

The Open City with Narrow Crevices; Marginalisation versus Facilitation in Urban Space, Amritsar City, India

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Abstract

The cities of the developing world in milieu of the liberalization macro economic orthodoxy have emerged as the centripetal forces attracting economic growth and development like never before. On their part, the cities have shown remarkable resilience in continuing to absorb the surge into its urban space despite the major challenges involving provision of infrastructure and housing to the burgeoning populations. In this context it can well be said that cities of the developing world have adopted the role play of an open city by allowing all form of activities and human flows to get embedded into its fabric. However this is also accompanied by creation of urban islands within the city space where marginalisation and facilitation run parallel to each other. Can the city in the developing world context be described as a hegemonic space where selective marginalization and aggressive facilitation on the other hand coalesce to produce an urban order that actually decimates the context of openness? What kind of disparities exist in the urban development and management system in the developing world cities that deliberately produces divides instead of bridges, an issue so pertinent for a successful open city. This is the key question that the research paper seeks to provide an answer to. This has been done by undertaking the case study of Amritsar City, India which is one of the youngest metropolitans of India.

Prologue

The cities of the developing countries exhibit a state of incongruity wherein on one side under the impact of liberalization, these are striving to become the driving forces and engines of economic growth providing opportunities to its inhabitants while on the other side the deterioration becomes more and more pronounced due to the city's inability to sustain the hyper growth manifesting itself into spatial developments and the runoff of growth into the city vicinity. The rate of inter-state mobility and rural to urban migration has increased multifold with more and more people moving to these economic magnets in search of better opportunities. However in their enthusiasm to acquire the global and world class city tags, the city managements have gone overboard to encourage and facilitate players and developments that shall be reflective of the city's new status. However the city underbelly is left to its own fate, rather consciously or subconsciously heading towards increased marginalization of activities and informal actors who have till date provided various services

to the city. In this context it may be said that the city is closing down on a section of population and activities that can no longer compete and survive in its urban space.

The following research is an attempt to make a judgement of the open city context by deriving indicators to evaluate the open city and also applying select indicators to the City of Amritsar in India. The case study of Amritsar underscores the emerging issues and practices while at the same time providing a pragmatic research base to guide the urban managers to ponder upon and reorient their strategies to fabricate inclusive and equitable open cities in the developing world. Prior to application of indicators, a milieu is evolved by undertaking literature search on open city in theoretical terms and also understanding the context of the Indian urban reforms scenario and its impact on the city.

Open cities; conjectural perspectives

The concept of open city is not really a new one. Infact since times immemorial, depending upon their geo-political structures, cities have been cradles of creativity, innovation and diversity stimulated by the centripetal flows of migration. In many instances the migrant population from different social-cultural contexts were encouraged by the sovereign to settle in the city and contribute to the city growth and prosperity. On its part the city exhibited tolerance and receptiveness to the flows. Consequently many old flourishing urban centres through the course of various stages of history have resulted in the embedding of the social cultural diversities and developments into their folds.

The notion of open cities is attributed to have been brought to the fore front in recent times by Jane Jacobs (1961)¹ in her seminal work 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' wherein she reasons that innovation in cities stems from the encounters produced by the density and diversity of the urban environment. Friedman (2002, p.237), in his attempt to underline the vision of an open city states that "an open city is life affirming and reaches out to others who are not necessarily like us, and that acknowledges our common humanity and the pleasures of a life lived among multipli/cities. Friedman uses two significant flashpoints to depict his idea of an open city, a city that would work towards reducing the urban ecological footprint² by striving for an equitable and sustainable resource consumption base and secondly is devising an inclusive local citizenship charter where each inhabitant of the city would have full right in participation in the political life as well as unrestricted access to the public places in the city. On the social side, the city would also acquire a humanitarian approach by reaching out and providing public assistance to those inhabitants who fall below the "quantified levels of enumerated basic human needs"(ibid,p.239).

It seems as per the current understanding and evolution of the concept of open cities, it is strongly linked to the internationalization of the city (Christiaanese2006, Ed.Clark 2008). Infact openness is defined as the "quality and sum of the local conditions that attract and retain international populations over time."(Ed.Clark 2008, p.12). Infact it can also be said that the city in terms of both population flows and investments under the prevailing liberalized economic regimes can be seen as world cities that add to the quality of life and a city's attractiveness to international capital flows.

Sennett (2006) opines that when the city operates as an open system incorporating principles of porosity of territory³, narrative indeterminacy⁴ and incomplete form⁵, it becomes democratic not only in a legal sense of the word but an actual physical experience. From urban design point of view Sennett's arguments do seem to hold ground in underpinning the openness of a city. In conjunction with this perceptive, Christiannse(2006) argues that the open city is not stable but a dynamic state that comprises of a network of public spaces and "forms the underlying structure on which social interaction, activation, combination of functions, density and transformation can develop in an open exchange"(ibid,p.2). Christiannse (2006) blames the present day segregation and isolation of urban districts and spaces due to the development of individual transport that causes mobility into a hierarchical and differential order such as main streets, motorways, pedestrian zones, etc. So the city

changes into an archipelago of urban islands with few connections and lower inter communication possibilities. He further reasons that on the shoulders of the urban planners rests the task of safeguarding the structure of public space and connectivity that bridges openness and closedness and encourages communication between them.

Based upon the above discussed definitions and arguments of researchers on the concept of open city it can be derived that an open city in the contemporary times is a space that attracts centripetal flows on account of its acquired and carefully constructed character that dispels negative fields and generates a positive aura when defined upon the basis of a set criteria⁶.

Open cities in the developing world

While agreeing (based upon literature analysis) that there could be a set of common criteria universally to judge the openness of a city, yet it is invariably important to also analyse and apply the criteria contextualized to the local context. In the light of this statement it can be said that the open cities in the developing world might not fully fit into the scale devised for the developed world cities. Therefore it becomes imperative to evolve a generic understanding for open cities in the developing world. Based upon the literature review and an understanding of the character of the developing world cities it can be said that a city in the developing world could be considered open if it fulfils a majority of the following 15 assertions⁷.

1. That attracts inter and intra state urban and rural to urban migration⁸ to add to its diversity of actors and activities in supra urban space.
2. In terms of internationalization it attracts Foreign Direct Investment inflows in city development projects besides the capital inflows from national or regional levels.
3. In terms of social dimensions it displays keen sensitivity to its socially and economically marginalized communities by implementing schemes/programmes for their upliftment and integration into the mainstream city systems.
4. That which does not decimate activities or actors in order to facilitate or pave way for another activity or actor. Rather it consciously adopts an enabling and a holistic approach to integrate the same by appropriate methods.
5. That which ensures quality and equality of access to physical and social infrastructure to all its inhabitants irrespective of the economic or social divides.
6. That where social, cultural, religious and economic divides are bridged by the 'undoing archipelago policies' and filling in the narrow crevices that create hurdles in its march towards an open city.
7. That which creates, fosters and preserves a network of public spaces that can be accessed by all inhabitants across all divides.
8. That where a publicly equitable public and intermediate transport system forms bridges and overcomes the isolations created by personalised transport modes.
9. That where all forms of both formal and informal trade and commerce activities can co-exist, even go to the extent of complementing each other.
10. That where the fear of crime and insecurity becomes obscure and is relegated to the backseat by appropriate design and policy matters.
11. That where the urban islands are interlinked by common and equitable infrastructure networks.
12. That where affordable and appropriate housing is possible for all city inhabitants especially the lower income strata and migrant class.
13. A city that can be a model of harmony and unity but with the undercurrent of diversity, such a city would be apt to be called an open city.
14. A city where gated enclaves, posh inner city housing, slums and squatters can co-exist with porous walls but with the focus of upgrading the marginalized housing.
15. A city that is well governed and free of corruption and bureaucratic red tapism so that the city development funds can actually be channelised into city upgrading development activities.

A city that moves in direction of acquiring all the above stated objectives may be termed as an open city in a realistic and rational sense of the word.

Indicators to assess the open city in the developing world context

In order to acquire the label of the open city it becomes mandatory to formulate a set of criteria to measure the degree of openness. Based upon literature search it can be said that while some detailed attempts have been made in context of the developed world, Europe in particular, in case of the developing world cities the search did not yield any targeted results. However it is also opined that based upon the indicators available in the European context, the afore stated assertions to be an open city in the developing world, a comprehensive list of indicators can be derived and applied. The following set of indicators is derived from three studies constituting literature search i.e., World Bank's (2000) Urban and Local Government Strategy, Ed.Clark's (2008) Towards Open Cities and Sennett's(2006) The Open City (details as given in the table in appendix I at the end of the paper). Based upon the above, the follow up table puts together the indicators for judging the openness of city which have been later applied in the case study of Amritsar City.

Table 1: Indicators derived for evaluating open city in the developing world

Aspect	Indicators
Demographic	Population growth Internal Migration External Migration
Economic	Access to gainful employment Employment of urban poor and newly arrived migrants Infrastructure augmentation projects in the city FDI Projects in the city City agenda for economic growth Policy for small scale and informal sector Gender based employment City competitiveness, creditworthiness and bankability Local Finance system Minimum Wage security Working Hours
Social	Access to social Infrastructure; education & Health Shelter schemes/programmes for the urban poor Access to viable shelter Access to basic urban Physical Infrastructure; water supply, sanitation, solid waste collection
Cultural	Historical Context Religious and Cultural Expressions Cross cultural integration Level of caste practice and exclusion Policies/schemes for Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribes Reported incidents of cultural discrimination Community Perceptions

Security	<p>Manmade disasters</p> <p>Crime types and frequency</p> <p>Household evictions</p> <p>Harassment and physical violence</p> <p>Rioting history</p> <p>Natural Disasters</p>
Community Inclusion and Networking	<p>Socio-economically marginalized groups</p> <p>Presence and assertive role of NGO's/CBO's and other peer groups</p> <p>Citizenship and voter card access</p> <p>Information access and RTI (Right to Information) Applications</p>
Governance	<p>Implementation of reforms in urban governance</p> <p>Participatory Planning</p> <p>Resource planning and mobilisation</p> <p>Public oversight of expenditure and service delivery</p> <p>Citizens report cards</p> <p>Transparent accounting systems</p> <p>Facilitation of Public private partnerships</p> <p>Augmentation of service delivery to the poor</p> <p>Integration of informal service delivery providers into the PSP models</p>
Planning and Urban Design	<p>Landuse categorization</p> <p>Successive masterplans and their implementation</p> <p>Participatory and Heterogeneous population sensitive urban planning and urban design</p> <p>Inclusion/exclusion through design</p> <p>Gated Communities</p> <p>Design for social integration</p> <p>Public Transport network</p> <p>Presence of culturally diverse landmarks</p>
Environment	<p>Air pollution levels</p> <p>Water pollution levels</p> <p>Noise pollution levels</p> <p>Land pollution levels</p> <p>Environment of slums and low income areas</p>

Indian Urban Reform policies and its impact on the city

India entered the process of economic liberalization in the early nineties following which the reform policies adopted radically towards an open and market oriented economy. In terms of governance, the first generation of urban reforms initiated by the 74th constitutional amendment Act 1992 paved way for greater role by the urban local governments through decentralization of power and functions and also promote private sector participation and citizen's participation in city building. The focus has been to empower the urban local

bodies to initiate independent decision making and undertake fiscal generation towards city upgradation physically, socially and economically. Thus the post liberalization Indian Cities have witnessed momentous transformations in their economics and governance regimes attracting capital flows and population into their seams. One of the most significant impacts of the reforms has been the policy to attract Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) by creating measures to facilitate foreign capital and multinationals to enter into various development sectors and allowing Indian corporate to enter into foreign collaborations. The second generation of reforms has seen the FDI investments been extended and increased to the housing, infrastructure and service provision sectors. The Government of India in its budget 2002-2003 initiated further reforms to promote private sector participation and public-private partnerships in urban/municipal infrastructure development. So at the city level, access to international capital markets and attracting FDI investments has been topping the agenda of urban local bodies for quite some while now. From a meagre 103 Million USD⁹ in 1990-1991 the FDI registered a growth to 24579 million USD¹⁰ in 2008 and the sectors attracting highest capital inflows in context of urban areas were the services sector, Information Technology, housing and real estate¹¹ sector (MCI, 2009). Because of added attraction of job creations and the related multiplier effects, migration from rural to urban areas has increased multifold.

Table 2: Growth of Migrants 1971-2001

Migration Stream	Growth rate (%)		
	1971-81	1981-91	1991-2001
<i>Interstate</i>			
Rural to Rural	12.1	3.4	54.0
Rural to Urban	22.8	20.1	76.5
Urban to Rural	14.1	9.6	11.2
Urban to Urban	18.0	6.0	24.3
<i>Intrastate</i>			
Rural to Rural	14.8	0.2	12.2
Rural to Urban	47.8	6.7	7.3
Urban to Rural	29.4	-4.8	1.0
Urban to Urban	50.0	-11.2	23.6

Source: Census of India, Migration Tables from 1971-1991, D-2 table for 2001 census

The table indicates that migration especially in the rural to urban category has gone up sharply in the interstate category indicating an increased opportunity in urban centres, accelerating movement from rural to urban and from lower order urban to larger urban centres, the city acting as a magnet inviting inflows. Thus the incidence of migration has shown an upswing and the motive for migration remains primarily economic up gradation and a better quality of life expectation amongst the migrants. Consequently with the urban reforms and market integration policies it is expected that the rate of urbanization will go up further and by 2030 India is expected to have 41% urban population as compared to the present level of 28% (UNDP, 2009).

Interms of service delivery to the burgeoning urban populations, the reforms related to decentralization of service delivery, the private sector is emerging as the frontrunner to play a more proactive role. The focus has also been on urban planning which earlier was the most ignored aspect of city management and governance. It is envisaged that the planning process should ensure tactical vision for the city's socio-economic growth and the implementation of city development plans should reflect adherence to the principles of good urban governance such as equity, efficiency, transparency and accountability. Consequently the cities are employing the services of multinational companies to devise strategic masterplans that shall

enable city managers to promote and advertise the city as a sound investment and settlement destination.

However there are some contradictions in the full implementation of the urban reforms and decentralization wherein the state and urban local bodies retain central roles and financial restructuring has also remained quite inadequate (Kennedy and Zerah 2008). So while the Indian cities have emerged as engines of economic intensification and critical for sustaining growth in an open economy, yet on account of the associated impacts of accelerated pace of urban growth, they suffer severely from backlogs of infrastructure and service delivery. The truth is also that despite some good examples and initiatives of implementation of urban reforms in some instances, not enough has been done by most urban local bodies in improving governance and restructuring the existing setups towards achieving the goal of liveable and equitable cities (Nallathiga 2005, UNDP 2009). Thus the Indian city today represents a scene of contradiction and dichotomy reflected in its spatial manifestations that showcases openness, affluence and opulence on one hand and narrowness, inequity and unsustainability on the other. Also imperative has been the issue of the growth of urban poverty as highlighted by the UNDP (2009) highlighting the increase and growing concentration of poverty in urban locations to as much as 25%.

Access to urban basic services by the urban poor also remains critical with 55% of the urban slums lacking access to viable sanitation facilities. This figure is indicative of the urban disparities that exist in service provision and delivery in Indian cities. Further the India Poverty Report also points out that the current model of urbanization and city development continues to alienate the poor. The models of development are resource and capital intensive and facilitates amenities to urban upper and elite classes in terms of organized housing and apartment complexes, shopping malls, multiplexes and parking lots. This 'capital intensity' of urban growth is creating large divides between the rich and the poor while raising the price of basic services and rendering them inaccessible to the poor (ibid). Facilitation of private corporates in service delivery has left the informal unorganized sectors previously engaged in such ventures with a very real threat of displacement and loss of livelihoods.

Projected as the human face of the second generation of urban reforms, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) was initiated in December 2005 with the objective of encouraging reforms and fast tracked development of identified cities. The thrust of JNNURM is on building efficiency in infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation and accountability of urban local bodies and parastatal agencies towards the citizens. The JNNURM imposes conditionalities for funding through mandatory reforms for both urban local bodies and state governments. The mandatory reforms are targeted towards regulating urban development¹² and seek to integrate the urban poor into the city development processes and provide them with urban basic services. At this point it is still premature to analyze the entire outcomes of the JNNURM and its impact on the city however it can be opined that if it is implemented in true spirit and turns out to be poor sensitive as it is meant to be then it might well be termed as a driver of sustainable and equitable city in the Indian context.

Based upon the above discussion it can be said that both the first and the second generation urban reforms are targeted to make Indian cities more open, equitable, liveable and sustainable. Whether the reforms have achieved or will achieve their objectives is a matter which is debatable, requires in depth study using detailed indicators and is currently beyond the scope of this research paper.

The case of Amritsar city; a quest for openness

Located in Punjab State in India, 27 kilometres from the international border with Pakistan, Amritsar is the second largest city in Punjab and plays a multifunctional role including that of the political capital, being the centre stage of the Sikh religion. With its population growing rapidly, the city has emerged as a metropolis, crossing the one million mark in 2001. The morphological origin and growth of the city can be traced back to 1576 during the reign of

Emperor Akbar when the execution of the holy tank was carried out under the aegis of the Guru Ramdas¹³ and the building of the Golden Temple in 1589 A.D. Infact right from the origin of the city it has invited migrants from far and wide within its fold who have made the city their home and their successive generations continue to reside in the city (Gaubha, 1988).

Amritsar city has witnessed striking growth and development, both organized and organic primarily in the post liberalization period from 2001 onwards which can be categorized under the second generation of urban reforms. Despite the fast paced developments and urban growth the ground realities are a stark contrast to the assumptions that the city can deliver to all its inhabitants cutting across various divides particularly when it comes to pro-poor developments. Marginalization and facilitation of locations, activities and inhabitants operate side by side to produce an anarchical urban order that is prevailing as of today. In context of Amritsar city it is argued that the outcome of the current urban order is manifested in the form of an open city with narrow crevices. In order to achieve the status of being an open and sustainable city it becomes imperative for Amritsar city managers and inhabitants to acknowledge the nature and depth of the divides and take appropriate action to fill them.

In conjunction with this, an attempt is made to apply the indicators of openness derived earlier on to arrive at a judgement of the situation of Amritsar City. However it is important to mention that it is not possible within the scope of this study to apply all the indicators so derived as the same would require much detailed surveys and database. Therefore the author has limited the study to select indicators from within the list as mentioned in the follow up table (derived from table 1).

Table 3: Openness Indicators applied in the case study of Amritsar City

Aspect	Indicator
Demographic	Population Growth
Economic	Infrastructure augmentation projects in the city, City competitiveness and creditworthiness
Social	Population in slums and access to basic infrastructure(water and sanitation)
Cultural	Historical context, Religious and cultural expressions
Security	Crime records
Community Inclusion and Networking	Socio-Economically marginalized group
Governance	Facilitation of Public private partnerships Augmentation of service delivery to the poor Integration of Informal service delivery providers into Public Private Partnership Models
Planning and Urban Design	Landuse categorization Masterplans and their implementation, Gated Communities
Environment	Air pollution levels, Water pollution levels, Noise pollution levels

Demographic Indicators

The city population witnessed a growth of 18.7% between decades 1891-1901 followed by a downward trend for decade 1901-1911 (-5.9.5 percent) primarily due to epidemics in the city. Thereafter till partition a rapid upward trend is observed with growth rate as high as 65.30% for 1921-31 and 47.64% for 1931-1941. The period between 1983 and 1990 was marked by turmoil due to terrorism which can again be described as a dark chapter in the city's developmental history.

Table 4: Population growth of Amritsar city (decadal)

Year	Total Population	Decadal growth rate(%)
1855	122181	11.20
1868	135813	11.20
1881	151896	11.84
1891	136766	-10.87
1901	162429	18.77
1911	152756	-5.96
1921	160218	4.88
1931	264840	65.30
1941	391211	47.64
1951	336114	-14.04
1961	390055	16.05
1971	454805	16.66
1981	594844	30.79
1991	708835	19.16
2001	1011327	42.67
2009(projected)	1442860	42.67

Source: Gauba.A, 1988 , Census of India, Punjab Series

Population growth rates fell as compared to the previous decade and the negative impacts were acutely visible on the growth accelerating sectors such as industrial and commercial. However having emerged from the shadow of the gun, post 1990, the city has bounced back to make speedy strides to become the second largest city of Punjab State after Ludhiana and achieving the fastest growth rate amongst all the class I centres of Punjab for the decade 1991-2001. Consequently Amritsar has risen to be the 2nd metropolis in Punjab and is also ranked 33rd in the list of 35 metropolitan cities as per census 2001. The table also reveals that the decades before the liberalization period witnessed lower growth rates in comparison to the post liberalization decades (after 1991) in the city. This indicates a high degree of rural to urban and urban to urban population into Amritsar city primarily due to the increased employment opportunities and access to better social and physical infrastructure in the city.

Economic Indicators

The notable pace of growth in the ongoing decade can be attributed to the wave of liberalization boon that has resulted in changing the visage of the city. As a result there has been a mushrooming of multinational operations and spurt of FDI investments primarily due to the liberalized Government policies to attract international investment to the city. Moreover the declaration of SEZ (Special Economic Zone)¹⁴ status for the city and its inclusion of the city for urban renewal and integrated development under the JNNURM is bound to further

encourage the city's development prospects and boost its move to being a global cosmopolitan city as well. The last five years in particular have seen the city gearing up to create grounds for national and international investors to bring capital to the city.

The local government has come up with a proactive agenda to attract investments in residential, infrastructure and commercial sector primarily. Single window systems have been introduced to speed up the administrative processes and ensure smooth running for the corporate giants who are been attracted through sops like licence facilitation and tax rebates and waivers. The creation of dry port and the developments to make the airport and the city railway station into a world class one have further boosted the prospects of trade and commercial developments. An investment of Rs. 2567 crore for urban transportation and road network augmentation including the elevated road project was sanctioned by the state government in 2007. Work on the four laning of the Amritsar city bypass road is on in full swing as a public private partnership project. The Punjab Infrastructure Development Board has proposed a metro rail project in Amritsar at the cost of Rs 4,500 crore. A project for a mass rapid bus transport system in Amritsar is also proposed.

A lot of capital investments particularly in the residential and commercial sector has flowed into the city. Giant corporates in the realty sector, Impact Projects Pvt Ltd and South Asian Real Estate Limited (SARE) have invested Rs 18 crore to build mega housing and commercial projects here. Besides commercial shopping malls are now on way to dominate the cityscape and the big brand luxuries are now available in the city. Some of the major projects that the city has attracted interms of the corporate investments include the city centre project by Alpha G Corp¹⁵. Ishan Developers and Infrastructure Limited has planned to set up SEZ integrated textile Park on 100 hectares in Amritsar agglomeration limits with the investment of Rs 1,861crore. The project is expected provide employment to 15,000 people. One of the largest FDI investment in the city has been the joint venture between Bharti Enterprises and Wal-Mart Stores which launched its first cash and carry store Best Price Modern Wholesale in Amritsar in May 2009. The store spreads over 50,000 sq ft with an investment of 50 crores. It can be said that the city has demonstrated the capability of being creditworthy and has been thus successful in gaining access to national and international capital markets.

However on the other extreme, the unorganized informal sector continues to operate without any kind of a support from the city managers. In the absence of any support in form of infrastructure or space, this sector has encroached all prominent roads. However with the coming of the malls and the encroachment of parking is proving to be a threat even to the informal sector. As far as the poor are concerned then these plush mall developments are not for them, they are only for a handful of the city upper class who can afford them. So while the city is competing and attracting capital investments the local government has failed to capitalize these developments to benefit the poor in any manner. However the only silver lining is that projects such as the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) status might create opportunities for more employment but the matters of job and wage¹⁶ security in the private sector is an issue that demands urgent government attention to ensure that marginalization of employees by corporates is prevented.

Social Indicators

One of the serious challenges that the city faces is the immense growth of slum and squatter settlements. With 30% of its population living in such sub standard settlements, Amritsar stands only next to Ludhiana City in Punjab in terms of the slum population. At present there are 63 notified slum areas and 148 unauthorized colonies in the city .

Table 5: Total slum population to City population

Year	City Population	Slum Population	% slum to city population
1981	589299	32632	5.53

1991	708835	123000	17.35
2001	1011327	307109	30.00
2009 (projected)	1442860	432858	30.00

Source ; Municipal Corporation records 2006

The total area under notified slums is 1309 acres which is about 14.5% of the total residential area of the city. The poor living conditions are also evident from the fact that a majority of the units are single room tenements of the size 100-200 sq ft and the room occupancy ratio is as high as 1:5(5 persons per room)¹⁷. In addition to this, these settlements are also characterized by poor access to basic facilities. Safe drinking water is a serious problem. A large number of inhabitants in slums depend upon shallow hand pumps the water from which in most cases is contaminated.

Table 6: Households access to basic Infrastructure

Total Number of Households	Dilapidated housing stock	Lacking access to safe sanitation	Lacking access to municipal water supply
212509	9241	119779	79490
	5%	56%	37%

Source: Census of India 2001, Series 4 Punjab

The above table reveals that out of the total households in the city 5% households live in unsafe dilapidated housing, 56% lack access to safe sanitation and 37% lack access to municipal water supply. In the absence of appropriate sanitation facilities, road sides, rail reservation area and other vacant plots are used for open defecation by the poor segments of the city. However some positive work in this regard has been undertaken by the urban local body wherein under the JNNURM Rs 120 crores are to be utilized in providing and upgrading infrastructure provisions in slum areas of the city.

One of the key objectives cited as a mandatory reform in the JNNURM is to provide security of tenure at affordable prices to the urban poor¹⁸. Towards achieving this objective, under the BSUP (Basic Services to the Urban Poor) 320 dwelling units at the cost of Rs 5.79 crores to cover 3 slum clusters are to be constructed. However the requirement of viable housing stock is much larger and it seems difficult if not impossible as to how this Herculean task of upgrading shelter for the urban poor shall be achieved by the city managers.

A component to this effect has been made in the provision of formal sector operations to cater to the existing and future residential needs of the poor. As per the Improvement trust regulations for developing residential areas, 5-10% of the residential site must be designated for the economically weaker sections (EWS) category. Through a survey¹⁹ it was found that the though land had indeed been reserved for the EWS sections, the actual beneficiaries were not really the EWS as both the fixed plot sizes and the price were beyond the EWS capacity and moreover the Improvement Trust does not have any mechanism in place to check that the designated plots are actually being disposed of to the households that can really be categorized as EWS.

As far as the Private (formal) developers are concerned, The Punjab Apartment and Property Regulation Act 1995 (section 143) states that the promoter (developer) shall when the area of the colony is 40 hectares or more, reserve upto 10% of the area under residential flats and plots for being sold /leased to such persons belonging to the EWS sections of the society. Therefore as far as the state level regulations are concerned, the above mentioned legislation provides a legal support and mechanism to cater to land for housing the EWS. But on ground this is actually not happening and what is happening is not realistic as it ignores the

affordability profile of the target groups. For instance in case of one such privately developed colony, the S& G enclave it was found that there was no reservation for the poor, the smallest plot size being fixed at 150 sq yard and priced at Rs 3200/sq yard which is way beyond the reach of even most of the middle income households what to talk of the EWS households. Therefore it is evident from this example that despite the reservations being in place, the ground operations are quite in contrary and perhaps reinforcing of the same issue of reserving land for the poor or provision of basic services might not take place despite the seemingly honest intentions of the JNNURM unless an accountability is maintained and a regulatory role is strongly played by the authorities in charge.

Cultural Indicators

The cultural context of Amritsar city is also rooted in its history. Amritsar attracts an average of 6-8 lakh tourists annually because of its religious importance expressed in the form of the golden temple built in splendid sikh architecture style and a standing testimony to the city's history. The urban space is reflective of the city's encounters with history starting from its origin in 1576 when the execution of the holy tank was carried out and the building of the golden temple in 1589 A.D. The subsequent building of the Akal Takht in 1607 followed by the construction of the Lohgarh fort further served as a centripetal force for the concentration of diverse sections of population as well as initiation of trade and commerce activities supporting the religious base in this settlement. Between 1765 to 1800 Amritsar started emerging as a commercial centre of significance²⁰ and further growth assumed more or less concentric patterns with the temple very much remaining the dominant node.

The attack and subsequent consolidation of the region in 1802 by Maharaja Ranjit Singh resulted in acceleration of growth both in terms of population as well as trade and commerce activities and many new *katras* developed to accommodate the spurt. During his reign Amritsar rose to become an opulent city displaying a blend of diverse cultures and religion its spatial manifestations. The elegance in terms of the cultural grandeur was further reinforced by the construction of the massive wall enclosure with twelve gates²¹ and two moats in 1823, the majestic summer palace in Rambagh, the development of fort Gobindgarh to name a few and impoverishment in terms of the peripheral city slums emerging as isolated locations comprising mostly of people engaged in menial trades. By 1833 the city had well entrenched its position as an important settlement of the region. Population density in the walled city grew multifold largely due to in migration and it is estimated that by 1849 the population would have been near about 1 lakh²².

Amritsar was annexed by the British in 1849 wherein the period also saw the demolition and rebuilding of parts of the wall reflecting the British cultural expressions on the cityscape and the addition of a thirteenth gate. This gate served to be the main access way with the outer city spread northwards and culminated at the town hall building within the walled city. The town hall building constructed by the British in 1863 served to an alternate nucleus point with the development moving rapidly in a linear fashion along the main access way in the form of a bazaar²³. Furthermore the development of the civil courts the plush mall residential area in 1876 and 1880 respectively carried the development further westward, giving an erratic linear look to the spatial patterns that were emerging. Important developments such as the Khalsa College in 1892 in sikh architectural style and the Medical college in 1927 became the prominent cultural landmarks on the face of the city. The spectre of partition in 1947 inflicted heavy damages to the cityscape especially the walled city²⁴ and a part of the historical and cultural landscape was lost to the mobbing and fires.

However even today the city retains the names of the roads named by the british such as the Lawrence road, queens road, taylor road etc. The citizens have resisted the attempt by the government to rename the roads stating that it was now part of the historical cultural testimony of the city. The city is interspersed with cultural landmarks in the form of religious expressions, traditional bazaars and heritage buildings of various time periods and roads however due to the lack of conservation measures and land use conversion some historical and

cultural expressions such as the old city wall have been lost forever and some are in danger of being lost soon. The city also has a name for its diverse food and cuisine that represents a blend of culture and there are a number of such landmark food places famous for their products attracting locals and tourists alike.

Security Indicators

Coming to this category of indicators, a crime record of the city is a good gauge to see if the city can provide security and protection to its inhabitants. Based upon the statistics, 2008 the data shows that as compared to other large cities in Punjab state i.e, Jalandhar and Ludhiana, Amritsar scores comparatively lower in terms of crime cases²⁵ recorded.

Table 7: Amritsar Crime record viz a viz other prominent cities of Punjab

	Murder/ Attempt to murder	Rape/ kidnapping/ abduction	Dacoity/ theft/robbery	Riots/ Arson	Counterfeiting/ breach of trust	Other IPC crimes	Total
Amritsar	78	70	789	0	130	573	1640
Jalandhar	67	106	1019	6	281	818	2297
Ludhiana	138	256	1201	6	342	1492	3435

Source: National Bureau of Crime Records, City Wise Incidence of cognizable crime, 2007

However based upon the above table it can be said that the city does not have a very good record as far as crime statistics are concerned wherein all categories are scoring two-three figure crime cases while in comparison to the other cities the recorded cases are lower. For a city to be open it becomes imperative that its citizens must feel secure and the result must be displayed in the crime statistics. Taking cognizance of the situation, especially with the view to make the citizens and the tourists visiting the city feel secure, the city administration has initiated a series of measures such as Tourism Police and crime stoppers. However these measures are relatively new, only a few months old. Also it can be said that the issue of security gets tied up with a lot of factors such as social and economic. Also a majority of crime infested places are slum locations and a majority of offenders are from the economically weaker sections who take to crime in the face of the disparities and the divides that exist in the city. Therefore realistic measures must cut across the sectors in order to achieve the objective of making the city safe and secure for its inhabitants across the socio-economic divides.

Community Inclusion and Networking Indicators

How the city marginalizes or integrates its diverse inhabitants is visible from the way these communities are leading their lives in the city. To make a judgement of this, one of the most economically and socially vulnerable group, the ragpickers were taken up for a sample analysis with regard to the indicator. The derivations are based on a sample of 50 ragpicker families drawn from two locations in the city²⁶. 98% of the ragpicker community in Amritsar come from West Bengal State and from Murshidabad district in particular and have been in the city since 1 year to a maximum of 35 years. 97% of the economically active members of the community were engaged in ragpicking and sorting work while 3% worked as rickshaw pullers, casual labourers and domestic workers. Going by the income per capita specified for Punjab by the Planning Commission (2000), i.e Rs 388.15 per capita which means Rs 2717 for a household of 7 members. Regarding expenditure and savings, 94% of the households maintained that the highest expenditure was on food items followed by expenditure on healthcare issues. Only 1% reported spending on recreational activity such as the cinema. 94% reported no savings while the rest 6% spoke about investing a small amount varying from Rs 100- 300 in informal credit committees. 86% reported indebtedness and borrowing money at high interest rates²⁷ at some point in their life primarily due to health crisis, for social event such as marriage and for shelter construction. 30% of the surveyed ragpickers

said that they had been without food a number of times in their lifetime. At present 45% households eat 3 times a day, 55 % eat twice or once a day. Housing poverty appears to be acute with jhuggis (unviable shelter) in both locations comprising of one small structure of 100-200 sqft and the occupancy rate is as high as 1:7. The ragpickers have been evicted from at least three locations before arriving at the current location and this is a prime reason of insecurity amongst the ragpicker households. For them access to land and secure tenure is a distant dream though a majority of them talk about consolidating their shelter in an incremental manner if given access to secure land by the government.

Access to basic urban amenities that is water supply and sanitation is entirely lacking. Hand pumps is the source of water for both the locations and at an average there is one hand pump for 12 families and used for all purposes ranging from cooking, washing and bathing. Since there is no means of waste water disposal, this accumulated water along with the waste deposits is a source of foul smell in the area. In the absence of any toilets all residents defecate in the open areas adjoining the bypass road. The liveability conditions of the ragpickers amongst piles of waste, stagnant waste water and lack of access to the most basic urban amenities can indeed be described as appalling.

In respect of both health and education the ragpickers seem to belong to the most underprivileged category. The total illiterate adult ragpickers comprise 69%, the semi-literate (primary school dropouts comprise rest 31%). Amongst the children(below 14 years) only 18% are school going, as high as 49% are primary school dropouts and 33% have never been to school. Obviously economic compulsions are responsible for the early and high rate of school dropouts. Not a single ragpicker can therefore be termed as literate. Interms of the health care the ragpickers were found to be an extremely vulnerable group wherein 41% had suffered from a major illness²⁸ in past 5 years. Interms of access to healthcare all the ragpicker households visited private doctors and quack doctors and expressed hesitation/lack of knowledge regarding access to government healthcare facilities. 78% of the ragpickers expressed harassment by the police/ gang lords/ people from higher strata and at least once they had experience physical abuse. All the households expressed continued feeling of insecurity and vulnerability and again blamed it upon their poverty and occupational conditions. All the ragpickers have a low self esteem and perceive them self as a deprived and a socially secluded community. 96% felt that economic upliftment would make the biggest impact in their liveability conditions whereas 4% stated access to education could bring a significant change in their lives and help their children to acquire skills to move to other respectable and more economically fulfilling occupations.

The ragpicker community is not aware and neither the beneficiary of any schemes by the local government initiated for the upliftment of the poor in the city. Thus this case of community deprivation carries forward wider implications circumferencing around the issue of 'pro-poor' growth for sustainable urban development of the city. The case also brings out the fact that the city is a plethora of divides in context of its urban space where its most vulnerable communities continue to live in stark marginalization and the initiatives to build networks with such communities in the form of their upgradation are ignored.

Governance Indicators

A number of municipal reforms have been undertaken by the Urban Local Body i.e., the Amritsar Municipal Corporation (AMC) with the purpose of making the local government more efficient in terms of service delivery and improving its fiscal health. The AMC has shown a surplus in order of Rs 7 to 23 crores and has maintained a opening balance of at least 54 crores in the last financial year. In pursuit of the reforms agenda under the 74th constitutional amendment, institutional strengthening measures, tax reforms and e-governance is being introduced. A major thrust since has been on initiation of public-private partnerships especially in the service delivery sector and a number of private players are now venturing into the city attracted by the facilitation of the public private partnership model by the AMC. One of the major services to be handed over to the private sector for operations in the

municipal solid waste management sector wherein a private company Anthony Waste handling Private Limited has been given the responsibility of handling waste management operations in the city. Under the model the walled city area is covered by the AMC and the rest of the area is to be covered by the private player. The irony of the model is that it leaves out one of the important stakeholders who has till date been handling the solid waste management process when the AMC operations left much to be desired. The informal sector in the waste management cycle comprising of the informal scrap dealers and the ragpickers has been entirely ignored. This is simply a case of marginalizing the existing actors and taking away their livelihoods by facilitating new actors in service delivery. Already there is evidence of the ragpickers²⁹ being forced to give up their occupation for want of waste which was earlier collected by them from households and informal waste disposal dumps.

Regarding augmentation of service delivery to the poor, the AMC has launched water supply and sewerage augmentation projects to cover the slum areas under the JNNURM. In this regard the water supply augmentation project has been initiated in the city with the cost being shared by the central, state and local government as 9.5 crores, 3.1 crores and 5.7 crores respectively. The walled city sewerage augmentation project at the total cost of Rs 24 crores has also been launched. However since these projects have been launched recently, the assessments of the same and whether they have been able to deliver shall be visible only in the long run. It may again be mentioned that informal and unnotified locations such as the once where the ragpicker community lives have been ignored. So whether the JNNURM initiatives for the urban poor shall cover all EWS groups seems highly unlikely. At this juncture the issue of governance becomes important to see that service networks are distributed equitably in the city and no citizen is denied the benefit of the basic service provisions. However considerably high rate of corruption haunts the key development agencies and is also one of the biggest hindrances in good governance in Amritsar City.

Planning and Urban Design Indicators

In the absence of a long term well conceived urbanization policy as well as adhocism in master plan formulation and implementation, planned development and expansion of the city so far has not really taken place. What has developed is isolated and piecemeal approach with hardly any visual or physical integration and resultantly the city can aptly described as a 'confused concrete jargon' symbolizing pandemonium in all aspects of physical development. After 1975 no comprehensive development plan was prepared for the city and a makeshift approach was been adopted with the revision of the 1975 master plan in 1987 and 2001. The profiteering tendencies of the development authorities capped with political and bureaucratic jargons can be held responsible for the negative physical growth though one might also say that these authorities are also ill equipped to deal with issues emerging from hyper growth. The city managers have certainly created avenues and opportunities for private sector participation in the city growth and development but at the cost of spatial irregularity wherein the zoning regulations and building byelaws have been relaxed to enable the private players to produce developments of their liking. As such land use changes³⁰ have been allowed without giving a thought to the impact that would follow. Lung spaces have disappeared in the city and ironically the city which boasted of numerous gardens in the pre independence times has hardly any green space³¹ left with most of the parks having been converted to other land uses, primarily the commercial uses in the form of malls and multiplex developments.

Table 8: Land use changes in Amritsar city (decadal)

Class	1971	1987	1991	2001
Residential	3235(42.32%)	4472.18(46.66%)	6602.31(48.42%)	9042.67(43.99%)
commercial	173(2.26%)	485.77(5.09%)	513.76(3.77%)	622.44(3.03%)
Industrial	758(9.91%)	1098.01(11.45%)	1222.65(8.98%)	1356.03(6.60%)
Transportation	1028(13.44%)	1077.95(11.25%)	1785.81(13.11%)	2363.79(11.50)

Public/semi	1209(15.81%)	1117.55(11.66%)	1192.31(8.74%)	1384.18(6.75%)
Recreational	155(2.02%)	151.9(1.58%)	151.9(1.11%)	151.9(0.74%)
Government land	1090(14.25%)	1179.99(12.31%)	2164.7(15.87%)	5634.07(27.41%)
TOTAL	7648(100%)	9583.6(100%)	13634.4(100%)	20552.87(100%)

Source: Divisional Town Planner Office, Amritsar. Areas in acre.

The above table indicates that in terms of areal extent, from a mere 7648 acres in 1971 to 20553 acres in 2001, the physical expansion has increased by one and a half times. The land use that has shown a reduction is the recreational category which includes the parks and open spaces. Conversions in this category have resulted in its reduction.

Away from the inner city, the periphery presents an equally dismal scene with the agricultural land being converted to residential plots by both licensed and unlicensed private colonizers. The absence of appropriate periphery controls and regulations has resulted in this outcome. As such chaotic development continues unabated on the fringe primarily in the area falling in the planning area boundary limits leaving little scope for planned and orderly expansion in the future. The Punjab Urban Planning and Development Authority is enabling provision of land and services to the private colonizers who are planning and developing gated enclaves in the immediate vicinity of the City which are marked with high class living for the city rich marked by round the clock private security and service provisions. At least 40 such gated communities have come up around the city and have further reinforced the divisive character of the city where walls run parallel to the adjacent roads or land uses and hamper integration and free movement.

In 2008 the state government has initiated the move to get masterplans prepared by outsourcing the same to private companies and multinationals. In this context the master plan for the city of Amritsar is under preparation by a private company and is expected to be ready by January for its implementation. However the lacunae regarding public participation in master plan process persists wherein the company has not taken serious initiatives to incorporate larger public into the process. Also how practically applicable the master plan would be in terms of achieving the objectives of good quality of life for all the inhabitants and how far it reaches in reducing spatial polarisation is a matter that can be judged only after its implementation.

Environment Indicators

Since the city has grown and expanded organically, the circulation system is haphazard and in many instances the road planning and geometrics are faulty. The city vehicles are growing at the rate of 25% per annum leading to a flood of vehicles on the roads and the roads becoming death traps with the increasing rate of accidents. The city roads are not in a position to accommodate ever increasing traffic volumes.

The biggest polluter of air in the City is dust, the whole City is affected by it. This is because of many unpaved areas in the city particularly road sides. Air is also polluted because of the emissions from obnoxious industries and vehicles. The air quality index of Amritsar City based upon information from the Punjab Pollution Control Board shows it within the range of 101-200 index value which indicates unhealthy levels of air pollution. As a result respiratory disorders account for 10.9% of the total burden of disease in the city.

The water in many parts of the City is polluted particularly the surface Hudhara drain into which the industries located along it discharge their effluents directly into it. Even the Municipal Corporation has been discharging sewage into the drain without treating it³². Because of the pollution of the drain, potable drinking water is a matter of concern in the surrounding poor localities. 13 municipal wards are gravely affected by the polluted underground water contaminated with toxic heavy metals such as nickel and chromium as per the Punjab Pollution Control Board. The health burden has been manifested in the form of water borne diseases such as typhoid, dysentery, gastroenteritis and diarrhea with 27% out of

the total cases recorded by the City health records maintained by the Chief Medical Officer (CMO) Office, Amritsar. In such conditions, liveability in the city is indeed under grave threat.

Equally disturbing is the issue of the rising noise pollution levels. Noise pollution exceeds the desirable decibel limits of 40-70 db in areas adjoining the main roads and industrial units comprising a total of 30% approx of the city area being affected by the same. Interms of land pollution the two landfill sites and 36 informal sewerage and waste disposal points exist within and around the city. These landfills and disposal points are adjoining residential areas of the lower income groups and thus pose a very grave threat to their health. While environment mismanagement may affect all the city inhabitants in general, in actual terms and based upon data it becomes evident that the brunt has to be borne largely by the economically weaker and vulnerable sections of the city population who are not in position to create their own safeguards as the upper income groups and are alienated by the city managers in this regard.

Conclusions

By the application of indicators an attempt has been made to have a yardstick for making a judgement of an open city in the developing world context. As mentioned earlier on all indicator subheads could not be applied within the scope of this research paper. However based upon the applied indicators the following derivations are drawn.

In context of demographic and cultural indicators, the city displays a relatively positive profile, incase of Economic and Governance Indicators, a mixed profile is displayed wherein the city showcases two extreme sides of openness as well as the crevices. In terms of social, security, community inclusion and networking, planning and design and environment indicators, the city reveals its grey shades that are manifested and operate within its urban space. While there is no doubt that the city is striving to be open, the shadow of marginalization of spaces, activities and actors primarily belonging to the economically weaker and vulnerable sections come to the foreplay to offset whatever strides the city makes in its quest for openness, equity and sustainability. Based upon the above study it is concluded that the city falls short of achieving even half of the fifteen assertions on which the indicators have been based.

It is further opined that Amritsar city has a long way to go before it can achieve the objective of being a truly open and equitable city. The city managers need to be sensitive to the factors and policies that promote marginalization and create partitions in the urban fabric by insensitive policies and lack of the integrated approach towards balanced and equitable development. Programmes, policies, masterplans and other development initiatives should be oriented towards making the city work for all its inhabitants by building bridges in place of the divides. Finally it is not the intention of this research to build pessimism, rather the results to an extent do reveal a ray of hope for the city to deliver. Therefore the pursuit of innovation, refinement, realignment and implementation of policy by the city managers towards achieving aforementioned assertions and objectives must continue in true spirit.

Endnotes

¹ This has also been highlighted by Sennett (2006) in his article on ‘The Open City’ in Urban Age.

² Friedman (2002) refers to Ecological footprint to present the fact that cities in the industrialized countries use up a vast share of world resources and this limits the capacity of cities in less developed countries to raise their standards of living, something that is of a pre-requisite to fall in bracket of an open city.

³ Porosity of territory refers to the city obstructions such as gates and walls, which in an open city should demonstrate a fair sense of porosity.

⁴ Narrative Indeterminacy as a metaphor refers to an open city system that admits conflict and dissonance towards progressive city growth.

⁵ Incomplete form refers to the space for creativity in open city where one creative form may leave space or foster the growth of another.

⁶ These set criteria would be the indicators used to judge the city's openness.

⁷ All these assertions can be evaluated by application of the derived indicators for judging a city's openness.

⁸ Not necessarily international migration and return of the Diaspora as cited in case of European Cities.

⁹ One USD is equal to 48.57 Indian Rupees.

¹⁰ According to World Investment Report 2008, India is the second most important attractive location for FDI for the year 2008-2010.

¹¹ Housing and real estate including malls, multiplex developments, integrated townships, international housing and residential townships, commercial complexes, etc.

¹² This is sought to be done by clarifying institutional responsibilities, repealing land regulations, modernising the functionality of municipalities and enhancing their revenues and financial worthiness.

¹³ The fourth Guru of the Sikh religious faith.

¹⁴ The Punjab Government short listed the DLF construction company for the SEZ project worth Rs 100 crores.

¹⁵ The corporate has won the state government's mega-project in Amritsar won being developed over 25 acres, the 6,00,000 sq. ft. city centre project on G T Road As a mega project, it is eligible for an entertainment tax waiver for 10 years, automatic licenses for all outlets through one window, a power waiver of 50 percent (benefiting the leases) and the opportunity to operate round the clock.

¹⁶ Despite the Minimum wages regulation issued by the Government of Punjab periodically and recently in March 2009 under the Minimum Wages (Punjab) Rules, 1950, the local administration has not been able to implement it in true spirit. Hence low wages and exploitation is rife in the private and informal sector.

¹⁷ Data quoted from Sandhu, et.al, 2001 and Sandhu, 2005 which is based upon the study of three slum localities.

¹⁸ Mentioned under the Urban Local Body Reforms under the heading of Mandatory Reforms in the NURM document, reading as follows, "Provision of basic services to urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation and ensuring delivery of other already existing universal services of the government for education, health and social security".

¹⁹ Sandhu.K (2005) research paper on Access to land by the urban poor in Amritsar City, India; Grim Realities and Blurred Hopes. Detailed surveys were conducted to analyze the formal and informal land market operations and conclusions drawn indicated the further alienation of the poor primarily from the formal(public and private) land markets

²⁰ The geo strategic position of Amritsar made it a transit point for trade links with the Middle East.

²¹ Namely Lahori gate, Khazana gate, Hakimian Gate, Rangar Nangalian gate, Gilwali gate, Ramgarhia gate, Ahluwalia gate, Deorhi kalan gate, Rambagh gate, Deorhi shahzada gate, Lohgarh gate.

²² Assumption based upon the 1855 growth figures when the first census was held for Amritsar

²³ Currently known as the Hall Bazaar, the bazaar continues to be a prominent commercial stronghold of the city.

²⁴ The entire walled city was declared as damaged area under Punjab Development of Damaged areas Act, 1951 for the purpose of redeveloping the area and restoring it to its former glory.

²⁵ The crime records are maintained for a category of 22 crimes listed by the Indian Penal Code as offences legally recognized as criminal activities.

²⁶ The data was collected by primary survey including observations, interviews and a detailed questionnaire with respect to the indicator was used for this purpose. The sample involves a heterogeneous composition of ragpickers by age and sex.

²⁷ Usually the scrap dealers are the money lenders as well charging interest rates as high as 50%.

²⁸ Such as Asthma,diarrhea, tuberculosis, etc.

²⁹ Based upon the primary survey of ragpickers.

³⁰ Existing building byelaws provide for change in landuse from residential to commercial with conversion charges of Rs 1000/sqft. Obviously residents/ developers are willing to exploit this option for lucrative gains.

³¹ One such exception being the Rambagh gardens but the same historic garden has been eclipsed by developments of clubs for the city elite within its boundary. Large chunks of land in Rambagh gardens has been leased by the Municipal Corporation to three clubs. In addition to noise during functions, they dispose waste in open within the garden area. In this context, a City NGO, Amritsar Vikas Manch had filed a case in High Court for removal of the clubs, which is still going on.

³² In 2001, PSHRC (Punjab State Human Rights Commission) had indicted the Municipal Corporation of causing pollution of the drain. The commission has also asked Punjab Government to take stern steps against Government agencies causing pollution.

Appendix I

Ed.Clark,2008		World Bank, 2000		Sennett,2006	
Aspect	Measures	Aspect	Measures	Aspect	Measures
Economic factors	-Population -Employment -Enterprise -Skills -Qualification	Competitiveness	-Cities to compete in national and international markets, -Cities to define a proactive agenda for economic growth - Promote diverse rather than dualistic growth. - Nourish the potential of the small scale and informal sector to a creation of a resilient local economy	Porosity of territory	-Gated communities -Porous/ resistant barriers -Intercity flows and networking
Regulatory Factors	-Citizenship -Welfare -Health -Housing -Social Inclusion	Bankability	-Global creditworthiness of the city -Presence of an equitable and sustainable local finance system	Narrative Indeterminacy	-Spatial variations -Cultural variations -Diversity of activities and actors -Outputs from dissonance
Connectivity/ Accessibility factors	-Ports/gateways -Digital access -Public transport -City centres	Good Governance and Management	-Participatory planning, -Public oversight of expenditure and service delivery, -Facilitation of Public - Private partnerships -Flexible arrangements to involve the private sector in service delivery that can reach also the poor	Incomplete form	-Creativity in public space -Creativity in urban design and streetscapes -Presence of culturally diverse city landmarks

Risk factors	-Crime -Security -Disasters -Deportation -Racism -Xenophobia	Liveability	-Equitable resource sharing by all city inhabitant -Participatory market sensitive urban planning methods. -Make employment and housing accessible to all residents in more compact and mixed developments.		
Amenity factors	-Signage /information -Language -Education -Retail -Neighbourhood mixity				
Cultural Factors	-Civic organizations -Mixed marriages -Creative expressions -Media -Food				
Internationalization Factors	-International populations -Business -Events -Institutions -Visitors and Students				
Leadership Factors	-Diversity strategy -Brand and belonging -Voting and representation -Active projects				

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