Exploring Crime & Violence in Cities through Human Security lens: A Case study of Jaipur (India)

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Abstract

The urban population has been growing at phenomenal level across the world and its share is bound to reach 60% by 2030. In India, as per 2001 census, the urban population was 285 million (27.78% of total population) and 35 million plus cities accounted for 37.8% of total urban population. The percentage of slum population to total urban population is 14.12% with some cities like Mumbai having this share as high as 54.1%.

The concept of ‘Human security’ has broadened the definition of security offering an innovative approach putting the security of individual at the forefront overtaking from restricted borders of national security.

This paper will first introduce the concept of human security and its relevance in cities and examine various insecurities faced by urban population especially the vulnerable among them and the interventions by state and non-state actors with special reference to India.

In the later part, the status of human security in an Indian city Jaipur with 2.3 million population will be analysed on the basis of results of a primary survey covering 503 households (in a slum and a non-slum area). The special emphasis would be on crime and violence as a component of human security and its linkages with other components.

Lastly, this paper would discuss the findings of the survey in the context of global knowledge of interventions in tackling urban insecurities in order to explore the possible strategies for future interventions.
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<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
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<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
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<td>CS</td>
<td>Comprehensive Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department For International Development (UK)</td>
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<td>ECOSOC</td>
<td>Economic, Social and Cultural Council</td>
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<td>GBS</td>
<td>Gram Bharti Samiti, Jaipur</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<td>GOI</td>
<td>Government of India</td>
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<td>HDR</td>
<td>Human Development Report</td>
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<td>ICMR</td>
<td>Indian Council for Medical Research</td>
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<td>JDA</td>
<td>Jaipur Development Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>JMC</td>
<td>Jaipur Municipal Corporation</td>
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<td>JNN</td>
<td>Jaipur Nagar Nigam (Jaipur Municipal Corporation)</td>
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<td>NCAER</td>
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<td>NCRB</td>
<td>National Crime Records Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NIUA</td>
<td>National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organisation for Security &amp; Cooperation in Europe</td>
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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. HUMAN SECURITY AND CITIES

Population explosion and rapid urbanisation calls for corresponding dynamic changes in the governance in cities and the absence of which would imply a weak state leaving room for growth of parallel corridors of power in the form of organised criminal gangs, rebel groups and social governance by non state actors. One of the possible consequences of such situation could be imbalanced growth of such cities marked by areas with lack of basic amenities, poor health, higher rates of crime and economic insecurities. This in turn would lead to alienation of future generation and their possible falling pray to the ‘glamour’ of crime world and adopting a violent behaviour due to existing insecurities. With an additional number of migrants shifting from rural areas looking for better life and jobs in the cities, the affected population is likely to swell rapidly. This massive shift of population to cities has led to rapid expansion of slums in the cities, most of them having grown illegally.

Thus, the challenges to ensure human security in cities are severe, but required attention has not yet been paid on them. The growing urban centres are developing as regional hubs of criminal activity, specially the slums that have high percentages of unemployed and uneducated youth.

A recent initiative in this field has been by the Canadian Consortium on Human Security in partnership with Human Security Research, Outreach program of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada and the research network co-coordinated by the Centre of International Relations of University of British Columbia. This network has also brought out a compilation of articles on human security challenges in cities across the world. This initiative specially focused upon the nature and scale of organized violence in urban areas. The underlying assumption has been that failed public security and organized international crime is leading to increasing violence in cities. The outcome of this initiative is a compilation of numerous articles in a booklet Human Security for an Urban Century; Local Challenges, global perspectives. In fact this happens to be the most detailed volume available on the subject of this paper and for this very reason, has been relied heavily on its contentions and conclusions.
Another pioneering effort in this field though not directly talking about the human security agenda, has been from UN HABITAT with the launch of *The Safer Cities Programme* in 1996 at the request of African mayors who wanted to address urban violence by developing a prevention strategy at city level. The programme supports the implementation of the Habitat Agenda, which acknowledges the responsibility of local authorities in crime prevention and is in line with the ECOSOC Resolution 1995/9 of 24 July 1995. The main objectives of the programme are to: (1) Build capacities at city level to adequately address urban insecurity; and thereby (2) Contribute to the establishment of a culture of prevention.  

As evident from the above discussion, the theme of both the above initiatives has focussed upon the safety in the cities while highlighting various insecurities faced by the inhabitants of these cities.

The present paper will analyse the numerous challenges that the urban areas pose in the context of human security lens with specific reference to India to understand the complexity of relationship between several actors involved in the process of ensuring human security, their interventions, the outcome of such interventions and its impact thereof. For this analysis, the paper will rely on a random primary survey on the status of human security in Jaipur carried out through an NGO at Jaipur for the purpose of this study comprising 503 households (253 living in a slum area and 250 in non-slum area) during September- November 2007. In the final chapter of this paper, a comparison of the status of human security in a slum area with that of in a non-slum area on the basis of indicators of seven components of human security as per the definition given by the UNDP Human Development Report 1994 will be done on the basis of the results of the primary survey carried out. However, before this analysis; the paper will briefly introduce the concept of human security.

### 1.2 THE HUMAN SECURITY PARADIGM

During the 1990’s, due to a variety of reasons, the focus of attention of the world community shifted from country to individuals. This happened not only in the discussions on development but also in the field of security studies wherein the shift from state to the individual encompassing military as well as non- military threats.
became more and more apparent. The end of the Cold War was a turning point in the context of concept of security as global interdependence became more visible while the nature of conflicts was changing significantly with marked decline in the number of inter-state conflicts. Around the same time, some states were seen to have failed in protecting their people and some others were even considered a threat to their own population (For example Rwanda\textsuperscript{2}) and there were increasing number of Intra state conflicts.

It is in this background that the concept of ‘Human Security’ evolved gradually, which broadened the definition of security. This concept offered an innovative approach to address in wider canvass the sources of insecurity affecting people worldwide and the security of individual came out of restricted borders of national security. This concept also brought together the concepts of ‘development’ and ‘security’ on the same platform to interact. Traditionally, development signified progress in human well being. However, it was increasingly acknowledged that the inequitable results of development have caused poverty, inequality and abuse of human rights and significantly all of these relate to human security. Thus, since the UNDP Report 1994, which explicitly focused on human security, development and human security have been discussed simultaneously. The concept shifted the focus of development from calculations of GDP/ GNP to the quality of richness in life, but both the human development and human security are fundamentally concerned with the lives of human beings- longevity, education and opportunities for participation. However, A. Sen\textsuperscript{3} pointed out to a basic difference between the two is that, while Human development has optimistic quality and focuses on ‘Growth with Equity’, human security focuses on Downside risks and demands special attention on insecurities that threaten human survival or the safety of daily life.

In the following paragraphs, we will deliberate upon the concept of human security as highlighted by various forums and individuals since the publication of UNDP Human Development Report 1994. The UNDP HDR 1994 offered a broader definition of security, in a way discarding the older and traditional thinking calling it ‘human security’. This approach centred around the concept of ‘freedom from fear

\textsuperscript{2} Weissberg, Matthew, Conceptualising Human Security, 2003, p.9
and freedom from want’ and offered a ‘people centered approach’ in contrast to state centered approach. This broadened approach talked about security from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and political repression and also raised concerns about the ‘protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life’.

Sabina Alkire has highlighted four essential characteristics of Human security which the UNDP report identified in a systematic manner:

- Human security is a universal concern. It is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and poor.
- The components of human security are interdependent.
- Human security is easier to ensure through early prevention that later intervention. It is less costly to meet these threats upstream than downstream.
- Human security is people-centred. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities- and whether they live in conflict or in peace.

Kofi Annan echoed similar sentiments and described human security as follows;

“Human security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a steep towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment -- these are the interrelated building blocks of human -- and therefore national – security.”

Sadako Ogata, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees who also Co-chaired the Commission on Human Security summed up the concept of Human security as,

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3 Message by Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General to International Workshop on Human Security in Mongolia, 2000
“Several key elements make up human security. A first essential element is the possibility for all citizens to live in peace and security within their own borders. This implies the capacity of states and citizens to prevent and resolve conflicts through peaceful and nonviolent means and, after the conflict is over, the ability to effectively carry out reconciliation efforts. A second element is that people should enjoy without discrimination all rights and obligations - including human, political, social, economic and cultural rights - that belonging to a State implies. A third element is social inclusion - or having equal access to the political, social and economic policy making processes, as well as to draw equal benefits from them. A fourth element is that of the establishment of rule of law and the independence of the justice system. Each individual in a society should have the same rights and obligations and be subject to the same set of rules. These basic elements which are predicated on the equality of all before the law, effectively remove any risk of arbitrariness which so often manifests itself in discrimination, abuse or oppression.”

1.3 COMMISSION ON HUMAN SECURITY

The categories highlighted in the UNDP Report were further articulated in the final report of Commission on Human Security presented in 2003. The Commission on Human Security (CHS) defined human security as the protection of "the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and fulfilment". Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that, when combined, give people the building blocks for survival, livelihood and dignity.”

This definition is the most widely used in most of the writings/ debates on this subject.

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7 Ogata, Sadako, Inclusion or Exclusion: Social Development Challenges For Asia and Europe, Statement of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees at the Asian Development Bank Seminar, 27 April 1998
1.4 ACADEMIC WRITINGS

A sizeable number of writings on this subject have been based on vulnerability or freedom from need aspect of Human security irrespective of the underlying causes for such vulnerability.

King and Murray define human security as an individual’s expectation of a life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty and even proposed an index of human security. The human security index proposed by them talks about domains of well-being identified as health, education, income, political freedom, and democracy.\(^9\)

Ronald Paris on the other hand, viewed Human security as a broad category of research on military and/ or non-military threats to societies, groups and individuals.\(^10\)

Kanti Bajpai combined the direct and indirect threats of violence in defining the concept of human security and argued that it relates to the protection of the individual’s personal safety and freedom from these threats. According to him, the promotion of human development and good governance, and, when necessary, the collective use of sanctions and force are central to managing human security. States, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and other groups in civil society in combination are vital to the prospects of human security.\(^11\)

1.5 THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON INTERVENTION & STATE SOVEREIGNTY

The Commission in its report considered Human security as an emerging concept and defined as: \textit{Human security means the security of people – their physical safety, their economic and social well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.}\(^12\)

The report further stressed on the importance of vulnerabilities as mentioned before while comparing the defense expenditure versus others. The report mentions, “the

\(^12\) International Commission on Intervention & State Sovereignty, \textit{The Responsibility to Protect}, 2001, p.15
fundamental components of human security – the security of people against threats to life, health, livelihood, personal safety and human dignity – can be put at risk by external aggression, but also by factors within a country, including ‘security’ forces. Being wedded still to too narrow a concept of ‘national security’ may be one reason why many governments spend more to protect their citizens against undefined external military attack than to guard them against the omnipresent enemies of good health and other real threats to human security on a daily basis.”

1.6 HUMAN SECURITY NETWORK
The Human Security Network (HSN) is a group of like-minded countries from all regions of the world that, at the level of Foreign Ministers, maintains dialogue on questions pertaining to human security. The Network includes Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Slovenia, Thailand and South Africa as an observer. The Network has a unique inter-regional and multiple agenda perspective with strong links to civil society and academia. The Network emerged from the landmines campaign and was formally launched at a Ministerial meeting in Norway in 1999. The vision of the network envisages a humane world where people can live in security and dignity, free from poverty and despair, is still a dream for many and should be enjoyed by all. In such a world, every individual would be guaranteed freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to fully develop their human potential. Building human security is essential to achieving this goal. In essence, human security means freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety or even their lives.14

Another term “Comprehensive security” also figured in academic discussions in this arena. This concept of ‘Comprehensive security’, which in recent times was more popularly used by Olaf Palme, former Prime Minister of Sweden, and by the OSCE, is a mixture of the traditional (or narrow) form of security and the “human security” (or broad) concept. It established a bridge between the human element of security, human rights and well being. This has obviously increased the number of actors involved, which in turn has repercussions on the dynamics of this concept.

13 Ibidem, p.15
14 Human Security Network Homepage; http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/menu-e.php
More recently, partially due to decrease in inter-state conflicts, increased attention is being paid on the internal security problems as a component of comprehensive security as countries face increasing threats from terrorism, organised crime and drugs.

In the present century, as the proportion of world’s population living in urban areas have expanded rapidly, the plight of individuals living in cities naturally demands more attention. In other words, while the concept of human security first broke the barriers of ‘state security’ and brought the individual on the forefront, the rapid trends of urbanisation have further led it to penetrate urban boundaries.

1.7 OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO HUMAN SECURITY CONCEPT

Some other notable contributions in this field are from Govt. of Japan, Govt. of Canada. The Govt. of Japan concept of Human security comprehensively covers all the measures that threaten human survival, daily life and dignity— for example environmental degradation, violation of human rights, trans-national organized crime, illicit drugs, refugees, poverty, anti-personal landmines and infectious diseases such as AIDS— and strengthens efforts to confront these threats.\(^\text{15}\)

Canada on the other hand has a restricted approach and defines human security as ‘freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, safety or lives.’\(^\text{16}\)

Broadly speaking, this concept establishes a bridge between human element of security, human rights and development. This is well illustrated by the definition proposed by the CHS as discussed earlier.

1.8 THE WORLD BANK

Although, the World Bank does not use term \textit{Human Security} and have talked about security, its contribution to human security debate cannot be undermined. The World Bank’s \textit{World Development Report} 2000/1 on Poverty identifies three pillars of poverty reduction efforts: facilitating empowerment, enhancing security, and promoting opportunities. According to the report, “Enhancing security for poor people means reducing their vulnerability to such risks as ill health, economic shocks,

\(^{15}\) Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, \textit{Diplomatic Bluebook}, 1999, Chapter 2, sec.3
\(^{16}\) Canadian Foreign Ministry Website, \texttt{http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/humansecuritymenu-e.asp}, accessed on 20\textsuperscript{th} May 2007
and natural disasters and violence as well as helping them cope with adverse shocks when they occur.\textsuperscript{17} World Bank in this report highlighted several risks and shocks to which people are vulnerable. A look at the table below will indicate several familiar words from the Human security concerns elaborated by UNDP HDR 1994.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main sources of risk</th>
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<td><strong>Type of risk</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
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**Box 1: Main sources of Risk for Poor**

**1.9 THE RESEARCH QUESTION**

The research question is: what are the numerous complex humanitarian challenges existing in Indian cities with a reference to Jaipur, and how crime and violence in the cities are crucial to the human security agenda? We will also discuss the response and the interventions by the state and non-state actors to these challenges taking into account the collected global knowledge of best practices in cities on this subject. The sub question underlying the whole discussion is what the inter-linkages between various components of human insecurities are and whether they influence each other?

The interventions applied in Jaipur will be analysed on the basis of available primary random survey of an urban slum and a planned non-slum area in Jaipur. In the conclusions, some of the strategies applied elsewhere in the world, in similar

situations will be discussed to draw out a possible strategy spelling out role of different actors and possible interventions for a better future.

1.10 METHODOLOGY

The study would try to list out the normative aspects of human security in an urban scenario distinguishing between several levels of analysis, the international, national and the sub-national level. This paper draws heavily from the UNDP definition of Human security. Another model used is the Comprehensive Security framework\(^\text{18}\), which proposes a combination of normative (top down) and inter-subjective (bottom up) approach working at different levels of analysis. The top down approach refers to intergovernmental and state norms and their implementation strategies. The bottom up approach on the other hand, reflects how the normative policies fare on the ground? The bottom up approach analyses the living condition of the people with respect to their social and physical well being which can be assessed though the various forms of securities of people such as food, health, environmental and economic security. The analysis of human security will focus on the efforts of the state to ensure human security and the gaps, which are discernible on the basis of our analysis.

Taking that as a starting point, we would discuss the insecurities, as they are perceived in Indian cities, which may be comparable to cities of similar size elsewhere in the world. This would be followed by an analysis of interventions by various actors both state and non-state in the capital city of state of Rajasthan in India, Jaipur. The impact of interventions in Jaipur will be examined on the basis of the primary survey results and other available government documents.

In the final part of the study, an attempt will be made to evaluate the status of human security in the Jaipur city through a random survey of two select localities in the city. One of the localities selected is urban slum housing around 0.1 m (unofficial figures, the official figures are 30,000) people and the other locality is an organised settlement inhabited by middle class and well to do people. The available statistical and spatial information on the crime and violence in the city will be discussed vis a

vis the human security survey carried out in the city and its linkages to the other components of human security.

While summing up the result of present exercise, we will try to discuss some of the strategies used across the world to tackle humanitarian issues in urban areas in order to draw out a possible road map for future interventions for achieving better results in such settings.
2. Challenges to Human Security in Cities

The common fears in urban areas as a result of growing urbanisation, which endanger the normal life of people living in cities across the world, are at the focus of attention of world community in recent times. The threats that arouse humanitarian concerns and directly or indirectly relate to human security concerns have been in discussion around the world in recent times. In the present chapter, we will discuss the insecurities of people living in cities across the world as pointed out by UNDP, Human Security Research & Outreach Program, UN HABITAT and others. We start with a discussion on the urban fears or insecurities as pointed out by these agencies and then will briefly discuss some of the initiatives in recent past to in this area.

2.1 URBAN FEARS

The level of urbanisation in the world has been unprecedented during 1950-2000 and the trend still continues. During the last five decades of previous century the size of world population living in urban areas increased dramatically accompanied by rise in the number of large and mega cities. According to an estimate, the world’s urban population was around 3 billion in 2000, which is equal to the size of world’s total population in 1960\(^{19}\). On the basis of the phenomenal level of increase in urban population across the world the projections indicate that half of the total world’s population was living in cities as of in 2005 and this is bound to increase to 60% by 2030.\(^ {20}\)

Cities represent centres where both national and global political economies are determined. It is typically within and across the urban complex that the national momentum for change takes place, and increasingly the potential for addressing global concerns through a worldwide network of cities may be recognised as a mechanism for positive change.\(^ {21}\) The exponential growth has obviously resulted in increase in population of some of the cities more than tenfold accompanied by

\(^{19}\) UN, World Urbanisation Prospects, 2004
corresponding increase in their area. This has its repercussions on the local and global governance of cities generating a scenario where Mayors of some of these cities are now governing more people than by a large number of world’s states. This has also created imbalances within the cities wherein a significant part of the urban population lives in slums, in contrast to luxurious life in some other parts causing enormous challenges to comprehensive security.

Since the 9/11 incident, terrorism has come on the forefront of security debate across the world more specifically in the cities. The recent acts of terrorism in London, New Delhi, and Madrid further corroborate the fears of higher vulnerability of cities to such acts due to their dense population and the anonymity it provides to criminals.

Another curious outcome of this growth is the fact that most of this urbanisation is taking place in the cities of the developing world where due to ill equipped municipal administration and inequitable economic growth, the majority of the new urban dwellers are likely to find a place in slum areas with poor living conditions. Simultaneously, there is serious threat of breakdown of law and order due to inability of some of the states to exercise control over this unevenly spread population which can provide a breeding ground for criminal networks and organised criminal gangs establishing a parallel system of governance.

Thus, the security concerns for this urban population among other threats also reflect the consequences of uneven development causing real threats to physical security. The consequences of these developments are communities in which an increasing portion of the population, especially youth, is excluded from society. These groups may turn to illicit, criminal and violent activities, contributing to an overall sense of community insecurity. In marginalized urban communities, disease, crime, vandalism, drugs, pollution and lack of basic services add to the lack of safety and security.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{2.2 CHALLENGES OF HUMAN SECURITY}

There are several factors, which affect the framework of human security in cities. Taking the conceptual framework of UNDP, there are seven components of

Human security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. These components for the purpose of present study will be analyzed on the basis of available parameters on the following issues:

- Economic security by poverty levels;
- Food security by access to food;
- Health security by injury, disease and life expectancy;
- Environmental security by pollution levels;
- Personal security by various forms of violence;
- Political security by political situation, form of governance, status of human rights;
- Community security by social unrest and instability.

Another way of looking at the human security could be judging it on the basis of internal and external factors.

The external factors commonly referred to are terrorism activities as they frequently target the cities in particular. Others, however, felt that city fragility is the result of the “implosion of global national politics into the urban world.” These “implosive forces that fold into neighborhoods the most violent and problematic repercussions of wider regional, national, and global processes” include ethnic tensions; fundamentalism; militarization of gangs, police, militias, and other armed groups; state failure; arms proliferation; rapid urbanization and a youth bulge; increasing social polarization; resource scarcity; structural adjustment programs; and deep unemployment (usually defined as more than 20%).

Some of the internal factors as identified by the Human Security Research & Outreach Program as detailed in the Fast Talk Team Report detailing the findings of an expert consultative process, contributing to insecurity are as follows:

- **Scarcity conflicts:** Urban-level conflicts developing from competition over scarce resources such as water, food, jobs, or especially land.
- **Economic distribution conflicts:** Economic distribution conflicts exacerbated by corruption and patronage and poor governance.

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24 Ibidem, pp.8-9
• **Demographic and acculturation conflicts**: Rapid urbanization induced riots in cities unable to cope with the raised societal tensions and increased demands of new migrants.

• **Identity conflicts**: Rapid urbanization, leading to ethnic enclaves with self-protection militias, gangs, and identity-based political movements. Horizontal inequalities created as a result of rapid urbanization can cause conflict between competing enclaves, or between enclaves and city forces.

• **Power/electoral conflicts**: Local authorities appointed by, or dubiously elected under, the supervision of national regimes also represent another entry point for manipulation and intimidation. Given peace processes’ relative neglect of local events, local-level operatives can cling to power long after conflict resolution at a national level, thereby blocking national peace building at the local level.

• **Strategic military conflicts**: Capital cities are especially targeted during times of war, and can suffer from a degree of localized violence even when surrounding areas are largely peaceful. Sarajevo, Jakarta, Beirut, Cairo, Khartoum, and Jerusalem have all been targets of significant social armed violence. In addition to symbolic value, cities with strategic assets, including ports, airports, rail connections, and commercial value, are frequently targets of armed groups.

### 2.3 HUMAN SECURITY - CITIES

The possibilities of exploring the challenges posed by cities in increasingly urbanized world through human security lens and the growing threat of crime and violence in the cities have been examined in depth in a research partnership [humansecurity-cities.org](http://humansecurity-cities.org). This partnership brought on one platform the Canadian Consortium on Human Security (CCHS) hosted by the University of British Columbia and the Human Security Research and Outreach Programme supported by Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT). Launched in early 2006, the humansecurity-cities.org was aimed at collective research and policy development focusing urban human security agenda.
The output of the above exercise is an elaborate volume titled *Human Security for an Urban Century*, which provides an overview of human security challenges, and opportunities based on analytical research by 40 leading academics, civil society experts, government officials and graduate students.

The contributors to the above volume have pointed out different concerns, which are emanating from the urbanization especially the armed violence in the cities and growth in slum areas deprived of basic facilities. Uneven economic growth, insufficiency of resources, and good governance are some of the key issues, which are normally cited for urban poverty and mushrooming of slums in the cities.

The above discussion takes us back to the broad outline of human security implying that security in cities means absence of threats against physical and functional well being of human beings and their forms of political and social organizations and that the prerequisite for security is the presence of means to better the quality of human life through the political and social organizations.

### 2.4 UN HABITAT

The Global Report on Human Settlement 2003 on “The Challenge of Slums’ puts the urban fears in a very simple language as, “The questions that the world needs to ask are where will these new urban residents live? Which land they should use? Which school will their children go? Where will they get their water? How will their rubbish be collected? Where should they vote? Who will protect them?” The report also pointed out that in 2001, 924 million people, or 31.6 per cent of the world’s urban population, lived in slums. The majority of them were in the developing regions, accounting for 43 per cent of the urban population, in contrast to 6 per cent in more developed regions. These concerns bring our attention to the issues of housing, security of tenure, education, water and sanitation (and thus health), political rights and personal security and the commonality with the human security agenda discussed in preceding pages is quite obvious.

According to the UN HABITAT Report on State of the World Cities 2006/7, the incidence of disease and mortality is much higher in slums than in non-slum urban areas, and in some cases, such as HIV prevalence and other health indicators, is

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26 Ibidem, p. XXV
equal to or even higher than in rural areas. Inequality to access to services, housing, land, education, health-care and employment opportunities within cities have socio-economic, environmental and political repercussions, including rising violence, urban unrest, environmental degradation and underemployment, which threatens to diminish any gains in income and poverty reduction.  

2.4.1 UN HABITAT Safer Cities Programme

The objective of this programme launched in 1996, is to create a culture of prevention and safe environment for all urban inhabitants by strengthening the capacity of local authorities, the criminal justice system, the private sector and civil society partners to address urban safety issues and reduce delinquency and security.

The underlying approach of UN HABITAT programme is; “inadequate urban environments that unequally exclude some members of society from benefits of urbanisation and participation in decision making and development disempower them and encourage crime.”

Following the above agenda, the UN HABITAT launched a Global Campaign on Urban Governance in 1999. The campaign’s theme is “The Inclusive City” where all urban inhabitants, regardless of economic means, gender, race, ethnicity or religion, are able to fully participate in the social, economic and political opportunities that cities have to offer. Specific attention is paid to the needs of the excluded urban poor and promotes community, particularly women’s, participation in all levels of planning and decision-making.

The above discussion is only a pointer to the grave crisis that engulfs the cities across the world especially those in the developing world. The composition and the level of problem may vary from city to another but the fact they all are going through a silent humanitarian crisis cannot be but understated. According to an estimate, one out of every three city-dwellers nearly one billion people lives in slums. Apart from the economic issues, the spurt in acts of terrorism across the world has demonstrated the vulnerability of the cities and a target to terror globally. Job opportunities, water and sanitation, health facilities, food security, personal safety and security concerns are some of the common problems, which pose a challenge to urban governance.

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28 UN HABITAT, *Activities Brief: The Safer Cities Programme*, p.2
29 Ibidem, p.4
In the next chapter we will continue our discussion on insecurities in cities with special focus on the Indian cities.
3. Insecurities in Indian Cities with Special Reference to Jaipur

The enormity of security concerns for city dwellers has been pointed out in the preceding chapter. In this chapter, we will discuss the general state of insecurities faced by people living in India cities with special reference to Jaipur in particular. Before we discuss the insecurities, it would be worthwhile to have a brief insight into the pattern of urbanisation in India.

3.1 URBANISATION IN INDIA

According to the Census 2001, the urban population of India was 286.1 million accounted for 27.8 per cent of country’s total population of 1026.8 million. According to this Census, the number of cities with population over 100,000 was 441 and another 446 towns had population between 50,000 to 99,000. There were 35 cities with population more than one million and these together accounted for around 39 per cent (108 m) of total urban population of the country.

Indian cities face a peculiar problem of having grown mostly in an unplanned manner. As the pressure on land increased with growth in city population and due to increasing number of migrants, the cities expanded in all the directions. In some cities, the growth was vertical but in majority till the recent times, the growth has been horizontal. It is mainly because of the preference of local population to go for an individual piece of land, even if it is far from the centre of the city instead of going for a place in multi stories complex. It has had an obvious impact on land prices as they soared and it became a luxury to hold land in the cities. Another outcome of such high demand for land even at high prices was the conversion of agricultural land surrounding the cities into residential land as the city boundaries extended. This growth had another feature as well. The pressure was not only on private lands but on vacant government lands too. The vacant government lands became easy target of people without any means to support and lacking purchasing power to buy land in the city. This caused growth of unplanned, unregulated colonies mostly in the form of slums.

31 Census of India, 2001
These colonies initially developed due to high influx of people and inefficient local administration, gradually progressed to full-fledged residential areas. However, since these colonies were not recognised by the government, they could not get official connection to power supply, sewage and water supply. Thus, they lacked in basic amenities. Further, they developed in totally unplanned manner, implying, lack of proper internal roads, street lighting, playgrounds, health centres, schools, recreation facilities and green belts.

The situation further varies from one city to another especially between different sizes of cities as observed follows:

“Although a third of the urban population live in the large metropolitan cities, two thirds live in thousands of small and medium sized towns, and it is in these where rapid population growth has occurred. It should however be pointed out that although urban growth rates vary according to the size of town, at a national level, rural-urban migration now only accounts for a third of urban growth. One third is due to natural population increases, and a third by the redrawing of urban boundaries to accommodate new settlements. Given the pattern of urban growth, it is not surprising that there is a direct correlation between the incidence of poverty and the size of town. In the larger urban centers, poverty levels in 1993/4 were around 20% of the total population. In towns of less than 50,000 people, the proportion of those below the poverty line was 43%. The smaller towns, where economic growth is happening incredibly fast, do not have the capacity to keep pace with the demand for shelter, the provision of basic infrastructure, such as water and electricity, and other essential services that these economic migrants require.”

Thus, in most of the Indian cities, one would come across a complete contrast of life, high-rise buildings and posh localities of enviable houses and surroundings on

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one side and the poverty ridden shabby cluster of houses on the other side. According to 2001 census of India, 40 million people are living in slums in 607 cities, which was around 4% of total population. In the cities, the figure was around 22%. Thus, around a quarter of population living in cities, is reported to be living in slum areas. In Mumbai alone, this percentage is estimated to be 49% of total population of Mumbai. The slum areas obviously present grave challenges of governance as the number of inhabitants continues to swell in them while the living conditions do not reflect a significant change.

3.2 CITY PROFILE OF JAIPUR

Jaipur is one of the few and the first planned cities of India. It was planned and constructed in seven years starting in 1727.

The Jaipur municipality was reorganised in 1926 and a Municipal act was prepared in 1929. After independence in 1947, the planned development of the city was taken over by Jaipur Development Authority (JDA).

Figure 3.1: Jaipur City and surroundings

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33 Census of India, 2001
Jaipur is strategically located in north India with only 260 Km. away from the capital city New Delhi and is ranked 11 amongst the mega cities of India with a total population of 2.3 million. It is one of the fastest growing cities with growth rate of 4.5% whereas the national urban growth rate is only 2%. Its high rate of urbanization is attributed to its institutional, administrative, and trading and tourism related economic activities. It provides better employment opportunities and living conditions as compared to other cities in vicinity.  

Jaipur region/JDA area has an extent of 1464 Sq. Km (Table 2.1) and comprises the Jaipur Municipal Corporation (JMC) that includes the walled city and the rest of JMC; Rest of JDA area that includes the satellite towns and the villages.

The population of Jaipur region is 2.3 Million as per 2001 census and has shown a consistent increase in the past 50 years In fact, in the last decade, the population has increased by 8 lakhs (Table 2.1). The area of Jaipur Municipal Corporation has grown from 200 sq. km in 1981 to 218 sq. km in 1991 to 288 sq. km in 2001. The area under the jurisdiction of JDA has remained same since 1991.

### 3.2.1 Population Density

The walled city has the highest population density in the city at 58207 persons/sq km. This is despite the fact that the density has declined from 1991 (74,000 persons per sq. km). The population density of JMC is higher in 2001 than 1991 and has increased by nearly 3000 persons sq. km in spite of expansion of municipal boundary.

#### Table 3-1: Area and Population-Jaipur Region (2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total Area (sq. km.)</th>
<th>Total Population (Million)</th>
<th>% JDA Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>JMC</td>
<td>218.3</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.a.</td>
<td>Walled City</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.b.</td>
<td>Rest of JMC</td>
<td>211.7</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Rest of JDA</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Total JDA</td>
<td>1464</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In terms of share, 87% of the total population lives in the JMC area, of which 7% lives in the walled city. While the proportion of population living within the JMC has increased (primarily due to expansion in area), the proportion of population in the

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walled city has declined. This can be regarded as positive phenomena as the walled city is already very densely populated. The Walled City has a spatial extent of only 6.7 sq.km but houses nearly four lakh people. The 2001 census shows that the population of the Walled City has declined from 1991 (Figure 2.4).

The reason for this is out movement of inhabitants from the area to new residential colonies being developed in the periphery in want of better living environment.

3.2.2 Migration pattern

Being the only million plus city in the state, Jaipur attracts population from all parts of the state. The proportion of in-migrants to the total population of the city in 1991 was 29%, which decreased to 27% in 2001. However, the absolute number of migrants to the city has been increasing. From 1991 to 2001, nearly two lakh migrants were added to the city increasing the number of migrants from 4 lakhs to 6 lakhs.

The City Development Plan formulated recently pointes out that though the economic profile of the city suggests that the city has tremendous potential to emerge as an economically developed city, it is nevertheless beset by several constraints especially the rising levels of unemployment, poor infrastructure and increasing marginalization of labour.

3.3 INSECURITIES IN INDIAN CITIES

The cities in India which have witnessed continuous population growth in past, both due to pull as well as push factors are marked by the existence of both rich and poor living simultaneously in urban India. The strain on infrastructure, health, education, food distribution system law and order, job creation, housing, transport and overall governance is more than obvious.

Urbanization is India is also said to be the contributing factor for degenerating social and economic inequalities, which in turn has caused social conflicts, crimes and anti-social activities. 35 It has also affected the environment resulting in

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35 Kundu, A and Gupta S., Migration Urbanisation and Regional Inequality, in “Economic and Political Weekly”, Vol.31, No.52, 1996, pp. 3391-98
degradation in the quality of urban life such as noise pollution, air pollution, and contaminated water, created by disposal of hazardous waste.

In the following paragraphs we will examine the state of various components of human security in Indian cities taking the UNDP 1994 definition as the guiding spirit. We will be discussing the seven components of Human security in this chapter in the order as detailed in UNDP 1994 report but that does not indicate the order of priority for these insecurities.

3.3.1 Economic Insecurities

Population growth in cities has its natural impact on the employment opportunities. The growth in number of people living in cities has not been adequately matched by employment opportunities. Further, the employment opportunities in urban areas are a complex web wherein the issue often is not just employment but also the underemployment due to fierce competition and limited number of jobs. DFID document\(^{36}\) has summed up the situation quite succinctly as follows:

“In urban areas, people’s main asset is their capacity to sell their labour. They have few other assets to build on; their home may be rented or be unfit for habitation; they may not own land or cattle in the town; and the social networks built by households over generations in the village may be less strong in a dynamic urban context where people come and go. The opportunities open to different urban inhabitants vary considerably (...)The poor are not necessarily equipped with the skills and training to take advantage of newer opportunities in modern industry and the rising service sector. (...) Wages are forced downwards, working conditions are unprotected and unregulated, and access to opportunities is mediated by the capacity of individuals or households to mobilise support from local mustangs or dadaas who control entry to different markets. The informal sector is expanding.”

Thus, the biggest challenge in urban areas is emerging from the urban informal sector in terms of providing social security to the persons employed in it (which form majority of total employed) as the employment conditions are very loosely regulated and not yet adequate to provide enough protection to workers.

Talking about Jaipur, the City Development Plan (CDP) formulated recently lists out several constraints, which are stumbling blocks in the potential economic growth of the city as follows:

- Increasing marginalisation and casualisation of labour;
- High and rising levels of unemployment;
- Poor infrastructure facilities;
- Industrial sector especially large industries have low development;
- No organized commercial spaces for retail markets. Traditional bazaars in the walled city have reached saturation levels with respect to infrastructure and spaces;
- Tourism infrastructure needs to be augmented.

3.3.2 Food Insecurity

As per the definition adopted by the World Bank, Food security refers to “access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life”. Thus, the apparent emphasis is on the access and sustainability. The discussion on Food Security in the class during the week was broadly at aggregate levels focusing on both chronic as well as transitory insecurity. Several important developments have taken place since the nineties both in strengthening of human security agenda and the focus on food security. The UNDP Report 1994 which catapulted the debate on human security as new paradigm included food security as one of the seven categories of threat to human security and emphasized upon both the physical and economic access to food. (UNDP- HDR 1994) Citing the case of the Bengal famine of 1943 (India), the problem stressed upon was, the distribution of food and lack of purchasing power and suggested that tackling this problem required both top down as well as bottom up approach. Another significant event in the recent times has been the holding of World Food Summit (WFS) in 1996, which displayed the resolve of the International community to make Food security an absolute priority.

One of the recent studies in India adopting a broader definition of the concept, views food security from three different angles. First, the availability of food, which depends on production and distribution; second, the access to food, which is determined by an individual's purchasing power, and in turn purchasing power is

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37 PDCOR Limited, Draft City Development Plan Jaipur, 2007
affected by livelihood access, access to housing, and caste and gender discrimination; and third, the absorption of food, which is affected by sanitation, clean drinking water and health care. The report identifies 17 key indicators, which fall into six categories (food affordability and availability, livelihood access, access to housing, discrimination in livelihood access, access to sanitation, and health and nutritional outcome) that in turn can be grouped under the classifications of availability, access, and absorption of food. Indices and maps of food insecurity are created and food insecurity "hotspots" are identified from the 20 States studied.

The publication, *Food Insecurity Atlas of Urban India*, brought out by the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) and the World Food Programme (WFP) indicates that more than 38 per cent of children under the age of three in India's cities and towns are underweight and more than 35 per cent of children in urban areas are stunted (shorter than they should be for their age). The report states that the poor in India's burgeoning urban areas do not get the requisite amount of calories or nutrients specified by accepted Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) norms and also suggests that absorption and assimilation of food by the urban poor is further impaired by non-food factors such as inadequate sanitation facilities, insufficient housing and woeful access to clean drinking water.39

However, the problem of hunger in India is not one of scarce food production as India has been maintaining a substantial food grains surplus in recent years. The problem as suggested by Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen is more of purchasing capacity and of governance who observed that; “The demand for food is restrained mainly by lack of income. And the same factor explains the large number of people who are hungry across the world. Given their income levels, they are not able to buy enough food, and as a consequence these people (including their family members) live with hunger.’ Sen further observes: Alas, hunger in the non-acute form of endemic undernourishment often turns out to be not particularly politically explosive. Even democratic governments can survive with a good deal of regular under nourishment. For example, while famines have been eliminated in democratic India (they disappeared immediately in 1947, with Independence and multi-party elections), there is a remarkable continuation of endemic under nourishment in a non-acute form.

39 Kanta Murli, *Food Insecurity in urban India* in “FRONTLINE”, Vol. 20 - Issue 01, January 18 - 31, 2003
Deprivation of this kind can reduce life expectancy, increase the rate of morbidity, and even lead to under-development of mental capacities of children.”

Thus, the food security concerns in Indian cities are serious. It may be mentioned here that the above inferences are for the cities in general and the situation in slum areas is likely to be even more severe. However, we will not be discussing in depth this component of human security in this paper as the emphasis is on other components.

3.3.3 Health Insecurities

Health has been one of the core components of Comprehensive security definition. Good health is “intrinsic” to human security, since human survival and good health are at the core of “security.” Health is also “instrumental” to human security because good health enables the full range of human functioning. Health permits human choice, freedom, and development. Population suffering from critical diseases cannot neither work towards self-fulfillment nor can avail full benefit from the efforts by the state or humanitarian organizations. Such sentiments were echoed by the Commission on Human Security in its final report as, “Good health is both essential and instrumental to achieving human security. It is essential because the very heart of security is protecting human lives. Health security is at the vital core of human security—and illness, disability and avoidable death are “critical pervasive threats” to human security. Health is defined here as not just the absence of disease, but as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being”. Health is both objective physical wellness and subjective psychosocial well being and confidence about the future.”

Health concerns in urban scenario are of paramount importance. There are loads of migrants living in the city, most of them living in either slum areas or localities with poor water and sanitation facilities. There are equally a large number of daily workers who travel from suburban neighbourhoods to earn a living with a permanent or a temporary job and return to their hometown in the evening/night.

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40 Sen, A., Why half the Planet is Hungry? in “THE GUARDIAN” June 16, 2002
everyday. “High levels of overcrowding also make poor urban residents vulnerable to contracting communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, acute respiratory infections, and meningitis. Low resistance among the population owing to malnutrition often aids transmission of these illnesses. Vaccine-preventable diseases such as measles, diphtheria, and whooping cough also spread more rapidly in overcrowded urban areas among non-immunised populations.”

Then, apart from living conditions, another aspect is the access to health services and family planning and reproductive health services. “The deteriorating health status of urban people needs urgent attention because many of the recent health problems can take an epidemic form if neglected. To tackle these problems effectively, it is important for policy-makers to recognize that certain groups are more susceptible to illness than others; they are vulnerable to the severe impact of illnesses and also the likely sources of infection for the population at large.”

The National Health Policy-2002 of India mentions that, “In most urban areas, public health services are very meagre. To the extent that such services exist, there is no uniform organizational structure. The urban population in the country is presently as high as 30 percent and is likely to go up to around 33 percent by 2010. The bulk of the increase is likely to take place through migration, resulting in slums without any infrastructure support. Even the meagre public health services which are available do not percolate to such unplanned habitations, forcing people to avail of private health care through out-of-pocket expenditure.” The urban poor due to poor living conditions in unhygienic environments are more vulnerable to health risks and their plight is further aggravated due to lack of access to health services. The income disparities in urban areas cause similar disparities in health indicators, between the urban poor and those better off. “While urban averages commonly reflect better health conditions than rural averages for most health indicators, those of the urban poor are typically similar or worse than rural populations in the same state.” This is symptomatic of the link between economic security and health security.

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45 USAID-EHP, *Report of National Consultation; Improving the Health of the Urban Poor Lessons Learned and the Way Forward*, 2003
In the above background, the health insecurities in Indian cities cannot thus be over stated. “It is estimated that within a decade, the majority of the child diseases and malnutrition burden in India will be among the urban poor. Conversely, attention in India continues to be primarily focused on the health needs of the rural population. While these needs will continue to be important, the health indicators of the urban poor are falling, even as the proportion of urban poor is rising. Unless there is an increased understanding and coordinated planning towards the health needs of the urban poor at various levels, the health conditions of the urban poor will continue to deteriorate.”  

The policy makers have increasingly been concerned about this development due to rapid urbanization and the National Health Policy 2002 marked a shift in the strategy according due priority to urban health planning. The concerns on urban health have been echoed in various forums seeking attention on urban health as traditionally the rural health has been the priority in all state led efforts.

The concerns of health insecurity in Jaipur fall are more or less similar to those in any other city in urban India. However, we will not be discussing this component of human security in detail as the focus of this paper on other components of human security.

3.3.4 Environmental Insecurities

The linkage of Environment with security is quite an established fact. Environmental change can have direct and immediate effects on well being and livelihoods. For example, water scarcity may not cause war but still engender insecurity by contributing to dehydration-related death, reducing food production, and undermining livelihood opportunities. The environment impacts human survival, well-being and dignity — all aspects of human security.  

India has highly populous cities including the national capital of New Delhi, which face several challenges on environmental issues and are disaster prone. For instance, most of these cities are located in zones of high seismic risk and the majority of the constructions in these cities are not earthquake resistant. Thus, in the event of any earthquake in one of these cities a major disaster can be anticipated. Six

46 ibidem
major earthquakes have struck different parts of India over a span of the last two decades. The damages caused by these earthquakes reiterate the scale of vulnerability. However, if any of these earthquakes had struck populous urban centers, the damages in terms of human lives and property would have been colossal. Thus, it is of crucial importance to formulate strategies to reduce the vulnerability to and losses arising from a possible earthquake striking one of these cities.

In most of the cities, the municipal services such as water supply and sanitation, drainage of storm water; treatment and disposal of waste water; management of solid and hazardous wastes; supply of adequate and safe food and housing have not been able to keep pace with urban growth and the pressure on these services has risen.

In Jaipur, the situation is symptomatic of the state of most of India growing cities with nearly 16% of the population living in slum areas. Most of these slums are located in environmentally sensitive areas as 47% of the slums are located on forestland, 27% are in flood prone areas and 18% along main roads. These slums lack proper toilet facilities, drains and sewerage. Solid waste management system is completely absent in these colonies and they resort to disposal of wastes in the either in the open or in the open drains having a direct impact on the natural resources causing their depletion and degradation. The forests are the most prone to encroachment, which also implies that continuous deforestation for meeting the shelter, firewood needs is taking place. Further, due to poor sanitation facilities, all the wastewater and solid waste is also getting dumped on forestland leading to its degradation and reduction in its regeneration capacity.

Overall, the urban environment of Jaipur faces threats from numerous fronts. The status of sanitation, sewerage and safe water supply is alarmingly low for the city and the natural areas such as forests are continuously threatened by thoughtless development and exploitation.48

3.3.5 Personal Insecurity

Personal security refers to protection from physical violence. The source of violence can be from individuals, state or outside state boundaries. It may also come within the household and children and women are specially the most vulnerable groups followed by people from weaker sections of the society. The maintenance of

“law and order” and a safe urban environment is another important governmental function. The local authority has an overall responsibility to facilitate and indirectly support individual, household and community “survival strategies” for the urban poor.49

In certain cities across the world, most of the city population lives in slums. For example, 60% of Nairobi’s population lives in slums on only 5% of city land. Mumbai in India is equally worse as 49% of the population was living in slums in 2001. “The growth of slums can breed violence and insecurity largely for two reasons. First, their sheer size and population can stretch state capacity to the point at which the state is unable to provide these areas with basis public security. Second, state security agencies may be unwilling to provide security in slums due to, for example, a lack of incentive to risk their lives entering dangerous areas.”50

The range of types of urban violence and crime is complex and depends on several factors as is evident from the fact that the level of violence differs from one part of the city to another. The standard of living, income levels, profile of the population living in a particular area cause different types of violence. Thus, while more prosperous areas suffer from violent property-related crime, such as vehicle robbery, lower-income areas witness more violent fights. Levels of violence also show important variations based on age and gender, with young men most likely to be both the victims and the perpetrators. This also hints at the inter linkage between economic security and personal security, with the absence of first causing or exacerbating the second. Various categories of violence have been defined and a comprehensive roadmap has been detailed in table 2.2 below. These categories of violence are perpetrated by host of actors affecting different sections of population and their manifestation could be in various forms as has been detailed in the table 2.2. The state has been primarily been responsible for providing security to its people and security sector represented by Military and Police and Judiciary collectively take care of the security concerns of people. The state of insecurity can be measured through the prevalence of crime calculated in yearly crime statistics on various heads such as

49 Amis Philip, *Urban Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction*, Urban Governance, Poverty and Partnership Theme Paper 2, International Development Department, School of Public policy, University of Birmingham, UK

Property crime (Theft, robbery etc), Body offences (Homicide, grievous hurt etc.) and also with respect to victims such as Crime against women and crime against children.

Table 3.2: Roadmap of categories, types and manifestations of violence in urban areas Types of violence by perpetrators and/or victims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Violence</th>
<th>Types of violence by Perpetrators and/or victims</th>
<th>Manifestations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>• State and non-state violence</td>
<td>• Guerrilla conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Paramilitary conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Political assassinations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Armed conflict between political parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>• Violence of state and other “informal” institutions</td>
<td>Extra-judicial killings by police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Including the private sector</td>
<td>• Physical or psychological abuse by health and education workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• State or community vigilante-directed social cleansing of gangs and street children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Lynching of suspected criminals by community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>• Organized crime</td>
<td>• Intimidation and violence as means of resolving economic disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Business interests</td>
<td>• Street theft, robbery and crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Delinquents</td>
<td>• Kidnapping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Robbers</td>
<td>• Armed robbery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Drug-trafficking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Car theft and other contraband activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Small-arms dealing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                      |                                               | • Assaults including killing and rape in the course of economic
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic/social</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Gangs</td>
<td>• Intimate partner violence inside the home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Street children (boys and girls)</td>
<td>• Sexual violence (including rape) in the public arena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ethnic violence</td>
<td>• Child abuse: boys and girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Inter-generational conflict between parent and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Gratuitous/routine daily violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Territorial or identity-based “turf” violence; robbery, theft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Petty theft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Communal riots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Physical or psychological male–female abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Physical and sexual abuse, particularly prevalent in the case of stepfathers but also uncles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Physical and psychological abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Incivility in areas such as traffic, road rage, bar fights and street confrontations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Arguments that get out of control</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Caroline O N Moser-2004

Indian cities with high population growth combined with high incidence of migration from sub urban and rural areas presents a very complex and challenging scenario on security front. According to official statistics, the number of cities in India having population of over 1 million has increased from 23 in 1991 to 35 in 2001. Most of these cities (referred as Mega cities) are facing increased criminal activities on account of peculiar problems such as unchecked migration, illegal settlements, diverse socio-cultural disparities, uneven distribution of incomes etc. Organised groups, gangsters, professional criminals and even youth and Juveniles find crime as a short cut for a lavish life in mega cities.51

During the year 2005, in India, the average rate of crime in urban agglomeration centres at 291.7 was much higher than the national crime rate of 165.3 Similarly; the share of cities in total crime against women is also high. The rate

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51 NCRB, *Crime in India 2005*, 2006
of crime (against women) in cities was 19.5, which was comparatively higher as compared to the National rate of 14.1.\textsuperscript{52}

Jaipur city though considered one of the peaceful cities in the country does have a high crime rate. The registered crime in the city has been more than 13000 every year in last three years. This includes cases of crimes against women also which have marginally increased from 743 in year 2004 to 852 in 2006. Another serious cause for concern is rising deaths on roads due to traffic accidents in the city.\textsuperscript{53}

### 3.3.6 Community Insecurity

Broadly speaking, community security can be defined, as a component of comprehensive security is an extension of personal security aiming to provide continuity in traditional relationships among people collectively represented as ethnic groups protecting them from sectarian or communal violence. This component of human security is of further importance in urban context, as there is assortment of different communities coming from different backgrounds and different areas.

India has witnessed several communal riots especially between Hindus and Muslims starting from immediately after the partition by British at the time of gaining Independence in 1947. Major impact of these riots has been seen and felt in urban areas. An analysis of Communal riots during 1950-95 has revealed that Communal riots are a largely urban phenomenon in India as Rural India, where almost 75\% of Indians live, accounted for barely 4\% of all riot-related deaths during these years. The analysis further points out that 70\% of Hindu-Muslim violence was concentrated in barely 30 cities across the country out which 46\% of riot-related deaths could be accounted for by just 8 cities - Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Meerut, Aligarh, Vadodara, Delhi and Kolkata.\textsuperscript{54} The findings are self-explanatory in appreciating the importance of community security in urban India.

Jaipur city is considered to be communally sensitive and has witnessed two serious Hindu Muslim riots in recent past. The population especially in the walled

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\textsuperscript{52} ibidem
\textsuperscript{53} Crime Statistics from IGP Jaipur Range Office (unpublished)
\textsuperscript{54} Varshney Ashutosh, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindu and Muslims in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002
city which is very thickly populated is a mix of several religions with a substantial Hindu and Muslim population. Thus, even a small incident has the potential of turning into a major communal riot if not handled timely and properly. Under the bohemia of living together as brothers, there does lay a sense of mutual suspicion and insecurity among the people especially those who are living as minority in an area inhabited by a majority of other religion.

3.3.7 Political Insecurity

The widened concept of ‘security’ explores the threats to ‘referent objects’ that have legitimate claim to survival and are seen to be existentially threatened and the securitisation of these threats both, military as well as non-military. The process of securitisation is of fundamental importance to the concept of security and in the present context, is seen as a more extreme version of politicisation. In other words, while threats and emergencies can arise in different areas, either military or non-military, they need to be presented as existential threats to the said referent object in order to separate them from just being a political threat. It can be said to been achieved when the issue is presented as an existential threat, requiring immediate attention and appropriate action, even justifying abnormal political actions.

The securitisation process is an exercise to check the contents in the normative framework of security as to how they fit in the political context of model and explain which of the elements are at stake? What is important is, how an issue can be securitised? How far it can be securitised? During this exercise, both the real threats as well as perceived threats to security, have an impact on the outcome and which one exerts more would depend largely on the securitisation moves by securitising actors.

The role of the state, its reaction to the security threats and the humanitarian intervention thereof is a crucial agenda of the present study. It would be an attempt to find out that how far the state as a referent actor has been addressing security concerns specially those other than concerning the security of the state. How far the interventions by the state can be termed as displaying ‘good governance’ and how far the response has been real as compared to the displayed response would be another item of analysis.
India being a socialist democracy has a well-established stable political set up catering to the need of its population. The Constitution of India, which is supreme over all legal enactments, provides a range of fundamental rights to all citizens of India, which are enforceable in the court of law and thus, the political security in Jaipur is similar to the one existing in any part of India.

Summing up the discussion on threats to urban security, it can be safely premised that the challenges are multifaceted and complex. The threats are numerous on all fronts/ components of human security and the vulnerable people among the urban population have to face it severely. Due to their inherent weaknesses and continued suffering, their coping capacities are not sufficient enough to tackle these insecurities and thus, they depend on interventions from outside. In most of the areas, it is the State that plays a key role in supporting their local population to fight with the insecurities and often it is assisted by other agencies such as International governmental organisations as well as non-governmental organisations.

In the proceeding chapter, we will examine the response of various actors especially of the State (top down) to various insecurities as faced by urban population living in cities.
4. Interventions by State/ Non-state Actors to Control Insecurities in Indian Cities

Urban governance in India has caught up on national agenda as a priority item in a major way in the last decade. The growing urban fears as detailed in previous chapter have also been drawing the attention of world community, which has been actively involved in various programmes targeted at urban renewal in India. This is evident from the responses of the International organisations specially UN agencies such as WHO, WFP, UNICEF, UNDP, International NGOs such as US Aid, Oxfam, Action Aid etc. who have made concerted efforts to check the urban insecurities. In addition to the initiatives by the Central (Federal) government, State governments, UN agencies and the government agencies from developed countries such as SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), DFID (Department for International Development) from British Government, have been active in various projects to overcome urban threats in India as also in other parts of the world.

This chapter will examine the response and interventions by all these actors to urban insecurities in Indian cities. While discussing the various interventions by state and non-state actors, we will follow the seven components of human security as used in the previous chapter. In addition, we will also look at some international initiatives across the world, which have targeted urban insecurities specifically in recent past. However, in order to understand the interventions by state more clearly, we will start with a brief introduction on pattern of governance in India.

4.1 GOVERNANCE IN INDIA

India is the largest democracy in the world having federal form of government. It has three branches of governance; the Legislature, Executive and the Judiciary. The Constitution of India defines the powers of each branch and also spells out their responsibilities.

The governance in India is based on a three tiered system as the Constitution of India sets out the power of Central Government and State Governments to make laws according to three lists mentioning subjects. The Central government exercises powers on broad national issues and sets the priorities for the entire country. State
governments are primarily responsible for planning and initiating measures towards
general economic development and take other welfare measures for well being of the
population living in each state. For this purpose they have a great deal of autonomy to
frame suitable policies and prioritise them according the need of the hour.

Within the state, the administrative set up in a typical city scenario in India
looks like as follows: The administration of the district under which the city falls is
headed by District Magistrate, a bureaucratic representative of the State government,
responsible for handling revenue collection, overseeing implementation of
government schemes and plans including handling of disasters and humanitarian
emergencies. The Police administration is the district headed by District
Superintendent of Police who is responsible for day-to-day police management, law
and order, crime prevention and detection etc.

In the cities, a Municipal administration runs parallel, which is also State
controlled. Municipal acts in the states list out the functions, powers and
responsibilities to be carried out by the municipal government. Broadly, these are
divided into two categories, obligatory or discretionary. Obligatory functions include:
supply of pure and wholesome water; construction and maintenance of public streets;
lighting and watering of public streets; cleaning of public streets, places and sewers;
regulation of offensive, dangerous or obnoxious trades and callings or practices;
maintenance or support of public hospitals; establishment and maintenance of
primary schools; registration of births and deaths; removing obstructions etc.
Discretionary functions include: laying out of areas; securing or removal of
dangerous buildings or places; construction and maintenance of public parks,
gardens, libraries, museums, rest houses, leper homes, orphanages and rescue homes
for women; and public buildings; planting and maintenance of roadside and other
trees; housing for low income groups; conducting surveys; organising public
receptions, public exhibitions, public entertainment; provision of transport facilities
with the municipality; promotion of welfare of municipal employees.\(^{55}\) However in
larger cities such as Jaipur, there are more than one municipal body, as we will be
examining later in the next chapter.

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In the background of the above governance system in India, we will now examine the interventions by various actors on various components of comprehensive security.

4.2 ECONOMIC SECURITY

India’s economic growth has shown tremendous upward move since 1980’s. The annual average growth rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased from the 3.5 per cent of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, to 5.6 per cent in the 1980s and 6.2 per cent in the 1990s and this economic growth since the 1970s has been largely in the urban areas. Correspondingly, while India's industrial and service sectors contributed to 45 per cent of the GDP in 1961, this grew to 70 per cent of GDP in 1981, and by 2001, these sectors accounted for almost 80 per cent of India's GDP.\(^{56}\) The household income in urban areas is also rising steadily and is considerably higher than that in rural areas. As an example, although average household income for India is about $1550 per annum, in urban areas such as Chandigarh and Delhi, these amounts are $3750 and $3500 per annum respectively.\(^{57}\)

The Government of India has successively launched various schemes through Five-year plans. Traditionally, they have been rural centered with initiatives to reduce poverty, mainly through self-employment initiatives, rural public works, food subsidies and nutrition programs, and increased spending for basic education and primary health care. In recent decades, programs addressing income poverty have been developed that seek to create individual assets for the urban poor by financing fixed or working capital, providing training, and generating wage employment.

Since the planned initiatives have been numerous, this study is discussing only some of the major initiatives specially the ones that have been started in recent times as detailed below:

4.2.1 Swaranajyanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana

(SJSRY) is the main poverty alleviation programme of the government, which was launched in 1997 after merging three existing Programmes. The programme

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aimed not only at economic emancipation of people living below the poverty line but also to bring an improvement in their living environment. The programme sought to provide gainful employment to the urban employed and underemployed poor, through encouraging the setting up of self-employment ventures or provisions of wage employment. It aimed to foster community structures and delivery of inputs through urban local bodies.\textsuperscript{58}

\subsection*{4.2.2 Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission}

The Government of India launched the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in December 2005. The Mission focuses on (i) improving and augmenting the economic and social infrastructure of cities; (ii) ensuring basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices; (iii) initiating wide-ranging urban sector reforms whose primary aim is to eliminate legal, institutional and financial constraints that have impeded investment in urban infrastructure and services; and (iv) strengthening municipal governments and their functioning. JNNURM comprises of two sub-missions, namely (i) Sub-Mission for Urban Infrastructure and Governance, and (ii) Sub-Mission for Basic Services to the urban Poor.

\subsection*{4.2.3 Slum Management}

The approach of the government towards areas notified as Slums under the Slum areas Act 1961 has been three pronged (i) Clearance/Relocation; (ii) Insitu up gradation; and (iii) Environmental Improvement Schemes. Clearance / relocation has been the mainstay of the policy towards the squatters and JJ clusters. The program of squatter clearance was discontinued at the end of the sixth plan (1980-85). The clearance program has been initiated again in 2005.

\subsection*{4.2.4 National Slum Development Programme (NSDP)}

The National Slum Development Programme\textsuperscript{59} (NSDP) was inaugurated and launched by the Prime Minister in August, 1996 at Kanpur in (U.P.). Under National Slum Development Programme, Additional Central Assistance (ACA) was being

\textsuperscript{58} Centre for Civil Society, \textit{Delhi City Development Plan}, Chapter 6 Urban Poor and Slums, 2006, p.6-3

\textsuperscript{59} Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation, Govt. of India, \textit{Annual Report 2006-07}, p.19
released to the States/UTs for the development of urban slums. The objective of this programme was upgradation of urban slums by providing physical amenities like water supply, storm water drains, community bath, widening and paving of existing lanes, sewers, community latrines, street lights etc. Besides, the funds under NSDP could be used for provision of community infrastructure and social amenities like pre school education, non-formal education adult education, maternity, child health and primary health care including immunization etc. The programme also had a component of shelter upgradation or construction of new houses.

4.2.5 Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY)

A Centrally sponsored scheme called Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) with a view to ameliorating the conditions of the urban slum dwellers living below the poverty line that do not possess adequate shelter was launched on Independence Day 2001. The scheme had the primary objective to facilitate the construction and upgradation of the dwelling units for the slum dwellers and to provide health and enabling urban environment through community toilets. This was the first scheme of its kind meant exclusively for slum dwellers with a Government of India subsidy of 50 per cent; the balance 50 per cent to be arranged by the State Government with ceiling costs prescribed both for dwelling units/ community toilets.

Recently, The Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY) and the National Slum Development Scheme (NSDP) were subsumed in the Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) launched by the Ministry for Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Govt. of India. The IHSDP has been launched with the objective to strive for holistic slum development, with a healthy and enabling urban environment by providing adequate shelter and basic infrastructure facilities to the slum dwellers of the identified urban areas.

A Draft National Slum Policy was brought out by the Ministry of Urban Development (Department of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation) in April 1999. It has been widely debated but yet to take a proper shape. The main objectives of a slum policy would be:

60 Ibidem, p.18
61 Ibidem, p-12
To create awareness amongst the public and in government of the underlying principles that guide the process of slum development the improvement and the options that are available for bringing about the integration of these settlements and the communities residing within them into urban area as a whole.

To strengthen the legal and policy framework to facilitate the process of slum development and improvement on a sustainable basis; to ensure that the slum populations are extended civic services, amenities and economic opportunities to enable them to rise above the degrading conditions in which they live;

To arrive at a policy of affirming the legal and tenurial rights of the slum-dwellers.

To establish a framework for involving all stakeholders for the efficient and smooth implementation of policy objectives.

To establish a framework for involving all stakeholders for the efficient and smooth implementation of policy objectives.

However, this policy is yet to be finalized.

Some other ambitious poverty alleviation programmes being run by the government in Jaipur are Antodaya, Annapura and a separate programme for girls called Balika Samriddhi Yojna (Table 4.1). However, the coverage of these programmes have been poor as out of the 26,000 BPL households not more than 400 have been covered by Antodaya and Annapura and only 8 households under Family Welfare Programme.63

Table 4.1- Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Jaipur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Programmes</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Target Group</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Antodaya</td>
<td>Free medical Check up and 35 kgs of Rice</td>
<td>Old BPL People</td>
<td>364 Households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Annapooma</td>
<td>Free Food Grains</td>
<td>BPL on the basis of Ration Card</td>
<td>348 Households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Balika Samrithi</td>
<td>Fixed Deposit of Rs.5000</td>
<td>Girls of age group 15-31 years</td>
<td>31 Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Family Welfare Programme</td>
<td>Free education, food and medical help</td>
<td>Mainly Widows and children of BPL Families</td>
<td>8 Households</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jaipur Municipal Corporation, 2006

Another innovative scheme of Govt. of Rajasthan is a Life insurance scheme, *Panna Dhai Jeevan Amrit Yojna* for people living below poverty line. The

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63 PDCOR Limited, Draft City Development Plan Jaipur, 2007
government pays the insurance premium and the insured person gets life cover and accident cover.

4.2.6 International Efforts

Several international organisations are working with the Government of India and civil society to address the urban challenge. These include the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the European Union, United Nations Development Programme, United States Agency for International Development, GTZ, AusAid, Italian Development Cooperation Office, Netherlands Development Assistance and Canadian CIDA. A number of inter-national NGOs including Oxfam, Action Aid, and Care also have urban programmes. Similarly there are thousands of local NGOs spread across the country involved in urban poverty initiatives, and their support to micro-credit and savings groups. The National Slum Dwellers Federation is the largest representative group of the urban poor in India.64

UNDP India is having special projects on urban governance. One such project currently underway is Capacity Building for Decentralized Urban Governance. The development objective of this Government of India-UNDP project is to provide support to the financial and administrative empowerment of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). The project seeks to evolve suitable urban governance strategies, enhance institutional and human capacities and bring about good urban governance.

4.2.7 National Strategy for Urban Poor (NSUP)

After a comprehensive review of the ongoing urban poverty alleviation programmes in India, the Govt. of India in association with UNDP India has launched a project was launched in 2003 to bridge the perceptions of urban planners and those of the urban poor facing the brunt of uneven results of highly paced urbanization. The project identified the shortcomings in the ongoing programmes in its Project document.65 According to the document, the implementation of various Central Government schemes to meet the societal ends especially for the urban slum dwellers and more distressed sections of the society has generally suffered from the following:

- The approach is narrowly sectoral and fragmented

64 DFID, DFID India Urban Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2000
65 UNDP India, NSUP Project Document; Govt. of India & UNDP India
• Short-term financial resource consideration have determined choices favouring poor or low quality of inputs with marginal impact
• Wider dispersal of limited resources over a large area, rather than focussing a concentration of integrated area intensive efforts
• Little or no participation of the community in the planning and designing of innovative solutions
• Multiplicity of agencies often working at cross-purposes leading to a dissipation of efforts

This project is aimed at sustainable socio-economic growth and development in select urban locations through a community-owned and managed participatory process through enhancing the understanding of urban poverty and urban livelihood issues; by supporting efforts to improve the provision of basic urban services and livelihood opportunities, and by strengthening local capacities to manage a much more broad-based process and effort of urban development. The project targets specifically the poorest and most marginalized within the urban population.

4.3 FOOD SECURITY

The public distribution system (PDS) in India is the key element of the country’s food security system, particularly for the poor. It is an instrument for ensuring the availability, at affordable prices, of certain essential food grains (mainly rice and wheat), as well as sugar and kerosene. Households are given a ration card that entitles them to buy fixed rations of these commodities The Government of India, through the Food Corporation of India (FCI), procures and stocks food grains, which are released every month for distribution through the PDS network across the country. The responsibility for implementing, monitoring, and enforcing this legal provision rests with the state governments. Earlier, the PDS was a general entitlement scheme for all consumers, with no targeting. But in 1997 the Government of India introduced targeted PDS. TPDS has divided the population into BPL and APL categories on the basis of the poverty line defined by the Planning Commission. Food grains are now allotted at two sets of prices—a highly subsidized price for the poor, and a near-open-market price for the rest. Some other recent initiatives are as follows:
4.3.1 **Antyodaya Scheme**: Under this scheme, the Below Poverty Line (BPL) families that also include older persons are provided food grains at subsidized rates per month. The persons aged 60 years above from the BPL category are given priority for identification.

4.3.2 **Annapoorna Scheme**: Under this scheme, 10 kgs. of food grains per beneficiary per month are provided free of cost to those senior citizens who remain uncovered under the old age pension scheme.

   The state of these two programmes in Jaipur has been discussed in previous paragraphs under Economic security.

4.3.3 **Mid-day Meal Scheme** (National Programme for Nutritional Support to Primary Education) seeks to ensure school access and retention for, and improve the nutritional status of, all primary school–age children. Funded entirely by the Indian Government, the programme provides a daily meal during the school year.\(^6\)

4.3.4 **Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS)** in India is the world’s largest integrated early childhood programme, with over 40,000 centers nationwide. The purpose of ICDS is to improve the health, nutrition and development of children. The programme offers health, nutrition and hygiene education to mothers, non-formal preschool education to children aged three to six, supplementary feeding for all children and pregnant and nursing mothers, growth monitoring and promotion, and links to primary healthcare services such as immunization and vitamin A supplements. UNICEF helped launch the ICDS programme and continues to provide financial and technical assistance along with the World Bank.

4.3.5 **Akshay Kalewa Yojna**: The Govt. of Rajasthan has launched an innovative subsidized free meal programme for urban poor. Under this scheme, subsidized/ free meal is provided to urban poor at Rupees 5 to Rupees 8 per plate.

   Although India does not have a food aid policy, it has been the recipient of international food assistance since the latter half of the 1950s. Practically all food aid

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is classified as developmental aid and is used in targeted projects to enhance food security for the poorest sections of the population. Emergency and relief food needs are met mainly from national resources.\textsuperscript{67}

4.4 HEALTH INSECURITIES

Main responsibility of infrastructure and manpower building rests with the State Government supplemented by funds from the Central Government and external assistance. Major disease control programmes and the Family Welfare Programmes are funded by the Centre (some with assistance from external agencies) and are implemented through the State infrastructure. The food supplementation programmes for mothers and children are funded by the State and implemented through the ICDS infrastructure funded by the Central Government. Government of India has recognized urban health as a thrust area under National Population Policy 2000, National Health Policy 2002, Tenth Five Year Plan, and Reproductive Child Health-II programme.

The Health Policy was reformulated in 2002 making improvements over the first Health Policy formulated in 1983. The Policy document mentions the lack of public health services in urban areas especially to those residing in slum and unplanned habitations forcing them to look for private healthcare. NHP-2002 resolved to address itself to the need for providing this unserved urban population a minimum standard of broad-based health care facilities.\textsuperscript{68}

Some of the important Health Programmes launched by Govt. of India are as follows:

4.4.1 National Aids Control programme: Soon after reporting of the first few HIV/AIDS cases in the country in 1986, Government recognised the seriousness of the problem and took a series of important measures to tackle the epidemic. By this time AIDS had already attained epidemic proportion in the African region and was spreading rapidly in many countries of the world. Government of India without wasting any time initiated steps and started pilot screening of high-risk population. A

\textsuperscript{67} ibidem, p.11
\textsuperscript{68} Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Govt. of India \textit{National Health Policy}, 2002, para 2.12
high-powered National AIDS Committee was constituted in 1986 and a National AIDS Control Programme was launched in year 1987.

4.4.2 Revised National TB Control Programme (RNTCP): India accounts for nearly one-third of the global burden of tuberculosis and the disease is most prevalent in the age group 20 to 50 years – the highly economically productive period of an individual’s life with important consequences for the household when the individual falls sick with TB. National TB programme was formulated and integrated in national health care system in 1962. In 1992, GoI, together with the WHO and SIDA, reviewed the National TB Programme. Based on the findings and recommendations of the 1992 review, GoI revised its strategy and launched the RNTCP in the country. The RNTCP is an application of the WHO-recommended Directly Observed Treatment, Short-course (DOTS) strategy to control TB. The DOTS strategy, which is now in operation in 180 countries, is a comprehensive public health strategy to control tuberculosis. If implemented effectively, it reliably increases cure rates, decreases the proportion of patients who die and prevents the further emergence of drug resistance.

4.4.3 Urban Malaria Scheme (UMS): Malaria in urban areas is an important and widespread public health problem in India. To assist the states in control of urban malaria, an UMS was launched in India during 1971-72. Under the scheme malaria treatment is provided through agencies like hospitals, dispensaries and malaria clinics.

4.4.4 Central Govt. Health Scheme (CGHS): The Central Government Health Scheme (CGHS) was started in 1954 with the objective of providing: (a) Comprehensive medical care facilities to the central Government employees and their family members. Besides central government employees, the scheme also provides services to: (1) Members and Ex-members of Parliament, (2) Judges of Supreme Court and High Court, sitting and retired, (3) Freedom Fighters, (4) Central Government Pensioners, (5) Employees of Autonomous bodies/Semi Govt.

69 Agrawal, S.P. & Chauhan L.S, *Tuberculosis Control in India* - 2005
organization, (6) Accredited Journalists, and (7) Ex-Governors and Ex-Vice Presidents of India.  

4.4.5 Reproductive & Child Health (RCH): The goal of the programme is to enable people acquire the ability to regulate their fertility, the women to go through pregnancy and childbirth safely, to ensure that the outcome of pregnancy is successful in terms of maternal and infant survival and well being and that couples are able to have sexual relations free of fear of pregnancy and of contracting disease. The RCH interventions that are being implemented by the Government of India (GoI) are expected to provide quality services and achieve multiple objectives.  

NGOs try and fill the service delivery gap in health services mainly through awareness generation activities and supply of medicines for cold and flu. However, given their limited presence across the city as well as what are the incentives to remain in the field and value that field presence depends largely on what is pushed by the funders of various projects. However, NGOs do manage to contribute in the area of awareness generation rather well. Whether it forms a small part of specific field activities or education on health is imparted through group meetings of Self Help Groups. Family Life Education, Information on nutritional intakes, natural cures for pimples and cysts during summer and monsoons, promotion of ayurvedic medicines are some issues that are incorporated in to the awareness generation.  

4.5 ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY  

At the national level, the Government of India has taken several steps to improve environment across the country. Some of the major initiatives specially concerning the urban areas are as follows:  

4.5.1 Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 (EPA): This Act is an umbrella legislation designed to provide a framework for the co-ordination of central and state authorities established under the Water (Prevention and Control) Act, 1974 and Air (Prevention and Control) Act, 1981. Under this Act, the central government is

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70 Ministry of Health & family Welfare, Govt. of India; Major Schemes and Programmes; 2000  
71 Pande, Suchi, Background note on health in Urban Slums; Ensuring public accountability through community action, Institute of Social Studies Trust, New Delhi, 2005
empowered to take measures necessary to protect and improve the quality of the environment by setting standards for emissions and discharges; regulating the location of industries; management of hazardous wastes, and protection of public health and welfare. From time to time the central government issues notifications under the EPA for the protection of ecologically sensitive areas or issues guidelines for matters under the EPA.

4.5.2 Disaster Risk Management Programme: The GoI-UNDP Disaster Risk Management Programme is a national initiative to reduce vulnerabilities of communities in some of the most hazard prone districts of India (169 districts and 17 states). The programme relies upon a community based approach to disaster management, and seeks to build capacities of communities, government functionaries at all levels, and other stake-holders in disaster management, at all levels, in an organized manner. This project essentially aims at strengthening capacities of communities, urban local bodies and the administration in mitigation, preparedness and response in 38 cities in India. These cities have been chosen on the criteria of being located in Seismic Zones 3, 4 or 5, with more than half a million population. The project would demonstrate a suitable model for mainstreaming of earthquake risk management initiatives at all levels and help to reduce earthquake risk in the most earthquake-prone urban areas in India. The Urban Earthquake Vulnerability Reduction Project is targeted over a time period of 4 years and is aimed in particular to raise the awareness of decision makers and the public to seismic risk in their region and contribute to minimizing losses to developmental gains by helping communities at risk to be better prepared. 72

4.6 PERSONAL SECURITY

As mentioned earlier, India has quasi-federal structure and the powers of Central government and provincial governments are clearly demarcated. The Indian Constitution vide Article 15 lays down that no citizen shall be subjected to any

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72 GoI-UNDP Disaster Risk Management Programme-Project Document, [http://www.ndmindia.nic.in/EQProjects/ProgmDocmnt%20UEVRP.pdf](http://www.ndmindia.nic.in/EQProjects/ProgmDocmnt%20UEVRP.pdf), accessed on 24th November 2007, p-7
disability or restriction on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. It also guarantees that every citizen shall have equality of status and opportunity.

Police and public order are responsibility of the provincial governments. Provincial governments raise and maintain their Police forces under various acts. However, the Ministry of Home Affairs under the Govt. of India plays a supporting role to provincial governments. The guiding principles of policing are (i) rule of law, (ii) protection of civil and human rights, (iii) independent judicial system, (iv) minimum use of force, (v) community policing.

Police forces under the provincial governments are responsible for maintaining law and order in the province and ensure personal safety and security of the population living in the province. In cases of internal security problems, the paramilitary (Gender Marie) forces under the Central government come to the assistance of state police forces. In severe conditions of failure of law and order, the army is called to control the situation at the required place.

Special plans and initiatives are launched by the Central government and provincial governments to provide security to vulnerable section of population such as women and people belonging to weaker sections of population specially the Scheduled castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). Special social enactments have come into force from time to time including privileges by way of reservations for them in order to uphold the Constitutional mandate and to safeguard the interests of this section of the society. The major legal enactments at the national level are:

(i) Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955;
(ii) SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989

A National Commission for SCs and STs was constituted in 1992 which been armed with wide functions and powers of Civil Court to take up matters which are of vital importance for socio-economic development of SCs and STs. (NCRB-2005)

Crime against women is another agenda, which is very high in priority of civil policing in India. Various special laws apart from the provisions of main criminal law the Indian penal Code have been formulated to provide sense of security and to provide legal assistance to women in India. Some of the special laws are as follows:

(i) Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956
(ii) Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961
(iii) The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1979
A recent law in this field is the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act-2005, which came into force in 2006. The Act defines "domestic violence" as all forms of abuse; physical, sexual, verbal, emotional and economic. Primarily meant to provide protection to the wife or female live-in partner from violence at the hands of the husband or male live-in partner or his relatives, the law also extends its protection to women who are sisters, widows or mothers. Domestic violence under the act includes actual abuse or the threat of abuse whether physical, sexual, verbal, emotional or economic. Harassment by way of unlawful dowry demands to the woman or her relatives would also be covered under this definition.73

4.6.1 Child Protection: There are various constitutional and legal provisions providing for policies beneficial to the rights of children. Following are the notable provisions among them: Article 15 of the Constitution gives power to State to make special provision for the betterment of children; Article 24 prohibits employment of children below the age of 14 year in any hazardous activity; Article 39(e) which is in the form of Directive Principles of State Policy directs state to ensure against the abuse of the children of tender age for any kind of economic benefits; Article 39(f) requires children to be given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth be protected against exploitation and moral and material abandonment; Article 45 as it stood before 86th amendment to the Constitution provided for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14. However, after the inclusion of Art. 21-A it has now become a Fundamental right of every child below the age of 14 year to get primary education. This fulfils the requirement of Articles 28 & 29 of the Convention on the rights of the child (CRC) that recognize the right of children to education and interlinks the development of children to their right to education.

Other legal enactments which provide provisions for security of children are; The Factory Act, 1948; the Employment of Children (Amendment) Act, 1949; the

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73 Govt. of India Press Release- Wednesday, October 25, 2006
Plantation Labour Act, 1951; the Mines Act, 1952; the Factories (Amendment) Act, 1954; the Merchant Shipping Act, 1958; the Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961; the Apprentices Act, 1961; the Beedi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act, 1966; the Employment of Children (Amendment) Act, 1978 and the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. Juvenile Justice (Care and Prevention of Children) Act, 2000 is also important law relating to child welfare in India which prohibits any kind of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment to juveniles.  

Apart from the above, Jaipur Police, the main security agency in the capital city has taken several initiatives to provide a sense of security to urban population. Some of the notable measures taken by Jaipur Police are as follows:

- Women Police Stations
- JAN SAHBHAGITA (Community Partnership): A scheme for bridging the gap between Police and Public and forging a partnership for crime prevention
- SAMBAL (ASSIATANCE): A scheme for support to Senior Citizens
- AASTHA (Faith): A scheme to empower women specially students

### 4.7 COMMUNITY SECURITY

Jaipur is one of the communally sensitive city and has witnessed several communal riots in past. The civil authorities employ several prevention strategies specially in communally sensitive areas. Apart from proactive policing, there has been increasing emphasis on community participation in policing. Police forces in most of the Indian provinces have launched several Community Policing initiatives which center on building Police Citizen partnerships and attempt to establish a regular communication channel between not only the police and citizens but also between the members of different religions specially Hindus and Muslims.

The role of NGO’s has been very instrumental in community policing efforts, which vary from Traffic assistance to night patrolling and even settling of minor disputes. Other important areas where such initiatives have yielded noticeable impact are in the child protection and women rights. A quiet successful experience of community oriented policing has been the functioning of Peace Committees. Peace

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74 Narula Geeta, *Child Rights in India*, in IMC India, Independent Media Center, 2005
Committees are usually formed with initiatives of police department and compose of some eminent citizens of the locality belonging to various religions and groups of population. During communal tensions in the area, the department calls frequent meetings of these committees and assign tasks to ease out communal tensions. Another successful experiment has been the formation of Community Liaison Groups (CLGs). CLG represents a group of people belonging to various socio-economic strata of the society within a given geographical area who come together with a common specific objective to improve relationship between public and police of the given area with an aim to foster peace and harmony in the society through co-operation and constant communication, interaction and understanding between the police and the public.\(^75\)

4.8 POLITICAL SECURITY

The Fundamental Rights embodied in the Indian constitution are guaranteed to all Indian citizens. The civil liberties provided by the Constitution of India take precedence over any other law of the land. They include individual rights common to most liberal democracies, such as equality before the law, freedom of speech and expression, freedom of association and peaceful assembly, freedom of religion, and the right to constitutional remedies for the protection of civil rights. Entire range of civil and political rights as detailed in International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and those covered under The Constitution - Part-III – are enforceable in the Court. As per the policy of the Govt. of India, the protection and promotion of human rights especially of the weaker and vulnerable sections of society is of paramount concern. India is a signatory to almost all of the important International conventions / Covenants and Treaties on Human rights and civil and political rights. The Govt. of India has promulgated various laws in order to fulfil its international and constitutional obligations. Some of the special laws/ acts and special bodies are as follows:

- Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986.

\(^75\) Bureau of Police Research & Development (BPR&D), Govt. of India, *Community Participation in Law Enforcement System- Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA)*, 2001


National Commission for Women.

National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

National Commission for Minorities.

National Human Rights Commission.

The implementation and enforcement mechanism of these rights is very effective in India. Free and vibrant press/media accompanied by a large number of NGOs actively pursue the promotion and protection of human rights and ensure a watchdog mechanism to ensure the preservation of rights of individual as well as fixing the accountability on the Government agencies.

4.9 INTERVENTIONS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

In order to appreciate the worldwide attention on the urban insecurities, it would be worthwhile to have a brief look at some of the major initiatives that have been launched in recent times by various governments and agencies including the UN organisations.

4.9.1 Safer Cities programme by UNHABITAT: launched in 1996 at the request of African Mayors, the programme has since been extended to various cities across the world. As of now, the programme is running in following cities:

- Durban and Johannesburg (South Africa)
- Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)
- Antananarivo (Madagascar)
- Abidjan (Côte d’Ivoire)
- Dakar (Senegal)
- Nairobi (Kenya)
- Bamako (Mali)
- Yaoundé and Douala (Cameroon)
• Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea)
• Brazil (Guarulhos Metropolitan area of São Paulo)
• Six municipalities of Serbia

According to UN Habitat report, projects are also being developed for Abuja (Nigeria), Kampala (Uganda), the Solomon Islands and Fiji and are being replicated in six other Tanzanian cities. Safer Cities activities are also expanding in Latin America (Chile, Brazil and Colombia), Asia (Bangladesh, Philippines) and Eastern Europe (Hungary and Albania pending increased support).

The underlying philosophy behind this programme has been that Crime and violence do not happen spontaneously and inadequate urban environments that unequally exclude some members of society from benefits of urbanisation and participation in decision-making and development disempower them and encourage crime. Safer Cities activities mainly fall under two categories: global thematic activities and a number of city projects.

4.9.2 International Development Research Centre (IDRC) CANADA: IDRC’s Urban Poverty and Environment Program (UPE) encourages more equitable environmental governance by supporting nine multi-stakeholder research projects through the Focus City Research Initiative (FCRI). In Jakarta, the FCRI focuses on the economics behind slum upgrading, and in Colombo, it focuses on linking poverty, health and inadequate access to services. In the Middle East, North and Sub-Saharan Africa, the UPE supports sustainable water demand management, wastewater reuse and urban agriculture.

4.9.3 Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) Activities: The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)’s urban support aims to enhance human security in cities either indirectly through various urban programs, or directly through ongoing support for the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT)’s Safer Cities Programme. An example of the former is SIDA’s Urban Development Programme in South Africa (1996-2007), which has

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76 UN HABITAT - Making Cities safer from Crime - Safer Cities Programme - UN HABITAT: Activities Brief, p-2
77 UN HABITAT - Making Cities safer from Crime - Safer Cities Programme -
included support to three municipalities. The program focuses on comprehensive urban and spatial planning with a high degree of participation from the target communities. The interventions have ranged from simply improving the lighting in select townships helping women and girls to move without fear of being assaulted in dark (in Nelson Mandela Bay) to proving land and security of tenure in urban and slum settlements (in Kenya).

4.9.4 Security Sector Reforms: Alice Hills while discussing the security sector reforms with urban specific focus argues that at the operational level, a recent policing development which responds to the needs and features of the urban environment is community policing. She further explains that most models of community policing focus on proactive crime prevention featuring officers assigned to specific communities in order to establish long-lasting relationships with, for example, neighborhood groups, business and civic leaders, and schools, as well as to increase police visibility. In Sierra Leone, for instance, community policing (or local-needs policing, as it is known) was introduced through partnership boards established at the local level, and special emphasis was placed on dealing with the vulnerable and those who had suffered most during the war.

Success of these community-policing programs has been easier to measure. As quoted by Alice Hills, in the Hatillo area of San José, a community policing initiative in 1997 resulted in a 9.5 percent decline in crime, which is a good figure considering that 38 percent of Hatillo residents estimated that crime had actually increased during the period. Moreover, police visibility increased, with only 7.5 percent of residents saying they had never seen police in their neighborhood, versus 35.2 percent from a year earlier.78

4.9.5 City Diplomacy: It refers to the growing cooperation among cities and their associations, often in close conjunction with non-governmental organizations and the business community, on international initiatives to promote peace and conflict resolution. Some key city diplomacy initiatives have included solidarity missions (e.g. between European Union cities and cities in the North Cauca region of Colombia), awareness raising,

lobbying for international financial support and engagement, bringing conflict parties together in dialogue, and developing projects to support peace building in conflict areas.\(^{79}\)

It may be pertinent to note here that UN agencies and Governmental organizations such as UNDP, WHO, WFP, SIDA, DFID, Asian Development Bank (ADB) and other NGO’s have been actively pursuing developmental activities in urban areas in India as well, as we have discussed elsewhere in this study.

However, the above list of interventions is not exhaustive and there are many more programmes and projects being run by the Govt. of India, State governments and other non-state actors in India. Similarly, the response of the world community to growing urban threats has been extensive and we have deliberated upon only some of such initiatives. The purpose of above discussion was to give an overview of the existing situation in India as well as in urban areas of remaining part of the world.

In the next chapter, we will try to have an insight into the existing ground level situation to assess the impact of interventions by State and other organisations as well as the capability of the population to face various insecurities in Jaipur, on the basis of a primary survey carried through a NGO in October 2007 on the State of human security in Jaipur.

\(^{79}\) ibidem
5. Evaluating Human Security in Jaipur City and Exploring linkage with Crime and Violence

Moving ahead from the discussion about interventions by state as well as the non-state actors to deal with the humanitarian situation in cities, this chapter will analyse the current state of human security of the people living in Jaipur to examine how far the interventions by various actors have been successful in providing security to people of Jaipur. While attempting to do so, we will also be looking at the inter-linkages between the various components of human security in order to find an appropriate answer to our research question.

In order to evaluate the state of human security in Jaipur a primary survey was carried out though a NGO working in the city. The survey focussed upon the human security components and compares the situation in a slum area with that of a non-slum area in the city. This random survey was carried out in Jawahar Nagar area in Jaipur covering 253 households in the slum area and 250 households in a residential non-slum colony (total 503 households). The survey was carried out in the month of October 2007 by the volunteers of an NGO, Gram Bharti Samiti\(^{80}\) (GBS) which is active in humanitarian work for over 20 years. The survey covered all the seven slum colonies in this area and the middle class residential non-slum colony not so far away from the slum area.

In order to better appreciate the situation on ground, it will be useful to first have a small description of Jaipur and its uniqueness followed by a brief theoretical examination of linkages between urbanization, poverty and crime and violence. The underlying assumption of our argument is that the people vulnerable on one front such as economic front are likely to be vulnerable on other fronts as well as their miseries will grow unless they are tackled comprehensively. This theoretical discussion is crucial in order to appreciate the fact how the vulnerability of people makes them soft targets of crime also. This will be followed by stocktaking of the status of human security through the results of primary survey conducted in Jaipur city.

\(^{80}\) http://www.gbsjp.org/
5.1 JAIPUR CITY: A PROFILE

Jaipur, one of the first planned cities of India, is a fast growing city, ranked 11th in the list of Indian mega cities with a population of 2.3 million and annual growth rate of 4.5%. It ranks 139th in the list of 150 richest cities of the world and makes it to the list of 10 richest cities in India albeit at the 10th place. Jaipur forms the urban core being the only million plus city in the state of Rajasthan. It is the business and educational hub of the state acting as the center for education and employment opportunities. It attracts migration from all parts of the state (70% of migrants come from within the state). Over 2 lakh migrants were added to Jaipur city during 1991-2001. The city offers jobs in commerce, services and the informal sector and shows a high economic growth compared to several other Indian cities. The main economic drivers in the city are trading, administration and tourism activities and local handicrafts industries. Trade and commerce accounts for 24% of the workforce followed by household industries with 22%. Jaipur is also one of the most sought after tourist destination in the world with about 3000 tourists visiting the city everyday.

At the same time, it is the city with the 11th largest poor population in the country and almost 16% of the total population of Jaipur resides in slums.\(^81\) The Jaipur City Development Plan mentions increase in total number of slums from 109 in 1971 to 183 in 2004. But the more recent survey by Jaipur Nagar Nigam reports 192 slums.\(^82\) Jawahar Nagar area, which we have selected for our survey, has the biggest slum area in Jaipur having seven small constituent slum colonies in a row on a main road. As per the official statistics, the slum population in Jawahar Nagar, which reportedly is inhabited by 7000 families, is around 30000; the unofficial figures however project it much higher.

Another peculiar aspect of slum population is the composition of population. The percentage of Scheduled caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) population in slum areas is higher than in non-slum areas. The Scheduled Caste people comprise 25% of slum population as compared to 12.60% in non-slum population. Similarly, the

\(^82\) ibidem, p-32
Scheduled Tribe comprise 5% of slum population as compared to 3.70% in non-slum population. This is of significant importance as in India, these two social groups represent the most vulnerable section among the population who have been traditionally placed adversely economically as well as socially.

According to the City Development Plan there are a plethora of agencies responsible for city management. There is a Municipal Corporation (JNN), a Jaipur Development Authority (JDA), Public Health Engineering Department (PHED), Public Works Department (PWD), Rajasthan Housing Board (RHB), Rajasthan State Road Transport Corporation (RSRTC), Forest department, Tourism department, devesthan department (for maintenance of temples etc.), and archaeology department.

Govt. of Rajasthan with the loan assistance from Asian Development Bank (ADB) has launched Rajasthan Urban Infrastructure Development Project (RUIDP) to provide integrated quality infrastructural facilities in six cities in the state including Jaipur. Apart from being involved in provision of basic infrastructure, ADB funded project is also involved in urban development and heritage conservation.

Today JDA is the authority for planning and implementation of the city development plans and infrastructure for the notified JDA area, which includes the Jaipur Nagar Nigam (JNN) area. JNN is responsible for planning, operation and maintenance of selected infrastructure. Although JNN area is far beyond the walled city, its operations are limited to the walled city and its immediate periphery. JDA notified area has both rural and urban characteristics and therefore, involves both urban and rural development agencies.

The line departments like the PHED, PWD still play an important role in delivery of services and urban management. The district administration headed by the District Magistrate is another power center in the city that is supervising the functioning of various line agencies such as PWD, PHED etc. At another end are the district police, which is responsible for crime prevention and detection as well as traffic management in the city. The city police registered 13224 criminal cases in year 2006, which shows the extent of crime in the city. This includes, 59 cases of homicide, 63 cases of attempt to commit homicide, 160 cases of kidnapping/ abduction, 58 cases of rape and 3614 cases of theft. According to national crime figures, Jaipur

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83 ibidem, p-33
recorded the sixth highest crime rate among the 35 mega cities in the country with crime rate at 507.3 as compared to national average of 291.7 in year 2005.\textsuperscript{84}

A summarized Institutional responsibility matrix is given in Table 4.1 shows the complex administrative arrangement in the city.

\textbf{Table 5.1: Institutional responsibility matrix of Jaipur City}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Planning</th>
<th>Implementation</th>
<th>Operation and Maintenance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Storm Water Drainage</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, RHB, ID, RUIDP</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, RHB, ID, RUIDP</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, RHB, ID, RUIDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid Waste Management</td>
<td>JNN, RHB</td>
<td>JNN, RHB</td>
<td>JNN, RHB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks / Playground / golf course/ beautification of road intersections / urban forest</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, ID, FD</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, ID, FD, PDCOR</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, ID, FD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air, water and noise pollution Control</td>
<td>JNN, RSPCB, PHED</td>
<td>JNN, RSPCB, PHED</td>
<td>JNN, RSPCB, PHED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slum Development</td>
<td>JNN, JDA</td>
<td>JNN, JDA</td>
<td>JNN, JDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Poverty Programme</td>
<td>JNN</td>
<td>JNN</td>
<td>JNN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing for EWS</td>
<td>JNN, JDA, RHB</td>
<td>JNN, JDA, RHB</td>
<td>JNN, JDA, RHB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Conveyance</td>
<td>JDA, JNN</td>
<td>JDA, JNN</td>
<td>JDA, JNN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage Building Conservation</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, RUIDP, AD, PHED, DD, PriOwn</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, RUIDP, AD, PHED, DD, PriOwn, SpSo</td>
<td>JDA, JNN, AD, PHED, DD, PriOwn, SpSo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Before we proceed further to discuss the results of primary survey on Human Security in Jaipur, it would be helpful to have a brief introduction to the linkage of crime and violence with development, urbanization. This is necessary as we are trying to explore the impact of growing urbanization in its manifestation as growing slum population in cities. The core issue is how the linkage of crime and urbanization affects the urban poor differently and does it really make it a humanitarian imperative for intervention?

\textbf{5.2 URBANIZATION & CRIME}

On the basis of an analysis of crime figures for Indian mega cities, the National Crime Records Bureau, Govt. of India concluded that these cities are facing increased...
criminal activities on account of peculiar problems such as unchecked migration, illegal settlements, diverse socio-cultural disparities, uneven distribution of incomes etc. Organised groups, gangsters, professional criminals and even youth and juveniles find crime as a short cut for a lavish life in mega cities. Increased density of population, anonymity and inaccessibility of slum localities facilitate the operation of criminal elements. Urbanization and criminality thus seem to go hand in hand. Certain key factors identified for this phenomenon are:

1. The utter Poverty of Badly served Neighbourhoods;
2. Provocative and poorly Protected Urban Environment;
3. Limitations of Current Protection Measures;
4. Absence of Social Controls;
5. Frustrated Youth, prone to Violence

A study on Colombian cities found a strong correlation between crime and violence and a city’s growth rate. The findings of the study suggest that a high incidence of crime and violence is to an important extent a reflection of many cities inability to keep up with an increasing demand for public safety brought by hasty and disorderly urbanization processes.

Urban crime is primarily dominated by property crime, which is not limited to prosperous localities and also happens in slum localities and poorer areas. Another peculiar feature as brought about in studies elsewhere is underreporting of crime in poorer areas. The preservation of social ties and feelings of insecurity and futility stop people from bringing charges. Relative impunity explains why, although criminals are known and identified by shantytown dwellers, a sort of omerta or forced complicity works to their advantage.

Apart from the property offences, cities also witness higher rates of violent crime such as Murder, Rape and criminal assault. The average rate of crime in urban agglomeration centres in India at 291.7 was much higher than the national crime rate

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85 NCRB, *Crime in India 2005, 2006*, p-159
88 Ibidem, p-96
of 165.3. Similarly, the rate of crime against women in cities at 19.5 was comparatively higher as compared to the National rate of 14.1.\(^{89}\)

Cities are also soft targets of violence, be it communal or terrorism. An analysis\(^ {90}\) of Communal riots during in India (1950-95) has revealed that

- Communal riots are a largely urban phenomenon in India as Rural India, where almost 75\% of Indians live, accounted for barely 4\% of all riot-related deaths during these years.

- 70\% of Hindu-Muslim violence was concentrated in barely 30 cities across the country out which 46\% of riot-related deaths could be accounted for by just 8 cities - Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Meerut, Aligarh, Vadodara, Delhi and Kolkata.

Similarly, near invisible nature of terrorists is much more difficult to track & control and has far more devastating financial, physical and psychological impact on cities.\(^{91}\)

**5.3 POVERTY, VIOLENCE & SECURITY**

There has been growing convergence of the debate on poverty and livelihood security and that on human security over time. Livelihood debates have extended beyond income issues to incorporate notions of vulnerability and capital assets, whereas work on human security has broadened the notions of security beyond conflict towards the incorporation of basic needs and poverty.\(^ {92}\)

A research carried out by McLwaine and Moser in this area has pointed out the importance of the lack of both physical and economic security in the daily lives of urban poor. They have argued that, such is the complex reality of people’s lives that it is clearly too simplistic to suggest that violence or poverty can be ranked, but rather that they are interrelated.\(^ {93}\)

Another important finding is the prevalence and the effect of domestic violence in such communities. This was found to be not only widespread, but also perceived as the root cause of all other types of violence and insecurity in

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\(^{89}\) NCRB, *Crime in India 2005, 2006*, p.159


\(^{91}\) UN HABITAT, *Report on State of World’s Cities 2006/7*


\(^{93}\) ibidem, p.122
communities with manifold ramifications. A quote from the study summarises the whole situation and I strongly feel it is equally applicable to most of our slum localities: ‘Violence begins in the home, and it is one of the most important factors in the harmony of the community, and this brings about lack of respect in everyone.’

Violence severely hampers the poor’s ability to accumulate assets. Moser argues that, the more assets an individual or household can acquire and the better they manage them, the less vulnerable they are but Violence affects the assets in following ways:

- **Labor** as an asset when it limits access to jobs.
- **Human Capital** as an asset when it limits access to education and health facilities by both users and providers.
- **Social Capital** as an asset when it reduces trust and cooperation between community level social organizations.
- **Household relations** as an asset when it limits the capacity of households to function effectively as a unit.
- **Productive assets** when it destroys housing – the urban poor’s most important productive asset.

Another way of conceptualising the role of violence in development process is the direct and indirect costs on the economy as result of violence. The assumption is that a high incidence of crime/violence induces the population and policy makers to divert resources from other, presumably more productive purposes, such as education. Rising private security and incidences of demand for protection money are also indictors of such costs.

Talking from the growth perspective, tackling inequality is considered to be the key for crime prevention. Violence prevention, thus, is considered inseparable from equitable development and social action.

This discussion brings us back to our argument that prevention of crime and violence is inseparable part of humanitarian action as the vulnerable among the population do not only face hardships in economic, health, environment and food security context but are worse placed even in terms of personal security. A closer

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look at the results of Human security Survey in Jaipur will probably make the writing on the wall still clearer.

5.4 HUMAN SECURITY SURVEY IN JAIPUR

A random survey was carried out in Jawahar Nagar area in Jaipur covering 253 households in the slum area and 250 households in the middle class residential colony (total 503 households). The survey was carried out in the month of October 2007 by the volunteers of an NGO, Gram Bharti Samiti (GBS). An attempt was made to cover all the seven slum colonies in this area and the middle class residential colony not so far away from the slum area.

The main objective of the survey was to have an insight into the status of human security of people living in this area including availability of basic amenities. The questions selected for the Survey were framed to cover most of the seven components of Human Security as per the definition introduced by UNDP Human Development Report 1994.

The questions asked in the survey concentrated upon two aspects;

(i) State Support/ Interventions and
(ii) Capability of individuals.

The objective was to ascertain the top down interventions as well as to find out the status of human security on the ground level. The questionnaire and the division of the analysis in these two parts draws inspiration from a study of Human Security in East and South east Asian cities by Hideki Kaji, Kenichi Ishibashi & Yumiko Usui. Specific question were also posed regarding the state of security and the feeling of security among the population in order to explore the linkage of crime and violence with the other components of human security.

Since it is difficult to quantify political security and India being an acclaimed democratic republic, the ingredients of political security component are more or less automatically taken care of. Thus, no question relating to this aspect was asked in the survey. On environment security, pollution is a big problem in Jaipur as in any growing mega city in the world, but in the survey conducted this component of human security was not dealt in depth and only general environmental situation was

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96 Hideki Kaji, Kenichi Ishibashi & Yumiko Usui: Mega Cities & Human Security in East & South East Asia, 2004
assessed through questions on availability of basic amenities such as water and sanitation and proper roads etc. On food security, the emphasis in the survey was more on the capability in financial terms to assess the capacity to buy food.

Broadly speaking, for the purpose of operationalization of the concept, the questions in the survey were framed using the following indicators to examine the status of various components of human security:

1. Economic Security
   - Regular job/ employment
   - Receiving Financial assistance from State/ NGO
   - Type of living accommodation
   - Availability of Basic services such as Electricity
   - Access to educational facilities and its affordability

2. Food Security
   - Monthly Income
   - Below Poverty Card/ Access to Public distribution system

3. Health Security
   - Access to potable water
   - Access to health services
   - Affordability of health services

4. Environmental Security
   - Garbage cleaning
   - Availability of toilets
   - Street lighting
   - Roads

5. Personal Security
   - Security from crime and violence
   - Road traffic accidents
   - Domestic violence
   - Access to Police

6. Community Security
   - Sense of security
   - Street violence
   - Police patrolling
7. Political Security

- Protection of human rights and availability of fundamental rights
- Right to vote
- Equality before law

Some of the important findings of the survey along with the snaps taken by the volunteers while conducting the survey in slum areas of Jaipur are given below:

5.4.1 **Demographic profile:** Of the people surveyed, in the slum locality the percentage of children out of total population was 50% as compared to 38% in the non-slum area. This may be symptomatic of the fact that population control measures are less effective in such areas. Women were 22% and 27% of the total surveyed population in slum and non-slum areas respectively.

![Population Composition](image)

**Graph 5.1: Population Composition**

5.4.2 **Duration of Stay:** 29% of the people in slum area were living there for more than 16 years, while 18% were living there since birth. In the non-slum area these percentages were 41% and 14% only. The slum area selected is on forestland and came into existence after massive floods in the city in early 1980’s. The non-slum locality is an established middle class colony for a longer time.

5.4.3 **Employment pattern:** 96% of the people surveyed among the slum population did not have a regular job and were either unemployed or engaged in casual, informal sector jobs. In the non-slum area, 79% of the people had a regular job and other 20% had a self owned business establishment. This presents a far more serious picture than
the Draft City Development Plan for Jaipur, as according to it, “41% of slum families work as casual labourers, as most of them are unskilled. However, one-third of the poor also work in the service sector and only a small percent are self-employed. Therefore, nearly 52% of the poor households do not have access to a dependable occupation and secure incomes.”

Snap 5.1 Slum area (Source: Volunteer from GBS, Jaipur)

5.4.4 Monthly earnings: 71% of the people in slum area were earning between Indian Rupees 1000-2000 per month, which at current conversion rates is approximately 17-34 Euros a month. On the other hand, 93.6% in non-slum area earned more than Rupees 5000 per month (more than 86 Euros). The exact amount earned was not asked in the survey, as the purpose was to have an idea of economic condition of the population from the down side.

In the above background of people in these two select areas, we will examine the results of survey dividing the questions in two major categories, (i) State Support/Interventions and (ii) Individual capability.

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97 PDCOR Limited, Draft City Development Plan Jaipur, 2007, pp.7-3
5.4.5 State Support/ Interventions

1. Financial assistance and Subsidised food: The state government issues special cards to people living below poverty line. The official estimates of the poverty line are based on a norm of 2400 calories per capita per day for rural areas and 2100 per capita per day for urban areas. On 1999-2000 prices, the poverty line at all India level was Rs. 454.11 (7.80 Euro at current rate) for urban people per capita per month.\(^98\) The special card known as BPL Card entitles purchase of food at subsidized prices from Government run Public Distribution System (PDS) shop. According to the survey results, 83% of people in slum area did not have BPL card while a majority deserved to have one, indicating lack of access to the facility existing for them as per government plans. This is startling as according to the estimates of Jaipur Nagar Nigam, the percentage of BPL population to total population of urban area was 5.67 % and the percentage of BPL population to people living in slums of Jaipur is 36%.\(^99\)

One can very well assumed the fate of poor population, who are left out of PDS umbrella, as they have to buy their food from market, which puts further pressure on their economic security. Similarly, there are several welfare schemes launched by the government targeting Senior citizens, Widows, women, but the survey results revealed that of the surveyed people no family was receiving any financial assistance from the government or any other agency whether government or NGO. On the other hand, among the non-slum area people, there were 2% who were getting benefits of such government schemes.

2. Availability of Potable water: Of all the interviewed people in the non-slum locality, 96.84% had a metered connection whereas only 23% of slum dwellers had regular water connection. A big part of the slum dwellers (57%) had no source of potable water and they either get it illegally by breaking the government water line or use hand pumps (11%). A small


percentage of the people in slums (4%) were getting the supply of water from tankers.

Our survey findings have a supportive argument as according to a latest study, 16% of slum families do not have any definite source of water and a majority of them have access to water by community sources (47%).

3. **Availability of Electricity Connection:** While nearly everyone had a regular electricity connection in non-slum area, 28% of people in slums did not have regular connection. This again is supported by the Inception Report on Urban Poverty Reduction Strategy for Jaipur City, which mentions that nearly 30% of the families in slum area depend on kerosene with respect to source of light.

4. **Toilet facility:** Only 11% of slum dwellers reported to be having toilet facilities at home. Thus, a vast majority goes out in open area to defecate. The problem is more severe for the women and girls as they complained of regular incidents of molestation in this area.

The Draft City Development Plan for Jaipur compiled recently expresses similar sentiments. To quote it, “Basic sanitation facilities are absent in most of the slums and Katchi Bastis (another name for slums). Most of these places neither have sewerage system nor septic tanks. There are about 76 community latrines throughout Jaipur catering to the slums and public in general, which is much below the requirement. As a result most of the slum dwellers resort to open defecation along the roads and open drains polluting the surroundings and risking their health.”

5. **Garbage Collection/ Cleaning of waste:** Only 26% people in slums had provision for cleaning and collection of waste by the Jaipur Nagar Nigam followed by 62% those who are cleaning it themselves. 6% said that they let garbage lying openly and 2% get it done privately. On the other side, in non-slum area, 94% said there was regular cleaning arrangement by the municipal authorities in their area.

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100 ibidem, p-49
101 ibidem, p-49
102 PDCOR Limited, Draft City Development Plan Jaipur, 2007
This also speaks of the environmental pollution and the health hazards the slum dwellers are facing. The Draft City Development Plan recognises this problem and states that, “Solid waste management system is completely absent in theses colonies and they resort to disposal of wastes in the either in the open or in the nallahs (Drains).”

6. **Street light:** 98% of the people answered to be having street light in public area/streets in their colony, while 84% of slum did not have this facility in the slum area. A common complaint of slum people was, even if there is street light, it seldom works as the bulbs are broken by anti social elements and the replacements are not done regularly.

7. **Concrete Road in the colony:** 100% of those surveyed in the non-slum locality had a coal tar road in front of their house while 19% in slum area did not have this facility. Where the roads were built in the slum area, the maintenance was non-existent and in the absence of regular cleaning system, heaps of garbage covers most part of the road.

8. **Access to Government Hospital:** 90% of the people in the non-slum locality said to have a governmental dispensary or hospital in their colony whereas only 0.5% of slum area people reported as having one in their area. In the non-

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103 ibidem, p-7-9
slum locality, those people who do not have a facility, 3% have to walk 1KM and 5% have to walk 1.5-2KM whereas in slums 83% have to walk 1.5-2 km, followed by 12% of those who have to walk 1 km and 3% those who walk 3 km for a hospital or dispensary and 2% who go to the private hospitals.

9. **Availability of Free Medical Facility:** With regards to medical facilities without paying any charges, 60% of people in the elite colony did not respond. This may be due to lack of facilities or lack of knowledge of existence of such a facility. Only 2% responded positive about existence of a free medical facility, whereas 38% responded as there not being one. In the slum area, 98% responded negative about access to medical facilities without any charges whereas 2% said it is available. It may be noted here that the percentage of people having free medical facility in both the areas is same while the requirement is obviously much more in the slum area. Just to add here, most Indians are not covered by any health insurance schemes, but the small minority that are covered, mostly belong to the organized urban sector. It is estimated that a small fraction of less than 9 percent of the Indian workforce is covered by some form of health insurance, through Central Government Health Scheme, Employee State Insurance Scheme and Mediclaim.\(^{104}\) Another study on slums concluded that the slum population, which is growing in urban areas, again remains uncovered by any insurance.\(^{105}\) These findings are just another pointer to the hardships faced by the urban poor in availing health facilities.

10. **Availability of Educational facilities:** 96% of the on-slum area citizens reported having a Government School in their Colony in comparison to the mere 16% of slum people. Most of the people in non-slum colony prefer to send their children to private schools (45%) followed by those who send their kids to a Government school 1 KM away. In the slums, most of the people have to send their children to the Government schools 2 km away from their house (59%).


11. **Road accidents in the area:** 58% of people in the non-slum colony said that they did not face road accidents in their area. Of the remaining 42% of people, 27% saw it happening every month, 7% weekly, 7% every second or third day, and 1% daily. On the other hand, **in slum area 100% of those interviewed said they face road accidents in their locality very frequently.** 67% of them said it happening every second or third day, followed by 18% who said weekly, 8% monthly and 7% daily.

![Snap 5.3 Slum area (Source: Volunteer from GBS, Jaipur)](image)

It may be relevant to add here that Jaipur city has a substantial number of road accidents every year. As per the Traffic police records, there was 2588 accident cases registered in the city in year 2006. In these cases, 2427 people suffered injuries and 508 died as a result of road accidents. It may be mentioned that the total number of homicide cases in the city was 59 in year 2006. Thus, lives lost due to road accidents are much higher. This is also relevant because most of the slums in the city are situated on or near busy roads and due to lack of traffic sense and education; these people face accidents quite often.
12. **Street fight/ Violence in the vicinity:** 43% of people in the non-slum locality had no repose when asked about street fights in their neighbourhood. This may be due to a lack of fights or a lack of knowledge of fights breaking out. 39% responded as hearing about them monthly, 8% every second-third day, 6% weekly and 4% daily. In slum area, such type of fights (on streets and in house as well) was found to be very common. **59% of those interviewed said as hearing of such fights every second-third day, 21% said as daily, 13 % every month and 7% said it happens weekly.**

Most of the respondents in slum area complained of drunken behaviour by local inhabitants. They, especially women were quite vocal about the availability of illicit liquor in the area and the scene created by locals after having consumed it every evening on the streets in the colony. Many of the women interviewed also mentioned of domestic violence, which according to them is a common sight in most households especially when their man folk come back home in drunken state. The local police records corroborate the prevalence of the menace of alcoholism as out of total 25 cases registered in 2006 in the local police station Jawahar Nagar under Excise Act (which deals with illicit liquor), 21 cases were from this slum area only. This was also reported by them to be a major cause of insecurity especially as they have to go out in open to defecate and have to pass through the streets where noisy scenes are a common sight. Eve teasing and attempt to molest were other consequences of drunken behaviour, which these women said, have become part of their daily life.

13. **Police visibility/ patrolling in the area:** 82% of the people in the elite colony answered to have seen police patrolling in their colony. Most of the people (39%) see them daily, 28% see them weekly, 8% see them every second-third day and equally (8%) those who see them every month. On the other side, only 55% of the people living in the slums noticed police patrolling in their locality. 32% of the people saw them daily, 18% see them every second-third day. 3% of the people see them every month, 2% see them weekly. However, **almost all the slum dwellers added that the police doesn’t come inside the locality and is seen only on the periphery.**
5.4.6 Individual Capability

1. **Type of House owned:** Housing facilities also provide a strong indication of economic condition. As compared to non-slum inhabitants, nearly all of whom (97.6%) are living in a concrete building, only 10% of slum dwellers live in concrete built house. **For slum residents, most people are living in a Kachcha house (56%), followed by semi-built house (29%).** There is also a small component, which is living in rented accommodation (4%). Kachcha houses are made from natural materials including mud, grass, thatch or sticks and are therefore only short-lived structures. Since they are made of cheap materials, constant maintenance and replacement is needed adding extra financial burden to slum dwellers.

In Jaipur, nearly 47% of the slums are located on forestland, 27% are in flood prone area and 18% along main roads. There is acute shortage of housing for the slum population. According to an estimate, 132526 houses were required in year 2006 which will further go up to 172820 by year 2012.\(^{106}\)

![Snap 5.4 Slum area (Source: Volunteer from GBS, Jaipur)](image)

According to the Draft City Development Plan, 23% of the poor are squatters and are vulnerable to frequent eviction. 6% of the poor live on rented accommodation and have to pay a substantial portion of their income for rent.  

2. **Ability to provide medical assistance to self/ member of family:** While lack of adequate hygiene and poor environment puts health of slum dwellers at much greater risk, their capability seems to add to their worries. **On the question of the ability to provide medical assistance to their family members, 83% people in the slums said they were not able** to whereas according to 97% of the respondents in the non-slum locality were able to provide required medical assistance to the members of their family.

Though there is no study was available on Jaipur on health seeking behavior of population, a comparative assessment can be made with the situation in Delhi, which is capital city of India situated 260 kilometers from Jaipur and broadly shares the similar customs and practices. According to the study the elaborate government health care system in Delhi, which is mainly supposed to cater to those who are less privileged, the data revealed that this is more the exception than the rule. A greater percentage of high and middle-income households use government facilities, and a greater percentage of lower income households use private facilities. Also, the lower income households are also those with least insurance coverage and they are also seeking largely allopathic as well as institutional care (rather than indigenous practitioners). Since health care is an essential expenditure, the market mechanism places unnecessary burden on those with lesser ability to pay. There is a more than 3 times difference between expenditure in a private and a public facility, and even the public facilities are not as inexpensive as one would think.  

This further signifies the linkage between economic security and health security, as the poorer of the poor appear to bear the worst brunt of health insecurity. Here, it may also be appropriate to mention that lack of food

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107 PDCOR Limited, Draft City Development Plan Jaipur, 2007, p-7-3  
security could be one of major cause of creating health insecurities in form of illness due to lack of staple diet and malnutrition.

3. **Ability to provide desired education to children:** 97.6% of the people in non-slum area think they are able to provide desired education to their children, whereas 85% of those in slum area said they were not. Only 12% of slum people reported as being able to provide adequate education for their children, which paints a grim picture for their children’s future. This fact is very important because education is the key to growth and success and without proper education, slum children will be unable to find a well paying job and step out of poverty.

The comparative figures for literacy rates of slum dwellers and non-slum population substantiate this situation. As per the recent study, slums lag behind at 60.7% to the non-slum 81.2% of literate population.

4. **Cases of critical illness in the family:** Compared to 15% of the people in the non-slum locality, 21% of slum dwellers had a case of their family member taken critically ill in last three years. The common diseases faced by slum dwellers were T.B., Cancer, Jaundice, asthma and liver problems. On the other hand, the non-slum locality people were facing diseases such as Heart ailment, Blood pressure, diabetes and cancer.

5. **Feeling of Insecurity:** 64% of non-slum residents did not feel insecure for any particular reason whereas 92% of slum residents felt insecure for one reason or other. The most common reasons for non-slum people were fear of theft and anti social elements, fear of children’s future, and old age people living alone did not feel safe. On the other side, the most common insecurity among slum population was the problem of non-availability of safe drinking water, followed by the economic insecurity and fear of molestation and anti social elements.
6. **Feeling of safety in the locality:** The level of community security for non-slum locality residents is quite high. 95.6% of the people felt safe in their Colony and only 4.4% did not. Those who did not feel safe were worried about things such as loneliness, leaving the children at home while going to work, contractual obligations, money disputes etc.

   **Level of community security for slum dwellers** was found to be very low, as 82% of the people did not feel safe in their locality. They reported of facing more severe dangers and were concerned of physical violence, drunkards and molestation.

7. **Criminal incident with self/ member of the family:** For 35% of the people in the non-slum locality a criminal incident had happened to them or their family members in the recent past while 65% said no. 3% of them were involved in molestation, 11% in an assault or scramble. 7% were involved in theft and another 14% choose ‘any other crime’. In the slum area, 67% people reported having faced some criminal incident themselves or someone in their family in the recent past. 31% of these involved an assault or scramble, 25% were of molestation, 4% were involved in theft and another 7% choose ‘any other crime’.

   Just a pointer to the problem of crime is the crime against women in the city Jaipur. Like most of the cities of similar size have a substantial number of incidents of crime against women. In year 2006, 852 cases of crime against women were reported in the city. Of these, 58 cases were of rape and...
110 cases were of sexual assault. In addition, there were 23 cases of dowry death (murder of married women by her husband/ in-laws). The above figures do not include unreported incidents, which are substantial as in slum areas especially; most of the cases of molestation and even domestic violence are never reported to the police for one reason or another

8. **Information provided to Police:** On the question if they informed the police about the occurrence of such an incident, 52% of the non-slum locality answered ‘yes’ while 48% said ‘no’. 12% people said that the police lodged a report. 16.5% said an action was taken by the police after lodging a complaint and equally (16.5%) said as police attempted for compromise. In 4% of all cases the report was not accepted by the police or sent back. In the slum area 38% answered ‘yes’ while 62% said ‘no’. On being informed about the incident, in 22% the police attempted for compromise, for 9% the police lodged a report, and for only 4% action was taken after lodging a complaint. 3% said their report was not accepted or were sent back by police.

9. **Feel confident to approach Police:** From all the incidents of the non-slum locality, the reason why people didn’t go to the police was in 2% of the cases because they didn’t have the courage to go. In 25% the neighbours made persuasion and in 12% of all cases no necessity was felt. 10% gave other reasons. In slums, the reason why people didn’t go to the police was because in 26% of the cases they didn’t have the courage to go. In 15% the neighbours made persuasion and in 10% of all cases no necessity was felt. 11% gave other reasons.

Summing up, the discussion in this chapter while appreciating the positive interventions for improving human security as listed out in the previous chapter; the results of the primary survey indicate that there is still a long way to go. It is also evident that the outreach of these developments has not been evenly spread, as there remains a substantial part of population living in stark uninhabitable conditions. It is characterized by many inequalities in living standards and has to still address comprehensively some of the fundamental problems like water supply, public health and public safety.

The findings of the survey can be summarized as following if we try to categorize them according to the seven-category definition by UNDP:
1. Economic Security
   - Slum area People have no Regular job/ employment
   - Slum Area people did not have any Financial assistance from State/ NGO
   - Most slum dwellers are living in kachcha or semi built houses
   - Basic services such as Electricity is also not available to all
   - Literacy rates are lower in Slum areas

2. Food Security
   - Low Monthly Income restricts their capacity to buy food
   - Welfare Provisions such as Below Poverty Card have not reached all eligible

3. Health Security
   - A large majority still does not have access to potable water
   - Outreach of Government health services is inadequate
   - Low incomes restrict capacity to buy Health services

4. Environmental Security
   - Lack of sewerage system in slum area
   - Majority of slum population lack private toilets or even community toilets
   - Inadequate and non-functional Street lighting in slum areas
   - Internal Roads are non existent or poorly maintained

5. Personal Security
   - People in slum area feel more unsafe than their counterparts in non-slum area
   - Traffic accidents are common sight in slum area
   - A substantial number of slum dwellers lack courage to approach police

6. Community Security
   - Slum area people are more insecure than in non-slum area
   - Street violence and drunken behavior is a big nuisance in slum area
   - Police patrolling in slum area is ineffective or inadequate

7. Political Security\textsuperscript{109}
   - Fundamental rights are intact, no complaints of any sort of discrimination
   - Right to vote
   - Equality before law

\textsuperscript{109} The survey did not cover this component, as it was not the focus of this paper.
5.5 WRITING ON THE WALL

To conclude, it is intriguing that while all the concerned state and non-state actors seem to be working earnestly to attend to humanitarian imperatives of the needy population, the overall outcome of their efforts belies the expectations. A clear pointer from the above discussion is the vulnerability of urban poor to various threats. The poor, who are economically marginalized, live in polluted environments and face severe health hazards, are unable to afford proper housing & desired education to their children are also more prone to crime and violence. They are victimized more than their non-slum counterparts. Thus, they are not only living in inhuman conditions when it comes to basic amenities, they are also living in unsafe environment constantly worrying about their physical safety and security which further hampers their chances of coping up with their disadvantages.

However in any humanitarian discourse, the emphasis is laid only on provision of basic amenities such as water, sanitation, health care etc. and the security concerns of people are mostly ignored. At least this has been the normal practice in the case of various programmes initiated targeting urban poor in India. A comparison with the situation in the refugee camps set up after any humanitarian crisis may not be far fetched here as there too, there have been repeated reports of violence, rape and insecurity among the refugee population forcing the international community to look for ways to tackle it. It appears quite appropriate to incorporate security concerns in the overall reconstruction strategy targeting urban poor and growing slum areas in cities.

The recently held International Conference on the State of Safety in World Cities at Monterrey which was attended by representatives from cities, national governments, intergovernmental agencies, NGO’s and civil society, academic and expert organizations from 5 continents concluded with a set of recommendations one of which is as follows; “Safety issues should be a major aspect of plans for slum upgrading. Urban renewal projects should be seen as opportunities to include these concerns and perspectives at the core of government interventions.”

This recommendation reflects the growing consensus worldwide on recognition of the security concerns in urban reconstruction agenda and thus further substantiates our argument for reorientation of urban development agenda by adopting the human security approach.

While suggesting the possible strategies is not the scope of this paper, we will be discussing some of the best practices around the world to illustrate some of the possible solutions in the forthcoming chapter. We will also attempt to diagnose the cause(s) for such state of affairs and try to explore road map for a more effective strategy for better results.
6. Conclusions

As brought out by the Human security Survey in Jaipur, the security concerns of under privileged population are as severe as their economic, health and educational concerns. In fact, they are living in more unsafe environments in comparison to their privileged middle class and higher income class counterparts. The vulnerability of women and children is even more in these areas. The crux of the whole issue is the realization of the fact that the urban poor need a bit more than ‘reconstruction’ and there is a urgent need to target all their insecurities in a comprehensive and coordinated manner.

What is ailing human security in cities is an obvious question then? Why are interventions on such a wide scale as detailed in Chapter three are still not enough or at least appear to be enough to tackle the threats to human security in cities? Another question the present scenario poses, is it a problem of insufficient efforts or inefficient implementation of selected interventions? Further, we need to also consider the importance of crime and violence as an undercurrent of personal security agenda within the framework of Human security as brought out by the results of our primary survey. In this chapter, we will try to find answers to some of these questions to evolve a possible strategy for future interventions.

Another issue demanding attention is the inter-linkages between various insecurities, specially the way they affect each other. It is quite evident that economic insecurity is causing food insecurity, which in turn leads to health insecurity. At the same time, the economic security could also be cause for creating personal and community insecurities. For instance, a recent research on this subject indicates that, in poor slums, disaffected kids growing up in crowded households (a common feature of slums) tend to spend more time on the streets. With few jobs available and poor prospects for the future, organized criminal gangs can be perceived as appealing opportunities to provide them with an income, social network and sense of security.\textsuperscript{111}

This points out the effect of economic insecurity and also partially highlights the role social security provided by the state can play in diluting the impact of such insecurity.

\textsuperscript{111} Human Security>Cities, Human Security for an Urban Century: Local Challenges, Global Perspectives, Chapter-2, 2007, p-50
In other words, if there is better housing, if there are more jobs available, if these children and youth could be usefully engaged in some vocational or financial activity, the chances of their getting lured away by criminal gangs should obviously diminish. Here, the role of interventions becomes crucial, be it the state or non-state actors, any worthwhile intervention targeted at economic insecurity is most likely to lead to higher personal security as well as food and health security.

6.1 URBAN SAFETY: CAUSE FOR CONCERN

The need for safer city environments cannot be overemphasized. And in the wake of growing realization that the growth should be inclusive, security concerns assume further significance. It may be apt to quote from the latest publication on challenges of human security in cities, ‘Human Security for an Urban century’:

“Rapid urbanisation is having a particularly profound impact in the developing world where many local governments lack the capacity to provide adequate public security for their ever growing population. In some cities, the inability or unwillingness by public security forces to provide public security is resulting in the progressive privatisation of security. While elites are often able to hire private security forces, slum dwellers are increasingly victimised by highly organised and heavily armed gangs who are filling the void left when public security fails. Cities besieged by modern war are also the sites of significant human security challenges-for example protecting civilian population in urban spaces when armed combatants take advantage of the density of buildings and populations found in cities to conceal their operations.”

An apt though a bit crude argument is, if we are concerned about some thousands of people living in refugee camps, how can we ignore the plight of millions living in cities in similar situations and may be even worse as there are no International agencies reaching them with food packets with calculated calorie intake as per Sphere guidelines and others rushing with healthcare equipments and team of experts. In addition to humanitarian woes, the rising threat of global terrorism of which the cities are again a target, threat of ethnic clashes and communal riots (there

112 Ibid, p-85
have been violent clashes on several occasions for instance in India), rising casualties in road accidents due to poor infrastructure and lack of civic education, all these combined pose a much bigger threat than the traditional threats of inter state wars and armed conflicts.

In short, to quote Secretary, Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation, Govt. of India, “safety is a key element both for the smooth functioning of a city as well as for its economic development in the context of providing better livelihoods for citizens.”

6.2 IS CRIME PREVENTION ONLY A POLICE MATTER?

While as evident from the discussion above, the security concerns in urban areas are of critical importance, and personal security as a component of human security deserves equal if not greater importance than other components, yet one does not find serious efforts being made in this direction.

The situation reflects the existing set up in which crime prevention and security concerns are talked in reference to policing only. The colonies may be built, renovated, townships may emerge, and shopping malls may replace the city skyline, the security concerns are totally neglected. At the best, though not always, parking problem (another police problem) may be part of the urban development discussion and that’s all.

A relevant question here would be, is crime prevention only a police matter? No, argues Richard H. Schneider, Professor of Urban & Regional Planning at the College of Design, Construction and Planning, at the University of Florida. According to him, beyond being a responsibility of the Police, crime prevention is also a function of agencies that monitor and direct development process. He adds that city dwellers face unequal crime risks connected, in part, to their locations. The Human security survey in Jaipur conforms to this argument that less privileged in the city are more vulnerable to crime and have been victim of crime much more than their counterparts in other parts of the city.

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113 MoHUPA, Govt. of India, Address by Secretary, MoHUPA, Govt. of India on World Habitat Day 2007
114 Schneider, R.H., Crime Prevention is not only a police matter in Habitat Debate September 2007, p-6
6.3 SOVEREIGNTY CONCERNS IN INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

Yet another mindset, which seems to restrict the discussion on security issues on International platform, could be the fact that internal security is a matter of concerned state and any reference to it might mean crossing the sovereignty boundary line. It is agreeable that this is a sensitive issue and no democratic governments would like to accept any humanitarian or development assistance that may infringe upon their sovereignty.

However, we feel that it is high time the security concerns are discussed and provided due importance whenever any humanitarian assistance or development assistance is planned. In any case of such assistance, terms of reference are always drawn and a plan of action is formulated detailing out the proposed works to be undertaken, kind of assistance to be provided on the basis of existing ground requirements and even the population or the group to be targeted is also identified well before the actual assistance starts. It is at this moment, that security issues, preventive strategies for ensuring safety of vulnerable population from crime and violence are chalked out as well and incorporated in the overall agenda. The implementation of such an agenda is always with the agencies of concerned local governments and as such the sovereignty should not become an issue in this exercise. In other words, it is proposed that security concerns should be included in the assistance charter and the implementation strategy worked out in consultation with the concerned local government after mutual consultations. Since most of the development programs, even if, fully financed by International agencies or governments, are carried out by the local governments in the concerned country, the measures for ensuring personal and community security should not ideally raise any complications.

An example of accepted positive intervention has been the security sector reforms as illustrated in the case of Sierra Leone in Chapter 3 earlier and also in some east European countries. The DFID document on Security sector reforms also highlights the importance of security. To quote from it, “Security is an essential condition for sustainable development and a strong concern of the poor. The role of the state and its security forces directly impact upon the opportunities for sustainable development and peoples’ physical security. There is a growing consensus that security needs to be approached just as much from the perspective of protecting
individuals and communities from violence as from the degree to which defence spending crowds out development expenditure.” 115

The question should not be who will do it, but rather why should not we do this? To compartmentalize the security concerns independent of other urban issues and put this responsibility to only law enforcement machinery and judiciary or to treat it as taboo in international humanitarian discourse, does not seem to be the correct rational given the emerging consensus across the world.

6.4 MAKING CITIES SAFER & JUST: EMERGING CONSENSUS

There is growing concern worldwide for the safety and security of people in urban areas and the recommendation in very unequivocal terms is to address these concerns through appropriate urban policy, planning, design and governance. This is well illustrated from the message of the executive Director of UN HABITAT on World Habitat Day 2007. 116 “It is now accepted by most national and local spheres of government that urban safety needs to be built from homes and street level up, and incorporated into local and national planning. It cannot be left to the police alone. Urban governance processes, and urban policies that target exclusion, social inequalities, as well as appropriate planning measures, are key to success. Indeed community security requires a holistic and coordinated approach.”

A new publication co-published by Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) and UNHABITAT also highlights the plight of millions living in cities calling for immediate attention. The situation today is that millions of city dwellers live on the very edge of survival, and the risks they face are no less severe than some situations described internationally as ‘humanitarian emergencies’. Their circumstances also make them vulnerable to dangers, such as organised crime and epidemics, which have no equivalent in rural life. Finally, marginal locations and overcrowding make city slums sitting ducks for natural disasters and the negative impacts of climate change. 117

Violence, previously regarded as an issue of criminal pathology, is now regarded as a development problem also particularly in urban areas. The above

115 DFID, Understanding & Supporting Security Sector Reform; p-7
117 IRIN & UN HABITAT: Tomorrow’s Crises today: The Humanitarian Impact of Urbanization; Chapter 1, p-18
discussion is a pointer to this reality that needs to be recognised progressively by planners. What is needed is an integrated approach to interventions in city development plans. A shift is needed from policy interventions on single sector basis to a more inter disciplinary approach targeting all insecurities faced by urban population. An integrated framework is required which shall address the crime and violence simultaneously as it addressed the social security aspects.

An example of such initiative is UN HABITAT’s Safer Cities programme which talks about multi dimensional effort as follows:

• Law and by-law enforcement, prevention by the police and the justice
• Urban planning, design and service delivery
• Social development targeting groups at risk (youth, women, minorities)
• Governance, participation and regeneration

The underlying philosophy of the campaign is reflected in the welcome remarks to Durban Conference on Sustainable Cities in 2003 by UN HABITAT representative, ‘For a long time, we relied on the police and the criminal justice system to provide safety and security. This approach has shown its limits as crime has increased around the globe over the last forty years. The causes of delinquency, violence and insecurity need to be addressed globally and targeted at the local level. Successful crime prevention and urban safety require the commitment and expertise of all stakeholders, with local government, taking the lead in coordinating such initiatives. It is an integral part of good governance.’

The recently held International Conference on the State of Safety in World Cities at Monterrey which was attended by representatives from cities, national governments, intergovernmental agencies, NGO’s and civil society, academic and expert organizations from 5 continents concluded with a set of recommendations one of which is as follows; **Safety issues should be a major aspect of plans for slum upgrading. Urban renewal projects should be seen as opportunities to include these concerns and perspectives at the core of government interventions.**

This recommendation reflects the growing consensus worldwide on recognition of the security concerns in urban reconstruction agenda and thus further

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substantiates our argument for applying the human security agenda for cities. Back home in India as well, the Secretary, Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation, Govt. of India, has echoed similar sentiments by stressing upon the need for multi-sectoral approach for promoting urban safety. For this purpose, he suggests that social development policies and programmes have to be integrated with crime prevention programme\textsuperscript{119}. While suggesting the possible strategies is not the scope of this paper, some of the best practices around the world are being listed below to illustrate some of the possible solutions.

6.5 SOME BEST PRACTICES

Though the purpose of this paper is to highlight the importance of security concerns in urban development strategies, it may not be out of place to list out some of the Best Practice across the world in recent past on this issue.

1. DESEPEZ (development, security and peace): Introduced in Municipality of Cali in 1991 aimed at preventing violence in urban areas, targeting the most violent areas of the city. The program aimed at promoting social development, providing education in pacificism values and fostering democratic policing.

2. National Crime Prevention Program: Launched in 1996 in Sweden. The vision is based on two fundamental principles; (i) Crime reduction requires action that targets the root causes of delinquency with particular attention to action among children and adolescents and (ii) implementation of local strategies with cooperation from partners representing employment, health, and housing and youth services.

3. Durban Safer Cities Strategy: Launched in 1999 with the financial support from Embassy of Netherlands, it brought different role-players together in a prevention partnership. The three pillars of this strategy are; (i) Effective Policing and Crime Prevention, (ii) Targeted Social crime Prevention, and (iii) Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

4. Canada’s National Crime Prevention Strategy

\textsuperscript{119} MoHUPA, Govt. of India, \textit{Address by Secretary, MoHUPA, Govt. of India on World Habitat Day 2007}
As the aim of the present paper was to highlight the importance of safety from physical violence in the human security agenda, and how this can be dealt calls for further research and analysis to carve out strategies to achieve this agenda without undermining the sovereignty of nations and disturbing the humanitarian basket.

To sum up, it may be apt to conclude using a quote from Dwyer, “Unless urban violence—and its manifestation of exploitation of the poor—are addressed, as part of poverty reduction and governance improvements, programs to improve the lives of urban dwellers will have limited impact.”¹²⁰

Further, the results from the survey and the discussion of the state of Human security in Jaipur also points out the harsh reality of the limitation of various interventions. It clearly implies that initiatives in isolation or even a plethora of schemes will not suffice in the present scenario and at best these may make an impact on some aspects of human security or may cater to a section of vulnerable population with limited results. The need is for a comprehensive approach to deal with the insecurities, pooling in of the resources, be it financial, governmental and non-governmental.

But, as we can see there is also a silver lining in the cloud clearly perceptible from the growing consensus worldwide. The rapid urbanization and its accompanying challenges have in fact provided the world community an opportunity to target the most vulnerable of the lot across the world in a concerted and organized manner as very aptly pointed out by recent writings for instance, Human Security for an Urban Century¹²¹ and the IRIN-UN HABITAT publication Tomorrow’s Crises today: The Humanitarian Impact of Urbanization. The sooner this is done; it would not only make cities a better place but also a safer place to live.

¹²⁰ Dwyer, G., Violence and the Poor; ADB 2005
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### Questionnaire

**Human Security Survey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of survey</th>
<th>Name of Basti/ Colony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Name of the Head of Family:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Address:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Number of persons in the Household:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male: Female: Children: Senior Citizen:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Number of your relatives in the Basti/ Colony:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Number of families of your Religion in the Basti/ Colony:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- Number of families of your Community in the Basti/ Colony:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Since how many years you are living in Jaipur:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- Is anyone from your household is regularly employed in Govt. or Private Job?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>: Yes / No a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- Monthly Income (Indian Rupees):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1- Below 1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Between 1000- 2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- 2000- 5000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- More than 5000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- Type of House:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1- Kachcha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Concrete built</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Semi built</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- Do you have BPL Card?:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes/ No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12- Do you purchase ration/ household stuff from Government PDS shop?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes/ No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13- Type of water connection?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1- Metered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Public hand pump</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3- No connection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Buy from tanker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14- Type of Electricity Connection:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1- Metered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Connection without meter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- No connection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If No, then Reason:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) No Electricity line in the area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Cannot afford to take regular connection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Have applied and is waiting for connection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15- Do you have a toilet and bathroom in your house?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes/ No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If NO, then what do kind of arrangements do you have?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16- Is there a provision for cleaning and collection of Waste in your locality? 
   If NO, what kind of arrangements do you have?
17- Is there road light/ enough light in public area/ streets in your Basti/ Colony? 
   Yes/ No
18- Is there a pucca road in front of your house? Yes/ No
19- Is there a Govt. Dispensary/ Hospital in your Basti/ Colony? Yes/ No 
   If No, how far do you have to go for it? 
   Is there a free medical facility?
20- Has any member of your family fallen critically ill in last three years? Yes/ No
21- Are you able to provide required medical assistance to members of your family as and when required? Yes/ No
22- Is there any Government School in your Basti/ Colony? Yes/ No 
   If No, how far you have to send your children?
23- Are you able to provide desired education to your children? Yes/ No
24- Do you or any member of your family get regular financial assistance from Government or from some NGO? Yes/ No 
   If yes, then from where?
25- Are there Road accidents in your Basti/ Colony? Yes/ No 
   If yes, then 
   How many times?
   a) Daily    b) Every second- third day    c) Weekly    d) Every month
26- How frequently do you hear about street fights/ domestic fights in your Basti/ Colony?
   a) Daily    b) Every second-third day    c) Weekly    d) Every month
27- Do you see Police patrolling in your Basti/ Colony? Yes/ No 
   a) Daily    b) Every second-third day    c) Weekly    d) Every month
28- Do you feel confidant/ able to obtain/ seek Police assistance as when needed by you or any member of your family? Yes/ No
29- Do you and your family feel safe in your Basti/ Colony? Yes/ No
30- Do you feel insecure due to any reason? Yes/ No 
   If yes, please specify.
31. If any criminal incident has occurred with you or any of your family members in the recent past? Yes/No

32. If yes, what was that?
   (a) Theft  (b) assault/scramble  (c) molestation  (d) any other (please specify)

33. Did you inform the police on occurrence of such incident? Yes/No

If yes -
(i) Lodged a report?
(ii) Attempted for compromise (by police)?
(iii) Action taken after lodging a complaint?
(iv) Report was not accepted/ sent back?

If no, reason of not informing the police?

(i) Persuasion made by the neighbours?
(ii) Necessity was not felt?
(iii) Didn’t had courage?
(iv) Any other reason (please specify)?