

of the Burgess's 'concentric zone' (Burgess 1928, Burgess 1930) or Hoyt's sector model (Harris and Ullman 1945). Neighborhood Units were used to plan the residential areas and concerns about planning and development in the neighborhood, provision of infrastructure, the inclusion of community function, and hierarchical street system with arterial roads at the unit's edge (Perry 1929).

The next section is completely based on my interaction during Ph.D. fieldwork with the people in three neighborhoods of Bhubaneswar called as Acharya Vihar, Gouri Nagar, and Kailash Vihar; and two slums named as Kelasahi Basti and Mahisakhala (see Table 31.1). All these locations were chosen based on planned interventions made in neighborhoods such as Acharya Vihar, Kailash Vihar, and unplanned neighborhoods that have grown organically such as Gouri Nagar and Kelasahi and Mahisakhala

Table 31.1: Profile of Neighborhoods

Name of RWA/ Slum Organizations	Nature of Neighborhood	Year of Origin/ Registration	Major Issues of concern	Interacted with Major agencies	
Resident Welfare Associations	1 Acharya Vihar Parishad	Planned origin, RWA	1970/1974	Drainage, Flooding, conflict of planned and unplanned part	BMC, BDA, Corporator and MLA
	2 Gourinagar Vikash Parishad	Unplanned RWA	1980/1991	Drainage and Sewerage	BMC, Electricity Board, Corporator, MLA
	3 Kailash Vihar Welfare Association	Planned Origin, RWA	1990/2006	All basic amenities	GA, All concerned departments, PWD, MLA and Corporator
Slum Organization	4 Community Management Group, Mahisakhala	Basti (Unplanned)	1985/1991	Sanitation, RAY implementation	Corporator and MLA (major), BDA, BMC and GA (for RAY)
	5 Kelasahi Basti Sangha	Basti (Unplanned)	1980/Unregistered Organization	Drainage, Road, sanitation	Corporator, MLA, BMC

Source: Compiled by Author

slums. Further, a few cases are located in the central part of the city while a case is from a suburb and two are informal settings without having land or house ownership. The intension was to cover spatial, social, and planning dimensions to understand the mechanism of decision making at the neighborhood level for planned developments.

in the decision-making process. I however found neighborhood organizations do not ascertain caste, religion, age, gender as separate categories when providing 'membership' (Acharya Vihar Parishad 2012). Instead, RWAs insists that a member must be a land/house owner in the same neighborhood. In slums, on the other hand, preference is given to residents that have stayed for an extended period of time, rather than to a 'seasonal migrant'. Like RWAs, slums also do not segregate among them based on caste, gender and class.

I had interacted with the young girls who stay in private ladies hostels as well as rented houses of Acharya Vihar and Kailash Vihar. I found that for the young (especially unmarried) women migrants, who want to stay in the neighborhoods in rent would not get a rented house of their choice as often the house rents are too high, secondly, they are rarely allowed to stay as they are single and unmarried (which is also same for the men in many cases). No planning would talk about such issues either in the form of housing policy or any effort to address such issues in different scales. Rented people are not even encouraged to take part in any decision making for the development of the neighborhoods despite being stayed for years. Ms. Reena (pseudo name) who stays in rent along with her mother in Acharya Vihar said since we do not have any ownership over the place we are not comfortable sharing our opinions. For me in this entire process, we lose the diversity of the stakeholders in the making of better and effective planned developments in different scales.

Most office bearers of RWAs claimed that they work for a common goal irrespective of caste, gender, class, and religion. This assertion conveys that residents of the neighborhood are equal and all have the right to take part in the activities of the organization. But in reality, differences are arising often from property ownership, class, and gender than caste. Most of the leaderships in RWAs are calcified among the retirees or the elite people. In the slums on the other hand, as the residents say, "when we slum dwellers are struggling to live every day, how we will differentiate just for caste, gender and class". But one can find the differences in their language, expressions mentioning other dwellers with their caste names, surnames, or locations from where they belong. For example, in the Kelasahi slum, some residents are Bangladeshi refugees. So the residents referred them as refugees. But they being refugees does not affect their participation in the organizational activities.

A cursory glance at the RWA office bearers shows that often men dominate, especially by senior citizens, barring a few exceptions of young residents through youth clubs and women members. RWAs encourage the head of the family as a member who participates in all activities. In practice, women are also actively engaged in the activities of RWA on behalf of their husbands or son. Mr. Deepak Mohanty, a resident from Acharya Vihar stated that "we young people hardly take part in *Parishad* affairs. It is my father who attends all the meetings". However, women are more active in organizational decision making, especially in the case of Slum Organizations. It is found that women members were acutely aware of the significance of activities and practices of RWA in the implementation of ongoing projects in the neighborhood. Kailash Vihar is an exception to this, where women whether they participate directly or not, but most of them are aware about the activities that are happening in the organization either from their husbands or from the active women members. Despite being aware about the functioning and ongoing agendas of the neighborhoods yet not participating in the activities needs critical reflections.

A Single Street Light can Reduce Violence

Neighborhoods have different priorities based on the problems or issues (see table 1 for details). E.g. Kailash Vihar has a problem of basic facilities and services as well as issues of thieves, security problems even after 30 years of its existence. Despite no road and better communication in the neighborhood, Kailash Vihar Welfare Association has prioritized on security issues after concerning with the residents especially women. They have identified specific locations in the neighborhood and then placed street lights. Here is a story of Ms. Reena (pseudo name), a resident of Kailash Vihar. She shares her experience in the evening time when she used to move back home after her office work. She said, "around 7 p.m. when she was walking back home, one of the streets was completely dark and that's the only way to her home. She sensed that she is been followed for a while. So she was prepared to run in the dark street. But she could not succeed as the snatcher was too fast to snatch her gold chain in no time. She was loud to call for help but immediately nobody could come for her rescue. While struggling during the snatching time half of the gold chain was dropped inside her dress, which she found later at home. In a while a man on cycle reached her. By then it was a bit late

to find the snatcher. What's interesting is the 'street light' of the same street under which that incident happened. Many times the neighborhood association (RWA) has installed the (street)light on the same spot. But in next morning the street light used to be found broken. Someone for sure stole the light without being noticed. That street has remained dark despite several attempts to restore the street light." From many other women respondents, I have confirmed that it is not advisable to walk past 7 pm unless you are in a group or a safe vehicle. Though snatching and teasing have reduced over the years because of the 'watchman' and police patrolling, yet the neighborhood is huge and many places inside have scarcely populated. Therefore young girls and women prefer coming back home before its dark.

Therefore, the goal for security through surveillance would help to remove unwanted behaviors. With the increasing instances, the city especially the outskirts are becoming less pleasant to live. Planning safer cities is a matter of growing concern. The theoretical, practical, and political discussions and debates are normal agenda on planning for safety. Women in the neighborhood outlined defensible principles for safety measures by mentioning the use of surveillance cameras, which they believed is simply impossible because of the inefficient neighborhood associations. With the increasing crime rates, obsession with security has been claimed to be the most important dimension of planned efforts in the neighborhood.

Slums are no exceptions in understanding structures of gendered power and ideologies. Being criminalized in the master plans slums are not provided with any infrastructure facilities that include one-room dwellings, outside defecations, no bath spaces, common toilets, infrequent water and electricity, and the filthy dirty streets. Lack of basic infrastructure facilities in the slums as well as the informal setup, I believe are the reasons for the active participation of women in perusing effective planning that allows accessing basic needs, maybe as a temporary solution due to the high uncertainty attached with ownership and citizenship. I, therefore, seek an expansion of the horizons of planning in urban spaces with the collaborations of the women (as marginalized) both in the well off RWA neighborhoods and the women in the slums (that itself is informal, marginalized, and often unrecognized). The slums where I situate my arguments are Kelasahi basti, a slum located between the railway lines and the airport in Bhubaneswar

near Lingaraj Temple Road railway station. Due to its location Kelasahi is full of uncertainties of getting displaced or thrown out of the city. Left behind by the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) urban renewal strategies, Mahisakhala became another slum to venture into the gendered realities.

Kelasahi basti has major problems of water and sanitation without access to toilets, infrequent drinking water provisions. Many dwellers have to depend on nearby municipal standpoints and fetched water or else collected some barrels of water from the rich private house owners where women from the slum were working as maid or cook/a domestic help. Thus far Kelasahi *bastisangha* could not resolve the problem of sanitation and the residents defecate outside without any choice left. But they could solve the drinking water problem with the help of political agencies and Municipal Corporation. So the women members need not go to their respective employers (where they work as domestic help) to fetch water for the home. I argue that for those living in slums, exposing the marginality of their everyday living contexts, allows women to take part in the decision making processes where both public and private spaces do not get separated widely unlike RWAs². Further, when all the dwellers struggle to survive, they see the capabilities at home as an opportunity to get the basics for survival. Women's Self Help Groups boosted women to collaborate with the basti sanghas (slum organizations) to improve their local interests. Besides, women who are both daughter and daughter-in-law of the same slum are more active because of their attachment and common attitude they developed over the years.

Conclusion

Boundaries of women in planning are created by the mechanisms of 'inclusion and exclusion' based on 'planning', a knowledge which is often categorized as professional or technical and women are persistently perceived as a non-techno-savvy. Further, it is normalized that information technology, handling computer-based knowledge is beyond women's knowledge and control. Skilled working-class men are seen as more constructive, and learned. Therefore, both in participation, in decision making, and knowledge co-creation, somewhat uncritical acceptance of women restrain several forms of socio-cultural development and knowledge coproduction. Women's participation in various formal and informal structures of urban governance and decision making needs special attention in research. Although these mechanisms may change, and so the boundaries also change, yet women are the necessarily bounded entities.

In contemporary research, gender has become visible and as a central element in the knowledge co-production and remaking of the landscape around us. While analyzing geographical phenomena and issues, one must emphasize the subjectivity, subjective realities and locate the distinct geographies and use of space. In various ways, I tried to locate women in the making of planned neighborhoods in Bhubaneswar. I conclude, yet the voices of the women members have to come out loudly. The need for incorporating women's perspective in planning is realized. Further, the concern on a complex relationship between individuals, neighborhood organizations, and the State for making the effective and implementable plans in the neighborhood scales needs urgent attention, which in turn makes the city in networks.

ENDNOTES

1. Raja Kumari (akkaSvethaYallapragada Rao) is an Indian-American singer, rapper and song writer, while Agrita Dhawan (akka Sassy Apsy) an Indian rapper who sings for women empowerment, child abuse, sex ratio, patriarchy, freedom, and individuality. Performing in the male dominated rapper competitions they have brought the account of 'gender' into a next level.
2. Outside defecation, public bathrooms, in-house chores often done in immediate open spaces of the houses such as cleaning utensils and open kitchen for cooking activities in both the slums.

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