



Critical Gender Concerns in Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

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I. Executive Summary¹

As per the Census of India, 2011, out of the total population of 1210.1 million, about 377.1 million live in urban arenas. Among them 195.8 million are men and 181.2 million are women; registering a compound annual growth of 2.66 per cent and 2.94 per cent respectively in the decade spanning 2001 to 2011. The sex ratio in urban India has increased from 900 women per 1000 men in 2001 to 925 women per 1000 men in 2011. In fact, Indian cities now have more women than ever, almost half the city population comprises women.

This policy brief is an effort to highlight critical gender concerns in the Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) – the single largest initiative of the Government of India for planned urban development. In the context of urban planning, recommendations have been framed around issues of livelihood, housing, basic services, as well as those related to participation in decision making and capacity development of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). It is hoped that these recommendations will inform the forthcoming second phase of JNNURM and enhance women’s access to social, political and economic resources, thereby providing the necessary impetus for creating gender inclusive cities.

II. The Context

With over 300 million people, cities and towns in India constitute the second largest urban system in the world. Population in Indian cities are expanding both in terms of their absolute numbers and as a proportion to the national total. As per the 2011 Census, for the first time since Independence, the absolute increase in

population is more in urban areas than in rural areas. The level of urbanization increased from 27.8 per cent in 2001 to 31.2 per cent in 2011 and the rural–urban distribution currently stands at 68.8 per cent and 31.2 per cent respectively². The Indian government estimates that by 2050, India’s urban population will grow to 820 million, compared to 285 million in 2001.

Several alternative appraisals of urbanization have however questioned the official level of urbanization, and assert that limitations of official definitions and their consequences should be emphasized. It is argued that the administrative boundaries of urban agglomerations often do not correspond to the actual urban spread. This underestimates the impact of urbanization as well as the scale at which, urban planning and governance should be considered.

There are also various perspectives on why we have witnessed such an unprecedented spurt in urban population. While some commentators attribute this to large-scale migration from rural areas to urban areas, many argue otherwise. According to K.C. Sivaramakrishna et al, urbanization of former villages and the reclassification of rural areas following the extension of city boundaries constitute the other components of urban growth. Furthermore, R.B. Bhagat notes that although the contribution of the natural increase in urban growth has declined in terms of proportions, its share in absolute numbers (about 40 million) continues to be huge due to the large base of the urban population.

Building Inclusive Cities

In keeping with the global trend of viewing cities as the circuit through which flows of capital and service occur, the Eleventh Plan

¹This policy brief draws on valuable inputs provided at a national consultation on the Gender Concerns in Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in November 2011 organised by UN Women. It brought to the table expertise from implementers, evaluators and policy advocates who have worked on the issue and the relevant government schemes to make recommendations to strengthen policy and implementation of the scheme as well as set concrete benchmarks for the provision of services. In addition, insights from existing evaluation studies and other relevant secondary sources have been drawn.

²Available at http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/paper2/data_files/india/Rural_Urban_2011.pdf accessed on September 22, 2012.

³The Eleventh Plan noted that the contribution of the urban sector to India’s GDP, which grew from 29 per cent in 1950–51 to the present 62–63 per cent, is expected to increase to 70–75 per cent by 2030.

projected Indian cities as the locus and engine of economic growth over the next two decades and suggested that the realization of an ambitious goal of 9–10 per cent growth in GDP depends fundamentally on making Indian cities more liveable, inclusive, bankable, and competitive³. The Approach Paper to the Twelfth Plan further states that agglomeration and densification of economic activities (and habitations) in urban conglomerations stimulates economic efficiencies and provides more opportunities for earning livelihoods, entrepreneurship and employment. This in turn “enables faster inclusion of more people in the growth process and is therefore more inclusive.”

However, several economists argue that while urban growth may create livelihood opportunities, it does not automatically translate into “inclusion”, since much of the work that is created is casual and the wages paid are irregular and exploitative⁴.

In fact, ‘informalization’ of labour is one of the main features of urban poverty⁵. A very high percentage of urban poor households are engaged in non-wage, informal employment. Between 72-82 per cent of the usually employed poor urban male and between 78-80 per cent of the usually employed poor urban female are engaged in self-employment or casual employment, while the all-India average is 40 per cent⁶. It must be mentioned here that unemployment rates in urban areas have increased for females in

all three categories (usual, weekly and daily)⁷, while unemployment rates for males have increased only in the ‘daily status’ category. The employment scenario has therefore, led to the phenomenon of feminization of urban poverty, as the impact on women is higher due to poverty combined with existing gender discrimination⁸.

Another feature of urban poverty that becomes apparent, is that slums or informal settlements represent the most visible expression of housing poverty in Indian cities. It is estimated that 93.06 million people live in slums, constituting approximately 26.3 per cent of the total urban population. Most of these slums lack basic facilities such as access to safe drinking water, toilets, drainage, sewerage etc.⁹

Thus, there is a rising concern over the un-inclusive and unsustainable nature of Indian cities within scholarly circles. Increasing rural-urban migration; poor infrastructure and services; neglect of the unorganised sector; homelessness; problems in accessing services for ‘invisible people’, rising violence against women; lack of appropriate structures for planning and governance; poor convergence and lack of expertise in the implementation of schemes; resource constraints – all remain critical concerns.

Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

Recognizing this emergent urban reality, the Government of India launched the Jawaharlal

Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in 2005-06—arguably the most ambitious programme of urban renewal in the country’s history—with three interrelated and complimentary components—governance, infrastructure development and provision of basic services to the poor¹⁰. The primary objective of JNNURM was to create economically productive, efficient, equitable and responsive cities. It envisaged a total investment of approximately \$20 Billion over seven years.

The Mission Statement reads: “*The aim is to encourage reforms and fast track planned development of identified cities. Focus is to be on efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation, and accountability of ULBs/ Parastatal agencies towards citizens*”. It further talks about the need for harnessing the potential of reforms in urban infrastructure to create an investor-friendly environment.

JNNURM operates in a Mission mode through two ministries—Urban Development and Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation. The scheme requires Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) to work through the implementation of the City Development Plan (CDP) and preparation of Detailed Project Reports (DPR) for identified projects as per the guidelines.

Despite the fanfare surrounding the launch of JNNURM, seven years down the line, implementation experience indicates that the dream of urban transformation, reforms and infrastructure investment through JNNURM

remains distant. Several commentators have questioned the basic design of JNNURM which they argue invariably leads to exclusion of the poor¹¹. Some have been even more critical in labelling JNNURM as the official carrier of the neo-liberal agenda¹².

Independent reviews show that “....the coverage [has been] high in the developed states and metropolitan cities. ...[there is] greater bias on improving the efficiency in the functioning of the overall city economy and meeting the infrastructural deficiencies at the macro-level, rather than addressing the issues of distributional inadequacy and improving the access of the poor to these”¹³. Citizen groups have also questioned the undemocratic and non-participatory manner in which CDPs have been prepared¹⁴. These concerns have found resonance even in the official appraisal of JNNURM¹⁵ and the report of the High Powered Expert Committee (HPEC) for Estimating the Investment Requirements for Urban Infrastructure Services, which speaks of the need for a New Improved JNNURM (NIJNNURM)¹⁶ (refer Box 1). The HPEC notes several reasons for this. These include:

1. Lack of capacities at local government level to prepare and implement projects in urban infrastructure.
2. Lack of involvement of the community, especially the slum dwellers and elected ULB representatives in preparing the CDPs.
3. Majority of the states were unable to provide matching share due to their weak financial position.

⁴UN Women, 2012

⁵As per report of the Working Group on Urban Poverty, Slums and Service Delivery System, in India today, the number of people below the poverty line in urban areas stands at 80.8 million, which constitutes one-fifth of the total urban population. Available at http://planningcommission.nic.in/aboutus/committee/wrkgrp12/hud/wg_Final_Urb_Pvt.pdf

⁶NSSO, Some Characteristics of Urban Slums, 2008-09. NSS Report No 534-NSS 65th Round (July 2008-June 2009) National Statistical Organisation, Government of India, New Delhi, 2010.

⁷The usual activity status relates to the activity status of a person during the reference period of 365 days preceding the date of survey. The activity status on which a person spent relatively longer time (major time criterion)during the 365 days preceding the date of survey is considered the principal usual activity status of the person. Current Weekly Status is the unique activity status which, according to a certain priority-cum-major time criterion, stood out as the most important during the reference period of 7 days preceding the date of enquiry. Current Daily Status: Day- to-day accounting of the available labour time (in terms of 'half-day' units) of persons classified under the categories employed and unemployed (labour force) is done according to the current weekly status concept separately for each of the seven days period of reference.

Source: http://mospi.nic.in/mospi_new/upload/nssso/concepts_golden.pdf?status=1&menu_id=49

⁸Rustagi, Sarkar and Joddar, 2009.

⁹Government of India, 2011. Press Information Bureau, <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=71733>

¹⁰For details refer <http://www.jnnurm.nic.in>

¹¹D. Mahadevia, 'NURM and the Poor in Globalising Mega Cities', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(3): 3399-3403, 2006.

¹²Banerjee-S. Guha, 'Neoliberalising the Urban: New Geographies of Power and Injustice in Indian Cities', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44 (22); 95-107, 2009.

¹³D. Kundu and D Samanta, 'Redefining the Inclusive Urban Agenda in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46 (31): 3399-3403, 2011.

¹⁴Available at <http://focusweb.org/india/foi-articles/articles/1153-citizens-review-jawaharlal-nehru-national-urban-renewal-mission-jnnurm>

¹⁵Available at <http://jnnurm.nic.in/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Appraisal-of-JnNURM-Final-Report-Volume-1-.pdf>

¹⁶Government of India, The High Powered Expert Committee (HPEC) for Estimating the Investment Requirements for Urban Infrastructure Services. Ministry of Urban Development, 2011.

The New Improved JNNURM as per the recommendations of the High Powered Expert Committee (HPEC)¹⁷ recommends the following way forward:

- Creating urban infrastructure and reforming governance for service delivery
- Providing access to universal service standards for all including the poor
- Consciously building rural-urban synergy
- Recognizing importance of urban transport
- Focussing on metropolitan planning
- **Scale** • 0.25 per cent of GDP annually
- **Coverage** • Accessible to all cities/towns – big and small
- **Duration** • 20 years covering four Five-Year Plan periods
- **Capacity Building** • A strong focus on building capacity at all levels of government

Programme Approach

- ULBs to prepare an overall programme of urban infrastructure development with associated financial and operational plans and service delivery outcomes
- Linked to a ULB-specific programme of development and reform
- Funding requirements to be routed through the state governments
- State governments’ contribution is not required
- Contribution to smaller ULBs to be lower than of larger cities
- Special Provision for Different City Sizes
- For smaller ULBs, funds to be channelled through intermediary institutions;
- These to be encouraged to go for pooled financing.
- For Municipal Corporations and Municipalities; a special window for projects to be financed via Public Private Partnership (PPP) route by leveraging private sources of funding.

Governance

- Monitoring of reforms at state level; improving procurement systems

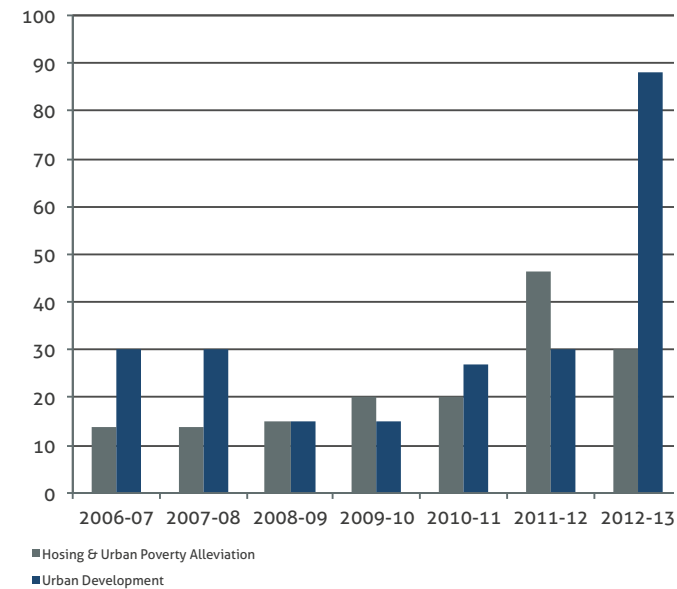
Organizational

- A Unified Mission bringing together the Ministries of Urban Development and Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
- State governments also to ensure single window.
- *Rajiv Awas Yojana* (RAY) to be integrated within the ambit of the larger NIJNNURM programme
- Focus on enhancing capacities in transition from JNNURM to NIJNNURM

¹⁷Report on Indian Urban Infrastructure and Services, March 2011, Available at <http://www.niua.org/projects/hpec/finalreport-hpec.pdf>. Accessed on September 22, 2012.

D. Mahadevia further notes that the poor implementation of JNNURM is because of the share of funds that have to be contributed by the states. The norms for fund sharing by the central government and states differ as per the population residing in cities. Cities in north-eastern states and Jammu and Kashmir receive 90 per cent grant from the Government of India and 10 per cent from the state government. There are many states that are unable to provide the matching share due to which, the projects are never implemented. This leads to a majority of the allocated funds remaining unabsorbed¹⁸.

Figure 1: Budgets for JNNURM



Source: Expenditure Budget, Vol. II, Union Budget 2006-07 to 2012-13.

III. Critique of Policy Option(s)

An extremely significant observation made by the HPEC was that JNNURM lacked a well-crafted strategy for inclusion of economically and socially weaker sections in urban planning. It has been widely argued that various socio-economic groups have remained excluded from urban

¹⁸D. Mahadevia, *Branded and Renewed? Policies, Politics and Processes of Urban Development in the Reform Era*. *Economic and Political Weekly*. July, 30, pg. 56-64, 2011.
¹⁹D. Mahadevia et al, 2009.
²⁰Jo Beall, *Urban Governance: Why Gender Matters*, March 1996.
²¹Kerkin and Huxley, p. 33, 1993.
²²Sandercock and Forsyth, p. 54, 1992.

governance, from the development of urban policies and from the planning of our cities¹⁹. A major barrier to inclusive urban planning and governance is therefore, of a more social nature; it lies in the way various avenues of participation and representation are informed by categories such as class, ability, sexual orientation etc.

Gender remains one of the most prominent axis of exclusion. As Jo Bealle avers, gender is an essential construct within which, questions regarding the processes and outcomes of marginalization in the urban environment must be framed. She argues that “... *women and men are not just workers or homemakers but have a range of social roles in the household, market and community. If the concept of gender helps to uncover the constructed, and thus mutable, nature of these social roles, it also directs attention to the interaction between the organisation of work and other social relationships. The consequence of this interaction for many women is a burden of multiple responsibilities for both social reproduction and economic production, many of which are unremunerated and thus invisible in national accounts and other data used for planning purposes.*”²⁰

Assumptions in urban planning

Feminist research indicates that planning processes “are not ‘neutral’ but ideologically based”²¹. Sandercock and Forsyth argue that the issue is not merely the numerical dominance of men in planning, but “male dominance in the theories, standards, and ideologies used to guide planners’ work—that is the internal culture of planners.”²² The standard in urban planning and governance frameworks is often taken to be male—effectively excluding women and their concerns. For example, the head of the family, the mass transport user, owners of land/house, and the worker in formal and non-formal sectors are assumed to be men and these assumptions

are reflected in the nature and quality of infrastructure and services.

Despite being repeatedly challenged and disproved by feminist scholars and women’s rights activists, “urban planners continue to operate on the assumption that what is good for families is (and should be) good for women; that male-headed households and nuclear families are (and should be) the norm; that all women have (and should have) the same needs and aspirations”²³.

A telling example is the changing profile of households. Ground level evidence suggests that the urbanization process is accompanied by an increasing diversity of household types, with single adult households (which are invariably headed by women) and female headed households emerging as an important and growing household form²⁴.

Such assumptions, further serve to hide the widening gaps and disparities between women and men and between different groups of women. Nowhere is there any acknowledgement of issues such as women’s role in the care economy; their heightened vulnerability due to lack of access to housing and sanitation; their vulnerability to violence in public spaces etc. Furthermore, policies fail to take note of the utter destitution of people who fall outside family support systems, social institutions and safety nets, wherein women are the most vulnerable.

Most of these assumptions in urban planning underwrite mega interventions like JNNURM and therefore need to be challenged.

Reviewing JNNURM: Key Gender Issues

While the focus of JNNURM has been on urban infrastructure development and implementation of reforms, it is argued that the gender perspective within JNNURM has been grossly

overlooked²⁵. In this section, we highlight the key issues with regard to women’s access to basic services as well as urban infrastructure.

1. Land Tenure and Resettlement

One of the most significant challenges has been ensuring adequate supply of affordable serviced land in appropriate locations to meet low income housing needs. In urban planning literature, providing poor people with access to land and improving their ability to make effective use of the land they occupy, is seen as central to reducing poverty and empowering poor people and communities. Tenure security prevents the urban poor from falling in poverty, protects them against all vulnerabilities, promotes their wellbeing and empowers them to transform their lives. It is argued that women stand to benefit more from tenure security, since it enhances their status by entitling them to ‘legal’ urban citizenship.

JNNURM adopted security of land tenure as part of its mandatory reforms through BSUP. As per the JNNURM guidelines, “secure tenure (*patta*) encourages urban poor families to invest and upgrade their housing. It also encourages them to connect and pay for municipal services inside their homes, i.e., metered water connections, toilets with sewerage, metered power supply, etc.”²⁶

However, various independent reviews of JNNURM highlight that guaranteeing tenure security to households living in informal settlements (slums) has not seen much progress. Mahadevia argues that despite being so critical, security of land tenure has been given the least importance because the urban lands have many competing uses, particularly in countries like India that are pursuing rapid economic growth policies.

The main strategy adopted by JNNURM through Basic Services to Urban Poor (BSUP) has been

resettlement of people living in slums into new housing units; and BSUP is not a tenure regularization programme, though those allotted the new housing get a *de jure* tenure.

In this context, serious concerns over the government’s approach to resettlement have been raised. It is reported that the government under the guise of beautification and redevelopment, has pushed slums further away from city limits. V. Dupont avers that slum demolitions systematically impoverish the affected families by adversely impacting their livelihoods, income and safety. He posits that one of the most frequently cited reasons by authorities to relocate people living in slums is the economic rationale²⁷. However, while calculating the cost of evacuating the land, most often, the social and economic costs borne by the poorest are ignored. In fact, the calculations do not take cognisance of the contributions of thousands of poor to the informal sector. In lieu of pushing the poor out of sight, slum clearance takes place without concomitant efforts to provide adequate shelter.

Studies post slum demolitions show that the dwellers lose their livelihoods in the wake of demolitions, children drop out of school for a short period and some never go back, the quality of life deteriorates as a consequences of losing access to water supply and sanitation as well as exposure to natural elements, health conditions deteriorates, incomes decrease and on the whole poverty is recreated²⁸. Women face greater risks and vulnerabilities in these situations. As Sen puts it, women’s vulnerabilities post-evictions often get compounded by their multiple identities – being part of a patriarchal society, engaged as informal workers, members of minority community and as primary care givers.

2. Livelihoods

An important finding of various studies is the negative impact of ill-designed urban policies

and programmes on the livelihoods of the urban poor, most of whom are engaged in the informal economy, and most of whom are women (85 per cent women as compared to 79 per cent men). For women, the main areas of work are home-based work and domestic work. More than 16 per cent of the women were hired by households as domestic workers (double the percentage in 1999-2000); whereas over 38 per cent of women were home-based workers, a category of work that has grown substantially in 2009-10.

Sen’s study too, reveals that one of the visible outcomes of eviction was loss of livelihoods²⁹. Post-eviction people were moved to resettlement colonies almost 50 km from the city where most of them were employed as domestic workers. Owing to daily travel expenses, women lost their independent incomes. The only alternative left for them was home-based work in which their average monthly income per month went down from Rs. 2000-3000 to meagre Rs. 200-300. Many women took up hazardous occupations such as in plastic moulding units, where not only were their earnings abysmally low but oft times, the contractor put pressure on women to work overtime without any additional pay or expenses for treatment in case of injury caused during work.

Similarly, an economic analysis of resettlement undertaken by the Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence (CURE)³⁰ highlighted that women lost their livelihoods and income, with diminishing control over household resources and decision-making aggravating rather than alleviating poverty.

It is thus, being widely argued the infrastructure-based urban development approaches of schemes such as JNNURM create vulnerabilities as

²³Stephanie Tawa Lama Reval, “Women’s Right to the City: from Safety to Citizenship” in Marie-Hélène Zerah, Véronique Dupont, Stéphanie Tawa Lama-Rewal (eds), *Urban Policies and the Right to the City in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*. UNESCO and Centre de Sciences Humaines, 2011.
²⁴Jo Beall, 1995.
²⁵Khosla, 2009.
²⁶JNNURM Primer, Provision of Basic Services to Urban Poor: ULB Level Reform. Available at http://www.google.co.in/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDAQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fjnnurm.nic.in%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2011%2F01%2FMandatory_Primer_6-PBSUP.doc&ei=c4_BUOa9HlftrQeWhYDIBA&usg=AFQjCNFpXitTwlr-6TePS8HeSH6LFMxz_Q. Accessed on August 10, 2012.

²⁷V. Dupont, *Slum Demolitions in Delhi since the 1990s: An Appraisal*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 12, pg. 79-87, 2008.
²⁸D. Mahadevia, *Tenure Security and Urban Social Protection in India*. CSP Research Report 05 January, 2011. Available at <http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/ResearchReport05FINAL.pdf>. Accessed on September 12, 2012.
²⁹K. Menon-Sen, *Better to have died than to live like this*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 20, pg. 1969-74, 2006.
³⁰R.Khosla and M. Shevta, *The Economics of Resettlement*, CURE, 2006.

economic growth through the former in many instances results in displacements of traditional livelihoods of the poor³¹. A case in point is the plight of vendors and street hawkers, a significant proportion of them being women (30 per cent). In addition to issues such as obtaining license, insecurity of earnings, constant threat of evictions and harassment by policemen, there is a constant insecurity of place for hawking (NCEUS 2007). Women street vendors particularly face higher levels of vulnerability due to additional risk of sexual harassment.

3. Housing

Another related issue is the quality of housing. As mentioned earlier, the thrust of the BSUP component of JNNURM has been construction of new housing units. Several commentators argue that the whole idea of reaching out to the poor under the BSUP gets diluted in the very approach to housing taken by the government. The best policy instead is to extend the urban poor, tenure security and micro-credit to facilitate housing improvements. Mahadevia notes that policy makers and urban planners in India have repeatedly overlooked this wisdom and gone ahead with promoting new house construction, which has been either highly unaffordable or unsuitable for the urban poor³². In essence, this approach to housing has supported construction lobbies more than shelter security for the urban poor. Furthermore, delays in implementation have led to cost escalations, which in turn mean housing has not been delivered on the required scale and become unaffordable to the target demographic. There have also been several reports about the poor quality/lack of services in these new housing complexes, especially with regard to water supply and sanitation³³.

Furthermore, the overwhelming issue in allocating the BSUP housing has been on

establishing eligibility criteria and ensuring that the targeted households indeed get allocation of the housing units. A gender analysis of such housing programmes or upgrading schemes or infrastructure developments reveals that women are often excluded by conventional eligibility criteria. “For women who are included, either on their own account or within the context of households, they are rarely consulted. Their needs are often ignored in the design of human settlements, the location of housing, and the provision of urban services” cites Beall. Feminist scholars argue that the different roles of men and women within the gender division of labour have implications for house design, site layout, zoning and regulatory frameworks more generally³⁴ and therefore, must be highlighted in urban planning. For instance, the assumption that all productive work takes place outside the home and is undertaken by men, further works to invisibilize the concerns of poor women who regularly combine domestic and productive activities, both in terms of utilization of time and space.

4. Access to basic services

Another malaise plaguing Indian cities is the lack/poor quality of basic services such as water supply, sanitation and solid waste management for its poorest segments. There is a strong gender dimension to this as well- lack of basic services gravely impacts the lives of girls and women, especially with regard to their security, efficiency and time use.

Menon-Sen and Bhan have noted the appalling condition of water supply in resettlement colonies in Delhi and show the burden of securing water falling on women and young girls. They also note that the drains have stagnant water, are full of waste and are seldom cleaned. In spite of paying for toilet usage, the toilets are poorly maintained and are inadequate in number and design. Large

numbers of people, including women and girls, use open spaces for defecation. They also refer to violence from service providers, employers and local dominant communities.

An “Assessment of the Baseline Conditions of the Urban Poor in Delhi”, conducted by Water Aid revealed that 68 per cent of households sourced

water from community taps/stand posts and majority of the adult women spent 30-60 minutes in water collection daily³⁵. Most adults (78 per cent men and 76 per cent women) use community toilets where they spend time in long queues that are often located far from the residents’ houses. Solid waste management was also found to be inadequate.

Table 1: Access to Basic Services in Urban Slums

Basic Services	NSS 2002-03 (in %)	NSS 2008-09 (in %)
Tap Water	78	78
Electricity in HH	18	21
Streetlights in Slums	5	11
Pucca Roads (Notified)	71	78
Pucca Roads (Non Notified)	37	57
With underground sewerage (Notified)	30	33
With underground sewerage (Non Notified)	15	19
No-drainage (Notified)	15	10
No-drainage (Non Notified)	44	23
No arrangement of garbage disposal (Notified)	16	10
No arrangement of garbage disposal (Non Notified)	46	23

Source: National Sample Survey Office 2010. Some Characteristics of Urban Slums 2008-09

Some other commonly encountered problems with regard to provisioning and demanding accountability for these services include³⁶:

- Lack of clarity in roles and responsibilities of specific duty bearers *vis-a-vis* service and location – ‘where to go for what’
- No time limit for response to applications increases the need for follow-up which is difficult for all women, more so for women who are single and/or from the poorer sections of the population.
- Absence /non-adherence to norms, especially

in supply of water resulting in high opportunity costs for women³⁷.

5. Access to urban spaces

Urban planning plays an important role in women’s sense of safety and their access to urban spaces. There are studies, which show that the presence of hawkers makes a city safer for women³⁸. For instance, the Pukar Gender and Space Study (conducted in 2003-06) in Mumbai, showed that when roadside booksellers were evicted between Churchgate station and Flora Fountain, women felt unsafe walking the stretch

³¹Benjamin et al 2008; Mahadevia and Naryanan 2008
³²D. Mahadevia, Branded and Renewed? *Policies, Politics and Processes of Urban Development in the Reform Era*, Vol XLVI, No 31, July 30:56-64, 2011.
³³Available at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Hyderabad/water-woes-in-jnnurm-housing-complex/article3019733.ece>
³⁴Sylvia H. Chant, Gender, *Urban Development and Housing*, United Nations Development Programme, 1996.

³⁵Indcare, Water Aid, *Assessment of the Baseline Conditions of the Urban Poor in Delhi* March 2008: 42, FCM, 2008.
³⁶Recommendations from TAAL, Bhopal and Shelter Associates, Pune.
³⁷See, Women in Cities International, *Gender and Essential Services in Low-income Communities: Report on the Findings of the Action Research Project Women’s Rights and Access to Water and Sanitation in Asian Cities*. Canada, Available at http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Programs/Agriculture_and_the_Environment/Climate_Change_and_Water/Documents/105524-Gender-and-Essential-Services-in-Low-Income-Communities-Final-Technical-Report.pdf.
³⁸Dinesh Mohan, *Traffic Safety and Health in Indian Cities*, *Journal of Transport & Infrastructure*, Vol. 9(1);February 2002.

at night³⁹. It is therefore, argued that zoning (demarcating areas for specific activities)—a principle that still inspires many urban planners—contributes to limiting women’s access to urban spaces.

There is however, a counter view that crowded spaces are equally feared by women. “...both deserted and very crowded spaces pose problems to women; the latter provide men the excuse and opportunity for sexual harassment”⁴⁰.

The recent trend of widening carriageways has also reduced the space for pedestrians, thereby jeopardising women’s security as has been seen in the numerous situations where women have been harassed/abducted by passing vehicles as there was no space to run/move. The above findings⁴¹ clearly indicate that very basic infrastructural provisions like regular and affordable public transport, wide pavements, well lit streets and neighbourhoods, police patrolling – can go a long way in overcoming the constraints to women’s mobility and economic productivity as well. Ensuring the entrance to a facility is on the active side of a building (or place), facing a public route (the activity) may in itself make a place safe⁴².

Finally, the city as a space of leisure is rarely available to women, except in the semi-privatized spaces of consumption such as cafés, cinema halls and malls—which however are really open to women of a certain class⁴³. A mundane act like loitering, which is common to male city dwellers, is considered inappropriate for women as they are expected to occupy public space only while going from one private space to another⁴⁴.

6. Safety and security

The issue of safety is central to the relationship between women and the city. In this context, safety refers most often to protection from sexual violence. According to a women’s safety audit study undertaken by UNHABITAT⁴⁵ in 2007, feelings of insecurity and fear of crime and violence are highest in large cities. According to a baseline survey conducted by Jagori in Delhi and Thiruvananthapuram, a high percentage of women (93.2 per cent) identified “being a woman” as the single most important risk to their safety in the city they lived in. As per the survey almost two out of three women faced sexual harassment 2-5 times in the past one year and every second male respondent witnessed the same. It was further reported that to avoid sexual harassment, around 70 per cent women said that they avoid going to secluded places, 50 per cent avoid going to crowded places, 43.5 per cent avoid wearing certain clothes, while around 40 per cent avoid going out alone after dark.

Some of the major concerns relate to insufficient street lighting in most parts of Indian cities and inadequate public toilets both in terms of numbers as well as in quality.

The assumption that women’s place is at home is evident from the fact that the ratio between women’s and men’s toilets in Delhi is 1:10. Discrimination takes another form in Mumbai where public toilets are more expensive for women than men. In poor areas (slums, resettlement colonies) where a substantial portion of the urban population resides, there are often only community toilet complexes. In these

too, the provisioning of toilet facility for women is inadequate. For example, the norm for toilet seats for men (1 urinal for 40) is different from that for women (1 seat for 20); however, since young children generally accompany mothers, women’s sections are always under supplied. For these reasons, women often do not use these facilities, because they are too expensive or badly maintained. As a result they go into fields, where the risk to sexual harassment is much higher.

Improving safety requires action on urban infrastructure and planning and can be easily addressed through more considerate planning and designing. For instance, men’s urinals which are visible from the road, make it awkward for women to pass by. The Jagori study suggests redesigning the urinals so that the entrances are from opposite ends.

7. Urban transport

Another important link of urban planning with poverty is the role that the transport system plays in preventing or enabling the poor to access urban resources for their activities. Most of them are engaged in the informal sector, which is critically linked with roads for livelihood opportunities. These groups are adversely impacted by changing land use policies when their space on the road is compromised, in favour of motorized transportation. It is critical therefore, for urban planners to recognize and respond to the linkages between transport, livelihoods and the overall sustainability of the city⁴⁶.

In addition to the class dimension, there is also a strong gender dimension of urban transport. Bealle elucidates, “Transport planning often disregards women’s priorities because of a focus on mobility rather than accessibility and a preoccupation with the formal sector worker’s journey and itinerary. Women’s travel needs transport beyond peak hours and to alternative destinations from those of men. It should be noted

here that it is not only the priorities of women that are overlooked by conventional transport planning, but also those of men outside of centrally located, formal sector employment.”⁴⁷

The transport sector, when viewed from a gender perspective reveals that there are considerable gender differences in the transport sector. Owing to the nature of their work, women tend to use public transport differently from men. These relate to the following: intensity of transport usage, trip purpose, trip patterns, distance and frequency of travel and mode of transport. Women-specific needs include: transportation of especially primary products as head-load, access to local markets, inter- and intra-village roads/paths, pedestrian sidewalk use, and security. If these factors are not taken into consideration, it adds to women’s costs, risk and insecurity.

Box 2:

Woman commuters in Hyderabad claim that the JNNURM buses are the most gender-insensitive city services ever designed. The buses are more in height with a lowered floor, resulting in increased distance from floor to ceiling. The hand-grips are not fixed and whenever the driver applies brakes, a violent jerk gets them off-guard. Unable to reach the hand-grips, they are compelled to hold the seat rods, which are placed lower than the average waist level. Though they are the best-designed buses, widely used in European countries for long journeys, yet, they fail when applied to Indian cities for shorter distance travel. A unique feature in these buses, whereby the first two rows face each other, also has women fidgeting. Saddest part is that the buses have been introduced across the country, with little attention paid to the gender concerns.

Source: Swathi V. 22-06-2010, The Hindu

³⁹Available at <http://pukar.org.in/>

⁴⁰K. Viswanath, as quoted in Stephanie Tawa Lama Reval, Women’s Right to the City: from Safety to Citizenship in Marie-Hélène Zerah, Véronique Dupont, Stéphanie Tawa Lama-Rewal (eds), Urban Policies and the Right to the City in India: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship. UNESCO and Centre de Sciences Humaines, 2011.

⁴¹Understanding Women’s Safety – Towards a Gender Inclusive City, Research Findings, Delhi, 2009-10.

⁴²Khosla, pp 14, 2009.

⁴³Shilpa Phadke, *Dangerous Liaisons, Women and Men: Risk and reputation in Mumbai, Review of Women’s Studies, Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 17, pp 1510-18, 2007.

⁴⁴Shilpa Ranade, *The Way She Moves, Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol - XLII No. 17, April 28, 2007.

⁴⁵UNHABITAT. Women’s Safety Audits for a Safer Urban Design; http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/5544_32059_WSA%20Centrum%20report.pdf, 2007.

⁴⁶Hazards Centre, 2012.

⁴⁷Jo Beall, *Urban Governance: Why Gender Matters*, March 1996.

JNNURM Guidelines and Processes

In this section, we highlight some of the concerns with regard to the implementation of JNNURM. One of the stated objectives of JNNURM is a proper implementation of the 74th Amendment in the 65 concerned cities.

1. Lack of women’s participation in key processes

JNNURM pays specific attention to the participatory dimension of local democracy, yet its contribution in the matter has not been conclusive so far. For instance, one of the conditions for cities to be eligible was the elaboration of the City Development Plans (CDPs)⁴⁸. CDPs were supposed to reflect the priorities of all stakeholders, which implied extensive consultation with city dwellers.

JNNURM also makes it mandatory for eligible cities to implement a Community Participation Law (CPL), meant to achieve what wards committees could not, namely institutionalize a local participatory space, the area *sabha* (area assembly) where the local councillor and municipal officials would interact on a regular basis with representatives of the local residents⁴⁹.

However, independent reviews show that the consultation process proved to be extremely flawed in most cases: consultation meetings were organised in such a way that they made the participation of the poor, or the uneducated, very difficult; when they did take place, many of their conclusions were not incorporated in the final CDPs⁵⁰. Furthermore, the current JNNURM guidelines do not make any conscious effort to ensure that groups representing women’s needs

and rights are included as stakeholders (whether they speak for rich, middle income or poor women). It was therefore difficult in the CDP /Detailed Project Report (DPR) process to appreciate why and where women should be involved⁵¹.

2. Lack of capacities of functionaries

In the absence of a stated commitment towards integrating gender concerns, the municipal staff, elected representatives and state and national urban development agencies lack the necessary motivation or skills/capacities to ensure the same.

3. Lack of coordination

Another malaise affecting the implementation of JNNURM in its current avatar is the segregation of responsibilities between two ministries – the Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) which is responsible for building state of the art cities, and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA), which is responsible for addressing the manifestations of poverty such as slums, lack of services, weak employment opportunities for the urban poor, etc. Mahadevia argues that “urban policies are on two parallel tracks, ...{and they} , rarely meet. Single-minded pursuit of an infrastructure agenda causes unacknowledged displacement and poverty. Similarly, the fact that addressing the needs of the urban poor can lead to improvement in overall living conditions is also not acknowledged.”⁵²

4. Assessing the adequacy of budgetary allocations

As mentioned earlier, one of the main reasons for the poor implementation of JNNURM is inadequate budgetary allocation. The Working Group on Financing Urban Infrastructure, constituted by

the Planning Commission noted that government spending on urban infrastructure remains grossly inadequate (only 0.7 per cent of its GDP in 2011) as compared to other countries in the region such as China (2.7 per cent of GDP). The HPEC recommended that the NIJNNURM should be extended for another 20-year period with funding from the Government of India equivalent to 0.25

Table 2: Investment Projections for Urban Infrastructure

Item	Budget (In Rs. Lakh Crore)
Eight services of water supply, sewerage, solid waste management, storm water drains, urban roads, urban transport, street lighting and traffic support infrastructure	31
Capacity Building costs	1
Renewal and Redevelopment costs	4.1
Other sector expenditure	3.1

Source: HPEC Report, 2011.

As computed by HPEC, the total expenditure of urban infrastructure is Rs. 39.2 Lakh Crore over 20 years. The total investment requirement for low income housing is estimated at Rs.8.5 Lakh Crore to cover the existing housing shortage and the future affordable housing requirement up to the end of the Twelfth Plan Period. The report itself mentions that this is an underestimation, as it does not take into account multiple factors such as increase in urban population as per Census 2011, land escalation etc. It is therefore, fairly evident that if NIJJNURM has to meet its stated objectives, adequate budgetary support must be ensured.

IV. Policy Recommendations

a. Assumptions in urban planning

- Recognize that male headed households are no longer the norm. Urban planning must respond adequately to the increasing

per cent of GDP every year, as compared to its present level of 0.1 per cent.

As per the calculation of the Working group, taking three alternative scenarios, Rs. 78274 Crore (Scenario 1), Rs. 1.62 Lakh Crore (Scenario 2) and Rs. 3.3 Lakh Crore (Scenario 3) will be required from the Government of India over the next 5 years⁵³.

diversity of household types, with single adult households and female headed households emerging as an important and growing household form. Their particular vulnerability to poverty and their specific economic survival strategies will only be reflected in urban policy-making if categories like the “household” and the “neighbourhood” are disaggregated by gender and family type.

- Gender concerns need to reflect the rights and needs of women not only as ‘women’ but as representatives of diverse constituencies including informal sector workers, domestic workers, care givers, evicted people, homeless, migrants, etc.

b. JNNURM Processes

- Women’s participation in key processes
- Articulation of commitment to address gender concerns in vision, planning and other documents of the new version of JNNURM.

⁴⁸CDP is a comprehensive documents identifying those urban projects that had to be given priority and providing a road map for inclusive urban development.

⁴⁹The CPL has been strongly criticized by CSOs on three grounds. Firstly, the “model CPL” offered by the JNNURM does not specify whether such representatives will be elected or nominated by the councillor. Secondly, CSOs are wary that area *sabha* representatives may actually over represent the privileged sections of the local population, who will be better equipped to get elected or nominated. Finally CSOs argue that limiting membership on the basis of electoral rolls would *de facto* exclude migrants, who make a substantial section of the population, from area sabhas. So far, in any case the creation of area sabhas has been strongly resisted the CPL has been implemented only in four states: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat and Karnataka.

⁵⁰Available at <http://focusweb.org/india/foi-articles/articles/1153-citizens-review-jawaharlal-nehru-national-urban-renewal-mission-jnnurm>

⁵¹Renu Khosla, *Addressing Gender Concerns in India’s Urban Renewal Mission*, UNDP, 2009.

⁵²D. Mahadevia, 2011.

⁵³(i) Scenario 1: Investment targets covered in 20 years using HPEC Phasing Plan; (ii) Scenario 2: Investment targets covered in 20 years with backlog covered in 15 years; and (iii) Scenario 3: Investment targets covered in 20 years with backlog covered in 10 years. See Planning Commission. Working Group on Financing Urban Infrastructure. 2011.

- A comprehensive and transparent review of JNURRM from a gender lens with participation from civil society and community based groups.
 - A Technical Advisory Group set up under the new Mission should have the specific mandate to ensure integration and monitoring of gender concerns in initiatives and projects.
 - Efforts to increase visibility of women in the governance of local areas needs to be attempted under the new version of JNNURM, through seeking their participation in consultation and building capacity of elected women members of local bodies.
 - Mandatory processes must be outlined for stakeholder consultation on gender issues for the City Development Plans (CDP) and Detailed Project Reports (DPR).
 - Ensure women’s voices in urban governance through formation and recognition of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) such as the Resident Welfare Association (RWA) in each settlement.
2. Capacity Development
- Need for improved and systematic training of urban planners on the gender perspective and the recognition of women as partners in development instead of passive recipients.
 - Ensure adequate budgets for critical components such as capacity development, monitoring etc. in City Development Plans (CDP) and Detailed Project Reports (DPR).
3. Coordination
- A clear strategy on convergence is required, to replace the project-based approach with a more holistic one that takes an integrated view of city development.
- c. Land Tenure and Resettlement
- Adopt a flexible and inclusive definition of urban citizen, not tied to the idea of cut-off

- dates and legalities and ensure that female headed households/single adult households are not left out.
- Adopt fair and clear resettlement schemes and measures.
 - Tenure rights and the violence that women faced during evictions must be adequately addressed.
- d. Housing
- Equal, if not more emphasis, should be placed on *in-situ* upgrading and other options such as rental and incremental housing.
 - To enable affordability, extend credit facilities that are accessible and suited to the needs of the urban poor.
 - Poor women often use their homes for economic houses. It is therefore, important to ensure homes with in-house facilities for water and toilets, neighbourhoods with better linkages to markets, schools, child-care facilities, health, education and transport services.
 - Under *Rajiv Awas Yojana*, it should be mandatory for the housing provided to be registered jointly in the names of both husband and wife.
- e. Livelihoods
- Increased focus in urban planning on livelihoods of the poor. The economic inclusion of women in cities must be a higher priority.
 - Fair allocation of urban land/space and other resources to the livelihoods of the poor.
 - Alternative livelihood opportunities must be provided to the poor who are adversely impacted by policies on urban planning (NCEUS 2007). A thorough review of policies from the perspective of their impact on livelihoods on urban poor must be undertaken at the inception stage itself.

- Better programmes to empower women economically, through access to credit and housing finance, while guaranteeing their equal rights to land and housing through laws and actual practices.
 - As a large number of women are engaged as home-based workers, it is important that appropriate zoning regulations are enforced that allow commercial activities by women in residential areas: creation of common spaces for common work, both in and outside the slum to increase efficiency, safety, productivity of women, especially in the context of home-based and also piece-rated work done mainly by women.
 - For street vendors, increased allocation and improved management of vending spaces in central business districts.
 - For waste pickers, increased and improved integration into municipal waste management.
 - Demarcated public spaces for women’s markets, possibly on a weekly basis or a specified number of hours per day.
 - Provide childcare for women workers keeping in mind their specific requirements. For instance, for women construction workers, childcare facilities should be available on all major construction sites in the city,
 - Emphasis on building skills of women’s groups to manage the infrastructure for care and productive services through the Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP), Support to Training and Employment for Women, *Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana* (SJSRY) and other programs. Also, ensure adequate budgetary allocation for the same.
 - Ensure annual monitoring of the increase in women’s employment and enterprise.
- f. Safety and security
- Broadening the definition of safety to include, secure tenure and ensuring the freedom

- of all women to exercise their rights and to fully access safe, appropriate and affordable services and spaces in cities.
- Improve signage and police vigilance.
 - Ensure wide and disabled-friendly pavements with adequately lit waiting areas for women.
 - Widen the women’s helpline network and publicize existing helpline numbers in public places through stickers and booklets.
 - Concerted efforts to sensitize people including the youth as partners in creating safer cities.
- g. Urban transport
- The transportation system needs to be integrated with livelihood activities and non-motorized modes of transportation should be given their rightful place on the roads.
 - Ensure safe, affordable and efficient transport, bearing in mind needs of women and their role not only as active economic agents but also their role in the care economy.
 - Address gender differences in the transport sector related to the following: trip patterns, distance and frequency of travel and mode of transport.
 - Address specific needs of women which include: transportation of especially primary products as head-load, access to local markets, inter- and intra-village roads/paths, pedestrian sidewalk use, and security.
 - Address women’s safety and security concerns. For instance, personal security risks (in buses, at parking lots, bus stops, airports, highways, etc) that affect women’s travel patterns. Also create an emergency response system.
 - Provide special buses/transport at specific times on specific routes for women vendors and those who are engaged in small businesses, with facility/space for storage of their wares (such as baskets, sacks, etc).

- Provide separate waiting rooms for women at bus stops and railway stations.
- Access to clean toilet facilities with running water and without user charge on roads within the city. The loss of revenue from not charging a user fee will be more than made up for by the benefits of reduced morbidity and lower incidence of diseases.
- Appoint women bus drivers and conductors to instill confidence and also communicate a message of equality and empowerment.
- Better connectivity between larger roads with those feeding the poorer under-served areas.

h. Access to basic services

- Provision of basic services has to be universal and should be delinked from the issues of land tenure. Every urban dweller should be provided basic services such as safe water and sanitation irrespective of their legal status of land on which he/she is dwelling or possession of identity proof, or status of migration.
- The quantum of funds required for realization of universalization must be provided.
- Ensure time bound response to complaints and issues of basic services.
- Create single window resource centres for each ward for disseminating information on scheme and trainings.
- Detailed evaluation of basic service delivery must be carried out periodically. It should assess the impact of public service provisioning such as water supply on women’s time utilization.
- Women should also be involved in deciding plans for drainage routes.
- Collect sex-disaggregated data and develop gender sensitive indicators to bring visibility to gender issues in basic services like Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH).

V. Conclusion

As the government prepares to launch the second phase of JNNURM, there is a need to include gender-specific goals, objectives and policies that clearly articulate a commitment to building gender inclusive cities that would ensure a life of dignity and justice for all. It is important that the Twelfth Plan does not incorporate the same old gendered assumptions that have effectively invisibilized women – particularly working class women — from urban policies in India.

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Notes

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