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Building **Inclusive** Urban Communities

CITY RÉSUMÉ
AHMEDABAD

Darshini Mahadevia, Neha Bhatia, Renu Desai – 2018

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Contact:
Centre for Urban Equity (CUE)
CEPT University, Ahmedabad, India
Email: cue@cept.ac.in
Website: www.cept.ac.in/cue

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ABSTRACT

This City Résumé profiles Ahmedabad, the seventh-largest metropolis in India and the largest city in Gujarat, to develop a background understanding of the city for the research project, Building Inclusive Urban Communities (BInUCom). The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of Ahmedabad's development over time, with a focus on the urban poor and marginalised communities and their housing. It discusses changes that have taken place since the economic liberalisation in the urban economy and labour markets; its impact on urban poverty, urban planning regulations, policies, and the changing urban development paradigm; and the resultant social inclusion and exclusion with regard to housing in the city, which are reflected in the different typologies of informal housing, resettlement housing (largely due to development projects), and spatial segmentation. It brings out the dichotomies in the city's development presenting the need for inclusive planning approach for the city. ◆

" The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of Ahmedabad's development over time, with a focus on the urban poor and marginalised communities and their housing."

CONTENTS

PART 1
AHMEDABAD: A CONTEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

Ahmedabad, the seventh-largest metropolis in India and the largest city of Gujarat state, has undergone various transformations over time, in terms of its economy, labour markets, and urban planning paradigm. This résumé highlights how the course of development has impacted its citizens, especially those residing in informal settlements.

Historical Trajectories

Ahmedabad is named after Ahmed Shah, the second sultan of Gujarat, who founded the city in 1411, on the banks of the Sabarmati River. It became the new capital of the Gujarat sultanate and continued to be a seat of power thereafter as the provincial headquarters of the Mughals till mid-18th century. During this period, the city witnessed the rise of superb architecture—mosques such as the central Jama Masjid and Sidi Saiyyed Mosque, Bhadra Fort, gates of the walled city, mausoleums, and more. With many of these standing strong till today, Ahmedabad has become the first and only Indian city to earn the UNESCO World Heritage City status[1].

For nearly 60 years, after the Mughal reign, the city was governed by the Marathas, before being surrendered to the British in early 19th century. During the British rule, Ahmedabad grew in prominence due to its railway linkages with Bombay[2]. Moreover, a thriving textile industry led to Ahmedabad becoming known as the 'Manchester of India'. With Gandhi's arrival in 1915, the city, by then 500 years old, became the centre of the Indian Freedom Movement, against British imperialism (Yagnik & Seth 2011).

After Independence, the city was the district headquarters of the Bombay province for a few years. In 1960, when a separate Gujarat state was created, Ahmedabad regained its status as the provincial capital after almost 200 years (Ibid.). In that decade, the city, progressive as it was, invited the establishment of premier academic institutions such as the Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad, Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology (CEPT) University, and National Institute of Design. In a way, these institutions gave the city international acclaim. Today, in the 21st century, Ahmedabad is essentially evolving into a heritage Smart City.

Demography and Administration

As of 2011, Ahmedabad had a population of 5.8 million in the municipal area and 6.3 million (**Table 1**) in the urban agglomeration area. The municipal area comes under the jurisdiction of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC), the administrative boundaries of which were last extended in 2010, to cover an area of 466 sq. kms.[3] The Ahmedabad Urban Agglomeration (AUA)[4] includes 4 towns and 103 villages, apart from the area under AMC, and covers a total area of 1,866 sq. kms. A third entity in the city's governance structure is the Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority (AUDA), a planning authority that largely covers the AUA area and more (AUDA 2013).

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1 Accessed from http://indianexpress.com/article/india/ahmedabad-becomes-indias-first-world-heritage-city-unesco-site-indians-first-4742234/ on 22nd July 2017.
2 Now known as Mumbai.

3 The city limits are extended from time to time, once the peripheral areas develop (generally on their own). The previous extension of AMC limits took place in 1986.
4 The AUA area, which is larger than the AMC area, is not an administrative unit and is defined by the Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India.

Table 1

Population and growth rate of areas under the AMC and AUA

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

CAGR = Compound Annual Growth Rate
Source:
* AMC 2005 (for 1981–2001 population figures)
** Census 2011a[1]
*** Mahadevia (2012:3)

The peripheral areas of the city have registered a higher population growth rate than the central parts. Hence, the Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of the AUA area has been higher than that of the AMC area, except in the years when the latter's boundaries had been extended (**Table 1**). Although Ahmedabad does not hold the record for registering the fastest population growth within Gujarat—that position has been occupied by Surat for many years now. However, the AUA's population growth rate has been higher than that of Gujarat since the 1990s (**Table 1**), which also indicates a higher population growth on the city's periphery than in the AMC areas.

According to the disaggregation of the population in Ahmedabad district (which includes the city and her neighbouring areas) by religion, 83.8 per cent is Hindu, 12.2 per cent is Muslim, 2.9 per cent is Jain, and 0.7 per cent is Christian.[5] While Muslims made up 9.7 per cent of the state's population, their proportion in Ahmedabad was higher at 13.5 per cent as well as in Ahmedabad district, as mentioned above. In 2011, people registered as Scheduled Caste (SC) constituted 10.68 per cent of the city's population (declined from 10.94 per cent in 2001), while those categorised as Scheduled Tribe (ST) made up 1.21 per cent of the city's population (increased from 0.94 per cent in 2001).[6] ◆

5   This data is from the C-1 Table on Population by Religious Community, available at http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/C-01.html (accessed on 6th January 2016).
6   This data is from *State, district and talukawise scheduled castes and scheduled tribes statistics in Gujarat State (2001 and 2011)*, a report by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Gujarat, Gandhinagar, which isavailable at http://gujecostat.gujarat.gov.in/wp-content/uploads/2013/State_District_and_Talukawise_Scheduled_Castes_and_Scheduled_Tribes_Statistics_in_Gujarat_State(2001_and_2011).pdf (accessed on 6th January 2016).

PART 2
GLOBALISATION, ECONOMY, ANDTHE LA BOUR MARKET

Gujarat is one of the fastest growing economies of the country and its growth has predominantly been driven by private players, who have been handed a significant role (albeit varyingly) in key infrastructure sectors such as ports, power, and roads, since 2000.

The state had an average economic growth rate of 10 per cent per annum from 2004–2005 to 2012–2013, which is higher than the national average of 8 per cent per annum for this period (**Table 2**). During these years, even the primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors of Gujarat registered a higher growth rate than the national averages in the respective sectors. In fact, the secondary and tertiary sectors contributed to one-third and half of the Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) respectively during this period (Mahadevia 2012).

Table 2

Real Gross Domestic Product growth rates (% per annum)

Fiscal year	India	Gujarat
2004–05	7.5	8.9
2005–06	9.5	15.0
2006–07	9.6	8.4
2007–08	9.3	11.0
2008–09	6.8	7.0
2009–10	8.6	11.3
2010–11	8.9	10.0
2011–12	6.7	7.7
2012–13	4.5	8.0
2004–05 to 2012–13 (Average)	7.9	9.7

Source: Planning Commission, Government of India (2014a and 2014b)

Gujarat, with an urbanisation rate of 3.1 per cent per annum, is the only high-income state, besides Haryana (3.7 per cent per annum), to have surpassed the all-India urbanisation rate **(Table 2)** in the decade 2001–2011. Till 1991, Gujarat witnessed a slower rate of urbanisation, as compared to that of India—its rate being 3.5 per cent per annum in the 1970s and 2.9 per cent per annum in 1980s, as compared to 3.8 per cent per annum and 3.1 per cent per annum for India for the respective periods (Mahadevia 2014a). However, while the economic liberalisation of 1991 saw the urbanisation rate of India slowing down to 2.7 per cent per annum in the decade 1991–2001 and 2.8 per cent per annum in the decade 2001–2011, Gujarat's rate rose to 2.9 per cent per annum and 3.1 per cent per annum during the respective periods. In other words, economic reforms had a positive impact on Gujarat, in terms of urbanisation (Ibid.).

Labour Informalisation
Ahmedabad has historically been a rich city, based on which its modern industrial economy has been built. The city established itself as the home of cotton textile mills in the later part of the 19th century. By early 20th century, Ahmedabad was known as the 'Manchester of India'. Over the years, the city's growing textile industry attracted working-class migrants from other regions of India. The 1970s marked the beginning of the first phase of the informalisation of labour in the city.

In 1981, out of an urban working population of 7,50,000, around 2,50,000 were engaged in the formal sector. But, this number decreased when mills began to be closed down (Breman 2004)—the result of the mills' obsolete technology, high production

cost which is partly explained by the high wages paid to workers, and stiff competition from the unorganised power loom sector which managed to keep production costs down by paying workers lower wages. Moreover, around this time, waste from the state's upcoming petrochemical industries was used as synthetic fibre for textiles, which caused a decline in the demand for cotton textiles.[7] The composite mills in Ahmedabad gave way to small-scale units for specialised textile-related activities such as weaving and dyeing, thus bringing the workforce under the informal sector.

While the collapse of the composite cotton textile mills had begun from 1985 onwards, it was the central government's New Economic Policy of India, 1991, that hastened their closure. Within a decade, even the power loom sector in Ahmedabad declined and a significant proportion of the retrenched textile mill workers resorted to casual wage labour and self-employment in the informal sector such as street vending, driving autorickshaws, repair work, and home-based work.

By 2005 (as per the economic census), 80 per cent of the enterprises located in Ahmedabad district were part of the tertiary sector and 46 per cent were into retail trade, marking a shift to tertiary sector economy (Mahadevia 2012:16). Nearly 71 per cent of the total employment was in the tertiary sector (Mahadevia 2012:16). Primarily, small enterprises made up the tertiary sector then, indicating the presence of a large informal sector, with the exceptions of public administration, defence, and social services (Mahadevia 2012:16).

In 2009–2010, only one per cent of the total male workforce was in the primary sector and 28.5 per cent was in the secondary sector, while the remaining 70.5 per cent worked in the tertiary sector. From the total female workforce, 5.8 per cent was in the primary sector, 32 per cent in the secondary sector, and the remaining 62.2 per cent in the tertiary sector (Mahadevia 2012:20). It is estimated that there were a total of 21.05 million workers in Ahmedabad in 2009–2010, out of which about 16.34 million (78 per cent) worked in the informal or unorganised sector (Mahadevia & Shah 2012). Thus, although work availability improved in Ahmedabad, it has largely been in the informal sector. This means that any displacement of the informally employed workforce from their original place of residence or any conflict or episodes of violence would disrupt their work availability, consequently pushing them below the poverty line.

Apart from the petrochemical industry, Ahmedabad has also seen the emergence of pharmaceutical, automobile, agro and food processing, and chemical and dyeing units. Significant social and spatial transformations in peri-urban areas have come about, as these factories are located in the region around the city which is interspersed with villages. The rise of such industries has led to an increase in land prices and large, speculative investments. A high demand for labour has attracted migrants from states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and West Bengal to these areas.

7   The waste from petrochemical industries was converted to synthetic yarn. Synthetic fabric as well as cotton-blended synthetic fabric replaced the daily wear cotton clothes of the middle and lower classes.

Overview of Migration

A state-wise list[8] of the number of net migrants[9] by their last residence in the past decade, in the 2001 Census) shows Maharashtra at the top with 23.8 lakh net migrants, followed by Delhi (17.6 lakh), Gujarat (6.8 lakh), and Haryana (6.7 lakh).

Table 3

Variation in migration profile between 1991–2001 in Gujarat, based on their last residence

State (Gujarat)	2001 Census	1991 Census	Variation % (1991–2001)
	Persons	Persons	
In-migrants (from other states)	11,25,818	7,00,060	60.8
In-migrants (from abroad)	14,800	14,810	-0.1
Total in-migrants	11,40,618	7,14,870	59.6
Out-migrants	4,51,458	3,05,738	47.7
Net migrants	6,89,160	4,09,132	68.4

Source: Data highlights of migration tables, Census 2001

While the exact number of migrants coming to Ahmedabad city is currently unavailable, some studies suggest that large groups, both seasonal, intra-state (from the tribal districts within Gujarat) and inter-state migrants (from the tribal districts of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and other states such as Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Jharkhand) come to Ahmedabad for informal-sector work (Mosse et al. 2007, Desai et al. 2014). These migrants are predominantly involved in the construction and hotel industries. They come for a short duration at a time of distress or need, or for a period of 6–10 months in a year and return to their respective villages for a fortnight or a couple of months during festivals and the sowing/harvest season. ◆

8 Accessed from http://censusindia.gov.in/Ad_Campaign/drop_in_arti-cles/08-Migration.pdf on 5th January 2016.
9 The difference between in-migrants (people who come from other regions of the country to Gujarat for work) and out-migrants (people who travel from Gujarat to other regions of the country for work).

PART 3
PLANNING, POLICIES, AND THE POOR

Major planning interventions in Ahmedabad are currently being designed, planned, and implemented in two ways—through Town Planning Schemes[10] (TPS) and urban projects. The TPS are part of a two-stage urban planning process. The first stage of planning constitutes the preparation of a Development Plan (DP) for a 20-year horizon. In Ahmedabad, AUDA prepares the DP for the region under its control. This DP includes delineation of the planning area (i.e., the area over which this authority has jurisdiction to prepare the DP for), identification of potential growth areas in the planning area, and broad land use proposals with major trunk infrastructure. The planning area is then divided into a number of smaller areas, usually of 1–2 sq. km. each, for which TPS are prepared and implemented by the AUDA and AMC within their respective jurisdictions. The DP and the TPS are created as per the Gujarat Town Planning and Urban Development Act, 1976 (GTPUDA, 1976).

The designing and drafting of the TPS is a lengthy process and its implementation is slow at the ground level.[11] All TPS go through three stages—draft, preliminary, and final—each of which needs to be approved by the state government, thus centralising the decision-making process. Although consultations with landowners are held at all stages, the government can take possession of the land for the construction of roads soon after the draft is approved. According to the GTPUDA, 1976, prepa-

ration of a TPS is supposed to take around four years. However, the actual time taken by TPS to move from one stage to the next is much longer, often more than a decade (Sanyal & Deuskar 2012). This delay can be attributed to the slow sanctioning process by the state government, legal disputes involving the land, and inadequate financial resources.

The state as well as the local governments can use their discretionary powers to decide on the usage of the allocated land, which, sometimes, do not work in favour of the low-income groups. These discretionary decision-making powers can also be led by arbitrariness and individual, vested interests. A welcome amendment to the legislation rules that the survey, planning, approval, and implementation process should be completed within three years, so that displacements and manipulation by builders are minimised.

As a result of the slow process, haphazard development begins and spreads on the urban periphery before a draft TPS is prepared/sanctioned/implemented. In the absence of a TPS, an area is not generally entitled to receive basic infrastructure and services such as water supply, sanitation, and roads.[12] This provision is implemented formally in random parts of the urban periphery through MLA or councillor funds, or informally through private actors, usually made up of developers, housing associations, and/or musclemen/mafia. Since some of these areas become densely developed before the TPS is ready or implemented, the land mafia and developers who are in the know of the TPS preparation process, seize prime properties for speculation.

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10 This mechanism is a planning tool, which allows for a detailed reconstitution of the land in an area, along with the appropriation of a certain proportion of the private lands by the planning authority. Part of this appropriated land is then sold in the market to raise finance for infrastructure investments. The other part of the appropriated land is allocated for public facilities such as roads, health and education institutions, public parks, and low-income housing. This method of land management is also called land pooling and readjustement after appropriation. In Ahmedabad, 40 per cent of the private land is appropriated by the planning authority. The usefulness of this tool is in it doing away with the need for land acquisition for public purpose uses.

11 In a majority of the cases of newly developing areas, land is acquired without litigation, whereas in the older parts, litigation can drag the implementation phase of projects.

12 The exception is that if permission for a building is granted in a non-TPS area, then only that building is entitled to water supply and drainage services.

Due to the already dense development, implementation of TPS often leads to demolitions and displacement of the poor and low-income groups, since they are usually squatters on these lands. Often, even if they have bought the land on stamp papers, they do not have proof of ownership and their rights to the land are not recognised. Hence, they are not compensated.

The recently legislated Gujarat Regularisation of Unauthorised Development Act, 2011, and Rules 2012 might provide a way for those with ownership documents (stamp papers) to regularise their constructions. However, this does not regularise land ownership for persons with these documents, and it is still not clear if they can claim compensation. As the Act states, no regularisation is permitted if the land is designated for a specific purpose or is under alignment of roads. As a result, the constructions on TPS-reserved plots would not be regularised.

According to the GTPUDA, 1976, both AMC and AUDA have the power to reserve a maximum of 10 per cent of the land for housing the socially and economically weaker sections (SEWS). Between 1976–2006, around 50 TPS comprised 172 plots, measuring a total of 135 hectares, which were allocated for SEWS housing. Out of these, a mere 6.11 per cent was actually utilised for SEWS housing (Joshi & Sanga 2009). Thus, it is evident that this system's potential in providing housing for the urban poor has been unrealised.

The other route to rban development is through the project-oriented approach. Urban projects such as the Sabarmati Riverfront Development project, Kankaria Lakefront project, and most recently, the Bhadra redevelopment project are designed and implemented to beautify and/or redevelop/upgrade infrastructure in existing parts of the city. Treated as discrete projects, their planning often neither takes into consideration the adjacent areas nor the links between the project area and the rest of the city. In the Riverfront project, a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) called the Sabarmati Riverfront Development Corporation Limited (SRFDCL) was created and it comprised the mayor, opposition leader, and several bureaucrats from the AMC and the state government (Desai 2012).

The resettlement of the urban poor, displaced as a result of various projects, has not been uniform, as there is no city-level policy governing the nature and process of rehabilitation. With project-based urban planning being divorced from city-wide planning, less important issues take precedence over larger concerns, thus narrowing the possibilities of achieving inclusive urban development. (See **Figure 1** for the chronology of housing programmes, policies, and schemes implemented at the central, state, and city levels by the respective governments.) ◆

PART 4
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Since the 1970s, a number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and human rights groups in Ahmedabad city have worked in the field of philanthropy, community development, and social reform. Some of the organisations that are working for causes which form the context of this paper are the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), which empowers the unorganised sector of self-employed women; Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT)[13] and Saath, which are involved in housing the urban poor and microfinance; Prayas Centre for Labor Research and Action and Aajeevika Bureau address the issues of the unorganised sector's workers, including those of seasonal migrant workers; Sanchetana works in the sphere of healthcare, particularly womens' health in the city's slums; and, the Centre for Development (CfD) looks into the formal education of the urban poor.

MHT and Saath had partnered with the AMC on the Slum Networking Programme (SNP), an important slum upgradation project of late 1990s/early 2000s. However, AMC's changing urban development paradigm seems to have limited the role that such organisations can play in bettering the lives of the urban poor. So, although these two NGOs were invited by the AMC to the slum resettlement sites in recent times (discussed in **PART 5**), they had to follow the narrow mandate of forming co-operative housing societies there—a move to pass on the burden of maintenance of the sites to the residents.
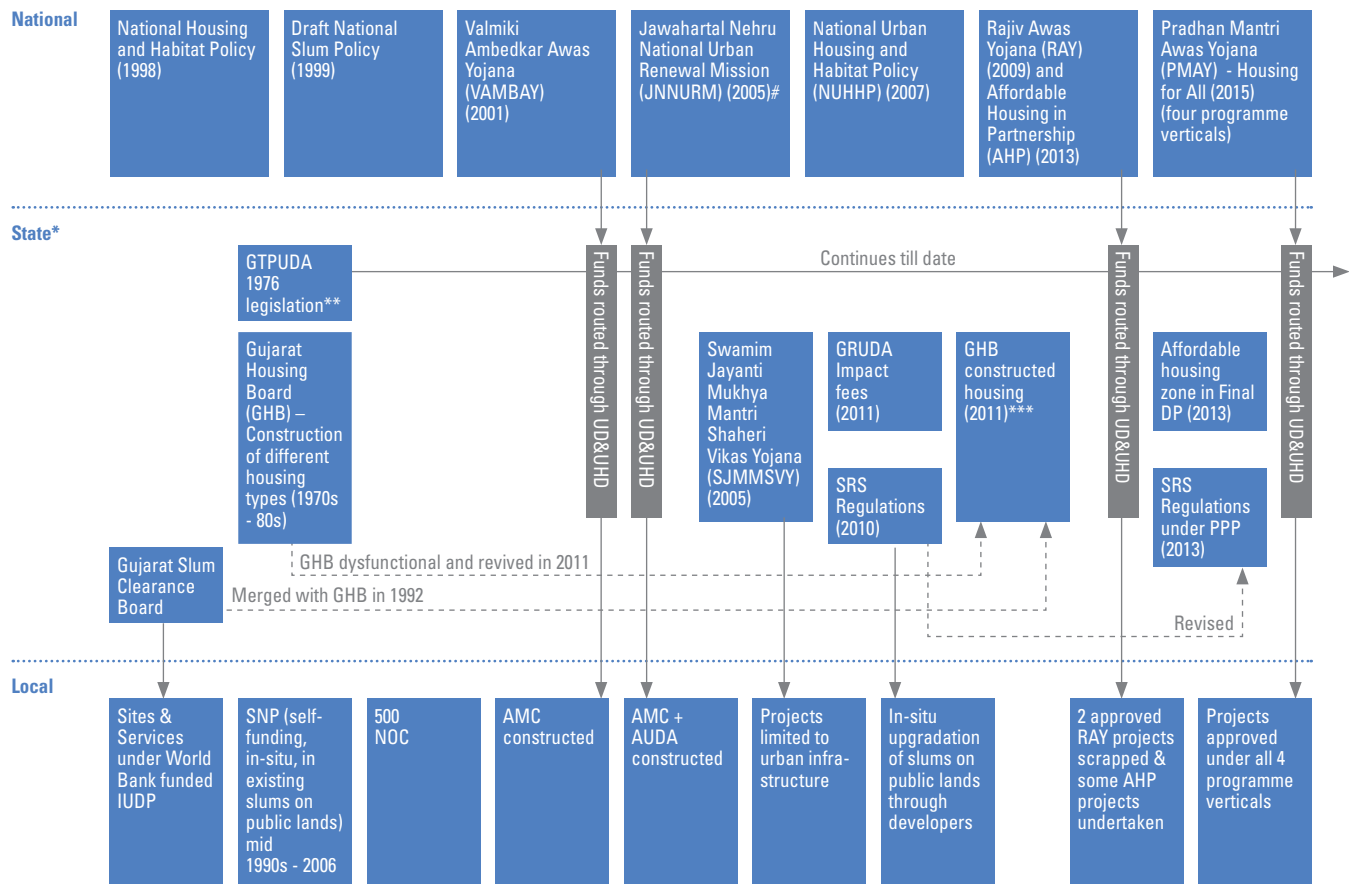
The NGOs had no role to play in the resettlement process. In fact, they had been approached by the AMC a year or two after the families had been displaced. However, the NGOs have not been entirely successful in executing even this narrow mandate. Mahadevia et al. (2016) question whether this is a case of decentralised governance or of simply passing the buck.

The role that the city's NGOs can play in bettering the lives of the urban poor, in partnership with the government, has narrowed not only due to the changing directions of urban development under liberalisation, but also due to political changes in Gujarat and Ahmedabad over the past decade. Many NGOs in the city recognise that this situation will require greater collaboration amongst themselves. In 2013, NGOs such as the Human Development and Research Centre (HDRC), CfD, Janvikas, St. Xavier's Social Service Society, Sahyog, Raah, Jeevantirth, and Manav Garima Samiti came together to form the Aawas Adhikar Zumbesh Ahmedabad (Housing Rights Struggle), a network that aims to give voice to the poor and marginalised who face the risk of being displaced from the city's slums. These NGOs and some academic institutions' members together carried out a public hearing on displacements in the city in December 2009, to put pressure on the local government to take up the cause of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) of project-affected people in the city. ◆

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13 An autonomous organisation, promoted by SEWA in 1994, working to provide civic and housing infrastructure needs such as water, sanitation, drainage, solid waste management, roads, electricity/energy, low-income housing, and secured land tenure.

Figure 1

Chronology of housing programmes, policies, and schemes at the central, state, and city levels

National

| National Housing and Habitat Policy (1998) | Draft National Slum Policy (1999) | Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) (2001) | Jawahartal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) (2005)# | National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy (NUHHP) (2007) | Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) (2009) and Affordable Housing in Partnership (AHP) (2013) | Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) - Housing for All (2015) (four programme verticals) |

State*

GTPUDA 1976 legislation**

Continues till date

Gujarat Housing Board (GHB) – Construction of different housing types (1970s - 80s)

Funds routed through UD&UHD

Funds routed through UD&UHD

Swamim Jayanti Mukhya Mantri Shaheri Vikas Yojana (SJMMSVY) (2005)

GRUDA Impact fees (2011)

GHB constructed housing (2011)***

SRS Regulations (2010)

Funds routed through UD&UHD

Funds routed through UD&UHD

Affordable housing zone in Final DP (2013)

SRS Regulations under PPP (2013)

Gujarat Slum Clearance Board

GHB dysfunctional and revived in 2011

Merged with GHB in 1992

Revised

Local

| Sites & Services under World Bank funded IUDP | SNP (self-funding, in-situ, in existing slums on public lands) mid 1990s - 2006 | 500 NOC | AMC constructed | AMC + AUDA constructed | Projects limited to urban infra-structure | In-situ upgradation of slums on public lands through developers | 2 approved RAY projects scrapped & some AHP projects undertaken | Projects approved under all 4 programme verticals |

*   under Urban Development and Urban Housing Department (UD&UHD).
** Town Planning Scheme mechanism enacted and reservation of AMC/AUDA land for SEWS housing.
*** with access regulation based on income.
#   Though mission period was upto 2012; it has been extended upto 2017 for completion of pending approved incomplete projects (no new projects would be undertaken).

Source: Compiled by the authors

PART 5
SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION

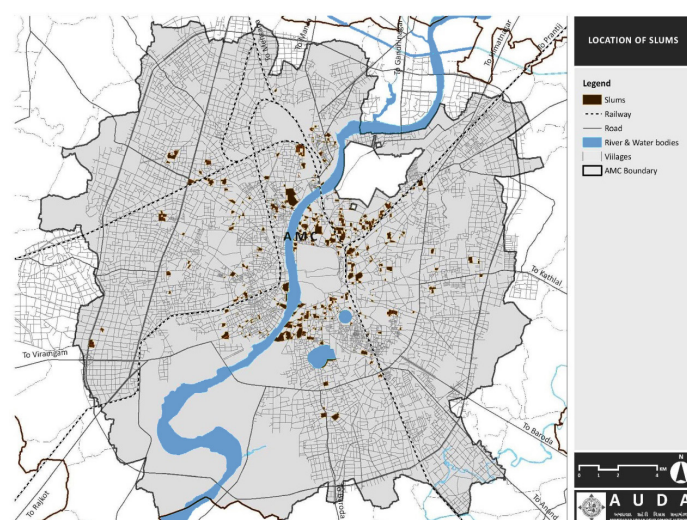**Typologies of Informal Housing and Programmes for their Improvement**

Slums and *Chawls*: Population and Rehabilitation
Amidst the high prosperity of Ahmedabad exists an increasing population of urban poor. The 1971 slum census estimated that 17.1 per cent of the city's population lived in slums,[14] which rose to 21.4 per cent by 1982, and 41 per cent (comprising slums and *chawls*[15]) by 1991 (ASAG 1992; Bhatt 2003). In the next decade (1991–2001), the slum population number almost doubled, comprising 25.7 per cent of the total population, and inhabited 1,123 slums in the city (AMC 2005).

The AMC's official estimates of the city's slum population were 16 per cent (0.46 million) in 1991,[16] 25.8 per cent (0.91 million) in 2001 (AMC 2005)[17], and 13 per cent (0.73 million) in 2010.[18] The number of slum dwellers declined in 2010 due to the denotification of slums after they had been upgraded.[19] In 2009, 834 slums were identified in the city, housing a total population of approximately 1.31 million (about

Figure 2

Spatial distribution of slums

Source: AMC 2009, as stated in AUDA 2013

23 per cent of the city's total population) and 958 *chawls* (consisting of textile mills' *chawls* and new low-income housing) which housed around 1,49,002 households (AMC 2009, as quoted in AUDA 2013).[20] The geographic distribution of slums and *chawls*, as per the 2009 estimate, is shown in **Figure 2** and **Figure 3**. Most of the slums were located in the Central and South zones of the city, while the New West Zone accommodates the highest number of slum households (**Table 4**). Most *chawls* are concentrated in the North and East zones, in close proximity to the mills.

14 Slums are a manifestation of low income and high land prices. Not all poor live in slums and not all households in a slum are poor. But, in the absence of any other data, slums can be and are considered as a proxy for poverty in this article.
15 An informal settlement called so in Mumbai and Gujarat, in which buildings have rooms organised in rows.
16 As reported in the Ahmedabad City Development Plan (CDP), 2005. This is from a survey done by the Ahmedabad Study Action Group in 1990 for the AMC.
17 This figure, from a survey done by SEWA and Saath, was quoted in the Ahmedabad City Development Plan (CDP), 2005. However, as per Census 2001, a population of 4,39,843 resided in slums. The Census defines 'slum' as a settlement that has more than 60 houses.
18 Biometric socio-economic household level survey done by the AMC for the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY). According to RAY guidelines, a 'slum' is defined as a compact settlement of at least 20 households with a collection of poorly-built tenements, mostly temporary in nature, crowded together in unhygienic conditions and usually with inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities. The figures of the biometric socio-economic survey were quoted in AMC and PAS 2010—Performance Assessment Systems (PAS) is a CEPT University project. 'Slum-Free Cities: A Case for Ahmedabad', a presentation at the Workshop to Advance City-Wide Strategies for Slum Upgrading, CEPT University, Ahmedabad, 13th August 2010.
19 The local governments in India follow a process of notifying a slum, i.e., recognising the settlement as a 'slum', which calls for it being provided with basic services such as water supply, sewerage, local roads, street lights, and waste collection. Non-notified slums do not qualify for these services. Once the slum is upgraded with these services, they may be denotified, so that they do not receive the same services once again.

20 Details of the source AMC, 2009, are not given in AUDA, 2013; therefore, the definition of a slum is unavailable.

Table 4

Spatial distribution of slums

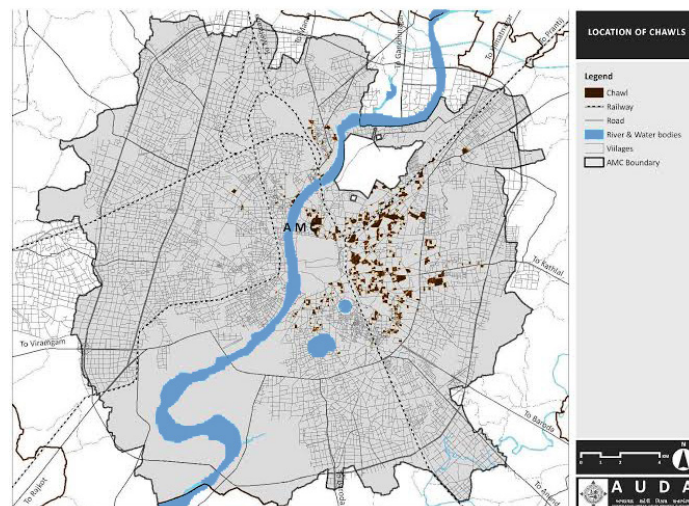| Zone	No. of slums	No. of households
Central	185	50,155
North	143	27,269
South	209	39,212
East	55	23,160
West	159	43,312
New West	83	79,443
Total	834	262,551

Source: AMC 2009, as stated in AUDA 2013

Various pro-poor housing programmes—including the Slum Networking Programme (SNP) which is also known as *Parivartan*, slum sanitation schemes,[21] and in-situ slum rehabilitation schemes have been implemented across the city. The SNP aimed at in-situ upgradation of slums through provision of a package of basic services such as individual water connections, individual toilets and drainage lines, street lights, and internal roads. However, these primarily covered slums located on public lands. The slums selected for SNP were given tenure security by the AMC in the form of a no-eviction guarantee for a period of 10 years (Acharya & Parikh 2002, Dutta 2002). Around 60 slums have been upgraded under SNP, covering a total of 13,000 households in the city (Mahadevia 2011). Studies state that the pace of implementation was slow due to land-related disputes, capacity constraints, and a lack of political will (Anand n.d.). The programme could not be implemented on private plots since the AMC could not guarantee tenure security to slums situated on these lands. Unfortunately, some slums covered under SNP are at the risk of demolition, despite having tenure security for 10 years. Slums in three major SNP pockets—K.K. Vishwanath ni Chali, Machhi Pir, and Khodiyarnagar—were razed for the Kankaria Lakefront project and the Sabarmati Riverfront project, leaving 1,478 families homeless (*The Indian Express* 2009).

Figure 3

Spatial distribution of *chawls*

Source: AMC 2009, as stated in AUDA 2013

The in-situ slum rehabilitation scheme[22] through private-sector participation, launched in 2010, focussed on slums situated on public lands that were reserved for SEWS housing. Another set of regulations for this scheme, along with modified clauses for minimum built-up area, FSI applicable on land used for slum rehabilitation, period for developers to utilise the Transfer of Development Rights (TDRs), and others, was introduced in 2013. Around 12 slum rehabilitation schemes (including the previous eight schemes approved under the preceding regulations) have been implemented across the city (*Daily News & Analysis* 2013). The Gujarat Slum Rehabilitation Policy, an initiative under public-private partnership (PPP) that was launched in 2013, further modified these regulations to make them more developer-friendly. Also, the Slum-Free City Plan of Action (SFCPoA) for Ahmedabad was prepared under the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), but no projects have been undertaken by it yet. Under the new national housing programme, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) that was introduced in 2015, around 30 PPP projects for slum rehabilitation in Ahmedabad, Surat, Rajkot, and Vadodara have been approved by the central government (*The Indian Express* 2015).

21 AMC launched a number of programmes to provide and improve sanitation facilities in slums. These include (i) 80:20 individual toilet scheme (1980s), wherein 80 per cent contribution for toilet construction was given by the state government/AMC and 20 per cent by the beneficiary; (ii) 90:10 scheme (1990) in which AMC's contribution towards toilet construction increased to 90 per cent; (iii) 500 NOC (No Objection Certificate) scheme to provide sewerage connections in slums by providing slum residents an NOC; and (iv) Nirmal Gujarat Sanitation Yojana (2009–2010) in which individual toilets were constructed. Some of these schemes evolved into new ones over time.

22 Like the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) in Mumbai, the state government promulgated the Regulation for the Rehabilitation and Redevelopment of the Slums 2010, wherein private developers could take up in-situ redevelopment of slums, irrespective of their landownership, in lieu of transferable FSI (also known as Transfer of Development Rights or TDR). (Mahadevia et al. 2014.)

Commercial Informal Subdivisions

As discussed earlier, due to the slow preparation/ implementation of TPS, dense development has occurred, often informally, in the city's peripheral areas. Furthermore, communal episodes in Ahmedabad, from the 1969 incidents to the 2002 riots, have caused a divide, leading to the ghettoisation of Muslims. Many Muslims have moved out of the old city and mill areas of eastern Ahmedabad to different parts within this zone and to the western peripheral area of Juhapura (Bombay Hotel, Ramol, etc.). This high demand for housing in these areas is met by builders through the informal subdivision of agricultural lands and the development of housing societies over these plots. While some of these societies were simply plotted developments, tenements have been built on others.

These land and house transactions have been executed through documents such as stamp papers. The residents might legally own the land, but its non-agricultural (NA) use and the construction over it are illegal, since NA conversion has not been done and requisite planning and building permissions (NOCs) have not been acquired. In a majority of the cases, particularly amongst the low- and middle-income groups, the residents do not legally own the land either. While some builders may have legally bought the land and then illegally subdivided it, others forcefully capture land and then illegally subdivide it.

When these areas were under the AUDA and the *nagar* or *gram panchayats*, basic infrastructure services were not provided (Roy 2006). Even after being included within the AMC limits in 2006, these areas did not receive facilities such as water supply, drainage, schools, and primary health centres. The reason commonly given for this situation is that services can be provided only after TPS are implemented in an area. Although the municipal-level and state-level political representatives have allocated funds for development-related expenditures in their respective constituencies, demands for better amenities in these areas are not met by them.

Thus, in the absence of actual efforts by the state, these services are often provided by private and non-governmental actors. However, they are profoundly inadequate and pose many risks. For instance, water provided through bore-wells is not potable due to its hardness and/or contamination level; improper drainage facilities make these areas prone to severe waterlogging during monsoon, when life can come to a complete standstill and lead to severe health issues. Furthermore, not all initiatives are philanthropic or empowering, for they seem to involve forcible control of territories and muscle power and provide services as a business. Some of these actors also have links with various state and political agents. Also, due to the lack of infrastructure facilities, there are frequent gang conflicts, and illicit activities such as gambling and sale of alcohol in *daru addas*[23] take place in these areas.

Temporary Shelters

Besides these two typologies, migrant workers, mainly construction workers, face greater exploitation and are more vulnerable than other informal sector workers, owing to the temporary nature of their work (Desai et al. 2014). They are unaccounted for in the processes of urban planning and the housing policies, and are thus forced to live in extremely dismal conditions. Their shelters and settlements are generally excluded from the government's slum initiatives, therefore lacking water, sanitation, electricity, etc. Many of them are frequently subjected to eviction threats and displacement.

In terms of housing quality, two main types of temporary shelters are commonly found in migrant workers settlements: the *potla* type of shelters and *kutccha* shelters made from tarpaulin or tin sheets. The *potla*-type shelters are open housing arrangements, where the residents tie up their belongings with a tarpaulin sheet in a heap during the day when they are away at work and open the heap in the evenings to set up a sleeping and cooking area. They are found in settlements on pavements and street edges,

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23 Base/den that is generally used for illicit activities such as gambling, sale of liquor, etc.

under flyovers and bridges, as well as on government or private lands that are non-recognised slums. The *kutccha* shelters, in addition to being found in all these places, are also up on medium-/small-sized construction sites. Between these two, the *potla*-type shelters are the most vulnerable, in terms of being affected by weather conditions, insecurity of belongings, absence of tenure security, etc.

As we write this paper, there is no programme/solution yet to address this housing typology, except the idea that such migrants could live in night shelters provided by the AMC. But, such temporary shelters primarily house construction workers, who prefer to live onsite than in night shelters that are not near their work sites. Also, many of them come migrate along their families, but night shelters do not house families; they are only meant for shelterless individuals.
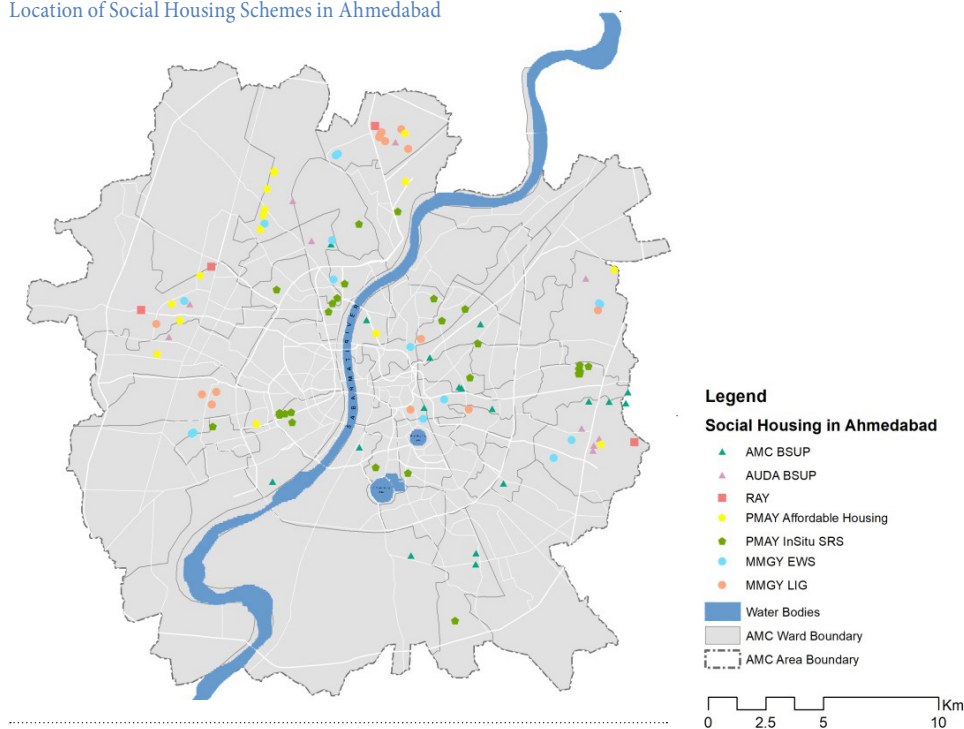
Resettled Slums

The central government's Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) had included Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) as its sub-mission. The approach adopted by this national-level programme was essentially top-to-bottom, wherein detailed project reports (DPRs) submitted by the local body were initially approved by a state-level committee before being submitted to the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA). After being sanctioned by MHUPA, projects were implemented through a nodal agency that was designated by the state government. The financing pattern of approved projects

Figure 4

Location of Social Housing Schemes in Ahmedabad

Source: Map prepared by the CUE

consisted of shares from the central and state/local governments/parastatal agency (including beneficiary contribution). While this programme has been discontinued, significant housing stock to resettle project-affected families has been created in the city.

In Ahmedabad, AMC and AUDA constructed new housing establishments, consisting of G+3/G+4 buildings, with a built-up area (dwelling unit size) of 28 sq. mts. As in many other cities, the BSUP housing units in Ahmedabad were built to resettle families displaced from the city's slums for its various development projects such as the Sabarmati Riverfront project, Kankaria Lakefront project, road-widening and flyover projects, and the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS). Around 11,000 families were displaced for the Sabarmati Riverfront project (Mahadevia 2014b), around 2,000 for the Kankaria Lakefront project, and at least 1,000 for road-widening and BRTS.

While the estimated number of allotted dwelling units is known, the number of those not included in the resettlement process is unknown[24] for many reasons, some of which are a lack of an initial, reliable survey of households living on the original sites; confusion about the definition of 'household'[25]; and, a rehabilitation policy stating that one house per household was to be allotted (Mahadevia et al. 2016). Thus, BSUP essentially became a tool for facilitating slum displacement and, in some cases, for capturing public lands from the urban poor in prime locations (Desai 2012 & 2014; Mahadevia 2011). Resettlement sites are predominantly in the eastern part of Ahmedabad, particularly its periphery, with only a handful in the western part (**Figure 4**).

Spatial Segmentation

Ahmedabad has three distinct urban morphologies. The walled city, located on the eastern bank of the Sabamarti River, was organised in *pols* or 'residential streets', with each *pol* being homogeneous in terms of religion, caste, and community. Although separated thus, the different groups and communities in different *pols* used to live in proximity without threats, restraints, or fear (Jaffrelot & Thomas 2011). But now, Hindus and Muslims have become more distanced, after every successive communal riot. The eastern industrial section, which is to the east of the walled city, developed when textile mills came up in the late 19th and early 20th century. Here, *dalits*[26] and Muslim workers used to live in the same *chawls*,[27] but they have now grown apart, more so after the communal violence of 2002.

Western Ahmedabad, which is the area to the west of the Sabarmati, developed as the residential area of the upwardly mobile, professional and business families. These families began to look for new housing outside the walled city in the 1930s and 1940s, which came up in the form of bungalows in the western area. This zone then became the address of quite a few academic institutions and the city's first public hospital. From 1960s onwards, a number of elite educational institutions came up and new forms of commercial development took place. Public health as well as education institutions, including the city's first university (Gujarat University), were set up with philanthropic funds (Mahadevia 2002). Post-2000, the western periphery witnessed the development of gated communities and townships (Mahadevia 2013). To the northwest and southwest, as the Ahmedabad district has attracted automobile industries, there is a low-density urban sprawl on the western periphery.

While this area has transformed into gated communities—interspersed with former villages, construction and migrant labourers' settlements, and a few economically weaker section (EWS) schemes—the eastern periphery is divided into industrial pockets, residential localities of the poor and lower-middle-class population, and land under the EWS (BSUP) schemes. Furthermore, the primary Muslim ghettos have emerged towards the periphery in both the southwest and southeast zones (Mahadevia 2007).

24 Leaders of the organisation that steered the resettlement process for those affected by the Sabarmati Riverfront project roughly estimate that 1,700 evicted households were not resettled. For details regarding this resettlement process, see Mahadevia, D. (2014b), 'Institutionalizing Spaces for Negotiations for the Urban Poor: New Vocabulary for Urban Planning', in Inclusive Urban Planning, State of the Urban Poor Report 2013, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Government of India, New Delhi, pages 148–166.

25 A 'household' is defined as 'sharing a common kitchen'. A problem arises when a joint family has to be resettled. The slum dwelling unit is typically an incremental house to which a room gets added when a newly married couple becomes a part of the household. The resettlement units are either one- or two-room units, making it a challenge to house joint families that tend to claim to be more than one household in number in the survey. Thus, the exact count of households to be resettled is nearly impossible to estimate (Mahadevia 2014b).

26 People who are outcaste and are considered to be untouchables. They are also known as Harijan.

27 Chawls are one room units laid out in a row.

Figure 5

Map of Ahmedabad localities.

Source: Map prepared by the CUE

camps, which move from one site to another. We do not see any new squatter settlements in this segment that has the high-end residential colonies, since the public authorities owning such plots have begun to fence them. Public lands are no longer available to squatters here.

Of all the segments in Ahmedabad, the western part has the highest level of basic services, public spaces, schools and universities, and other institutions and amenities. The eastern zone and its periphery, with much lower levels of services and amenities and thereby lower land prices, has almost all of the newly-constructed government housing under the BSUP component of the JNNURM. Many slum dwellers have been resettled in this government housing zone, after having been evicted from central urban areas. In the past five years, new middle-class housing, along with commercial buildings, is also under construction in the eastern periphery, indicating the penetration of the forces of globalisation here.

Developers built gated colonies on the western periphery by purchasing agricultural lands from farmers at low prices and holding these plots until the TPS was prepared and implemented. Once the TPS was executed, land prices shot up and the developers reaped benefits by building townships on these plots. These gated communities face inwards, seeking to isolate themselves from their surroundings (Mahadevia 2013). The construction of these colonies and the infrastructure to serve them has resulted in the development of construction workers'

The city is therefore segmented according to class, caste, and religion as well as the quality of housing, its typologies, and levels of services and amenities available. As Mahadevia (2007) has described it, Ahmedabad is "a city of many borders". ◆

PART 6
FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

Ahmedabad has been selected as one of the first 20 cities to be developed as a 'Smart City', under the recent national Smart Cities Mission. The Smart City Proposal (SCP) submitted by the AMC includes a pan-city initiative in which a command and control centre with city-wide optical fibre cable (OFC) network to provide services such as water, transport, energy audit, surveillance, and traffic will be put in place, along with plans for area-based redevelopment through PPP and retrofitting for around 515 acres of a transit-oriented zone (TOZ) and 75 acres of slum area. Slum dwellers residing in the TOZ are proposed to be housed in high-rise buildings. The question of who is a dweller qualifying for rehabilitation in such buildings remains, for the city has not yet been able to work out a process for their identification.

Besides, the city has also entered the initial construction phase of the metro rail project, which comprises the East-West Corridor that connects Vastral Gaam to Thaltej Gaam and the North-South Corridor which connects APMC Vasna in the south to Motera in the north. The project would be implemented through an SPV—the Metro-Link Express for Gandhinagar and Ahmedabad (MEGA) Company Ltd. which has recently been in the news[1] for land acquisition and the displacement of people along the proposed routes. Meanwhile, the city government is in receipt of funds from the central government for various housing projects, under the new PMAY programmes for in-situ slum redevelopment through PPP, affordable housing projects, etc. ◆

PART 7
CONCLUSION

This City Résumé provides an understanding of the historical, social, economic, political, spatial, and planning contexts of Ahmedabad. While Gujarat is one of the fastest-growing economies in the country, it has not translated into improved human development in the state (Hirway & Mahadevia 2005). The distinctive characteristics of Gujarat's economy are, in various ways, reflected within Ahmedabad, for example, through the urban economy's reliance on the tertiary sector and the informalisation of labour and the pursuit of pro-elite development policies with non-participatory governance that excludes the poor and low-income groups.

While the shift of labour towards the tertiary sector and its informalisation took place in Ahmedabad primarily due to the closure of textile mills from 1980s onwards, the situation was hastened by the central government's liberalisation and privatisation policies since 1991, which were pursued with more vigour and efficiency in Gujarat than in other Indian states. This change in economy and the labour markets under liberalisation contributed to increasing vulnerability amongst the poor and low-income groups. Moreover, the city's evolution over time, historically speaking, and the episodes of communal violence have together shaped its present-day socio-spatial segmentation, according to class, caste, and religion as well as the quality of housing, its typologies, and levels of services and amenities available.

With the Gujarat government's increasing focus on economic growth in the past decade, Ahmedabad is being pushed to develop as a world-class city. This is reflected in its urban development paradigm, which represents an elitist vision, in a bid to attract more investments. Furthermore, over the past two decades, rapid and informal expansion has taken place on the city's peripheries. While Ahmedabad has received awards for best practices, such development projects have been implemented without taking into consideration the urban poor's right to shelter and livelihood, thus deepening class-based segregation in the city. A number of capital-intensive projects such as the Sabarmati Riverfront project and Kankaria Lakefront project show the shift towards project-based urban planning, which is divorced from city-wide planning and its more holistic concerns. As a result, narrow concerns are often pursued through discrete projects and ad-hoc decisions, further minimising the scope for inclusive urban development.

On the whole, this résumé has laid out the context for understanding the issues of housing and exclusion faced by the urban poor in Ahmedabad. This will guide the selection of specific case studies that make up the BInUCom project. ◆

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