry points for thinking about the role of knowledge in creating pathways for urban equality.

Endnotes

[1] The specific focus of these agendas was given by the strategic impact targets developed by SLURC and CUJAE in the context of KNOW.

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How co-production changes the trajectories to urban equality: Learning from the experience in Hanna Nassif, Dar es Salaam

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There is a growing consensus in research and practice that coproduction is an important approach for leveraging local and external resources required to address several deficits in basic infrastructure services in low income settlements.

This paper adapts a case study to analyse and explain the nature of processes including drivers and pathways that are making a difference in enhancing equality and reducing poverty in low income settlement of Hanna Nassif. The successes of coproduction, the specific drivers and pathways that were adapted. These include economic, socio-spatial, environmental and policy drivers as well as pathways such as multi-level platforms, capacity building, socio-cultural transformation and gender empowerment. The paper argues that meaningful coproduction in low income cities of the global south requires rethinking particularly with regard to building upon pro-poor internal resources; inward looking and networking with local developmental institutions and gender transformation.

From participation to co-production: Impact from different trajectories of citizen involvement in urban change towards equality

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Abstract
Co-production, as the involvement of citizens and communities in processes that affect their lives and livelihoods, has gained currency in recent years as an alternative to community-oriented approaches and participatory approaches that have been increasingly questioned in the development literature. But how does co-production contribute to urban equality? Co-production has been advanced as an alternative framing for people-involving approaches. This paper argues that there is a difference between participation and co-production because co-production requires the collaborative production of something. Much research on collaborative work, partnerships and cooperative governance shows that sharing a concrete common goal can cement ways of working together. In that sense, co-production provides a frame for action-research which is results-oriented: in this case urban equality outcomes.

Introduction
Co-production is a term that is gaining currency both in scholarly research and development practice. In October 2018, the journal *Nature* published a special section that unashamedly called for the involvement of communities in the production of research (Willyard et al., 2018). In line with long-standing calls for a broader view of science that considers its social value, multiple publics are being invoked to establish the kind of research that can be relevant to diverse contemporary societies (Durose et al., 2018). Similarly and building on the tradition of public administration indebted to Elinor Ostrom and collaborators' insights on the management of public services and other commons (Ostrom, 1996), another recent special issue in the journal *Social Policy and Administration* has explored the multiple functions of co-production. Specifically, it highlights co-production's role in providing terms of reference for the management of public services, but also, providing avenues for activities that enable contestation and the vindication of spaces of practical action in everyday life (Bevir et al., 2019). Linking debates of co-production with the tradition of development planning, another special issue in the journal *Environment and Urbanization* demonstrates how situating these debates in urban environments and communities highlights both the richness of discussions around co-production and the profound dilemmas that co-production practitioners face when confronting the possibilities of this approach (Mitlin and Bartlett, 2018).

Read together, this work demonstrates the contemporary relevance of co-production thinking in all kind of contexts and with multiple objectives, from the science-based approaches that

regard co-production as a means to move beyond 'the ivory tower', to the community-based approaches that seek to highlight how communities themselves are able to organise to respond to the limitations of governance systems. Much of this work has emerged linked to concerns about how best to deliver co-production in different contexts. However, following the discussions within WP1 in the project KNOW, this paper explores the question of 'what do we need co-production for?' First, we see co-production as emerging from within a tradition of emancipatory, action-oriented research and collaborative governance in multiple contexts of oppression and exclusion, but mired by the similar contradictions already raised in critical analyses of participatory research. Second, we focus on the false dichotomy between knowledge co-production and service co-production and argue that co-production seeks to deliver forms of decentralised governance (cf. Bevir et al., 2019) that seek to create spaces for intervention and maintain urban activity. Third, if the distinct characteristic of co-production is its focus on the delivery of a significant outcome, situating co-production in an urban context of the struggle for resources, services and space helps to identify specific kinds of outcomes that emerge from co-production processes. We conclude with a call for actively considering the normative aspect of co-production processes, approaching them strategically as a means to deliver emancipatory practices. Despite the inherent contradictions of co-production processes, and the reminder that for change to happen one has to be open to the possibility of failure, co-production can only emerge from activists' intent to harness governance processes for the benefit of those who are excluded or dispossessed from hegemonic processes of decision making.

Situating co-production within a trajectory of collaborative planning

Generally understood as processes that facilitate the involvement of citizens and communities in decisions that affect their lives and livelihoods, co-production has gained currency in recent years as an alternative to community-oriented approaches and participatory approaches increasingly questioned in the development literature. However, co-production can also be seen as inheriting the very tradition of participatory research – warts and all – that it seeks to substitute. Indeed, co-production can be situated within the tradition of collaborative governance which seeks the deliberate inclusion of communities, localities or a variety of stakeholders in various processes of decision-making (Huxham et al., 2000). Even when co-production is presented within a scientific research framework, its proponents often invoke participatory research methodologies (Hickey et al., 2018). Thus, co-production is something else than a new mode of operation in research and governance that emerges from the specific innovations of Ostrom's school of thought. Co-production is an approach to thinking and doing governance that is squarely embedded within a large trajectory of emancipatory thought, concerned with - and responding to - the dynamics and complexities of communities and community action, and seeking to situate people at the core of any decisions that concern their lives.

From this perspective, however, co-production is equally limited by the long-standing critique that has hindered the development of participatory approaches to international development policy and development planning. For example, the last decades have seen growing concerns emerging from a series of differentiated critiques:

1. A strong body of critique emerging from urban planning has seen participatory planning and other participatory approaches as generating soft spaces of governance that favour 'post-political' approaches to governance, that is, as tools for technocratic appropriation which reduce the possibilities of political debate and hence, meaningful participation - with direct consequences for urban communities which are often excluded from the ultimate decisions that affect their lives (Swyngedouw, 2009; Haughton et al., 2013).
2. In development studies, participation has long been critiqued, seen as a co-opted mechanism to implement neoliberal approaches that fragment power and dissolve the responsibility of the state by devolving management functions to a variety of actors, such as communities. In doing so, participation is a means for some actors to maintain the status quo at the expense of time-consuming exercises on collaboration (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).
3. Another concern, closely related to the above-mentioned debates, is that participation as an instrument for collective agreements, supports the illusion that consensus is even possible. Such approach to participation goes against the agonistic trajectories of liberation whereby the disempowered thrive through confrontation (Mouffe and d'Istria, 2016).
4. Meanwhile, intersectional critiques emphasise the need for community homogenisation in participatory processes, and therefore, assume that participation is inherently oppressive for minorities within communities (Rigon, 2014).
5. And finally, there is a practical critique about the lack of effectiveness of participatory methods, presenting participation as a tick-box exercise or a mere consultation tool wrapped up in fashionable terminology that keeps the development industry going (Cornwall and Brock, 2005).

For those of us who see participation as a tool for empowerment and social learning, and as a social process that happens in a different fora, the critiques above focus on a red herring: community participation is about opening additional arenas for political debate, confrontation and, when relevant, consensus. Indeed, the critiques above are not leveraged at participation per se, but at *how* participation is delivered in certain contexts. Clearly, these critiques reflect the consequences of the dominance of neoliberal thinking both in development thought and urban planning in processes such as the privatisation of aid, the growing focus on quantifiable results rather than long-term engagement with communities, the move from embedded practitioners to high-flying consultants and so on. In doing so, these critiques invisibilise efforts that emerge from within communities and activists themselves and that are already

democratising urban spaces around the world, sometimes in difficult political contexts of operations.

In this sense, co-production emerges as a conceptual means to deliver alternative framings for people-involving approaches. As such, co-production needs to respond to all of the above while also engaging in actively transformative action that seeks to decolonise approaches and practices on the ground. From the outset, one difference in the co-production framing vs the participation framing, is that participation appears to assume that somebody has to create the forum for disempowered people to participate, while in co-production studies, processes can be initiated from multiple social positions. Clearly, this corresponds to classical framings of participation, which emphasised the mutual learning between facilitators and participants. However, critiques have circulated for at least half a century that this is an oversimplified understanding of what citizen participation may mean (see for example the widely cited essay Arnstein, 1969), Cornwall's spaces of participation (2002), or indeed the burgeoning literature on insurgent planning that reflects on spaces of engagement with the state (e.g. Miraftab, etc.). Co-production here serves as a means to move beyond misconceptions about participatory practices. For example, co-production actions are often advanced as a means to break down the boundary between participants and facilitators to the point that communities themselves are seen to drive co-production processes. Mitlin (2018) has argued for a focus on the multiple strategies that advance social movements when they need to transcend contentious politics and engage with opportunities to action material changes, in a manner that suggests an alternative reframing of co-production as a shorthand for long-term social movements that seek to reframe the role of the State (and see also the fascinating example in Lines and Makau, 2018). Co-production reflects the need for social movements to gain political relevance and influence (Mitlin, 2008).

However, no amount of reframing and conceptual vocabulary can erode the divide between advantaged groups and disadvantaged groups. Within the international development industry, there is an abyss between those who receive aid and those who can be thought of as aid providers. This argument throws co-production back to the stubborn dilemmas of participatory practices which have no easy solution. In particular, co-production raises questions regarding the extent to which powerful actors and political systems are actually open to including communities (Moretto et al., 2018) and the extent to which communities already exposed to extreme conditions should be involved and have the capacity to support the delivery of knowledge and services (Adams and Boateng, 2018). For many, co-production relies on the creation of meaningful, just partnerships which recognise at the outset, the structural differences between participants. Co-production exercises have to start from that participatory tradition that explicitly recognises the power and knowledge of communities, alongside the mechanisms of exclusion and oppression that affect each citizen.

For us, the crucial difference between participation and co-production relates to the actual outcomes of the process. One can participate in an open-ended process, but co-production requires the collaborative production of something. Much research on collaborative work, partnerships and cooperative governance shows that sharing a common concrete goal can cement ways of working together (Brinkerhoff, 2002; Glasbergen et al., 2007). In that sense, co-production provides a frame for action-research which is results-oriented. Not every intervention for just, sustainable cities requires a concrete outcome. However, as Mitlin argues, most social movements face a moment of reckoning in which they realise that contesting policy is not enough (Mitlin, 2018). Co-production is the label that helps engage with that moment of productive action.

Service co-production vs knowledge co-production

As co-production has grown in interest within people's imaginations, there has been an increased need for a definition of the multiple modalities of co-production and how co-production manifests. Defining co-production is however a means to appropriate it, as Mitlin and Bartlett (2018) show in their review of different definitions of co-production. Often, those who do co-production cannot define it because when one is immersed in processes of change, precise analytical delineations may distract from the multiple ways in which a process can take place.

In the literature, there is a specific emphasis on differentiating and defining 'service co-production' and 'knowledge co-production.' Service co-production tends to be related, historically, with a body of institutional economics on the commons that sought to redefine the delivery of services. Some of the initial debates shaping such conceptualisation were developed in Bloomington, Indiana (United States), with Lin and Vincent Ostrom's workshop on political theory and policy analysis (Ostrom, 1996; Percy, 1984; Warren et al., 1984). These scholars sought to experiment with the incorporation of users in particular instances of service delivery. Ideas of service co-production mainly developed from this body of literature, because of the momentum that it provided to co-production ideas in the mid-1990s.

Meanwhile, those who argue for knowledge co-production question the nature of knowledge and advocate the incorporation of non-experts in the production of a particular kind of knowledge. Often, universities or research institutions are thought to be at the core of such a process of knowledge co-production. These ideas build on a long-standing critique of expert knowledge in the context of uncertainty (as explained for example, in the planning sphere, by Innes and Booher, 2009). Other conceptualisations such as post-normal science and sustainability science have long questioned the role of experts, and called for processes of knowledge production that bring different users into the process of naming, framing, and imagining the world. One of the most significant authors here is Jasanoff, distinguished for her role in questioning the relationship between science and policy, and a passionate

advocate of the co-production of knowledge between scientists and policy institutions (Jasanoff, 2004). More recently, co-production scholars have highlighted the importance of knowledge co-production as a methodology to develop and maintain institutional platforms capable of linking challenges on the ground with international discourses about what is to be done (Perry et al., 2018), something that resonates with KNOW's aspirations to link local efforts to debates that transcend any context.

Some of the writings on knowledge co-production, responding to calls for the recognition of context or the more recent engagements with citizens' science approaches, emphasise the knowledge that citizens themselves hold, particularly in the context of planning urban development (Durose et al., 2018). This is knowledge about themselves, their preferences, their environment, and the dynamic interaction between society and the physical and ecological environment. However, the actual role (and value) of that knowledge in decision-making continues to be questioned at different levels. In many ways, this is a consequence of the constant call for usable knowledge that can be systematically calculated for its incorporation into different forms of strategising the city.

We argue that there are other ways of looking at knowledge co-production and service co-production; but this reconceptualisation challenges neatly drawn boundaries between the two. On the one hand, we can question what service is and what knowledge is. While (public) services can be thought of as a co-produced material outcome of importance for people's lives (such as water and sanitation infrastructure, electricity networks, etc.), co-produced solutions are often linked to the creation of new forms of knowledge - and its application within functioning institutions. What we mean here is that services are nothing else than knowledge: it is the creation of common knowledge that can generate an agreement to deliver a service. Service delivery is essentially about knowledge production.

On the other hand, even when adopting a commons perspective on service co-production we are led to the conflation of knowledge co-production and service co-production. Institutions are also defined as conventions and rules that guide service provision. They are also constituted by our knowledge of them and our trust in their operation. Socio-ecological theories understand these institutions as emerging from a process of co-evolution, in which institutions adapt to their physical environment (Boyd and Folke, 2011). Even if service and knowledge co-production could be separated, they could be constantly intertwined, as learning about the socio-ecological environment would lead to material modifications and vice-versa (of course some of those institutions and actions can also result in maladaptation, as it is sadly evident in our current world).

Knowledge and services are always produced simultaneously with each other. Any attempts at the purification of notions of co-production are attempts at certifying what is co-production

from what is not. In fact, the separation may be perceived as elitist if universities position themselves as 'knowledge producers' as opposed to 'service producers' who are engaged in more mundane matters. If communities are happy and actively involved in a collaborative partnership working towards an objective that matters to them, something is being co-produced - whether we call it co-production or not. Co-production emerges as a means of governing, as a governance activity beyond the state that seeks to create spaces for action and deliver tangible benefits to communities in processes that involve the production of knowledge.

Co-production as the delivery of outcomes

Alongside elite narratives of co-production as a means to promote novel modes of governance (and we must recognise the part we play in sustaining such elite narratives), there are a number of examples that relate co-production to both resistance actions and meaningful practices that reflect upon how governing happens through co-production (Bevir et al., 2019). As explained above, we see co-production not only as a means to deliver participatory action but also as a means to deliver partnerships with concrete outcomes, ranging from delivering specific projects to improving governance (Forsyth, 2007; Brinkerhoff, 2002). Our innovation, in an urban context, is to align such outcomes with those envisaged in radical planning traditions, especially from a deliberate engagement with ideas of insurgent citizenship (Holston, 1998) and forms of urbanism that focus on the everyday life of citizens and the practices of the informal city (Crawford, 2008; McFarlane and Silver, 2017; Iveson, 2013). Planning traditions that not only extend the spaces of governance but also link shared commons and public space with the possibility of engaged forms of citizenship.

Looking into a particular brand of insurgent place-making against the increasingly regulated, privatised, and diminishing forms of public space, Hou (2010) has developed six categories of actions that help to map the potential emancipatory outcomes of co-production: Appropriating, reclaiming, pluralising, transgressing, uncovering, and contesting. We do not propose this as a collection of recipes for co-production actions, something that would play against a postcolonial sensitivity to urban action. Instead, we see these categories as a meaningful way to observe and understand the different approaches to collective urban action beyond the false dichotomy of contestation/action. Hou's analysis helps to distinguish the various ways in which emancipatory outcomes towards urban equality can be achieved. Sometimes all these outcomes are part of a single strategy that becomes reinforced by multiple simultaneous actions.

While Hou's narratives are focused on public space, this can be extended to understanding multiple co-production outcomes towards urban equality. For example, in November 2019, we visited different communities in Kampala who had organised themselves to sort their neighbourhood waste and use a specific fraction to produce briquettes, carbonised waste

composites that can be commercialised as a household fuel (Lwasa, 2019). It is an exercise in co-production because it involves the collaboration of community-based organisations with university partners and other institutions that are able to scale the action. This co-production exercise involves, first of all, appropriating in the sense that it challenges accepted meanings, in this case, provoking instability in current management systems and rethinking what is waste and how waste can be reimagined. This leads to an automatic exercise of reclaiming in which communities themselves seek ways in which such abandoned resources can be mobilised for the community, attaching new instrumental value to discarded resources and spaces. Another outcome of the collective work emerges from pluralising action, whereby excluded groups can gain access to new resources. The groups that we worked with were often led by women and emphasised that their activities were accessible to disempowered groups within the community. It is also a means to transgress the boundaries between the public and the private by facilitating the development of a social economy that involves the collective production of a shared good, that can be 'privatised' to sustain the most disadvantaged groups within the community. It has also helped to uncover the potential within communities and record their histories as working together has also created spaces for sharing their common history and development, reframing their collective future, for example, through the development of shared business models that may extend to other areas of action. And finally, since this activity is a means for collectively mobilising, it delivers the basis for a social movement capable of organising the community beyond this specific project and contesting current land use and planning practices and the provision of services such as toilets and community-based insurance. The normative intention linked to specific outcomes is at the core of the briquette making project.

The question is not defining a clear outcome at the outset of the co-production project and relate this with a series of indicators that may help to evaluate action, but rather, recognising the variety of actions whereby social movements can achieve urban transformations (Lines and Makau, 2018; Mitlin, 2018) and the co-production mechanisms whereby those actions can be supported and advanced by a range of actors with capacity to intervene in the delivery of urban equality.

Between pragmatism and radical emancipatory practice

Mitlin (2018) has criticised the aspiration of some co-production scholars of ascribing a normative character to co-production, particularly when they call for an explicit normative intent to challenge multiple, and overlapping systems of oppression that affect community dynamics (for example Castán Broto and Neves Alves, 2018). However, what is co-production if not a normative attempt to transform the locality and institutions that shape community life? There is an important role attributed to forms of community accountability that can enable collaborative, co-production processes (Shaw et al., 2020). Analysis of co-production within a broader political context of service provision and knowledge development highlights

that co-production can only happen hand in hand with the development of complex notions of citizenship that enable fairer urban development processes (Moretto et al., 2018). In the last decade, with the rise of populism and the privatisation of urban commons, co-production seems more than ever a utopian aspiration rather than a practicable alternative towards urban equality. There is however no alternative to deliver radically progressive outcomes than facing its contradictions and engage with the enormous potential of existing social movements.

Planning trajectories: Reflections on framing and inquiry

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The paper presents initial reflections from work on student and alumni trajectories within Work Package 5 of the KNOW project. The research looks at the student and alumni experiences and the consequent articulations of practice and embedded values; examining these at the intersections of discipline-driven imperatives, curriculum, and social dynamics existing in sites of education and practice. The current paper takes a self-reflexive approach to the practice of research and situates both the researcher and the researched as complimentary participants in knowledge creation and subsequent pathways to impact. Using preliminary data from the field, the paper reflects on: a) the participants motivations that led them to the discipline of planning and their articulations on challenges of planning practice, b) their emergent subject positions, and the ways in which such positions emerge in response to interrogations that are informed by existing research and popular discourse, c) the tensions and possibilities of co-creation of knowledge across various dichotomies (global north/south; city/region; universal/local language; researcher/researched) in relation to the site of inquiry, and d) the ways in which such relationships can be embedded with power dynamics impacting knowledge production and dissemination.

Panel 10

Constructing communities in the Urban

Impact of Digitalisation on Equity: Creating an Inclusive Urbanism

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Background

Urban population is growing at an incredible rate that has never been witnessed before. Urbanisation is increasing at an unprecedented rate in the lower-income countries and this growth is eclipsing the economic growth (Beard, Mahendra, & Westphal, 2016). The unrivalled rate of urbanisation is making the cities uneven and more and more complex. The shortcomings of urban planning are making cities unable to cope with the incessant overcrowding (Khosla, 2016). Cities are at the core of development and are undergoing a massive wave of globalisation because of which they are a magnet of economic infrastructure, investors and consumers. This expanding international interaction of cities causes an impact on the social groups. Even though globalisation is deepening international connections which benefit the economy of the nation, on the other hand, there are also regions and groups who are 'structurally irrelevant' to the process of globalisation (Saitlunga, 2013). There is a divide in cities which is a result of rapid urbanisation and globalisation and it is imperative to work towards creating equitable cities that includes every section of the society socially, politically, and economically. Dr Renu Khosla says that "Real urbanism is about levelling up, creating cities that are smart, people-centred and capable of integrating the tangible and the intangible aspects and where the poorest become part of the city's narrative and are able to share in its growth benefits." The notion of "commons" gets maximised only when participation of all is encouraged and the real idea of a city is shared (Khosla, 2016).

Digitalisation[1] or digital revolution is considered to be a major transformation of human development. The year 2002 may be considered the start of Digital Age. Since then every country has a digital agenda and has been working on digital transformation (Scholz, et al., 2018). The Indian Government launched the Digital India campaign in an attempt to ensure that the Government services reach the people even at the grassroot level, transparently and efficiently and also to make sure that the country is empowered in the field of technology (Luvy, 2018). People debate that digital transitions are eating up jobs. Digitalisation does have repercussions on the labour market. Many jobs get replaced but many jobs also get created. Maybe the new jobs do not go to the same people as the ones who lost their work but jobs keep getting transformed (A Concept paper on digitisation, employability and inclusiveness, 2017).

Technology has touched human life in all aspects and there are no industries left that are untouched by the digital wave (Wadhwa, 2019). Among the millennial, there is very little exclusion when it comes to technology. In a city, most citizens, including the homeless have access to a mobile phone. Technology along with free markets has helped uplift many out of poverty. Today, technology is equitable, cheap and the omnipresent availability of Wi-Fi,

broadband or mobile data has helped diminish the digital, social and economic divide to a great extent (Ark, 2017). This equitable technology or digitalisation of day-to-day life has created a way of life that revolves around gadgets and internet. It doesn't matter if a person is rich or poor, majority or minority of a city. Everybody has the free accessibility to learn, share, work, express on a common platform. This is indeed creating a new kind of inclusive lifestyle among the diversity of a city.

Urbanism is very commonly defined as "the way of life" or as the fusion of urban culture with the way the urban society has evolved. The society is evolving with technology at present. Indian urbanism is a very complex subject. It is not structured or defined. Like AG Krishna Menon said in his book review of "Urban spaces in modern India" that "trying to understand Indian Urbanism is like the proverbial story of the blind men trying to describe the elephant." What is slum urbanism for us might be adaptive urbanism for the people living in the slums. In this confusion of what urbanism exists in a city and who are the ones defining urbanism, there is the aspect of technology, social media and digitalisation where everyone agrees upon and feel included within. Digitalisation is creating an inclusive urbanism.

Need of the study

'Inclusion' is given a great deal of emphasis in contemporary times. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) drive us to work towards inclusion by referring to inclusion in Goals 8, 10, 11 and 16 – inclusion in terms of social, economic, political and creating inclusive settlements, tolerant, resilient and sustainable human settlements (Silver, 2015). The urban population of the world is expected to increase by 60% by 2050 and this provides us with an opportunity to start building cities and systems that can be lived in and enjoyed by everyone (Beard, Mahendra, & Westphal, 2016). The challenge of urbanisation and the growing divide within the cities provide us with an opportunity to plan better for all the populace of the cities and intentionally or unintentionally, digitalisation and the technological intervention are uniting many sections of the society on the same page.

Cities also need to be made tolerant and acceptable for all sexual minorities as well. It's been a year since Article 377 has been decriminalised in India and it is high time that the LGBTQ community enjoys the same rights and freedom on the streets, club, malls, work places etc., which a "straight" person does. Also, a person from a higher economic class of LGBTQ community might not go through as much difficulties and injustice in a city as a person from a lower economic class of the LGBTQ community. It is also important to find out the different levels of inequalities various people face in a city and if digitalisation can help them or not.

The need of the study is to find out if digitalisation can create an inclusive urbanism or not, and the research is aimed at studying the positive and negative effects of digitalisation on the equity of a city. This paper would try to establish the relationship between digitalisation and inclusive urbanism.

Argument

Today, technology has penetrated human civilisation as a boon. There are common platforms for everybody to access information, perform online transactions, share pictures, talk to family miles away, check weather report, shop, stream movies, express opinions, send online applications, check the transparency of their application getting approved or rejected, without anybody being discriminated for belonging to a sexually or socially marginalised section of the society.

There are digital platforms for the members of the LGBTQ community to meet and share ideas with one another within a city or across the world. Opportunities like these were not available until a decade ago. These digital platforms give them a sense of belonging by finding like-minded people. Social media also allows them to speak freely and make their voices heard. This new era of tolerance and acceptance is greatly contributed by digitalisation.

Due to many obstructions such as illiteracy, middlemen, ignorance, lack of information etc., there was an imbalance in the urban society as people belonging to the poorer sections could not avail the services and benefits of education, healthcare and banking sectors easily. This created further economic and social divide (Digital India Programme: Importance and Impact). Due to digital literacy, mobile and internet banking, e-retail, and many more applications, people from the less-privileged sections of the society are enjoying the same benefits as the privileged sections. A boy living in the slums of Dharavi can share his talent with the world on the same digital platform as a girl from a rich locality of South Delhi. YouTube, Instagram, Pinterest, Facebook, e-media, WhatsApp, Tumbler, Tinder, Grindr, F Movies and many more free applications and websites have connected the whole world together. Just like any other coin, digitalisation has its own negative effects as well, but the positivity of these world-wide phenomena cannot be neglected.

The digital market has given entrepreneurism a boost. A small boutique or a handicraft industry in a village can sell their products to a global market online. Digitisation turned into a revolution when people started interacting on social media and ideas turned into giant businesses with impressive results, and when talent did not wait to be discovered by talent shows (Patel, 2018).

Digitalisation should improve from the point of view of service delivery to include everybody in the web of equity. Even though internet service has improved drastically throughout the country, there are still certain sections of the society who do not have the access to technology and digitalisation. With more government initiatives and a better service delivery, this gap can be reduced further.

Methodology

To find out if every section of the society feels included in the system of an urban lifestyle of a city, an online experiment will be conducted where questionnaires will be circulated among three different age groups, four different social groups by economic class and among the LGBTQ community of a higher, middle and lower economic class. The questions will be targeted to find out if they face any disparity while using technology and if the presence of digitisation has brought any changes in their way of life, or made them feel excluded or included within the city. Another primary survey will be conducted among the entrepreneurs of a city to know how digitalisation and the availability of technology helped them in growing their business. From the analysis of the recorded answers and other literature reviews, the argument will be detailed out on the basis of whether Digitalisation is creating Equity and a sense of Inclusive Urbanism in the city or not.

Conclusion

Digitalisation brought in an unintended inclusiveness in the cities where everybody is sharing the same platform to express opinions, share pictures, listen to music, watch movies, pay the bills etc. This is a new kind of inclusive urbanism that is taking the cities town and even the villages of the 21st century by a wave of change, tolerance and acceptance. Yes, there exists many disadvantages of extreme digitalisation but the positives of the same should not be taken for granted. In fact, based on the inclusion that digitalisation brings, efforts should be taken to improve the equity and equality of the city. There are many reasons that create divide in a city or region but there are also a few subjects that unite a city. These subjects should be worked upon to improve the existing inclusiveness of a city.

Endnote

[1] Digitalisation used synonymously as digitisation.

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Re-building Juhapura: Role of civil society, community leadership and self-development initiatives in rebuilding a ghetto

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Background

The city of Ahmedabad, today, has become socially and spatially segregated to a point which was never the case before, historically speaking. The year 2002 and the scale of pogrom, in that context, could be seen as an important marker, where beyond the loss of lives and properties, the city's social and geographical fabric was altered drastically to a point that today's Ahmedabad can well be called a city of ghettos. The city became extremely ghettoised, with the Muslim population across diverse social class, caste and geography, pushed to suburbs like Juhapura in large numbers. The Muslims in Ahmedabad have been socially marginalised and spatially ghettoised after the Godhra riots[1]. Indeed, the scale of the riots and the extent of subversion of the state machinery (Spodek 2002, Mahadevia 2007, Jeffrelot 2012:77, Jeffrelot and Thomas 2012:57, Chatterjee 2012), made sure that the city remained socially and spatially segregated by design and not by incidence.

However, this double marginalisation – spatial and social – has resulted in community building a civil society through network of co-religionists that mainly involved self-development initiatives in provisioning of infrastructure and income earning alternatives.[2] Some of these initiatives include interventions in areas such as education, public health, infrastructure creation, activism and self-employment opportunities (Jeffrelot and Thomas 2012:70-78). The area today accounts between one-third and half of the city's Muslim population, and continues to expand towards the south west of the city.[3] In this research, I have chosen the thematic areas mentioned before i.e. education, public health, infrastructure creation, social work and activism and, self-employment opportunities.

The premise of this research is based on the idea that Juhapura, as a space, works as a ghetto. Wacquant (2004:1) talks about specific conditions in a ghetto, wherein "a web of group specific institutions" exist. These institutions act as parallel institutions in the absence of state-led planning and infrastructure creation. Today, there are several non-profit organisations, trusts, jamaats, citizen groups, etc., that almost act as parallel institutions in the absence of state-led development. Following sections talk about research questions, framework and, methods.

Key Research Questions

It is in the light of the above, I will try to analyse the following questions:

1. Has ghettoisation led to some form of progress and development for the Muslims? If so, what is the nature of such development?[4]

1 (a). How has the accumulation of social capital affected the rebuilding of the space? What are the various self-development initiatives in the areas such as education, health, self-employment opportunities, social work and activism and, infrastructure? Do these private initiatives compensate for the under-developed state amenities?[5] (secondary question)

Framework

The research question is addressed by using two frameworks – political economy of place and urban sociology. Political economy of Juhapura is central to the whole project of place-making and community-building. Political economy also governs the relations of Juhapura's residents within themselves, their relations with the outsiders, and their relations with the state. These relations are dynamic, complex and marked by power equations. To say that the community has remained united on every front and has helped each other selflessly, will not just be an overstatement, but also discards the fact that the research question lies in the sphere of political economy. The framework of political economy allows one to say that while the narrative of self-development is certainly present, the presence and absence of state remains debatable. The utopian state with its tools of creating planned and formal development is absent[6] but the ruling political party, as the political extension of state in this case, is quite apparent. Its presence affects the development discourse of the neighbourhood and the development discourse, in turn, shapes their political leadership and relations with people.

Methodology

For the collection of primary data, I have used ethnography that primarily uses the tools of semi-formal interviews, group discussions and, process analysis. Thirty interviews, based on selective or snowball sampling, have been conducted with individuals who represent Juhapura's civil society voice in some degree. These individuals include school teachers, principals, professionals, entrepreneurs, non-profit volunteers, philanthropists, activists, lawyers, journalists, etc. The interviews are in-depth, semi-formal, and semi-structured. Along with interviews, there was also a process analysis of the site involved i.e. looking closely at the kind of discourse of the place through everyday practices such as construction work in Fatehwadi canal, educational institutions, tuition classes, and computer classes being conducted in many places, the new infrastructures such as the AMC library, an EWS housing scheme, housing co-operatives, etc. In some sense, the process analysis helps in remaining updated regarding Juhapura's key developmental questions, and in which way the strings are being pulled by the agency of respective actors, institutions, and processes.

The purpose of selecting the ethnographic methodology is because the research has been approached in a qualitative way. The oral narratives by people and their own experiences of having lived and seen Juhapura over the years and their understanding about how its politics is shaped with regards to the question of development could best be answered through an ethnographic methodology.

Analysis and representation of data

For the purpose of this paper, I have categorised the findings/primary data into broad patterns under the section: Narratives from the field. These patterns are directly linked to the central research question and the five key areas I have tried to look at closely i.e. education, activism and social work, infrastructure creation and, self-employment opportunities. These four areas cut across the three broad narratives. The following section talks about these narratives. These narratives are an outcome of the frameworks used for methodology i.e. political economy of Juhapura; as well as the use of ethnographic approach that involves interviews and process analysis.

Limitations

These areas are not studied through a survey method i.e. quantitative methodology that involves data collection and analysis on certain compact indicators, but are rather derived from interpretivist, qualitative methodology, that involves ethnography. Further, these issues are discussed through the lens of civil society representatives such as politicians, social workers, activists, journalists, lawyers, entrepreneurs, etc. The researcher's bias involves trying to make sense of society through these representatives and their opinions and experience about the space of Juhapura. The ethnography does not involve trying to study the living conditions and experience first-hand i.e. opinion and perspective of Juhapura through the lens of residents and their experience of the place itself. Further, the themes identified are not solely analysed in terms of quantitative characteristics such as number of schools, number of children enrolled, number of beds in a hospital or quality of medical care, etc.; but they are also analysed from the point of view of how it affects the political economy of the space i.e. how does having a government school for the first time in the area, change the narrative about the place itself viz-a-viz the political actors?

Keywords: ghettoization, Muslims in Ahmedabad, self-development, civil society, political economy of urban space

Endnotes

[1] I have referred to Christophe Jeffrelot and Charlotte Thomas' book chapter titled *Facing Ghettoisation in 'Riot-City': Old Ahmedabad and Juhapura between Victimisation and Self-help* (2012). The authors have substantiated the claim that Muslims have been socially marginalised in Gujarat and have hardly any representation when it comes to law-makers in state legislature, individuals with formal business, advocates in bar councils or judges in various levels of judiciary amongst other domains. At the same time, Muslims were ghettoised in pockets such as Juhapura, Shah Alam, parts of old city such as Kalupur, Dariyapur and Shahpur and industrial areas such as Vatva.

[2] Here again I have referred to Jeffrelot and Thomas' book chapter (2012), where they have

shown how Juhapura emerged as a model of self-led development post riots. (2012:70-78). Others scholars too have written about Juhapura as a self-developed ghetto, such as Mahadevia (29:2007) who says that Juhapura is a 'self-sufficient Muslim city'; Thapan (2010) who talks about how after the riots, "secondary schools run by Muslim Trusts seek to recover and establish identities of being Muslim through their pursuit of citizenship ideals"; Jasani (2008) who problematised the narrative that post riots, the organised reform by various *Jamaats* in the neighbourhood made the Muslim women inward-looking; Laliwala (2017) discusses in his M.A. unpublished dissertation about the secular language adapted by Islamic activists in Juhapura after 2002.

[3] While there is no official estimate of Juhapura's population (even Census 2011 does not mention population figures as large part of the area fell outside AMC boundary before 2011), several scholars have worked with estimates. I have referred to Mahadevia (2007), Jeffrelot and Thomas (2012), Laliwala (2017). The 2011 Census mentions Ahmedabad city's population (city + outward growth) as 56.33 lakhs and population of Muslims as 7.61 lakhs i.e. 13.51%., of which Juhapura comprises 3-3.5 lakh population, making it fall between one-third and half of total Muslim population in Ahmedabad.

[4] I am trying to problematise the notion of 'development' here. In a conventional sense, one cannot think of urban development in the 'absence' of State. At the same time, a citizen-led or community-led development is never going to be at par with the proactive initiatives taken by the state where its core political constituents lie. The community-led effort has financial, political, legal, and resource limitations; something that State-led intervention does not have to account for (at least not to the extent that the former does). Further, it needs to be emphasised here that this community-led development has taken place in an atmosphere where *Hindutva* politics has become mainstream in the social and physical design of the city. It cannot be emphasised enough that even when this community-led development is happening in Juhapura, a large section of the neighbourhood continues to live in denial of basic services.

[5] In some sense, I am trying to relate this question with the primary question i.e. what is the relationship between ghettoisation and 'self-development' (a typical condition of a ghetto)

[6] For instance, the town planning scheme, a mechanism of urban development used in the state of Gujarat, had been absent until recently, even though the area already had a population of roughly 3.5-4 lakhs, and had seen people coming in and residing since the past 30 years.

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Private surveillance in working-class, Muslim neighbourhoods of Delhi

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The increasing spatial segregation of Muslim communities in Indian cities has been well-documented by scholars and government reports (Gayer and Jaffrelot 2011; Jamil 2017; Sachar Committee Report). While the reasons behind this spatial segregation are complex, scholars have found that safety concerns rank high among the motivations behind wanting to live in a Muslim-only locality (Kirmani 2013; Jamil 2017; Gayer 2012). As documented in the Sachar Committee Report, this spatial and socio-economic segregation has resulted in lacking infrastructure and a reduction in economic opportunities in Muslim localities (Sachar Report 2006). This is especially pronounced in Delhi's Muslim neighbourhoods, which are marked by an absence of the state. Even when compared to their Hindu counterparts — low-income, majority Hindu neighborhoods —Delhi's predominantly Muslim areas are found severely lacking in basic facilities such as paved roads, running water, and police presence. As a result, residents have to improvise their own infrastructure: for example, they pool money to pave their own roads and organise an informal network of accessible, clean water (Gayer 2012). Recently, Muslims entering the lower-middle class have also decided to take the issue of safety into their own hands: they have begun installing CCTV cameras outside their homes.

Drawing on two years of ethnographic fieldwork in three low-income Muslim areas of Delhi, this paper depicts urban life at the fringes of the state through the story of one family. This family was one of the first families in their neighbourhood — which I will call Zayed Nagar — to buy a CCTV camera. After a family member was attacked by an estranged brother late at night, the family decided to install a camera outside of their home. The main reason for installing the camera, the family told me, was to have evidence to show the police should a similar attack occur. However, though initially meant as a private security measure for the family, this camera soon became a kind of collective surveillance device for their neighbourhood. In the absence of police presence in Zayed Nagar, the family's camera helped solve crimes and scared away potential criminals. Whenever there were petty thefts or violent crimes in the square outside the family's home, neighbours would come by to analyse the footage, often pinpointing the culprit.

According to residents of Zayed Nagar, this kind of surveillance device was sorely needed. In my fieldwork, I found that residents often spoke about increasing safety concerns due to a perceived degradation of the moral atmosphere (*mahaul*) of their neighbourhoods. Stories of women running off with their lovers, children disrespecting their parents, young men taking drugs, and violent rapes of young women and children circulated constantly and were seen as signs of the *mahaul* gone terribly wrong. Added to these tales of local moral depravity were

narratives, on a national scale, of increasing Hindu-Muslim tensions, circulated through viral WhatsApp videos.

In the narratives of residents of Zayed Nagar, relations — be they familial, romantic or friendly — were always on the verge of breakdown because of this bad *mahaul*. This paper looks at the efforts of one family to protect themselves against the breakdown of relations both in their own family as well as in the wider neighbourhood by installing a CCTV camera. In addition to ensuring safety, the camera also had other, unintended functions. It served as a source of entertainment for those who wished to replay the sometimes spectacular events or crimes that had happened in the square outside of the family's home. For the women of the family, it also served as a window onto the outside world, allowing them to watch their neighbours or peruse the daily vegetable selection from the safe vantage point of their homes.

Most crucially, I argue that the camera largely served a symbolic purpose — as a kind of official stamp of impartiality meant to restore the family's reputation. Though the camera was a technological novelty in Zayed Nagar, it was not, as one might think, seen as an object of prestige. Rather, it was perceived by neighbours and relatives as a sign of how bad the family feud had gotten. This kind of fracturing of the family had tainted the family's reputation. Aside from potentially showing incriminating footage to the police, then, one of the main motivations behind getting the camera was to restore the family's reputation by proving to their neighbours that they were not at fault. Thus the camera was supposed to function as a kind of third-party, impartial instrument that could restore the family's reputation. The camera, then, was much more useful as a *symbol* of bureaucratic impartiality — for a camera cannot lie — than as an *actual instrument* of surveillance.

In the end, I argue that this CCTV camera could never compete with the watchful eyes of the family's neighbours, the real "eyes on the street." The camera's actual use as an instrument of surveillance, I argue, was rendered redundant by the ever-watchful eyes of residents of the urban village of Zayed Nagar, whose spatial configuration and dense population meant that no detail went unseen by the neighbours. Residents were constantly keeping a watchful eye on the street, reporting suspicious comings and goings. On a larger scale, this family feud can be situated, in lieu of the narratives of Zayed Nagar's deteriorating *mahaul*, within a broader landscape of fractured relations and intimate bonds gone wrong.

This paper brings up larger questions surrounding experiences of inequality in cities like Delhi. Through fine-grained ethnography, it attempts to highlight the everyday experience of insecurity amidst the increasing economic and social segregation of Muslim communities. Using the case study of one family, this paper looks at the increasing privatisation of surveillance in Muslim neighbourhoods of Delhi. The case study highlights how Muslim

residents are attempting to take the matter of their individual and collective safety into their own hands, in the absence of protection from the police. It is important to note that in India today, surveillance has come to be seen as a public good analogous to access to water and electricity. This is demonstrated by the campaign promise of Arvind Kejriwal, the Chief Minister of Delhi, to install CCTV cameras for free in all of Delhi. The current, BJP-led government has also promised to put up CCTV cameras at railway stations all over India. But this public good of surveillance-ensured safety has not yet reached many of Delhi's Muslim neighbourhoods. This paper uses fine-grained ethnography to look at the experience of daily insecurity in Muslim neighbourhoods of Delhi, asking: what happens when segregated communities take matters of public safety into their own hands?

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Unpacking gender and the fundamental role of unionising: A case of women street vendors in Ranchi, Jharkhand

Brishti Banerjee; Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA)

Urbanisation in India is accompanied by simultaneous growth in the urban informal economy. The composition of this economy is manifold and street vending is one of the most visible occupations in urban public spaces. Statistics show that street vendors account for 2 to 5 per cent of the population of a metropolis in India. Street vendors' contribution to urban life goes beyond their own self-employment. They generate demand for a wide range of services provided by others. The Supreme Court of India has noted that, from a consumer point of view, street vendors *"considerably add to the comfort and convenience of the general public, by making available ordinary articles of everyday use for a comparatively lesser price"*. This is a particularly important role for the urban poor who cannot afford to shop at supermarkets (Roever and Skinner, 2016). Regardless of their crucial contribution, street vendors are at the receiving end of exclusionary policies and the situation is even more complicated with increasing prominence of real estate developers and other private sector players pressuring authorities for additional land, privatisation, securitisation and protection of their brands (Skinner and Balbuena, 2019).

From street vendors and domestic workers to subsistence farmers and seasonal agricultural workers, women make up a disproportionate percentage of workers in the informal sector, and informality often leaves women without any protection of labour laws and social benefits (UN Women, 2016). The very word 'labour' in itself displays patriarchal undertones and the division of labour further evokes important economic and social-psychological consequences for women. The importance of women's work is still marginal and lacks visibility in the mainstream.

This paper analyses the role of women street vendors in India. It looks at the history of street vendors' movement, the nature of unions and then goes on to highlight the struggle of women street vendors in some cities by specifically taking the case of a successful women's union in Ranchi. Further, the paper explores gender within the role of unions, it focuses on lessons that can be learnt and the future of such movements in India.

Most women have chosen street vending due to economic compulsion. Poverty forces them to eke out a livelihood for themselves and their families. Cases like breakup of the family owing to death or divorce, unemployed husband, domestic violence and pressure of in-laws create compelling situation for these women to earn for their family (Diwakar and Anand, 2014). These women work very hard to earn their livelihood but have to face several challenges every day in order to sustain in this trade. Poor social protection and working conditions on the streets expose them to a variety of health and safety issues. About 85 per

cent of these street vendors are prone to health hazards which includes diseases such as migraine, acidity problem, increased depression, high blood pressure and alike. Apart from these health problems women street vendors also lack access to sanitation facilities. They complain about the inadequacy of space, threat of eviction and the problem of security (Mishra, 2018).

Ranchi, the capital of Jharkhand is characterised by a large portion of people who depend on the informal sector. Lack of job opportunities coupled with poverty in the rural areas have forced people to come out of their villages in search of a better existence in the city. Despite no clear availability of data with respect to the number of street vendors in Ranchi, it is estimated by the National Hawkers Federation to be over 25,000 across 40 markets. Women constitute a large number of street vendors in the city. Prominent street markets like Lalpur Bazar, Birsa Chowk, Nagababa Khatal, Ratu Road Piska More and Nepal House mostly consist of women vendors. Nearly all of these women sell vegetables, fruits and fish. A substantial proportion of them are either tribal, single mothers or the only breadwinner of the family; there are also a few who jointly vend with their husbands. Over 60 per cent of the women street vendors in the city commute every day from villages (Thakurgaon, Ramgarh, Gumla, Nagdi and Khunti) located in the city periphery and this takes them about 2 to 3 hours to reach Ranchi.

For some, daily commuting takes more than 6 hours so they spend their nights on the railway platform to cut down on time and cost. There are no facilities of night shelters for them and under common scenario, they are prone to forced eviction and harassment by the police. Some of the women vendors also carry their infants with them, they use a *'gamcha'* (cloth towel) to tie their infants on their back, and throughout the day they simultaneously vend and take care of their infants. They do not have any access to creche facilities or breastfeeding rooms or basic services like toilets.

Drawing from YUVA's work with the National Hawkers Federation (NHF), this paper examines the working conditions of women street vendors in Ranchi and the outcome of unionising women vendors through the formation of Ranchi Mahila Hawkers Union (RMHU) which was later merged with the All India Women's Hawkers Federation (AIWHF). The analysis is primarily based on field experiences, narratives of women leaders and activists who continue to be part of the struggle and have played a crucial role in organising and collectivising street vendors specifically women vendors in the city.

The Ranchi Mahila Hawkers Union was formed in 2011 as a separate union after the critical role that women street vendors played, as a part of Ranchi Footpath Dukandar Union (under the leadership of NHF), to fight against forced eviction and harassment of vendors. This was intensified in 2010 when the Jharkhand High Court passed an order to evict all hawkers from

the streets. Through large-scale unionising of specifically women street vendors a historic rally was organised in the same year to prevent the Ranchi Municipal Corporation and other authorities from violating street vendors' right to the streets. The unique characteristic of street vendors' movement in Ranchi has been the formidable role of women.

After the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014 was passed, the Ranchi Mahila Hawkers Union under NHF was able to consistently be a pressure group demanding the formulation and implementation of the state rules and scheme (as per the guidelines of the Act). Thereafter, the government formulated the state rules and scheme. In 2017, Town Vending Committee election (a multipartite body under the Act) was finally held and 40 per cent representation of vendors with one-third of women representatives have been secured by the Ranchi Footpath Dukandar Union. Through collective efforts, the street vendors were able to prevent forced eviction of some major street markets like in Lal Bazar where 400 street vendors (60 per cent women) resisted the eviction. Another noticeable outcome of unionising women street vendors has been mutual trust and financial interdependence, they are able to collectively negotiate with the government, make decisions, support each other and jointly invest in upgrading their market environment. The union members display a sense of cooperation, mutual help and hope for others.

Drawing inspiration from Ranchi, a large-scale effort was initiated by NHF secretary Anita Das to cultivate the leadership of women street vendors across India. In July 2018, All India Women Hawkers Federation was formed and is now functional in 15 states with specific prominence in Ranchi, Kolkata and Manipur. They have raised several critical demands at the state as well at the national level specifically in the context of women representation under the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014. Some of their key demands include no eviction of street vendors from their current place of vending and preservation of natural markets, formulation of pro hawker rules and schemes in respective states to recognise the rights of hawkers[1], survey of all street vendors under the supervision of Urban Local Bodies and Town Vending Committees (TVCs), election and not selection of street vendor representatives in Town Vending Committee, amendment of Master Plans and space for 2.5 per cent population of cities to the street vendors (as per the Act, 2014), capacity building of Town Vending Committee members, social security for street vendors and their linkage to urban schemes, 50 percent reservation for women vendors in TVC, facilitation of women vending market, crèche facilities and breastfeeding rooms to support women with infants, toilets facilities and solar lights in markets.

The paper concludes by emphasising that creating an association or unionising plays a fundamental role in empowering women in the informal sector. However, it does not completely allow women to challenge existing gender ideologies that subordinate women and for that one needs to dig in deeper to decode the root causes which govern such subjugation

in every sphere of life. Ranchi Mahila Hawkers Union is one such case where members have clearly shown their eagerness to be more engaged in improving their working conditions and claiming their spaces. It is important that the government acknowledges and supports such unions by implementing inclusive policies to protect and support the urban poor and their livelihood while also improving working conditions in public markets (Kusakabe, 2006). The street vendors deserve support because they serve an economic purpose as such they are productive and an urban asset (Banerjee, 2014). Their participation and inclusion in the policy-making process is critical to realise the "right to the city", one in which all people have equal rights. They have access to the benefits and opportunities that cities can offer, seeking to promote inclusivity and ensure that all inhabitants, of present and future generations, without discrimination of any kind, are able to inhabit and produce just, safe, healthy, accessible, affordable, resilient and sustainable cities and human settlements to foster prosperity and quality of life for all (The New Urban Agenda, 2016).

Endnote

[1] The term 'hawker' and 'vendor' are used interchangeably

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The citizenship crisis and Guwahati's adequate housing shortage

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Abstract

For the past one year, the state of Assam has been at the centre of national discourse, mainly due to the furore over the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB). Simultaneously, the state was also not spared from natural disasters such as floods and erosion, and state-driven eviction drives which led to loss of lives, habitat and livelihoods. The culmination of all these events and the prevailing unrest was visible in the city of Guwahati, which became a platform for agitation, political movements and protests. The case study will take into consideration the above-mentioned context and analyse the struggle of slum residents in Guwahati, a city undergoing rapid change. Slums located on railway land in the city have existed for years and, over time, residents have built homes to live and work in the city. Despite the announcement of prominent urban development schemes, the government has been unable to effectively reach out to the urban poor, especially those living in non-notified slums. These areas have no access to affordable housing and basic amenities. Further, these slums have been branded 'illegal' and residents have been forcibly evicted by the administration from time to time. Regular threat of evictions has major implications on the mental and physical wellbeing of slum residents, especially children, as they are thrown to the city periphery repeatedly and/or rendered homeless. The rationale for developing this case study is to add to the growing body of knowledge on the hardship faced by the urban people over citizenship and its further impact on evictions and adequate housing, and to fill the gap that currently exists in evidence-based analysis of people's struggles and lived realities within this context. The study is guided by the decades-strong engagement of Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) towards adequate housing for marginalised urban populations across the country.

Introduction and Historical Context

The north-eastern state of Assam has an uneven topography of the land; full of hills, plains and rivers which makes it rich in biodiversity and is well known for tea plantations and oil and petroleum reserves. If we gaze at the discourses of Assam, all are related to land and its administration. Therefore, seeing the land ownership and tenure security been taken over by people from different parts of the land and other countries, the major conflict and agitation of the people of Assam started, to save their land from the so-called foreigners.

Conflict over Land[1]

From the very days of the colonial administration and even after Independence, land has been the central issue of conflict pitting the subject against subject, and subject against the

state. The colonial era legal changes that do not recognise the differences between the tribal tradition and the formal law are basic to all forms of land alienation. The processes that result in land alienation in the Assam could be summarised into the following:

1. Encroachment by the immigrants;
2. Transfer of the community as well as tribal land to non-tribal and also to immigrants and outsiders non-indigenous to this region;
3. Land acquisition by the government for various projects without recognising community rights;
4. Formal and non-formal takeover of land within the geographical jurisdiction of the state by the government concerned without recognising traditional community rights over land and natural resources;
5. Implementation of modern methods of land administration and survey which were beneficial only for those who were acquainted with the system through education and allegiance to the colonial rulers. Amid diversity, all the tribal communities of the North East have their own customary laws that govern individual ownership. A system based on a written document and a land classification that is different from theirs was imposed on their tradition based on word of mouth and recognition by the community. No effort was made to integrate these two systems.

Migration and Movement against the Foreigner

Weiner (1978) had classified four groups of migrants in Assam: a) tea plantation workers; b) Bengali Hindus; c) Bengali Muslims and d) Marwaris. In another study, Ghosh (2006:96) divided the people who migrated to Assam in the last 150 years into six groups: (a) the Adivasis (tea garden labourers) of Bengal who came from present day Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha, which were then in the Bengal province; (b) Muslim peasants from East Bengal; (c) Nepalese; (d) Hindu refugees from East Pakistan; (e) Marwaris; (f) Muslim economic immigrants from East Pakistan and later Bangladesh. Guha (1980) described the British tea planters as immigrants as well as who came to Assam in the early 19th century, much earlier than the other groups. Migration of Bengali peasantry to the Brahmaputra valley began in the end of the 19th century. The British encouraged the Bengali Muslim peasants from east Bengal to move into the Lower Assam to use the land for cultivation and mainly were engaged in Jute cultivation. Therefore, the new population of both agricultural labourers and administrative staff along with migrants from other parts of the country had changed the linguistic and religious composition of Assam according to the fellows of Assam. This changed the entire political climate and brought to the fore the question of ethnicity and identity crisis central to Assam's political discourse. This political discourse also motivated and developed a new class of people who made the local and indigenous people aware of the probable consequences of the unchecked migration that was done by the British for their colonial interest. Thus, the animosity between the Bengalis and Assamese, subtle in the beginning of the 20th century gainedmomentum when the Census of India 1931, Assam was published by

a British civil servant named CS Mullan (Guha, 1988; Hzarika, 1994). In the census report, Mullan wrote how the peasantry from East Bengal were grabbing vacant land of Assam and turning the Assamese into a subordinated minority in their own state. This report particularly disturbed the Assamese and from then full-fledged agitation started resulting in –

1. Settlement issues in Char areas,
2. Creation of Bangladesh in 1971 and language debate,
3. The Assam Movement, 1979-85,
4. Border Dispute which again surrounds the land question, and
5. A memorandum of Settlement signed between representatives of the GOI and the leaders of Assam Movement on 15 August 1985 as The Assam Accord (1985).

Question of Citizenship and NRC

Therefore, the "Foreigners" issue which Assam has been facing due to the flow of immigrants has created a state of uncertainty in the socio-economic, political and cultural fields, and to overcome these situations the process of National Register of Citizens started in the state. NRC came into being as a method to get rid of the dominating nature towards a community specially the East Bengal origin Muslim communities who are doubted as foreigners from decades to decades. The legal step demanded by various organisations to solve the issue of foreigners and as a solution to which all people agreed from all castes and religion being so diversified in nature was NRC. And everyone accepted that on the basis of the Assam Accord that people, who came to Assam before 24 March, 1971 and their family members will be included and declared as Indian citizens in the process of NRC. Hence, it was a historical decision taken in Assam which was accepted by all the fractions of society including the Assamese Nationalist, Regional groups, Leftist, etc., who found NRC to be the solution to the foreigners problem.

Urban Context and Assam

Urbanisation process in Assam is structurally very new; a very rapid development is noticed in the state within a very few years leading to inequality and an unplanned state. Assam, being an agricultural area and industrially backward state, is unable to deal with the rapid urbanisation process, which is hard to accept but is the reality. The cities are mostly villages turning into urban hubs now and creating possibilities. Since its shift of the capital from Shillong in the year 1972 to Dispur, the state has undergone several changes in its structure. Therefore, after its immediate shift to Dispur, Guwahati became the capital city as Dispur was in its centre and in the recent years, it has created new opportunities for people in terms of education, employment and health which resulted in rapid urbanisation. Thus, migration started from the rural areas to Guwahati and there were various contributing factors to these migrations such as decline of agricultural economy, degrading nature of production forcing people to engage in unorganised work such as construction workers in villages or migrating to

the immediate city. Secondly, flood and erosion, was one of the major natural disasters in the state that left people landless and without a livelihood. Thirdly, there are various phases of ethnic conflicts in the state that led to migration of people to the immediate and growing city Guwahati. Therefore, Guwahati is one of the 100 fastest growing cities in the world and the gateway to Northeast which has undergone rapid urbanisation in the recent years. Guwahati is home to people not only from the immediate villages but also several people from Bihar, Bengal, Tripura, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh etc.

Now the question is where these migrated people settle after coming to the city? The possible answer to this question is, Guwahati as a growing city is not planned and structured, and thereby lacks in providing basic services and affordable housing to the economically weaker sections such as daily wage earners and labourers, which creates two problems in general. Firstly, this section of people who face problems in finding rented houses with their minimum earnings, settle in the existing slums, hills, wetlands and other bare lands. Secondly, because of their establishments in these lands they have to face forceful evictions from the administration time to time. Regular evictions or threat of evictions create a mentally disturbed state of mind among the people and lacks security and as a result they are forced to change their houses at regular intervals of time. Hence, it is normal that they do not possess proper legal documents or their documents are not safe due to the timely shifting of their spaces due to eviction or other reasons (previously due to various circumstances such as flood, erosion, regional conflicts and development-led evictions, these people have lost their property and personal belongings which is the reason they do not possess proper legal documents, land lease papers or voters list, etc.).

It should be mentioned here that Guwahati is home to around 163 informal settlements which are growing in their number and size as years go by. But, the Government has no authorised department to redress the grievances of these settlements. The only slum related Act in Assam is 'The Assam Slum Clearance and Improvement Act, 1969' which is not amended since years; there is no proper authority to regulate and recheck on the growth of these settlements. Hence, there is no Identification/Recognition or Notification of slums in Assam which barres the schemes and services to be implemented in these settlements. Although Housing schemes are introduced and sanctioned in the state they do not get implemented which in turn do not benefit the communities, and the state also does not possess a rehabilitation and resettlement policy which would give an alternative to the communities when they receive eviction notices. Therefore, the paper will discuss the hardships faced by the informal settlements in Guwahati with reference to evictions and inadequate housing, coping with the citizenship crisis, and role played by YUVA through community interventions, advocacy and research through case studies from the ground.

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Panel 11

The ethics and politics of development and research practice

Dilemmas and reflections in the building of an ethics lexicon

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This paper reflects on approaches to conducting 'ethical research' on architecture and urban (in)equality in cities in the Global South. It focuses on two themes: the formalisation of institutional ethics procedures and protocols for conducting such research, and the need to move away from ethical frameworks that emerge from western structures for knowledge production. The paper will question whether ethical principles are universal or specific, whether shared values can be arrived at, and how they affect the possibility of knowledge co-production and its potential to generate pathways to urban equality.

The paper draws on work in progress within Knowledge in Action for Urban Equality (KNOW), a research project that seeks to promote urban equality in 13 cities in Latin America, Africa and Asia. My work in KNOW is within a work package dedicated to the ethics of research practice, led by Prof. Jane Rendell of the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL. The findings from two workshops and 20 interviews that were conducted with researchers participating in KNOW from all cities, underscored the problematics of institutional research ethics and the complexities of knowledge co-production, and highlighted the need for alternative 'engaged ethics' that are situated and relational.

Our work is informed by philosophical debates concerning applied and situated approaches to research ethics. Institutional research ethics procedures are rooted in the social norms of western modernity and apply legalistic and medical approaches based on three main principles: minimising harm, informed consent, and protection of privacy. These principles relate to western modes of thinking about ethics: informed consent and privacy protection are rooted in deontological ethics, which follow a universal moral code; and the principle of minimising harm is abstracted from consequentialist or utilitarian ethics, which focuses on ends-based thinking. Another western notion is virtue ethics, which is person-based rather than action-based, emphasising human characteristics and social skills (Christie, Groarke, and Sweet 2008; Haidt and Joseph 2015).

Scholars have questioned the relevance of legalistic or medical principles and guidelines for evaluating qualitative social research (see for example Chenhall, Senior, & Belton, 2011; Ramcharan & Cutcliffe 2001, Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Hoeyer, Dahlager, & Lynoë, 2005). A range of ethical challenges are involved in qualitative social research, and particularly in the context of researchers from the Global North working in the Global South, ranging from power inequalities and cultural differences to oppression and exploitation (Mackenzie, McDowell, and Pittaway 2007, 300).

We suggest that the institutional abstract principles, formalised processes and guidelines provide little guidance and tools for handling the muddles, or mess, of human interactions and the dilemmas posed by 'everyday ethics' (Banks et al. 2013, 263) evident in 'ethically important moments' (Guillemin and Gillam 2004). In light of these problems, we aim to develop a type of ethical methodology for researching the issues of urban inequality. We use case studies and lived experiences recounted by our colleagues as a departure point for understanding the relations of theory, principles and context in ethics.

Arguably, the blind spot of the lived 'ethics experiences' that we have gathered is the questionable assumption that there are shared standards, principles and concepts for understanding, relating and comparing them. Given that values are socially constructed, and norms vary in different locations, the conditions for having shared values and principles must be further discussed. Nevertheless, a case-based approach is useful for recognising differences, and inspiring a search for alternative or multiple concepts and their definitions.

A helpful way for us to think about alternative principles and concepts has been to pose the question 'what does ethics mean to you?' to members of the KNOW team from the partner cities in Latin America, Africa, Southeast Asia and Europe. This question addresses personal views, but also highlights differences between formalised ethics and lived experience, and between personal, social, cultural and geographical positions. Our question was posed as part of an exercise during two different workshops. The first was conducted in English at the KNOW annual conference in February 2019, which brought together 50 team members from academic institutions and NGOs in the different partner cities. The second was conducted in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in July 2019, during a workshop with a research team assembled by one of the KNOW partner organisations, the Centre for Community Initiatives NGO, in which the discussions and responses were translated from Swahili.

The aim of our workshop, entitled Ethics in Colour, was to explore existing ethical terms, add new meanings and concepts, and describe experiences of ethical dilemmas. We used colour as a means to encourage spontaneous, immediate and intuitive replies, in contrast to the institutional carefully worded research ethics principles. We were interested in finding out whether shared 'moral intuitions' are possible across cultures, and whether they can form alternatives to the institutional ethics vocabulary. The responses in both workshops were focused mainly on words concerning interpersonal encounters and relations, rather than on the institutional type of legal or medical terms, but differences in language and culture must also be considered.

Another way to understand the possibilities and constraints of working through differences is to consider Bourdieu's habitus (1977) and particularly the 'moral habitus', which shapes morality (Emmerich 2018, 205). It is structured by ethical dispositions, and therefore it is a feature of social life – a social practice. We ask, if our subjectivity is shaped by our location

within social structures, and operates through improvisation as well as intuition, whether our different habitus can be transcended.

Since our work package focuses on the work of partners in Kampala and Dar es Salaam, we began assembling a bibliography of African scholars who address issues of research ethics. Although it is questionable whether there is a single set of philosophical and ethical principles common to all African cultures (Hallen 2009; Oyowe 2014), we argue that an examination of approaches to research ethics that differ from the western cultural concepts is crucial for co-producing knowledge. Unlike the centrality of the 'autonomous individual' and the precedence of the individual over the communal in western research ethics, many African scholars refer to a different and more complex view of the relationships between individuals and communities. In the context of research ethics, this debate questions the relevance of western individually-based ethics principles in different cultural contexts.

One of the outputs of our work package will be a co-produced lexicon of words, terms and concepts that frame our research, particularly those coming from the team members and their research participants. The task of co-producing a lexicon entails thinking about the multiple cultural and linguistic ontologies linked with the lexical entries. The Lexicon will highlight differences in meaning, allowing for discussions that aim to better understand the role of situated and engaged ethics, and to reflect about ethics as a practice. The words which will form lexical entries point to modes of conduct and human interaction, reminding us that ethics is not only in our decisions and choices when we handle dilemmas and encounter hotspots. Rather, it is also in everything else we do, in our ways of being.

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Participation as planning': ethical considerations around the limits of planning

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Participation and collaborative approaches to planning have become central in urban debates and practices. Critiques to the limitations of 'participation *in* planning', however, have led to the development of a series of approaches that build beyond 'collaborative' understandings of planning. Approaches such as insurgent or post-collaborative planning, movement-initiated co-production, agonistic practices or participation as political have moved the understanding of planning towards a wider spectrum of city-making practices, beyond disciplinary and professional boundaries, and in which some forms of participation become the very practice of planning itself. This article builds upon those debates, proposing an understanding of 'participation *as* planning'. Building on Southern urban theory, and recognising the difference between a discussion *about* participation and one that looks at planning *through* participation, the article proposes that there is a range of experiences of participatory city-making taking place in urban contexts, some of which fall into one of the categories referred to above, while others have remained a 'blind-spot' in planning debates. The paper discusses some of the ethical questions that emerge from the recognition of those practices as a form of planning, and the ethical considerations of addressing these blind-spots as part of the planning discussion. The article identifies and discusses a series of strategies that have emerged from Southern contexts, and that represent ways of dealing with and responding to planning limits, reflecting on the ethical considerations of each of them: collective forms of spatial production that respond to the inadequacy of planning instruments to engage with diverse processes of city-making situated beyond dominant practices; partnership-oriented practices that react to the neoliberalisation and financialisation of planning; and advocacy-oriented practices to contest abusive planning practices which violate human rights.

Motivations and strategies underpinning the UCLG Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights

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This paper presents the work of the Committee on Social Inclusion, Participatory Democracy and Human Rights (CISDP), which is part of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). Particularly, it discusses efforts of CISDP in advancing on an International instrument on local government and human rights.

UCLG is a global organisation that seeks "*to be the united voice and global representation of democratic and autonomous local governments, promoting their values, objectives and interests, through cooperation between local and regional governments, and before the international community*". UCLG was created in 2004, as a network of local and regional governments and associations organised in democratic ways. It is composed by seven regional sections (Africa, Latin America, Asia Pacific, Europe, Eurasia, North America, Middle East, West Asia), and two specific sections (Metropolis and Regional Governments). Within the UCLG structure, CISDP efforts are centred in networking local governments committed to human rights and the right to the city across the world; facilitating the exchange of experiences between cities and collective generation of knowledge; and developing shared initiatives and contribution to advocacy at the international level within UCLG and with the UN (in global and local agendas). To these ends, CISDP has established active collaborations with members of the organised civil society, academic sector and other stakeholders' networks.

The paper discusses the increasing role of local and regional governments (LRGs) in the international arena, given processes of decentralisation, urbanisation and empowerment, and the ways in which the international human rights cities movement is working with LRGs to advance in the human rights agenda. Particularly, it discusses advocacy strategies within UCLG and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR): Within UCLG and through the network of the Committee, strategies focus on acknowledging existing experiences and concrete practices; deepening policy making implications on the human right to the city; and fostering city to city learning and cooperation. In the case of OHCHR, strategies focus on participating to process of recognition of "the role of local governments promoting, protecting and fulfilling the human rights"; organising international consultations; organising trainings with the OHCHR; and supporting regional approaches. The paper concludes by discussing some of the challenges and ethical considerations related to international work on human rights and cities.

There is always something else: Reflections on the relationship between urban ODA research and policy in the UK

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At the 2005 G8 Summit at Gleneagles, Scotland, the UK government reaffirmed its pledge, first made in 1970, to spend 0.7% Gross National Income (GNI) on Official Development Assistance (ODA). This marked a significant moment in the uneven and contested story of UK ODA. Throughout its history, UK ODA has engaged with the urban, cities, and urbanisation, at different times in distinctly different ways. However, the role and meaning of 'the urban' in UK ODA policy is surprisingly under researched.

The trajectory of the urban through the UK ODA agenda has been shaped, in part, by urban research conducted in the UK and around the world. Over the past 20 years, this relationship, between research and policy, has become a field of study in its own right (Barry & Mendizabal, 2009; Garrett & Islam, 1998; Leeuw, Mcness, Crisp, & Stagnitti, 2008; Mendizabal, 2006; Shaxson, Ahmed, Gwyn, & Klerkx, 2012). However, the trajectory of the urban through UK ODA has also been shaped by a diversity of political, economic, and social factors operating at the national, regional, and global levels.

In this paper we explore the relationship between urban research and policy at key moments in the UK's broader history of UK ODA. We ask: how might we understand the trajectory of the urban through UK ODA policy and programming; and what does this tell us about the relationship between ODA research and policy in the UK? In addressing these questions we aim to reflect on the role of power and politics in shaping the UK's urban ODA agenda.

Panel 12

Urban Equity and Planning

Planning and inequality: How spatial plans address the poor

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The broad area of interest for this paper is the role of planning in creating or sustaining urban inequality. In particular, the paper focusses on the way urban planning in Mumbai has cognised and addressed the urban poor. Mumbai is important as a case because it was the pioneer in urban planning (Bombay TPA 1915). The paper unpacks urban planning – especially its knowledge base – with a view to understand why it is unable to address the widespread inequity that marks Indian cities. Why are land use plans unable to address inequity in cities? Are the tools employed by planners limited? Are the underlying tenets or theories that constitute urban planning knowledge flawed? Through a critical review of Mumbai's post-independent development plans, the paper focuses on the a) theory b) tacit values and c) explicit tools and methods that underlie planning knowledge along with d) the expert culture of the practice of urban planning. It is observed that urban planning practice is teleological in pursuit of unstated 'ideal city spatial models' which shape its explicit methods and tools. The utopian models, planning tools/methods as well as the tacit values underlying planning knowledge explicitly target and problematise the urban poor. The formal plans have directly resulted in a shrinking public realm for the marginalised in society who are the most dependent on it. The paper is organised in five sections - brief highlights of Mumbai's DPs, their underlying theory and tacit values, explicit knowledge that the plans are based on, expert culture implications and finally the implications of these on the urban poor and the marginalised.

Planning Practice

Land use planning practice primarily engages in technical problem solving and closely follows Li's description of expert practice: 'experts are trained to frame problems in technical terms…their claim to expertise depends on their capacity to diagnose problems in ways that match the kinds of solutions that fall within their repertoire.' (Li, 2007, pp. 7-8) identifies expert culture's will to improve as a key feature with two key practices of problematisation and rendering technical. Planning knowledge is conceptualised in this paper following Alexander (2001), who adopts the Aristotelian division of knowledge as comprised of Theoria (Theory-spatial forms), Techne (Methods and skills explicit norms and methods) and Phroenesis (Good sense and judgement- Tacit values). The DP 1967 and DP 1991 are critically reviewed to understand what spatial forms, methods and values are embedded within them and how these instruments have been shaped by the 'will to improve'. Following is a brief outline of both the plans.

Mumbai's Development Plans

The DPs were sanctioned under the MRTP Act, 1966, and followed the Geddesian Survey-Analysis-Plan mode. Mumbai's first statutory plan was DP 1967 and there have been two revisions since viz. DP 1991 and the latest DP 2018. This paper is based on a review of DP 1967 and the first revised plan DP 1991. The process followed by each DP differs and the timeline for each plan also varies but this paper will not dwell on those aspects but will stick closely to a review of the plan documents themselves. It must be foregrounded that the DP 1991 report was never published and what was reviewed is a scanned draft copy that is in circulation and used by the municipal officials themselves as the plan document. A brief overview of both plans is presented below:

DP 1967 projected a population of 7.06 million for 1981, listed a set of clear objectives for promoting growth in the suburbs and reducing congestion and industrial growth in the city. Its proposals included five new CBDs on the fringes of the Island City created through reclamation schemes. Major arterial roads were proposed to increase N-S connectivity to the suburbs and reservations were proposed for industrial estates and public housing along with amenities. FSI was introduced for the first time as a 'modern yardstick to control volume of buildings' (MCGB, 1964, p.147), slum clearance schemes were envisaged for areas demarcated as slums and implementation was to be through acquisition of land, and financial outlay of Rs 700 crores was envisaged. DP 1991 aimed to limit the 2001 projected population (which was higher) to 9.84 million by following the RP 1973 directions of decongestion and creation of five new CBDs including Bandra Kurla Complex. Restrictions on offices and wholesale establishments were introduced in the Island City along with industrial development. FSI was curtailed and made uniform with a view to restricting the city's growth. Reservations were largely for amenities and there were no reservations for public housing except for those dishoused by plan proposals. Urban renewal was considered for large parts of the Island City. New tools of Accommodation Reservation and Transfer of Development Rights were proposed in the light of the low implementation of the previous DP, to incentivise private owners to hand over their lands for proposed amenities. Implementation costs were pegged at Rs. 6,500 crores. The next few sections provide a critical review of the underlying planning knowledge of both of Mumbai's DPs and the implications of planning practice as an expert culture.

Planning Knowledge and the Urban Poor

a) Theory

Indian planning has its roots in British town planning. In Keeble's (1952) text book for planners, 'planning theories' stood for master plan alternatives since this was the theory of town planning at the time. Out of conceptions of the 'ideal city' emerge normative values of utopian comprehensiveness, anti-urban aestheticism and a highly ordered view of urban structure. These structure planning's pursuit of 'economy, convenience and beauty'

automatically result in the poor and their dwellings (and have historically been) being problematised and becoming the target of the plans.

b) Tacit values

The tacit values (emerging from spatial utopian models) underlying planning knowledge explicitly target and problematise the urban poor. In the DP 1967 and more so in the DP 1991 report, the poor and working classes are spoken of disparagingly or in reformist tones. Not only the poor themselves are seen as a problem, their housing also is problematised. Planning norms define informal housing as 'insanitary' and they are designated as 'slums'. Further, density controls and space standards render formal housing unaffordable and inaccessible to the poor while casting the self-housing they build as illegal since they do not meet the norms. Housing for mill workers (chawls), gaothans and koliwadas are all described as slums in the DP 1964. Slums are defined as

> 1. Areas comprised of permanent and multi-storeyed buildings which were constructed years ago when the standards of living were much lower and the principles of sanitation were different from what they are today. These buildings are usually the chawl type with a string of single-room tenements of 100 sq.ft each
>
> 2. Properties or areas built up with temporary or semi-permanent but authorised residential structures whose deterioration in structural and sanitary conditions is rapid...
>
> 3. Slums comprising unauthorised and insanitary huts put up by vagrants and homeless population on vacant lands not necessarily their own' (MCGB, 1964. P.91)

This definition is also used by DP 1991 and seems premised on notions of what is acceptable in terms of sanitation, light and ventilation and material condition of the structures. This definition also cast several indigenous settlements as slums and there is a clear concern with visual order, as this description of Dharavi reveals: 'The biggest eyesore as a slum in the city is Dharavi...The shabby structures are devoid of any sanitary conveniences as the area is undrained and water supply facilities scanty.' (MCGB, 1964. p. 92)

Normative Principles: There is a clear correspondence between the British town planning normative principles and Mumbai's DPs viz. utopian comprehensiveness, anti-urban aestheticism and a highly ordered view of urban structure. This is visible in the stated objectives of the DP 1967, as also in the planning tools of urban renewal, slum clearance and new towns that exemplify 'utopian comprehensiveness'; the proposed green belts as buffer zones in DP 1964, ideas of decongestion and dispersal of industries pursued in both plans through a number of proposals like the de-zoning of 800 ha of industrial zone in DP 1991 are seen as the push for 'anti-urban aestheticism'; while the use of single-use zones, neighbourhood units planned around opens spaces, planning standards, use of a road hierarchy and differentiating between local roads and highways in the DPs reflect the pursuit of 'a highly ordered view of urban structure'. Thus, tacit normative values rooted in spatial theories form the underlying deep structure of the two DPs.

c) Methods and Tools

The legitimacy of planning rests on its claimed rationality. In all plans, at the core of the planning exercise are the population projections, the planning space standards used as the basis for estimating space needs for particular uses and the future land requirement computation. In both DPs, these numbers, though they give the DPs a veneer of technical soundness, have various shortcomings and are internally inconsistent.

Data and information support that is necessary for the planning exercise is not collected or available in India. The DPs worked with pre-existing slum surveys which were incomplete (DP 1967) and outdated (DP 1991). Further, the slums were not spatially mapped. The ELU maps therefore represented a partial reality of the city. Demographic projections in DP 1967 and DP 1991 seem not rationally arrived at but other considerations weigh in, in the pursuit of balanced population distribution and ideal densities, creating a paper plan in the bargain that was clearly unattainable. Coming to the standards, most of the Indian ones are quite arbitrary and borrowed from Britain. It appears that a standard was adopted referring to some precedent and without offering any rationale for doing so.

Thus, the analytical tools that form the basis of the rationality of the planning exercise are arrived at quite arbitrarily, underlining the flawed basis of the plans. Since the plan and its development controls stipulate and regulate all new development in the city according to building codes and space standards, informal development cannot meet any of these stipulations regarding materials or minimum habitational room sizes etc. Therefore, the urban poor would not be able to formalise their dwellings in this scenario. Clearly, then, the underlying theory, values and methods that constitute planning knowledge of both the DPs are revealed to be colonial in origin and not geared to address the Indian city with its informality and inequity.

Implications of Expert Culture on Planning Practice

Even if the underlying knowledge of planning was sound, by its very nature of being an 'expert profession,' planning is marked by the twin traits of 'problematisation' and 'rendering technical' (Li, 2007). These ensure that it will fail in addressing the challenges facing the Indian city. Both DP 1967 and DP 1991 reveal that both suffer from 'problematisation.' The entire plan preparation exercise is structured with predetermined solutions in mind, resulting in only those issues getting problematised for which expert solutions are at hand and the ELU map being prepared with a view to map issues for which there are pre-decided solutions even at the start of the planning exercise. As a result, the ELU map and its categories stem from a knowledge of what information is needed to produce the final map proposals or to justify possible solutions/proposals in the PLU map. (eg. 'low-lying lands and milch cattle or horse stables are mapped to make way for reclamation schemes or for shifting milch cattle out of the city respectively).

Planning Practice and the Poor

While everyone welcomes the practice of planning, rarely is it acknowledged that every plan is marked by displacement and dispossession. And this dispossession is usually borne by the poor who rarely have rights to the property they live/work on and become the targets of plan proposals that need the land. DP 1967 estimates that 20,000 persons would be displaced in the Island City and in the suburbs each, while DP 1991 estimates a staggering 8,30,000 people to be displaced due to plan proposals including urban renewal schemes in the inner-city areas and of these, 30,000 people are located in the suburbs.

Another larger but rarely commented on impact of plans is the fact that with every plan, more and more land is zoned and set aside for various uses, more land becomes serviced with roads and becomes more accessible, increasing their attractiveness to private developers for speculation. Thus, with every succeeding plan, the land available for the urban poor to house themselves gets reduced. Planning in Mumbai since colonial times have reduced the quantum of land generally accessible to all sections of society while making lands available to the rich and propertied through 'good planning' (i.e. reservations using generous space standards and 33 town planning schemes) (Sundaram 1995). The plans are in a sense also responsible (through zoning) for the locations where informal settlements occur (in Green belts/NDZ/Reservations). Reservations were either put on existing slums with the idea that slum dwellers would be re-housed and the reservations actualised or slums were induced on reserved plots by owners to prevent the reservations from being actualised. Either way, slums and reservations are strongly co-related. The urban poor have also been adversely impacted by several policies like the Urban Land Ceiling Act, lowering of FSI and introducing uniform FSI in DP 1991 resulting in freezing land development, increasing costs and decreasing affordability. The net result was an increase in slums in Mumbai.

Davy (2009) argues that the public realm is the refuge of the poor who are the most dependent on it since they have no access to property rights. In Mumbai, with every plan, there has been a shrinking public realm though the population has been increasing. The urban poor have borne the brunt of planning, dispossessed of undeveloped commons, through the technical content of the plans themselves. Thus, the planners' utopian vision for an ideal city will be full of houses of sizes that the poor cannot afford. Through the case of Mumbai and its DPs, it is clear that the disciplinary knowledge of urban planning has no real theoretical basis, and its tacit values and methods inform a mythical rationality. It is the urban poor who are the unrecognised casualties of this enterprise of planning in its search for order.

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Role of state in urban restructuring in neoliberal India and its impact on urban life

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Introduction

This paper discusses the role of the state in dealing with competing claims to land in the globalised era through its various institutions which further impoverish the urban poor. Urban restructuring necessitated and resulted from the economic growth of cities stems from neoliberalism. In this paper, a neoliberal state is one that believes in the sanctity of property rights, freedom of economic agents and efficient functioning of the market. In neoliberal economies, the philosophy of world-class cities results in urban restructuring and translates to selective processes on the part of the state, dispossessing the poor. The three branches of the state – legislative, executive and judiciary – play a vital role individually as well as together to ensure primitive accumulation and dispossession in the cities today creating spatial inequality.

Literature Review

The land is crucial for real estate, which is central to the capitalist economy. (D'Costa & Chakraborty, 2017) Primitive accumulation of land is inevitable as the economy grows. Alternatively, access to land for the urban poor is also crucial in determining access to public services, to livelihoods and to citizenship (Watson as cited in Datta: 2015, p. 26). These diametrically opposite claims on land are the root cause of conflicts. This is further complicated with the onset of globalisation. Owing to globalisation, the idea of development now is to have cities with a uniform master plan for infrastructure (Banerjee-Guha, 2002) in order to ensure the inflow of investment which facilitates economic growth (Sassen, 2000). Thus, globalisation implies not only economic restructuring but also urban restructuring. Urban restructuring and attempts at upgrading cities of the developing countries to the 'global' or 'world' cities have had impacts on the urban space and urban life.

Post 90s neoliberalism gained momentum and captured the imaginations of people in India, despite repeatedly failing to deliver on the promise of development, that is, producing 'world-class slum-free cities' (Dijk, 2017). The middle class was not disillusioned due to 'social fantasies' fed to them, that held the urban poor responsible for neoliberalism's failure (ibid.). As evidenced by Gooptu (2003), the urban poor were not part of the imagination of a modern city which was based on the middle-class aesthetic in the 20th century. Rather, the urban poor were associated with thwarting social decorum and in need of reform (ibid.). While the urban poor have been at the centre of political discourse in India since the last century, contrarily, the social attitudes and approaches towards them have been that of exclusion (Gooptu & Parry, 2014). The negative attributes of the urban poor continue to deny them the right to the

city as they are seen as obstacles in the standardised development patterns to become ‘global cities’ (Banerjee-Guha, 2002; Ghertner, 2015)

These aspirations of 'world-class'/ 'global' cities are manifesting in the policy environment through programmes like the Smart Cities mission. These are encouraged by the parastatals that further exclude the urban poor. Local governments allowed the urban poor to influence policies and implementation or subvert them (Benjamin & Bhuvaneswari, 2006). Bypassing the local government, and centralised control of land ensures the unhindered progress of the globalised corporate economy. The transformation of the local institutions ensures that the voices of the poor are contained (ibid.). It can be extrapolated that with the onset of neoliberalism, the state is encouraging the working of the market processes by reducing its interference. However, the state is intervening through its institutions (explicitly and implicitly) to facilitate primitive accumulation and dispossession of land purported as development to ensure continued economic growth resulting from market liberalism.

a) The legislative arm of the state has played its role in dispossessing farmers of their land under the garb of 'public interest', by formulating lopsided Acts such as the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (LARR) and Special Invest Region Act (SIR) that favour corporate economy. These ensure the construction of Special Economic Zones (SEZ), highways, smart cities, etc. (Datta, 2015; Nielsen & Nilsen, 2017)
b) Judiciary has assisted the primitive accumulation and dispossession of land in varied contexts – urban, rural, peri-urban. The active role played by the judicial arm of the state is evident from the Singur Tata motors case where farmers were dispossessed of their rural and peri-urban land for non-agricultural development (Neilsen and Nilsen, 2017). Further, one can find several examples of metro cities where the poor are displaced for either infrastructure-related issues (Banerjee-Guha, 2012; Roy, 2003) or environment-related issues (Baviskar, 2003; Bhan, 2009, 2014). The flagrant misuse of existing laws by the state has led to various land conflicts.
c) The executive arm of the state in addition to implementing the letter of the law, provides social expenditure to the dispossessed population to safeguard the continuity of capitalist economy on the one hand (Chatterjee, 2017). On the other, it uses the informality that prevails in urban spaces as a feature of the regulatory power of the state (Roy, 2005). This informality parallels the formal resulting in territorialised flexibility (Roy, 2003), ensuring discretionary power to the state with regards to land use (Roy, 2009). The formal plans formulated by the executive are often unenforced (Bhan, 2013). Therefore, depending on the type of informality, it is selectively unenforced (Tara van Djik, 2017).

The eviction of people from the settlement on Muthannankulam tank in Coimbatore and

resettlement in Malumichapatti outside the Coimbatore municipality limits elucidates the role of the state that adheres to neoliberal ideology and equates development with economic growth. Purporting this as environmental protection has consequences on the poor and is evident from the loss of livelihoods, political and social lives of the residents of the Muthannankulam settlement.

Methodology

The paper uses empirical evidence from Coimbatore, a second-tier city in Tamil Nadu. It was one of the top 20 cities in Smart Cities Challenge. The paper uses in-depth interviews with the people of the Muthannankulam settlement and the resettlement colony Malumichampatti to understand the impact of urban restructuring in cities on livelihoods. Further, the paper explores the role of the state, as indicated by the policies and legal discourses discussed with the empirical evidence from Coimbatore. The paper further uses judgements from the Madras high court, government orders, policy documents and master plan of the city to illustrate this argument.

Findings

The policies towards slums in Tamil Nadu have taken several turns as directed by a number of actors before reaching the point they are at today. Tamil Nadu's policies changed from demolition and rebuilding in the same site in the seventies, to in-situ up-gradation with a guarantee of tenure security, and back again to eviction and resettlement. The actors that have directed Tamil Nadu's policies towards squatter settlements are the political interests of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) (Benjamin & Bhuvaneswari, 2006); development banks such as the World Bank (Raman, 2011) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB); the rise of private capital interests intervening in state matters (Sassen, 2001) evident through corporate plans posed as development plans by city corporation; lastly the judicial activism by Courts and the use of Public Interest Litigations (PILs) as is the trend in India shown by Bhan (2016) and Ramanathan (2006). All these actors ensured that the poor are systematically excluded from the cities.

Public Interest Litigations (PILs) were initiated to ensure judicial access to all. It is a channel that was once used to protect the poor but was seized by the environmental lobby since the 1990s alienating the poor. It is used by the state per their convenience to aid the vision of 'world-class city' envisioned by the development banks, the private capital and the state. A result of a PIL filed in the Madras high court is the 'Tamil Nadu Protection of Tanks and Eviction of Encroachments Act, 2007' (from here Act of 2007). However, violations to these laws are strategically tolerated, and the state uses the informality of certain urban spaces to further the power of the state. As a consequence, the social, political and economic ramifications of this are borne by the urban poor as is evidenced in the case of

Muthannankulam settlement.

While the state explicitly issued court orders, implemented acts, provided licenses for resettlement (irrespective of their loopholes) to ensure the protection of a tank, it also resorted to informal tactics. The implicit use of informal tactics is part of the power structure of the state (Roy, 2009). The fact that no legal notice was served to the people for eviction, instead, everything was based on hearsay, gave room to speculation and rumours among the people of Muthannankulam. They were promised *patta* after a few years of living in Malumichampatti on a license. Although, no one was sure after how many years the land title would be allotted. This informality in resettling the people of Muthannankulam ensured is flexibility in the application of laws. The role of the state has transformed from provisioning to that of a strategic enabler which makes for unsustainable, unequal city spaces.

Conclusion

To conclude, the paper highlights how the different branches of the state work individually and in tandem to purport the neoliberal economic growth as development for a public purpose. The philosophy of world-class cities translates to selective enforcement of law impoverishing the poor and aiding primitive accumulation and dispossession. Based on this empirical evidence of spatial inequality, the paper makes a few recommendations to make city spaces equitable for all. The recommendations are ranging from changes in local government to changes in state and national level policies which if implemented, will go a long way in making room for equal cities.

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Subverting the SDGs and the right to the city: The lack of financial and social accountability in India's smart cities mission

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This paper deploys consideration of the relationship between Henri Lefebvre's (1968) "right to the city" proposition, the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, and India's Smart Cities Mission. The analysis is based on empirical research into the financial structures of the Smart Cities Mission, conducted by a partnership between India's Center for Financial Accountability and DePauw University's City Lab,[1] which is enhanced by incorporation of field research conducted by Flame University into the inequities and inequalities of the Smart City Mission Projects as experienced by marginalised populations in Pune. The convergence of financial and sociological research contributes to the growing argument within the emerging Smart City Mission scholarship about its reproduction of inequity and inequality in India. While the paper helps us to better understand the link between neoliberal financial structures and the persistence and deepening of injustice within India's accelerating pace of urbanisation, it also enhances understandings of the flawed relationship between smart cities as a key to implementation of the SDGs.

With the 1970 publication of Henri Lefebvre's *La révolution urbaine*, the question of urban equality became the centre of theoretical and practical concern for urban scholars, increasingly so for post-colonial urban scholars contesting the dominance of modernist paradigms (Samara, He, and Chen 2013; and Parnell and Oldfield 2014). Subsequent to Lefebvre's articulation of the "right to the city" proposition, originally presented in his *Le Droit à la Ville* (1968) scholars have framed lines of inquiry and analysis around the causes and persistence of inequality and inequity. The issue was central to Manuel Castells' *The Urban Question* (1979), and it became the core preoccupation of geographer David Harvey as he transitioned from a traditional to Marxist geographer, as he explains in *Social Justice and the City* (1988). More recently, scholars have deployed Lefebvre's right to the city concept in their analysis of the growing and deepening inequality within city resulting from neoliberalism's structural adjustment policies (Harvey 2008 and 2012; Marcuse 2009; Madden 2012; Merrifield 2014; and Purcell 2002). Currently, the question of equality and equity is fundamental to the framing of the relationship between the city and sustainability, as urban scholars increasingly perceive the link between crises in the planetary ecosystem and social injustice. Caprotti's (2015) *Eco-Cities and the Transition to Low Carbon Cities*, for example, illustrates how Masdar City and Tianjin Eco-City are responses to perceived sustainability crises in the United Arab Emirates and China, but he also shows how they significantly neglect advancing social justice while making inequality and inequity worse. Likewise, many scholars focussing on smart cities raise concerns about their exclusionary impact (Marvin, Luque-Ayala,

and McFarlane 2016). Datta's (2015a, 2015b, and 2016) work on Dholera, for example, illustrates how India's Smart Cities Mission displaced communities from their land.

The challenge of designing public policy that generates equality instead of re-producing inequality and inequity in our urban systems is a key part of implementation of the Sustainable development Goals (SDGs). When they were negotiated, the development community astutely understood that addressing the urban question was essential to the intellectual and policy framing of the goals, as well as their successful implementation. This realisation, lacking in the Millennium Development Goals, was manifest in the stand-alone urban goal, SDG 11, which states: "Make cities and human settlement inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable." As part of the post-2015 process, UN Habitat III and its New Urban Agenda became an important mechanism for delivering on the promise of SDG 11 (Parnell 2016; and Revi 2016 and 2016a). Habitat III's 175 items had two meta-frames — sustainability and inclusion — which explicitly acknowledge the connection between cities, sustainability and equality. Habitat III's deployment of "inclusion" was principally informed by the right to the city proposition (United Nations 2017 and Verso editors 2017), and was, at least in part, inspired by attempts to codify the right to the city in local ordinances as well as national law (Carvalho, C. S., & Rossbach n/d and Adler 2015).

Habitat III is an aspirational policy document that defines what type of city we need in the 21st century. While important for establishing policy norms, aspirational discourse notoriously lacks specificity on implementation (Satterthwaite 2016). At its October 2016 launch at the World Urban Forum VIII in Quito, Ecuador, policy makers openly confessed that how to implement the aspirations had yet to be determined. That task came at World Urban Forum IX in Kuala Lumpur. As Kuecker and Hartley argue (2019), at the forum smart cities emerged as the solution to the problem of implementation. They are the key to accomplishing the SDGs, which means the development community's approach to equity and equality and their link to sustainability now rests with smart cities.

Critics of the SDGs and Habitat III, however, question to what extent they offer solutions to inequity and inequality and to what extent they constitute a reproduction of the social, political, economic, and cultural structures that result in systemic forms of marginalisation. These arguments are often framed within post-colonial critiques of development and Frankfurt School critiques of modernity that invite considerations of technocratic rationality and the power/knowledge mechanism within public policy. Running parallel to these critiques is the significant literature about smart urbanism, which also focusses on technocratic rationality and power/knowledge for understanding how smart cities reproduce inequities, especially through the reproduction of capitalism (Marvin, Luque-Ayala, and McFarlane 2016). This school of thinking would maintain smart cities are not consistent with Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the right to the city.

This paper deploys the above consideration of the relationship between the right to the city, SDGs, and smart cities by looking at the finances of India's Smart Cities Mission. It presents preliminary findings of empirical research carried out with India's Center for Financial Accountability (CFA). The research highlights a critical lack of transparency within the financial structures of India's quest for a smart city transformation as key to its sustainable and equitable future. A central factor driving the lack of transparency is the limited amount of financial data available for public review and scrutiny, especially in the area of final project costs. Incomplete data results from India's approach to smart city development, which features neoliberal methods such as public-private-partnerships (PPPs) and special purpose vehicles (SPVs). The private status of SPVs allows them to withhold information from the public as well as allowing them certain financial leeway public entities do not enjoy. SPVs also decrease transparency in the tendering of project bids, in which private companies submit plans to the SPV to be considered for a PPP project, and there is little public oversight. Since SPVs are the implementing agency of city specific Smart City projects, they determine what financial information they post. One important information void is project final cost. Publicly available records show very few instances where the final cost is posted. Tracking down costs thus requires looking to public municipal records in order to get a sense of public services spending, but municipal statements are vague as to the specific projects that were funded. While research identified completed projects, there was only financial information on estimated but not final costs, which prevents full accounting on how much India is actually spending for Smart Cities. The World Bank's PPP records and the Ministry of Infrastructure of India provided data as to the companies involved and the spending in infrastructure by sector and by state. But it does not provide us city-specific and Smart City specific data. All other data collected pointed to overspending in Smart City development, as well as delays and biases in the selection of private companies.

While India's Smart Cities Mission lacks the financial accountability crucial for realising its social and economic aspirations, we argue there is a parallel absence of accounting for the sociological factors at play while imagining the smart city solutions. The lack of social accountability undermines India's capacity to contribute to the successful realisation of the SDGs. In making this case, we focus on the Pune Smart City Development Corporation Ltd., which is responsible for designing smart solutions for the city. We maintain it does not include its underprivileged and precarious populations within the scope of its projects. The official list of its "Area based development initiatives" focusses on micro-engineering smart solutions based on identified localities, and proposes electric buses, multi-level parking, international high schools, public WiFi and perhaps most alarmingly for Pune's marginalised inhabitants, developing a "slum-free area." In a country like India, with a well-documented policy record of unequal social access to education, healthcare and housing — this technocratic imagination appears to be built solely on the axis of a very upper class, upper

caste imagination of what the 'future city' will appear as. It is an imagination full of "smart city lighting," digital experience centres, and most tellingly, devoid of the poor or low-income housing. With the city of Pune, traditionally a small city, expanding rapidly with the influx of big capital and IT-related industries, and its erstwhile sleepy satellite of Pimpri-Chinchwad also getting earmarked as a "smart city" in its own right — they represent an excellent case for exploring the ground-level urban policy myopia that undermines India's capacity to implement the SDGs and create a more just urbanisation. Wherein the Smart Cities Mission is attempting to create a solution for an upper class and caste audience, while seemingly having no stated vision to look at the problems and exclusions of its vast majority of low-income citizens and their civic vulnerabilities.

This paper concludes with consideration the link between financial and social accountability and its importance for analysis of the limitation of smart city solutions for the implementation of Habitat III's New Urban Agenda and Goal 11 of the SDGs. We maintain that India's maturing experience with smart cities confirms a global pattern inequity and inequality of smart city development. The local realities of marginalisation in Pune and evidence of inadequate financial transparency within the Smart Cities Mission suggest that the SDGs are faltering in their approach to just sustainability.

Endnote

[1] We acknowledge that financial data is the product of research conducted by and under the direction of the Center for Financial Responsibility. The use and interpretation of the data is the responsibility of the authors, and does not necessarily reflect the analysis, perspective, and position of the Center for Financial Responsibility.

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Understanding formal and informal relationships in settlement upgrading in Phnom Penh, Cambodia and their contribution to planning knowledge for urban equality in the global south

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Since colonial times, a formal/informal divide entrenched in the systems of urban planning in Phnom Penh, Cambodia has been used as a governmental tool (McFarlane & Waibel, 2012) by the state to marginalise and exclude informal settlements. This tool has also been used to promote a market-oriented model of urban development in favour of individualism and the exchange value of the city, that is insufficient in progressing the aspirations, needs, and claims to equality of people living in these settlements (Porter, 2011). In fact, this model has led to the development of a highly unequal and unjust city. For instance, Phnom Penh has been home to a great number of injustices toward informal settlements throughout its development. Estimates suggest that 29,358 families (146,790 persons) were evicted in Phnom Penh between 1990 and 2011, over 12,000 families were under threat of eviction in 2014, and 77 eviction sites were identified in 2016 (STT, 2014; 2016). The long trajectory of evictions and marginalisation of informal settlements in Phnom Penh is one example that shows clearly how the formal/informal dichotomy is used as a governmental tool by the state and associated actors at the expense of vulnerable groups. This divide, when conceptualised as a governmental tool, is recognised within the literature to be a dominant strand of scholarship that explains how binaries are used politically to turn the merely different into an 'absolute other' and exclude and marginalise the reality of difference in cities, in this case informal settlements (Roy, 2005; Acuto, Dinardi & Marx, 2019).

This problematic touches on a key aspect of planning knowledge which affects many other cities of the Global South. Binaries are a characteristic of western thought and capitalism (Marx & Kelling, 2018). This way of thinking reproduces a hierarchical worldview with a privileging pole and unequal power relationships by making divisions between formal/informal sectors, public/private property, ordinary/global cities (Blomley, 2004; Robinson, 2005). The use of binaries in planning as a governmental tool is a preoccupation for urban equality that requires urgent attention, as it is closely related to the mechanisms that are used by powerful actors in cities for making global wealth and power increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small wealthy elite (Oxfam, 2015). This issue also addresses the long-lasting preoccupation in the planning literature regarding the inadequacy of colonial inherited planning models and assumptions, and their effectiveness in responding well to the growing challenge of urban informality in the Global South (Watson, 2014). A challenge that is augmented by the influence of the neoliberal ideology, directing planning efforts towards competition and privatisation (Pieterse, 2008). This points out to the important contribution that urban research can make to inform planning knowledge in theory and practice by

dismantling the formal/informal divide. This is particularly important to help scholars and activists to uncover practices and understand how actors within the state use binaries as a governmental tool to their financial and political advantage.

However, and despite growing evidence of formal and informal relationships in cities (Roy, 2009; McFarlane, 2012) most research has tended to concentrate on understanding these systems separately. This paper addresses this knowledge gap. In this paper I explain how formal and informal relationships are composed in the context of informal settlement upgrading practices in Phnom Penh with emphasis in three dimensions: a) land access, b) finance for housing, infrastructure and livelihoods, and c) political recognition. The research is guided by theoretical propositions on social and spatial justice, specifically processes of accumulation by dispossession that result from the financialisation of land and housing (Rolnik, 2015).

I use a case study of one informal settlement in Phnom Penh to evidence how the state is implicated in informality and how these relationships produce social and spatial inequalities. I particularly use the concept of 'gray spaces' (Yiftachel, 2009) to unpack how land legal frameworks in Phnom Penh position informal settlements in a state of permanent temporariness, explicitly by definition, and explain the socio-spatial inequalities that this generates in the city. I also explain how formal and informal relationships are characterised by a negotiability of value of citizenship rights (McFarlane & Waibel, 2012) where collective action plays a key role as a mechanism that vulnerable groups rely on to legitimise their claims to land and gain political recognition (Beard, 2018). Furthermore, by presenting the life stories of residents of the case study site I collected during my field work, I evidence the vulnerabilities to state and market-based displacement that market-led solutions to urban informality, such as receiving title under systematic land registration, create for the urban poor in contexts of rapid urbanisation, transition to market economies and weak governance systems such as Phnom Penh (Rolnik, 2015). These vulnerabilities, enabled by the individualism perpetuated by the market, include a change of relationships with land and housing from use-value, such as a sense of place and belonging, to exchange value, the loss of collective action and consequently support networks of the urban poor, and a generational change that overcomes the history of struggle of residents and the emotional value attached to the resident's self-made neighbourhood. At the same time, I evidence how political recognition achieved through systematic land registration is insufficient in addressing the call for justice and equality of the urban poor in Phnom Penh.

These findings are key to illuminating the dangers of the informal/formal dichotomy and the assumption that the integration of informality into formal systems, in this case systematic land registration, is the most appropriate solution to informality in the Global South (Acuto, Dinardi & Marx, 2019). Furthermore, these findings show a dangerous duplicity in systems of

planning. On the one hand, planning systems uphold and embody rights and their protections, but on the other hand, they work to regressively deny the very same rights by enabling processes of accumulation by dispossession. Importantly, these findings show how the achievement of rights, in this case land rights, under market-oriented systems influenced by neoliberalism, ignores the more fundamental claims of the right to space, and reduces political questions to regulation through procedure (Porter, 2014).

Overall, in this paper I argue that market-led solutions to urban informality ingrained with binaries obscure collective action, support networks and sources of power that the urban poor use to negotiate value in the city and resist state and market-led dispossession. Maintaining these sources of power is particularly important in Phnom Penh where the state uses informality to its advantage and to satisfy the needs of local and foreign investors at the expense of the urban poor. I argue for the need to open the space for collective action in planning, and shape social and spatial interventions able to incentivise and maintain collective action within vulnerable groups. This is necessary to increase the chances to generate more equal cities by increasing the chances that vulnerable groups have to secure their rights to the city in Phnom Penh and other rapid growing cities of the Global South.

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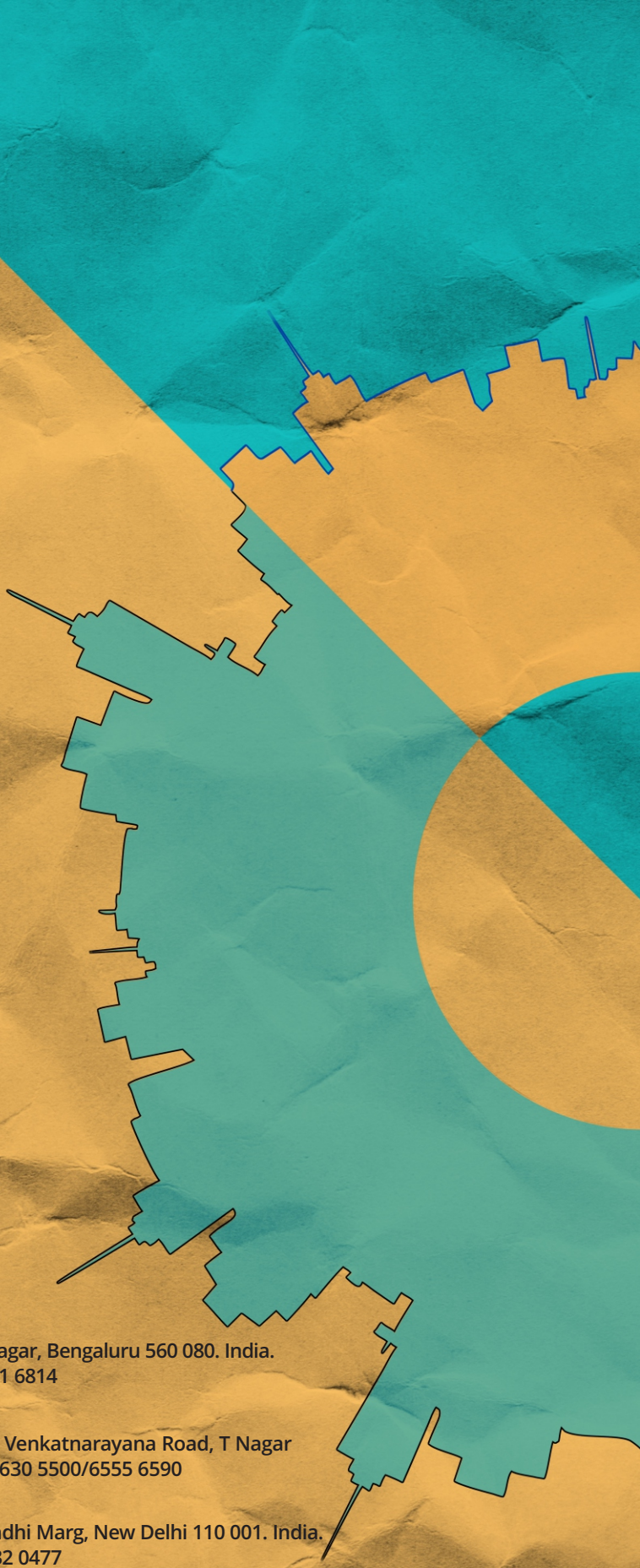

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