

SPATIAL SEGREGATION & SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Urban crime, violence and gender

Concepts & definitions

- **Census Town:** not statutorily notified and administered as a town, but nevertheless whose population has attained urban characteristics.
- Population exceeds 5,000
- At least 75% of main working population is employed outside the agricultural sector.
- Minimum population density of 400 persons/km²
- Examples census towns: Greater Noida, Thakurnagar and Chittaranjan in West Bengal; Ghatshila in Jharkhand etc.

Concepts & definitions

- **Statutory Towns:** All places with a municipality, corporation, Cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc. so declared by a state law.
- **‘Metropolitan City’:** city having population of 10 lakh (1million) or more.
- The number of such cities has increased from 35 in 2001 to 53 in 2011.
- These 53 mega cities constitutes nearly 13.3% of the country’s total population.

Concepts & definitions

- **Urban Agglomeration:** a continuous urban spread constituting a town and its adjoining urban outgrowths (OGs), or two or more physical contiguous towns together and any adjoining urban outgrowths of such towns.
- Examples: railway colonies, university campuses, port area, military camps etc. near a statutory town or city but within the revenue limits of a village or villages contiguous to the town or city.

Concepts & definitions

- Peri-urbanization refers to a process in which rural areas located on the outskirts of established cities become more urban in character.
- This transformation occurs in physical, economic, and social terms, and often in piecemeal fashion.
- Involves rapid social change, as small agricultural communities are forced to adjust to an urban or industrial way of life in a very short time.
- Rapid environmental deterioration and infrastructure backlogs another characteristic
- Stimulated by an infusion of new investment, generally from outside, including foreign direct investment (FDI).

Spatial Segregation, exclusion & slums in urban India

- Particular aspects of poverty are heightened in urban areas:
- Increased environmental and health risks;
- vulnerability from commercial exchange and increasing cash transactions for basic needs;
- the various costs of sub-standard housing;
- an increase in negative interactions with the state and police (Wratten, 1995).

Slums & Social Exclusions

- ❑ Spatial concentration of urban poverty in 'slum'.
- ❑ The Census of India provided slum data for the first time in 2001.
- ❑ In the 2001 Census, 640 cities/towns reported slum population.

Census definition of slum

Slum: residential areas where dwellings are unfit for human habitation
dilapidation, overcrowding,
faulty arrangements and design
narrowness of street,
lack of ventilation, light, or sanitation
any combination of these factors
detrimental to the safety and health.

Identification of Slums

- Notified Slums
 - Recognized Slums
 - Identified Slums
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- All notified areas in a town or city notified as 'Slum' by State, UT Administration or Local Government under any Act including a 'Slum Act'.

Identification of Slums

- All areas **recognised** as 'Slum' by State, UT Administration or Local Government, which may have not been formally notified as slum under any act
- A compact area of at least 300 population or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities (**Identified**).

Towns Reporting Slums India : Census 2011

- Out of 4,041 Statutory Towns in Census 2011 Slums reported from 2,543 Towns (63%)
- Total Slum Enumeration Blocks (SEBs) in Census 2011 is about 1.08 lakh
- Largest number of Slum EBs reported from Maharashtra (21,359)

Number of Slum Blocks by Type of Slums - India : Census 2011

- Notified Slums 37,072
 - Recognised Slums 30,846
 - Identified Slums 40,309
- Total: 1,08,227 Blocks

Do slums accurately represent urban poverty?

- Technical disagreement on the definition of the 'slum' in the current Census 2011.
- The Census measures slums regardless of the legality of tenure, but introduced a size cut-off of 60-70 households.
- Marked increase from the 20 household cut-off used by NSSO and recommended by the Planning Commission.
- The excluded clusters represent more vulnerable residents.
- According to Census 2011, Manipur, with urban poverty rates of 32 %, reports not a single slum.
- Does this imply that the state will not receive any funds under the Rajiv Awaas Yojana?

Do slums accurately represent urban poverty?

- ❑ Markers of poverty and vulnerability move across slum and non-slum definitions.
- ❑ Deficiencies in key indicators of quality of life—access to water and sanitation, for example—are not confined to the slum.
- ❑ In Bihar (slums 36%), 24.7% of non-slum households live in semi-permanent, temporary or non-serviceable housing;
- ❑ 27.4% defecate in the open, 27.3% have no access to drainage, & 46% do not have a separate kitchen

Exclusionary Nature of Growth in India

- Growth in India following reforms largely capital- and skill-intensive, not enough employment opportunities for large, low-skill workforce
- Industrial sector failed to deliver on its promise of expanding employment; the agricultural sector a low-productivity sector employing a large proportion of our workforce.
- The greatest expansion in employment in recent years in the construction and the informal services sector.
- Relationship between being a poor household and informal employment in India
- Urban wages declined between 1999-00 and 2004-05 despite national economic growth.
- Urban poverty is highest among casual labour, followed by self-employed, and is lowest among regular wage or salaried workers.

Exclusionary Nature of Growth in India

- National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) (2009) comments:
- ‘population suffering from extreme poverty came down significantly, but moved marginally above the poverty line. a coalition of socially discriminated, educationally deprived and economic destitute,
- less than one fourth of our population was enjoying a high rate of growth or their purchasing power. ...
- important characteristic of this group of the Poor and Vulnerable section: very little expansion of employment and earning capacity.’

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Accelerated urbanisation, globalisation, transformations in employment structures—have not aided to a significant degree in the dismantling of deep social and ethnic divides known to Indian society.
- Indeed, spatial segregation by caste and socio-economic reasons are seen to be on the rise in many Indian cities.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Spatial exclusion in urban spaces are not based on caste alone. Residential segregation by religion, particularly in the case of Muslims, in most large and medium cities.
- Socio-religious disadvantaged population are still heavily concentrated in certain geographies of a city, mostly over populating slums and the poorest neighbourhoods;
- The location of slums or squatter colonies has a direct bearing on the levels of municipal services that these residents are able to access.
- Irrespective of their identities or socio-religious characteristics, nearly all new migrants face exclusionary barriers in cities.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Studying urban inequality distinct from inequality in urban areas.
- ‘Urban’ is not just a location for processes of inequality, but a mode of their production and reproduction.
- Spatial inequality is one vector and mechanism through this occur.
- Specific patterns determine “where” diverse urban residents are able to live in a city-region.
- This “where” matters—patterns of spatial inequality affect mobility, asset values, infrastructure, and housing.
- Reflect both land markets and public attempts to regulate them.
- Critically affect urban policies, especially in large metropolitan cities where intra-urban differences is of very large magnitudes and affect a significant number of people.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Urban poor settlements—tend to occupy sites marked by different kinds of environmental risks.
- Poor households most often found in low lying areas prone to flooding, river banks or the sides of sewage drains, alongside railway tracks, on hillsides prone to landslides, on waste dumps, or near the presence of polluting factories, among others.
- Constrained mobility, the need to be close to livelihoods, and the impossibility of access to legal housing compel poor households to bear risks that have significant and cyclical consequences.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- ❑ Insecurity of tenure & both the threat as well as the reality of eviction and resettlement.
- ❑ Eviction and peripheral resettlement or resulting homelessness have intensified in large Indian megacities since the early 1990s.
- ❑ Increasing peripheralisation through relocation far from city centres and sites of work have tremendous impact on the lives of the poor resulting in 'permanent poverty'.
- ❑ Increased mobility costs, loss of employment and education, reduced access to infrastructure and services at the city's edges, and a socio-political isolation from the city, all of which are particularly gendered.
- ❑ Ironically, this relocation parallels the move of manufacturing and 'polluting industries' from city centres to the peripheries of city-regions, reinforcing the co-location of environmental risks and the geographies of poverty.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Eviction and peripheral resettlement prevents development by depletion of assets, a breaking of livelihoods, increased costs due to the distance from work and the city, increased violence, the fracturing of long-built community ties, as well as large-scale dropouts from school education (Bhan & Menon-Sen, 2008).
- “Can the persistence of urban poverty be partly explained by such forced mobilities within cities?” (Chandrika, 2012)
- Spatial illegality of urban residents a key barrier to addressing urban poverty, impacting access to basic services rendering housing vulnerable to eviction and creating exclusions from social security and welfare entitlements.
- Slum eviction has become a common policy instrument of the central government, the state governments and local bodies.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Spatial exclusion in the urban fabric is often played out in public space.
- Control, contest and exclusion are at the heart of many people's experience of public space.
- Public space is a manifestation of social norms and political practice--- defined as the “common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in period festivities” (Carr et al 1992: xi).
- The concept of urban public space encompasses both physical space, and an understanding of the social relations that determine that space— parks, streets, squares and space at the margins, between buildings and at roadsides or vacant and unfenced lots (Brown 2006: 22).

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Privatisation of the public realm part of neo-liberal urban agenda that has displaced the social welfare objectives.
- Parallel social exclusion and alienation have intensified, and have been played out in public space.
- In cities of the global South, public space plays a central role as spaces of everyday practice for meeting and celebration.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Crucial economic importance for street vendors, transport workers, and many other urban workers who depend on access to public space (Brown 2006: 25).
- Some iconic spaces have symbolic significance due to their history or social claim.
- These are also where the geographies of protest are played out, for example, Tahrir Square.
- The management of public space has often been political in intent, but popular claim in response is increasingly political, expressing dissatisfaction with the lack of inclusion in modern-day cities.
- Many people experience control and repression in public space, which is increasingly the setting for urban violence and contest in cities.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Urban spatial boundaries can take objective or invisible forms, or what Michele Lamont and Virag Molnar (2002:2-3) refer to as “social” and “symbolic boundaries.”
- Social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources and social opportunities.
- Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and space.
- When symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon they take on a constraining character translating into social boundaries in the form of social exclusion or segregation

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- ❑ Deliberate, systematic & large scale socio-spatial transformation of peripheral lands around large cities from rural to urban.
- ❑ Land prices in central urban areas spiralling upwards, movement of urban middle and upper classes into more affordable, spacious layouts in the peripheries.
- ❑ Different sets of actors inhabiting urban villages and gated communities, struggle to consolidate their access and claims to the emerging urban periphery by using social, spatial, cultural & discursive forms of place-making strategies.
- ❑ Routine mundane and everyday activities go into the material and social construction of place,
- ❑ Common to both groups is the loss of long-standing, meticulously cultivated social contacts and changes in power and authority structures.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- Peri-urbanisation processes tended to result in large-scale displacement and dispossession of farmers, peasants and fishermen
- Central to the process of new modes of capital accumulation through urbanisation in the context of a neo-liberal urban development regime.
- The entry of private players and hybrid forms of urban governance in the provisioning of urban infrastructure and housing.
- Peri-urbanisation processes bypassed the squalor, chaos and infrastructural crisis of existing megacities in favour of the peripheries where:
- land is commodified, new forms of globalised, knowledge-based economy exert hegemony over the transformed landscape and informalised labour .
- these forms of peri-urban development pandering to a new aesthetic order championed by the emerging urban middle class.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- These spaces are aspirational & act as the key site for the development of new middle-class identity & for a new politics of engaging with the urban.
- Overwhelming concern with order, cleanliness, security, safety and wanting to create and maintain a distance with the “unruly villagers” results in the spatialised practices of excessive gating and surveillance.
- Srivastava’s work shows how the slums and gated communities & the new malls on the outskirts of Delhi are entangled through the social uses, activities, occupations of the users of these spaces.
- Place-making plays a central role in understanding what kind of new social order and spatial codes are being written into the landscape, and how these are being contested, challenged & negotiated through everyday practices of its inhabitants.
- Linkages between urban villages and gated communities co-produced through the circuits of capital accumulation that fragment the periphery into spaces of inclusion and exclusion, planned and unauthorised, representing multiple and conflicting powers of governance.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- When people form attachments and assign values to spaces, places are created.
- Place is therefore not an arbitrarily bounded geographic unit but something that is constantly being made and unmade through a complex network of flows and processes of spatial interactions .
- Places impose certain restrictions on the everyday activities of people.
- Thus, place is shot through with power and constructed through hierarchies that influence the way people interact.
- Given that actors interpret or attach different values to place, it can lead to potential build-up of conflict over multiple interpretations and meanings.

Spatial Segregation in Indian Cities

- New urban “elites” seek to distance themselves from the “masses” giving rise to gated communities in middle-income and fast-growing communities.
- Spread of mobile phones, television and the internet has made reporting of conflict more prevalent and facilitated social mobilisation, to bring a new generation of disaffected and jobless young people into the struggle for urban justice.
- The drivers and manifestations of violence are complex :
- political (protests and riots, the aftermath of civil war); institutional (coercive government, police or gang operations); economic (organised crime, economic disputes, street theft, and drug trafficking); economic/social (gangs, “turf” wars and ethnic violence) and social (for example, sexual harassment) (Caroline Moser 2004)

Crime, Violence & Gender in Indian Cities

- Protection from violence considered as one of the “capabilities” that contribute to the quality of life.
- Violence affects human wellbeing in indirect ways, e.g., armed conflicts undermine economic growth .
- Protection from violence as a “capability” of much interest: it does not necessarily improve as income levels rise.
- Protection from violence not a by-product of economic growth,
- Spectacular cases of violence rising against a background of rapid improvement in per capita income and other development indicators.

Crime, Violence & Gender in Indian Cities

- Crime in India, annual publication of the Government of India (Ministry of Home Affairs), presents district-level data on a range of “crimes” such as murder, rape, kidnapping, theft, burglary, and arson.
- Statistics are compiled from police records.
- Crime rates are not well correlated across different types of crime.
- Ranking of states by level of crime varies great deal depending on which crime one is looking at.
- Trends over time often diverge between different types of crime.

Crime, Violence & Gender in Indian Cities

- Different types of crimes are reported both in urban as well as in rural areas.
- No crime is categorized as occurring exclusively in urban areas.
- An acceptable definition of urban crime can be the different types of crimes which have been committed in urban areas.
- Specification and ramifications of crimes occurring in urban areas different from those reported in rural areas.

Crime, Violence & Gender in Indian Cities

- Higher population density & close proximity of residences in urban areas make them breeding grounds for the criminals and prone to higher incidence of crimes compared to rural areas.
- The unchecked and unplanned growth of cities, large floating population is major contributing factors for urban crimes.
- Criminal propensity is also known to be higher in urban industrial areas.

Crime, Violence & Gender in Indian Cities

- Young girls in slums/squatter settlements form a high-risk category, because these localities are dominated by local hoodlums.
- The girls who go to the local schools have to put up with obscene graffiti on its walls or en route, face roadside rowdies who pass lewd comments or throw stones at girls.
- The girls' vulnerability is further increased because the localities usually lack toilets, and the girls have to use open spaces or railway tracks to relieve themselves, when boys deliberately stand in front of them.
- A regular water supply and well-lit toilets which are basic civic amenities by any standards become a high priority also from a security point of view.
- Women are afraid of the policemen themselves.

Crime, Violence & Gender in Indian Cities

- ❑ Prostitution is an organized profit-making business.
- ❑ Savdhan which attempts to free prostitutes and rehabilitate them, estimated that there are more than 2.5 million girls in India who have been forced into prostitution.
- ❑ A study by an academic institution in Mumbai has estimated that about 5 million children born to about 2 million prostitutes in 817 red light areas in India form a high-risk group of illegitimate and stigmatized children with a bleak future.
- ❑ Raids have been made sporadically and girls rescued, but no prosecutions made.
- ❑ In one well publicized case in 1990, 913 prostitutes were rescued from brothels in a Bombay suburb and sent to their home towns in Tamil Nadu State.
- ❑ Newspaper reports revealed that a year after the event most of these women were back in the same Bombay brothels, because their families rejected them or because they were unable to find employment.

References

