



Addressing Gender Concerns

in India's Urban Renewal Mission

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by Renu Khosla

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	5
2. THE NEED TO MAINSTREAM GENDER WITHIN JNNURM	7
A. Infrastructure Development is not Gender Neutral	9
B. Gender Equality must be a Matter of Right	9
C. Inclusive Planning Promotes Sustainable City Development	10
D. City and System-wide Gender Mainstreaming: JNNURM represents an opportunity	10
3. UNDERSTANDING GENDER DIFFERENCES IN URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT	11
A. Key Issues and Concerns relating to Gender in Urban Areas	11
B. Numbers and Status	18
C. Women's Voices	19
4. STEPS TO MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT UNDER JNNURM	21
A. Gender Policy, Goal and Objectives in Urban Settings	22
B. Strategy and Approach to Gender Mainstreaming within JNNURM	22
C. Gender Based Urban Development: Making JNNURM gender sensitive	25
D. Gender Budgeting and Auditing Mechanisms	29
E. Gender Inclusion: Broadening Women's Participation in CDP and DPR processes	32
F. Preparing Gender Sensitive DPRs: Capacity Building of Women and Local Agencies for Participation	34
G. Knowledge Management and Advocacy	34
H. Strategic Partnerships for Gender Sensitive Urban Development	35
I. Institutional Arrangements, Roles and Responsibilities within Urban Local Bodies	36
J. Targeted Women-specific Policies and Programs and Positive Legislation: Creating a Gender Participation Fund	36
5. URBAN GOVERNANCE REFORMS – GENDER BENDING	37
A. Gender and Good Urban Governance Norms: Review of JNNURM Guidelines and Processes	37
B. Engendering Urban Reforms	39
C. Gender Analysis for Urban Policy, Reforms and Projects	40
6. GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND URBAN GOVERNANCE: REALIGNING THE JNNURM TOOL KITS	42
A. Gender Data for Urban Programming	42
CASE STUDIES – GOOD PRACTICES	45
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	56
REFERENCES	57



1. Introduction

The Jawaharlal National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) aims to pursue reform, good governance and planned development in urban areas. It seeks to set up participatory, transparent and accountable processes, mechanisms and institutions to enable all citizens - poor and rich, men and women – to access equitable and legitimate basic services. JNNURM is a joint mission of the Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA).

JNNURM is a response to concerns arising out of the rapid and unplanned urban growth and the economic disparities that are creating 'dual cities', one face of which is modern and developed while the other is underdeveloped and without basic amenities. It is where the less productive, less skilled, less wealthy citizens who have lower voices and power live; often excluded from the formal economy and from the modern city.

JNNURM's good urban governance and reform agenda seeks to improve effectiveness, accountability, efficiency, sustainability and service equity in cities. It also aims to reduce class and gender fragmentation by making socio-political-economic institutions, processes and resource allocations more equitable. This objective of equitable urban development is also enshrined in India's national poverty-reduction goal, endorsed in the Global Millennium Development targets and set out in the Government's National Common Minimum Programme.

Gender based urban development is about promoting cities that respond equally to men and women. However, 'because women experience cities differently' (Beall, 1996: 2), meeting women's needs becomes critical to promoting sustainable/equitable urban development. In patriarchal economies such as India, women's interests have conventionally been under-represented in policy and planned development. Enhancing women's role and participation in urban governance is vital in creating equitable cities and will be a key measure of the success of JNNURM.

Gender mainstreaming is a well accepted strategy, worldwide, to promote gender equality. Mainstreaming is about incorporating gender into all aspects of development programming - policy, dialogue, legislation, structures and institutions, resource allocations and use, planning, implementation and monitoring. In the context of JNNURM, gender mainstreaming will be about keeping the needs of women in mind when developing urban infrastructure.

Gender is however, not a 'core competence' among urban local institutions or managers, who remain largely concerned with the provisioning of basic services. Besides, gender expertise is mostly seen to be within the domain of conventional women's programmes/agencies such as Women and Child Development. Building gender friendly cities will require the intertwining of gender knowledge within local government institutions so that these can better respond to gender needs, in particular address requirements of women, especially those living in slums and low resource communities.

Even as JNNURM has been focusing attention on urban infrastructure development and implementation of reforms, the gender perspective within JNNURM have been overlooked. This paper makes a case for mainstreaming gender issues within JNNURM. By creating a better understanding of urban gender concerns, especially as they relate to the provision of basic services and policy reform, the paper seeks to provide guidelines and set out a road map, for urban local bodies on integrating gender issues within the urban renewal and reform agenda. Specifically, its focus is on ensuring that City Development Plans (CDP) and Detailed Project Reports (DPR) are prepared, reviewed and monitored, using a gender based approach. The success of urban development programmes and missions can only take place when the municipal staff, elected representatives and state and national urban development agencies are all seriously convinced of the need for gender mainstreaming in their project activities.

2. The Need to Mainstream Gender within JNNURM

The 1995 HDR¹ stated that ‘poverty has a woman’s face – of 1.3 billion people in poverty, 70 per cent are women’. Poverty according to Naila Kabeer², is ‘gendered’ because women and men experience poverty differently – and unequally – and become poor through different, though related, processes. Gender inequality makes the effect of poverty worse for women. Poverty reduction is possible only by addressing the disproportionate burden of poverty, including the lack of access to education, health and financial services, the lack of representation in policy making spheres and the lack of productive opportunities that women face. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) cannot be achieved without progress towards gender equality.

Gender inequality exists in all societies and at all levels of society. Urban women, while generally sharing specific gender interests arising from a common set of responsibilities and roles, constitute a fairly diverse group. There are elderly women, working women and women whose major responsibility is in the domestic sphere. There are also women who balance multiple roles at the same time. Poor women living in slums and low resource areas face disadvantages, which are very different from those faced by women from middle class families. Slum dwellers also experience an unequal level of service, women are doubly disadvantaged from poor access. Cities, especially large urban areas also have more numbers of women headed households, single women living by themselves, professional women who need to travel, etc., and urban development planning must respond to the needs of these diverse groups. Experience has shown that women not only bear the brunt of poverty, but their empowerment is a precondition for its reduction.

Being a male dominated society, infrastructure planning in India has been traditionally done by men for men. Women being under-represented in planning processes/institutions have had little control over city resources or to make them work to their advantage. JNNURM is an opportunity to build gender-fair and inclusive cities. JNNURM seeks to promote planned urban development and equitable cities. Women and men, rich and poor, old and young, are

1 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Human Development Report 1995. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

2 Naila Kabeer. Gender Mainstreaming in Poverty Eradication and the Millennium Development Goals: A handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders. New Gender Mainstreaming Series on Development Issues. <http://www.idrc.ca/openebooks/067-5/>

equal users of urban spaces and contribute to a city's economic development, as producers and providers of goods and services. However, each has different service requirements that are rarely considered, while planning for service provisioning.

JNNURM has two Sub-Missions; Sub-Mission 1 deals with urban infrastructure and governance and infrastructure relating to water and sanitation, road networks, solid waste management, urban transport, etc. This mission is to be administered by the Ministry of Urban Development. Sub-Mission 2 relates to the provision of basic services to the urban poor. This is administered by the Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation. The main thrust of this Sub-Mission will be on integrated development of slums through projects for providing shelter, basic services and other related civic amenities with a view to providing utilities to the urban poor.

Urban life poses a number of risks with regard to safety and security, in particular to the safety and security of women. According to a women's safety audit study undertaken by UNHABITAT in 2007³, feelings of insecurity and fear of crime and violence are highest in large cities. Although urban design and planning, says the report, do not generate violence or other forms of assault, they do create an environment that offers greater or lesser opportunities for violence. Women have both higher levels of fear of crime and are more at risk and insecure in public spaces that are rendered unsafe by virtue of their bad design, isolation or inadequate and poor maintenance. Making public spaces 'physically safe' for women, not only reduces opportunities for assaults, but safer cities for women are better and safer cities for all.

JNNURM guidelines have not made 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), possibly because the Mission until recently had excluded health, education and employment and was much more focused on infrastructure. It was therefore difficult in the CDP /DPR processes to appreciate why and where women should be involved. As a result, there has been no direct representation of women and women's issues.

JNNURM being reform driven, gender mainstreaming under the Mission must also be about gender positive reforms (both in the mandatory and optional categories of JNNURM reform), for sustainable change. Integrating gender concerns into urban reforms will guarantee the poor, especially women, legitimate, accessible and equitable urban spaces.

3 UNHABITAT. Women's Safety Audits For A Safer Urban Design; http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/5544_32059_WSA%20Centrum%20report.pdf, 2007.

A. INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IS NOT GENDER NEUTRAL

Urban development is generally assumed to be 'gender neutral' i.e. providing equal access to men and women. This idea however is misplaced and physical infrastructure projects (roads, transport services, water supply and sewerage, housing, schools, hospitals etc.) that seemingly respond to diverse standards for men and women, may actually have very dissimilar impacts on the two groups. Provisioning of community based water supply services that increases time spent by women in water collection; reduced frequency of buses in non-peak hours that increases travelling time for women; and roads designed without women's safety needs /or streetlights, that increases crimes against women are not 'gender neutral' infrastructure services. Thus, infrastructure development which appears to benefit women in a broad-brush way does so effectively only if gender specific interventions are planned, budgeted, implemented and monitored. Crucial adjustments are needed in urban project designs and planning processes to ensure equal gender benefits. To take a very basic example, the provisioning of toilet facilities 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.

B. GENDER EQUALITY MUST BE A MATTER OF RIGHT

Equal rights to women are guaranteed in the Indian Constitution. As a signatory to various international declarations (Declaration on Human Rights, Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women - CEDAW, etc.), India is committed to the elimination of discrimination against women. The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA), 1992, provided for the inclusion of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and women in decentralized urban governance. However, in practice, women's political participation, in particular that of

Why Mainstream Gender in JNNURM

- Women and men, rich and poor contribute to city development and have a right to equal access to basic services.
- Women and men, rich and poor access urban services in different ways.
- Infrastructure development is not gender neutral.
- JNNURM is an opportunity to integrate gender into urban policy, programme, reform, planning and development.
- Need based services improve ownership and sustainability of interventions.

poor women, is quite unequal, un-realized and easily abused. Despite reservation of seats in local bodies, women are generally seen as proxies for male family members or 'parshad patis'. According to Fenster, women's lack of freedom to move about safely and without violence is a key reason for their low political participation (1999⁴). Unequal access to education, health care, housing, etc. not only serves to dis-empower women and weaken their voices in planning, but it also impacts urban growth.

C. INCLUSIVE PLANNING PROMOTES SUSTAINABLE CITY DEVELOPMENT

There is considerable evidence on the benefits of inclusion for sustainable development that provides the *raison d'être* for participatory planning. Inclusion builds community ownership and helps safeguard/ensure appropriate use of infrastructure services, promotes sustainability of interventions and reduces O&M costs. For example, if public transport is designed with a view to addressing the special requirements of women, then access points and schedules will ensure that women utilize the service well. In spite of the known advantages of inclusion, hardly any consultation takes place between local agencies and primary stakeholders; what ever happens is at the level of tokenism. Real and direct participation by people, in particular women, in city planning, even though time-intensive, is both desirable and non negotiable. Inclusion of grass roots organizations that work in the areas of gender equity and /or poverty reduction can serve as 'short-cut' routes to capturing the broader landscape of poor people's/women's voices/concerns.

D. CITY AND SYSTEM-WIDE GENDER MAINSTREAMING: JNNURM REPRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY

Gender mainstreaming or integration of its basic concepts and tools in development agendas and the construction of a network of institutional structures, mechanisms and processes for such integration, requires willingness and sensitive champions at the very top. JNNURM, a programme, driven by committed leadership in the two ministries can successfully blend gender concerns within the programme and mainstream it across the national urban landscape. Gender blending at a city level will demand a thorough and comprehensive analysis of gender based inequalities in the local context, together with their causes and effects; and the designing of strategic interventions, estimation of costs and benefits, development of monitoring frameworks to ensure accountability, and creation of capacity and commitment for engendering urban development. A massive gender shift in urban planning can only be manoeuvred from those who drive city development at the very helm.

3. Understanding Gender Differences in Urban Infrastructure Development

This section attempts to create a better understanding of the different ways in which men and women access, use and are affected by urban infrastructure development, in particular those living in slums and low resource communities.

A. KEY ISSUES AND CONCERNS RELATING TO GENDER IN URBAN AREAS

Lack of basic services affects both men and women. Women in cities especially in low income communities and slums are more severely affected by inadequate services. Some obvious areas where the differences are visible are:

i. Access to Municipal Services

Water

Women are generally responsible for water collection and storage. Time spent on filling and fetching water increases if the number of taps is less than optimal, or the water supply is irregular or if the water pressure is low. Time spent by women in accessing services (waiting for water tankers or for the municipal supply) reduces the time available for income earning activities, leisure or education. Often working women in single, nuclear or women-headed households have to buy water, because the irregular and erratic water supply is unreliable. This also impacts the household budget. Quality is another aspect; poor quality water supply impacts the health of all people, adds to household health expenditure and results in wage loss from sick days; thus deepening household poverty.

Sanitation

Slum dwellers have poor access to toilets. Slums are generally unconnected to city sewerage. Since most slums are illegal, slum dwellers cannot build toilets at home. Non availability of/ and unfriendly community toilets (poorly designed/ maintained with bad infrastructure, inadequate numbers of seats) increase people's health risk from gastrointestinal/reproductive health problems. In particular, poor women undergo tremendous hardships in their search for safe spaces (increasingly rare in big cities) and timings (before sun rise and after sunset) to defecate. Where poor people dig toilet pits inside huts for safe and dignified defecation, women scavenge faecal matter from homes to drains.

An Urban Reality

The gang rape of a young girl on her way to answer nature's call is a vivid affirmation of the harassment, molestation and indignity to which women/girls and young children in urban areas are exposed, in the absence of access to toilets. Besides being unsafe and undignified, open defecation is a serious health and environmental threat, as pathogens from excreta contaminate soil and water, causing disease and death ... (and) exacerbate health burden of the poor... (with) families losing more workdays and a higher proportion of their income to illness.... (If) the primary income earner (is) too sick to work, onus falls on children, interrupting their education.

Source: Khosla (2000) Women and Sanitation: The Urban Reality: Experiences of Government Programmes, NGOs and CBOs.

Solid waste management

Ineffective solid waste management creates highly unsanitary conditions in cities with huge environmental threats to all residents. In slums, it has resulted in huge mounds of un-disposed waste. Because women spend more time inside homes/settlements – either in home based occupations or as home makers, the health risk from highly unsanitary environments to them is higher.

Waste water disposal systems

Waste water disposal systems are non existent in squatter settlements and low income areas, as these are not networked to city sewerage lines. Women bear the burden (physical and health) of scavenging waste water from drain pits excavated outside homes.

ii. Women's Rights to Urban Spaces – Land, Housing and Finances

People who own land benefit from the economic and social security that legitimate ownership offers. Poor people occupy just five percent of all urbanized world land, according to the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), primarily as squatters. Since living in slums is illegal, slum dwellers are under constant threat of eviction. Women, however, have traditionally been excluded from land ownership; an asset-less-ness that has contributed to their continued poverty/insecurity. Only a very small percentage of all women have legal title to housing/land. Among the poor, women land owners are likely to be a negligible number. Women's lack of title/ownership makes them a voiceless and vulnerable constituency.

Living in illegal slums and the lack of land ownership denies the urban poor any formal identity (ration or voter ID cards), forces them into informal sector employment, lowers their access to formal credit/basic services (no formal bank account or availability of collateral), and exposes them to rent seekers (work contractors) and exploitative markets.

Poor women use homes for economic activities, as they prefer to work in home-based occupations, due to reasons of safety, lack of mobility and child-care responsibilities. Illegal tenure renders them vulnerable to local contractors/police/local authorities. Inadequate spaces without basic services lower potential economic output (for example, without power women cannot run electric sewing machines to increase production) and the capacity to overcome poverty.

Resettlement of slum families is seen as a means of granting land tenure and empowering poor. Where resettlement is through joint titles, it guards women against impulsive sales by men or dispossession through abandonment, separation or divorce and increases women's bargaining power in household decision making. Resettlement in far off sites however cancels out the positive impact of tenure, by creating a distance between people and their livelihoods and deepening rather than alleviating poverty. In an economic analysis of resettlement undertaken by **Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence (CURE)**⁵, women were found to have lost their livelihoods and income, with diminishing control over household resources and decision making. Far site resettlement in less populated areas also increases risks to women both at home and in travelling for work.

Women either do not work for wages or earn less than men. Because of their lower earnings, women cannot afford to buy land/house, raise credit from banks, or bear the tax burden from legal property ownership. Being outside the tax net, they have a lower claim on municipal resources. Housing design like homes with in-the-house facilities for water and toilets, neighbourhoods with better linkages to markets, schools, child care, health, education and transport services, can all increase women's abilities to be more productive and participative.

iii. Access to Livelihoods and Employment – Problems of Working in the Informal Sector

Since women often lack education and technical skills, they tend to be predominantly in the informal economy. They are largely employed at the bottom of the livelihood chain, in unprotected conditions of the unorganized sector. For example, CURE⁶ found that the women in the slums of Agra were involved in minor jobs, such as fixing hooks on chains or bristles on brushes, and earned only Rs.3 to Rs.6 per 100 pieces.

The overall economic contribution of poor people, especially women, in the informal sector/city and national economy is largely unacknowledged, unmeasured and unsupported; which affects the entire urban economy negatively. The informal sector is under regulated and it is thus easily able to exclude women from safety net schemes i.e. maternity leave, pension, health care, etc. Desperate for jobs, women are willing to accept less than stipulated

5 Khosla, R and Shevta, M. *The Economics of Resettlement*. CURE, 2006.

6 CAP Project Reports.

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

- Encouraging traders to display goods on the street in front of their premises will encourage more activity on the street itself.
- Closing off a dangerous pedestrian route may generate far more activity along another route close by.
- A more direct route may encourage more traffic.
- Grouping facilities together can bring more people together in one place and create a focus of activity around the present location.
- Providing good lighting during the evening may encourage much better use of a facility or route.
- 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 safe.
- Management techniques can encourage activity. Reduced parking charges may encourage greater use of a car park.
- More buses, particularly at certain times of the day, may encourage greater use of a bus shelter.
- Removing a fence may open up an area, allowing users to see and be aware of others in a place, improving the perception of activity.
- A place that appears badly maintained and uncared for may discourage activity.
- Occasionally activity can become problematic in itself. If there is too much activity, pick pockets for example go undetected, or one may inadvertently encourage the wrong sorts of activities such as drug dealing.
- Segregation of activities and people is bad design and should be avoided if possible. Segregation of land uses means that at certain times of the day, people will desert areas leaving them particularly inactive.

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: Dealing With Public Realm 'Hot Spots': Manukau City Council, February 2005⁷.

wages. Being illiterate, they are also unable to keep count of the number of items that they produce, chipping away at their already low incomes. Lack of on-site /child-care services pushes women to accept home based work on exploitative piece rate basis.

On-the-job sexual harassment where women work out of homes is common and may range from physical contact to the passing of sexual remarks and the seeking of favours. Poor women in particular, are easily exploited because of their financial dependence /desperation for work, informal nature of work, the lack of awareness of the laws and the absence of any access to recourse. Most cases of sexual harassment go unreported, as women want to avoid the embarrassment and unwanted attention that usually accompanies such reporting. Thus the fear of harassment inhibits women's full and equal participation in the city's economic activity.

As entrepreneurs, women's economic potential is capped due to the lack of access to economic infrastructure, safe work spaces /markets (clean, well lit, ventilated, with basic services, linked to access roads, motorized transport/equipment, priority allocation for sheds, etc.), start-up capital (women do not have access to collateral or are deemed as not being creditworthy), household savings and credit; entrepreneurial skills / training, information, advice and business counselling, licensing and market outreach. Urban bye-laws do not support women's preference to work out of home and home based economic activities are often undertaken in contravention of the law or infringe regulations.

Due to the fact that women earn less than men, they stake a lesser claim on household resources –food, health care, education, etc.

iv. Right to Social Services

Women study for fewer years than men and have less control over how long and what to study. They also get a smaller share of family resources, both food and health care, that results in enduring disadvantages extending across generations. Improvement in women's status/value and control over assets significantly improves both their own and their children's food and health security.

v. Safety and Security

The term 'security' refers to the economic, environmental and social security of individuals and groups. In a male dominated system and because of inherent biological differences (men being physically stronger than women) women experience less safety and are subjected to greater personal violence, both inside the home (domestic), in the community and on the streets. Poor women in urban areas are more exposed to risk because they are often located in sites that are prone to crime and /or in environments that are in contravention of the law. Unequal social structures (such as caste/class differences) and economic disempowerment further impact on the security of women. Besides, being poor and women, they have limited access to assets that can avert such risks and their politically powerlessness, means that they do not receive any ready help.

Urban Spaces and Safety: Design of urban spaces affects women's sense of security, especially for those women who work outside the home. Design of the physical environment can have an affect on criminal behaviour; with good design leading to a reduction in crime as well as to a reduction of the fear of crime. Dark neighbourhoods/parks/parking lots, inadequate street lighting, underground subways, lack of night police /limited access to police/phone booths especially in unsafe zones, inadequate and safe public transport systems at night /non peak hours, all increase women's anxiety and place limitations on their mobility and economic productivity. Designing spaces where other people can be seen or where one knows there are others who can provide help if required helps in creating a sense of security. Places that are open make it difficult for criminals to hide, similarly places which are frequently used, reduce the risk of crime. In slum areas also safety is far from adequate. Due to the absence of basic services such as sanitation facilities or power supply, women face indignities and threats on a regular basis.

Security from Evictions: Among the poor, forced evictions from illegal spaces (slums) are a major cause of insecurity. The destruction of slums does not mean the demolition of homes alone but often means that the informal enterprises/livelihoods that the poor engage in are also destroyed. Women, children and other vulnerable and disadvantaged groups are most adversely affected by such evictions which invariably increases rather than reduces, the problems that they set out to 'solve'.⁸ Often city governments compensate the poor with land allocations in resettlement sites. Because of scarcity of land within the city, resettlement land is usually at the fringes of the city, lacks access to basic services and the area is usually unsafe. Poor women in resettlement colonies, that are far away from main roads and bus stops experience high levels of anxiety and fear as they navigate dark and lonely stretches on their way to work (work is often located in the vicinity of where the initial settlement was) or to care for their children (dropping or picking them up from school for example).

Violence against Women and Children: Women and children experience domestic violence through physical abuse, sexual assault and threats. Female foeticide, dowry death or harassment, sexual trafficking, public humiliation are part of such domestic violence. Domestic violence causes grievous physical injury and psychological trauma, affecting the health of women and leading to fear and loss of self-confidence. Women are also exposed to sexual abuse and assault in work spaces, especially in the unregulated informal /small sector. Violence against women, both rich and poor, puts a strain on the nation's social and legal services and leads to heavy loss of productivity. Urban violence against women can be attributed to their lack of power that comes from non ownership of property and shelter, which is often available to them only through their husbands. This and their child-care responsibilities often force them to stay in abusive domestic relationships.

vi. Urban Transport

Men are generally owners of personal transport; having greater control over spending family finances. Women are much more dependant on public transport to move about the city. According to UNHABITAT⁹, 'in all societies men have better access to superior transport, whether it is more regular use of the family car or additional disposable income to take public transport instead of walking. Gender inequality in transport is a consequence of social organization and the outcome of differential access to economic, time and other resources. The greater domestic responsibilities of women, coupled with weaker access to household resources, have significant consequences for their transport and travel status'. (In turn) the lack of mobility generally, combined with poorer job and educational opportunities, plays an important role in perpetuating the economic disadvantages of women. In poor families, it is usually the male head of household who will use public transport leaving the women (who often earns more money for the family coffers) to walk. The inequality in this arrangement is heightened when one considers that a bicycle, or other non-motorized mode of transport, might ease a woman's travel burden considerably.

Women use transport differently from men based on the type of work they do. Women also work different hours from men and travel more often in off-peak periods. They are often accompanied by children or elderly people who need to be supported. Studies have shown that women across age and income groups make more shopping and family business trips, using public transport¹⁰. Because of complex household responsibilities, they are sometimes forced to make multiple trips that add to their expenses.

Moving on foot or using crowded/irregular/slow/public transport puts women entrepreneurs at a comparative disadvantage. Additionally transport costs may actually cutback profits. Rude and abusive behaviour by the staff on the bus or auto-rickshaws are other hazards faced by women. As more and more women join the workforce in cities, travel patterns are also changing. This is evident from the travel arrangements that are being made by the Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) industry, where women work in shifts and require transport for their newly emerging mobility needs. In general however, poor transport services add to women's perceptions of insecurity and risk.

VII. Being Counted

An attempt is made in this section to capture macro and micro level data to quantify gender based disadvantages in urban areas. This information coupled with the qualitative analysis undertaken above, provides the rationale for gender mainstreaming.

9 Brian Williams. Gender and Urban Transport. Habitat Debate, March Vol.11 No. 1 <http://ww2.unhabitat.org>

10 See Sandra Rosenbloom, Research on Women's Issues in Transportation, Published by Transportation Research Board, 2005.

B. NUMBERS AND STATUS

i. Sex Ratio

Women accounted for a little under half (47.3 percent) of India's total urban population in 2001 (285 million-Census of India, 2001). The urban sex ratio is quite skewed, as is evident from the data for 2001 – the sex ratio in urban India was 900 females per 1,000 males, compared to an all India figure of 933 females per 1,000 males. Worse still the sex ratio in the million plus cities of the country (where one fourth of India's urban population lives) was as low as 861 females per 1,000 men. Over the decade, the situation has become worse. This bias is attributed to greater male migration (into the cities) and sex selective abortions which are not uncommon in the cities. Compared with the world ratio of about 95 girls being born per 100 boys, there are only 92.7 female births in India, for every 100 male births. In some states like Punjab and Gujarat, the number of girls born per 100 boys is as low as 79.3 and 87.8 respectively (Census of India, 2001).

ii. Urban Poverty Estimates

The Planning Commission's approach paper to the 11th Five Year Plan estimates that 22 percent of the total national population lived below the poverty line in 2004-05. At an estimated annual poverty reduction rate of 0.8 percent (Planning Commission), the current urban share of poverty (23.6 percent or 67.01 million people in 2000, Planning Commission, 2000 and Census 2001) should have declined to 16.4 percent in 2007¹¹. Even by this estimation, there are 63 million poor people in urban India; just under half of whom are women.

iii. Slum Dwellers

Urban poverty is not synonymous with slum dwellers and the demographers' thumb rule for urban growth of 3-4-5-6; (urban India population growth rate at 3 percent - larger cities' population growth rate at 4 percent - slum populations' growth rate at 5-6 percent) suggests that there is a much larger proportion of slum dwellers in cities, who may not necessarily be poor. Slum Census data from cities such as Mumbai and unofficial estimates in Delhi, Agra¹² etc. put the population of slum dwellers in large urban areas in the range of 40-60 percent of the population of the city .

iv. Access to Services in Slums

Access to services in slum areas reported by NSSO in its 58th Round indicates that the

majority of slums (84 percent) have piped water supply, albeit through common stand posts; just 30 percent have access to underground sewerage, 13 percent to covered drains and 43 percent to pucca but open drains; and 17 percent are without access to any toilet facility either at home or community. Access to schooling was high (93 percent having schools within 1 km radius). However, coverage by public health services was just 48 percent. Micro level studies indicate that 96 percent of slum residents live in hutments that are between 100-130 square feet or 4.6 square metres¹³ and most of them lack legal ownership of land¹⁴. The under-five mortality rate among the urban poor is 112.2 per 100,000 live births (which is three times that in high income groups) and only 43 percent of poor children in urban areas are fully immunized¹⁵.

v. Health Status of Urban Women

Data on selected indices of maternal health and empowerment suggest that fewer women in urban low income settlements received antenatal care, tetanus vaccinations or had deliveries with the assistance of a trained birth attendant; and among slum dwellers, those in unrecognized settlements received /accessed health services even less regularly than those living in notified areas. Poor women from larger cities had the worst performance on antenatal care, when contrasted with other size class cities. More urban poor women were also anaemic; incidence of anaemia increasing with decline in city size. Poor status of women's health has serious implications for child health, with low birth weight deliveries and higher levels of morbidity and mortality among low birth weight babies. Poor health also has grim consequences for children's ability to grow economically and their consequent empowerment.

C. WOMEN'S VOICES

i. Women in Local Governance Structures

The 74th CAA (Constitutional Amendment Act) mandates that one third of all elected representatives are to be women. This has been achieved through obligatory designation of female constituencies. Even as the 74th CAA was promulgated in 1992 and women were forced into active politics, the quality of gender polity has remained low – with most women being proxy candidates for male family members, the latter continuing to participate in

13 Report of the 11th Five Year Plan (2007-12) Working Group on Urban Housing with Focus on Slums Government of India, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Nirman Bhavan, New Delhi - 110011 <http://mhupa.gov.in/ministry/housing/11thplanChapter-I.pdf>

14 Housing Conditions in India: Housing Stock and Constructions (July-December 2002) http://mospi.nic.in/mospi_nss0_58th_rd_press_note_housing_condition.htm

15 USAID/EHP (2003): Health, Nutrition and Population by Economic Groups in India, New Delhi.

meetings / decision making as *pradhan-patis* (as part of an urban micro planning process in Indore for the Madhya Pradesh Urban Service Programme, husbands of women councillors had arrogated to themselves the powers of the councillors and were nurturing the constituency till it was de-reserved). Consequently women's issues have not received the visibility and /or mandate in urban local planning – which continues to be dominated by men. There is also very little evidence to show women's ability to negotiate for women's rights, even if these structures were not so male dominated (Jo Rowlands, 1997¹⁶).

ii. Platforms

The Right to Information (RTI) Act is aimed at increasing the transparency and accountability of governments. It is also seen as an important means of eradicating poverty, through its ability to provide accurate information on development projects. Information has been seen by UNCHS as a means of empowering poor communities to challenge their circumstances and balance the unequal power dynamics between them and others¹⁷. Use of RTI by marginalized groups, especially women and the poor, is critical to making their voices audible in policy planning. However, according to UNDP, the use of RTI by people will require an active and engaged civil society, with capability to access information through the RTI or other platforms, especially in the use of newer communication technologies, such as the internet for such information access. Civil society engagement will help catalyse the process and strengthen people's ability to use this space to engage local bodies in a dialogue for improved services.

Under the RTI, all local bodies must put information in the public domain. Some agencies have been faster than others in walking the talk. However, there is still an overall lack of institutional arrangements for voice and compact between governments and citizen representatives. Citizen's redressal systems or e-governance platforms continue to be accessed with great difficulty, particularly by women, who are often less educated or less technically qualified, less mobile and with a lower ownership of assets.

4. Steps to Mainstreaming Gender in Urban Development under JNNURM

Mainstreaming is about bringing those at the fringes of the development process into the developmental core. In the context of urban development, it is about making provisions for equality in state and local policy, programming and budgeting.

Gender mainstreaming is concerned with structuring opportunities, creating access pathways and removing barriers to access, such that gender imbalances in city development are overcome and gender based participation is advanced. Underpinning the concept of gender mainstreaming is the recognition that women and men have different situations and needs and share of public resources and assets; and that these differences affect the ways in which the two groups access everything from labour markets to public services. By taking account of these gender differentials, policy-makers can ensure better policy-targeting, more effective provisioning of services and resources and greater equality.

Achieving gender equality is a key Millennium Development Goal (MDG) that specifically exhorts governments to target improvements to women and girls in all sectors, including improvement in their education, health and nutrition status, advancement in their employment opportunities and increase in their representation in local government institutions. India is committed to achieve this MDG and has taken several measures such as instructing nearly 40 ministries and Departments to undertake gender budgeting and set up Gender Cells. The Planning Commission has included gender equality as a core principle in national development planning. The Ministry of Urban Development too, is committed to creating gender fair cities.

A fundamental goal of the Government of India is to promote policies /interventions that lead to poverty reduction. This principle is part of JNNURM's poverty based agenda. Gender equity achieved by the creation of gender based opportunities for income-generation, access to economic infrastructure /assets, housing and basic services will also help achieve sustainable poverty reduction.

Urban development spans spatial planning and design of urban spaces and services to enable cities to become vibrant and dynamic economies. Vibrant cities must create 'spaces' for all its citizens, especially those who are currently excluded because of their gender. Since men and women access urban services in different ways, building equitable cities will require effective and gender sensitive spatial planning processes.

Building gender friendly cities will make cities friendlier for all. To explicitly incorporate gender perspectives into policy and development programming will require sound and gender disaggregated data, that cuts across sectors and makes it possible to set clear targets; manage programmatic shifts/changes; build robust monitoring and evaluation systems with adequate indicators that can measure gender achievements and mechanisms for inclusion of women in spatial planning processes.

To mainstream gender into the Urban Development agenda, the steps given in the flowchart (on the facing page) will be required at various levels of government.

A. GENDER POLICY, GOAL AND OBJECTIVES IN URBAN SETTINGS

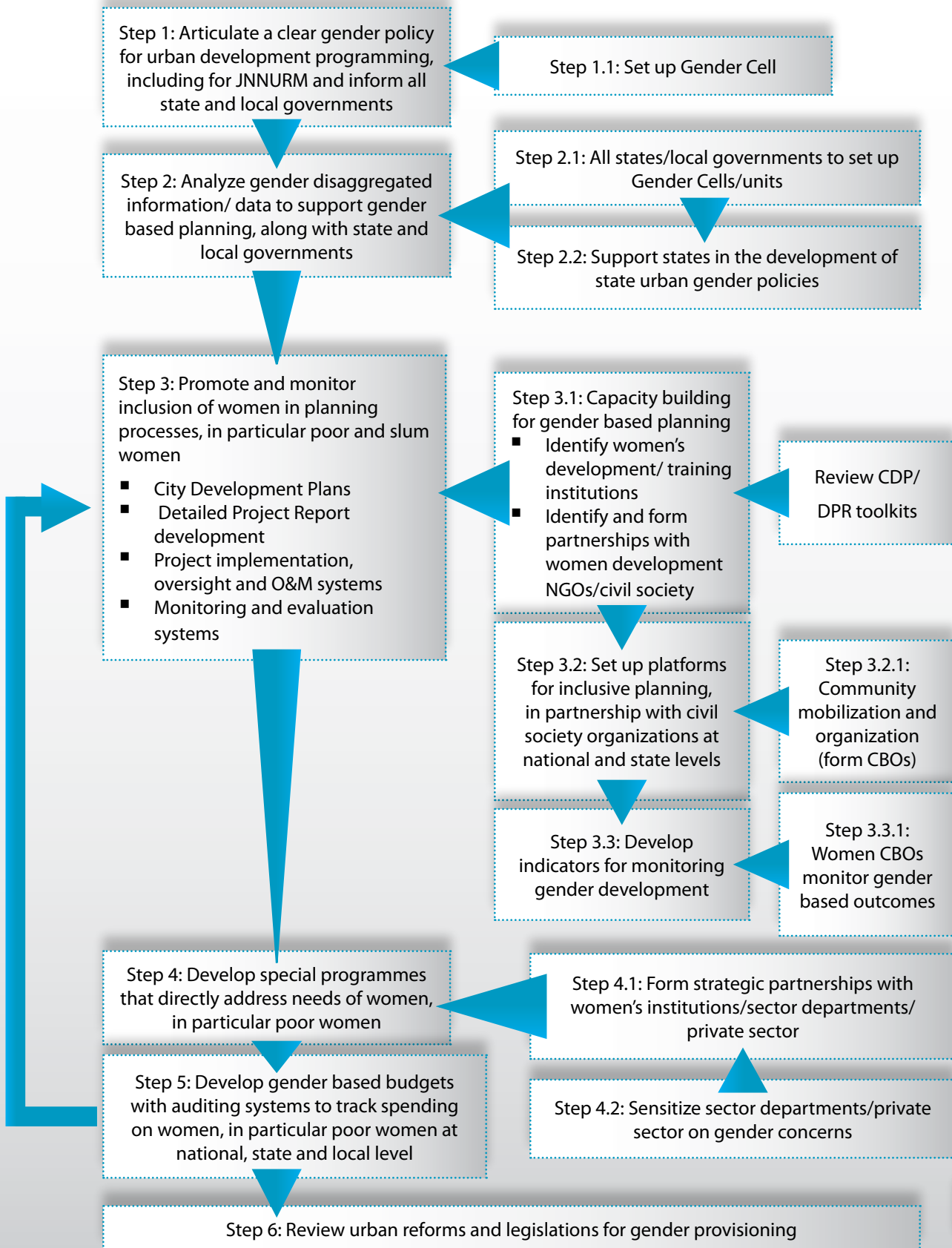
The Ministry of Urban Development and the Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation need to set out a clear urban gender policy that will provide the framework for gender integration. A gender policy must have four key components:

- Bring a gender perspective into all aspects of planning, policy and legislation and activities that are within the domain of the two ministries.
- Create an enabling environment for women and girls to realize their full human rights in cities, in particular for women belonging to poor and marginalized groups.
- Outline sustainable pathways /mechanisms for the equal participation of all, in particular for poor women, in city development.
- Promote equitable access and control over city resources for women and men.

The overarching urban gender goal must be to create equitable cities where women are included fully and meaningfully in the processes of the city's spatial and economic planning and urban governance, and where the development, safety and security issues of women are addressed from the perspective of urban design and infrastructure development .

B. STRATEGY AND APPROACH TO GENDER MAINSTREAMING WITHIN JNNURM

The approach to gender mainstreaming must be **rights based**. Human rights of women and girls in the urban context must be an inalienable, integral and non-negotiable part of all urban development planning. The effort must be to increase the realization of these rights, especially for poor women, in all aspects of urban development (housing and tenure, services – basic and social, economic, voice and security). Rights based urban gender development can be achieved through greater capacity /awareness of the economic, social, civil, political and cultural differences between the two sexes with pro active provisioning of services and budgets for meeting the requirements of women.



gender mainstreaming is also about promoting **inclusive and participative** growth. Moving beyond mere counting (number of women who attend meetings) and tokenism (some well-lit roads or a slim service for non-peak hours), the approach must be to create an enabling environment for women (neighbourhood citizen complaint redressal centres, neighbourhood level meetings at timings suited to women, information that is easily available including on the internet) so that they can articulate their needs and their vision for the city and participate in decisions and choices that affect their lives.

Empowerment of women is essential for meaningful inclusion. In the context of urban development, while empowerment is about enabling women to use the spaces and pathways created for their engagement in city planning, it must also be about building capacities among local government institutions to listen to the voices of women and monitor gender based outcomes. Only then can such engagement be meaningful.

Empowerment of women comes through **mobilization and organization**, in particular for women from slum communities under Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP). A critical mass of women's Community Based Organizations (CBO), networked at the city level can help represent interests of various groups of women in city planning. Such an organization however must be backed by capacity creation, to enable women to dialogue with and negotiate for their rights with local governments and by the provisioning of spaces and mechanisms for participatory planning.

Partnerships Public-Private-People Partnerships (PPP) with civil society/ women's organizations and other actors/groups working for gender equality are necessary to assist this process of empowerment and participation. Partnerships include those between the private sector and other urban actors and women's groups to imbue greater gender sensitivity into all development planning and implementation. This will require significant capacity development effort to change attitudes and behaviour.

The rule for gender based urban development must be to **equitably share city resources** among men and women. This will require resource allocations for infrastructure services, housing, water, sanitation, energy, transport, communication, advocacy, etc. that target women and respond to their needs. The endeavour must be to use gender preferred and appropriate technology that fits in with the socially ascribed roles and ownership over assets.

Mainstreaming the gender agenda into urban development will also require **gender based reforms** and the institution of specific measures that will eliminate gender biases in urban policies, municipal legislations, procedures and norms, etc.

C. GENDER BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENT: MAKING JNNURM GENDER SENSITIVE

JNNURM aims at promoting effective and efficient urban development. Infrastructure is largely gender 'neutral', i.e. its design and operating cycle is robust enough to absorb the functional, behavioural, perceptual, socio-cultural and other semantic differences between men and women. However, infrastructure is not gender 'neutral', both in provisioning and use, it impacts on women differently from men.

Under ideal conditions, any hardware designed for public use responds to standards set for either gender, such as a public lavatory, with separate places for men and women, and assuming different usage cycles, there are fewer urinals for men as compared to women. Likewise, women's sections are better screened-off from public view, by arranging internal partitions, in such a way that almost nothing is visible from outside, even when the door is ajar. Cleanliness and usability by way of water to flush, is usually common to both and is performed with equal diligence.

However, the fact is that large infrastructure projects such as highways, housing schemes etc. generally benefit men more than women. Urban local bodies tend to focus on capital intensive projects, rather than split assistance into a number of smaller schemes which are likely to be more friendly to women¹⁸. Transport planning too 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 frequently require transport outside of peak hours and to alternative destinations from those of men. And yet cost cutting inevitably involves a reduction in off-peak services, a consequence of the economy evaluation made by planners using conventional cost/benefit measures which ignore the value of the trips women make in their reproductive role' (Levy 1991).

The process of making urban development gender sensitive will require gathering of evidence and profiling of achievements on outcomes using gender disaggregated data, gender-based analysis¹⁹, 'critical path' studies, etc. Gender-based analysis is a means of interrogation – a process of questioning that allows a cross-examination of data, research, programs, projects, policies and reforms to understand how these impact women and men. It is about asking a new set of questions in order to generate fresh and different knowledge and produce more valid and reliable evidence that can lead to better recommendations, better strategic interventions and better outcomes for women, households, communities and economies. The critical path is the sequence of activities that must be given priority in a given project, in which there are several pathways involving inter-related activities. Critical path studies therefore help to foot-print pathways women use to access city resources.

18 mobility and gender: http://regserver.unfccc.int/seors/file_storage/nwvxqpt7kuyllsy.pdf

19 http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/hcs-sss/pubs/system-regime/2006-wait-attente/gender-sex/index_e.html

The table below is an illustrative exercise to develop a set of sample interrogative questions on infrastructure sector projects.

Infrastructure Development	Gender Issues
ROADS AND PARKS /RECREATION FACILITIES	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How many roads planned are motorized and how many smaller roads are there within neighbourhoods? 2. What percentage of women use motorized roads? 3. What mode of transport do women and men use on such roads? 4. Do more women use buses, rickshaws, auto rickshaws or do they walk to work or to the market? 5. What percentage of women use the pedestrian walk ways? 6. How easy, difficult, safe are these pavements for women walkers? 7. Are walk ways planned with soft landscaping that is friendly for children? 8. Are side walks low and comfortable to get on and off, continuous? Is O&M of pavements a high priority? 9. How is the lighting planned on the motorized roads? On neighbourhood roads? 10. Are road signs displayed graphically, so that they can be understood by women with low literacy levels? 11. Where are bus stops located? Are the bus stops located at places which are convenient for women and are they designed such that women can get on and off the bus easily (including when they are carrying children/bags wearing saris, etc)? 12. Are parks designed so that they do not have any blind corners and are well-lit and open, so that women feel safe? 13. Are there enough activity spaces around the parks to ensure that the park does not get lonely at any time during the day or night? 14. Are there enough public facilities for women? Are these designed for mothers' with infants? Are these well-lit, easy to access, safe? 15. Are there easily accessible phone booths/ police posts near the parks? Near the roads? 16. Are the helpline numbers displayed clearly? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ More men than women use the motorized roads. More women use smaller roads /inner roads. ■ Due to women's lower ownership of motorized transport, they are more dependent on public transport facilities or rickshaws, auto rickshaws, or even on their own two legs. Women have less access to technology such as mobile phones etc. and need to be able to move around safely in cities. ■ Women are also accompanied by children /escort the elderly and carry bags, while using foot paths/buses etc. ■ Women feel safe in well- lit environments.

As mentioned earlier, infrastructure is often deemed as being 'gender neutral' while this is not really the case. In most CDPs, roads, water supply and housing constitute the bulk of the proposed investment. A sample set of questions has been developed for roads and parks, water supply, sanitation and housing. Similar questions may be developed for other sectors/services as well.

Infrastructure Development	Gender Issues
WATER SUPPLY	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Who is largely responsible for collecting and storing water? 2. Is the current /proposed water supply arrangement making access to water easier/faster for women including in low income and slum settlements? Is the service timing and frequency friendly to women? 3. Is the water supply restricted to people with land rights and does it by-pass slums that are largely illegal? 4. How many home connections have been provided? How many of these are given to poor households? 5. How much time have women been able to save with better quality supply? 6. Are women able to maintain/ understand plumbing arrangements? 7. Is there an increase in women's income or a decline in the number of days lost from ill health, due to better water supply services? 8. How convenient is it for women pay their water bills? 9. Is the billing and payment system for water supply easy for women to use? 10. Are there special subsidy schemes for women headed households, with lower abilities to pay for water tariffs? 11. How many women are members of water management committees at all levels; community/ area sabhas, wards, cities, states? 12. Have poor women been approached, so that they can share their needs and problems? 13. Have women contributed meaningfully to the discussion on the issue? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Women are primarily responsible for water collection and storage. ■ Payment systems of water user charges: timings of service, facility access, and payment schedules must be made gender friendly. ■ Capacities of women must be enhanced to engage with local governments, so that they can contribute meaningfully to planning for water supply services.

Infrastructure Development	Gender Issues
COMMUNITY TOILETS	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How many slum settlements that do not have space for constructing household toilets, have access to community toilets? 2. How many toilet seats are provided in a community toilet for men and women? How many toilets meet the norm /requirement for number of seats? 3. Which section do young children use generally? How much space is provided in women’s toilets for use by children? 4. Are toilets designed to meet the needs of women and young girls, for menarche, for household chores such as washing clothes, etc.? 5. Are toilets well lit, properly maintained with proper doors, latches and water disposal systems? Are these safe and close to homes? Can these be used safely at night? 6. Have toilets been designed after consultations with women? What was the contribution of women in the design of toilets? 7. Has the local body contracted women CBOs for O&M of the toilets? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Women in slum settlements need access to toilets to be able to defecate in privacy and safely. ■ Without access to toilets, women sometimes prefer to wait for darkness to defecate, which results in serious health problems. ■ Open defecation, besides being a health hazard, can also lead to sexual harassment. ■ Households in slums dig small pits inside homes for defecation that women scavenge manually.

Infrastructure Development	Gender Issues
HOUSING	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How many men and women own houses? 2. How many women in slums, own houses? 3. How many women use houses as places of production/ or for home based occupations? 4. In housing programmes, especially for low income groups, are there special schemes to enable women to own housing? 5. Have the housing schemes for poor women been designed to meet their conditions, such as lower incomes, work in the informal sector, lack of access to collateral, formal credit, low control over family finances and low levels of literacy? 6. How much paperwork and bureaucratic procedures is required and will this discourage uneducated or illiterate women and men to apply? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Very few women own houses. House ownership empowers women, enhances their sense of security from evictions by local governments/family men and improves their access to capital and economic activity.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Have the houses been designed in consultation with women? How do housing designs change following consultations with women? Do these include spaces for social interaction? Are these designed such that collective child minding is possible? Are these designed with women's safety needs in mind? 8. Is the house design such that it reduces women's work burden, for example, have the mud floors that are difficult to clean been tiled/cemented; does it have adequate workspaces, storage facilities and lighting for home-based income-generating activities? Are there electrical outlets in cooking areas and is the house plan such that it can easily be expanded as household incomes grow etc. 9. Are new housing developments close to markets or manufacturing centres or both, to give women and men more employment opportunities? 10. Are there child-care facilities near housing colonies, so as to enable women to leave their children in safe care while they work? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Women use homes for productive activities. ▪ Women are generally under-represented in the formal employment sector and may have low/ irregular incomes as compared with stable income of the head of the household. |
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Urban infrastructure is a challenging task, as the needs of people, including women depend upon their class and location. For example, middle class working women's needs are different from the women working in the un-organized /informal sector or even in the organized sector in low paid jobs, such as sweepers employed by municipalities. Infrastructure planning must address the needs of the varied groups (migratory populations, men, women, children and the elderly) in cities and is therefore a complex task.

D. GENDER BUDGETING AND AUDITING MECHANISMS

Gender budgeting is a tool used for achieving gender equality, in particular to correct the planning and investment distortions within government spending. Recognizing this, the Ministry of Finance has mandated that every Ministry set up a Gender Cell and undertake gender budgeting exercises to ensure that government spending targets women and does not have any negative impact on them. Detailed guidelines have been issued to all ministries on analyzing sectoral and departmental budgets; reviewing sources of revenues, subsidies provided and their impact on women, trends in allocations, outcomes (including unintended outcomes) on women; undertaking gender performance audits, planning gender budgets, gender mainstreaming in all sectors and proposing specific measures to facilitate access of services to women.

Gender budgeting will help to:

- a. Balance gender needs through appropriate budgeting and financial systems.
- b. Ensure pro-women urban expenditures in areas such as water supply, sanitation – provision of sewerage and toilets – infrastructure development, storm water drainage, solid waste management; provision of low cost public transport, development of roads, provisioning of economic infrastructure etc.
- c. Provide for women-specific urban expenditures that are targeted to include women's requirements in the provisioning of housing, markets, buses, parks and recreation centres.

A review of the CDP for Delhi undertaken by Khosla (June 2007) for the Centre for Civil Society²⁰, concludes that proposals for the urban poor and housing make up just 16 percent of the total planned investments in the city; an amount that does not match demand in terms of numbers or level of service i.e. in-the-house water supply versus community taps. As the bulk of the housing will be owned by men, only a small proportion of the housing budget can be attributed to women.

Gender Auditing Tools

Tools are available /have been developed by UNDP that recommend a participative process for gender budgeting and for development of gender sensitive urban expenditure policy and guidelines. A Tool Kit has also been developed by USAID for identifying gender needs in planning with successfully tested mechanisms for gender based planning. These instruments can be used in JNNURM, with certain adjustments, to encourage inclusion of women in planning /decision making.

Some tools for gender inclusion in the budgeting and planning processes are:

- Spatial maps to assess women's access to physical, social, economic; infrastructure to help develop a mix of macro and micro level plans; micro plans are often more responsive to women's needs;
- Gender profiling of public expenditure, with impact assessment studies to understand gender based spending;
- Gender based auditing and beneficiary assessments.

Of the several tools mentioned here, the two that are used most extensively and are relevant in the JNNURM /urban context are gender auditing and beneficiary assessments. Gender audits are critical to gender budgeting. Gender audits, according to UNDP, 'assess

the differential impacts of budgets, policies and plans on women versus men and progress towards achievement of gender equality and equity'. Gender audits help to review spending patterns of budgets and ensure gender proofing of local plans. They evaluate gender impacts of implemented projects, identify gaps in programming areas, and assess results and outcomes for women. Linked with social audits, these can help to assess if systems have been developed and institutionalized within the urban local bodies for pro poor and gender mainstreaming.

A small checklist has been provided alongside to guide a gender based audit of services. This is not a comprehensive list and will need to be adapted to the specific needs of various projects/sectors.

Gender-Disaggregated Beneficiary Assessments are tools for collecting and analysing opinions of men and women on how far current forms of public service delivery meet their needs and how far current patterns of public expenditure have been in accord with their priorities. Tools that can be used for making gender disaggregated assessments include opinion polls, attitude surveys, participatory rapid appraisals including focus group discussions, participant observations, semi-structured and conversational interviews, preference ranking and scoring and institutional diagramming.

21 <http://www.gender-budgets.org/content/view/181/155/>

Gender Auditing: a Checklist of what it entails

- Gender disaggregated baseline data has been collected/examined, or proxy indicators have been used to assess gender issues.
- Percentage of women, in particular from low income households, who have participated in consultations/meetings for infrastructure development planning.
- Whether women's organizations have been involved in development planning, including in detailed designing of services or DPRs.
- Have the barriers to women's participation been addressed: has a space been created for their contribution or separate group discussions planned, were meetings organized at venues at timings convenient to women.
- Contribution of women in the planning of services, specific efforts made to help them participate.
- Have women's specific needs for infrastructure considered and planned for.
- Have the discussions on budgeting have included women.
- Do tariff plans, access to legitimate services consider women's lower level of affordability, ownership of land and assets etc?
- Do the monitoring indicators include gender disaggregated data.

E. GENDER INCLUSION: BROADENING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN CDP AND DPR PROCESSES

Active community participation is critical to successful city development. Active women's participation will not just guarantee that urban planning is effective on a gender scale, but will also help to empower women, so that they are able to articulate and achieve their rights and overcome the barriers to their development.

Recognizing this, JNNURM has set out a framework for civil society engagement in its guidelines for city development planning. City Development Plans (CDPs) must pass the litmus test of community consultations before loan approvals. JNNURM has also mandated the enactment of the Community Participation Law (CPL), at the state level to institutionalize citizen's participation in decision making. CPL will make it mandatory for urban local bodies to include people in the planning and implementation of service delivery. It envisages the Constitution of Ward Committees and Area Sabhas, platforms for public-people engagement.

A quick overview of both the guidelines and the mechanisms suggested/used for engaging communities in CDP preparation, shows that participation under CDP has remained at best at the level of tokenism. Most CDPs are a bundle of pre-existing proposals of various local agencies in a city. The planning cycle, a brief three month facilitation provided by external consultants, provides for just two city wide consultations – one preparatory to plan development and one for final validation. Very few cities have a history of organized community engagement on a city wide scale and hence the likelihood of genuine representation at these consultations is doubtful. For example, Agra city had four consultations with participation ranging from 10 to 33 people (mainly government officials); this in a city with over 16 lakh people. Gender desegregation of participants in the CDP process indicates one woman participant in the entire dialogue – a non-resident NGO project coordinator. A review of CDPs on the JNNURM website indicates that most CDPs have overlooked the use of participatory processes in their implementation strategies.

Women, especially poor women, are under-represented in CDP because of significant barriers to their full and equal participation in processes that can have considerable influence in their lives. Obstacles to their participation come from:

- their lack of knowledge of their entitlements and how to claim these;
- poor access to information about laws, policies, institutions, structures which govern their lives;
- low levels of education, confidence, self-esteem and negotiating skills, that can help them challenge existing power structures;
- lack of organization, support networks, cultural climate that enables such engagement;

- economic dependency, modest/insufficient incomes that reduce their mobility and voice; and
- burden of responsibilities in the home, often accompanied by intimidation, harassment / violence.

Efforts must be pursued to mobilize and organize women at the grassroots, especially in low resource communities and slum areas, where women are less likely to be organized/ engaged. To mobilize a critical mass of 'abled' women and women's groups that can participate in the design and management of project activities, will require partnerships with local civil society groups, who have experience of working with poor women in urban communities, to address their needs. An enabling environment for NGO /CBO engagement in local government programmes, especially for infrastructure development would have to be facilitated at the local level.

Gender participation means involving many women and not just the elite leadership. As women do not form a homogenous community, space must be created for all groups to contribute meaningfully to the dialogue, which should take place in a transparent manner. Women's ideas at these forums must be respected and they must be encouraged to offer their best for the common good.

Promoting participation of women under JNNURM will entail:

- Recognizing the gender inequity of planning frameworks as provided under JNNURM for CDP and DPR development and need for their gender realignment (i.e. review of the guidelines for preparation of CDPs and DPRs);
- Unpacking barriers to urban women's participation, especially the poor, in consultation processes and developing strategies to overcome these / creating entry points for women's involvement (gender friendly timings and locations of meetings, providing transport facilities to meeting venues, special opportunities for women to contribute, setting up separate women's groups to participate in the discussions, etc.);
- Making mandatory the inclusion of a critical mass of women, from all groups, in all policy discussions with governments and local institutions;
- Identifying, documenting and sharing good gender practices being followed in projects, as well as programme experiences and lessons in promoting gender equality;
- Involving women's organizations, gender equality advocates, women elected representatives to represent for poor women and bringing their voices into urban planning forums;
- Increasing women's capacity to influence planning decisions and policies based on their abilities to identify and prioritize their own needs and suggest suitable interventions and to negotiate with local authorities for their rights; and
- Creating capacity for formal gender participation in urban local bodies, including for making gender appraisals of projects.

F. PREPARING GENDER SENSITIVE DPRs: CAPACITY BUILDING OF WOMEN AND LOCAL AGENCIES FOR PARTICIPATION

As many cities are in the process of developing DPRs, women's capacity to contribute to the DPR development process must be in tandem with gender-adjustment of DPR guidelines and tool kits. Increasing women's influence in DPR/urban planning however will require women who are capable, aware of their rights and with the required skills to negotiate with government officials.

Women will need training on making gender audits and analysis and how to use these observations to influence programmatic frameworks. As a start, current CDPs could be gender appraised with a view to identifying gaps and to make suggestions for gender based interventions. This will ensure that the emerging DPRs are 'gender proofed'. With special efforts and over time, capacity of all partner institutions /organizations can be increased to address gender equality issues in urban policy, infrastructure development and reform.

Capacity building must also embrace other city development actors: local government agencies, elected representatives, civil society organizations, etc. The capacities of programme implementers on gender friendly designs, in particular those that respond to poor women's needs, priorities and interests, will need enhancement. Efforts will also be needed to increase capacity of institutions such as the judiciary and police to implement policies and programs that address women's concerns in urban areas, such as domestic violence, informal livelihoods, housing etc. This can be achieved by including appropriate components in the existing training arrangements of these agencies. The capacity of government agencies will also need to be increased, for gender based monitoring and evaluations of project outcomes, through the development of an Management Information System (MIS) or indicators that provide disaggregated data /profiles for measuring gender performance.

The participation of women in local political offices for increased attention to women's needs in political discourse will also require a programme for training and capacity creation of political leaders.

G. KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT AND ADVOCACY

JNNURM has been successfully using knowledge management as a tool for strengthening city capacities. The Peer Experience and Reflective Learning (PEARL) and other similar networks are designed to promote exchange of experiences and ideas across local bodies. Inspiring and strengthening women to actively engage in urban planning will also require the creation of similar knowledge communities that can open communication channels and pathways. An Urban Gender Knowledge Management Network (U-GEN) will help to both stimulate and sustain the contribution of people/women in planned urban development.

Informed women can also remarkably improve urban governance by helping take decisions

and bringing about greater transparency to the decision making processes, making these more measurable, accountable and effective. At the community level, informal networks are an important means for sharing information and generating dialogue on alternative solutions and perspectives. Linkages between such informal and formal structures (such as Women Mayors Association) can then help influence policy.

Information needs for women and men too may vary. According to Michaud (2000:6) because women and men participate in different social, economic and cultural networks, they get access to different information. Women are more likely to hear about child-care and health care information than men. Men are more likely to hear about work-related information and these differences have implications for the type of opportunities or resources that each group can demand and avail of. It is important to ensure that both groups are able to access information from each other's domain.

To harness information and manage knowledge, there will be a need to first build access to it. Documentation of good practices, dissemination and sharing, facilitating networking and platform building will enable women to know and learn from other experiences. Such processes are essential to both initiate and maintain the momentum for change, within all local institutions. Special institutional structures and linkages will have to be ensured so that specific interests of women are advocated, debated and included. Existing resource centres for information management under JNNURM at institutes such as the All India Institute of Local Self Government (AIILSG) could expand their functions to include gender studies. A set of case studies has been provided in the next section, as a starter to the process of knowledge management.

H. STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS FOR GENDER SENSITIVE URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Like all other development agendas, advocacy to women's issues will require strategic partnerships. Partnerships will be required between the government and local agencies, organizations and academics who work on gender issues, donor agencies, civil society organizations, private sector, etc.

At a city level, loose coalitions of all actors and stakeholders will require facilitation. Urban local bodies may help start such alliances, if none exist in the city, or identify and engage with the existing ones. Partnerships with women, CSOs/networks (associations of women mayors, women entrepreneurs, women slum dwellers, etc.) and the government will guarantee space to women's issues in local government discourse. In return, such involvement, depending on its nature, can increase the degree of openness, transparency and democratic character of local planning.

Partnerships with donor agencies that have poverty reduction, women's empowerment, improved governance as their objectives, will help access resources for deepening such

engagement /partnerships. As with donor agencies, private sector organizations, especially those with 'responsible corporate social responsibility' (CSR) practices can help evolve creative ways of working with women constituencies. Such relationships can complement government finances and add value to services, by bringing in technology or technical skills or business knowledge, etc.

I. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN URBAN LOCAL BODIES

For such partnerships and engagements to happen, local government institutions will need to set up cells and structures to facilitate, manage and monitor the gender agenda. The Ministry of Finance has recommended the setting up of Gender Cells in all ministries. Similar structures will need to be cloned at the state level and in cities where reforms are being initiated, as part of their Project Implementation Units (PIU).

Role and responsibilities of these structures would be to support coalition building; screen all urban development programmes and budgets using gender lenses through state /city level workshops; monitor outcomes; build capacity of both programme managers and partners; share best practice through symposia, campaigns, web based networks, documentation etc. on issues of equity, participation, and partnerships; develop norms, protocols and baseline data for planning, monitoring and evaluation; and identify policy gaps.

Gender Cells must be managed by a senior officer in the local body/Ministry, to demonstrate commitment to the cause. Such institutional arrangements to be effective will require a strengthening of capacities of these officials to reflect upon the needs, priorities and interests of women as different to men.

J. TARGETED WOMEN-SPECIFIC POLICIES AND PROGRAMS AND POSITIVE LEGISLATION: CREATING A GENDER PARTICIPATION FUND

Addressing gender issues must follow a twin track approach; gender mainstreaming and targeted and specific policies, programmes and positive legislation. Sufficient budgets must be allocated to projects directly aimed at benefiting the women such as economic zones/markets, transport, parks, walkways, etc. just for women.

Just as the Community Participation Fund JNNURM may consider the establishment of a Gender Participation Fund that will be available for direct institutional support to local government for promoting gender equality, to be made available to CBOs, CSOs, advocacy organizations for community based initiatives. The creation of a Gender Participation Fund will also enable city governments to access resources for direct interventions designed to benefit women. These initiatives must be both recorded and measured.

5. Urban Governance Reforms – Gender Bending

A. GENDER AND GOOD URBAN GOVERNANCE NORMS: REVIEW OF JNNURM GUIDELINES AND PROCESSES

Governance is generally preoccupied with financial accountability and administrative efficiency issues. UNDP has identified a set of interdependent norms for Good Urban Governance (GUG); sustainability, decentralisation, equity, efficiency, transparency and accountability, civic engagement and citizenship, and security. According to UNCHS, whilst each of these is applicable to both men and women, each has specific gender aspects that must be addressed. The gender aspects of the tenets of GUG are discussed below. The attempt here is to fit them within the context of JNNURM.

Sustainability

Municipal governments aim to promote sustainable urban development and provide sustainable urban services in cities, including to women who constitute nearly half the population of the city. Women are critical to urban life and for promoting sustainable environmental planning and management, economic growth and development (through the large informal sector), urban infrastructure sustenance and family development. Sustainable cities for women will mean spaces where they have access to basic municipal services that will allow them to pursue their livelihood strategies and manage their households without getting into conflict with the local government.

Decentralization

Decentralization is also about greater and real involvement of women in city planning processes and management. While the 74th CAA means that one third of the seats are reserved for women in local government institutions, their genuine participation can be ensured by putting them in charge of key planning committees that will enable them to gain knowledge and access resources for gender based development. Also, while women may be represented in local governments, they may not necessarily represent the poor. It is important to bring on to municipal committees, women members of the civil society that come from slum areas or their representatives, through an amendment in the Constitution or as special guests, to improve level of stakeholder participation/ debate. Cases of partnership cited in the next

section show how women's involvement helps to improve designs, utilization, O&M etc. and lowers construction and maintenance costs for the government. Such decentralization will require capacity building for women and CBOs as well as the local authorities.

Equity

Equity is both about representation and access to resources. According to UNIFEM (2002) 'there are countless ways in which income or social status affect people's ability to participate in city life and access its resources. Even when resources are available, public expenditure may be under-allocated in gender terms'. By excluding health, education, social services and employment from JNNURM, women will be adversely affected, as many of these services are required by them. On the other hand much of the development resources will target men unless specific gender provisions are made.

Efficiency

City efficiency relates to how local governments manage their finances and administration of civic services; i.e. ensuring effective delivery, targeting and financial performance. Efficient services and systems are equally important for women as these are for men. Efficient services can help support women in their livelihood strategies (water and toilets in the house), mobility (better public transport), rights achievements (access to education and health care) and participation (all these).

Transparency and Accountability

A World Bank study demonstrates that greater participation of women in public life reduces public sector corruption (World Bank, 2000). Building toilets in Pune (see case study) is a case in point, where seeking bribes was reduced as women became in charge of O&M for toilets. Increasing women's engagement in public planning and debate makes good governance sense, as it will bring about greater probity and openness of public agencies.

Civic engagement and Citizenship

Women's grassroots organizations play a crucial role in advocating for better services for women as is evident in a number of case studies. Local authorities must encourage full engagement of women citizens, especially from the poor and excluded groups, for finding better ways of reaching services to poor.

Security

Urban areas are quite insecure, even hostile, as planners have paid little attention to women's security needs. Unsafe cities restrict women's mobility, putting a ceiling on their contribution to urban economic development. Violence against women, both in homes and

public spaces, also prevents women from full and equal participation in social and public life. City planning must therefore redefine the rules of the game to ensure cities become safer for women.

B. ENGENDERING URBAN REFORMS

JNNURM is about promoting urban reforms to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of local governments. All cities are required to undertake two sets of reforms – mandatory and optional. The mandatory reforms relate to GUG and are aimed at improving city efficiency, effectiveness and accountability. Optional reforms are city specific and for the larger good of the citizens in the city, however, most are likely to be implemented over the JNNURM period. These core reforms according to JNNURM guidelines are aimed at “process re-engineering through deployment of technology to enable more efficient, reliable, timely services in a transparent manner” and a restructuring of urban development frameworks at the State level. Even as development resources are being provided only to selected cities/urban areas, the reforms are wide spread and most cities and states are being encouraged to make reformative changes. An attempt is made here to review the gender issues that arise in some of the mandatory and optional reforms.

Urban Reforms

Property tax reform	Gender Concerns
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How many women own property in the city versus men, how many poor women have been granted pattas? 2. What is the average property size owned by men compared to the average size of property owned by women? 3. What is the average income of women versus that of men and can women afford to pay taxes at rates levied by the Corporations at their current income levels? 4. What is the proportion of property tax being generated from women property owners as compared to that generated from men? 5. What is the proportion of investment in facilities designed for women? 6. What are the benefits /losses/gains to men versus women under the new property tax structure? 7. Is the IT enabled property tax system easily accessible to women? 8. Is there any special provision for women headed households? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Fewer women own properties, hence property tax regimes tend to be male oriented. ■ Women, in particular, from women headed households/poor families may find it difficult to pay property taxes based on new tax structures unless there are gender friendly provisions such as subsidies, amortised payment systems, online payments, decentralized collection centres, simple forms etc.

E-governance	Gender Concerns
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How many women use the IT enabled services for registration of property and vehicles, citizen redressals etc. 2. Are women with lower levels of literacy, education and computer; mobility etc., able to use these facilities? 3. Have facilities been created close to residential areas/spread across for easy access by women? 4. Are there linked transport facilities to the e-governance centres/corporations? 5. Has the local body set up facilitation centres that can help women/differently-abled people to use these facilities? 	<p>Women have lower levels of literacy, including knowledge of computers and access to computers as well as limited mobility. Hence these facilities generally cater to men.</p>

C. GENDER ANALYSIS FOR URBAN POLICY, REFORMS AND PROJECTS

MoUD and MoHUPA must undertake a gender appraisal of all their policies and projects. At present, the urban sector still does not have a National Urban Policy or a Policy on Slums/Poor. MoUD has embarked on the process but is awaiting reports of various committees set up by the Planning Commission to inform its National Urban Policy. This is therefore an opportune time for the Ministry to develop its gender policies for an integrated National Urban Policy. MoHUPA may simultaneously start a gender appraisal of its housing and slum policies and review projects other than JNNURM, the citizen's charter, the master plan processes, etc. that fall in its domain and improve their gender friendliness.

A review is also required of all urban policies (written and unwritten such as on resettlement of urban poor versus on-site up gradation) and bye-laws from a gender perspective, to make these gender equitable and pro poor. A policy review forum, especially in case of slum development must be established to ensure women's interests are identified and included in strategic plans. Gender mainstreaming strategies need to be developed for sectors such as water and sanitation.

Steps to Gender Analysis in Policy Making²²

Gender analysis involves an examination of gender issues across sectors, using sex-disaggregated data, looking at indicators separately for men and women (for example, health status, educational attainment, formal economic activity), their differential needs and priorities (for example, related to water and sanitation), and the social, economic, legal

22 Hurt K, & Budlender, D. *Gender Analysis in Policy Planning and Resource Management at the Municipal Level*. 2000.

and political factors that contribute to gender differentials and gender specific issues.

The steps required for gender analysis are:

- An analysis of differential impacts of policies on men and women;
- Formulate and prioritize gender aware and gender targeted policies;
- Examination of the extent to which the allocation of resources reflect commitment to policy goals;
- Track expenditure to ensure that the money is allocated to the programmes as outlined in the plan proposals and projects;
- Analysis of how services are being used by men and women, how they are benefiting from them and at what cost; and
- Utilize monitoring and evaluation information to modify or lobby for revisions to existing policies.

6. Gender Mainstreaming and Urban Governance: Realigning the JNNURM Tool Kits

Most participating cities have been meticulously following the set of covenants and principles set out for the development of a city vision and project proposals under JNNURM. Most CDPs have been approved after a review of both processes and proposals by the MoUD. The above review however, indicates that while the appraisal took into consideration the process of city engagement, little effort was made to interrogate the gender process and participation in the making of the CDPs.

To take gender mainstreaming to an effective scale of operation, reviewing frameworks for planning under JNNURM and making these gender fair may be a good starting point. This will help as the process of city planning as defined under JNNURM is getting rolled out to all urban areas regardless, with or without the JNNURM pot. Mandating minimum number of women participants, including from among the poor communities, will help local governments to make gender friendly CDPs, taking them to an effective scale of operation.

For JNNURM CDPs (already approved) gender bending is possible within the DPR process. Although DPRs are mostly about physical layouts, structured drawings and costing, a mandatory consultation with women (civil society groups, CBOs, informal women leaders from low income communities) will help to gauge the extent of gender issues integrated within the plans. These must be included in the plans for water supply and sanitation systems, development of roads and transport arrangements, proposals for local economic development and poverty alleviation, etc. All proposals must be accompanied by a list of women participants, by class and their specific contributions to the process of DPR development and the proposals should pass gender safety audits vis-à-vis design of urban spaces.

JNNURM must initiate a gender audit – of the CDPs approved so far and the DPRs in process. It will need to develop a set of guidelines for such gender auditing to happen. It must instruct all its cities to generate gender data which can then be used to plan programmes of local authorities, target particular needs of both men and women and assess the impact and outcomes on women.

A. GENDER DATA FOR URBAN PROGRAMMING

Requirement of data on gender along with clarity on concepts, strategies and processes for gender empowerment is essential to plan and implement gender based urban development.

While efforts have started in the development of gender disaggregated information, not enough data is available to be able to answer all questions. Some suggestions for data gathering and analysis are listed here:

- Use existing indicators and database such as census, NFHS, crime in India reports etc. for data on nutritional levels of men and women, access to resource (in terms of land, employment wage), health care (mortality and morbidity rates), human rights and discrimination.
- Break down data by sex and social stratification (women in urban slums, SC/ST/OBC women and from other socially marginalized groups like migrant women, sex workers, etc)
- Construct an urban Gender-related Development Index (GDI) at state and city levels, using a composite index that may include other crucial economic indicators such as: land ownership, wage earnings, employment, control over resources of land and income, access to credit; right over nutritious food, access to health care and human rights, extent of domestic violence etc.
- Map cities using a gender sensitive index.
- Make an assessment of current and future demand for resources by women. For example computing the increase in number of potential working women in the city, re-evaluating infrastructure at trunk and last mile levels, to determine the amount of savings in time, cost and effort that can be added to women's productivity.

Gender integration must be carried out at the project planning phase, so that monitoring indicators can be developed accordingly.

Under JNNURM, the process of gender planning and budgeting can start in all urban areas. For gender budgeting to happen at the municipal level, tools will need to be developed linked with capacity building both for municipal officials and communities. Existing gender budgeting tools such as those with UNDP and USAID could be adapted, tested and used within JNNURM. They would need to be widely disseminated for gender sensitive urban development planning to be scaled up.

Capacity building will be required at all levels for such data generation/policy analysis. A core team of gender trainers will be needed for the task. Women will need to be trained in gender budgeting skills at the city level, local authorities in mainstreaming gender priorities into policies, infrastructure development plans (DPRs), and reforms (mandatory and optional), and councillors and women leaders will need to vocally advocate for the women they represent. Sharing of information, experiences and collective learning among the various stakeholders and actors, can help create knowledge and build capacity. Educating planners and policy-makers, who may be unaware of the impact of their planning decisions on women's lives, is essential.

Processes must be encouraged at the city level to ensure participation of women in city planning and development, especially from poor and excluded communities. Systems to

facilitate and strengthen associations of women will be required that speak for women in all planning. Local authorities will need guidance and support to set underway processes for working with community based organizations and women's grassroots organizations, and their officials and staff trained on collaboration with CBOs, women's organizations, networks, etc. Raising awareness of all stakeholders will help develop sustainable gender based solutions. A supportive legal framework will be required, under JNNURM, to enable CBOs to be associated easily with programme implementation and for community contracting for service delivery.

In Conclusion

Integrating gender concerns in urban development, more specifically in JNNURM and other development programmes, will be successful only where state administrators, municipal staff and elected representatives are seriously convinced of the need for gender mainstreaming and do not treat it as a stand alone effort. It will be successful when gender concerns are integrated into each and every project activity, with clear guidelines and steps to achieve the objective. Experience shows that women not only bear the brunt of poverty but their empowerment is central and critical for its reduction. JNNURM can thus put urban India not just on the fast track to urban reform and development but also assist in poverty reduction, by making its policies and plans gender sensitive and therefore more inclusive.

Case studies – Good Practices

Some good practices in Urban Development that have been gender /people friendly are briefly described here. (For details please see specific project sites/references provided).

CROSSCUTTING AGRA PROJECT: WOMEN IMPROVE LIVELIHOODS AND SANITATION, CENTRE FOR URBAN AND REGIONAL EXCELLENCE (CURE)



The Crosscutting Agra Program (CAP) was implemented with the support of the Agra Nagar Nigam (ANN) and USAID and aimed at improving sanitation in selected low-income communities and enhancing livelihood opportunities for young people and women. CURE, an urban development NGO, facilitated the process of community mobilization, organization and inclusive planning.

CAP is designed around a heritage trail of four lesser-known monuments in Agra, linked to the Taj Mahal and the Agra Fort, across River Yamuna and five slum communities in the trail area. CAP is an inclusive program that engages with urban poor communities, especially women and mobilizes, organizes and empowers them to actively participate in the development of new, appropriate and sustainable livelihood pathways and in community sanitation activities. It also focuses on developing local capacities for addressing the needs of the poor. .

As women are most affected by poor quality sanitation, CAP planned its community sanitation initiatives in partnership with them. Door-to-door waste collection systems linked to regular waste disposal from the settlement were set up, in cooperation with the community women and traditional waste collectors. Women participated in the design and construction of household and community toilets – providing labour and overseeing construction. Cost of toilets and payment plans were discussed and agreed upon, with women agreeing to contribute 50 percent of the cost of toilet construction. Options for septic tanks, pans, etc. were discussed and every toilet was designed to fit into the space available.

A women's Toilet Savings Group (TSG) helped women to build-up the lump sum investment required for the personal toilets. Credit was also provided through a Community Credit Facility (CCF). Waste water drainage systems have been planned and designed with links to the city sewerage system. In one of the settlements, a simple waste water disposal system was planned and constructed by the community, with CAP support. Health awareness and sanitation campaigns were organized to improve sanitation practices.

In an attempt to promote sustainable livelihoods for women, CAP undertook an interactive and participatory value chain analysis to understand existing livelihood arrangements and cull out options linked to the city's core economy-tourism. They mobilized women into micro enterprise groups and set up an alliance with the private sector for the development of tourism-based products. CAP supported women in developing product samples and getting orders, procuring raw materials, product costing, credit, setting up of bank accounts, delivery, fabrication space and training in finance management and client engagement. Soochna Sansadhan Kendras, designed as multi-purpose centers provide women space for livelihood activities and informed them about various government schemes and programmes.



Significant achievements under CAP include empowerment of women from low resource communities with capacities to address their livelihood needs on a sustainable basis. Women's incomes have risen from Rs 0-15 to between Rs.75-150 per day, with over 100 days of work in a year. It has also helped mainstream project settlements to city systems and the city economy and has increased access of the poor to municipal services.

Women Plan a Gender Friendly Toilet from Inside-Out under CAP

Planning from 'inside-out' takes women out of conventional mind sets to thinking out of the box. Discussions on toilets in the Yamuna Bridge community best demonstrate the inside-out strategy. Once the women voiced a demand for a community toilet, CAP began to discuss with them the appropriate location for a toilet. Women chose a site closer to their homes, as opposed to that suggested by ANN.

Design discussions with women in the beginning resulted in a reiteration of the conventional requirements, based on numbers of units by gender. In order to get women to think out of the box, CURE decided to generate a wish list of small requirements inside toilets and bathing areas. Warming up to the design discussion, women asked for ledges for soaps, hooks for clothes, clothes guards around water taps, dustbins and advanced into more fundamental needs for open and visible toilets for children, washing areas organized for social capital building, security and safety for young girls and children. Their ideas were integrated into a formal, measured toilet design and submitted to ANN for contract tendering.

ANN decided to fund the toilet construction. Women agreed to oversee the process of construction and set up a community management system with user costs, collection plans, O&M arrangements, etc. ANN accepted inclusion in the tender, clauses for community youth employment in the construction activity. ANN officials measured the site and examined land ownership issues. Since the identified site was State-owned, women were mobilized to prepare and submit a joint application for release of land for the toilet block. At the time of closure, district authorities were yet to give their approval.

WOMEN LEAD SANITATION EFFORTS IN SANGLI, MAHARASHTRA

The Community-Led Sanitation Program in Sangli, Maharashtra is assisting 3,500 households across 12 slums, to access adequate sanitation facilities. The initiative is a partnership between the local government (Sangli Miraj Kupwad Municipal Corporation - SMKMC); international agencies (USAID, Indo-US FIRE-D, and Cities Alliance), an NGO (Shelter Associates - SA) and the CBO (Baandhani).

Nearly all slums in Sangli were found to lack sanitation facilities. Discussions with women indicated an urgent need for safe and dignified spaces for defecation. The project has helped build community toilet blocks (some linked to innovative waste based energy system - biogas plant) in a phased manner, shared toilets and in-the-house toilets.

Women were closely engaged in designing the toilets and with support of SA decided on user fees and management systems. They set up a sanitation committee for O&M. User charge collections were to go towards the caretaker's salary and to cross subsidize the poorest families who could not afford to pay the toilet fee, so as to ensure that they use the facility as well. Community resources came in the form of building material, unskilled labour and overseeing the construction.. Access to toilets has improved the environment, instilled greater confidence among women to manage facilities and there is higher priority to housing upgrading as more women participate in family decisions.

HOUSING FOR SLUM DWELLERS IN MUMBAI: NSDF PARTNERS WITH RAILWAYS IN MUMBAI ²³ | ²⁴

Resettlement of slum dwellers living on railway tracks in Mumbai was initiated through a partnership between the Urban Transport Project (MUTP), National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF), Mahila Milan – women's organization and Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers (SPARC). Nearly 11,000 families have been provided free and permanent housing in small multi-storey apartments with about 6,000 families in 'transit accommodation'.

SPARC facilitated the dialogue with communities, especially women and the poorest groups, to develop and execute the resettlement plans. Besides inclusion of women in designing houses, the effort was to ensure minimum displacement with sustained income-earning capacity and production levels. SPARC also enabled families to save up to manage the additional demands (property taxes, O&M costs) that permanent housing makes. Detailed household surveys were undertaken by residents to ensure appropriate targeting and to

23 Patel, Sheela (2004), "Tools and methods for empowerment developed by slum dwellers' federations in India", Participatory Learning and Action 50, IIED, London.

24 <http://www.sparcindia.org/docs/sbupgrading.pdf>

prevent leakages. Women were able to choose the kind of housing they moved into and participated actively in developing details of the resettlement programme and managing the move. While allotting houses, existing community networks were retained wherever possible; and where this was not feasible, SPARC helped in integrating the resettled population with the host community, to minimize adverse impacts on both communities.

SPARC negotiated a government resolution based on socio-economic criteria rather than land-based compensations and an amendment in the State Slum Areas (Improvement, Clearance and Redevelopment) Act in 2001 to protect all pavement and slum dwellers, who could establish that their names were on the electoral rolls, as on 1 January 1995 from demolition without rehabilitation. They were also able to set up a people friendly grievance redressal mechanism.

WOMEN TAKE CHARGE OF TOILETS: PUNE²⁵

In Pune, a partnership between the municipal government, NGOs and CBOs helped to construct over 400 community toilet blocks, which has resulted in improved sanitation facilities for more than five lakh poor people. The project demonstrates the potential for a municipal government -low resource community partnership..

Low access to toilet facilities in slums of Pune was primarily due to the low utilization of the allocated budget with the Corporation. Municipal toilets were typically planned and built (with poor quality material) without consultation with residents regarding the location, design and construction. Service providers had no accountability on toilet O&M, and communities' lacked ownership. The Municipal Commissioner, in a bid to increase the scale /appropriateness of public toilet construction, invited NGOs to participate in toilet construction in slums, and capital costs were to be borne by the government.

SPARC, NSDF and Mahila Milan and organizations of slum and pavement women set up as savings and credit groups by SPARC formed an Alliance and bid for the construction of the toilets. The Alliance designed and prepared a costing for the toilets and developed community capacity for management and maintenance. Over time, women CBOs directly bid for these contracts and managed the entire construction process for more than 75 percent of the toilets with the support of SPARC engineers and architects.

The women (usually illiterate) developed confidence, learnt to negotiate with the local bureaucracy, monitored costs, challenged social gender prejudices (local shopkeepers not taking them too seriously) and overcame the reluctance on the part of the government staff to deal with women (who found it hard to ask them for bribes).

Several innovations were included in the design of the toilet blocks. These were developed as bright, well ventilated areas with better quality construction that made cleaning and maintenance easier. Large storage tanks were provided, so as to ensure sufficient water all the time, separate entrances and facilities were provided for men and women, children's toilets with smaller squat plates and openings and handles were constructed, barrier free access for the elderly/ disabled were constructed. The construction of a room for the caretaker and family on the top floor, reduced the cost of O&M for the community and also ensured regular cleaning. A few toilet blocks added a community hall in the same space to be let out for a small fee to cross subsidize maintenance expenses. Despite these innovations, overall cost of construction was five percent less when compared to government-built toilets. Toilet utilization went up and the families paid a monthly user fee.

SANJHA PRAYAS: PARTNERSHIP FOR INCLUSIVE PLANNING IN DELHI



Sanjha Prayas is a programme for participatory urban governance. Launched by the Chief Minister of Delhi, the programme aims to extend the Bhagidari initiative, which has been successful with middle and with upper income groups, to the slums. The programme is implemented by CURE in partnership with slum dwellers, especially women, reaching

out to nearly 150,000 people in 30 slums and resettlement areas, to address their needs for basic municipal and social services, housing and livelihoods.

CURE facilitates engagement with women, enabling them to identify and prioritize their needs. Focus group discussions with them have helped unpack the problems and identify community based solutions. Community voices and demands are communicated to the concerned local agencies that move in with the construction crew to repair and augment infrastructure and address citizen's complaints.

As part of the programme, the project went into a mission mode to improve water infrastructure





in the slum sites. The Delhi Jal (Water) Board has provided new and additional taps, linked to municipal piped supplies/ hand pumps for ground water supplies. Water taps have been well distributed inside settlements for closer outreach, platforms have been repaired and connected to waste water drains. Women's water committees (Pani Samithis) in each area have overseen construction and provided stand post custody to prevent wastage/breakage. Women are greatly relieved of the burden of water collection from improved supplies closer to homes.

Interactions with power supply companies have been aimed at addressing billing and metering problems; with public distribution system (PDS) agencies to deal with lack of ration cards/poor supply systems; with the Municipal Corporation to improve community sanitation; and with the Health and Education departments to provide access to better services. Banks have been invited to make available low cost housing credit schemes for the poor.

COMMUNITY MANAGED WATER KIOSK IN DELHI

CURE, in partnership with The Energy Research Institute (TERI) and a private partner, helped set up a women managed, commercially viable water kiosk to improve access to good quality drinking water. The project was undertaken in Kalandar colony, a slum settlement with over 10,000 people. CURE designed and executed a community mobilization process that engaged women in the planning, management and operation of the water kiosk as a community enterprise.

Community mobilization began with the creation of awareness about the poor quality of water in the area, determined through laboratory tests and overt and hidden health costs from drinking poor quality water. This helped create a willingness among women to participate in a solution building exercises. Women articulated a need for a system where safe drinking water could flow through taps close to the settlement. CURE shared the concept of a kiosk. Women community leaders /volunteers were identified and sub settlement level discussions were held with them to develop detailed action plans for the kiosk including its location, pricing, timings, payment system, management system, etc. Over time sub settlement groups were federated into a single issue based committee with representation from each area called the Jaldhara Mahila Samiti (JDMS). The JDMS has 15 members. The JDMS was trained and supported to develop group guidelines and management systems. JDMS was also assisted in the setting up of a bank account to deposit monthly collections and develop a transparent financial system. The distribution system evolved over several meetings and included a membership plan, with each member/household receiving a user identity card, a membership number and a set of coupons for a fixed daily quota of water per family. TERI provided food grade plastic water jars (20 litre size) to all member households, as a one time offer to ensure that a minimum number of people come forward to take part in the initiative (as an incentive to increase membership) and ensure commercial viability. The Committee identified a local operator and helper and set the terms of payment, this was followed by a training on kiosk operations.



The cost of water was based on the principle of cost recovery and affordability. It was estimated that a family payment of Rs. 21 per month would enable them to collect 20 litres of water per day. This amount was rounded to Rs. 25 per month, per family. This was considered affordable, including for the poorest families. The additional Rs. 4 was to be used for contingencies. The kiosk has been able to resolve a key need for good quality water articulated by the women but the benefits of which will be enjoyed by the entire family because there is bound to be a decline in the incidence of water based ailments.

UPGRADING SLUMS AND HOUSING WITH THE COMMUNITY, CHANDIGARH

The Chandigarh Housing Board planned and executed a one-time housing solution for squatters and slum dwellers. The Chandigarh Small Flats Scheme-2006 has provided housing with 20 year ownership rights, on license fee basis, to slum residents enlisted as voters and with bio-metric IDs. A socio-economic survey has helped make the scheme affordable and poor-friendly.

All the dwelling units have individual water, electricity and sewer connections and access to sunlight. The design of the settlement / dwelling prevents creation of incidental spaces for future violations and/or unauthorized occupation and recognizes community oriented lifestyles for street layouts and social spaces. People have a choice to take a single multi-purpose room or a large room divided into two. The houses are designed to be earth quake resistant.

The license fee was determined in consultation with the people and is based on affordability levels. It was estimated that nearly 85 percent of the slum population earned between Rs.1,000-3,000 per month and spent between Rs.700-3,000 per month. They are able to generate a monthly disposable surplus of Rs.1,000, that can be contributed towards housing payments. To pre-empt resale of these subsidized plots, full ownership rights are to be transferred only after 20 years and to be in the joint names of husband and wife. Ownership rights will be conferred only to lawful occupants with a regular payment record and eviction will be only in case of false information or non payment of license fee.

The detailed bio-metric survey not just helped to identify the exact number of families but has digital photographs and electronic thumb and finger prints of the head of the family. Processing time for applications has shortened from six months to two hours through better workflow based on automation, digitized databases of voter lists and bio-metric survey results managed through an NGO. SMART cards have been provided to all beneficiaries to help check allottee identity when needed. Application forms are simplified down to one page, require no enclosure/ attachment or documentation proof or affidavits. Self-attestation is accepted. A single page allotment letter, possession slip and license deed is issued and this has eliminated all middlemen. Land freed from slums has been put to optimal use by the local administration.

COMMUNITY LED TOTAL SANITATION IN KALYANI MUNICIPALITY

The Kolkata Urban Services for the Poor (KUSP) project experimented with an innovative approach to reduce open defecation in Kalyani Municipality in West Bengal. As part of its toilet construction programme KSUP sought to empower communities and build their capacity using a Community Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) approach. In a departure from the traditional 'top-down' approach, the current interventions were designed to be more community driven enabling the community, in particular women, to participate in the decision making and gain access and control over city resources.

A series of training/awareness building activities were initiated for participating NGOs, field facilitators, women community leaders, ward councillors and municipality officials including engineers and doctors. Within five months, communities in nine slums had successfully stopped open defecation and changed sanitation practices. Most families constructed personal toilets, without external subsidy and with their own resources even opted for costlier options for pans and accessories and began to use them. Huge amounts of resources were mobilized by local communities to improve hand pump platforms, clean clogged drains, sweep main roads, etc. The Municipality rewarded successful communities with solar lamps.

The commitment of the Municipality, the leadership and the policy decisions on 'no subsidy' helped in the institutionalization of this approach. Flexibility and freedom to choose became a powerful starter. Low cost options (toilets @ Rs150-200) helped trigger family investment in sanitation.

PARIVARTAN: SERVICES IN THE SLUMS OF AHMEDABAD²⁶

In 1996, Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) collaborated with an industrial house, the local community and civil society groups to launch Parivartan, a programme aimed at upgrading slums. Parivartan offered every family a bundle of eight municipal services that linked them to city systems. Services included household water connections, private toilets with underground sewerage, covered storm water drains, internal roads with good paving; street lighting, solid waste management, electrification and landscaping. Electrification with full cost recovery was introduced later, in partnership with the Ahmedabad Electricity Company. While AMC financed the bulk of the cost, community members, the industrial house and the civil society groups covered the remaining expenditure. Family contributions were nearly 14 percent of the total cost of services.

SAATH, a local NGO, helped mobilize communities, especially women, to identify their needs and enabled them to participate in the design and implementation process.

SEWA²⁷ helped women access credit to pay for their share of the cost. SAATH helped organize residents into a registered CBO that took on the responsibility of maintenance of the on-site infrastructure. The success of the pilot encouraged the city to scale up the initiative, in 41 areas covering over 11,500 households.

Parivartan's success can be attributed largely to its partnership with neighbourhood groups of women, who as part of the CBO mobilized communities and collected payments. De-facto grant of tenure by AMC also created the required confidence in the families to motivate them to invest in their homes.

27 <http://www.sewabank.org/activities/parivartan.htm#Community%20Development>

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AILSG	–	All India Institute for Local Self Government
AMC	–	Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation
ANN	–	Agra Nagar Nigam
BSUP	–	Basic Services to the Urban Poor
CAA	–	Constitution Amendment Act
CAP	–	Crosscutting Agra Program
CBO	–	Community Based Organizations
CDP	–	City Development Plan
CPL	–	Community Participation Law
CSO	–	Civil Society Organization
CURE	–	Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence
DPR	–	Detailed Project Report
GUG	–	Good Urban Governance
HDR	–	Human Development Report
JDMS	–	Jaldhara Mahila Samiti
JNNURM	–	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Rural Mission
MDG	–	Millenium Development Goals
MIS	–	Management Information System
MoUD	–	Ministry of Urban Development
MoHUPA	–	Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
NFHS	–	National Family Health Survey
NGO	–	Non Government Organization
NSDF	–	National Slum Dwellers Federation
NSSO	–	National Sample Survey Organization
O&M	–	Operations and Maintenance
PEARL	–	Peer Exchange and Learning Network
PPP	–	Public Private Partnership
RTI	–	Right to Information
SA	–	Shelter Associates
SC	–	Scheduled Castes
ST	–	Scheduled Tribes
OBC	–	Other Backward Classes
SPARC	–	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres
TERI	–	The Energy Research Institute
U-GEN	–	Urban Gender Knowledge Management Network
UNCHS	–	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNDP	–	UN Development Programme
UNIFEM	–	UN Development Fund for Women
USAID	–	US Agency for International Development

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