Spatial Civic Conflict in Globalizing cities

The case of Slum Rehabilitation
Pune, India

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Cover photo by Liliana González Cantú:
Slum settlement located at a future site for apartment building, at the Westin Hotel in Pune.
The advertisement says: Sorry. My flat is bigger, better and yet cheaper. 2BHK at 14.5 Lac.

Foreword

Awareness means you come with an inner light, you move fully alert. Each step is taken in awareness –the walking, the coming, the sitting – everything is done in full awareness. Mediation means awareness. Whatsoever you do with awareness is meditation. Action is not the question, but the quality that you bring to your action. **OSHO**

These words of my beloved master Osho resume what this research has been for me. It has been an academic experience but also a personal growth experience because I brought the quality of awareness into my actions. It was by being in the present totally, that I connected with the people I met and interviewed in Pune, and could grasp what they were going through.

During my undergraduate studies, I dreamed of doing a graduate study in Europe. I could have never imaging that it would have taken another 15 years to finally resume my plans.
After finishing my bachelor study, the sudden lost of my beloved father and the sickness of my mother had drastically changed my life, yet I always kept this dream in my heart.

In the last year, I have been working with enthusiasm on my research project. During this project I have encountered challenging moments, which I overcome with the support and input of the following people which I would like to thank:
First of all Sujit Patwardhan from Parisar in Pune, who helped me to contact the people I needed to do this research.
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I would also like to thank some people in The Netherlands.
To start with Lothar Smith, my supervisor, for his constructive input, for giving me space for my creativity and for giving me the structure I needed to keep focused. I would also like to thank him for giving me the confidence that I was on the right track.
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List of abbreviations

BPL   Below poverty line
CEE   Centre for Environment Education
CDP   City Development Plan
DFID   Department for International Development
DP   Development Plan
DWU   Domestic Workers Union
IMF   International Monetary Fund
MDG   Millennium Development Goals
MNC   Multinational company
PMC   Pune Municipal Corporation
SCC   Spatial Civic Conflict
SD   Slum Dwellers
SEWA   Self Employed Women's Association
SLA   Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SRA   Slum Rehabilitation Authority
SRS   Slum Rehabilitation Scheme
UN   United Nations
UNDP   United Nation Development Program
YASADA   Yashwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration

1. Introduction

1.1 Globalization trends in India

India is also a superhighway, only most of the road has potholes, some of the sidewalks haven't been finished, a lot of the streetlights are out, and there are no visible lane dividers. It's all a bit chaotic, yet the traffic always seems to move. But wait a minute. Off there in the distance it looks like the Indian road smoothes out into a perfect six-lane superhighway, with side-walks, streetlights, and white lines. Is that perfect Indian superhighway a mirage or is that an oasis? Will India one day claim its future or will it always be chasing it, teasing us with its vast potential?

Thomas L. Friedman, Washington D.C. November 2008.[1]

During the last decade, India has witnessed a tremendous change as its integration to the global economy bringing record economic growth for the country with the second largest population in the world. In 2007 the GDP growth was an impressive 9.4 percent. The next year 2008 the economic growth rate reduced to a still outstanding 7.3 percent. Despite the world financial crisis in 2009 the India economy had a 5.4 percent GDP growth[2] (See Annex Figure A).

This economic boom has prompted Indians politicians, business leaders and international figures to call India a 'mayor economic influence of power in the international system' (Condoleezza Rice, US Secretary of State; Fardnon 2007). In the midst of all this intense optimism, it cannot escape to the foreign visitor eyes, as above mentioned by Friedman, uneven urban development, the extreme contrasts from the vast number of slums and general poverty filling the streets of every Indian city, to the global enclaves and modern urban India townships reserved for the global elite in so called 'India Silicon Valley' in Bangalore and Hyderabad or in the financial capital Mumbai or the capital New Delhi.

An interesting trend is that in each of the major airports in India at the bookstore you can only find all sorts of books detailing the miracle and accomplishments of India as a world leader nation, an economic power, breathtaking development success, Indian boom, India mature democracy. What all these Indian business bestsellers have in common is that all take for granted that India has developed and will continue, as author Fardnon writes in his popular book *India booms*: *'If India has not yet actually arrived as a major force in the world, it seems that it will only be a matter of time before it does'*.

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[1] Nilekani, N (2009) Imaging India. The Idea of a Renewed Nation. Penguin Books (India).

[2] Source: Economy watch, India and the Global Economy. http://www.economywatch.com/indianeconomy/india-and-global-economy.html. Retrieved: 09.08.2010.

India is in a midst of an incredible transformation arising from globalization. In the last year, great efforts had been put to modernize the major international airport terminals. That is the first face of global India. That is the 'perfect six-lane superhighway, with side-walks, streetlights, and white lines' that Friedman talks about. This 'oasis' is quite different as slowly the visitor approaches the urban life in any major Indian city. Then the road has potholes, one realized there are no more sidewalks as people share the road with vehicles, no streetlights, no lane dividers, no street names. In sum it gets more chaotic and yet is dynamic as the traffic always seems to move.

1.2 Globalizing cities in India

India's integration into the global economy has been an example of the opportunities of development and it is part of a new spatial form, which develops in a variety of social and geographical contexts, what Castells denominates globalizing cities. In the Indian context the main urban centers also called Mega-cities by Castells, are not defined by size but by their quality. These are the nodes of the global economy, concentrating the directional, productive, and managerial upper functions all over the planet (Castells, 2000). The Mega cities articulate the global economy and are the depositories of segments of the population who fight to survive; the mega cities concentrate the best and the worst, from innovators and the powers that be, to structurally and functionally irrelevant people (Castells, 2000).

This contrast mentioned by Castells is quite visible in Indian cities, as Thomas Friedman mentioned before, yet there is another side for this success story, and that is more of the world's income-poor live in India than any other country. Using an international poverty line of $1 per day (measured at a 1993 purchasing power parity exchange rate), about one third of the world's poor in the mid-1990s lived in India.[3] What happens to poverty in India is quantitatively important to the world's overall progress in fighting absolute poverty (Datt, 2002).

As India continues its global integration, the results are an uneven development, as the example provided by Friedman showed and which Castells has called the most significant characteristic of the mega cities; namely that they are connected externally to global networks and to segments of their own countries, while internally disconnecting local populations that are either functionally unnecessary or socially disruptive (Castells, 2000). As per definition, then large segments of urban poverty in the mega cities, not only in India but also elsewhere in the world are not failures of the globalization process but, are structurally part of globalizing cities. This invites the question: what is the interaction between these segments that are apparently

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[3] This calculation is based on the World Bank's Global Poverty Monitoring database (http://www.worldbank.org/research/povmonitor/)

disconnected from each other? Are these two extreme realities, global India enclaves *versus* slums, portions of the same phenomenon? Or, as Castells argues there are isolated segments that have become 'unnecessary or socially disruptive' for the global economic system, globalizing cities produce discontinuous constellations of spatial fragments, functional pieces, and social segments (Castells, 2000). This research found that the interaction between these two segments happens in the spatial dimension. This insight allowed a geographical angle, to challenge the dominant account of economic globalization that emphasizes the neutralization of place and that groups not connected to the network economy are unnecessary and socially disruptive.

Since 1991, India adopted a view of economic development by emphasizing that it must integrate with the global economy. In pursuance of this view, India reduced custom duties and welcomed Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in several sectors of the economy. However there are specific regions and sectors that have integrated more successfully due to the spatial characteristics of these specific regions. More notably the globalization process is taking place in mega cities because they are centers of economic, technological, social dynamism, cultural and political innovation (Castells, 2000). The global integration of India is concentrated in the 10 largest mega cities. In map 1 shows the location and table 1 shows the population of the mega cities in India. Pune is the eight mega city however its geographical proximity to Mumbai, the financial capital and the most populated mega city in India, has promoted more global integration in the city. Also, the state of Maharashtra can be considered the most globalized, because is the only state with 3 mega cities. By 2025, an estimated 70 Indian cities are expected to have a population over one million. In addition, three mega urban regions: Mumbai-Pune, the National Delhi and Kolkata will be among the largest urban concentrations in the world (Revi, 2008).

Map 1: Location of mega cities in India
Source: Maps of India (2010)

City	Population
1 Mumbai	18,978,000
2 Delhi	15,926,000
3 Kolkata	14,787,000
4 Chennai	7,163,000
5 Bangalore	6,787,000
6 Hyderabad	6,376,000
7 Ahmadabad	5,375,000
8 Pune	**4,672,000**
9 Surat	3,842,000
10 Nagpur	3,162,000

Table 1:
Population of mega cities in India
Source: Johnson (2008)

1.3 Place of research

This research focuses on Pune Metropolitan Region, the 8th largest city in India (see table 1) with a current population of 4,672,000 (Johnson, 2009). Located 160 kilometers southeast of Mumbai, it is the second city after Mumbai in the state of Maharashtra (see map 1 and table 1).

1.3.1 Maharashtra's global economy
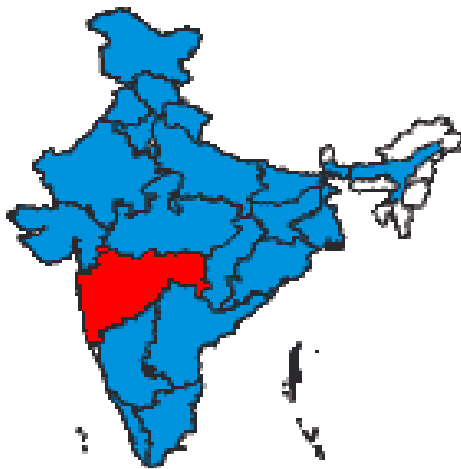
Map 2: Location of Maharashtra
Source: CMIE, 2010

The state of Maharashtra (see map 2) has the largest economy in the country. Its Gross Domestic Product (GSDP) at current prices stood at Rs.3,71,877 crore in the year 2004-05. The State roughly accounted for 13 per cent of the national income. It had the fifth highest per capita income in the country at Rs.36, 423 (CMIE, 2010).

Maharashtra is highly urbanized - 42 per cent of the population lives in cities - and it is high on literacy with 77 per cent of the population above seven years being literate. With a total population of 9.7 crore, that makes Maharashtra a large market of urbanized and literate population (CMIE, 2010). Seven cities in Maharashtra had a population of more than a million. Even the urban poor in the slums of Maharashtra had a literacy rate of 81 per cent (CMIE, 2010).

After independence, India focused on an import-substitution model as a basis for self-reliance and to eliminate poverty (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008). The Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC) was established since 1962 to promote growth more evenly throughout the state by acquiring, developing and leasing out industrial land. Even before the new economic policy, already since 1982, Pune became Maharashtra's second industrial area. Yet economic growth remained concentrated near Mumbai, in 1980, the Mumbai-Pune region together accounted for 25 per cent of Maharashtra's population and 70 per cent of its industry (Dastane, 1992). In the period 1991-2000 Maharashtra's economy grew at an average 6.4 per cent (Government of Maharashtra, 2002).

However in the early nineties, a major crisis led by the rupee devaluation, dragged the economy close to defaulting on loans (Balakrishnan, 2009). Near-bankruptcy, the central government was forced to accept an IMF (International Monetary Fund) structural adjustment package in 1991 (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008). The response was a shift of domestic and external sector policy measures partly prompted by the immediate needs and partly by the

demand of the multilateral organisations. The new policy regime radically pushed forward in favour of a more open and market oriented economy (Balakrishnan, 2009).

The subsequent New Economic Policy was a radical shift towards liberalization, privatization and globalization; (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008) export-oriented industrialization thus became the preferred growth strategy.

Pune has evolved over the last four decades from a small town into a city with a range of IT, biotechnology and other industries, and many notable educational institutions (Menon, 2007). The urban poor population, generally perceived as being equal to its slum population is estimated at about 42 per cent of population. The Environmental Status Report 2006 calculates a total of 564 slums in Pune (Yoshi, 2007).

1.4 Pune: a globalizing city

1.4.1 Major global sectors in Pune

The leading global sectors in Pune are the automobile, automobile component and the IT sector. Pune is a fast growing industrial hub of the country (POI, 2010).

Pune is also known as the 'Detroit of the East' (Nair and Kasabe, 2006) because of it is a major industrial centre for automobile industry. It is home to one of the world's largest two-wheeler manufacturers- Bajaj Auto (POI, 2010). There is a major presence of the global automobile industry with manufacturing plants of Tata Motors and Daimler Chrysler how has an assembly line for its Mercedes Benz brand in Pune (POI, 2010).

According to a local industrialist the local automobile industry is worth $3.5 billion equal to 30 per cent of the Indian automobile industry. Also has the potential to attract investments of up to $10 billion (Nair and Kasabe, 2006). Pune's success in automobile industry is obviously related to the New Economic Policies (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008) consequently this success is closely related to the integration of Pune to the global economy.

Another leading global sector in Pune is the growing software industry. Many of India's major software companies such as Xansa, TCS, Infosys, Wipro, Satyam, KPIT Cummins, Persistent Systems and Kanbay Software have their branches in Pune (POI, 2010).

Global corporations like HSBC Global Technology, IBM, Siemens, EDS, I-Flex, Cognizant, Symantec and Zensar have a major presence in Pune's various Software Technology Parks and other areas. Some of the prominent IT parks in the city are the Hinjewadi IT Park, Magarpatta Cybercity, Marisoft IT Park Kalyaninagar (POI, 2010). An icon of Pune as a global city is: Magarpatta City.

Figure 1: View of Magarpatta Cybercity

Magarpatta Cybercity is the biggest private Software Technology Park in India is located in Pune.

Magarpatta township is a global enclave containing luxury and middle income residential area together with corporate offices in its Cybercity all in 700 acres. Source:www.magarpattacity.com

Therefore global companies such as the world's second largest forge company (Bharat Forge Ltd) are located in Pune (POI, 2010). Also Cummins Engines Co Ltd has a Research & Technology India center in Pune. Other Engineering companies include Alfa Laval, Sandvik Asia, Thyssen Krupp, KSB Pumps, Finolex, Greaves India, among others have a strong presence in Pune (POI, 2010).

The city has also become a prominent place for Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) companies. Companies like Convergys, WNS, Progeon, EXL and MphasiS have started their operations in Pune. The city has huge human resources to operate these companies. Pune also houses the headquarters of the Bank of Maharashtra (POI, 2010)

There are further examples of the economic development of the Pune Metropolitan Region which connect it to the global economy. The rapid emergence of the information and communication technology (ICT) sector has placed India on the global stage during the last one and a half decades (OCDE, 2010).

Despite some slowdown due to the world financial crisis in 2008, Indian IT firms and the IT sector have weathered the financial market collapse and subsequent recession and have

recovered particularly by reorienting into new products and emerging country markets (OCDE, 2010). The state government promotes the "Mumbai-Pune Knowledge Corridor" as a leading IT hub (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008).

Pune is also home to well known giants of the Indian software industry like Wipro, Infosys, Satyam, Tata Technologies, TCS, Kanbay, Veritas, Cognizant, PCS and Mahindra British Telecom (Pune Diary, 2010) The six-lane Pune Mumbai expressway opened in 2000 and the brand new international airport terminal opened in November 2009 has greatly help to take advantage of the proximity to financial capital in combination with a rapidly improving infrastructure. Their combination has made Pune one of the most sought-after commercial destinations in India (Pune Diary, 2010).

Figure 2: DMIC Corridor
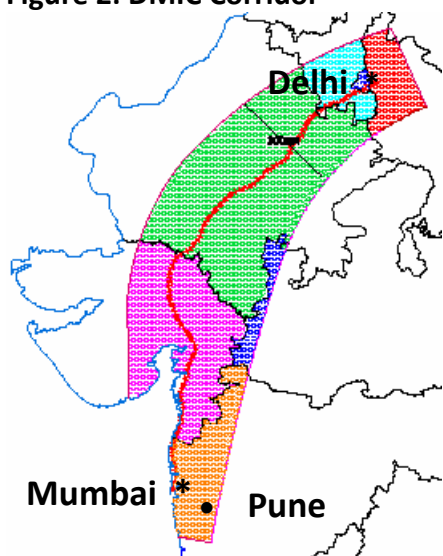
Source: Ministry of Commerce & Industry (MoIC) Government of India.

Further indicative of the future plans to deepen the global integration of Pune is that it has become an intergral part of the ambitious project named Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC) which is expected to be completed in 2012 with a 1,483 km long corridor (see figure 2) (MoIC, 2007).

This project focuses on ensuring high impact developments within 150 km distance on either side of the highway. The total population directly influenced by this project will be 173.4 million (MoIC, 2007).

In figure 2, the orange area corresponds to the part of the state of Maharashtra that will be integrated to the DMIC (MoIC, 2007).

This project will have an estimated cost of USD 250 million of which 20 per cent will come from Japanese investors. The DMIC vision is: 'To create strong economic base with globally competitive environment and state-of-the-art infrastructure to achieve local commerce, enhance foreign investments and attain sustainable development' (MoIC, 2007).

The DMIC corridor will be a high impact development in the area, it will link 5 mega cities (see map 1) including Ahmadabad and Surat in Gurat state (pink area). This area will attract FDI and will accelerate the rate of urbanization of Pune. Already Pune is one of the country's top destination for real estate investment, as mentioned the growth of globalized sectors of IT and automobile, have also resulted in sudden price increase across all locations of Pune real estate properties, with an appreciation of more than 200% within couple of years (MCCIA, 2009).

1.4.2 Implications of the global integration in Pune

Globalization is the on-going process of increased interaction between parts of the world that differ in welfare and power (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008). This uneven integration is more visible in the globalizing cities of the South, as is the case of Pune. As Castells puts it: there has been also an accentuation of uneven development, this time not only between North and South, but between the dynamic segments and territories of societies everywhere, and those others that risk becoming irrelevant from the perspective of the system's logic (Castells, 2000:02); the gap between segments of the society that are integrated on the global economy has increased tremendously, in what Castells observes the parallel unleashing of formidable productive forces of informational revolution, and the 'consolidation' of black holes of human misery in the global economy (Castells, 2000:02).

Also Castells warns that with the future growth of the mega cities, he foresees large-scale epidemics and disintegration of social control that will make mega-cities less attractive (Castells, 2000:440). As it will further be elaborated in this thesis, Pune as a modern mega city is now subject to the interest of the global capital and its ability to attract multinational corporations from around the world (Siddiqui, 2007a). Pune is undergoing a structural transformation arisen from its integration to the global economy. This transformation and its implications are the central topics of this research. This calls for a central focus on requirements and processes followed in Pune to deepen its integration to the global economy. Requirements of infrastructure of global capital are challenging traditional spatial forms that have been integral part of all mega cities in India that is the informal sector where the urban poor live and participate in the economy. For this reason, Slum is the central spatial form that this research has analyzed as the emblematic place of what Castells calls black holes of human misery in the global economy (Castells, 2000).

Thus, the position of Slum in relation to the global network logic is irrelevant or functionally unnecessary. However, in reality this disconnection does not exist, because there is a spatial interaction between global and slum segments in the city. If one characteristic of mega city is uneven development, then it can be understood that urban poverty is structurally part of a mega city, particularly in the Global South. Slums are not disconnected segments in Pune, more over they are part of the same phenomenon of global integration. Slum is not isolate, it is connected locally to the global segments while it is disconnected externally from the global networks.

As Pune transforms to deepen its global integration, so the rise on slums will be part of this structural transformation. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge the different dimensions of the interaction of global and slum segments and the different social groups in the city that belong to these segments.

1.5 Structural urban transformation of Pune

During the 1950's and 1960's physical planning controls on location of economic activities and urban land use imposed through master plans put various restrictions on the industrial growth of large Indian cities (Sivaramakrishnan, 2005). The result was that urban growth continued without the appropriate planning, which is characteristic for all Indian cities, resulting in encroachments, lack of basic services, insufficient infrastructure.

Due to the ineffectiveness of the previous approach of planning controls, there is an understanding that India's lack of effective policies to manage its rapid and large-scale urbanization could jeopardize the nation's economy growth trajectory (Balakrishnan, 2009). This is the main motivation to pursue an alternative model for urban transformation, which is expected to bring positive outcomes in economic growth. As all India, Pune wants to sustain its record economic growth and foresees global integration as the only viable mode of economic development. This is the reason that India needs to pursue a new operating model for its cities, as it is the belief that could add as much as 1 to 1.5 percent to annual GDP growth, bringing the economy nearer double-digit growth which the national government aspires (Balakrishnan, 2009).

At the center of this new operating model for its cities, there is conflict between the spatial characteristics of urbanization seeking stronger integration of the Indian economy with global systems and the informal sector in the city of Pune. This spatial civic conflict is not new, as there already are various government interventions that have sought to impose constraints on the pattern of urbanization by market forces, in an attempt to bring regional balance. This resulted in restrictive land-use policies that exacerbate the uneven development of regions and within cities.

The spatial civic conflict is linked to globalizing cities, for the reason that antagonisms are part and parcel of social order; inevitable aspects of development and change (Beall 2009). However, the occurrence of spatial civic conflict is more plausible in fragile states of the Global South. India is a fragile state as it embodies extreme inequality and social exclusion.
Fragile states will continue to rapidly urbanize, and unless issues such as urban employment, housing and basic services are addressed then civic conflict is likely to occur (Beall et al, 2010). Civic conflicts have been recognized as the result of improper ways to manage antagonisms

resulted from the inevitable process of urbanization, and the different implications these brings to state consolidation.

For the present research, the term spatial civic conflict gives a geographical dimension to these antagonisms arisen from the process of urbanization. Furthermore, by including a spatial aspect to the previous conception of civic conflict mentioned above, it portrays the discontinuous spatial fragmentation in the city and helps to localize a particular conflict in relation to the competing claims each social group has for the same location.

For instance, in Pune's urban transformation, civic demands such as basic services and formal housing access have not been a development priority of the state or local government. However, higher income groups and (to lesser extend) middle income groups have been able to make the necessary adjustments to create their own development enclaves. These enclaves provide them reliable basic services (with power generators, water filtration systems), services (education, health, entertainment, security) and housing facilities in a clean ecological environment in gated communities called townships or even referred as "city", as the case of Magarpatta City. On the other hand, low income groups have also developed an enclave to live, the slum. Both responses increase the spatial fragmentation in the city and generate civic conflicts that erode more the fragile state particularly at the local level. The responses generated from these social groups, also denotes how these antagonisms are channeled (gated communities) or suppressed (slums) by the local and state government.

Furthermore, what makes this spatial conflict "civic" is that the different social groups interact with each other and relate in different ways to the spatial fragmentation in the city, hence economic growth of the city. Despite the antagonisms the city remains functional.

Finally conflict arises from the context of these uneven interactions, which are characterized by social exclusion, deprivation and vulnerability of one group, slum dwellers. Moreover, as will be explain in chapter 5, in Pune, this conflict has not generate forms of civic engagement, because the implementation of the current development goal of making Pune a "slum free city", has a negative impact on the slum dwellers livelihoods.

Given the above, analysis that focus on spatial civic conflict gives a deeper insight of what is happening at the local level of globalizing cities within fragile states. While Pune may seem to be functioning, a process of civic conflict is simmering at the local level.

In Pune there have been two main government interventions to address the spatial civic conflict in order to facilitate the requirements of the global agenda, these are: the slum free city goal and the Slum Rehabilitation Program. This research has focused on both to assess the

implication of pursuing the global agenda and the impact on the urban poor in the midst of this structural urban transformation of Pune.

In chapter 6, empirical findings of this research will discuss in what way the Slum Rehabilitation Program has been a process of contestation to resolve the spatial conflict and what has been its primary outcomes in relation to the livelihoods of the urban poor. This exploration will include the reflections on how this program has help in reducing urban poverty, as well as an analysis of how it has functioned as an instrument to fulfill the infrastructure requirements of the city of Pune to continue the structural transformation with which need to deepen its integration in the global economy. This program is particularly interesting because it puts in the center scope the competing claims over the land currently used by the slums, in which more than 40 per cent of the city's population currently lives.

The Slum Rehabilitation program is also a government intervention which aims to activate competing claims of other social groups, namely private developer over the land the slum occupies.

1.6 Government intervention to reduce poverty

An integral linkage of economic growth with social justice has been an important objective of development planning in India since independence. There have been several initiatives to tackle the problem of poverty since the early 1950s (Anup, K. et al, 2005). As mentioned before the government interventions to reduce poverty in the urban context are mainly related to providing housing for the poor. In this, the National Housing Policy and Maharashtra Housing Policy have been central in recognizing the need to provide affordable housing for the urban poor, and have served as instruments for attract private investment to privatize public space, through Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) as a global integration development solution. Indeed, National Housing Policy (1994) was a product of this global economic point of view (GIHP, 2007). The National Housing Policy was central in this process of globalization to increase the supply of land serviced by basic minimum services with a sustainable development and protection of the environment (GIHP, 2007). Later on, in 1998 The National Housing & Habitat Policy laid greater emphasis on the aspect of "Habitat" as a supplementary dimension to housing. The emphasis on "providing" housing continued in this Policy with emphasis on both quality and cost-effectiveness especially to vulnerable sections of society (GIHP, 2007).

The national housing shortage is estimated to be 24.7 million urban houses. The 99% of the housing shortage pertains to the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) and Low Income Groups (LIG) sectors. It is calculated that 26.7% of the total poor in the country live in urban areas, and the issue of spatial access and competing claims assume critical significance. In terms of

numbers, 26.7% of the total poor implied 80.7 million persons or about one-fourth of the country's total urban population (GHIP, 2007).

The current state housing policy in Maharashtra has the objective to facilitate affordable housing in urban and rural areas, create adequate housing stock for Lower Income Group (LIG), Economically Weaker Section (EWS) and shelters for the poorest of the poor on ownership or rental basis (GMHP, 2007). The main goals of the policy are on one side to pursue the target of cities without slums through equitable slum redevelopment and rehabilitation strategy and shelters for the poor; and to deregulate housing sector and encourage competition and public private partnerships in financing, construction and maintenance of houses (GMHP, 2007).

This research will also analyze current government interventions like the Slum Rehabilitation program, as part of the new shift into 'good' urban governance that Pune is pursuing as part of its integration into the global economy. The Slum Rehabilitation program is an instrument that incorporates diverse actors into the urban development plan of Pune, namely the private developers. In the empirical findings chapter 5, it will be possible to understand the reasons why this program has not been successful in achieving the goals of having a Slum Free City.

1.7 Urban governance as the solution

The current urban governance approach in relation to sustainable development in Pune based on 'slum free city' goal follows the recent trend the global neo-liberal agenda encouraged by 'Washington-based' financial institutions. This agenda propagated decentralization, privatization and a shift from government to governance, away from the traditional welfare state-led development approach that India had pursued before (Mehta, 2010).

Through international investment and trade Pune has been drawn into a new international division of labor, and consequently dynamic processes of inclusion into the global society are occurring alongside an exclusion of the urban poor (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008).

As part of the globalization trend, there has been a new shift of the local government to urban governance and management. This shift is part of the governance principles propagated by global institutions such as the World Bank and IMF, which encourage grassroots participation in development projects and local-decision-making (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008). The World Bank's World Development Report 2006 is emphatic in its assertion that inequity hampers development (Siddiqui, 2007b). The reason is because without the institutionalized forms of civic engagement, factional politics prevail and diverse social groups cannot easily come together in a developmental coalition (Beall, 2009). Indeed, globalizing cities should be

considered as incubators of the political aspects of development as well as engines of economic growth (Beall, 2009).

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) 2000 Poverty Report calls good national governance the 'missing link' between anti-poverty efforts and poverty reduction, it declares that programs to reduce poverty often 'by-pass and ignore' local government, hampering their effectiveness (Siddiqui, 2007b). The main aspects of good governance are efficiency and effectiveness, but its increasing crucial aspect is building inclusive cities (Siddiqui, 2007b), so the challenge for the urban local governments is to go beyond their traditional regulatory function, and reinvent themselves as agencies of human development (Siddiqui, 2007b).

As the global community began to realize that questions of human poverty and development were becoming more complex, a framework was prepared by the various United Nations bodies, known as the 'Millennium Development Goals' (Siddiqui, 2007b). The Goals represent human needs and basic rights that every individual around the world should be able to enjoy— freedom from extreme poverty and hunger; quality education, productive and decent employment, good health and shelter (UN, 2010).

The Millennium Development report 2010, and particularly goal 7, refers to an aim to ensure environment sustainability. Within this goal, target 11 relates to slums, and stipulates that by 2020, the countries participating will have to achieve a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers (UN, 2010). The primary indicator to assess this improvement is the security of tenure (UN, 2010). In the empirical findings of chapter 5, it will be explained in what way the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme is related to the Millennium Development goals of environmental sustainability of the city of Pune as part of the requirements to deepen its global integration.

Furthermore the extent to which the formulated goal of 'Slum free city' in the Development Plan of Pune has a direct relation to what the international community has adopted as the Millennium Declaration, including also an endorsement of the 'Cities without Slums' target in 2000 will also be explored.

1.8 Slum Rehabilitation Scheme

The Slum Rehabilitation Scheme effectuates the new mode of urban governance to help fight the inequity by creating more participatory planning and providing direct access to basic needs (Van Kampen and Van Naerssen, 2008), notably with the goal of proving housing and security of tenure for the urban poor.

In sum the current city development plan defines the situation in Pune in the following manner: The urban poor population (slum population) in Pune is estimated at about 42 per cent of population. There are 564 slums in Pune. The growth in slum population could be attributed to non-availability of housing stock at affordable cost leading to emergence of large number of slums. Large numbers of slums are located along the river bed, hills tops and other environmental sensitive areas (see Figure 3). In addition about 60 slums are located on lands belonging to government, defense department and reserved lands for crucial purposes and would require to be relocated (PHG, 2007).

Figure 3: Slum at Mutha River
Koregaon Park, Pune (2010)

This denotes the large dimensions of the lack of affordable access to formal housing, which leaves no other alternative to the urban poor but to access locations where they have no competing claims over (Figure 3).

Due to the dimensions of spatial deprivation, a special designated state agency was created in 1995 the Slum Rehabilitation Agency (SRA) to coordinate the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS).

The Slum Rehabilitation Scheme is a state level policy designed to recognize the rights of any slum dweller who can prove residence in the city of Pune as of the 1st of January, 1995 to participate in the SRS.

The SRS process starts with the initiative of a real estate developer or an NGO that can proof the individual agreements of at least 70% of eligible slum dwellers then the SRA will recognized this organization as the developer (HIO, 2010)

The SRS policy works by giving incentives to developers in the form of development rights. The amount of development rights generated by a project is dependent on the location of the plot and the building design. Developers may use development rights in excess of those needed to build free housing units to construct additional housing and/or commercial units for sale if space allows, and/or to sell the rights as Transferable Development Rights on the open market (HIO, 2010).

The basis of the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme is to use the policy of cross subsidy. By letting developers build and sell marketable commercial spaces/flats on the free market, they can use this profit for covering the cost of building new, free housing for the slum dwellers. However, before embarking on such projects it is mandatory for the developers to get consensus of at least 70 per cent of the slum dwellers (Yoshi, 2007). The mandatory 70 per cent consensus on the part of the eligible slum dwellers was the way they participated in the rehabilitation project.

Since the 1st of April 1994, slum rehabilitation schemes in Pune city are being approved and implemented in accordance with the guidelines provided in Appendix T of Development Control Regulations (Yoshi, 2007). As of 2007, 78 schemes were submitted to PMC under these regulations and were in various stages of approval and construction, only a total of 7 have been completed (Yoshi, 2007).

However on March 27th 2007, the State Government published the new guidelines for the SRA in Pune. But since they specified several conditions, which were seen as objectionable in light of recent municipal election promises, they have again been withdrawn for review by the Chief Minister (Yoshi, 2007). According to Yoshi (2007) the most controversial relevant issues currently under review are:

a) Consent of the slum dwellers and landowners is not required for implementing the SRA projects. The CEO (SRA) shall survey the slum area and finalize a list of eligible beneficiaries on the declared rehabilitation area. The project shall be obligatory for all listed families to participate in the scheme.
b) The cut-off date for rehabilitation has been set for January 1, 1995. This differs from the demand of slum dwellers for a 2000 eligibility date.
c) The size of the tenements should be increased from 225 to 350 sq. ft.

Source: Yoshi (2007). Study on comprehensive rehabilitation strategies for the urban poor in Pune.

As will be explained in chapter 5, currently the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme is under a lot of debate, mainly because it has not been resulted in a massive implementation of the program in Pune, as measured by the only 7 projects of slum rehabilitated. Also, there is an understanding that the program needs to be change but as explained before it is a highly controversial issue, particularly in the midst of municipal elections. What is debated is the 70 per cent approval by the slum dwellers to agree to be rehabilitated. In the chapters 5 and 6 of the empirical findings, it will be explored in more depth, the implications for the different actors involved in the SRS and the current challenges that need to be address in order to achieve the goal of Slum Free city in Pune.

Apart from the urban poverty of those living in slums, there is another problem that links the SRS to the global integration of Pune, which is that the lack of affordable housing in the city is

reaching alarming proportions. The current deficit of affordable housing is estimate in 250,000 slum households and 50,000 non-slum middle class households. By 2020, the affordable housing deficit in Pune will double; it is estimate that the city will require 500,000 new houses (DP coalition, 2009). The same problem is now faced by all the mega cities in India where the real estate prices are rising to proportions where even the middle class cannot afford housing (Bharucha, 2001).

As stated before, the city of Pune has seen tremendous growth in sectors of information technology, automobile industry, manufacturing, education and services as result of its integration to the global economy. Pune is also now one of the country's top destinations for real estate investment. This resulted in sudden price rise across all locations in Pune and real estate properties saw an appreciation of more than 200% within a couple of years (REV, 2010). Affordable housing will be a key factor in driving the real estate sector in 2010. As IT firms are back in expansion mode and have started hiring new staff again (REV, 2010), meaning that the increase in the demand for housing will continue.

Moreover, as will be explained further, some of the cases of slum rehabilitation in Pune where the slum dwellers had been officially rehabilitated some have left the new dwellings and reinstall themselves in other slums. Architect Chandrashekar Prabhu, the housing expert, did a comprehensive housing study for the state of Maharashtra, and came to the conclusion that those for whose benefit the (SRS) scheme was framed towards had in fact been dishoused. The net result was that the builders had benefited while tenants were thrown out (Bharucha, 2001).

In the midst of the urban transformation arising from the integration to the global economy, there is an ongoing spatial civic conflict, not only between the global capital, but also at a local level, where due to the lack of affordable housing the urban sections designated for slum redevelopment have become areas of gentrification and not poverty alleviation. The reason is that slum dwellers who are rehabilitated still depend on livelihood connected to the slum, i.e there is a strong possibility that they will leave, sell or transfer their 'free units' and move back to another slum. In this case, the continuation of the global integration of Pune could be at stake, not only because the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme has failed its goal to facilitate housing for the urban poor but also that the goal of Slum Free City will not be attained. Furthermore the real estate prices will continue escalating as the lack of affordable housing for the middle classes increments grows.
The more prices escalate less possibilities have the slum dwellers to claim rights over the land encroachments that they currently occupied; this will further generate the spatial civic conflict.

1.9 Research goal and questions

The goal of this research is to provide insights on how the recent transformation in urban development arisen by globalization in Pune has created a civic conflict in geographical terms; the current land-use needs to be changed to continue the urbanization which is needed in medium size cities like Pune to attract foreign investors and to continue the integration into the global economy. As explained before, the central manifestation of the process of globalization in Pune considered in this research has been of an economic nature. In this respect, there are multiple dimensions to this phenomenon. In recent decades Pune has become more integrated in the global economy. Therefore the physical urban planning of the city has needed to adapt to the needs of globalization. Notably a provision of sufficient and affordable housing for the middle class skilled labourer is central to keep the competitiveness of Pune as a global destination.

On the basis of the above the following central question, around which this research took shape is:

How has the change in the urban spatial organization arising from globalization processes, led to a spatial civic conflict related to the competing claims over land occupied by the slums in Pune?

There are different dimensions with which this spatial civic conflict can be explored in relation to the change in the urban spatial organization arising from globalization process. In this thesis in the following three sub questions focus on 3 key dimensions:

a) **What are considered to be the competing claims of different social groups over the transformation of the urban space in Pune?**

b) **How do these competing claims generate a spatial civic conflict between the different groups in Pune?**

c) **What has been the impact of the slum rehabilitation policy on this spatial civic conflict in relation to the slum dwellers in Pune?**

To answer this central question with the help of the three sub questions, it is important to understand the different dimensions, implications and factors affecting the competing claims of the slum dwellers. In this way, it will possible to detect tension points that generate the spatial civic conflict.

1.10   Societal and scientific relevance of the study

Will India one day claim its future or will it always be chasing it, teasing us with its vast potential?

Thomas L. Friedman, Washington D.C. November 2008.[4]

The transformation of India in the recent decades has attracted international attention, particularly not only the present achievements but its vast potential and the imaginations of "future India". I became interested in the urban development in India, since I have been witnessing the tremendous changes in urbanization that have been occurring quite recently. My first visit in India was in November 2008 and through my consequent visits an incredible transformation is happening, from new modern airport terminals, highways, to complete new 20 story apartment buildings in just months. My second visit was in April 2009 and from there the third visit was when I did the field research between December 2009 and April 2010. I am familiar with Pune city and in my last visit I found sections of the city unrecognizable.

The globalizing process has been a meeting of an Eastern and Western way of living in the Indian society. I find it fascinating how such a traditional religious and structured society with more than 10 thousand year old civilization has embraced the principals of economic liberalization in such a limited period of time to become not only part of the global economy, but also pursue an interest to become a world economic power.

One of the main proponents of globalization, according to Castells, concerns the enhancement productivity and informational technology as a mature phase of capitalism, what he has termed *network society*. Castells tells us that from the perspective of economic agents (firms and nations) productivity and technology are not a goal in itself, but only a means. Hence political institutions will be shaped by a broader set of values and interests, and will be oriented, in the economic realm, toward maximizing the competitiveness of their constituent economies (Castells, 2000). He even warned that local economic industries had to become informational and global or else face the risk of eventual collapse (Castells, 2000:100). Yet he also mentions that the outward orientation of an economy does not guarantee its development. It all depends on the value of what the economy is able to export (Castells, 2000:109).

The global city phenomenon is a process that connects advances financial services, producer centers and markets in a global network, with different intensity and scale depending upon the relative importance of the activities located in relation to the global network (Castells,

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[4] Nilekani, N (2009) Imaging India. The Idea of a Renewed Nation, Penguin Books (India).

2000:411). Pune in the recent years has turned into a global city and segments or nodes of its economy, particular the booming IT sector, have joined the global network.

However, one statement of Castells that draw my attention is this: *"Territories surrounding these nodes play an increasingly subordinate function, sometimes becoming irrelevant or even dysfunctional; for example, Mexico City's colonias populares (originally squatter settlements) may account for two-thirds of the megapolitan's population, yet they fail to play any distinctive role in the functioning of Mexico City as an international business center"* (Castells, 2000:411).

I was born and raised in Mexico City, and this statement was particularly shocking for me. The millions of Mexicans that lived in colonias populares have a crucial distinctive role in supporting what is now Mexico as international business center particularly since NAFTA[5]. Their role is clear; they are the construction workers that built the global business enclave of Santa Fe[6], located on what used to be the largest garbage dump site in the city. They are the service sector and do the cleaning and maintenance of the offices and homes of the 'global elite'. They are also the employees of international chains like Walmart[7], McDonalds and Starbucks. How will these franchises that serve the middle class and so called 'global managerial elite' operate without them? They also play a very relevant role in the security sector they are the policemen, army personnel and private security for businesses and work for an average salary of USD 315 a month[8] to protect the global elite in Mexico from increased levels of criminality[9] and kidnappings[10].

From this personal experience I wanted to know more about these millions of urban poor that globalists tells us are irrelevant to the new global network economy. My personal approach was not from the ethical or moralist perspective, but from a very realistic and practical point, this rationale can not last long before bringing huge social impacts and conflicts. This civic conflict can jeopardized the cheerful accounts of the Network Society that is reserved for a small percentage of the population in the developing countries.

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[5] NAFTA. North American Free Trade Agreement.
[6] Santa Fe: a "global enclave" in Mexico City has been built to create the image of a global place articulated to the world economy and constitutes a trend in urban planning in world cities with unequal socioeconomic structures (Pérez, 2009).
[7] Walmart is the largest retail multinational corporation in the world. There has been numerous complaints in US and Mexico of the low wages and deplorable working conditions, sometimes denounced as the new slavery (Walmart Workers Union, 2009) see: http://mexico.indymedia.org/?article393
[8] As of 2010, the minimum monthly salary in Mexico is USD 145. The police agents and security personal earn an average of USD 315, as per information of the Federal Public Security Secretary. See www.ssp.gob.mx
[9] In 2007, the National Survey of Insecurity calculated that there was an estimate of 13,200,000 crimes in Mexico (ICESI, 2010). See http://www.icesi.org.mx/publicaciones/articulos/2008/Secuestro_en_Mexico.asp
[10] Mexico occupies the second place in the world for kidnaps in 2009 (ICESI, 2010).

It is precisely in Mexico where the escalation of violence and insecurity that has reached levels of civil war, with more than 28,000 victims in 4 years (Carrasco, 2010) and a complete collapse of the governability of large sections of the national territory[11] are now controlled by the drug cartels. It is a reminder that these millions of people that are now part of the informal economy to survive, can also resort to other more lucrative and illicit activities, if a person can earn in a day more than a whole year[12]. The reality shows that together with globalization of markets, also the illegal activities can use the same structures for their own goals (Patiño, 2008), that is the case also in Mexico where the phenomenon of money laundry has taken considerable proportions (Patiño, 2008).[13]

The scientific contribution of this research is related to the literature that recognized globalization as a network economy. Despite the claims that place has lost importance, global integration has a strong geographical implication in the sense that urban development in the city has turned into a spatial civic conflict arena where the increased competition for limited resources as land and water, if left, unsolved has the potential of upsetting future economic growth restricting the potential future investment, reduce markets for the services and goods.

Spatial civic conflict gives a deeper insight of what is happening at local level of globalizing cities with fragile states, such as Pune, that despite the spatial fragmentation, social exclusion and deprivation of the slum dwellers, the city remains functional.

Furthermore, the scientific contribution of this thesis radicates in the holistic approach that complements the traditional Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) with a macro dimension provided by the spatial civic conflict framework. Also, more emphasis has been given on the context that affects the livelihood assets of slum dwellers, but more important by categorizing this context into competing claims, it gives a better understanding of the different dimensions of deprivation and vulnerability. In this way future interventions can be focus and channel in more efficient ways to reduce the spatial civic conflict and generate adequate infrastructure and services that support the slum livelihoods.

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[11] The Municipal Development Commission of the Mexican Senate recognized that the main drug trafficking organizations in Mexico control 71 per cent of the national territory; total control in 195 municipalities and strong influence in 1,500 other municipalities. 31.08.10. See:
http://www.proceso.com.mx/rv/modHome/detalleExclusiva/82890
[12] The organized crime finance municipal police with bribes calculated in 15 thousand millions pesos per year (equivalent to 1 billion EUR) confirmed the head of the Federal Public Security Secretary, Genaro García Luna. See:
http://www.noroeste.com.mx/publicaciones.php?id=607833
[13] In the case of 'money laundry' it is a complex phenomenon that implicates the participation of a great number of institutions that profit from fiscal paradises and lack of legal frames in certain countries (Patiño, 2008).

For India, it is crucial to maintain a fast pace of economic growth to create enough jobs, to prevent social unrest and raise the living standards of all Indians (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2009). This fast pace of economic growth can be maintain only if it is acknowledge the important role that the millions of urban poor have in the continuation of the globalized economy, as they contribute with their low wages and lower living conditions to the wealth of a few in key positions.

The traditional stand point that the urban poor are a problem and rural-urban migration is to be blame for all the sustainable development challenges in the cities has to be transformed from a need to create poverty alleviation policies, to social inclusion initiatives. Otherwise the forthcoming spatial civic conflicts in the developing countries could easily lead to a governability crisis as in the case of Mexico. Then with the new urban governance approach the whole society will find itself in a power vacuum with the forces of the market grabbing indiscriminately the limited resources this scenario will compromise the sustainable development globally.

For this research, the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) is particularly interesting because conceived as a poverty reduction policy and as a resource to develop infrastructure in the city of Pune, is a departure point to see the interaction of the different actors participating in the new urban governance, but also is a decentralization of power from a traditional model of central government urban planning. The SRS has the potential of becoming a social inclusion process if the slum dwellers are considered active participants and if they are seen as development partners in the city. Hence, the spatial civic conflict frame as a macro tool and the sustainable livelihood approach, a meso and micro tool to have a better understanding of the context that directly affects the livelihood assets that the urban poor have access to. This will be further explained in the theoretical frame in chapter 2.

The societal relevance of this research is linked to the importance of not seeing the urban poor as a problem to 'get rid of' as in the case of the slum free city discourse but to understand that their livelihoods happen around the slum community. As part of the informal sector, slum dwellers contribute to the economy, also the formal economy, in many different ways.

The perspective of spatial civic conflict gives human agency to the urban poor, as they represent the majority of the population in Pune.

1.11 Summary and thesis structure

First chapter explains the nature of globalization process in India as an uneven process, mainly happening in mega cities. The state of Maharashtra is one of the most integrated regions to global economy, particularly Pune as an IT and automobile industry global hub. An overview of Pune as a globalizing city explains the current urban transformation of the city.

The past government interventions attempted to control the rapid urbanization by the means of restrictive land-use policies, but only exacerbate uneven development, land encroachments and insufficient infrastructure, so the urban poor created informal mixed-use habitats for themselves, Slums. The global integration of Pune implicates more slums in the city. Slums are not disconnected segments but part of the globalization process.

The spatial civic conflict is linked to globalizing cities in fragile states, because antagonisms are inevitable aspects of development and urban transformation, and when civic demands are not met by the local government, the most vulnerable group, slum dwellers are the most affected.

SRS is process link to the global urban transformation to make Pune a 'slum free city', yet slum rehabilitation has not been implemented at large scale. The spatial civic conflict frame provides a different lens that examines why SRS is not being implemented at large scale and furthermore has generated more antagonisms over the development plan in Pune.

Second chapter discusses the theoretical frame proposed: Spatial Civic Conflict as a geographical dimension of what is occurring at local level in globalizing cities. Globalizing cities provide the physical infrastructure for the global informational economy to function, yet there are many challenges to resolve at street level, particularly with the urban poor segments that apparently are not integral segments in the global economy.

One important aspect of the antagonisms is the complex spatial distribution of the livelihood activities of the slum dwellers within the urban space. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach will be discussed as the analytical tool to expose in what way the slum livelihoods strategies are affected by various external factors that have an impact on the livelihood assets.

The research methodology is described in the third chapter. The choice of research methods and detailed information on the sources of data collection are explained, to arrive to the empirical unit of analysis: The Slum. This research considers the slum as a spatial entity with defined physical and socio-economic characteristics. These characteristics provide several dimensions which give a holistic approach to the concept *Slum* used in the research. Finally, the choice of location and challenges and difficulties of this research will be share in section 3.1.3 and 3.1.4.

Chapter 4 discusses the research context by explaining in what way the geographical and socio-economic characteristics of the state of Maharashtra and Pune have a relation to the urban poverty and the rise of slums in Pune. Another important factor is the context in which rapid urbanization and migration to Pune is having an environmental impact that affects disproportionately the slums in the city.

Chapter 5 discusses the context which affects the competing claims as well as increases the vulnerability of slum dwellers in Pune. These factors affect the competing claims of slum dwellers, as the case of slum free city goal. This goal is applicable to all slums, however in section 5.2, it will be demonstrated there are quite differences among slums observed in Pune. Further section 5.3 and 5.4 will discuss how slum dwellers are negatively perceived as recent migrants, yet due to the development of the city there is a great demand for labors that attracts more migrants to the city. The legal characteristics of slums are considered in 5.5, to understand the vulnerable position of slums in the city. And finally section 5.6 gives an analysis of the current implementation of the SRS.

Chapter 6 discusses the comparison of competing claims of each social group to identify the mayor tension points generating spatial civic conflict, to answer the research questions of this thesis. This will be done in the following manner: in section 6.1, the first sub question: What are considered to be the competing claims of different social groups over the transformation of the urban space in Pune? This question is answered by categorizing four main areas of urban transformation: housing, mobility, basic services and environment, and identifying different competing claims of each social group, to have a better overview of the outcomes generated by the urban transformation. Then section 6.2 answers the second sub question: How do these competing claims generate a spatial civic conflict between the different groups in Pune? This question is answered by assessing the priority of the principal competing claims of each social group, then compare to detect the tensions points that generate the spatial civic conflict and have an impact for slum dwellers livelihoods. Finally section 6.3 answers the third sub question: What has been the impact of the slum rehabilitation policy on this spatial civic conflict in relation to the slum dwellers in Pune? The outcomes of the tension points will be demonstrated by the experience of the slum demolition in Lokmanya nagar.

Finally chapter seventh will present the final conclusions of this research.

2. Spatial civic conflict theoretical frame

The definition of globalization is the subject of much debate; however economies throughout the world have become globally interdependent, introducing a new form of relationship between economy, state, and society, in a system of variable geometry
(Castells, 2000:01).

Indeed, globalization is a process present in every city in the world. The debate around globalization goes beyond definitions, particularly because this worldwide phenomenon has ramifications beyond the economic realm. There is a tendency to take globalization process as a given in the midst of intense optimism around national economic growth indicators, it is now recognized that the productivity generated through this advance evolution of capitalism is generating a unreachable gap between wealth global segments and urban poor living in slums around the globe. This socio-economic outcome from globalization is worldwide recognized thus has brought a lot of criticism and antagonism toward globalization.

One ramification that is less recognized is the spatial transformation that global processes produce in cities. Spatial Civic Conflict (SCC) framework derives from a logical set of concepts that are key elements of analysis. This theoretical framework was developed from the conceptualization of research data, maintaining a certain form of Grounded Theory[14] (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The objective of the Spatial Civic Conflict theoretical frame is to expand the analysis of slum rehabilitation. This will be done by identifying key elements of slum rehabilitation phenomenon and categorizing the relationships between those key elements and the context and processes which are essential for the slum rehabilitation scheme. In order to build the context and processes, the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) will serve as analytical tool to establish key elements of the different dimensions that generate spatial civic conflict. The objective to combine the Spatial Civic Conflict framework with the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is to expand the analysis of slum rehabilitation from the general perspective as a poverty alleviation policy, to the specific case, as an urban transformation policy in Pune. This is what makes the subject of this research unique.

In this theoretical chapter, the first concept discussed is globalization. This term encompasses different dimensions that will be explained in section 2.1, called globalization processes. Section 2.1.1 described the emergence of the globalizing city concept. After explaining the

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[14] Grounded Theory is a research method in which the theory is developed from the research data, rather than the other way around. Which makes this is an inductive approach, moving from the specific to the more general. The method of study is essentially based on three elements: concepts, categories and propositions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

characteristics of the globalizing city, section 2.1.2 discusses the new socio spatial order that leads to the proposed Spatial Civic Conflict frame. In section 2.1.3 considers the term spatial civic conflict as a new spatial organization in relation to the actors involved and the competing claims over the urban space occupied by the slums. The second part, section 2.2, considers the theoretical framework used in the field research: the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA). This will cover the second dimension which is related to slum dwellers, livelihood strategies and the new spatial organization in Pune. The main concepts of SLA will be explained together with a terminology used to understand the functionality of the slum livelihood frame, illustrated in the third part of the section 2.3, in relation to the competing claims of slum dwellers and the consequences that government interventions, such as the slum rehabilitation and slum evictions can have for the livelihood opportunities of slum dwellers in Pune.

2.1 Globalization processes

The images in the currently dominant account about economic globalization emphasize hypermobility, global communications and the neutralization of place and distance. There is a tendency in that account to take the existence of a global economic system as a given, as a function of the power of transnational corporations and global communications (Sassen, 2001). This dominant account can be traced to the proponent of the network society, Manuel Castells. For Castells, capitalism itself has undergone a process of profound restructuring, characterized by greater flexibility in management, decentralization and networking of firms both internally and in their relationships to other firms, considerable empowering of capital *vis à vis* labor (Castells, 2000). The concept of network society refers to the importance that informationalism has in the expansion and rejuvenation; this process of restructuring had very different manifestations in areas and societies around the world (Castells, 2000). The network society, characterized by a deterritorialization involves not only the deconstruction of boundaries, but also the creation of new spaces (digital spaces, spaceless places, internet), not physical spaces but the space of flows (Castells, 2000) which allow for the movement of information, finance, trade, social processes and services (Castells, 2000).

So for Castells, the aspect of deterritorialization and the creation of new virtual spaces are central. In the network society geographical place has become secondary. Nevertheless, this research focuses on the importance that geographical place still has: because the process of globalization requires physical infrastructure and human capital. As Sassen explains, the capabilities for global operation, coordination and control are contained in new information technologies and in the power of transnational corporations that need to be produced (Sassen 2001). For Sassen, a focus on practices draws the categories of place and production process

into the analysis of economic globalization (Sassen, 2001). These two categories are easily overlooked in accounts centered on the hypermobility of capital and the power of transnationals (Sassen, 2001). Developing categories such as place and production process does not negate the centrality of hypermobility and power. Rather, it foregrounds the fact that many of the resources necessary for global economic activities are not hypermobile and are, indeed, deeply embedded in place, notably places such as global cities and export processing zones (Sassen, 2001).

2.1.1 Globalizing city

The concept of globalizing cities refers to cities as production sites for the leading information industries of our time in order to refocus on the infrastructure of activities, firms and jobs that are necessary to run the advanced corporate economy, including its globalized sectors (Sassen, 2001). These industries are typically conceptualized in terms of the hypermobility of their outputs and the high levels of expertise of their professionals rather than in terms of the production process involved and the requisite infrastructure of facilities and non-expert jobs that are also part of these industries (Sassen, 2001). In the case of Pune, as mentioned in chapter 1, the leading global sectors of the economy are IT and the automobile industry. IT sector depends on high skilled human capital. In the case of the automobile industry, this requires both high skilled and low skilled labor. The relevance to recognize that global production processes require infrastructure of facilities and low-skilled human capital as part of the advanced corporate service economy, is its insight in the predominance of virtual space, deterritorialization and high skilled global managerial elites proposed by Castells. It is in the day-to-day work of any leading services complex dominated by finance, a large share of the jobs involved are lowly paid and manual, many held by women and immigrants (Sassen, 2001).

Although these types of workers and jobs are never represented as part of the global economy, they are in fact part of the infrastructure of jobs involved in running and implementing the global economic system, including an advanced form of it such as international finance (Sassen, 2001).

These types of low-paid workers and manual jobs are devalorized while other sectors are overvalorized. In the globalizing city there is a socio-economic polarization that generates a large growth in the demand for low wage workers and for jobs that offer few advancement possibilities (Sassen, 2001). In Pune, the rise of slums due to rural and intrastate migration obeys this increased demand for low wage workers; with few opportunities of advancement they end up living in slums, often on a structural, indeterminate long term basis. On the other

hand, the explosion of wealth and power concentrated in Pune denotes also a visible expansion in higher income jobs and higher priced urban space (Sassen, 2001).

2.1.2 New socio-spatial order

In Pune these new processes of valorization and devalorization and the inequalities have produced what Saskia Sassen terms: a new socio-spatial order in the city. The integration of Pune economy in global processes and markets has created a globalized sector of the urban economy that has expanded rapidly and imposes a new set of criteria for valuing or pricing various economic activities and outcomes (Sassen, 2001). This new set of criteria follows the deepening capitalist logic of profit-seeking in capital-labor relationships; enhancing productivity of labor and capital, by seizing the most advantageous conditions for profit making everywhere; and marshaling the state's support for productivity gains and competitiveness of national economies, often to the detriment of social protection and public interest regulations (Castells, 2000:19). This has had devastating effects on large sectors of the urban economy (Sassen, 2001) particularly the urban poor living in slums.

The tendency towards polarization assumes distinct form in the spatial organization of the urban economy (Sassen, 2001). The new criteria of valuing certain economic activities impose an agenda that transforms the urban context. In the imposition of this new agenda, conflicts are bound to surge as responses of the marginalized sector that are integral part of the global economy but are undervalued of even seeing as a threat to future global integration.

2.2 Spatial civic conflict

The term spatial civic conflict depicts the implications of the urban transformation in Pune, in many ways. This term explains two central aspects in the new spatial organization, the different approaches to address the slums from the public urban space and from the private urban space, and the actors' relation to these spaces. In the middle, we find the slums. In this spatial dimension, slum is defined as an informal mix-use habitat encroached in both public and private space. In Pune, as in many Indian cities, slums are in the center focal attention, as large informal sector (housing and business), that has claimed spatial extensions of the city in the way of illegal encroachments. The other central aspect refers to the civil conflict generated and the current tensions and competing claims magnified by the urban transformation in Pune.
In order to understand this complexity and conflicting nature in the spatial distribution of the city in relation to slums, this research has focused on the slum as a spatial form in the city where the livelihoods of the slum dwellers depend on.

In diagram 1, spatial civic conflict frame depicts the relation between the actors and the urban space. The urban space is divided into public and private. There are different objectives and actor's inputs on each segment. The private space goals are housing market, commercial sites and industries. The main actor is the private developer which is linked to the middle class and higher class groups. The link is the provision of housing in the open market, commercial spaces and industries that middle and higher classes can afford to buy, consume and operate, their livelihood are related to this space (with exception of bureaucratic jobs, that are part of the public space). The public space goals are infrastructure as roads, basic services (water, electricity and waste management) beautification and environmental green city. These are related to the development plan, which is an instrument to achieve these goals to become a 'slum free city'.

In the middle, an amorphous form depicts the slums, as an encroachment in the public and private space. Depending on the location of the slum, there are two approaches to recuperate this encroached space. If the slum is located in private space, then the private developer can enter into a PPP agreement with the SRA to rehabilitate this slum, based on the SRS rules.
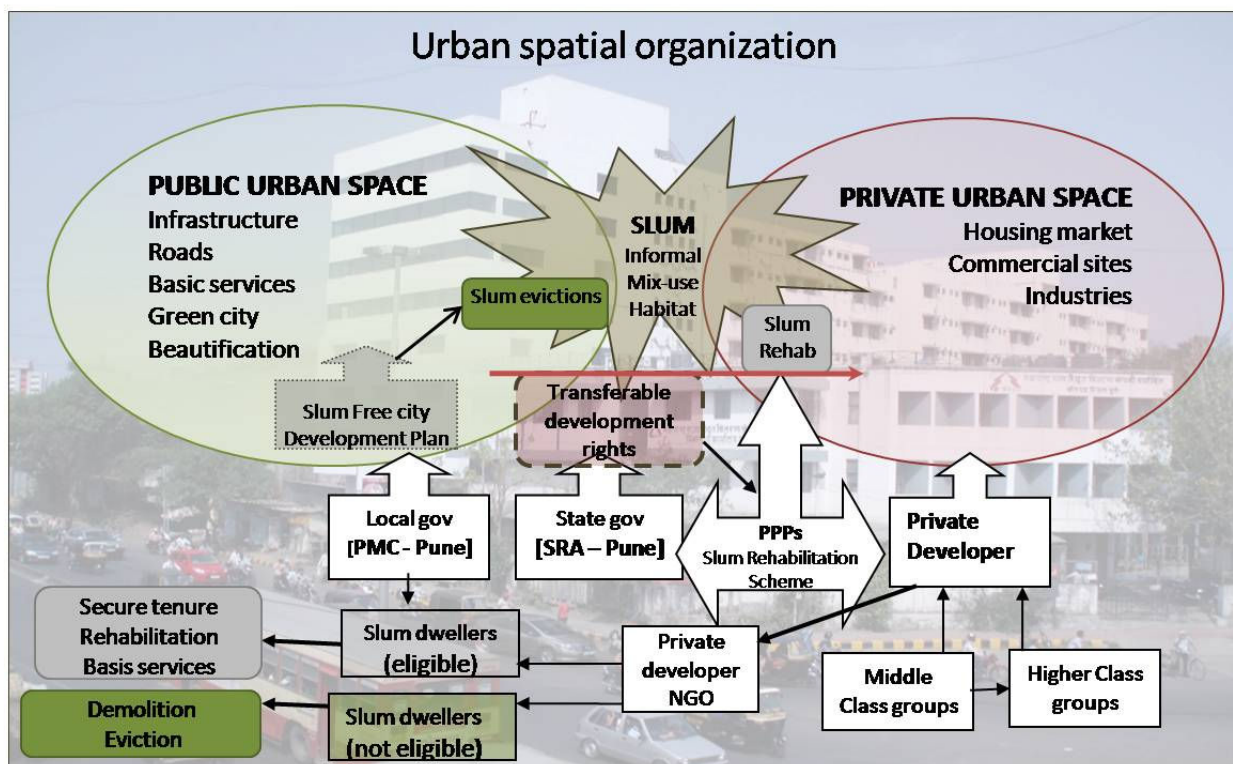
Diagram 1. Spatial civic conflict frame
Background photo: Slum rehabilitation project Mega city Karve Road in Pune

All slum dwellers are informal dwellers, however they are divided in two categories of eligible and not eligible, these categories respond to a criterion imposed by the government. Diagram 2 depicts the eligibility criterion at location level and household level. First the slum needs to be recognized by the local authority as a notified or declared slum. From the notified slum, then each household need to proof that they had been residing in that location on or before 01.01.1995.
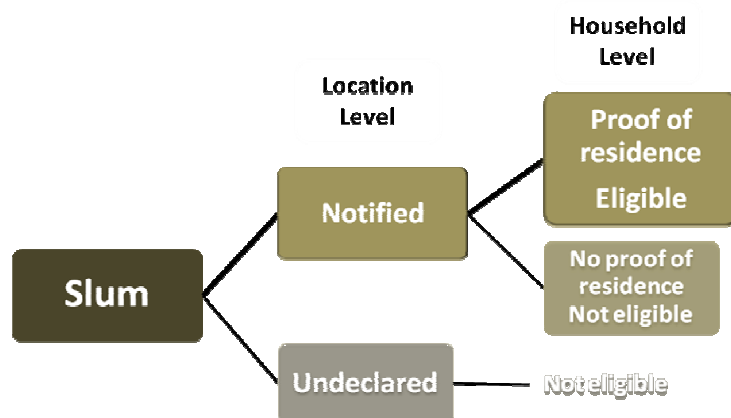
Diagram 2. Slum dwellers eligible for rehabilitation

In Pune, private developers have approach slum dwellers to be rehabilitated through an NGO run by the private developer. Through the NGO, the private developer surveys the slum to assess which slum dwellers are eligible; these dwellers will be included in the project of rehabilitation *in situ*. The slum dwellers that are not eligible will be evicted without further compensation or relocation. In exchange, the SRA will provide transferable development rights that will enable the private developer to access land own by the government, in what is a privatization process of public urban space to private urban space.

If the slum is located on public space, then the procedure is eviction depending on the zoning purpose of the slum location, particularly if the space will be use for infrastructure. The development plan's implementation is responsibility of the local government, PMC. The PMC is not involved in relocation or rehabilitation. There are currently other policy approaches of slum upgrading *in situ*, depending on the location, if the slum is notified or not, or if the slum dwellers have develop enough the slum. However, the purpose of this diagram is not to depict all the cases and possibilities to address the slums. That is the reason, in the diagram the center part of the amorphous form of slum is left untouched. What is relevant is to depict the degree of selectivity that these rehabilitation and eviction approaches have; because these are means to recuperate encroach land in accordance to the competing claims of the different actors, be the PMC or the private developer. The slum as an informal space is left in the middle with no possibility to formalization, hence the competing claims of the slum dwellers over the space they illegally encroach is limited to the eligibility criteria set by the other actors PMC and SRA.

The central aspect of the conflict lies in the different formal, informal and juxtaposition of the different actors involved and the legality nature of each claim. Further in chapter 5, it will explore the different factors affecting these competing claims to clarify the tension and conflicting points.

The term spatial civic conflict is closely related to the spatial planning, access and infrastructure. To have a deeper insight of what is behind the claims for the urban space for different social groups it is fundamental to consider the nature and spatiality of the livelihoods of each group, albeit, with a core focus on the impact these competing claims have on the slum. Thus more emphasis is given to slum dwellers hence, the choice of the sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) to understand the context and implications in which the competing claims are rooted, but also to assess the outcome that these two government intervention (rehabilitation and eviction) have in relation to the urban space transformation.

2.3 Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA)

Complexity is inherent in the spatial distribution of the livelihood activities of the slum dwellers, with variations between those who live in slums and inhabitants of the urban fringe also called pavement squatters, between recent migrants to the city and long-term residents (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002), and between the middle and the higher classes.

The framework and guideline in the field research was the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA). This approach has been applied by international development organizations and agencies such as: DFID, Oxfam and UNDP in order to design and implement numerous policies and programs in the area of international development.

The SLA offers counter balance through its people-centered vis-à-vis the global sustainable development policy approach (Rakodi, 2002). For the field research project was ideal as a framework for analysis and evaluation of interventions of programs and policies aimed to achieve poverty reduction (Rakodi, 2002) and transformation of the urban space as in the case of the slum rehabilitation program in Pune.

2.3.1   Policies to reduce urban poverty

The use of traditional economical based approaches related to lack of income to satisfy basic food needs –usually defined on the basis of minimum calorie requirements- (Siddiqui, 2007b), has been perceived as incomplete to understand urban poverty. Poverty in India is not merely an economic phenomenon but also a social phenomenon. It is disproportionately high among

scheduled castes (SCs)[15] and scheduled tribes (STs) (Anup, Piush and Harishwar, 2005). The concept of *income poverty* cannot give a holistic understanding of the dimension of poverty. Especially urban poverty is no longer a question of lack of income or insufficient calorie intake but it has broadened to include often areas of deprivation such as inadequate and unsafe housing, insecure workplaces, debilitating environments, lack of formal long term employment, increased vulnerability to natural and man-made disasters, insufficient social services, lack of opportunity for education, and consequent disempowerment, and even disenfranchisement of vast segments of urban society (Siddiqui, 2007b).

The objective of the SLA is to improve the understanding of the situation and actions that the urban poor people are engaged in order to achieve security and reduce vulnerability. It puts the people and households at the center of the development process by starting with their capacities and assets, rather than their problems (Rakodi, 2002).

The main benefit of such an approach is that it opens the scope, and changes the predominantly thinking that poverty is only determined by deprivation of resources. Instead it brings attention to the context in which poverty happens. This context is divided into: economic, social, spatial and political aspects that determine the strategies and resources that the poor have available to plan a household livelihood strategy.

Another important aspect of SLA is that the relation between rural and urban is emphasized. This relation produces a broader scope delimiting a consideration of urban areas as isolated, instead drawing attention to the link between urban and rural areas. The locations or places where the urban poor settle as the slums, act also as urban-rural interface (Rakodi, 2002). The SLA puts the urban poor household as the main source of agency however this is debatable by context, as in the case of the spatial civic conflict frame under investigation here. A factor like informality and illegal condition of the encroachment hinders their access to the urban space (public and private) reducing their competing claims which reduce the scope of the strategies and possibilities for a sustainable livelihood.

As already shown in diagram 1 spatial civic conflict frame, due to the eligibility criteria, slum dwellers cannot be considered as homogeneous group. Even the category of urban poor, does not express the different positions and claims that have slum dwellers with urban space. The

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[15] Schedule castes (SCs) is the legal and constitutional name collectively given to the groups which have traditionally occupied the lowest status in Indian society and the Hindu religion which provides the religious and ideological basis for an "untouchable" group, which was outside the caste system and inferior to all other castes. Today, untouchability is outlawed, and these groups are recognized by the Indian Constitution to be especially disadvantaged because of their past history of inferior treatment, and are therefore entitled to certain rights and preferential treatment (MWD, 2010)

term urban poor limits understanding of the dynamics happening inside the slum. That is the reason that to gain insight the term slum dweller is used instead of urban poor. The term urban poor can be deceiving, particularly will regard to connotations that might have with a general lack of assets.

2.3.2 Terminology review

This terminology was central in the elaboration of key questions for the interviews in the field research. These interviews will be explained in detail in chapter 3 of methodology.

The concept of *livelihood* is defined as comprising the capabilities, assets including both material and social resources (Carney, 1998 in Rakodi, 2002), and a realistic recognition of the multiple activities in which households engage to ensure their survival and improve their well-being (Ellis, 1998 in Rakodi, 2002).

The added characteristic of *sustainable* refers to the ability of a livelihood to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resources base (Carney, 1998 in Rakodi, 2002).

A *household* is considered as a person or co-resident group of people who contributes to and/or benefits from a joint economy in either cash of domestic labor that is a group who lives and eats together (Rakodi, 2002, p7). In the SLA is used as a unit of analysis, also in this research was consider as a unit of analysis, since the rehabilitation process centers not in individuals but households.

The concept of *strategy* has the advantage to restoring human agency, however it must be noted that in case of slum households, the extent to which they have sufficient control over their assets and environment to pursue a goal-oriented behavior is limited, suggesting that most can merely react to opportunities within and outside the household to try to defend themselves against further impoverishment. Or they engage in more risky but potentially more profitable economic activities that could lead to increased prosperity (Rakodi, 2002). The concept of strategy relates to the competing claims considered in the spatial civic conflict, because in the same manner, the slum households can merely react or defend to the competing claims of the authorities or the private developers have over the space they encroach. In the context of competing claims, the restoration of human agency traditionally claim by the SLA approach is greatly diminished.

Traditionally in the SLA, the term *urban poor* has been applied to a household or individuals, when the resources they command are insufficient to enable them to consume sufficient goods

and services, to achieve a reasonable minimum level of welfare (Rakodi, 2002). However, as mentioned before in this chapter, the term urban poor will be substituted here for slum dwellers. What is relevant in the SLA term of urban poor, is that it considers the definition of poor also as a perception, not only in relation to low incomes, and adds a broader dimension as it introduces the concept of **deprivation** and **insecurity**; as some aspects of social deprivation are not measured in monetary value (Rakodi, 2002). In order to link the perception of poor and the concept of deprivation to the spatial dimension and competing claims, it should be considered the deprivation of access to urban space, i.e. **spatial deprivation.** Many resources available to slum dwellers are communal, and not individually owned, and access to these can be denied through regulation, cost or social exclusion (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002).

Indeed, the slum households construct their livelihoods around assets that are available to them. The SLA has constructed a schematic model of factors to consider that a policy intervention can create a new situation, in which the slum household would have to alter its present strategy of livelihoods. This new situation which requires an adjustment in present activities or strategies of livelihoods will be denominated **impact.** The term **impact** does not have a connotation that is either positive or negative, however the outcome of the adjustment can have positive or negative outcome in the same measure that it reduces deprivation and insecurity and or if it increases the capacity of the household to recuperate from shock and cope with the stresses (Rakodi, 2002).

2.4 Slum Livelihood framework

Diagram 3 which provides the Slum livelihood framework of this research serves as a guide to expose the crucial components, the dynamic and complex interconnections between main factors affecting the livelihoods and the relationship between external factors such as policies, actors and processes that have an impact on the access to the livelihood assets.

This frame provides a complementary meso and micro dimension to the spatial civic conflict frame.

Diagram 3 is an adaptation of the SLA diagram suggested by Carney (1998) which was designed as a tool that provides an analytical basis for livelihood analysis (Rakodi, 2002). As for the present research, there were some modifications to the original frame, to include the competing claims in the place of the vulnerability context, and different dimensions were included: legal, spatial, social and economic.
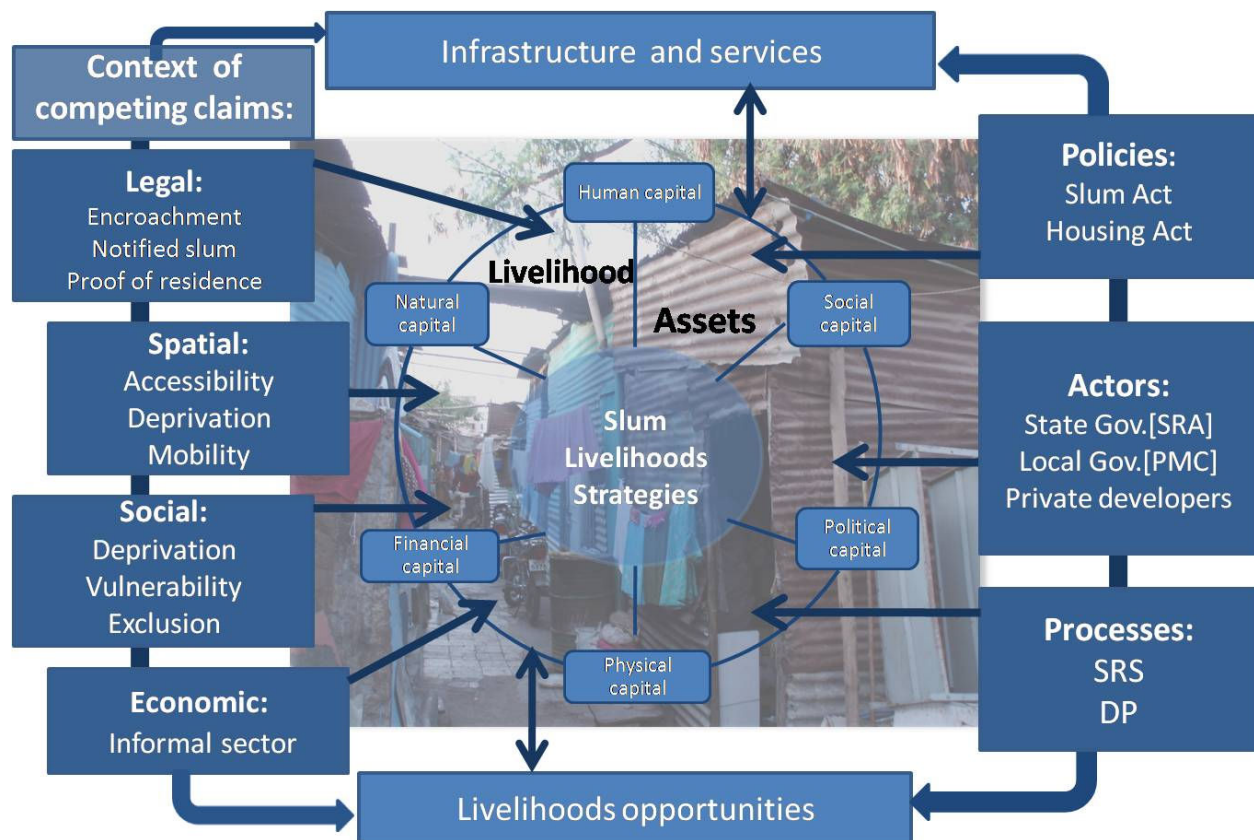
Diagram 3. Slum Livelihood framework.
Background photo: Lohmanya Nagar Slum in Pune.

These dimensions are integral part of competing claims and have direct relation to access infrastructure and services, hence the connecting arrow to the human capital when they are entitled to receive these from the actors.

The different factors affecting the slum livelihood strategies are depicted as policies, actors and processes. The processes of SRS and DP impact the livelihood opportunities in two manners: (1) it either provides infrastructure and services, as in the case of the SRS or (2) it rejects the services and infrastructure as in the case of DP in the form of eviction and demolition.

The box of competing claims contains the different criteria to evaluate which slum dwellers will enhance their livelihood opportunities and which will have a detrimental impact in their opportunities. In this frame each dimension is autonomous and has the potential to impact the livelihood assets. Also, this frame shows that the combination of capitals results in the available livelihood assets, plus the context of competing claims and physical infrastructure and services available, slum dwellers can create a livelihood strategy. By denoting all the variables that can affect the livelihood assets, this frame constitutes a critic to the original SLA framework that considers the urban poor independent agents that can decided which livelihood strategies

result in a more efficient use of their assets. Instead, this frame depict the high degree of vulnerability and uncertainty that slum dwellers have to endure, but also it shows that ultimately livelihood strategies are mere reactions to the context imposed to slum dwellers.

The different dimensions within the context of competing claims and variables in assets show that each slum dweller household is exposed to different outcomes on livelihood opportunities. The outcome depends on their initial position before the interventions of the process. This will be further explored in the empirical findings in chapter 5, when different groups of slum dweller households have different outcomes after the rehabilitation process, and also during the eviction demolition process.

These crucial components contained in the slum livelihood frame were considered to develop interview questions as well as observations in the sites of rehabilitation and eviction.

2.4.1 Livelihood assets

As the SLA, the Slum Livelihood frame uses as indicators the livelihood assets. By doing this, other material and non-material assets can be considered e.g. health, labor, knowledge and skills, family and friends, kinship, natural resources around them (Rakodi, 2002).

For the household, the assets available are said to constitute a stock of capital. This capital can be stored, accumulated, exchanged or depleted and put to work to generate a flow of income or other benefits. Social units need, it is suggested, to call on stocks of all types of capital: human, social, political, physical, financial and natural (Rakodi, 2002).

Human capital: The quantity and quality of labor resources available to slum households. The dominant factors to consider are: level of education and skills and health status of the household members. This both factors are vital in the manner that households may respond to economic stress, by resorting to survival activities. The level of skills and education is directly related to the productivity and the ability to secure a livelihood in the urban labor market (Rakodi, 2002).

Social capital: The social resources such as networks, kinship, caste, linguistic affinities, religion are very significant factors in a diversify nation as India. To consider these aspects as capital, it will be important to identify the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures and institutions (Rakodi, 2002). In this research project, it was not possible an in depth analysis of these institutions, as it will required an extensive study which is not the purpose of the present research. However, during the interviews and observations the importance to identify these resources was central, since there has been a

tendency on policy interventions to disregard the importance of the social resources that the slum dwellers use to develop livelihood strategies.

In some cases of the slum rehabilitation program, the relocation has had disastrous consequences for the households in the loss of social resources, which had even in some cases been the reason why some households refuse to be rehabilitated.

Physical capital: Includes basic infrastructure as shelter, household goods, transport and productive tools or equipment. In the case of the slum communities is consider as informal settlement. The Shelter is multifunctional, potentially providing income from rent as well as location for home-based enterprise (Rakodi, 2002). In the research the conditions and uses of the shelter were central, because the slum rehabilitation program directly alters the previous conditions of multi-functional shelter, to a regulated, limited and non-transferable space to be use only as shelter. By considering the multifunctional use that the informal shelter provides for the household, can serve as an indicator of degree that livelihood strategies have to be modified in case of rehabilitation.

Financial capital: The financial resources available to people in the form of savings, remittances, pensions, ration cards. Urban economies are highly monetized and access to a monetary income is essential for survival (Rakodi, 2002). Also the possibility of having access to financial capital helps the household to cope with stresses and shocks, as for example in case of illness or injuries, but also as a means to invest in education, create enterprises or migration. During the research, one important factor was the lack of access to ration cards this will be explained in chapter 4 of empirical findings.

Natural capital: In the urban context this is less significant than in the rural. However land and security of tenure and access to water are major issues. In this research the urban land will be considered as natural capital due to the characteristics of Pune. The Pune city is a combination of unoccupied land and recently developed buildings. Many of the slums are located in unoccupied land some livelihoods include farm animals, like cows, goats and chickens. For slums located at the river banks, it was observed that part of the livelihood strategies include fishing.

The different types of assets are presented in the shape of a circle, instead of the original pentagon frame suggested by Carney. The pentagon frame suggested that access by households to each type of asset can be plotted subjectively along the axes to provide a starting point to think about how assets combination translate into livelihoods (Rakodi, 2002). It was the overall area of the pentagon that was important, rather than the absolute magnitude of access to any particular type of capital (Rakodi, 2002). However, it was not central in this

research to provide an analysis of the combination of asset status in relation to the responses of the slum household to develop livelihood strategies, instead the circle is used as a depiction of the different non-material assets that the slum household have, to understand how the external interventions as the SRS and the Development plan affect the access to these assets, but also adds competing claims context. This provides a spatial dimension to the livelihood frame. It is not enough to have access to assets that gives human agency to the slum household in choosing their livelihood strategies, but the competing claims context adds the dimension of vulnerability and insecurity, particularly in the current new urban spatial organization. The fragility of the competing claims of slum household is in the middle of the spatial civic conflict and has the potential as will be seen in chapter 5 to increase the social exclusion and detriment their vulnerable position *vis á vis* their future access to the new spatial organization of Pune.

2.5   Urban poverty and different groups of slum dwellers

The last term to consider is ***urban poverty***. During the field research, it was important to assess the context of the urban poverty in Pune, as a multidimensional challenge beyond the classical economical approach of poverty line criteria. As a researcher, the livelihood approach frame provided an opportunity to see the slum dwellers as important actors in the urban development of the city, not only as recipients of government interventions policies to reduce poverty. Also it gave more understanding about the reasons why the program of slum rehabilitation has not been implemented at large scale, because of the impact that rehabilitation has had on their strategies of sustainable livelihood.

The urban poor living in slum conditions are been recognized as the most vulnerable group to risks, crisis and disasters. There are many different definitions of vulnerability, what it is essential to stress in this context is that vulnerability is something that exists within systems independently of external hazards (Brooks, 2003). In the case of the slum as a mixed-use informal habitat, is an inherent property of such a habitat arising from its internal characteristics may be termed "social vulnerability" (Adger, 1999; Adger and Kelly, 1999 in Brooks, 2003).   Social vulnerability is determined by factors such as poverty, exclusion, deprivation, informal sector, location, illegal status and housing quality.

The term slum dwellers serves to further zoom inside the slum space to find different groups with different degrees of competing claims. The following categories of slum dwellers were used: slum landlords and slum tenants. Slum landlords are characterized by having claiming rights of more than one dwelling inside the slum which they used to rent, commercial use or occupied by extended family. It is not possible to consider that they 'own' the dwellings due the

nature of informality and insecure tenure. These claiming rights can be considered social capital as the rest of the slum community recognize these rights. Slum tenants are characterized by not having claiming rights over a dwelling, but occupy this dwelling by paying a rent fee to the slum landlord.

In summary, the Spatial Civic Conflict frame is closely related to the spatial planning, access and infrastructure. To have a deeper insight of what is behind the claims for the urban space for different social groups it is fundamental to consider the nature and spatiality of the livelihoods of each group, albeit, with a core focus on the impact these competing claims have on the slum. The term urban poor does not reflect the dynamic happening inside the slum, further it can result deceiving particularly to assumptions of lack of assets, hence more emphasis is given to slum dwellers term.

Complexity is inherent in the spatial distribution of the livelihood activities of the slum dwellers By emphasizing all the variables that can affect the livelihood assets, the Slum Livelihood frame constitutes a critique to the original SLA framework that considers the slum dwellers independent agents that can decided which livelihood strategies result in a more efficient use of their assets. Instead, this frame depict the high degree of vulnerability and uncertainty that slum dwellers have to endure, but also it shows that ultimately livelihood strategies are mere reactions to the context and processes imposed to slum dwellers.

3   Research methodology

The methodology of this research started with minimal preconceptions of the phenomenon of slum rehabilitation, particularly because there are few sources of preliminary literature available outside of India. Hence this research started with slum rehabilitation as a general topic. Thus before arriving to Pune, I had not predetermined research 'problem'. Once in Pune, the data collection was done through intensive interviews combined with participant observation. The initial analysis of these interviews guided me where to go, which key informants to approach for the next data collection.

This chapter concerns the methodology. Section 3.1.1 gives a description of the different research methods applied. Section 3.1.2 discussed the empirical unit of analysis - the slum – definition and classification. In section 3.1.3 the choice of research location is explained. The challenges and difficulties of this research are described in section 3.1.4.

3.1 Research methodology

3.1.1   Research methods

The interest in exploratory research derived from a need to be flexible to adapt and change direction as a result of new data and insights found during the interviews in Pune. This flexibility allowed more room and time to have deeper insights about the implications of the rehabilitation scheme for different actors involved, which enable me to propose the spatial civic conflict frame.
As mentioned before, my first contact with slum rehabilitation was through the account of Vinita Tatke from Green Earth Consultants. During my second interview with Dr. Tambe, I identify a significant different account concerning the reasons behind the rehabilitation, thus this prompted me, to open my scope to do more interviews to different groups involved. This had the objective of comparing and having a broader perspective on the initial research topic, as complementary overlaps of information.

As research strategy the case of Slum Rehabilitation Program help to gather the necessary empirical data about the urban development transformation scheme, to highlight the context in which the spatial civic conflict in Pune is happening in relation to the livelihood of the slum dwellers. There were four principal ways of conducting explorative search: a search of the literature study, interviews, focus group interviews and observation.

Literature study

The literature study was conducted prior to the field research in Pune, mainly centered in concepts as globalization, urban poverty alleviation policies, urban livelihoods, urbanization trends and urban governance. During this explorative stage, there was not specific literature on slum rehabilitation scheme in Pune related to spatial urban planning. That is the reason, as a researcher decided to put more emphasis in gathering data from primary sources as interviews with the main actors currently involved in the rehabilitation scheme.

Interviews

Empirical data was gathered by means of semi-structured in-depth interviews. The objective of these interviews was to compare the different views and positions of the actors involved in the slum rehabilitation scheme and their experiences with rehabilitated projects. Also, interviews were conducted to gather empirical data from actors not directly involved in the rehabilitation scheme, but that have a predominant position and background knowledge on the current urban planning agenda in the city. This approach allowed me to open my vision scope to see the rehabilitation scheme as part of a major spatial organization.

The interviews were structured around conceptual terms of livelihood assets, livelihood strategies, social exclusion and vulnerability to evaluate the impact on the position of the slum dwellers and the possibilities they had to have competing rights over the encroached land they occupied. The aim was to focus in which way SRS as a poverty alleviation scheme is in reality helping to resolve the problems of infrastructure in Pune. Also, concepts related to governance as accountability and transparency were used, to understand the mechanism and different agendas behind the decision-making process in Pune urban transformation.

The field research was conducted during a period of four months in Pune namely from December 2009 to April 2010. These interviews were conducted in collaboration of Dr. Shruti Tambe expert on Urban Studies of the University of Pune and supported by Sujit Patwardhan, community leader, social advocate on sustainable urban transport in Pune and director of NGO Parisar[16].

Through their expertise, experience and trusted network, I was able to identify key actors currently involved in the decision making and implementation of the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme.

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[16] Parisar is a civil society organization working on lobbying and advocacy for sustainable development in Pune, see www.parisar.org

The interviews with each organization gave me a multidimensional perspective of the situation and challenges that urban development is bringing. This opportunity provided a whole spectrum of interests, points of views, challenges and solutions of each dimension from the international organism as World Bank all the way to the slum dwellers.

I conducted a total of 13 interviews with the rationale from the macro to the micro perspective. Some of these actors are active participants in the SRS, others are passive participants.

The interviews conducted were:
a) World Bank advisor, Gerard Menckhoff. Currently, World Bank is not involved in Slum Rehabilitation projects. However, Menckhoff has been working with World Bank in other countries as Pakistan in urban housing projects. He is currently involved in a sustainable public transport project in Pune.
   He provided me insights of the current urban development challenges at the government institutional level and urban governance perspective in Pune.

b) Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC) Department of Development Plan (DP Cell). Local government entity. The DP Cell is in charge of implementing the current Development Plan in the city. They are not related directly with the SRS, but they are related in provided basic services to the notified slums in the city. I conducted two interviews with Samir Gosavi.

c) Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA). Government State agency directly involved in approval and implementation of the SRS. Informant: Mukund Shinde.

d) Maharashtra Social Housing & Action League (MASHAL). This organization is currently involved in rehabilitating and upgrading slum communities. Actively participates as a land developer and NGO. Informant: Sharad Mahajan, CEO and arquitect planner.

e) YASADA[17] an administrative training Institute of the Government of Maharashtra. This is a research institute currently conducting investigation various field of urban development. It is a center of promotion of new urban governance and it provides training to the government elective commissioners. Informant: Poonam Metha.

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[17] YASADA is a research institute that meets the training needs of government departments, see www.yasada.org

f) University of Pune, Department of Sociology. Academic institution that conducts research project on urban development, and acts as a network link with grass root organization. Informant: Dr. Shruti Tambe.

g) NGOs as active participants as land developers such as: Shelter Associates and Marshal Organization. These NGOs are actively involved in the SRS. Also none participant NGOs, were part of this research such as: Green Earth Consulting: sustainable development, projects with rural communities. Informant: Vinita Takte. Parisar: sustainable transport. Informant: Sujit Patwardhan. Center for Environment Education (CEE): protection of ecological areas in the city. Informant: Sankriti Menon.

h) Leaders of grassroots organization active in slums: Waste Pickers Association Union (KKKP), Informant: Laskmi Narayan. Domestic Workers Union (DWU), informants: Ushatai Datar and Radha Waghware. These organizations are actively involved with the slum livelihoods and members have experience the rehabilitation scheme.

Focus group interviews

The major difficulty for group interviews was the language and cultural barrier. My first approach was to conduct group interviews in the slum however I soon realized the difficulty of finding a Marathi translator willing to go with me. I conducted a group interview in the University of Pune as part of an academic event organized by the sociology department with the Domestic Workers Union (DWU). Then, conducted two group interviews in different slums, this was only possible after several meetings with groups leaders so that they felt more at ease and relationship of trust could be built, only then I could visit the people in the slum. During the visits, it was very important to be seen with this trusted group leader in the slum, for my own safety and for the willingness of respondents to participate.

The group interviews with slum dwellers were unstructured and informal, and particularly in the case of Lohmanya nagar slum, where I interviewed the dwellers just days after a traumatic event such as a demolition, this interview was really emotional for them, for translator and me too.

Also the group interviews allow me to connect with the people, which was really important to grounding me away from mere conceptual abstract terms. As in the case of the academic event with the DWU, I was more than one hour listening to personal life accounts of members of the DWU, all in Marathi without translator. Despite I could not understand a word I observed and

felt the emotional charge of the women and the audience. Sometimes a presence can say more than words, I could identify insecurity and helplessness.

Observations

Observations were a major contribution in the field research, while visiting some slum communities and interviewing respondents in their homes or in the slum site. Observations were made with regard to understand and identify indicators of deprivation and insecurity, but also with regard to their livelihoods, assets, infrastructure and access to basic services. This method was used to gather information also about slum communities where I could not visit due to the lack of a local contact, or felt could be unsafe to approach on my own.

This was the case with the slum located at the Mutha riverbank (Figure 3). I observed daily this community from my apartment. This provided me empirical data on their livelihoods, the activities that I observed where fishing, small animal raising and agricultural parcel. I observed how they build a water-well.

Also, observations were made of rehabilitated project such as the Mega City in Karve road (see background photo in Diagram 1 of SCC).

Slums are very visible throughout the city, this allow me to compare different settlements and observed how integrated they are within the city.

3.1.2 Unit of analysis: The slum

The empirical unit of analysis is the slum as a spatial entity in the city of Pune, India. For this research, the slum is defined as a densely populated informal mixed-use habitat located in urban space. The main characteristics of the slum are deprivation and lack of secure tenure. However, not all slums are homogeneous and not all slum dwellers suffer from the same degree of deprivation (UN-Habitat, 2006). Any definition of slum is related to the income poverty line. However, this concept does not capture the severity of living conditions in the slum, particularly in India. The income poverty line concept is a limited one because it does not reflect the deprivation and many above poverty line suffer from serious deprivation and some below the poverty line do not (Siddiqui, 2007b).

There are great differences between slums in different cities and within each city. In order to have a better understanding of slums in Pune, key characteristics will be observed that relate with the competing claims of the slum dwellers, but also integrate the spatial entity and the slum dwellers to the urban context of Pune.

A holistic definition of the concept slum includes several dimensions; to get better understanding of the dynamics happening inside this spatial entity. Table 2 below presents the characteristics of slums in the Pune context and the reasons and consequences of each characteristic.

This definition differs from many other definitions of slum, because it specifically includes the spatial characteristics and the dimensions enlisted in table 2, relate this spatial entity with the slum dwellers livelihood. These characteristics served to link the competing claims and position the slum dwellers in the spatial organization of the city. In chapter 5, these characteristics will be elaborate more to answer the research questions.

Table 2: Characteristics of Slums

Dimension	Characteristics	Reasons and consequences
Legal	Lack of Secure Tenure	Current building laws and criteria make safe housing too expensive and unaffordable for the poor. Development control rules have made urban land unrealistically expensive.
	Encroachment	Zoning laws prohibit small businesses and small shopping in most areas of the city.
Economic	Informal sector	Limited access to job opportunities due to lack of qualifications, so dwellers end up as casual workers with unskilled labor wages without employment security. The informal sector seldom offers a sustainable livelihood (Siddiqui, 2007b). Location is critical for informal sector activities. They need good access to markets (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002).
Social	Exclusion	Limited or no access to health care and education. Caste system.
Spatial	Access	Lack of basic services and infrastructure: limited sewerage and drainage facilities leads to contamination of local water bodies. The lack of water supply and sanitation has negative consequences for the health of slum dwellers.
	Mobility	Mobility of slum dwellers is constrained by lack of access to cheap and affordable transport (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002).
	Location	Located in zones prone to natural hazards (such as flooding), as well as negative environmental and transport externalities (such as the consequences of being located next to railway tracks or roads with polluting and dangerous traffic) (Kapoor, 2004).

3.1.3 Choice of the research location

I have been attracted to India and its culture for many years. During the last two years, I have made several visits to India and I have travelled through several states and cities. I chose to conduct this research in Pune, because of my personal interests, experience and network connections I have in this city. Pune is a fascinating city that is now in the international scope for its links to the global economy and the tremendous changes in urbanization that I have been witnessing during my previous visits as stated in chapter 1.

In one of those previous visit to Pune, I had the opportunity to visit Magarpatta city (see Figure 1), which is a modern township on the outskirt of the metropolitan area. Magarpatta township is the only housing development project in India where farmers came together to convert their cultivable land into a successful global enterprise.

I became very interested on doing my master thesis research on the possibilities of social inclusion of rural farmers into development projects arisen from global processes in India. However, as I learned more, I realized that the highly advertise success of Magarpatta, is not related to recent developments of social inclusion processes in the city, instead is only an isolated case in which high level networking was a crucial factor to achieve the support of the government. Then, I became aware that Magarpatta is not unique, in the sense that there is a development trend in India of building gated communities called townships. These townships far from becoming projects of social inclusion fragment more the city.

As my main interest was social inclusion and development, I learned about the slum rehabilitation program in Pune. I became interested when Vinita Tatke (Green Earth NGO director) explained me that this program gave 'free houses' to the urban poor. That is when I started focusing on rehabilitation programs of informal housing enclaves, the slums.

Slum rehabilitation has been implemented in other cities. The most famous one is Mumbai, where the rehabilitation of the largest slum in the world *Dharavi*, has received international attention. However, Pune proof to be the ideal location for my research, because of the smaller size of the city but also slum rehabilitation is not as highly politicized as is in Mumbai. This allowed me to have access to key informants which did not have a direct political or economical interest (apart of the private developer) in the process. Consequently, the data collection resulted rather unbiased.

3.1.4 Challenges and difficulties of research

As mentioned before, I experienced challenges due to the language and culture barrier. The slums visits were challenging because of the perception that they are insecure and dangerous places and because it was difficult to find a Marathi translator to come with me. Also I could visit a slum only after getting the support of a local leader or organization linked to a particular slum. In that sense, I could not choose which slum or area to visit, and had to remain flexible on the willingness of the local leaders.

During my first visit to a slum, Gandhinagar slum, I realized the potential difficulties and dangers for myself, because despite being accompanied by the local representative of Mashal, some slum dwellers were very upset about my presence. Even after the local representative explained them that I was a researcher, one man was still very upset and followed us all the time. Because of that I did not feel comfortable to take photos. On the other hand, I understood why he was so upset, because his house was one of the few non-cement dwellings in the slum, and compared to the rest of the dwellings, it looked very vulnerable. So I kept a low profile and did not show much interest.

An important difficulty was gender, particularly when interviewing some Indian men I could feel the lower status women have in India by the way they responded. Also, as a woman visiting slums alone or late was highly discouraged by Dr. Shruti Tambe, and out of common sense, I would not expose myself to any dangers. Dr. Shruti Tambe explained that particularly with the rehabilitation process, some slum communities have resorted to violence, and see anybody not related to the community as a threat.

During the observations of a rehabilitated project Mega city in Karve Road, I took photos at a distance. Nevertheless some men were very suspicious and upset of my presence. I understood from Dr. Shruti Tambe that in that rehabilitated project the original rehabilitated owners have sold or rent the units, so I assumed this was the reason of the suspicion.

There was a constant atmosphere of suspicion about my presence, which give me the insight of the extreme vulnerability, illegality and resentment particularly in less developed slums.

On the other hand, in more developed slums like Gandhinagar, I was received with curiosity and relaxed atmosphere by the people with multistory cement dwellings. I was invited to see a house inside and informally interviewed them.

The traffic in Pune was a big challenge for me in two ways, travelling to the different interview points in the city by rickshaw took a long time, because streets in the city have no names, and often the drivers did not speak English. Only with directions of my respondent via mobile phone

to the driver I could arrived to the organizations' offices. The other aspect was my health. The air pollution was so bad that each time I ventured into the city I needed few days to recuperate of the toxic effects of the environment.

Another challenge has been to find current accurate statistical data, since the last census in India was in 2001. The population numbers, economic and social indicators vary a lot depending on the source, but also because many numbers are future projections based on trends of growth. For example, the estimates of Pune population can vary for about one million people. Same is the case with estimates of population below poverty income line. I compared data from various reputable sources and committed to a more realistic estimate data. In other cases, I had to use data from previous years, with the understanding that with the rapid pace of growth in India, this data would provide only a partial view of the actual scenario. It was interesting to note as a researcher, that even Indian official government websites have a constant lack of update accurate statistical information. This also correlates to the empirical findings as will be explain in chapter 6, the information provided by the local municipal authority of Pune was from 1987. The development plan map is 12 years old and does not reflect the drastic changes that the city has had in the last years.

 In summary, the research methodology was based on in-depth interviews with key informants, focus group interviews and observations. Thorough these methods, the necessary empirical data was gather to answer the research questions but also to conceptualized key elements to propose the spatial civic conflict frame in relation to the SLA.
Pune was the ideal location for this research because is a smaller location than Mumbai, and the slum rehabilitation process is not as politicized so the informants were more available and unbiased.
The main challenge for this research was the local language, Marathi. It was difficult to find a translator. Without this language barrier, it would have been easier to approach the slum dwellers.

4. Research context

The number of urban residents living in slum conditions worldwide is now estimated at some 828 million, compared to 657 million in 1990 and 767 million in 2000. In many cases, public authorities have exacerbated the housing crisis through failures on four major counts: lack of land titles and other forms of secure tenure; cutbacks in funds for subsidized housing for the poor; lack of land reserves earmarked for low-income housing; and an inability to intervene in the market to control land and property speculation
(UN, 2010)

The rise of slums in Pune follows a worldwide trend. This trend is directly related to the context created by the implementation of major neoliberal policies in the Global South. From the political context, public authorities have exacerbated the housing crisis by failing to have special provision for the socially excluded vulnerable groups. However, there are other dimensions to expand the debate of the reasons behind rise of slums in Pune. This research found that the context of this phenomenon is related to the particular characteristics of Pune.

The following chapter discusses key elements of the research context that were crucial to assess the spatial civic conflict in Pune. In section 4.1 deals with the national and local context in relation to urbanization. In section 4.2.1., Pune's geographical and socio-economic characteristics are discussed, in section 3.2.2 the context of urbanization in Indian cities will be discussed, and section 3.2.3 explains the background of the urbanization of Pune. Also aspects of the urbanization context will also be explored in section 3.2.4. Migration, section 3.2.5 describes the environmental risks that urbanization creates. The slum in relation to the urbanization will be described in section 3.2.6.

4.1 Location of research: Pune

4.1.1 Geographical characteristics
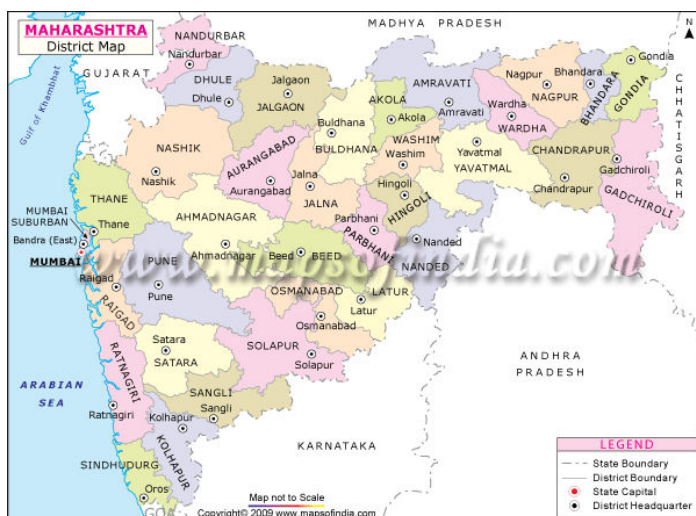
The Deccan Plateau covers most of the peninsular part of India, Pune is located in the Maharashtra state near the western margin of the India Deccan Plateau, 160 km east of Mumbai (see map 3). Maharashtra state is the third largest state in India with a geographical area of 308, 000 square km.

Map 3: Maharashtra Districts
Source: www.mapsofindia.com (2010)

The major cities of Maharashtra which fall in the Deccan region are, Pune, Nagpur and Solapur.

Water is a scare natural resource in the state, greatly in the demand, and unevenly distributed. Large number of villages lacks drinking water, especially during the summer months; only 11% of the net sown area is irrigated (source: www.maharashtraweb.com).

Pune district (Map 4) has a total geographical area of 15,642 square kilometers which is 5.10 percent of the total geographical area of the state, the second largest district of Maharashtra state (source: www.indianetzone.com).

Map 4: Pune District
Source: www.mapsofindia.com (2006)

Pune district is located between the north latitudes of 17º 54' and 10º 24', and the east longitudes of 73º 19' and 75º 10'.

See map 4, Pune is surrounded by Ahmednagar in the north-east, Solapur in the south east, Satara in the south, Raigarh in the west, and Thane in the north-west. Pune city is situated at the confluence of Mula and Mutha rivers, has the geographical position of 18º 32' N and 73º 51' E.
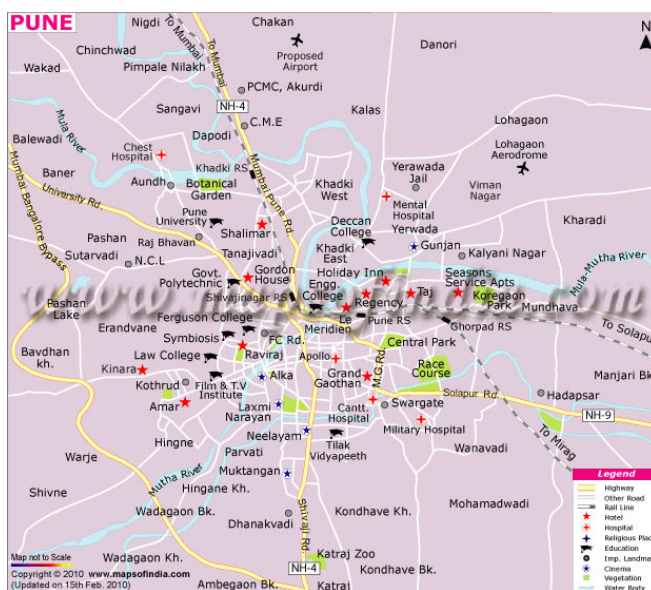
Map 5: Pune Metropolitan Region
Source: www.mapsofindia.com (2010)

The name 'Pune' is derived from the word 'Punya' meaning 'holy'. Pune is considered 'holy' due to its location at the intersection of two rivers (source: vwww.puneonline.in).

The city extends over an area of 138 square kilometers (Map 5). As mentioned in chapter 1, Pune is known to be the 'Oxford of the East' for its numerous higher education institutions. In Map 5, it can be distinguished the location of different education institutions as well as hospital facilities, airport and other entertainment locations. This map shows main areas in the city referred in this thesis, such as Koregaon Park (the area where I stayed and

where is the slum community in Figure 3 and 12), Yerawada slum (Map 6), Kothrud (Figure 15), Gandhinagar slum (Figure 7) was closed to the Kalyani Nagar area. Also the cover page photo was taken in the area of Kalyani Nagar.

In comparison with northern cities as Delhi, Pune's climate is not considered extreme. However temperatures can rise above 40 degrees C during the hottest months of April and May, while December and January are the coolest months, when average temperature falls as low as 11 degrees C (source:www.pune.gov.in).

The monsoon arrives in June, with the maximum intensity of rainfall. During the next two months, July and August, about 87% of the total yearly rain falls (Source:www.pune.gov.in).

During monsoon Pune's river Mutha and Mulla are prone to flooding. Also, due to heavy rainfall during monsoon season, there are landslide-prone areas particularly hill areas where slums are located. Another geographical characteristic of Pune city is that with the presence of many structured hills within Pune district, occurrences of earthquakes take place. Pune lies in the seismically active zone of Koyna Region, which is located about 100 km south of city and has recently been upgraded to lie in zone IV, which is the second most dangerous seismic zone in India (CDP, 2006). Fault lines are scattered throughout the district and these areas are minor earthquake prone areas.

4.1.2 Socio-economic characteristics

To draw a complete overview of the socio-economic characteristics in Pune, first I will explain the context of poverty at national level. This is important to put in context the position of Maharashtra in relation to the national development indicators. The spatial organization in Pune city is commanded at state level, with this consideration it will be understandable the context in which the SRS and Development Plan were devised.

The World Bank classifies India as a low middle income country with a GNI per capita of $1,180 USD annually in 2009, with a population of 1,155,347,678 (World Bank, 2010). India has made progress in reducing the poverty, according to World Bank data, in 1994 the percentage of population below poverty line was 36 per cent; by 2009 this number was reduced to 28.6 per cent. However, as stated before in chapter 2 section 4 of urban poverty and slum dwellers, the poverty line criteria does not reflect many aspects of deprivation, that is the reason this criteria has been revised by international organism as World Bank, so in 2010 with the revised official poverty line, 37.2% of the population (about 410 million people) is considered poor, making India home to one third of the world's poor people (World Bank, 2010).

World Bank data focuses on key development indicators as a better approach to build a context, in relation to the challenges that India faces for the future.

Figure 4:   Key Development Indicators in India 2008

GROWTH: Population Growth (2001- 2007): 1.4%   **GDP Growth** (2007- 2008): 9.0%
GDP Growth (Govt. Estimates for 2008-2009): 7.1%

....

Poverty (Below National Poverty Line): Rural: 28 %   Urban: 26 %
Life expectancy at birth: 64 years
Fertility rate: 2.5 births per woman
Infant mortality (per 1000 live births)**:** 57   **Maternal Mortality** (per 100,000 live births):450
Children Underweight (below 5 years): 46%
Primary school enrollment, net: 90%
Male Adult literacy (age 15 and older)**:** 73%
Female Adult literacy (age 15 and older)**:** 48%
Access to improved water source (% of pop): 89%   **Access to improved sanitation**: 33%

Source: World Development Indicators 2008, NFHS 3 2005-06, and World Bank's 'India at a Glance'

In Figure 4, deprivation aspects related to poverty can be identified as malnutrition, as 46 percent of children below 5 years are underweight. In access to education, can be seeing the disparity among male adult literacy of 73 per cent compare to 48 per cent among women. This data compared to the primary school enrollment of 90 per cent, shows that there is a high rate of school drop-out, this can be link to poverty, since children need to help their parents, and are human capital for a household to create a livelihood in the slum.

Another aspect closely related to slums livelihoods, is that access to improved water source is available to 89 per cent of the population while sanitation access is only available to 33 per cent of the population. This data matches to what was observed in the slums I visited in Pune, many had water but access to sanitation is very limited even in the more developed slums.

After having a socio-economic view of national key development indicators, next step is to compare this data with state data of Maharashtra. The coverage of population by water supply and sanitation is significant higher than the national average, access to improved water source is 99.7 percent and sanitation is 62.2 per cent (Siddiqui, 2007a). Other development indicators that are higher than the average national in 2005 were: Primary school enrollment is almost 100 per cent; infant mortality was reduced by one-third compare to the national average between the years 1991-2003, which was one of the sharpest declines in the country; and has one of the lowest fertility rates in the country (Carter, 2006).

In 2005, Maharashtra contributed with 14 per cent of India's GDP, has had a sustained growth of 12-13 per cent over the years (Carter, 2006). It is recognized as one of India's more

prosperous states with one of the highest per capita incomes. Yet poverty persists, data varies but is calculated between 25 to 30 per cent (Carter, 2006). One revealing aspect is that 10 of the 100 poorest districts of India identified by the Planning Commission are in Maharashtra – interestingly, none of the other higher income states is included in this list and the remaining 90 districts are mostly from the much poorer states like Bihar and Orissa (Carter, 2006).

Maharashtra is an investor-friendly environment. It has consistently been ranked the best among major Indian states in the World Bank *Investment Climate Assessment* surveys, especially in terms of having better infrastructure, less corruption and a relatively deregulated business environment (Carter, 2006). As mentioned in chapter 1, the globalization trends have encouraged Maharashtra to be more competitive to attract foreign investment. However, its position as the preferred destination for new private investments in India is in jeopardy from other fast-reforming states like Tamil Nadu and Karnataka (Carter, 2006). The Country Director (India) of the World Bank, Michael Carter explained in a conference in Mumbai in 2006, that it was imperative for Maharashtra to promote reforms if it wished to retain its edge with private investors. As example, he mentioned that a typical firm in Maharashtra has to deal with 28 different legislations pertaining only to labor, or that more than one-fourth of firms had to make arrangements for their own power supply (Carter, 2006). One of the big challenges to attract investments to Maharashtra is the poor infrastructure and restrictive land use policies which severely raise the cost of doing business in the state (Carter, 2006).
Carter explained that Maharashtra needs to bring in land and housing reforms, to build transport infrastructure, at the same time, it needs to ensure that the millions of poor migrants who pour into the cities in the state each year are housed, fed, schooled and employed in a way that preserves their human dignity (Carter, 2006).

Since the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme is a state program, it can be clear the connection that the SRS has to increase the global competitive position of Pune to attract foreign capital flows. Because it present both the opportunity to attract private sector for land development and housing market at the same that it ensures adequate housing the poor.

The proportion of Pune's population, which lives in slums, is high. According to the Municipal Corporation's estimates, 750,000 people live in Pune's slum settlements. This is a conservative estimate; the slum census project[18] estimates a current slum population of at least 1 million (Sen, 2000).There has been a concurrent increase in slum settlements. In 2001 there were 503 slums pockets in Pune City, 40 per cent of the total population of Pune City was living in slums,

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[18] Shelter Associates/Baandhani is an NGO in Pune that has been working over the last few years to develop the use of slum surveys and Geographical Information Systems (GIS). See: www.shelter-associates.org.

340 were declared or recognized slums and 132 were undeclared or unrecognized slums (Sen, 2000).

In 2010, World Bank estimated that resources generated from recent economic growth had being invested into a set of very ambitious initiative programs to deliver services to the low-income groups, yet these programs are achieving partial results on the ground (World Bank, 2010), as in the case with SRS. As we see, it is not the lack of initiative from the part of the national or state governments in India to address the poverty, the partial results happen on the ground. As will be explain in chapter 5, the problem of partial results is on the implementation at local level. In the following section, the urbanization in India is discussed to have an overview of the spatial context in Pune.

4.2 Urbanization relates to social exclusion

The recent increase of urbanization in India is linked to globalization (Pandey, A, Bhoopal, S. and Singh, G.K, 2008) however urbanization and urban planning have a long history in Indian cities (Siddiqui, 2007a). Ancient Indian texts provided elaborate guides for planning cities in accordance with the principle of hierarchy with caste and social rank determining the extent to which more or less favorable sites or neighborhoods could be allotted to a family (Siddiqui, 2007a). Social exclusion has been a 'way of living' in India for centuries, each city was built keeping in consideration its sacred-hierarchical geography, which meant that lower and the untouchable castes must live at the outer fringes of the city away from the higher castes, only second to this criteria, was the need of security from invasions (Siddiqui, 2007a).

The social exclusion was ever present in the way the areas where the urban poor lived were distributed in Megacities in the Global South. Generally they were relegated to the outskirts, where they could be closer to the rural areas (Siddiqui, 2007a). As more migrants arrived in the industrialization process, the previous outskirts turn to be central areas. That is the reason why now slum areas seem encroached within the cities. While these areas used to be less favorable and in a sort of hybrid state between urban and rural limits (Siddiqui, 2007a), as urbanization continues some can be now found in prime location within the city.

This traditional Indian urbanization only reinforced the established cultural pattern which hierarchical, caste-oriented and pre-industrial tendencies left behind a legacy of stagnant local economies, inherent inequalities, lack of innovation, and lack of creative problem solving. Still a lot of these traditional mindsets prevail in India's towns and cities like Pune, where urban development is a responsibility of the State, as per the Constitution of India (Siddiqui, 2007a).

Both characteristics of a hierarchical caste oriented development together with the sole actor involved being the central State government, have been pointed out as some of the main reasons that urban poverty has spread even further. Since most of the economic growth in globalised Pune is in the capital –intensive services sector, the supply of jobs does not always keep pace with the arrival of rural migrants from other parts of the country, leading to further problems of social exclusion and economic disparity (Siddiqui, 2007b). Hence, there has been a proposal for new urban governance which alleges the need to involve new actors to share the responsibility to achieve sustainable development in Pune.

4.2.1 Background of rapid urbanization

Urbanization happened without a national urban policy and planned development interventions in the neglected urban areas. This is one of the reasons that there has been an unprecedented growth of the informal sector (in housing and business), making urban growth unsustainable in the long run (Siddiqui, 2007a). After the independence, development started in the 1950's and 1960's when the central government encouraged industries to establish themselves in already industrialized metropolitan areas. Pune was one of these metropolitan areas, however little or no provision was made for the upgrading of the urban services or the infrastructure. The decision to industrialize the nation was not match with a concern for urbanization (Siddiqui, 2007a).

As mentioned in chapter 1, Pune has evolved over the last four decades from a small town into a city with a range of IT, bio-technology and other industries and educational institutions (Menon, 2007). Pune is experiencing a rapid urban growth (Figure 5). Between 1971 and 1981, the population of Pune city grew by 16.7%, and from 1981 to 1991 it grew by 30.2%. Between 1991 and 2001, the growth was more than twice that i.e., 62.17%, whereas Pune district has a growth rate of 30.58% and the state experienced the growth rate of 22.5%. This shows that the increasing population of Pune city exercise a lot of pressure on available land in the city and the city's limit has been pushed towards the adjacent villages (Shekhar, 2005).

As per official Census 2001 in India, Pune had a population of 2,538,473 inhabitants. The United Nations Secretariat estimates that in 2008 the total population in the Pune Metro area was 4,672,000 inhabitants (Johnson, 2008).
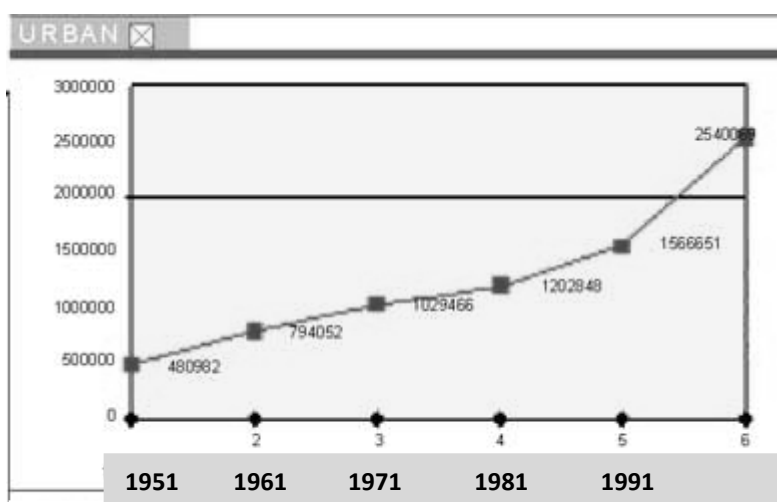
Figure 5: Population of Pune (1951-2001)
Source: Shekhar (2005). Urban sprawl assessment Entropy Approach

4.3 Migration and urbanization

During the 1950's and 1960's physical planning controls on location of economic activities and urban land use imposed through master plans put various restrictions on the industrial growth which was expected to slow down the rural-urban migration (Sivaramakrishnan, 2005). The result was that urban growth continued without appropriate planning. This now is characteristic in all the Indian cities with encroachments, lack of basic services and insufficient infrastructure.

Nevertheless, Pune's slum population has grown by 176 per cent since 1991 thanks to constant migration (Punekar, 2007). But this number is deceiving, because the population growth increased, due to an important territorial expansion of rural areas merged into the Pune Municipal Corporation in 1997, a total of 25 villages and 10 towns. The PMC jurisdiction increased from138.38 sq. km, the current area of 243.96 sq km (CDP, 2006). The problem is that the only reliable data is from the 1991 census, so it is difficult to know precisely the numbers, but the Final Report on Demographic Projections for PMC, 2001-2027, calculates that the population growth was 21% due to natural growth, 41% to territorial expansion and the remaining 38% to net in-migration (Mulay, 2001).

4.4 Environmental risks of urbanization

Urbanization places increasing pressures and constraints on natural resources. Planning decisions, especially those about urban growth and infrastructure, can influence the directions of urban development and determine the sustainability of our urban planet (Alberti, 2008).

There are two risks related to climate change that relate to the increment of the social vulnerability in the slums. These are: temperature rise and pollution.

Temperature rise: Temperature plays a major role in detecting climatic change brought about by urbanization and industrialization. During the period 1901–2000, there was a decrease in temperature in the winter and on the contrary, the monsoon season shows warming (Gadgil, A and Dhorde, A, 2005).

Water pollution: The impact of increased urbanization coupled with industrialization have depleted the water ecosystem irreparably, and degraded the water quality of the rivers Mula and Mutha flowing through Pune (Patwardhan, A, 2003).The population increase in Pune during the last two decades has been particularly rapid with a consequent effect on the extent of water pollution by sewage. Pune has one sewage treatment plant only to serve the vast population, which has a capacity of 90 MLD (million liters per day), the plant operates with 50% efficiency and remaining untreated effluents are usually discharged directly into the rivers.

4.5 Slum and urbanization

In Pune, as mentioned before in chapter 1, there has been an increase in the risks due to rapid urbanization and industrialization. It is important to identify that the burden of these risks lies disproportionately on those living in slums, and are central in affecting the competing claims slums and livelihoods of slum dwellers.

In order to map the tensions affecting the spatial urban organization, the following five aspects reflect the social vulnerability of slum dwellers:

a. Water: Inadequate access, conditional access only to notified/declared slums and polluted water.

b. Solid waste: Inadequate provision for removal in the city. Only 30% of the solid waste in Pune gets picked up (Narayan, 2010). Many of the slum dwellers are waste pickers and recycle garbage. This livelihood is dangerous because some of the materials are inflammable and are the source of fires in the slums.

Figure 6:   Slums are prone to floods
Source: Shelter Associates

c. Human waste: Virtually no slums have sewage systems. Even the most developed slums have no individual toilets. There are roads, water, electricity but there is no sewage (Mehta, 2010)

d. Land: inadequate provision to access land formally, hence they have no possibility of secure tenure. As mentioned before some slums are located in flood prone areas (figure 8) as river banks and there are located in areas next to industrial sites, where the grounds are highly polluted.

e. Air: Rising vehicular congestion is taking a toll as Pune is one of the most polluted cities in India (Ramboll, 2008).

These aspects have a high impact on the health of slum dwellers, which is related to the *brown agenda*[19] or sanitation. The health risk is both long term stress (ex. malnutrition, chronic diseases, incapacity to work) as well as sudden shock (ex. high levels of child mortality).

Due to the terrible conditions that slum dwellers endured, it has been recognized internationally that poverty is unsustainable and there is a claim for social justice for these people. The problems of the poor in slums are interconnected with the global climate change, as they get more affected with floods and rise of temperatures.

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[19] The Brown Agenda consists of two main components. One component is associated with traditional environmental health issues, while the other includes those problems which have arisen due to rapid industrialization, they are related to development (McGranaham, 2008)

In summary, its geographical characteristics make Pune a location prone to natural disasters such as floods, landslides and earthquakes. Such natural disasters increase the tensions among the different social groups in relation to the spatial urban organization. The impact of these tensions lies disproportionately among slum dwellers, because their urban spatial access is limited to high risk areas. In addition the sub-standard characteristics of their informal dwellings, means that every monsoon, they are likely to get impoverished more by the lost of physical capital.

Deprivation is better understood with development indicators that affect directly the livelihood assets of the slum dwellers. As discussed, lack of access to sanitation has negative impact in the health of the slum dwellers, hence affecting their human capital.

Despite that Maharashtra is one of the most prosperous urbanized states in India, yet poverty persist particularly its cities, like Pune. However, it is not urban poverty that jeopardizes the capacity to attract foreign investors, but the lack of state reforms that discourage any firm to establish its operations in Pune. Restrictive land use policies severely raise the cost of doing business in Pune, but also have resulted in poor infrastructure and lack of affordable housing not only for the urban poor but also for the middle class groups.

These restrictive land use policies are related to ancient Indian patterns of urbanization. These patterns were in accordance to hierarchy of caste and social rank that determined the location of favored sites to higher castes. Hence social exclusion and spatial deprivation are related to urban development in Pune, and is one of the main reasons that urban poverty has spread even further in the rapid growth of the urban sprawl in the metropolitan region.

5. Competing claims leading to spatial civic conflict

'The most disturbing aspect of [India] shining in the 21st Century is the very space to live and work is withdrawn from the urban poor in favor of shopping malls, car-parking spaces and flyovers (Patel, V, 2009: p23).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Pune's slum population represents more than 40% of the total population of the city, yet due to the high density in slums, this population only occupies 6 per cent of the urban land (CDP, 2006). The current process of SRS is applicable only to declared slums this leaves a large number of slum dwellers uncovered by the SRS or any other government housing policy.

The other major factor happening in Pune is that the economic growth has increased the real estate prices in Pune. It is expected that future economic growth in the city, will increase land prices even more, which will aggravate the lack of affordable housing for the most vulnerable groups in the city. Unless major government interventions are made, the spatial civic conflict generated with the slums in the city, will spread to other social groups, particularly the middle class groups.

These two facts happening in Pune seem unconnected facts yet this chapter will demonstrate just how these facts (SRS and the lack of affordable housing) in the way they occur affect the slum's viability in the city, hence the slum free city goal.

This chapter presents the empirical findings gathered through the research methods discussed in section 3.1.1, individual and focus groups interviews, observations as primary data and also the secondary data gather through survey and literature study. As argued before, the semi-structured in-depth interviews compared the different views and positions of actors involved. In section 5.1 explores the factors that affect the competing claims of slum dwellers, such as slum free city. As this goal is applicable to all slums, in section 5.2, it will be demonstrated there are quite differences among slums observed in Pune. Further section 5.3 and 5.4 will discuss how slum dwellers are negatively perceived as recent migrants, yet due to the development of the city there is a great demand for labors that attract more migrants to the city. The legal characteristics of slums are considered in 5.5, to understand the vulnerable position of slums in the city. And finally in section 5.6 give an analysis of the current implementation of the SRS. This chapter is focus on discussing the context which affects the competing claims and increase the vulnerability of slum dwellers in Pune.

5.1 Factors affecting competing claims of slum dwellers

Section 2.3 discussed the slum livelihood framework. This framework depicts the competing claims of slum dwellers and the direct impact these have on their livelihood assets, in turn influencing the way they can develop their livelihood strategies. These competing claims can be also understood as comprising different dimensions of the context in which the slum dwellers relate to the urban space. This research found more detailed factors that directly increase the vulnerable slum dwellers' position in the spatial civic conflict.

5.1.1 Pune: Slum free city

As mentioned in section 1.7, as part of the current urban governance related to sustainable development in Pune, the 'slum free city' goal in the development plan of the city seems like an optimal solution to help the urban poor that live in sub-standard conditions. Many international development agencies such as DFID and UN-Habitat are moving forward to pressure the national government to compromise on reducing the number of slums in Indian cities.

As part of the UN Human Development Goals (DFID, 2001), India is currently actively pursuing a policy in which to reach the target of cities without slums through equitable slum redevelopment and rehabilitation strategy and shelters for the poor (Deshmukh, 2007). The goal of Slum free city in the Development Plan of Pune, has a direct relation to what the international community adopted as the Millennium Declaration and endorsement of the 'Cities without Slums' target in 2000 (UN, 2010).

'In Pune, we expect to have no population living in slum conditions by the year 2017, this will be accomplish not through government direct intervention but through slum rehabilitation scheme that involves the private sector in PPPs', explained an official of SRA: Mukund Shinde. This slum redevelopment is considered by the local authority as part of the new infrastructure needed to continue the economic growth in India.

Also as mentioned in section 1.7, the Millennium Development report 2010, goal 7 specifically, refers to ensure environment sustainability, while target 11 relates directly to slums. However is relevant to mention that at the time international community adopted the Millennium Declaration and endorsed the 'Cities without Slums' target in 2000, it was because experts had underestimated the number of people living in slums worldwide (UN, 2010).Thus a revised target for slum improvement was presented in the 2010 report, with a more realistic goal. It stipulates that by 2020, the countries participating will have to achieve a significant

improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers worldwide. This only represents 10 per cent of the estimate global slum population (UN, 2010).

The UN admitted in the 2010 MDG report, that the 'cities without slums' target was difficult if not impossible to achieve, and consequently for governments to set meaningful country level goals. Thus, clearly the target requires redefinition if it is to elicit serious commitment from national governments (UN, 2010).

Also, as part of the MDGs, the indicator of security of tenure, referred in target 11 of reducing slums, is only one of the proposed measures to alleviate poverty. For example in the same goal 7, target 10, refers to access to safe water and sanitation.

As explained in section 3.2 of research context, the socio-economic characteristics of the urban poverty in Pune relate to various factors, in which 'security of tenure' is only one aspect of the vulnerability. Poverty aspects such as sanitation are still a national challenge, with only 33 per cent of the population having access (World Bank, 2010).

In Pune access to sanitation and clean water have relatively low priorities for local government budget allocations and development assistance, despite the huge benefits for public health, poverty reduction and economic growth. Only notified slums are eligible to access water supply, as mentioned in section 2.1.3 of spatial civic conflict, in the frame the PMC provides basic service of water but not sanitation. The following issues for the case of Pune, highlight the

Also, as seen in the spatial civic conflict frame in section 2.1.3, the goal of slum free city has resulted in demolitions and forced evictions, as in the case of Lohmanya nagar slum described in chapter 6.

In the context of the spatial civic conflict, the development plan is a process to fulfill the goals contained in the public urban space. The slum free city goal encompasses these goals by empowering the local authorities to clear land encroached for infrastructure needed by other competing groups. As mentioned in section 1.8, slums located in environmental sensitive areas, governmental lands for crucial purposes would require relocation. This research found that one of the crucial purposes of public land use is to widen roads and construction of flyovers (Patwardhan, 2010).

It was found that slum free city is perceived as a positive approach by the government actors involved in the urban spatial transformation of Pune. The two levels of government

interviewed, local – PMC, and state –SRA, plus Yasada government research institute all considered this goal as a positive international advancement and as a certain goal that Pune city will reach through implementation of the SRS. When I indicated certain skepticism, given the minimal effects that the SRS had achieved so far, the reaction of the informants was an uncomfortable silence. This led me to realize that is only an official discourse.

Indeed, other informants such as NGO members, social activists, private developer and slum respondents reacted to my question of: "what is your opinion of the development plan goal of slum free city?" from private developer to slum dweller all of them answered with sarcastic laughter, as one informant put it: "it is just in paper". This illustrates a negative regard for local authorities. Laskmi Narayan expressed that there are many groups concerned with this concept, unless is specified in what way they want to make 'slum free city', it can be a very dangerous concept, because they can just clear the slums and do not give them any alternative location, worsening the situation of the slum dwellers (Narayan, 2010).

An academic informant, Dr. Tambe explained that the goal was basically an imposition coming from international organizations, and derives from foreign pressure on the national government.

Furthermore, it became clear that is only an official discourse, when none of the government officials spoken to could specify what means 'slum free city'. Poonam Mehta (YASADA) responded in this way: *only if the private sector sees it in its benefit [they] can help, in other cases there are other schemes. In SRS, the state government scheme, no money is required by the state, apart from the administrative expenses, not much expense for the government. Other land could be developed through other schemes of the government* (Mehta, 2010).

The most critical response came from DWU social activist Ushatai Datar: "*Why slum free city? to attract MNC investment capital; slum free city means what? They are going to take all the population from slums, putting them somewhere else, to make the area slum free. This is oppressing to those people. They live there and get their livelihood from the area, which is close from the area. If they get taken out, how can they earn! These people are not just going out like that!* (Datar, 2010).

There is a clear link between these statements in the way that 'slum free city' is set to attract private sector investment to Pune.

As mentioned in section 2.1.2 of new socio-spatial order in the city, new processes of valorization and devalorization of certain economic activities have imposed a new agenda in which marginal sectors are considered a threat to future global integration. In that sense, slum free city goal depicts the new spatial criteria for pricing various economic activities and outcomes (Sassen, 2001).

In this context it is interesting to note, that the original international target was 'cities without slums', while in my opinion, 'slum free city' has a different connotation. The first one has a connotation of absence or lacking of; the second one puts the slum in the central scope as an entity that the city needs to be liberated from, the connotation is about clearance. The term slum free city also denies any active participation of the slum in the economy of the city. It reinforces the spatial deprivation of more than 40 per cent of the population of Pune, and hence sets the tone for the spatial civic conflict. It does so especially because it maintains the endemic social exclusion (see also section 3.2.2). It fragments the city more, and lessens the opportunity to access infrastructure and services for the slum dwellers. It diminishes the opportunity for slum dwellers to achieve their competing claims over the urban space they occupy.

Nevertheless, as also set out in section 1.5, the slum free city goal is a likely outcome for a globalizing city as Pune. As explained in section 2.1.1, one characteristic of the globalizing city is a socio-economic polarization, in which the wealthier groups, (high and middle class groups) who have arisen require urban space for housing and commercial sites (as part of the infrastructure of jobs involved in running the global economic integration of Pune).

Consequently slum free city denotes the goal of the DP, which reclaims from the slums, the urban space they occupy, to be now formalizes and used for housing and commercial activities of the global segment population in Pune.

Finally the term 'slum free city' puts all the informal mix-used habitats in the same category, does not recognize the uneven development among slums. In the next section, this uneven development characteristic in globalizing cities is reflected in the differences among slums.

5.2   Differences among slums

Slum settlements are spatial entities that have a unique topography, layouts and location specifications. Slum settlements are living parts of the city, containing dwellings, roads, shops, temples, businesses and water channels (Sen, 2002). Each slum is physically connected with the infrastructure network of Pune, as well as with its own local community. Nevertheless, from urban governance perspective slum dwellers are disconnected, in the way that since the state has been incapable to deliver them basic services, in the same way it has been incapable of collecting taxes, which renders the slum dwellers in a complete disaffected position *versus* government processes.

 It was found that despite the fact that *slum* is used as a general term; there are important development differences between slums of the city of Pune.

5.2.1 Physical infrastructure

For this research, three types of slums were identified based on observations of physical infrastructure and basic services (Table 3). As can be seen in Table 3, differences of infrastructure development relate to the security of tenure.

Figure 7: Slum Type C
Gandhinagar slum in Yerawada, Pune (2010)

A slum survey of 211 declared/notified slums by Shelter Associates revealed that only over 58% of the households had individual water supply connections and the rest depended on public stand posts (PSP). The ratio of PSP is 8.5 families per PSP (CDP, 2006). This was observed in type C slums as Gandhinagar (see Figure 7).

Generally it holds that the more developed is the slum the lower the risk of eviction. Also it was observed that the higher risk of eviction, the more hostile and less cooperative were the slum dwellers to allow a stranger in the slum.

Table 3: Types of Slum in Pune

Type of slum	Type of dwelling	Water	Electricity	Roads	Commercial mix-use livelihood	Sanitation	Security of tenure (Risk of eviction)
Type A	Plastic tents with wood (see figure 8)	no	no	unpaved	no	none	High Un-notified
Type B	Metal roofs and walls, some partial brick walls. (see figure 9)	limited (one public tap)	yes	partial	very limited (some outer dwellings)	none or limited to few public toilets	Medium (depending on location) Notified / Un-notified (recent addition to slum)
Type C	Cement dwellings Few dwellings with metal roofs (see figure 7)	yes (several taps)	yes	paved access	High use of commercial activities: shops, repair shops	Limited or individual toilets	Low Notified

Figure 8: Slum Type A
Riverbank at the Mutha river bank, Pune (2010)

Figure 9: Slum Type B
Lohmanyanagar slum in Pune (2010)

As also explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2 access to sanitation is generally low. For type C slums access to sanitation is limited, the average number of persons per seat of public sanitation is 84 (CDP, 2006). In type B slums (Figure 9 and 10), such as Lohmanya nagar, which is an undeclared/un-notified slum, there are no public sanitation facilities for the more than 500 dwellings it consists of. In the case of type A slums (Figure 8), sanitation is non-existent.

On the other hand electricity was more available, it is calculated that 93% of the slum households have access to some form of electricity connection (CDP, 2006). These informal electricity connections depend on the proximity of the slum to other neighborhoods with electricity service. In Figure 10, this can be observed: on top of the dwellings have various electrical cables as informal connections.

Figure 10: Physical capital in type B slum
Lohmanya nagar slum, Pune (2010)

As mentioned before, slums in Pune occupy only 6 per cent of the urban space, at a density that is 6.32 times higher than the overall city density (CDP, 2006).

Apart from differences of physical capital among slums, differences in the physical stature were observed among slum dwellings and physical capital within the same type of slum. For instance, in type C slums few small vehicles and two-wheeled vehicles were seen. In type B only two-wheeled vehicles were observed (Figure 12), while in type A bicycles were observed.

5.2.2 Socio-economical differences

While it was logical to assume that the most developed slums (type C) had higher income per capita, it was found that this generalization required unraveling, going well beyond first observations. In part, to the fact that most slum dwellers were tenants, while others were landlords.

Due to the informality of these agreements, it was difficult to know the numbers of tenants and landlords. However, the position of tenants is more vulnerable, *"tenants pay so high cost to rent in slums"* (Narayan, 2010) but also because they are less likely to have proof of residence, which make them eligible for future rehabilitation.

During the visit to the Gandhinagar slum, respondents invited me to their houses, and explained that they added a second and third storey to their original dwelling, in order to rent these out to other families.

Often they also had a small shop at the entrance to what would otherwise be the living room. Thus they used every space available to generate income.

Figure 11: Micro businesses in slums
Karve road slum (2010)

These micro businesses such as pottery, repair shops and solid waste separation could be established (Figure 11).

5.2.3 Earning income in the informal economy

An important characteristic of the economic context of competing claims is the informal economy. However, the extent of the informal economy is not limited to the slum population, despite the magnitude of the informal sector, it is not officially recognized by the local government, the Development Plan estimates that the non-workers constitute about 66 per cent of the population[20].

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[20] The DP considers the 66 per cent of non-workers in the following manner: 48 per cent of the female population makes for about 48 per cent (housewifes) and students below 19 years of age account for around 42 per cent of non-workers (CDP, 2006). These estimates result appalling, to the fact that the local government considers the total female population of Pune as 'non-workers'.

Since slum dwellers livelihood strategies are nearly always located within the informal economy, their incomes are variable and irregular, increasing their social vulnerability. This research also found great differences among slum dwellers within the informal economy in terms of capacity to earn income. Thus Datar, social activist of the DWU explains:

'In [the] slum, one [household] could get 20 rupees a day, while other has 200 rupees. It is ridiculous in India to measure poverty by income in the slums, because they do not get this money regularly. [It is] not possible to talk about low income groups because they are informal [economy]. They might not get a salary for a month! Impossible to apply this criteria to slums. There are so many families starving there' (Datar, 2010).

It was observed that there are also great differences in access to government programs. The extent of the governmental poverty alleviation programs such as food subsidies, free education and health care has greatly diminished since India's pursue a neo liberal model:

'Before [19]95 everybody was getting cheaper food than market prices. All the people even the rich, poor were getting subsidies grains. But because of this IMF, they had to cut subsidies, so they made 3 types of ration cards, arbitrarily not doing a social status survey. BPL (Below Poverty Line) families will get a card, [but] there are so many, so they put quota limits. They fix a target ration system before survey the poor population. For example in slums, there are two neighbors, one has a BPL card and the other has another type of ration card, and they are both earning the same, same condition. Why it is this disparity because they already put their limits, so those who are really BPL were purposely excluded' (Datar, 2010).

5.3 Slum dwellers recent migrants

Another factor affecting the competing claims of slum dwellers is the perception that they are recent migrants in Pune. In this regard several NGOs were interviewed, among them Green Earth Consultants, CEE, Mashal Consultants as well as officials in the Development Plan Cell (DP-cell) in the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC). One of the constant responses given to the question of why there is a rise of the slum population; was the increase of rural and intra-state migration to Pune. Thus Green Earth Consultants director Vinita Tatke mentioned that the problems in the city are largely due to the migrants: *'they come and take advantage of the rehabilitation of slums and get a free housing offered by the government'*. In her opinion, some

of these migrants did not speak Marathi[21], but rather Hindu, and were stealing job opportunities from the locals.

There is thus a general negative perception that the slums in Pune have grown in recent years due to recent vast migration. However during observations in slum areas, the slum dwellers that I spoke with were all Marathi speakers, and arrived in Pune at least one generation before. I was particularly interested in this migration aspect, because Vinita Tatke suggested that I should do a survey at the train station to realize the hordes of migrants arriving in Pune every day. When consulting the possibility of such a survey with Dr. Shruti Tambe, she explained that there is an important migration phenomenon but, certainly not in the numbers that anti-migrant groups claim.

The objective of this thesis is not to clarify the nature of the migration phenomenon in Pune, but it is relevant to link this negative perception that slums are associated with 'foreigners', precisely because this justifies the social exclusion, spatial deprivation and denial of their competing claims of slum dwellers. Also, it divides the slum dwellers in different categories of who can or who cannot show residence proof before an arbitrary date.

Nevertheless, there are claims that the Pune's slum population has grown by 176 per cent since 1991 thanks to constant migration (Punekar, 2007). But this number is deceiving, because the population growth increased in 2001 due to an important territorial expansion of rural areas merged into the Pune Municipal Corporation, a total of 25 villages and 10 towns. The problem is that the only reliable data is from the 1991 census, so it is difficult to know precisely the numbers. However the Final Report on Demographic Projections for PMC, 2001-2027, calculates that from 1991 to 2001, the population growth of Pune as a whole was due: 21% to natural growth, 41% to territorial expansion and the remaining 38% to net in-migration (Mulay, 2001).

At the PMC, the responsible official for the development plan, Samir Gosavi, clearly explained that there is little the local authorities can do, considering the high numbers of migrants, showing the official forecasts of migrations for the next 10 years to validate this point. Yet it was clear that linking statistical forecast information the recent migration to the slums communities gave the local authorities grounds to justify the social exclusion of these communities. This is even reflected in the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme. Where, in order to be

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[21] Marathi is the local language in Maharashtra. Extreme groups such as Hindu nationalist party Shiv Sena had advocate violent attack against non-marathi speaker in the state.

eligible for rehabilitation the slum dweller has to provide of proof that he/she had come to Pune before 1995.

5.4 Slums related to development of the city

Figure 12: Slum dwellers live at the construction site where they work
Koregaon Park area, Pune (2010)

'The people in slums leave their rural places to come here to earn their bread and butter and want a house where to live. In this urban area they want labors. When they say "we want to develop Pune city"; who will work for you? These PMC officers cannot build these buildings themselves so they want workers. If you want to start an industry; who is going to work for that?

So they [slum dwellers] come, leave their places, and these people [PMC] do not provide them housing (Figure 12). So wherever they [slum dwellers] see empty land, they will go and more people will come there. The PMC should be watchful and should see that they are coming for our development, they [PMC] should see for their housing and all these things. Why all these slums came up, because all the time as the city was growing this PMC has neglected them, because there is a nexus between PMC and these big builders who are capitalists also.'(Datar, 2010).

These are the striking words of the social activist Ushatai Datar[22] representative of SEWA[23] and DWU[24] summarizes what is happening but also how slum dwellers are linked positively to the urbanization development of the city. The more demand of labors, the more rural workers will come to the city and establish in slums.

5.5 Legal characteristics of slums

The legal context has an important impact on the competing claims of slum dwellers, particularly because most of their civic demands, economic activities and the urban space they occupied are considered illegal by the government. This generates the spatial civic conflict as

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[22] Ushatai Datar has been a social activist for more than 35 years she is a retired school teacher of Mumbai that lives now in Pune.
[23] SEWA is the Self Employed Women's Association, the largest group to fight for women's rights in India.
[24] DWU is the Domestic Workers Union is one of the groups derived from SEWA

the slum dwellers have to provide for themselves, what local authorities do not provide them, thus creating a vicious circle that undermines the fragile authority of the state.
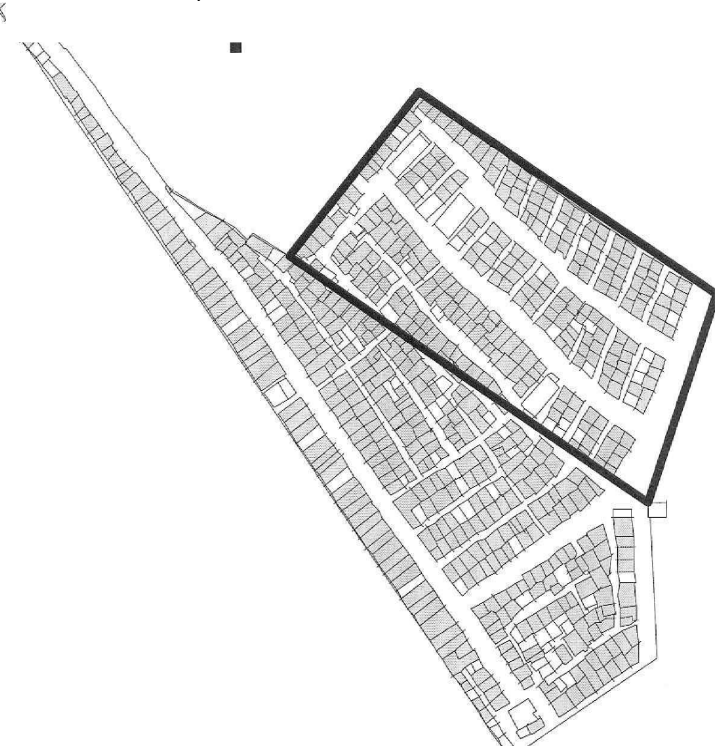
The legal characteristics of slum have evolved since it became apparent that these encroachment enclaves were taking over the city. The Maharashtra Slum Area Act of 1971 was the first policy enacted to address the problem of slums in Pune. However the approach was entirely legal and it aimed to clear government lands from all encroachments (Phatak, 2007). In 1976, The Government of Maharashtra carried out a census of slums and there was a change in outlook, as slums started to be seen as a socioeconomic problem a manifestation of the poverty, a new policy was to allow the slums to stay unless the land encroached was required for a public purpose (Phatak, 2007). This new policy named Slum Act 1976 gave recognition to slum dwellers that were included in the 1976 census, namely by stating that they will not be evacuated without being given alternate accommodation (Phatak, 2007).

This government policy condoned and accepted the existence of slums as integral parts of the city. It was the way the urban poor lived, with no opportunities provided for them, they took over the city for themselves. Some programs were set up to help uplift living conditions, and focused on slum upgrading *in situ*. The problem was that despite the good intentions expressed in the Slum Act 1976, a squatter settlement was not considered a slum until the local authority declared the community as a notified slum. This conditionality rendered the slum dwellers into a *clientélist* situation that promoted corruption from the local leaders to use them as vote banks in exchange to be considered a notified slum. The reason for this that the Act does not describe what constitutes a notified slum. Even now, in the Slum Rehabilitation Program Regulations, in   article 1 of Applicability says: "Provisions of these Regulations shall be applicable to those slums which have been declared and notified as "SLUMS" by the Competent Authority under the provisions of the Maharashtra Slum Area (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act, 1971(SRA, 1971).

The local authority in PMC is well aware that the existence of slums in the city outnumbers the ones included in the list of the 'notified' slums (Tambe, 2010). There are 564 slums in Pune however only 211 are considered declared (notified) slums (CDP, 2006). This conditionality renders them in a position of social vulnerability that lessens their competing claims.

In Pune, many slums were declared (notified) many years ago, often during the 1970s, and by now most have extended significantly beyond the initial boundaries drawn at that time (Yoshi, 2007).

The declared/notified part of the slum lies within the dark rectangle shown on the map. The rest of the slum is undeclared.

The result is settlements where certain areas have some provision for services while others areas are completely negleted.

The relevance of a declared boundary is questionable, when more than 50 per cent of a settlement may fall outside these limits (see Map 6).

These government measures have resulted ineffective to control the proliferation of slums in Pune.

Instead have only fragmented and complicate further development for slums, because part of the slum may be "undeclared" according to its boundaries, but legally its residents may have competing claims and be eligible for provision of basic services and rehabilitation.

Map 6. Jay Prakash Nagar Slum, Yerawada
Source: Yoshi (2007)

Slums are further affected by Slum Act (a state legislation) which recognizes competing claims of people who can prove that they were residents in the city on 1 January 1995.

In Pune, slums are handled separately from the rest of the city, under the Pune Municipal Corporation's Slum Clearance Department. With the exception of the toilet-building drive of 2000–2001, most slum improvements are carried out slum by slum (Yoshi, 2007). This denotes the lack of integral vision of slum upgradation in the city, as Laxmi Narayan explained: *the Municipal Commissioner might have a vision, but everyone else down the ranks does not have it, they just look at project to project and decided what is needed* (Narayan, 2010).

In the slum livelihood frame in section 2.3, policies as Slum Act and Housing Act have a direct impact on the livelihood assets and relate the access to infrastructure and services. For instance in the Slum Act, the right to have Basic Services (BS) (water and community toilets) became

responsibility of the local government authority (PMC), and is reserved right only for notified slums.

The Slum Act policy was designed to protect the slum dwellers, however due to conditional eligibility it can turn exclusionary of certain groups of slum dwellers. As seen in the Diagram 1 of the Spatial Civic Conflict, due to the criteria implemented of an arbitrary date of arrival. The local government provides documents to proof residence to eligible slum dwellers. However, it was found that having access to these documents is difficult. *'They [slum dwellers] have [to show] so many proof documents, unless they give proof, they cannot have ration cards or other documents'* (Datar, 2010). As mentioned previously, ration cards are one form of identification, however it is a target distribution program reserved for the quota assigned. Also, the ration cards are per family, it was found that some members of a family when they started their own family were denied a new ration card, even if they have lived for many years in Pune. The problem of accessing residence documents was stated by Vinita Tatke, sometimes slum dwellers resort to fake ration and identity voter's cards in the black market.

5.6   Findings on the implementation of the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme

The SRS has been in effect since 1980s yet it has only relocated 9 slum communities out the more than 564 that currently exist in the city (Yoshi, 2010). During the interviews, the informants agreed that so far there are no real provisions to address, nor did it matter that the current scheme has proven to be unsuccessful and highly detrimental for the people even if the rehabilitation was done *in situ*.

Poonam Metha from the YASADA Institute is one of the main supporters of governance explained that*: 'SRS has been 'successful' only in some areas in Pune, the reason is because the private sector is not having enough gain benefits. In Mumbai, SRS was successful, worked well because land prices are exorbitant so they benefited. In Pune it started but then stopped. It (SRS) really did not take off, there were only a few economic locations that were really viable for the private sector'* (Mehta, 2010).

The SRS is not a poverty alleviation program concerned with the needs of the urban poor, it is a state government scheme designed to create the necessary incentives for the private sector to find economical viable locations. Ms Metha explained: *'it has to be a win-win situation for both, the private sector and the government'*, she never mentioned the slum dwellers as part of the scheme even as beneficiaries. As can be seen in the spatial civic conflict frame, slum dwellers are not participants in the SRS or have contact with the state agency in charge, SRA.

On the other hand, the local government (PMC) and state government (SRA) explained that lack of implementation of the SRS was because there are not enough incentives for the private sector, there should be more incentives (Gosavi, 2010).

Conversely, Sanskriti Menon of CEE, explained that one of the reasons that the scheme has not been implemented in large scale is that SRA, in charge of approving the SRS projects would take as long as 7 years to approve each project. This delay raised considerably the expenses for private builders and discouraged any future involvements on the part of the private sector.

The point of view of Sharad Mahajan, a private builder explained:

> The confidence [among slum dwellers] has eroded particularly because 40% are not original settlers and cannot proof they have been prior 1995. There is corruption at the level of political representatives, there are hidden costs and it is really high for a builder to achieve 70% consensus required from the slum dwellers, because slum dwellers do not want relocation to a multi-story building, because of the extra expenses to maintain the building. The multi-story building does not go with their lifestyle and livelihoods (Mahajan, 2010).

In Mahajan's opinion, some slums have been upgraded so much (water and electricity services) that relocation is not attractive for them anymore. As far as his concern with slum free city goal:

> Slum free city goal is an import, has nothing to do with the reality in our [Indian] cities. The government should understand the needs of the people. Slum dwellers do not want apartments. They want to stay in their spots. Slum economy is viable and sustainable habitat that the urban poor have created for themselves. SRS will continue like an elephant, it might solve 10 per cent of the problem at the most (Mahajan, 2010).

The Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) is a destructive contestation process that generates the spatial civic conflict because it is not a participatory mechanism for slum dwellers. The previous experiences of rehabilitation have served as a warning for the rest of slum dwellers to be against the initial optimism of getting a 'free house'. As Radha[25]said: *We do not want multi-story building, what about our slum occupations, scrap, veggie vending, those building have electricity and water problems. The private developers will only benefit, we will protest!*

In summary, this research established several factors generating spatial civic conflict in Pune. These factors suppress the competing claims of the slum dwellers over the urban space.

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[25] Radha Waghware is member of the DWU.

Slum free city target is difficult if not impossible to achieve, however has acted in negative way to increase the negative perception of the slums in the city. It has also hinder future governmental programs for poverty alleviation, as mentioned programs as target distribution of ration cards leave the most vulnerable groups excluded. It was detected a different position among official actors, (PMC, SRA and YASADA) *versus* NGOs, private developers and slum dwellers. This difference leads to a tension point with respect to the development goal for Pune, because slum dwellers are not actively engage in the process. This increases the fragility of the local government, increases the vulnerability and social exclusion of slum dwellers generating the spatial civic conflict.

The term slum results limited to depict the degrees of infrastructure development among informal mixed-use habitats. It also creates another tension point among slum dwellers of the same slum, as mentioned there is no recognition of the slum tenants.

Another finding was that secure tenure is related to risk of demolition which was higher for less developed slums (type A and B). These are the hotspots of urban poverty, since with each nature risk (floods, monsoon rains) or man created risk (demolitions) they lost physical capital so the possibility of developing the area they occupy seem more remote, hence the livelihood opportunities are diminished.

There is a tension point in the perception that all slum dwellers are recent migrants and a devalorization of their current economic participation in the rapid urbanization in Pune. This tension illustrates the spatial fragmentation of the city that remains functional. Slum dwellers are needed as labors but not as neighbors. And finally it was found that the legal characteristics of slums are attached to descriptions of illegality. This alone generates the spatial civic conflict.

6. The competing claims which generate Spatial Civic Conflict

'There is a growing sense that these problems are now coming to a head –that our inequalities are making people angry and also limiting our ability to take advantage of the huge opportunities India has today' (Nilekani, 2010).

The complexity of the context and factors that affect the competing claims of the slum dwellers denote the challenges facing Pune over the urban space transformation. As mentioned, it is vital to build infrastructure to continue the global integration. Indeed, infrastructure serves to fulfill urban civic demands in the midst of the urban transformation. Infrastructure is high on the global agenda in Pune, but infrastructure for what segment of the population? What is central for this research is to identify the factors that are generating spatial civic conflict, in order to address the research question of this thesis: **How has the change in the urban spatial organization arising from globalization processes, led to a spatial civic conflict related to the competing claims over land occupied by the slums in Pune?**

This will be done in the following manner: in section 6.1, the first sub question: **What are considered to be the competing claims of different social groups over the transformation of the urban space in Pune?** This question is answered by categorizing four main areas of urban transformation: housing, mobility, basic services and environment, and identifying different competing claims of each social group, to have a better overview of the outcomes generated by the urban transformation. Then section 6.2 answers the second sub question: **How do these competing claims generate a spatial civic conflict between the different groups in Pune?** This question is answered by assessing the priority of the principal competing claims of each social group, then compare to detect the tension points that generate the spatial civic conflict and have an impact for the livelihoods of slum dwellers. Finally section 6.3 answers the third sub question: **What has been the impact of the slum rehabilitation policy on this spatial civic conflict in relation to the slum dwellers in Pune?** The outcomes of the tension points will be demonstrated by the experience of the slum demolition in Lokmanya nagar.

6.1 Comparison of competing claims

6.1.1 Spatial interaction of different social groups

As stated, what makes the spatial conflict "civic" is that the different social groups interact with each other and relate in different ways to the spatial fragmentation in the city. The conflict arises from the context of these uneven interactions, which are characterized by social exclusion, deprivation and vulnerability of one group, slum dwellers.

The following section explores the way the three main social groups identified relate to the spatial fragmentation in the city. These groups are: slum dwellers, middle class and high class. The objective is to appraise the claims on infrastructure that each group has, to consider which factors are generating spatial civic conflict. From these factors, which are affecting one or more groups in the city, in some cases, even if the same factor affects all the groups, for instance pollution in the city, the claim differs depending on the group. Key point is that what can represent the ideal outcome for the claim of one group mostly the high class and/or middle class group, can be highly detrimental for the most vulnerable group, slum dwellers. The reason is that the context that affects the competing claims of slum dwellers, discussed in chapter 5, creates the uneven interaction and influences their capacity for urban spatial access, which ultimately has a negative impact for slum livelihoods.

6.1.2 Competing claims over housing infrastructure

One factor that has generated spatial civic conflict for two groups, slum dwellers and middle class is the lack of access to affordable formal housing. The reasons are different for each group (see table 3). In the 1987 Development Plan of PMC, several plots were reserved for Economically Weaker Section (EWS) to build low cost housing. However, over the years, several have been de-reserved, and only 15 per cent was left for low cost housing while the rest was reserved for commercial development (Ramboll, 2008).

In the case of the middle class, the real estate price increase in the last years has had a negative effect on the access to affordable housing. Despite the real estate boom in Pune, the majority of housing supply in new developments has an entry price of one million rupees or more. This can only be afforded by households earning Rs. 250,000 a year (DP Coalition, 2007). This income is well above the average income in Pune. The per capita GDP in Pune is about Rs. 46,000 (€ 800) which is already 50 per cent higher than India's per capita income (Ramboll, 2008).

Due to strict land regulations and the long process to get a permit, there are high costs involved in building, so private developers opted to build luxury apartments in gated communities, to maximize profit.

The local government considers the Slum Rehabilitation program to be the solution to create affordable housing supply for the middle income class and also to provide free units for slum dwellers. This has not worked because the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) creates in the city a scarce commodity at basically below market value, consequently speculation has to come in (Menckhoff, 2010).

That is what was found, some slum dwellers had sold their units. *Slum families move but after some time they sell the apartment, and go back to another slum. They need the money for every*

day needs, because they might be jobless for a year! Sitting in a building without job what are they going to do (Datar, 2010).

The following tables (4 to 7) depict the main competing claims found in this research. These are classified in hierarchical order for each group. The most critical claims for each group are marked with + + +, claims with + + are also important but less critical and the least critical claims are marked with +.

Table 4: Competing claims over housing infrastructure

	Informal sector	Formal sector	
Critical Claims	**Slum dwellers (SD)**	**Middle class (MD)**	**High class (HC)**
	Mixed-use location **+++** Safe dwelling on safe location **+ +** Spatial access **+** Secure tenure **+**	Affordable housing **+ ++** Gated communities **+**	Gated communities **+ +** Luxury apts **+**
Factors Generating Spatial Civic Conflict	Government failure to reserve and/or acquire land for low cost housing Private sector is not creating affordable supply via SRS. The density in slums is 6.32 times higher than of the overall city density (CDP, 2006) Slums located in low-lying areas and hilltops PMC's Development Control Rules: commercial property should leave 15 square feet of space in front and at the side of a property (CDP, 2006)	High entry land and home prices Financing not available to low income buyers Private sector is not creating affordable supply via SRS. Laws, regulations and policies discourage formal low cost rental housing (DP Coalition, 2006)	Large, high priced homes offer higher margin Real estate prices rose 200 per cent in all location in Pune
Visual example of Claims for each group	 Figure 13: Mixed-use low income housing in downtown Pune	 Figure 14: Low range housing at Magarpatta City, Pune	 Figure 15: Proposed project in Kothrud area, Pune

The most critical claim of the slum dwellers relates to livelihood. They need a mixed use habitat to survive in the informal sector (Figure 12). The Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) disregards this claim hence slum dwellers are not interested in being rehabilitated.

The current trend on gated communities increases the spatial fragmentation of the city (Figure 13), increases the social exclusion, but also is aggravating another issue: traffic congestion.

The township and gated communities build in the outskirts of the city (Figure 14) are low density and increasingly car dependent.

6.1.3 Competing claims over mobility infrastructure

The most critical claim for MC and HC relates to insufficient space for private modes of transport. Whereas the critical claim of slum dwellers refers to infrastructure for affordable modes of transport, particularly a low cost mode as cycling.

The competing claims over mobility infrastructure are related to the economic capacity of each group.

The lack of capacity and unreliability of the public transport system in Pune, has forced many household to invest in a private mode of transport. Even in slums, it is common to see few two-wheeled motorized vehicles.

The slum dwellers ended up putting economic resources to be mobile in the city. These resources could have been invested in education, health or other assets.

In the last four decades, the population of the city has increased four times whereas the vehicle population has increased 87 times and the road length has increased by only five times. More than 53% of the households in Pune own a two-wheeler (Figure 16) (CDP, 2006).

One of the most visible problems facing Pune is its deteriorating mobility. *Pune is increasingly becoming 'car dominated'. We seem to have learnt nothing from the problems of cities in the developed countries with a longer history of car usage. On the contrary, the conventional idea of a 'modern city' is still very much that of a city replete with traffic infrastructure such as flyovers and wide roads that caters to the private vehicle* (Figure 17) (Patwardhan, 2010).

Table 5 shows the main modes of transport of each social group. The critical claim of each group refers to their preferred mode of transport. It was observed a constant absence of infrastructure for pedestrians in Pune. People in general walk on the roads due to the lack of sidewalks. So the critical claim for pedestrian areas also relates to safety (Figure 15).

Table 5. Competing claims over mobility infrastructure

Main Modes	(pedestrian/bicycle)	(motorbike / automobile)	(automobile)
Critical Claim	**Slum dwellers (SD)**	**Middle class (MC)**	**High class (HC)**
	Low cost non-motorized transport: cycling infrastructure **+ + +** Pedestrian areas, space for street vendors **++** Affordable Public transport **+**	Traffic congestion, more road space **+++** Sustainable transport: cycling infrastructure **+** Insufficient public transport Mass Transit **+**	Traffic congestion insufficient parking space **+++** Flyovers & more roads **+ ++** New airport terminal **+**
Factors Generating Spatial Civic Conflict	Slum demolitions and relocation to provide space for road expansion and parking space Lack of a plan to relocate hawkers and street vendors on proposed corridors for public transport (Patwardhan, 2010) Lack of participation and involvement of the citizens along the corridors where the cycle routes will be built (Patwardhan, 2010) Agressive behavior of motorist	35% of the total investment (2011-2012) is proposed for roads up-grading, new construction and widening (CDP, 2006) More road development could lead to more traffic and worse parking conditions (Menckhoff, 2010) Narrow roads in the core high density areas (slums) with restricted capacity for motorized vehicles	Lack of traffic planning in the city will generate more congestion Traffic delays Lack of inclusive vision and unplanned approach of the PMC (Patwardhan, 2010)
Visual example of Claims for each group	 Figure 16: Street vendors on traffic congested street	 Figure 17: Wide road with traffic congestion, Pune.	 Figure 18: Nashik Phata flyover Pune

The dominant pattern of mobility infrastructure has a detrimental impact for slums, because slums are relocated to make space for roads and flyovers (Figure 16 and 17), but also because almost all the budget for mobility is devoted to infrastructure that affects the slum livelihood and does not provide them low cost infrastructure such as safe inclusive cycling infrastructure.

Yet, this same infrastructure will eventually create more traffic congestion (Patwardhan, 2010; Menckhoff, 2010) hence more air pollution.

6.1.4 Competing claims over environment

An important factor that has deteriorated the environment in Pune, is precisely the air pollution caused by traffic with motor vehicles. Pune is one of the most air polluted cities in India The emission of carbon monoxide and other harmful emissions into the city's atmosphere amounts to 182 tones daily (Figure 20) (Ramboll, 2008). This air pollution has an impact on the health of the people in the city, and to the people living closest to the streets and, it is constantly exposed the slum dwellers.

In Pune, slums are seen as an urban disaster and the root of urban environmental problems, yet urban affluence and over-consumption is not seen as an environmental problem. This is demonstrated by the fact that despite traffic chaos in the city, the government authorities are giving preponderance to private motorized mobility instead of expanding infrastructure for low cost pollution free mobility such as cycling and walking.

Due to the exposure of slum dwellers to the degraded environment in Pune, their main claim relates to clean environment to prevent diseases that have an impact on their human capital and economical capital (expense in medicines). The high density and pollution of the city increases the environmental vulnerability of slums.
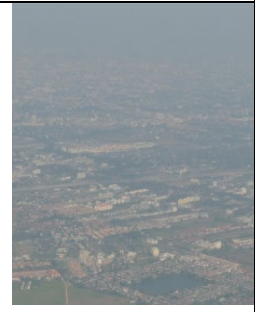
What is interested to note, is that the environmental claim of both middle class and high class relate to aesthetic and beautification of the city, which are framed in the development goal of 'slum free city'.

Pune is constrained with space for the development of gardens. The small area available is subject to many competing demands (CDP, 2006). Pune growth tendency to the core city also puts more pressure to utilize the space occupied by slums. The slum demolition in Lohmanya nagar was prompted by a competing claim of the middle class living next to the slum that already for 25 years wanted the space occupied by the slum to have a recreational park.

 The pollution generated by the affluence and rapid urbanization is also related to the basic services. In Pune there is a lack of capacity to respond to civic demands of water supply, sanitation and solid waste management. This lack of capacity of the local government had a consequence in the degradation of the environment. As mentioned, one third of the sewage goes to the river (Figure 19), which translates in unsafe and insufficient water supply for the population.

Most affected are, again, the slum dwellers, and the lack of access to basic services also has a negative impact on their health (Figure 18), consequently affecting their human capital, economic capital and degrading their natural capital.

Table 6. Competing claims over environment

Critical Claim	Slum dwellers (SD)	Middle class (MC)	High class (HC)
	Clean safe environment + + + Pollution free city +	Slum free city + + + Green city, Recreation parks ++ Pollution free city **++**	Beautification Green pollution free city **+++** Slum free city **++**
Factors Generating Spatial Civic Conflict	Air quality is poor and degrading, threatens the health of citizens Slum settlements in green areas are causing degradation and erosion	Emissions of greenhouse gases in Pune is over the average Indian city and increasing (Ramboll, 2008) Open spaces and parks are needed for recreation and relaxing	Need of open spaces and green areas provide fresh clean air
Factors that originated the Claims	Figure 19: Living conditions affect slum dwellers' health	Figure 20: Water pollution at Muhta river	Figure 21: Air pollution in Pune

6.1.5 Competing claims over basic services infrastructure

The lack of basic services affects most the slum dwellers, particularly the undeclared slums. The main claim is lack of sanitation. The impact of lack of delivery capacity for basic services in the city is resolved by the middle class by installing water filters and electricity generators. Some gated communities, such as Magarpatta have solar panels, sophisticated water filtration systems, and recycle their own solid wastes (Figure 23).

The most critical claim for slum dwellers is the lack of sanitation, as mentioned in chapter 4, lack of sanitation is an environmental and health issue in India.

Another critical issue in the city is solid waste. It was found that PMC lacks the capacity to dispose all solid waste in the city. It was observed garbage in the streets (Figure 22) in all areas

of the city. The lack of electricity capacity is solved with power generators in middle and high class apartment buildings. The slums often (type A and B, see chapter 5) have public supply connection as the one in Figure 21.

Table 7. Competing claims over basic services infrastructure

Basic services: water supply, sewage/sanitation, electricity and solid waste management			
	Slum dwellers (SD)	**Middle class (MC)**	**High class (HC)**
Critical Claim	Sewage /sanitation **+ + +** Water supply **+++** Solid waste management **+** Electricity (informal access) **—**	Lack of capacity for solid waste management **+++** Insufficient electricity capacity Daily power cuts **++** Water shortages **++** Safe water supply**+**	Top quality eco-friendly consistent basic services **+++** Solid waste disposal that preserves the environment **++** Safe water supply **+**
Factors Generating Spatial Civic Conflict	Lack of sanitation in undeclared slums, (like Lohmanya nagar slum). In declared slums the number of persons per seat of public toilet is about 84; this however varies from slum to slum (CDP, 2006) In declared slums 58% of the households had individual water supply connections and the rest depended on public stand posts (PSP). The ratio is 8.5 families per PSP(CDP, 2006).	About 30% of water is lost in distribution Equitable water distribution is an issue that has to be addressed by refurbishing the old distribution network and covering the newly added areas (CDP, 2006) Metered water system coverage in terms of house service connections is poor at just 21% of total household	Almost one-third of the total sewerage generated remains untreated and is disposed off into the Mula-Mutha river. Gated communities generate their own quality environmental basic services.
Situation that originated the Claims	 Figure 22: Only water supply for Lohmanya Nagar slum, Pune	 Figure 23: City drowning in solid waste, Pune Source: The Times of India (2009)	 Figure 24: **Environmental g**arbage segregation and biogas plant in Magarpatta city

6.2 Differences and tension points that generate SCC

In table 8, a cross comparison of the critical claims of each group are evaluated. In this cross comparison, the main critical claims of each group are reflected, and are now considered as critical claims in the city. In addition a key element is incorporated which is the Development Plan (DP). The DP gives priority, obstructs or ignores certain critical claims. What is important to note, is that claims marked with + + +, are the most critical claim for that specific group. Table 8 compares this critical claim against the importance that other groups give to this claim, and the priority of this claim in the DP. Also the negative outlook that a certain claim has in relation to other groups and the DP, increases the antagonism over that issue. For example, the first claim of Mixed-use location, which is critical for slum dwellers livelihoods, but is regarded as highly negative by the DP (mark with — — —). The polarity is considered as tension point, because it is a contested space in the city. The contested spaces are recognized as tension points and are mark with a YES. The rest of contested spaces despite there is a level of antagonism, since the degree of the claim is not critical (has not + + +) for one specific group, is not considered as a hotspot generating spatial civic conflict (SCC).

The tension points are divided in two categories. The hotspots are in red and marked with * and the second category is in orange. In the second category there are antagonisms as well, but the difference is that there is not a strong opposition or impact of one group in particular.

1) Tension point relates to slums as mixed use location where the slum livelihoods depend on. It was found that the slum rehabilitation into multi story buildings does not consider the informal occupations of slum dwellers significant enough, and in some cases forbids them. This is the case of waste pickers (see Figure 13). This occupation was forbidden because of lack of space in the vertical slum, and the danger of inflammable materials (Narayan, 2010). Informal slum livelihoods require spatial access, yet the PMC development control rules deem many of the slum livelihood activities as encroachment in the public spaces. The slum dwellers that access the public space as street vendors are vulnerable to eviction and extortion by police, because their competing claim to use that space is not recognized.

2) Tension point relates to slum relocation for road widening. As discussed, traffic planning experts have advised the local government that this is not a long term solution to the traffic congestion in the city, yet 35 per cent of the budget (CDP, 2006) is reserved for expensive infrastructure like flyovers instead of provision of adequate and affordable mass transit projects that could have a positive impact for the slum livelihoods.

Table 8: Differences in competing claims with potential to generate SCC

Critical claims in Pune	Slum dweller	Middle Class	High Class	DP	Tension Point	Observations
Mixed-use Location	+ + +	+	— —	— — —	YES*	1) Negative impact for slum livelihoods Informal economy need spatial access
Safe dwelling/ Safe location	+ + +	+ +	+	n/a	No	
Affordable Housing	+ + +	+ + +	n/a	—	No	
Gated Community	—	+	+ + +	n/a	No	
More roads for vehicles	— — —	+ +	+ + +	+ + +	YES *	2) Slum relocation to make space for roads. More traffic congestion and air pollution
Pedestrian areas	+ + +	+	— — —	— —	YES	3) Pedestrian areas take space for vehicles and parking
More parking space	— —	+	+ + +	+ + +	YES	4) Possible slum relocation for parking space. Less access for street vendors
Low cost mobility (cycling)	+ + +	+	— —	—	YES	5) Cycling infrastructure is not considered priority
Affordable public transport	+ + +	+	—	+ +	No	
Sewage /Sanitation	+ + +	+ +	+	+	No	
Solid waste management	+ + +	+ + +	+	+ +	No	
Safe water supply	+ + +	+ +	+	+ +	No	
Slum free city	— — —	+ + +	+ +	+ + +	YES *	6) See section 5.1.1
Pollution free city	+ + +	+ +	+ + +	+ +	No	
Green reserved areas	— — —	+ + +	+ + +	+ +	YES *	7) Slum located in ecological areas

3) The lack of pedestrian areas and sidewalks makes walking unsafe in the city. The main group affected is the slum dwellers

4) Relates to priority that the DP gives to create new parking areas for vehicles. This is at expense of pedestrian areas and sidewalks. The livelihoods of slum dwellers as street vendors use this kind of infrastructure. More parking spaces in the city, could affect the livelihoods, however, this tension point is not as critical in the city.

5) Pune has a cycling infrastructure. However, currently the DP gives no development priority to expand cycling in the city. This could be highly beneficial for slum dwellers.

6) Relates to the goal of slum free city. This point discussed in section 5.1.1 has a negative impact for the slums as explained in the spatial civic conflict frame has resulted in demolitions and evictions this will be explained in detail with the demolition of Lohmanya nagar slum in section 6.3.2.

7) This tension point relates to slum relocations to preserve green areas or environmental sensitive areas. Demolitions and relocations affect slum livelihoods.

Finally the second category of tension points in orange represent potential points that could generate spatial civic conflict, because they are linked to the slum livelihoods and to the claims of the other groups to dedicate more space for private vehicle use. This is the case of pedestrian areas and infrastructure for low cost mobility, like cycling.

6.3 Impact for the slum dwellers

6.3.1 Impact of rehabilitation on slum livelihoods

The analysis of the current experiences of slum rehabilitation projects in Pune shows that the current management model implemented by the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) based on private sector investment has resulted inefficient, detrimental to the livelihoods of those communities rehabilitated and undermining the resilient capacities of the slum dwellers and thus their ability to adequately deal with the shock that represents the rehabilitation project.

The main difficulties faced by households living in slum areas during the process of rehabilitation are during the building stage of the project, since the rehabilitation is *in situ*, the builder has to demolish the slum and provide temporary housing for the people while the multi-story building is finished. In some cases the process is traumatizing because the building took 3 years or more, the slum dwellers had to live in far worse conditions than before (Narayan, 2010).

 During the rehabilitation process their vulnerability increases, because of the eligibility criteria (see diagram 2 explained in section 2.1.3) that fragments the community. One of the problems detected is that the slum surveys are conducted by the private developer through NGO (see diagram 1 in section 2.1.3), which increases the chances that even people that are eligible could
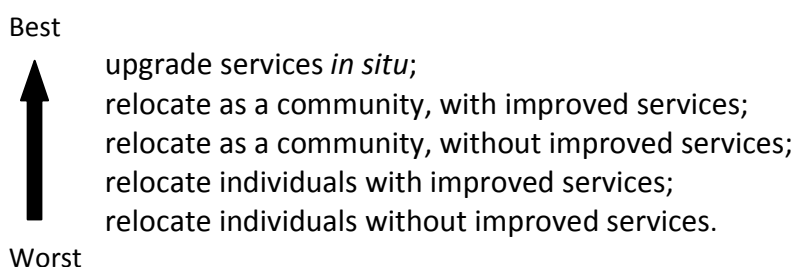
be neglected. There are documented cases that some of the slum households had been evicted during the rehabilitation process (Dupont, 2010) because the SRS does not consider the high proportion of tenants in slums, nor does it provide that extended families have more than one hut in the slum, in this case the exclusionary nature of the SRS gets magnified and in the process slum dwellers loose assets (physical capital and social capital) that have a negative impact on their livelihoods.

Despite the SRA mentioned that rehabilitation is *in situ*, in reality there is a relocation to a multi-story building sometimes called 'vertical slum' (Dupont, 2010).

Based on recently collected survey data from Pune shows that urban poor households prefer to live close to work and in communities that consist of people sharing common socio-demographic characteristics (Kapoor, 2004).

From the perspective of households living in informal settlements, upgrading slum settlements *in situ* is welfare enhancing (Kapoor, 2004). This means providing basic services as water, sanitation and electricity. If households must be relocated, their preference is to move to a community that resembles their current community (Kapoor, 2004).

The World Bank did a study based on simulations of the slum rehabilitation interventions in terms of their impact on the welfare of residents living in Pune's slums. In order of preference these are:

Best

upgrade services *in situ*;
relocate as a community, with improved services;
relocate as a community, without improved services;
relocate individuals with improved services;
relocate individuals without improved services.

Worst

The simulations showed that relative to no intervention (allowing slum dwellers to remain in their current location, with current levels of basic services), upgrading services *in situ* is the only one of these interventions that increases welfare of the slum dwellers (Kapoor, 2004).

As seen before the worst impact for the slum dwellers is relocation without improved services, which is basically eviction, uproot them from a site on which they depend for their livelihoods, where they have a community and certain security. Most of these evicted individuals become

pavement squatters which are the hotspots of poverty in the city. The social vulnerability of these urban poor is far worse than living in a slum.

As seen in diagram 2, Slum livelihood framework, the process of Development Plan with its goal of slum free city affects the livelihood assets, the physical capital, natural capital and social capital of slum in the city.

6.4 Slum demolition at Lohmanya Nagar

This perception that the increase of the number of slums is due to recent migration is crucial to understand why there is no drive on the part of the authorities to provide basic services or implement the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme in large scale. Instead the authorities create more risks for the urban poor by implementation of slum clearance and ordered demolitions. With these actions the local authority wrongly believes that these 'migrants' will return to their original homes.

Lohmanya Nagar is an example of an undeclared slum, it is not recognized by the local government. Slum dwellers have been living there for 28 years and there are approximately 800 huts without sewage. I visited this slum just 8 days after they suffered their fifth partial demolition (Figure 24).

Since they have no place to go, they always reconstruct in the same location.

The idea that "they will go away" has a detrimental impact, affects the competing claims of this slum community, affects their capacity to withstand shocks and stress in the urban setting, and it generates a spatial civic conflict.

Figure 25: Slum demolition
Lohmanya nagar, Pune (2010)

Slum demolition generates an open confrontation with the local authority plans, because far from showing defeat, these people explain that they will not leave, but rebuild their dwellings and wait for the next elections to get support from the local electoral member. This demonstrates that, generating spatial civic conflict polarizes slum segments that can be future vote banks for political extreme factions, hindering a future development coalition for the city.

The slum dwellers mentioned that they did not receive any notice: "*they just came and broke everything*". Despite physical resistance and opposition there was nothing they could have done. The day of the demolition there was a woman delivering. She was in delicate condition with a new born in one of the plastic tents under the heat. The demolition squat mentioned that the rest of the slum will be also demolished soon. They have not been offered any relocation possibility. The slum dwellers were aware that there are other slums that are suffering demolitions in the area of Lakshmi Nagar.

These slum dwellers have been living in this slum since 1982 and had ration cards and election cards to prove it. They are paying a fee for the water and electricity. Their main occupations are domestic workers, waste pickers and construction workers in the vicinity areas, but they do '*whatever they find to do'*.
They believed that the political representative has a personal interest in this site, in the election times he promised many things including toilets but he delivered nothing.

Figure 26: Slum dwellers protecting physical assets after demolition
Lohmany nagar, Pune (2010)

In the aftermath of the shock of demolition, they encountered new risks such as the possibility to loose even more of their livelihood assets (Figure 24 and 25).

Consequently, they do not want to leave the slum. They cannot go to work out of fear for another eviction, with no possibility of income, their families start suffering hunger. In figure 26, a local charity was giving free food to the children and women once a day.

Figure 27: Local charity feeds women and children
Lohmany nagar, Pune (2010)

They never heard of the Slum Rehabilitation Program. When they first came there was no reservation for this place, now they are aware that there is a reservation for a playground.

They expressed this as follows: *we are all insecure, stress, children are sick because is so hot, an old lady is in critical condition due to the heat and lack of shelter, in risk of dying without medical attention.*

When I asked if they were aware that the PMC plans to have a Slum Free City, they laughed saying that all this is only in paper, no authority has reach to them. They are sure that they (PMC) do not want to help but to destroy.

This slum is surrounded by middle class dwellings (Figure 26 and 27). Some of the slum dwellers work as domestic workers and construction workers in these buildings. They knew that middle class people that hire them, had raised a fund to complain with the PMC to remove them, in the hope they will just go away. During my visit there was an elderly man in one of the buildings that constantly followed my movements and was hostile about my presence and taking photos.

What do they need from the authorities?

One of the community leaders, Radha Waghmare said: *we need good dwellings and good toilets, clean environment, we do not want to live in multi-story building because there is a water problem, the lifts do not work, it is difficult for old people to move up and down, then we cannot afford to pay the tax, we want to stay in this location with services.*

**Figure 28: Lohmanya nagar is surrounded by middle class dwellings**
Lohmany nagar, Pune (2010)

6.5   Impact of implementation of competing claims

After visiting Lohmanya nagar, I went to the DP cell at the PMC to enquire about the current development plan of land use for this area. To my surprise, I was told that this area is a green park, as it is marked with the black arrow in the current land use map (see figure 26). One of the persons in charge assured me that there is a jogging track in this park. They showed a copy of Pune DP (1987) Gazette where all the scheduled modifications and drafts are recorded.

As per Gazette this area corresponds to M-119 which is designated as 'No development zone' and redesignated as Park and Recreation Centre. By comparing what the Gazette and the map showed, I became aware of different inconsistencies, as the area of M-121 that is shown as slum redevelopment, or that the slum that is across the main road of Lalbahadur Shastri (shown with red arrow), which I also visited, is not on the map either.
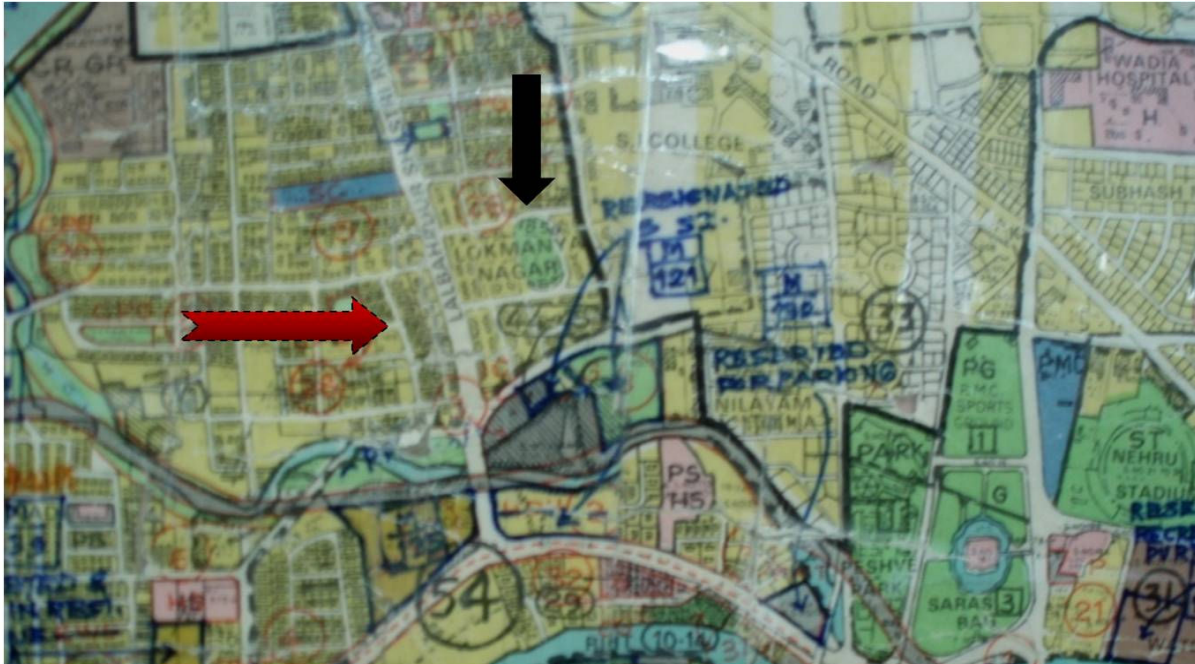
Figure 29: Land use map of the Development Plan 1987
Source PMC (2010)

The DP cell official explained that the inconsistencies are possible because this map has not been updated since 1987. *'It is difficult since any modifications, have to be approved by the Town Planning Office, a state organization and the new regional plan is pending analysis and surveys'* (Gosavi, 2010).

This example is a good indicator that despite having a development plan set, the local authorities in this case the DP cell, have very limited information of how the rapid urban development is happening. Furthermore, they mentioned that PMC has no way to finance surveys to update the information. Despite that the national authorities in Delhi have understood that decentralization is crucial to implement policies accordingly to the reality of the Indian cities, in practice this DP cell is dependent on the approval and analysis at state (Maharashtra) level.

The gap between what is happening at the street level and what is reflected in the official map is disturbing if consider the context of the spatial civic conflict. In order to promote participation, accurate information is needed. Consequently social exclusion as explained before will fragment the city more, precisely because there is no way to monitor the urban growth and trends.

In summary, the urban transformation of Pune has four main areas of infrastructure development, which are: housing, mobility, environment and basic services. The current development plan gives preponderance to the competing claims of the high class and middle class particularly on building expensive mobility infrastructure such as flyovers and wider roads for private automobiles. The traffic congestion is degrading the environment, and the air pollution affects the health of the population. Hence the environmental competing claim of the high classes (and to lesser extend to the middle class that can afford it) of having open spaces and greener areas has resulted in more gated communities, such as Magarpatta city.

These gated communities provide the civic demands that the local government had not been able to provide, particularly with basic services such as clean water supply, continuous electricity services, solid waste management and treatment of sewage waters. A true development enclaves contained in the city of Pune. However as we saw, this is reserved for a small minority that can afford this lifestyle. As the private sector builds these development enclaves the prices of the real estate properties will continue rising, in part because they provide not only housing, but also civic demands that otherwise should be considered public services for all the segments of the population.

The privatization of the civic demands will put more pressure on the slums for relocation. As could be assessed in the tension points table, all the tension points are related to slum relocation, the reasons are variable, from road widening, green open spaces to definitely "slum free city". This generates spatial civic conflict.

Also, since the most detrimental process for slum dwellers is relocation without basic services, this affects the livelihood assets of the slum dwellers, increases their vulnerability and social exclusion in the city. The assessment of the competing claims of the different social groups demonstrated that SRS is a destructive contestation process that generates spatial civic conflict. So far the SRS has not addressed the mixed use housing needs of slum dwellers, nor has it provided a supply of affordable housing for middle class groups in Pune.

7. Conclusions

With regard to their vision for Pune, participants of the city council wished to see Pune develop into a clean and beautiful, slum-free, pollution-free city with an efficient public transport system.
They would like to see the city promoted as a global city,
an IT city and as vibrant economic centre.
(CDP, 2006:p.36)

Above is the current vision for Pune as included in the Development Plan. This vision focusses on environmental concerns and global economic integration. There is currently no alternative vision to make Pune a social, political and spatially inclusive city.

This final chapter presents the conclusions of this research. The conclusions are divided into five main dimensions. The first one relates to the findings of the theoretical framework used for this thesis, the Spatial Civic Conflict (SCC) in relation to the slum livelihoods. The Spatial Civic Conflict frame reflects the tension points and actions that generate this conflict in the city as well as the implications for the urban transformation in Pune. Once linked the SCC to the global process in Pune, then the second finding considers the current role of the local government (PMC) in the urban transformation and the implications of its actions within the Spatial Civic Conflict. As part of the actions of the local government, the third finding concerns the development goal of slum free city in Pune and the way it generates SCC in the city. As this goal directly affects the slums in the city, the fourth finding discusses the role of slums in Pune and the needs of slum dwellers to participate in the development of the city, in order to diminish conflict and generate a development coalition. And finally the fifth finding discusses the reasons why this research found the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme to be destructive contestation process that does not resolve the spatial civic conflict in Pune.

1) Spatial Civic Conflict in globalizing Pune

As discussed in chapter 1, the nature of the globalization process in India is an uneven process, mainly happening in the mega cities. The state of Maharashtra is one of the regions which is most integrated into the global economy, yet it is still one of the poorest regions in India.

The impact of globalization is clearly felt and visible in Pune as an IT and automobile industry global hub (see 1.4). Pune is a globalizing city which explains the current urban transformation of the city. The implications of global integration are conventional urban planning approaches that result in spatial segregation, and excessive regulations that inhibit the formalization of economic activities (see chapter 4). The cumbersome regulations translate in further fragility of

the local government as they have no means to tax the informal economy but also affect the global competitiveness (see 4.2.1)

In the past, various government interventions attempted to control the rapid urbanization by the means of restrictive land-use policies that have only exacerbate the uneven development, land encroachments and insufficient infrastructure. Therefore the urban poor created informal mixed-use habitats for themselves, slums.

The global integration of Pune explains the increase of slums in the city. Slums are not disconnected segments but are parts of the globalization process. The urban poor and the informal slum economy support the global sectors because they are an integral part of the local economy in Pune.

The spatial civic conflict is linked to globalizing cities in fragile states, because antagonisms are inevitable aspects of development and urban transformation, and when civic demands are not met by the local government, the most vulnerable group, slum dwellers is most affected (see 1.5).
Slum rehabilitation is a process linked to the global urban transformation to make Pune a 'slum free city', yet slum rehabilitation has not been implemented at large scale. The Spatial Civic Conflict frame provides a different lens to examine the reasons why the SRS has not been implemented at large scale and has furthermore generated more antagonisms over the development plan in Pune (see diagram 1).

The Spatial Civic Conflict (SCC) adds a geographical dimension to what is occurring at local level in globalizing cities. Globalizing cities provide the physical infrastructure for the global informational economy to function, yet there are many challenges to resolve at street level, particularly with the urban poor segments that apparently are not part of the global economy (see 2.1.2).

The spatial civic conflict refers to the conflict between two or more social groups that have different competing claims over the same land location. Factors that generate the spatial civic conflict are uneven development and fragile local states. These two factors reflect the lack of capacity of the state (at all levels) to respond to civic demands of the urban population. In Pune, this lack of capacity to respond is due to budget dependency of the local government and lack of autonomy in decision making (see 6.5). It is significant to realize the importance of the SRS for the development of the city. Yet this process is not handled by the PMC but instead by an external state agency, the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA). As I was told by the official in the SRA, the SRS is not implemented at a large scale because there is no communication among

the different levels of government but also because there are many social, political and caste groups interests behind. These groups have their own development agendas for Pune, which are pushed behind the scenes, yet it results convenient to have an undefined, unrealistic malleable development goal such as Slum free city, which, I discovered none of the informants and respondents of the interviews performed could define.

Furthermore, the future development of Pune is not only about economic growth, but should also be thought in terms of social inclusion, political participation and spatial access for all groups. In this way the antagonisms resulted from the urban transformation can be overcome in the following way:

Present approach generating SCC	Proposed approach to generate civic engagement
More infrastructure for personal motorized vehicles (unsustainable)	=> Affordable access to non-motorized mobility
Slum free city	=> more inclusive city, with access for urban poor to formalization of basic services and housing *in situ*.
More privatization of public space	=> more formal access to urban space to sustain the livelihoods of the urban poor, this could result in less encroachments.

In a more inclusive city, the possibilities to create civic engagements increase. Thus Pune can also create a development coalition that includes all groups, particularly the largest group, slum dwellers, who represent 42 per cent of the total population. This could only happen if the Development Plan of Pune would give significant attention to aspects of social inclusion, which is not the case with the current plan.

This research found that the Development Plan concentrates on the competing economic environment among states and cities in India which challenge each other to attract foreign investment, who considers this as a threat to Pune's future economic growth, yet the PMC has disregarded what is happening locally, hence the spatial civic conflict reflects the competing spatial environment among different social groups in the urban space. It is important to acknowledge this to generate civic engagement for the urban development of the city. Otherwise the real threat to Pune's future economic growth lies at street level.

The negative aspect of a fragmented city is that it does not maximize the interaction between different groups (and classes), increases the isolation of the most vulnerable group, which cannot benefit fully of the livelihood opportunities that cities provide.

2) Role of local government (PMC)

The rapid urbanization growth in Pune since 2001 is due to the natural growth (21%), net in-migration (38%), and a territorial expansion (41%). However, this territorial expansion of the PMC was not matched with appropriate resources to cope with the implication of this expansion, generating the spatial civic conflict. While the first two phenomena, natural growth and migration, are not in control of the local government. PMC was at limit capacity to respond to civic demands of the growing population, yet the incorporation of these 23 villages (see section 5.3) increment the tensions and demands for basic services and formal access to housing. As discussed before, slum dwellers resulted in the group most affected since their competing claims are compromised because they are considered recent migrants in the city.

This research found that the local government (PMC) was aware of its lack of capacity. This is one of the arguments in favor of involving the private sector in the city's development. However, it is the minimal involvement of the local government that contributes to the spatial civic conflict.

3) Slum free city goal

This research found that the term "slum free city' is very negative for the city of Pune, as demonstrated in section 5.1.1, despite its origins which can be traced to UN-Millennium Development Goals. It is an outdated goal, in the sense that it has no clear definition of what it means, as I found none of the respondents could explain it. More important, is the realization that there is a missed opportunity to set a realistic operating goal for the development plan of Pune.

The Slum free city target is difficult if not impossible to achieve, and has increased the negative perception about the slums in the city. It has also hindered future governmental programs for poverty alleviation, as mentioned programs such as target distribution of ration cards leave the most vulnerable groups excluded (see 5.5). As far as the slum free city goal, it was detected a different position among official actors, (PMC, SRA and YASADA) *versus* NGOs, private developers and slum dwellers (see 5.1.1). This difference leads to a tension point with respect to the development goal in Pune, because the main actors (slum dwellers) are not actively engaged, which increases the fragility of the local government, increases the vulnerability and social exclusion of slum dwellers and generates a spatial civic conflict.

4) **Slums in Pune**

The lack of a clear definition of 'slum' (see 3.1.2) hinders the ways of solving the access problem of different groups in the city and can endanger the objectives of social inclusion of the current housing policies such as the SRS.

Slums are mixed-use areas that support livelihoods of the urban poor, particularly social capital, physical capital and human capital since many of the slum dwellers have a home based operation or use the public space to operate small shops to generate income. Family and children help the main income earner. Slums occupy only 6 per cent of the urban land in Pune, yet this space provides a livelihood for more than 40 per cent of the population. Poverty is seen as an urban disaster and the root of urban environmental problems, yet urban affluence and over-consumption is not seen as an environmental problem in Pune (see 6.1.3) (for example: traffic planning chaos in the city, and plans and policies which give preponderance to motorized mobility rather than to social justice).

Another tension point found was the perception that all slum dwellers are recent migrants (see 5.5) in the city. There is a devalorization of their current participation as construction workers in the rapid urbanization in Pune (see 5.4). This tension illustrates the spatial fragmentation of the city that remains functional. Slum dwellers are needed as workers but not valued as neighbors.

Another negative aspect of a fragmented city as Pune is that it does not allow the maximization of interaction between different social groups (and classes) this increases the isolation of the most vulnerable group which cannot benefit fully of the livelihood opportunities that cities provide.

5) **Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS)**

This research concludes that the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) is a destructive contestation process of the spatial civic conflict. The reason is that secure tenure is only one aspect of the urban poverty in Pune. The SRS only focuses on providing physical capital and secure tenure to eligible slum dwellers (see 1.8). There are other important issues in the city such as sanitation and human waste treatment not only in the slums (see 6.1.5). In addition to the public health risk that represent denying sanitation to undeclared slums.

Pune is an example of over-determination of capital in which there are many actors involved (private sector, NGOs, government agencies, different levels of government) that neglect the governance of the local authorities in the case of slum rehabilitation policies. The international thinking of 'good governance' associated with the administrative side of the decentralization

and privatization (PPP) is the main reason that the slum rehabilitation program has not been successful and hinders the future development of the city of Pune due to overlapping agendas.

The overview of the difficulties and needs faced by households living in slum areas during the process of rehabilitation (see 5.5), in addition to the precarious position of the urban poor facing the informal settlement demolition and the vulnerability (see 6.3), leads me to come to the conclusion that Slum Rehabilitation Program is not a poverty alleviation program but is rather a development tool to advance the global capital agenda in Pune.

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