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Thesis title: Understanding the realisation of state's worlding visions from the urban informality perspective: street vending in Bangalore

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Summary

Emerging nation states aspire to project "world class" cities like Bangalore through large scale urban transformations based on urban standards inter-referenced from Western and Asian cities. In order to establish global recognition, states impose these visions on their subjects, including street vendors who characterise Indian cities. When viewed from a Marxist lens, urban informality like street vending is a form of the subaltern that rises in opposition to state imposed visions. The subaltern is conceptualised to be at odds constantly with the authoritarian state. In reality, cities like Bangalore, characterised by post-colonial institutional and decentralised land arrangements, implement visions through local-level authorities. Urban informality as a site of critical analysis, can reveal how complex socio-political relationships across domains alter worlding visions. The objective was to determine how visions manifest when the state is more than a singular entity, investigating whether it is solely influenced by subaltern resistance or by more intricate dynamics at play, therefore challenging the oversimplified state versus subaltern perspective. First, the research investigates where street vending fits within the state's wording visions for Bangalore. Second, it analyses the state actions towards street vending in worlding projects, by assessing its inclusivity or intolerance. Third, it explores how the logic of informality influences street vendors' responses to worlding projects. To achieve this, discourse was analysed to uncover the worlding visions for Bangalore and street vending. Eviction reports, the case study of Gandhi Bazaar redevelopment using interviews and legal documents analysed the state's actions towards street vending. Finally, the case study of Church Street redevelopment using observations analysed the response of street vendors. The analysis revealed that the state's worlding visions of sanitised street vending in a globalised modern Bangalore are not fully realized due to discrepancies between higher-level intentions and local-level implementation. Legal frameworks lack specificity and local authorities exhibit varying approaches towards street vendors. While some perpetuate informality through eviction and harassment, others respond to vendor needs, resulting in different outcomes such as in Gandhi Bazaar. Worlding pedestrianization projects aiming to exclude vendors inadvertently promote vending activities, as seen in Church Street. The realisation of state visions involve complex stakeholder conflicts beyond subaltern political agency. Further research is needed to understand power dynamics, negotiation processes, and governance structures influencing the realization of state visions and their impact on marginalized street vendors.

Keywords: worlding visions, urban informality, urban planning, street vendors, India.

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Abbreviations

AAP	Aam Aadmi Party
APAC	Asia-Pacific (Region)
BBMP	Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike
BDA	Bangalore Development Authority
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CM	Chief Minister
CMP	Comprehensive Mobility Plan
DULT	Directorate of Urban Land Transport
ER	Eviction Report
ESG	Environment Support Group
GLP	Green Logistics Project
GoI	Government of India
GoK	Government of Karnataka
IFI	International Financial Institution
INC	Indian National Congress
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
MoHUA	Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs
SCM	Smart Cities Mission
SUSV, DAY-NULM	Support to Urban Street Vendors under the Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana-National Urban Livelihoods Mission
SVA	Street Vendors' Association
TOD	Transit Oriented Development
WEF	World Economic Forum

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Emerging nations strive to exercise their power by projecting visions of the "world" city and their ambitions are driven by reimagined urban forms and norms of being global (Ong, 2011). India, too, aspires to be a part of this group of world cities, eager to catch up to places like Singapore or Shanghai (Ong, 2011). India is currently the second largest growing economy (World Bank, 2022), and captures international attention for being a popular destination for foreign investments (Prasad, 2019). Seventy percent of future employment is projected to be generated in cities (Prasad, 2019), making Indian cities a ground for urban transformations driven by domestic and international investments. The Smart Cities Mission (SCM) is one such initiative to harness investments and improve urban areas sustainably using digital technologies (GoI, n.d.). In wanting to do so, it aims at creating replicable models for sustainable urban projects undertaken in cities. However, SCM has become an umbrella term to justify nearly all urban projects (Bajpai & Biberman, 2021). Aspirations to meet the standards of places like Singapore, known for its "cleanliness", "orderliness" and "efficiency" (Beng Huat, 2011; Ong, 2011), drive projects in Indian cities which inherently accommodate forms of the subaltern such as informality. Indian cities are characterised by informality permeating legal norms and formal regulations (Roy, 2009).

Informality is used an effective means to plug gaps left by the state or market failures (Meagher, 2013). Such formal-informal linkages are considered to be vital mechanisms to untap the 'potential' offered by informality (Meagher, 2013). For instance, inadequate formal water provision by the state is compensated by informal water vendors in Bangalore (Borthakur, 2015) and in other parts of India. States resort to informal markets to provide for such resources when they are short or public actions remains insufficient (Felipe, 2017). Being selectively accommodative of informal provision is justified by the need to provide relief (Felipe, 2017). Informal practices are convenient (Felipe, 2017) for states as they tap into informality to reduce transaction costs of service and public goods provision in developing countries (Meagher, 2013). Similarly, informal waste-pickers act as middlemen to compensate for ineffective garbage collection by municipalities (Schindler, 2017). In terms of planning, this creates inequalities between areas where services are formally provided and areas where they are not (Felipe, 2017).

At the same time, informal activities such as street vending is beheld "outside" of the formal from a dualistic perspective. Vendors are stigmatised through their portrayal as "antisocial", "anti-developmental", "dirty", "unesthetic" and "unhygienic", alluding to their disadvantaged position in

society (Anand et al., 2019),. Despite being formally recognised and registered through The Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act[1], 2014 (GoI, 2014), street vendors continue to be harassed and stigmatised in different ways. This ranges from being criticised for their visual appeal to having to pay *haftas* and bribes for protection (Anand et al., 2019). In spite of the Act acting as a safeguard against evictions, street vendors face frequent threats of eviction (Chitnis, 2023; HS, 2023; Sridharan, 2023; ToI, 2023). Street vendors rights, especially over the negotiation of public spaces is still contended and their claims over the usage of such spaces are often given lower priority than those of pavement users, residents, vehicular users and public authorities (Anand et al., 2019). Informality, as a state of deregulation, allows the state flexibility to employ eminent domain and use land as they see fit (Roy, 2009). Those operating outside of exclusionary state regulations are bound by the structural constraints of informality. According to Roy (2009), the formal is permeated by the logic of informality, in which, even the state is an active actor. For instance, waste collection Bangalore is funded by the state but the management of the waste centres is operated using the profits made by informal workers (Bhan, 2019). This consolidates formal and informal actors to form a complex network and become a site of critical analysis with complex socio-political relationships (Banks et al., 2019; Bhan, 2019). Similarly, street vendors also operate in an ecosystem of formal and informal actors, finding innovative ways to thrive and adapt. Most obvious is how street vendors pay *haftas* to local level authorities in order to continue operating "illegally". More often than not, planning for street vendors is looked at as a space management exercise (Anand et al., 2019) without taking into account existing institutional arrangements and alternative governance structures. In attempts to transform Indian problem-ridden cities into "world cities" (Goldman, 2011), recently redeveloped bazaar areas in Indian metro cities, such as the Gandhi Bazaar Redevelopment Project in Bangalore, has been undertaken. These pursue global standards by rationally planning for street vendors while imposing standards for public space usage based on global models. Street markets are seemingly in disagreement with Bangalore's status as a "mega-city" with its longing to be a "European-style world city" (Goldman, 2011). Planners visualise central business districts and shopping malls instead of street and old city markets to cater to the globally reputed IT industry (Goldman, 2011).

These arguments highlight how the state has to contend with the subaltern, like street vending, to achieve its worlding aspirations. However, the tangled relationship between the state and the subaltern, engaged in the complex domains of urban informality raises questions whether visions

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[1] Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act of 2014 is referred as Street Vendors Act or the Act in the rest of the document.

are solely materialised through authoritarian impositions or if the dynamics of state-subaltern interaction reveal nuanced aspects of how visions materialise.

1.2 Problem Statement

The background illustrates that the interaction between the state and the subaltern, like street vending, in the context of urban informality, poses challenges for the materialisation of the state's worlding aspirations. While the state strives to impose its visions in order to gain global recognition, the socio-political dynamics spanning across domains adds complexity to how these visions manifest. On the one hand, states are eager to including informality by implementing the Street Vendors Act, 2014. On the other hand, it aims to transform unclean, unhygienic, unattractive and traditional markets into world-class projects. On ground, street vendors are exploited by local level state authorities, despite being legally protected. Paradoxically, exploitation is a channel facilitated by the state in actively perpetuating urban informality.

As India aspires to claim a larger role in shaping the world economy, enormous amounts of money is being poured into world-class infrastructure projects and state is eager in presenting an image of a well put together modern city. It raises the question whether visons materialise the way the state intended. According to Ghertner (2011), subaltern's result from their ability to resist and leverage the state's visions to their advantage. However, this negates the complexity of state and subaltern interactions. This raises the need to investigate whether visions are solely realised through totalitarian impositions of if state-subaltern relationships have a subtler role to play in the realisation of visions.

1.3 Research Objectives and Research Questions

This research examines how the state addresses planning for creating world-class cities in the context of urban informality. Specifically focusing on Bangalore, it aims to outline the state's worlding vision for the city and how street vending fits within it. It aims to explore the approach of imposing these visions on street vendors and uncover how the logic of informality works in response to worlding projects. Through this, the main aim is to understand how visions are materialised beyond the state-subaltern discourse.

This research aims to contribute to the larger body of worlding visions and planning theory in the context of urban informality by exploring how states and the subaltern engage while leveraging world-class visions and aspirations of urban transformations. To do so, the research investigates two

redevelopment projects in Bangalore. Church Street and Gandhi Bazaar redevelopments have been chosen for multiple reasons. First, street redevelopments, in general, showcase urban informality as a site of critical analysis where the interests and relationships between various actors can be uncovered. Street vending has been formalised but street vendors are perceived to be informal by the state. Second, street development projects aim to transform and modernise unorganised, dirty and unhygienic traditional markets based on global models and standards (mayaPRAXIS, 2019; TUEWAS, n.d.). Third, the projects are in different phases and had different approaches. By studying these two, the state's aspirations and its materialisation can be demonstrated.

The research aims to answer,

How are the state's worlding visions for Bangalore and its street vending realized in the context of urban informality as a site of critical analysis?

by asking the sub-questions,

How does the state envision the presence of street vending in its worlding visions for Bangalore?

What are the state's actions towards street vending practices in world-class city-making in Bangalore?

How are worlding projects impacted by street vendors operating with a logic of informality?

Through these inquiries, the primary objective of this research is to elucidate how visions are manufactured, materialised and morphed in relation to complex socio-political dynamics.

2. Theory Review

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Worlding Visions

Cities are nexus of transnational ideas, institutions, actors and practices, and world cities play a vital role as nodes in shaping world economies and urban geographies through world-conjuring projects (Friedmann, 2005; Nijman, 2000; Ong, 2011; Robinson, 2005). Worlding projects brand places by attaching a certain status to the city (Haines, 2011). Emerging nation states seek to position themselves globally by projecting particular visions of the "world" city (McCann et al., 2013; Ong, 2011). Worlding practices conceptualise the city as a "milieu of intervention" (Ong, 2011), as a site for experiments aimed at creating world cities of international consequence that assert dominance. World conjuring experiments are ambitious, unstable, contested, often incomplete experiments without any guarantees of successful outcomes, yet they hold the promise of creating better and improved futures (Ghertner, 2011; Jacob, 1998; Ong, 2011). The presupposition of a better future is state practice to present the world-class city as a utopian image (Dean, 2010; Ghertner, 2011). These experiments allow cities to reimagine their ambitions in relation to shifting "forms and norms" of being global (Rabinow, 1991 in Ong, 2011). At the same time, experimental worlding practices enable cities to become sites of speculative, aspirational and experimental political investments, economic growth and cultural vitality (Goldman, 2011; Ong, 2011) and worlding practices are a mix of speculative fact and fiction (Ong, 2011). Worlding projects are spatialised attempts that seek to transform urban forms, redefine urban standards and remap relationships (Ong, 2011). Due to their potential to improve futures, they are often portrayed as urban revolutions (Ong, 2011).

Worlding projects emerge from the visions that arise from the inherently comparative worlding aspirations of cities (McCann et al., 2013; McFarlane, 2010). Worlding visions are "inter-referenced" "assemblages" of "parts of elsewhere" (Allen & Cochrane, 2007; McCann et al., 2013; Ong, 2011). According to Ong (2011), these visions are borrowed and assembled from de-territorialised images. Cities in the Global South strive to emulate the "ideal" models set by "developed" cities in the Global North (McFarlane, 2010). However, visions of the global are also increasingly becoming inter-Asian (Ong, 2011), moving away from the traditional North-South comparison. Cities are assembled, compared and globally positioned through the circulation of models, best practices, technologies and expertise, borrowed from "elsewhere" (McCann et al., 2013; Ong, 2011). To establish global standing, cities strive towards meeting specific highlighted characteristics and features, which serve as evaluative and normative guidelines, shaping powerful

imagery of what cities should aspire to be, thereby influencing city making practices (McCann et al., 2013; Ong, 2011). However, worlding visions ignore that practices are very much embedded in localities (McCann et al., 2013). Hence, borrowed ideas and visions manifest in unique ways, differently from what was imagined. Borrowed ideas fail to consider the distinct institutional arrangements, diverse actors and existing governance structures of the places from where the ideas are borrowed.

As Ong (2011) says, worlding projects that revolve around city rankings and city championing are inherently political statements. In the Global South, positive urban imageries are presented as a way to alleviate out of economic stagnation (Bonakdar & Audirac, 2020). The political nature of worlding practices, coupled with the promise of a better future turn the city into a commodity for disparate actors to "solve" problems associated with modern life. A key player in actively configuring urban environments is the state (Ong, 2011). Worlding visions and the "world class aesthetic" is often imposed by the state and "inter-referenced" models are employed to justify the state's involvement in urban projects, to defend any unpopular measures and thwart local resistance (Ghertner, 2011; Goldman, 2011; Ong, 2011). At the same time, the absence of a strong state opens the doors for private investments, including international investors (Ong, 2011).

> "…the state, capitalists, NGOs, foreign experts, and ordinary people – define what is problematic, uncertain, or in need of mediation, and then go about solving these now-identified problems such as urban planning, class politics, and human capital" (Ong, 2011, p.10).

In this manner, worlding visions are frequently elitist, predominantly initiated from the top on the promise of improved futures.

However, worlding aspirations are also absorbed by those on upon whom the visions are imposed. Worlding visions become mass dreams of post-colonial subjects, through which they hope to make a place for themselves in the world (McCann et al., 2013; Roy, 2011). According to Ghertner (2011), urban subjects use the prospect of shifting urban forms to leverage, negotiate and uncover improved life prospects. In "worlding from below", subaltern subjects mobilise the world-class aesthetic for different ends (Ghertner, 2011; Simone, 2001).

2.1.1.1 Worlding in Bangalore

According to Goldman (2011), the state is making Bangalore into a world-class city through speculative investments in land through inter-urban competitiveness and inter-referencing, with the help of consultants, international financial institutions (IFIs) and global forums. In the 73rd and 74th

Amendments to the Indian constitution, power, consequently land and finances, decentralised from national and state level authorities to urban municipal corporations and rural authorities (GoI, n.d.; GoI, n.d.). In Bangalore, parastatal agencies for urban development such as *Directorate of Urban Land Transport* (DULT), *Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike[2]* (BBMP) and *Bangalore Development Authority* (BDA*), Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development and Finance Corporation* (KUIDFC), among others, have been empowered for development, each their specific functions, often overlapping with other agencies (Idiculla, 2010). According to Goldman (2011), the parastatal agencies are answerable solely to their financiers and therefore, undermine democratic processes and hence, has led to uneven developments. However, any urban project in Bangalore has more than one parastatal agency as part of it, which can open up spaces of negotiation in which state and non-state actors participate.

2.1.2 Urban Planning in the Global South

While worlding attempts to understand how cities "catch up", beyond subaltern agency and forces of capitalism (Ong, 2011), cities in the Global South are still undergoing transitions from their colonial past, even to this day (Parida & Agrawal, 2022).

Persistent colonial mentality and governmentality have given rise to new forms of post-colonial elite politics which actively contribute to the perpetuation of established power relations (Parida & Agrawal, 2022; Roy, 2009). Post-colonial institutions often adopt and reproduce colonial models of governance, thereby maintaining the disciplinary regimes of the past (Chatterjee, 1993; Schindler, 2017). Moreover, master planning, zoning and visions of the urban modernism are still the norm of post-colonial governments, including India (Watson, 2009). Southern cities, including those in India, are subjected to imposed master plans. These master plans may be preoccupied with certain visual forms or in the case of India, with land transformations (Shatkin, 2011; Watson, 2009). When decision making around growth, planning and governance lies in the hands of a few elites results in a disjuncture between formal political structures and lived realities of the population. However, post-colonialism overlooks the influences of global capitalism on urban processes (Brenner & Schmid, 2015). India's economic reforms in the 1990's put forth policies that attracted global investors and

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[2] Bangalore has been officially known as Bengaluru since 2014. However, both are visible and commonly accepted in discourse and literature. The author's text in the thesis refers to "Bangalore" but the discourse analysed uses both. Some urban bodies and media houses retain Bangalore, while some use Bengaluru.

capital, thereby making cities the focal points of economic agendas (Tripathy, 2018). Additionally, governments in Southern cities prioritise territorial changes through large infrastructure projects and leap-frogged real estate developments (Parida & Agrawal, 2022; Schindler, 2017). The consequences of planning practices influenced by neo-liberalism can be observed in the global networks influencing nation states (Allmendinger, 2017). Consequently, the nation state then loses its central role, as state-led regulatory frameworks are replaced by a privatised market-led models (Allmendinger, 2017). While urban administration remains highly centralised and state led, the state transforms into a facilitator of capital, creating conditions for capital accumulation by advancing market logic (Tripathy, 2018; Watson, 2009). In this context, planning takes on an entrepreneurial role, facilitating developments to support growth and economic development (Allmendinger, 2017; Yiftachel, 2009). The city becomes implicated in projects of neoliberalism, developmentalism, modernisation and postcolonialism (Roy, 2011).

At the same time, non-state actors aim to assert their spatial right, resulting in territorial changes not envisioned by the state apparatus (Parida & Agrawal, 2022). Due to the elitist nature of urban land laws, people often resort to extra-legal measures to secure their rights (Watson, 2009). Citizens are not necessarily opposed to private capital as long as it aligns with their own interests in a mutually beneficial manner (Benjamin, 2008; Tripathy, 2018). A line of post-colonial thinking focuses on the "radical" remaking of urban spaces by subaltern groups possessing political agency (Benjamin, 2008; Roy, 2011). Subaltern agents actively change urban spaces using political agency or self-organisation against the state's attempts to exacerbate marginalisation through policies, regulations and practices favouring powerful elites (Roy, 2011). In Benjamin's (2008) occupancy urbanism, the subaltern uses their political agency to take advantage of the porous nature of India's bureaucracy to gain advantage. However, Ong (2011), mentions that worlding practices can destabilize the regimes that the subaltern has constructed. The subaltern discourse highlights the city as an exclusionary space created by the state subject to resistance (Tripathy, 2018). More recently, scholars have conceptualised that complex spatial organisations arise out of constant negotiation between state and non-state actors (Parida & Agrawal, 2022; Schindler, 2014; Schindler, 2014; Tripathy, 2018). The city, then, is a representation of heterogenous voices and conflicting discourses beyond the state and the subaltern (Tripathy, 2018).

While planning serves as a tool of the governments to exercise power, it is important to recognise that such power is not always one-directional, totalising or repressive, allowing space for resistance and submission (Tripathy, 2018; Watson, 2009). It is acknowledged that citizens do not passively accept technocratic decisions, leading to a practice of attaining community support and building consensus to ensure effective implementation (Watson, 2009). In other words, participation

in planning has become a prerequisite in the planning processes (Bubb & Le Dé, 2022). Through participating, communities develop a sense of ownership and gain a stake in decision-making, as their voices and indigenous practices are given recognition, resulting in creating a sense of empowerment (Cornwall, 2008; Frediani & Cociña, 2019). Engaging and negotiating can empower marginalised individuals (Arnstein, 1969). However, this empowerment is contingent on individuals having the needed capabilities and the consciousness to shape the urban transformation processes (Jones & SPEECH, 2001). Further, the actions of external agents also influence the empowerment of certain individuals (Jones & SPEECH, 2001). Empowerment through participation is a political process that relies not only on the actions and choices of individuals or communities but is also heavily impacted by external actors and forces beyond the immediate group. For instance, Indian metro elite, large developers, retailers and international donor organisations are highly influential and globally empowered (Benjamin, 2008). These groups are invested in fostering competitive cities using the language of "comprehensive planning" and "participatory development", supporting programmes via "civil societies" (Benjamin, 2008).

2.1.3 Urban Informality

Urban informality can cut across spatial, economic and political domains of informality and understood as a site of critical analysis, where looking within and across these domains can reveal a nuanced view of complex socio-political relationships and the role of the political economy (Banks et al., 2019). This hinges on the idea that informality and formality are in a messy, tangled, interconnected and reciprocal relationship (Banks et al., 2019; Lombard & Meth, 2016). Moving beyond a dualistic conceptualisation of formal and informal (Gómez et al., 2020) to an analysis of how different actors accumulate benefits through informal processes in spaces of urban informality (Banks et al., 2019). Moving away from associating informality with poverty (Banks et al., 2019; Lombard & Meth, 2016), Roy (2005) conceptualises informality as an organising logic, a system of norms which governs processes of urban transformation (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004 in Roy,2005) and a series of transactions connecting different economies and spaces together (Roy, 2005). Informality extends beyond the urban poor and includes actions of the state and other actors, and how they interact and relate to each other (Banks et al., 2019; Lombard & Meth, 2016). Socio-political relationships within and between the state and other actors can reveal urban informality's 'winners' and 'losers' (Banks et al., 2019; Lombard & Meth, 2016). Winners are those who have the advantage to be selectively 'formal' while 'losers' are those who are disadvantaged by their inability to be 'formal' (Banks et al., 2019; Lombard & Meth, 2016).

The dualistic perspective, on the other hand, views informality as the formal's "other", polarises a localised informal against a globalising formal or informal resistance against a formal neoliberal control (Acuto et al., 2019). It is seen as the problematic unregulated and unplanned reality in need to be fixed by regulating (Banks et al., 2019). At the same time, it is a celebration of the tenacity of otherwise marginalised groups who exists amidst social, economic, political and geographic exclusion (Banks et al., 2019). Formality is the norm and informality as an aberration, and this hierarchic representation has underpinned regressive policy responses (Banks et al., 2019). Formality follows a set of rules defined by the state and informality by a set of rules negotiated and enforced by diverse actors (Banks et al., 2019). The use of dichotomic lens to conceptualise informality oversimplifies it and masks it with an artificial boundary, removing the focus away from other, more powerful groups and actors involved in urban informality (Banks et al., 2019). Rarely is the informal marked by the absence of the state (Banks et al., 2019).

The process of producing and inhabiting urban spaces is an act of urban informality, such as the conceptualisation of squatting as a set of practices, resulting from spatial exclusion and social transformations (Bhan, 2019; Vasudevan, 2015). These processes and practices appear to arise in contrast to the formal mechanisms entailed by state legislation and regulation (Lombard & Meth, 2016). These processes are not limited to the marginalised or poor, but can be an equal possibility for state action (Bhan, 2019). Informality is a power laden concept used by urban elites and authorities to criticise ways of living other than the "formal" as less than "legal and therefore, inferior (Lombard & Meth, 2016). The process of determining what is and what is not "legal" and "formal" seems to between those that are deemed to contribute to the progress of the city towards being world class (Allmendinger, 2017). Urban informality is defined by policy makers and planners in a manner to indirectly contain the ungovernable, and it is condoned or facilitated by governments as it allows them to be presented as open and democratic while using planning strategies to deny groups access to their rights (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003).

Roy (2005, 2009) and McFarlane (2012) argue how extra-legal practices in selectively accessing informality are undertaken by the state and other actors but only certain forms of informality are criminalised. Urban informality is a state of deregulation, laws are open-ended and subjective to interpretations, cities are governed by 'unmapping' cities, and states produce informality (Roy, 2009). In fact, state's actively tap into informality to reduce costs in their business models (Banks et al., 2019; Lombard & Meth, 2016). Informality is situated in the grey spaces between legality and illegality, authorisation and authorisation, and legitimacy and illegitimacy (Lombard & Meth, 2016; Roy, 2009; Yiftachel, 2009). Uneven spatial geographies are caused by how states respond to informality (Lombard & Meth, 2016; Roy, 2005). These debates on informality support the individual

agency of populations (Banks et al., 2019) and informality's capacity to undermine institutional power (Weinstein, 2017). Benjamin's (2008) 'occupancy urbanism' claims that cities are inherently political and tenures deeply embedded in lower bureaucracy shape spatial patterns. However, informality also enables the state to acquire land, change land use and deploy eminent domain (Roy, 2009). Further, the formal sphere operates within rules defined by the state and the informal sphere operates using a different set of rules negotiated and enforced by multiple actors, including the state (Banks et al., 2019). That is, informality is institutionalised in a way that goes beyond the state based on different rules and regulations (Banks et al., 2019). Urban governance involves interacting formal and informal actors and procedures to create relationships that legitimise state authority (Davis, 2017). Decisions made by states to banish or tolerate informality reveal the state's fickle selectivity in upholding law, creating urban order, accommodating new forms of citizenship (Davis, 2017). Informality, then, becomes the driving force that shapes the state (Davis, 2017).

2.1.4 Street Vending in India

Economic informalities in cities are often viewed from the dualistic perspective of informality, and therefore, labelled as the "urban informal economy", a broad term that encompasses various informal enterprises such as street vending (Lombard & Meth, 2016). In mainstream narratives, street vendors are often portrayed as a "nuisance" responsible for the chaos and congestion on Indian streets (Anjaria, 2006). However, they are also a representation of how the marginalised claim their right to the city, especially its public spaces (Anjaria, 2006). On one hand, street vendors are deemed to be "anti-social", "anti-developmental", "dirty", "unesthetic" and "unhygienic" (Anand et al., 2019). On the other hand, the Indian street market is recognised as a space that assimilates cultures and traditions, nurturing them over time and cultivating long term social bonds between shoppers and traders (Sastry, 2019).

In the eyes of the state, street vendors in India are perceived to be outsiders (Anjaria, 2006). The authorities perceive street vendors to be detrimental to a city's "world class" image (Baviskar, 2021). Authorities seek to sanitise the streets by making footpaths mono-functional (Anand et al., 2019; Anjaria, 2006). In the eyes of the state, street vendors have lesser rights to the city. There is a conflict between a vendor's right to occupation and a commuter's right to unimpeded movement, with vendors being accused of encroaching on streets and limiting pedestrian access (Anand et al., 2019). The presence of street vendors contradicts the vision of a "modern" city based on universal ideals, leading to instances of harassment, demands for *haftas*, and a sense of insecurity among vendors. (Anand et al., 2019; Anjaria, 2006). While the Street Vendors Act aims to safeguard street

vendors against harassments and evictions by recognising them, evictions still occur albeit at a reduced frequency since the Act's implementation (Baviskar, 2021).

2.2 Conceptual Framework
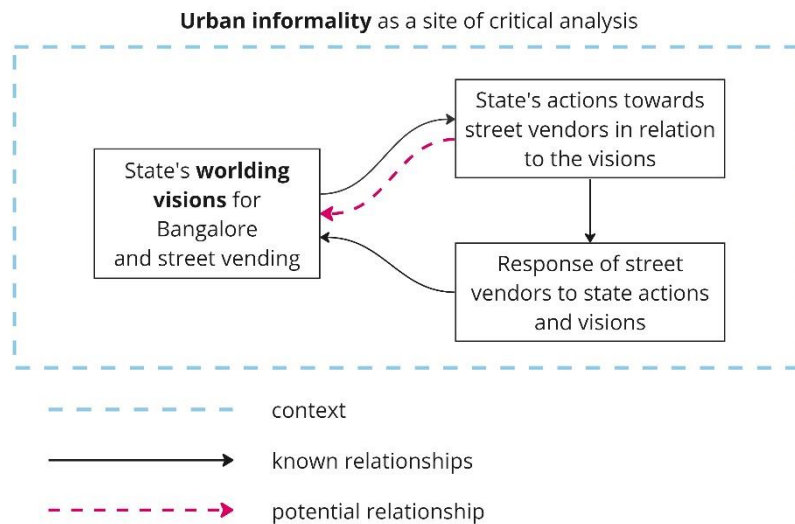
Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

The objective is to explore and describe how worlding visions for street vending in Bangalore are realized in the context of urban informality as a site of critical analysis. The aim is to uncover the state's visions for Bangalore and examine where street vending fits into it, as well as to assess how the state's actions are shaped by these visions (*indicated with a black arrow in Figure 1*). Although visions can be influenced by the political agency of the subaltern, specifically street vendors (*indicated with a black arrow in Figure 1*), the thesis investigates whether the state itself alters these visions (*indicated with a dotted red arrow in Figure 1*). and how it does so, acknowledging that the state is an active participant in urban informality.

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3. Research design and Methodology

3.1 Methodology

The aim of this thesis is to understand the state's worlding visions for Bangalore and the extent to which street vending is incorporated within these visions. The extent is measured by understanding the state's actions towards street vendors resulting from the worlding visions and by understanding how street vendors adapt to worlding projects by considering urban informality to be a site of critical analysis. Through this, the main objective is to uncover how visions are realised by the state. The main research strategy of this thesis is to explore, describe and explain the concepts.

The scope of the research is to describe three points of inquiry. First, the visions demonstrated by the state and urban authorities; second, the state's actions towards street vending and third, the logic of urban informality in response to urban visions. To achieve this, a combination of discourse analysis, document analysis and case study analysis using interviews and observations is employed to determine the findings of this research.

The first part involved conducting a discourse analysis to investigate the conceptions and perceptions of visions demonstrated by the state and urban authorities. Discourse analysis is chosen as an appropriate method to study the conceptions and perceptions because it focuses on language, discursive practices and power relations involved in shaping and legitimising visions. Further, allows for the exploration of multiple perspectives. The analysis aims to reveal the state's overall visions for Bangalore and, more specifically, for street vending.

The second part seeks to determine the state's position in urban informality, by using a combination of discourse analysis, document analysis and case study analysis with interviews. Through these methods, the study investigates the state's actions towards street vending in planning projects and its selective engagement with it. Actions here indicate three different ways in which the state approaches street vendors:

i. the state's exclusion and intolerance towards street vendors in Bangalore as seen in eviction reports after the enactment of the Street Vendors Act in 2014.
ii. the state's inclusion of street vendors in planning processes by taking the case of participatory processes in the Gandhi Bazaar redevelopment project.
iii. the state's inclusion of street vendors planning outcomes as seen in various legal frameworks supporting street vending in India and in Bangalore.

For the same reasons mentioned above, discourse analysis of eviction reports is chosen to study the state's intolerance. Document analysis is chosen to study how states are legally bound to incorporate street vending in planned projects. A case study analysis using interviews is chosen to study how the state includes vendors in planning processes. Interviews reveal nuances of the participatory mechanisms.

The third part attempts to examine the response street vendors to state's worlding visions. This investigation was conducted through a case study analysis accompanied by observations. Observations can reveal how street vendors use the logic of informality and their agency to adapt to worlding projects. The objective is to understand how street vending spatially adapts to planned projects.

The case studies employed in this thesis are two street redevelopment projects in Bangalore, India, chosen because streets and pavements are contested spaces, subject to conflicts and disputes. The selected streets, Gandi Bazaar Road and Church Street, share similar visions but are in different phases of redevelopment. Additionally, the planning processes undertaken in both differ, making them interesting case studies for analysis. While the two case studies are primarily used to analyse the inclusion of street vendors in planning processes and how street vendors adapt to planned projects, the two case studies are used to strengthen the claims made in the other sections wherever possible.

3.1.1 Case Study 1: Gandhi Bazaar Redevelopment Project

Gandhi Bazaar is a heritage commercial market situated in Basavanagudi, Bangalore. The main road, with the market, consists of a combination of both formal businesses and informal street vending activities while the inner neighbourhoods are primarily residential. Street vendors occupy the narrow pavements, setting up makeshift stalls under trees (mayaPRAXIS, 2019).

The Gandhi Bazaar Redevelopment Project was commissioned by *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ) in 2017 as a pilot project under its '*Sustainable Supply Chains for Perishables into Cities- Green Logistics Project'* (GLP) initiative. It was initiated in collaboration with the *Directorate of Urban Land Transport* (DULT), *Government of Karnataka* and *Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike* (BBMP), Bangalore's civic authority. Domain experts were hired by GIZ such as *MayaPRAXIS* as the design agency for the project. *Environment Support Group* (ESG) was hired to develop a market management plan and conduct stakeholder consultations. The project involved many more civil society groups when GIZ was involved. GIZ's role focused on improving the supply chain for perishables, while the responsibility for the implementation of the project lies with DULT.

Following GIZ's departure from the project, DULT and BBMP are the two sole authorities involved with the project.

During the design phase of the planning process, a participatory approach was adopted, which involved engaging primary citizen stakeholders, including shopkeepers, street vendors in the markets, and residents of the area. Additionally, consultations were conducted with secondary stakeholders such as bus drivers, auto drivers, delivery executives, and others. Currently, the project is in its implementation phase.

3.1.2 Case Study 2: Church Street Redevelopment Project

Church Street is a century-old commercial street situated in the Central Business District of Bangalore, India. Known for its businesses, eateries, and pubs, this area attracts tourists and still retains some residential buildings from its colonial past.

The redevelopment of Church Street was proposed by architect Naresh Narasimhan from *Venkataramanan Associates* (VA) in 2015, with the aim of catering to the "Neglected Urban Pedestrian" (Ramdev, 2018). The project received support from various stakeholders, including BBMP, the Mayor at the time, Padmavati, MLA NA Haris, and the City Development Minister at the time, KJ George (Ramdev, 2018). According to Narasimhan, VA consulted all stakeholders in the process, capturing their perspectives in a video called *Humans of Church Street* (Ramdev, 2018). The project was completed in 2018 and is primarily pedestrian on the weekends.

3.2 Operationalisation Table

The operationalisation of the concepts specifically focuses on the state and street vending practices in Bangalore. The concept of worlding visions is based on the conceptions and perceptions of visions demonstrated by the state and other urban authorities in Bangalore. Urban informality as a site of critical analysis has been conceptualised as the state's actions towards street vendors and street vendors' response to visions.

Concepts	Variables	Indicators	Data Collection Method	Data Analysis Method
Worlding visions	Conceptions and perceptions of visions	Use of recurring themes and language in discourse.	Electronic news sources in English and media sources in English and Kannada.	Discourse analysis

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		demonstrated by the state and other urban authorities for Bangalore and street vending.	For instance, the use of keywords such as "modern", "clean", "attractive", "replicable model" "pedestrian friendly" and inter-referencing other cities such as Singapore.		
Urban informality	State's actions towards urban informality and street vending.	Intolerance towards informal street vending practices- Reports of evictions and harassments.	Electronic news sources in English after the implementation of the Street Vendors Act in 2014.	Discourse analysis
		Inclusion of street vendors in planning processes in projects based on worlding visions- Democratic processes and participation in decision-making.	Interviews with street vendors, urban authorities and planners (in English and Kannada) involved in the Gandhi Bazaar Redevelopment project	Case study analysis using interviews
		Inclusion of informal vending practices in planning outcomes- Legal frameworks to support informal street vending.	Official legal documents published that include street vending	Document analysis
	Logic of urban informality.	Spatial appropriation of redeveloped areas as a response to planning projects based on worlding visions.	Observations of informal vending activities in Church Street after its redevelopment	Case study analysis using observations
		Adaptation of street vending practices.		

Table 1: Operationalisation Table

3.3 Data Collection Method

The research utilizes purposive sampling to gather the necessary data, aiming to obtain a comprehensive and detailed understanding of how the state plans for Bangalore and addresses street vending, as well as how urban informality reacts to these efforts. By deliberately selecting news articles, media sources, documents, and conducting interviews, the research seeks to sift through numerous and extensive sources, carefully curating the information to construct a cohesive narrative. The approach employed is outlined below.

To conduct the discourse analysis examining State visions, this study primarily utilised data from English electronic news articles and audiovisual media obtained from sources such as *The Times of India*, *Economic Times*, *Business Standard*, *Deccan Herald* and *The Hindu*, among others. Additionally, articles from smaller publications like *Citizen Matters Bengaluru* and independent opinion writers are included. Official government releases were sourced from the *Press Information Bureau of India*. The research also incorporated electronic visual media, including interviews, documentaries, and similar content, from the aforementioned sources.

ii. Case studies with interviews and observations

For the case study on the Gandhi Bazaar Redevelopment, primary data was gathered through interviews with a sample of 8 interviews (*Appendix 1*). Interviews with street vendors were aimed at understanding the State's current approach to urban informality, including both inclusive and discriminatory practices. Additionally, interviews were conducted with urban authorities and planners to understand their perception of street vendors and the processes through which they are included in planning initiatives. Below is a table of key stakeholders interviewed (*Table 2*). In the case study on Church Street Redevelopment, field observations were carried out to examine how spaces are unmapped. These observations are aimed at providing a deeper understanding of the potential spatial variations between planned urban spaces and those characterized by informality.

Interviewee	Interview Method	Interview Conclusions
Street Vendor 01	On-site	Insight into the ways in which street vendors are included in decision-making processes and the disconnect from the implementation process. It also offered insights into the extent and nature of agency they possess.
Street Vendor 02		Insights into how projects are delayed by the state and the impact it could have on marginalised communities, and the consequences of neglecting stakeholder engagement from the beginning.
Street Vendor 03		Insights into how registered street vendors are viewed by other actors operating in the same economy.
Street Vendor 04		Understanding the role of parastatals and the heterogeneity amongst the vendors.
DULT Official		Understanding into the demands of the shopkeepers.

Architect from mayaPraxis	Via phone call	Insights into the role of the planner. It highlighted how authorities do not think of the construction period. Further, it raised questions about the participation space that was opened.

Table 2: List of key Interviews

iii.   Documents

To analyse the State's stance on informality in planning, this study conducted document analysis by gathering relevant policies, Acts, circulars, and reports in English from the relevant Government websites. For instance, from the websites of *Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike* and the *Directorate of Urban Land Transport*. Additionally, reports and plans from the relevant planning authorities such as *Venkataramanan Associates* and *mayaPRAXIS* were collected for analysis.

3.4 Data Analysis

The empirical analysis of the data will be done manually by studying each sample of collected data individually. The analysis will be divided into two main sections with subsections. Section 1 will focus on constructing the worlding visions for Bangalore and street vending. The discourse will be analysed to investigate recurring languages, patterns and themes, and inter-referencing of images to gain insights into the state's visions for Bangalore. Through this analysis, the research aims to explore how states aspire to achieve global recognition and implement projects based on global models and standards.

Section 2 will focus on examining the state's actions when engaging in urban informality. Eviction reports, individual interviews and documents will be analysed individually to answer the research questions. By conducting a discourse analysis of street vendor evictions following the implementation of the Street Vendors Act, the research aims to uncover the conditions or reasons behind persistent evictions. Interviews with planners, urban authorities, vendors, and NGOs will provide valuable insights into how street vendors are included in planning processes. Additionally, through document analysis of policies, Acts, and circulars, the study will investigate the strategies employed by the state to incorporate informal vending in planning outcomes. Visual observations of spatial appropriation of redeveloped areas will be conducted to investigate response of street vendors to planning projects. A spatial analysis of what the intended planning actions were through a document analysis and observations of street vendors' resilience on ground can be uncovered in this manner. These different research methods will unearth how state visions for planning projects are realised when the state is an active participant in urban informality.

3.5 Reliability and Validity

The research ensures reliability by triangulating the data findings and analysis with existing literature and reports. This is ensured by conducting an extensive literature study and covering as many concepts as possible. Additionally, the discourse analysis benefits from the use of diverse news sources, minimizing the risk of biased opinions. Furthermore, by conducting interviews with various stakeholders, the research avoids skewing opinions towards a single perspective, increasing the overall reliability of the study. The validity of the study is established by aligning the concepts used with those mentioned in existing literature. Moreover, the consistency of outcomes from different news articles, reports, and interview responses further strengthens the validity of the study. These factors contribute to the overall validity of the research, albeit to a certain extent.

3.6 Expected Challenges and Limitations

The study is qualitative research that heavily relying on purposive sampling. Therefore, the possibility of the data being subjected bias is high. The discourse analysis draws from newspapers and media houses that may exhibit a mono-directional political inclination and inherent bias. Similarly, the interviews conducted may also be subject to bias, as interviewees may be personally invested in the project and apprehensive of speaking openly to a researcher. A major challenge and limitation of this study lies in the language used. The discourse analysis primarily focuses on written articles in the English language, potentially overlooking local news coverage in Kannada on street vending in Bangalore. This narrows the scope of available articles in English specifically related to the state's visions for informal street vending and not the informal economy as a whole. Second, the interviews conducted in Kannada and analysing news clips in Kannada may result in the loss of contextual information during the translation process.

4. Results, Analysis and Discussion

Section 1: Worlding Visions

How does the state envision the presence of street vending in its worlding visions for Bangalore?

4.1 Discourse analysis of state visions for Bangalore

Following India's economic liberalisation in the 90's, Bangalore emerged as a prominent IT hub, earning the moniker "Silicon Valley of India". Due to the rich ecosystem for research, developments and start-ups, it is ranked as "the second global tech hub" in the Asia-Pacific (APAC) region and "one of the top APAC cities for sustainable commercial real estate" (CS, 2022b; CS, 2022c). Based on the usage of technology, liveability, affordability and other socio-economic indicators, it was labelled "the most dynamic city" by the World Economic Forum (WEF) (News Desk, 2017). Due to the large foreign direct investments (FDI) coming in, Bloomberg reported that it's a top destination for expats (CS, 2022a).

Ex-Chief Minister (CM) of Karnataka, Basavaraj Bommai, thanked the IT sector during the Vision Bengaluru 2047 Summit for establishing Bangalore as a brand for information technology.

> "(. . .) so, I have to compliment the Warriors and Post Independent and then now present ITBT Champions and leaders from a bottom of my heart congratulations to them and thanks to them for building up brand Bangalore" (Bommai, 2023, 03:59).

Bommai went on to say,

> "Bangalore is one city which has got tremendous capacity to grow into a one of the finest exceptional International City" (Bommai, 2023, 12:55) and "the world is converging into Bangalore, so, we have to make it ready" (Bommai, 2023, 14:02).

Bangalore is looking to position itself as a hub to attract highly skilled individuals, a place at the forefront of technology, even in the urban sphere. The state is attempting to use Bangalore's brand as the "the IT capital of India" to transform urban areas with smart solutions and the use of technology. For instance, improvement of traffic flows by using AI and synchronised signalling (Bommai. ,2023), in line with the SCM which aims to increase liveability, sustainability and increase economic opportunities using "smart solutions" (GoI, n.d.). In reality, this manifests as large-scale investments in infrastructure. 63% of BBMP's 2023-2034 budget was allocated for infrastructure projects, like flyovers and peripheral road projects (Athavale, 2023a). The Karnataka Assembly Elections in 2023 saw various political parties promise a multitude of infrastructure projects with smart solutions. (Bhat, 2023).

While all the party manifestoes promise infrastructural change (*Appendices 1.1, 1.2,1.3*), some points require to be highlighted. Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) promises the "Delhi model Mohalla clinics" in every locality and a "Delhi model hospital" in Bangalore. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) promises "smart water for Bengaluru" and to construct a multi-modal transport hub on the lines of "WTC Hub, New York". Indian National Congress (INC) aims to efficiently manage traffic with "TOT drones, speed cameras and other modern technologies". The use of models and inter-referencing is not new to Bangalore. In Roy and Ong's (2011) book, *Worlding Cities*, they refer to historian Janaki Nair.

> "(. . .) the then CM, Veerendra Patil, made 'a strong plea for a fresh vertical orientation for the city after a visit to Singapore in 1970 … since then, dreams of Singapore have dominated the vision of Bangalore's future' (Nair 2005: 124), the general argument being that, 'With imaginative planning and foresight, Bangalore can be developed as the Singapore of South India' (Nair 2005: 124)" (Ong, 2011, p.33).

The same dream was resonated a while later by CM, SM Krishna, when he aimed to "strive to make Bangalore into Singapore" as he was impressed by the "discipline and orderliness" of Singapore and "used it as a benchmark for Bangalore" (Balram, 2001). The fascination with labels persisted as ex-CM, BS Yediyurappa, envisioned Bangalore to be "clean" and "green" by 2022 (TIE, 2020).

At the same time, Naresh Narasimhan, a prominent architect and urban planner, rejected the idea of borrowing practices from the West, during the same summit where CM Bommai discussed building Brand Bangalore, and advocated for the creation of homegrown solutions that fit the Indian context instead.

> "People don't realise sometimes the word design, the first four letters are d-e-s-i, desi. So, we have to come up with a desi way of doing designs in India" (Narasimhan, 14:02).

He dreams to revive "the Garden City" while rejecting chasing labels like "green", "clean" and "carbon-neutral" in development projects (Narasimhan. ,2022). The same architect was in charge of the Church Street redevelopment project and called the project a "prototype of what India should be" (Ramdev, 2018). What is evident here, is that the fascination with labels runs deep and is subconsciously and unintendedly evoked. In fact, the redevelopment of Church Street was undertaken to improve the infrastructure and create a "pedestrian friendly" street (Ramdev, 2018). The project's central emphasis was the "Kasuti" patterned cobblestone streets, aiming to mimic "older European cities" with an "Indian flair" (Ramdev, 2018).

> "In 2015, architect Naresh Narasimhan described an idea for a Times Square on the MG Road boulevard. On March 1, City Development Minister KJ George, who joined the CM and Shanthinagar MLA NA Haris on an inauguration spree, echoed a similar idea" (Ramdev, 2018).

The visions for urban development in Bangalore are inherently political and elitist, driven by the desire to create legacies and showcase the city's grandeur, while hiding the marginalised. These visions often rely on labels and symbols which are subconsciously and unintentionally evoked by various actors. The redevelopment projects, such as the Church Street project reflect the interferences and influences of images. Further, the aim of transforming Church Street into Times Square has not turned out as imagined by the state, discussed in section 4.5.

In short, the state's goal is to project the vision of "Brand Bangalore" as an internationally recognized city that attracts highly skilled individuals from around the globe. Given its reputation as the IT hub, the state aspires to embrace technology in urban development. It seeks to transform Bangalore through large-scale infrastructure projects incorporating smart solutions to address the everyday challenges of modern life. Political parties make promises of urban transformations inspired by other Indian cities like Delhi or global cities like New York or Singapore. If borrowing ideas is rejected, the state aims to create indigenous, replicable models, transporting solutions that are *Made in India*[3] to position Bangalore as a globally significant city. Like Church Street, these visions are elitist political statements aimed at creating legacies, disregarding stakeholders who are unable to contribute to these visions.

4.1.1 Discourse analysis of state visions for street vending in Bangalore

The state's focus on promoting a high-tech Bangalore overlooks street vending and lacks significant attention towards improving the physical conditions of vendors. Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi's party declared their commitment to "regularise street vendors",

> "We want to make it clear that we stand with them. It has been their demand to be regularised. Taking cognizance of their demands, we are saying it today with full responsibility that it is their right to be regularised" – *Gaurav Bhatia, National Spokesperson, BJP* (PTI, 2022).

and Union Minister, Hardeep Singh Puri, acknowledged the strong link that street vendors have to the informal economy.

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[3] A play on the slogan *Make in India*, an initiative launched by Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, in 2014, as part of a wider in set of nation-building initiatives devised to transform India into a global design and manufacturing hub.

> "They are not encroachers, they are self-employed, contributors in our collective dream of a 'new India'" (PIB, 2022).

The recognition of street vendors by the national party in power as active contributors to the economy indicates the state's vision of a "new India" including vendors and establishing a legacy of actively incorporating marginalized sections of society. At the same time, an article by *Citizen Matters Bengaluru*, outlines the limited mentions of street vending in political parties manifestoes for the 2015 BBMP elections, released after the enactment of the Street Vendors Act (*Appendix 1.4*). Although BBMP is the local urban body in charge of registering and licensing street vendors, two out of five parties neglected to mention street vendors, while one emphasised the implementation of the Act, implying indifference towards street vendors. Another, BJP proposed the removal of street vendors to widen footpaths, indicating intolerance discussed in section 4.2. Only the Civic Front supported street vendors and pledged to increase footpath widths to favour street vending. This suggests that street vendors are overlooked and improvements in the urban space are primarily focused on widening pavements for street vending activities. Additionally, while the state at the national level supports vendors, local level authorities display indifference.

Furthermore, street redevelopment projects in Bangalore often have alternative intentions that do not prioritise street vending. For instance, the Gandhi Bazaar project is based on DULT's *Pedestrianization Study* of Gandhi Bazaar in 2011, adopted by GIZ into GLP (TUEWAS, n.d.). The DULT report studied "successful" pedestrianization projects like Silom Road in Bangkok, Nanjing Road in Shanghai, and the pedestrian streets of "older European cities" (DULT, n.d., p.14), the focus of which was not street vending. The same report mentions,

> "Critical to success is the creation and management of a safe, clean, and attractive shopping environment" (DULT, n.d., p.14).

Interestingly, the state had a vision for Gandhi Bazaar, one that did not prioritise street vendors but focused on creating pedestrian spaces. This vision sought to impose a sanitised and attractive street market on the vendors, in lines with those in Shanghai or Bangkok.

Along the same lines, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (MoHUA) released an advisory in 2020 to redevelop three markets into "vehicle-free", "Covid-safe", and "people-friendly" pedestrianized areas in every metropolitan city (Sawant, 2020). Similarly, the Comprehensive Mobility Plan (CMP) (2019) by DULT proposes 8 pedestrian friendly streets (*Appendix 1.5*) in commercial areas, including Gandhi Bazaar and Church Street (IDeCK, 2020; Menezes, 2019). MoHUA's advisory on the importance of planning "in consultation with the stakeholders" with "clear spaces demarcated for vending" while focusing on "keeping the trees and other greens intact, adding tree canopy to improve

walkability" (Daily Pioneer, 2022), was released after the CMP. The national level advisory for pedestrianizing market spaces emphasises spatial regulation of vendors as well, but hints at collaborative approaches.

Both Church Street and Gandhi Bazaar redevelopments were underway when the CMP 2019 came out. While Gandhi Bazaar had incorporated participatory processes in decision-makin under the GLP, the CMP only mentions regulating and managing street vendors (*Figure 2*). Gandhi Bazaar stands out as it recognizes street vendors as essential stakeholders contributing to the intrinsic value and core ethos of Gandhi Bazaar, aiming to be the first market redevelopment project without displacing them (mayaPRAXIS, 2019). However, the terminology, such as "reduce the encroachments", "demarcation of hawker zones" and "regulation of hawkers" to demarcate where hawkers "permitted" or not, indicates a focus on controlling vendors rather than actively considering their inclusion and empowerment.

> 6.7.3 Regulation of hawkers is important to reduce the encroachments which obstruct the free flow of pedestrian and vehicular traffic through demarcation of hawker zones into red zone where hawkers are not permitted at all times, amber zone where hawkers are permitted during certain period of time and green zone where hawkers are permitted all the time. The civic body can issue to the licences with small fees to regulate the number of hawkers.

Figure 2: Regulating hawkers in the CMP 2019. (IDeCK, 2020; Menezes, 2019).

Street vending in Bangalore often receives indirect attention from state authorities, with planning efforts driven by alternative agendas. The limited acknowledgment of street vending in political party manifestos and the proposal to remove vendors to widen footpaths reflect a sense of apathy and intolerance. However, there is a clearer vision for market spaces, emphasising the state's focus on pedestrianized market spaces, which are clean, green, attractive and vehicle free. Street vendors are expected to adhere to the state's regulations, and planning for street vending primarily revolves around space management and regulation within designated areas, with some mentions of collaborative approaches. Moreover, there is a disparity in the discourse surrounding visions at the national and local levels. Although the state at the national level shows solidarity with vendors, local-level authorities are insensitive towards vendors and prioritise other ideals. While street vendors are recognized for their economic contributions and cultural value, there is a lack of a specific vision tailored to their benefit, unless it is coincidental. The overall approach highlights a disconnect between street vendors and the planning processes.

The discourse analysis in *sections 4.1 and 4.1.1* reveals the state's worlding visions for Bangalore as a technologically advanced, modern and international city, influences the way it deals with street vending practices. Bangalore, as a city, aims to attract high-skilled individuals in order to position itself as a global city that embraces technology in its urban development, to incorporate smart

solutions in large scale infrastructure projects in order to meet borrowed standards from cities like New York and Singapore. It doesn't want to merely replicate but also develop its own models and prototypes. These statements are often elitist political statements initiated at the top while disregarding the marginalised for those who can help the city advance the economy. The marginalised, such as street vendors, are a population looked at to be regularised and managed through control of how they occupy urban spaces. While the state recognises street vendors as contributors to the growing economy, it does not explicitly envision transforming the urban for vendors. Planning for street vending includes some sort of sanitising of urban spaces and markets with an emphasis on pedestrianization. Further, there is a mismatch between state narratives at upper levels and how they are treated at the local level, which is where they face harassments. This suggests that visions get watered down through the porous levels of Indian bureaucracy. Therefore, visions for street vending become by-products of other worlding projects.

Section 2: Urban Informality

What are the state's actions towards street vending practices in world-class city-making in Bangalore?

4.2 Discourse analysis of state's intolerance towards street vending in Bangalore

Despite being protected by the Street Vendors Act, street vendors continue to face harassments and evictions, depriving them of their rights benefit from urban transformations. The key question that arises is under what circumstances street vendors are subjected to such intolerance, mainly from local level authorities, leading to their exclusion from being able to claim a stake in urban development.

In the 2015 BBMP election manifestoes (*Appendix 1.4*), political parties acknowledge that street vendors function on footpaths. Eviction reports, however, show that the state is intolerant towards street vendors for disrupting movement and obstructing pavements (*Figures 3, 4, 5*). This suggests that the state thinks pavements are not spaces that vendors can rightfully occupy and bring outs the contradiction in the state's narrative.

> Meanwhile, civic body officials alleged that the vendors were disrupting movement on pavements, and hence, had to be evicted. "We had to evict them since they were encroaching on pavements. We took the decision after inspecting the roads that were congested," an official said.

Figure 3: The Hindu Bureau (THB, 2023)

Figure 4: Deccan Herald (George, 2019)

Figure 5: Times of India (HS, 2023)

Moreover, vendors are seen to be "encroaching" the pavements (*Figures 4, 5*) even though the 2016 Karnataka High Court order exempted street vendors from the act of encroaching (George, 2019). By definition, a

"'street vendor' means a person engaged in vending of (. . .) or offering services to the general public, in a street, lane, side walk, footpath, pavement, public park or any other public place or private area, from a temporary built up structure or by moving from place to place and includes hawker, peddler, squatter (. . .)" (GoI, 2014).

Therefore, they are entitled to exist and conduct business on pavements and footpaths. At the same time, the Act mandates that vending can be conducted only in designated vending zones (GoI, 2014). However, these "designated vending zones" are not allocated or clearly specified by BBMP, or in other words, do not exist (*Figures 6, 7*). Evictions occur with the promise of relocating vendors, but without ensuring habitable alternative vending spaces (*Figure 8*). There is an attitude of *vacate first, allocate later*. This further reinforces the contradiction in the state's narratives as the perception differs from the law.

Figure 6: Citizen Matters Bengaluru (Ravi, 2022)

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A well-placed officer in BBMP said the vendors encroached upon the area not designated for their business. "We have been warning them for many days, but they didn't listen. The temple premises is teeming with sellers, inconveniencing commuters and increasing the risk of accidents. We won't bother them if they move at least 100 metres away and do business in designated places," he said.

Figure 7: Deccan Herald (BC, 2023)

He added, "In its bid to clear us out from the streets, the BBMP had stated that it will create an underground *Palika Bazaar* where they would relocate all 200 shops, the work for the Bazaar started way back in 2017 and is nowhere close to finishing even in 2019."

Figure 8: News Click (Pal, 2019)

Moreover, despite the Act stipulating that vendors cannot be evicted without notice, this applies solely to registered vendors (GoI, 2014), while a significant majority of street vendors in Bangalore remain unregistered (*Figure 9*). As a result, they are excluded from the planning process and constantly face the risk of eviction, leading them to adapt and resort to paying bribes for their survival. Out of 6 lakh street vendors operating in Bangalore, approximately 2 lakh vendors have been registered since the enactment of the Act (Kulkarni, 2021), highlighting the disconnect between what authorities' claims and the ground reality.

In 2017, the BBMP carried out a survey of only 25,000 vendors (out of more than an estimated 2 lakh) in Bengaluru, most of whom are yet to be issued licenses. Our survey revealed that only 19% of vendors were issued licenses, meaning that the majority of vendors are vulnerable to harassment, evictions and demands for bribes by local authorities.

Figure 9: The Wire (Jagadeesh, 2020)

Furthermore, street vendors are stigmatised when they interfere with the world-class visions of the state. Authorities argue that vendors operate on newly constructed pavements, which clashes with the vision of infrastructure projects like TenderSure, meant solely for pedestrians and no one else (*Figures 10, 11*). The state is keen to keep the messy visual aesthetics of street vendors away from their large-scale world-class city making infrastructure projects. The state expects the street vendor "menace" to be confined to the zones allocated to them and that raises the question of why vendors should be limited to spaces specifically designated for them and nothing beyond.

Bengaluru: Even TenderSure roads not free from hawker menace

Figure 10: Deccan Chronicle (Ramdev, 2018)

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> **Bengaluru:** Street vendors in the city continue to encroach TenderSure roads and block footpaths for pedestrians. The TenderSure roads, which were built to provide pedestrian-friendly footpaths, have been encroached upon in most parts of the city's Central Business District.

Figure 11: Deccan Chronicle (Ramdev, 2018)

Similarly, the functioning of food vendors contradicts the clean visual image that the state envisions for markets, leading to harassment and evictions for being unhygienic (*Figures 12, 13*). Rather than addressing issues like improper waste management and lack of access to clean water, the solution often becomes eviction and the suppression of informal activities, which overlooks the needs of street vendors.

> Speaking to Citizen Matters, BBMP Chief Health Officer (Public Health) Dr B K Vijendra says that the evicted vendors are those who don't have a license from the FSSAI (Food Safety and Standards Authority of India) or don't maintain basic standards of hygiene. "The move is aimed to contain the spread of cholera," he says.

Figure 12: Citizen Matters Bengaluru (Gatty, 2020)

> made life difficult for residents, he said. According to Shoaib, the food stalls obstructing the footpath is the biggest inconvenience for Frazer Town residents. "Food waste from the stalls is dumped along the street in an unsanitary manner," he said, complaining that the waste management on these streets has been deplorable.

Figure 13: The News Minute (Kava, 2023)

Lastly, street vendors, despite being formally recognized by the state, are often seen as inferior and face evictions due to citizen complaints about occupying too much space (*Figures 14, 15, 16*). This highlights class differences and the question of who holds greater rights to public spaces in the eyes of the state. Additionally, in pedestrian-friendly Church Street, there are conflicts between street vendors and hobbyists, who cause evictions as a result of being unaware of "instructed vending practices" (*Figures 17, 18*). The presence of hobbyists in street vending raises the question of whether vendors perceive them as not belonging and if they assert primary rights over public spaces. It also prompts reflection on whether the negative perception is directed towards street vending itself or the street vendors engaging in it, as the state does not perceive hobbyists negatively.

BENGALURU: A resident welfare group tweets to the **Bengaluru** City Police and asks for the evacuation of **street vendors** from streets nearby , calling them a nuisance. The police respond promptly, assuring that teams are being sent to get them removed.

Figure 14: The Economic Times (V, 2016)

was rejected," says Vinay K Sreenivasa of the Alternative Law Forum. Things have not moved forward since.Meanwhile, vendors, though protected by the Supreme Court, are openly harassed at the whim of the residents, civic corporations and the police. Bribery and sudden evacuations are commonplace.

Figure 15: The Economic Times (V, 2016)

The hawkers had almost doubled in number in the past few weeks, and beggars were adding to the chaos, says Deepak Batavia, president of Church Street Occupants Association.

Figure 16: Deccan Herald (Mavad & Kumari, 2023)

Despite the uncertainty, Moyeen V N, 25, went back on a Sunday to sell a self-published book. "The store owners have complained against the street vendors," he says.

Figure 17: Deccan Herald (Mavad & Kumari, 2023)

Some hawkers blamed hobbyists who bring their wares to Church Street. On weekends, college students would set up temporary stalls and sell paintings, crochet work, candles and postcards.

Figure 18: Deccan Herald (Mavad & Kumari, 2023)

In brief, the state's desire to create pedestrian-friendly spaces clashes with their negative perception of street vendors occupying these spaces, labelling them as encroachers obstructing movement. While the Act provides protection, the state evicts vendors without fulfilling their responsibilities to survey, license, and allocate vending zones. The state's intolerance towards vendors stems from their interference with the envisioned aesthetics of a world-class city, where footpaths are reserved solely for pedestrians. This raises the question of whether the state is ignorant of the logic of street vending and the complex dynamics involved. It also brings into question how lower-level authorities contribute to the perpetuation of street vending practices.

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4.3 Case study analysis of state's inclusion of street vending in planning processes

In line with the state's objective of redeveloping Gandhi Bazaar without displacing vendors, DULT, mayaPraxis and ESG (and other civil society groups) developed the plan using an inclusive participatory approach (*Appendix 2.1*) (mayaPRAXIS, 2019). Stakeholder inputs were incorporated into the 3 intial design scenarios, all involving pedestrianization. In a purely consultative manner, the authorities defined the problem, gathered information and controlled analysis. However, it became evident that the state relented from pedestrianizing the street. Analysis of the interviews (*Appendix 2.2*) and supporting discourse reveals that complex stakeholder interactions influenced a shift in the envisioned plans, diverging from DULT's initial pedestrianization to the current implementation approach.

The authorities are currently implementing the plan with one-way vehicular traffic, removing elements such as benches and public space while increasing parking. Conversations with the architects and vendors revealed that street vendors possess immense political agency.

> "MLA[4] gives us a lot of support. He is on side. He is very approachable and understanding of our demands. He comes to the site to check on the progress" – *Street Vendor 1*.

> "She has connections with the MLA. She called the MLA and ensured that 20 vendors, and her, would not be moved" – *architect from mayaPraxis* on why some aspects of the design changed.

The statements above illustrate how the MLA is willing to alter the vision to maintain support from his constituents, while the vendors demonstrate how they navigate the system. However, it is important to note that the design changes were not solely driven by political agency. A report highlights that the concerns raised by shopkeepers were not addressed by the MLA (TNM, 2023). Upon deeper analysis of the interviews, it becomes evident that conflicts persist between shopkeepers and vendors, despite being initially identified. At a public workshop in 2017, shopkeepers raised concerns which were recorded by mayaPraxis and involved,

> "(. . .) the size of these vendors stalls feeling regulation was necessary", "the canopies of the street vendor's stalls obscure (. . .) the frontage of the shops (. . .)" and, "(. . .) the vendors need to be relocated to a specially designated vending area" (mayaPraxis, 2019, p. 65).

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[4] In reference to the current MLA Uday Garudachar.

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It became apparent that the conflict between vendors and shopkeepers posed a significant challenge, with the latter perceiving the former as a hindrance. The workshop recognized the necessity for a design solution to accommodate stakeholders and mitigate conflicts (mayaPRAXIS, 2019). Nevertheless, the authorities were unable to establish a common consensus, a challenge acknowledged by the DULT official, resulting in persistent issues.

> "The shopkeepers are demanding three things: removal and relocation of vendors, increased parking and increased road width. This is because they possess financial agency."- *DULT official*.

The public workshops presented an opportunity to establish common goals for the project, fostering stakeholder acceptance of collective decisions as fair and justified. In Gandhi Bazaar, street vendors were prioritised over other stakeholders, leading to polarised reaction from shopkeepers and vendors. For instance, strikes are initiated by shopkeepers rather than vendors (*Figures 19, 20*), moving away from the mainstream narrative that visions are resisted by the marginalised.

Gandhi Bazaar *bandh* for a day as traders, residents protest unscientific projects in the area

Figure 19: Report of resistance in Gandhi Bazaar (1) (Athavale, 2023b)

Traders shut down against Bengaluru's Gandhi Bazaar road makeover

Figure 20: Report of resistance in Gandhi Bazaar (2) (THB, 2023)

Conversely, street vendors express support for the project due to their early involvement and feeling of being heard. The positive engagement with vendors is seen as a factor leading to their understanding and willingness to compromise, as noted by the DULT official and mayaPraxis architect.

> "DULT explained to us that most cars just pass through Gandhi Bazaar. So, some of us were okay with the entire road pedestrianized but the shopkeepers said that they would lose business and we also felt that was right. When the shopkeepers realised that there was going to be development, they opposed the pedestrianization" – *Street Vendor 2*.

 However, further discussions with vendors reveal that the decision to prioritise vehicular traffic on the road was driven by shopkeepers' desires, reflecting a view of vendors as inferior in the eyes of both shopkeepers and vendors themselves. The class disparity was evident in the perspectives expressed by the vendors regarding the conflict.

"Shops have to do business and so do we" – *Street Vendor 1*.

"We can't really do anything[5]. We all have to do business here. I have to come and work in front of his shop"- *Street vendor 2*.

"The shopkeepers are jealous that we are getting improved facilities without paying anything. They feel that we will also become owners if we get a *basement*[6] and *sheet*[7]. They say that our *sheets* will stop customers from seeing their shops. It's because of us that Gandhi Bazaar became commercial" – *Street Vendor 3*.

The statements above reveal that vendors strongly desire the project's success, and although the participatory approach may have initially aimed for approval, it instilled a sense of ownership among vendors, leading them to prioritise the project's completion and adopt shopkeeper demands as their own. While vendors possess political agency, shopkeepers exploit this agency for their own interests. Conversely, DULT and mayaPraxis genuinely strive to enhance vendor conditions, evident in their passionate discussions. However, DULT's continued meetings to address stakeholder demands for design changes contribute to project delays.

The participatory approach managed to foster blinded trust, seen in how vendors remain overly optimistic about the project timeline despite many delays. The envisioned cohesive picture of redevelopment painted by the state authorities has faced setbacks due to a lack of coordination among various parastatals. Despite meetings conducted to ensure smooth functioning (*Appendix 2.1*), delays are caused due to responsibilities of project components lying with different parastatals. For instance, road works and the multi-level car park in place of the flower market is under BBMP, while the rest of the project is under DULT. Similarly, BBMP cut the roots of the heritage trees on the road without the forest department's permissions, leading to strikes and stoppages (HS, 2023). Furthermore, design changes are handled by mayaPraxis and approved by DULT, but on-site modifications require approval from BBMP. Coupled with shift in main financiers from DULT to BBMP has resulted in confusion, is likely to lead to a diluted version of the original vision being implemented.

The Gandhi Bazaar case reveals the subaltern do not always rise up in resistance to the authoritarian state. Here, the state is receptive to the needs of vendors, more than the demands of

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[5] In reference to the shopkeepers striking against the improved facilities for street vendors.

[6] A colloquial term for a plinth.

[7] A colloquial term for a metal roof, commonly on 4 supports.

shopkeepers who possess financial agency. The conflicts in Gandhi Bazaar are due to class differences between shopkeepers and vendors, with the former feeling that they should have greater stake in the project as they possess financial agency and vendors do not. Vendors are aware of class differences and adopt shopkeeper demands to ensure project implementation. In this manner, the shopkeepers exploit the agency and the rapport vendors share with the state. Failed resolution of stakeholder conflicts has resulted in continued public hearings to incorporate shopkeeper demands, thus reducing the participatory approach to merely gain support to meet project goals. Further, unclear roles and responsibilities of parastatals has caused a fragmented version of the original vision to be implemented.

4.4 Document analysis of state's inclusion of informal vending in planning outcomes

While there exist legal frameworks to support vendors to financially and digitally empower them, there are limited frameworks that obligate state authorities to include vendors in planning outcomes. For instance, MoHUA's PM-SVANidhi scheme helps street vendors avail micro-credit loans. MoHUA's partnership with Zomato is an attempt to digitally connect customers with street food vendors (PIB, 2021). Similarly, MoHUA's *Mera Thela*, a digital app, aims to expand the reach of syteey vendors through dynamic mapping of their locations (GoI, n.d.). However, there is a lack of comprehensive frameworks mandated by law, to integrate them into the fabric of the city, often resulting in their inclusion in planning processes primarily to gain "community support".

First, there is The Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act of 2014. As mentioned previously, it does acknowledge that street vendors can operate on footpaths and pavements. It also, however, mandates the designation and demarcation of restriction free, restricted or no "vending zones" by the local authority in consultation with the planning authorities and the Town Vending Committee (TVC) (*Figure 21*).

| 5. Prepare a plan to promote street vending
The Plan is the document that shall have details of what areas are vending zones, what are non-vending zones etc. | Local Authority in consultation with the planning authority and TVC | Sec 21. (1) Every local authority shall, in consultation with the planning authority and on the recommendations of the Town Vending Committee, once in every five years, prepare a plan to promote the vocation of street vendors covering the matters contained in the First Schedule. |

Figure 21: Designation of vending zones(Krishnan et al., 2016)

This is determined by BBMP in the case of Bangalore and they further have the responsibility of drafting bye-laws for street vending (*Figure 22*). However, there is no mention of what these bye-laws are.

Figure 22: Drafting of bye-laws (Krishnan et al., 2016)

While significant attention is given to the registration and certification of vendors, there is a lack of clear guidelines on the responsible parties, proper conduct, relocation principles, and designated vending zone locations. Instead, the focus is often on what is not allowed, such as acknowledging that vending occurs on footpaths while simultaneously stating,

> "The plan for street vending shall (. . .) ensure the right of commuters to move freely and use the roads without any impediment" and shall contain "spatial planning norms for street vending" while "earmarking of space or area for vending zones" (GoI, 2014, p.12).

However, the BBMP lacks a comprehensive plan or document that spatially maps out street vendors or demarcates vending zones. Although it mandates updating existing plans with designated vending zones, it also sets limits on number of licenses issues per zone. The Act intends to protect street vendors but primarily focuses on regulation rather than comprehensive planning for their spatial integration.

Second, the Revised Operational Guidelines for Support to Urban Street Vendors (SUSV) under the Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana- National Urban Livelihoods Mission (DAY-NULM) aids in executing the objectives of the Act. It has similar objectives to the Act such as the preparation of Street Vending Plans, under which,

> "(. . .) devise and promote vendor friendly policies, solutions and strategies to accommodate and facilitate street vending in a manner that is conducive to street vendors and the public at large. This may include policies for traffic management and regulation on market days or at certain times of the day (. . .)" and "(. . .) develop pro-vending norms and stipulation of vending spaces (. . .)" (GoI, 2018, p.4).

While it stipulates that agencies should devise vendor friendly policies and develop pro-vending norms, it remains unclear whether this has been done. Simultaneously, it seeks to manage and regulate street vending (GoI, 2018).

Third, the Master Plan for Bengaluru 2031, by Bangalore Development Authority (BDA), includes provisions for promoting and regulating street vending and establishing street vending zones. However, it is not the focus of the Master Plan. The Master Plan aims to create well-designed public spaces through streetscapes and avenue plantations and according to the plan, a well-designed street vending space is one of the interventions to attain a desirable streetscape (GoK, 2013).

"The streetscape and visual character of any city is not resplendent without designed and well thought out interventions in streetscape. Streetscape includes (. . .) spaces and pockets for street vending (. . .)" (GoK, 2013, p.148).

Under the listed projects, the Master Plan aims to enhance social infrastructure by developing street vending plans and designating street vending zones and streets. While it does detail out the involved agencies and the phases of implementation, there is a lack of clarity in the number of zones and geographical area of intervention and hence, the objective seems quite vague.

Fourth, the Transit Oriented Development (TOD) Policy primarily focuses on pedestrians, cyclists and non-motorised transport users but also encompasses street vendors and street vending zones under its objective of inclusive development (GoI, 2017).

"TOD aims at inclusive development wherein all users of the system are benefited. The street vendors are the eyes of the streets; hence the designated spaces should be created for them while designing the streets. However, care should be taken that the integration does not have negative affect on their business" (GoI, 2017, p.13).

Further, its focus on pedestrians and efforts to widen footpaths and pavements indirectly benefits street vendors and advances street vending practices.

In brief, there is a lack of extensive and clear legal documents to ensure the incorporation of street vendors in planning outcomes in Bangalore. The Street Vendors Act and the SUSV are national-level documents applying across India, while the Master Plan and TOD Policy are state-level policies. These documents solely establish a framework to register and regulate street vendors by restricting their activities to demarcate vending zones, leaving the minutiae to local-level authorities. However, Bangalore does not have war or neighbourhood-level plans, thereby excusing local-level authorities from being negligent about their responsibilities. It further leads to the perpetuation of informality by lower-level authorities who allow alternate channels of survival to open up, like bribery, while also increasing harassments and evictions. Additionally, these documents do indirectly benefit street vendors by promoting pedestrianization. However, the alternate intentions leave room for interpretation, one that may not benefit street vendors in reality.

Sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 show that there is a disconnect between how visions are set and how they are implemented, seen in state actions towards street vendors. The clash between the state's goal of creating pedestrian-friendly spaces and the manner in which vendors are included in urban transformations are due to implementation modalities. While the Street Vendors Act provides protection, the state often evicts vendors without fulfilling its responsibilities to survey, license, and allocate vending zones. This stems from the state's desire for a world-class city aesthetic where

footpaths are solely for pedestrians. The complexity of street vending dynamics and the state's ignorance of its logic come into question, along with the role of lower-level authorities in perpetuating vending practices. The Gandhi Bazaar case reveals conflicts between shopkeepers and vendors, demonstrating that the manifestation of visions differs and resistance is not solely attributed to street vendors. Lack of clear legal documents and fragmented implementation exacerbate the situation. Although national and state-level policies provide a framework for vendor regulation, the absence of local-level plans allows for negligence, informality, bribery, harassment, and increased evictions. The documents indirectly benefit vendors by promoting pedestrianization but lack clear provisions for their inclusion and protection.

How are worlding projects impacted by street vendors operating with a logic of informality?

4.5 Case study analysis of the logic of urban informality

As mentioned before Church Street redevelopment was a project envisioned to become the "pedestrian-friendly prototype" for Indian streets (Ramdev, 2018). According to Narasimhan, the architect, the redevelopment intended to bring back the glory of Church Street while catering to pedestrians with an added "Indian" flair, the *Kasuti* patterned cobblestone carriageway (Ramdev, 2018). The plans for the street did not take into account any street vending activities even though the film "Humans of Church Street", which was released by VA interviewed one street vendor (Street Vendor. ,2017).
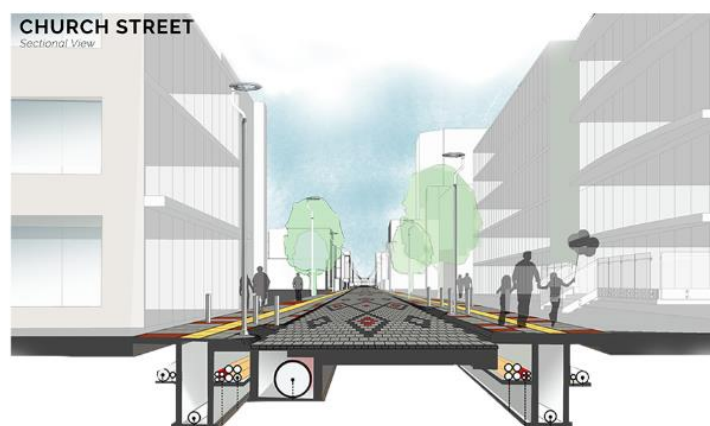
Figure 23: Cross section of Church Street showing the pavement on either side and the Kasuti patterned carriageway

(Venkataramanan Associates, n.d.)
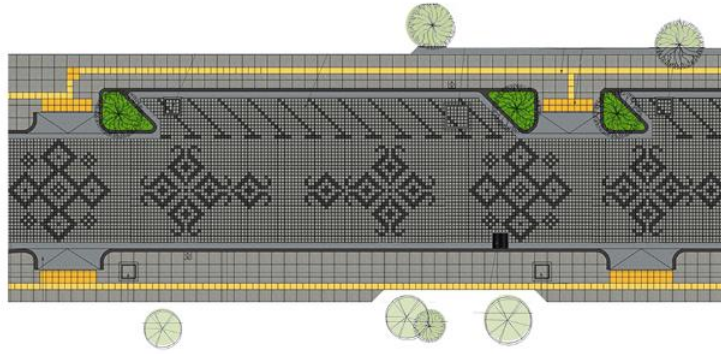
Figure 24: Part Plan showing pavement on either side, street parking and Kasuti patterned carriageway

(Venkataramanan Associates, n.d.)

As seen in *Figure 23 and 24*, the width of the footpaths on Church Street range between 1.2m to 2.2m in width and any extra space is assigned for street parking. Even though the street aimed to be pedestrian-friendly, the focus seems to be more on the carriageway at a first glance. The intention was to create an atmosphere and transform "the busy street into a space of culture and merriment" (Ramdev, 2018).

The vision of transforming Church Street into a vibrant pedestrian-friendly space has been partially fulfilled, attracting young crowds and street vendors who sell various goods. "Hobbyists" (Mavad & Kumari, 2023) sell home-baked goods, posters, stickers, handmade jewellery and other knick-knacks informally on the weekends (*Figure 26*). However, there is a constant struggle for space between vehicles, pedestrians (*Figure 27*), and street vendors (*Figure 28*), leading to a crowded and challenging environment. Vendors adapt by occupying available areas, such as planter clearings (*Figure 29*), to conduct their business while ensuring pedestrian access. This dynamic atmosphere reflects both the success of the redevelopment project in creating excitement and the ongoing spatial conflicts that arise due to limited infrastructure and competing demands.

Figure 25: Hobbyists selling home-baked goods (left)

Figure 26:Pedestrian spillovers on the road (right)

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Figure 27: A foot width of pavement space for pedestrians (left)

Figure 28: Vendor selling wares amidst planter clearings (right)

On weekends, Church Street draws a youthful crowd eager to explore the pedestrian-friendly environment. Vendors and hobbyists capitalise on the bustling atmosphere, utilising any available space to display their goods. This includes setting up in vacant spaces in front of commercial buildings (*Figure 29*), in proximity to electrical transformers (*Figure 30*), and even underneath abandoned structures (*Figure 31*). The vibrant street scene offers opportunities for informal commerce and showcases the adaptability of vendors in maximizing their visibility and engagement with customers.

Figure 29: Vendors selling clothes in a pocket (left)

Figure 30: Vendors selling wares next to an electrical transformer (centre)

Figure 31: Vendors selling wares under an abandoned building (right)

There are all kinds of vendors who occupy the pavements on Church Street. Some vendors are mobile vendors, that is, they have a cart or a cycle. Some pack up and transport their wares at the end of the day like the textile vendors. Some are stationary vendors and pack up their wares to store it aside like the vendors under the abandoned building. The street also sees the presence of cops, mainly for crowd control. The same street has lesser footfall on the weekdays. Due to the varying footfall, their unregistered status and the narrow pathways, vendors are wary of leaving their goods at Church Street.

Church Street accommodates a diverse range of vendors, including mobile vendors with carts or cycles, vendors who pack up and transport their goods daily like textile vendors (*Figures 29, 30*), and stationary vendors who store their wares aside, such as those under the abandoned building (*Figure 31*). The presence of police officers primarily aims at crowd control. However, due to vendors' unregistered status and the limited space, they are cautious about leaving their goods unattended at Church Street.

The contested nature of footpaths raises questions about the lack of anticipation by state authorities regarding the increase in street vending activities on Church Street after the "pedestrianization" project, especially considering the pre-existing presence of a few hawkers. While the project aimed to boost the business of commercial establishments, the same consideration was not extended to street vending. Furthermore, the differential treatment of "hobbyists" and street vendors in state narratives raises concerns. In the case of Church Street, street vendors appropriated the planning project, presenting both successes and unforeseen challenges that were not anticipated by state authorities or planners.

Section 4.5 reveals that the logic of informality is intertwined with formal regulations and norms, as seen in the case of Church Street where the state's vision of creating a pedestrian-friendly space inadvertently promoted street vending activities. Vendors, both registered and unregistered, have occupied various spaces made available by the project, adapting their vending practices to ensure pedestrian access while taking advantage of the potential increase in business. The uncertainty of operating unregistered reflects in their cautiousness, packing up their wares at the end of the day. Different vendors strategically occupy different spaces based on the nature of their products and the available area, demonstrating their ability to appropriate the worlding project's vision for their own needs. This highlights the flexibility and adaptability of street vendors within the context of urban informality.

5. Conclusions

The purpose of the research was to uncover the state's visions come to realisation. The study explored the state's worlding visions for Bangalore and examined where street vending fit within it. In order to understand how visions materialise as the state is an active participant in urban informality, the study analysed the state's actions in approaching street vending within and outside of planning projects and explored the logic of informality in how street vendors adapt to planning projects based on worlding visions.

The initial claim made in the study was that the changes of state's worlding visions is more than the political agency of the subaltern, specifically street vendors. Moving beyond the authoritarian state and the resisting subaltern, the research questioned the materialisation of visions due to nuances of state-subaltern interactions in urban informality, regardless of whether the subaltern is included in planning projects or not. The research contributes to the existing literature on worlding visions and world class city making, as conceptualised by the authors in Ong and Roy's (2011) *Worlding Cities* but moves beyond the Marxist discourse on state imposition of visions and subaltern resistance. The research offers insights into the conceptualisation of worlding projects in Global South cities, which continue to be influenced by post-coloniality, thereby breaking away from the conceptualisation of city-making as a result of subaltern resistances against the state (Benjamin, 2008; Roy, 2011; Tripathy, 2018; Watson, 2009) The research contributes to conceptualisation of worlding by building on urban informality as a site of critical analysis and as an organising logic, that guides urban transformations, in which the state is an active participant (Banks et al., 2019; Roy, 2005; Roy, 2009).

In answer to the main research question,

How are the state's worlding visions for Bangalore and its street vending realized in the context of urban informality as a site of critical analysis?

The state's worlding vision to manage street vendors, demarcate vending spaces and pedestrianize urban areas are part of a broader vision to position Bangalore as a global, high-skilled, technologically advanced and modern city (*section 4.1*). These visions are aimed at creating legacies through elitist political statements made by heads of state. However, these visions unfold on ground when implemented by lower-level authorities, like in the case of the state's worlding aspirations for street vending practices in Bangalore. However, state-subaltern interactions, coupled with complex stakeholder dynamics within the realm of urban informality, significantly impact the realisation of these visions. Consequently, the state's objective of sanitising urban spaces as an attempt to meet the

standards of New York and Singapore has to be implemented by lower-level authorities. The case of Gandhi Bazaar demonstrates that the alteration of worlding visions is not solely a result of subaltern resistance, but rather stems from complex socio-political interactions. Contrary to the stereotype of an authoritarian state and resistant subaltern, the conflicts in Gandhi Bazaar arise due to unresolved shopkeeper-vendor disputes, with resistance not originating from the street vendors themselves (*section 4.3*). The vision of Gandhi Bazaar has morphed because of the exploitation of street vendors' agency by the shopkeepers. Additionally, the involvement of multiple parastatals, like DULT and BBMP and fragmented functioning in terms of goals, roles, and responsibilities contribute to a fractured implementation of the vision. While street vendors have established trust with DULT as a result of the participatory approach, the disconnect between state visions and on-ground implementation by various authorities can lead to complications. This disconnect is also evident in the legal frameworks that aim to include street vendors in planning outcomes. Legal frameworks primarily focus on the registration and regulation of street vendors, assigning them to demarcated vending zones while leaving the details to local-level authorities (*section 4.4*). However, the absence of ward or neighbourhood-level plans in cities like Bangalore leads to a neglect of responsibilities by lower-level authorities, causing further fragmentation of the state's envisioned clean and ordered street vending. The disconnect between intentions, such as the emphasis on pedestrianization, and the interpretation and implementation of these visions often result in outcomes that do not align with the original vision. It also provides an opportunity for local-level authorities to perpetuate informality through harassment and evictions, creating avenues for bribery and *haftas*, allowing informal street vending to persist. Additionally, the state's prioritisation of pedestrian-friendly spaces restricts street vendors from encroaching upon designated world-class pavements, as the right to public spaces does not lie with vendors in the eyes of the state (*section 4.2*). However, the unintended consequences of pedestrian-focused worlding projects can enable street vending activities, as observed in the case of Church Street, ultimately transforming the original vision into something entirely different (*section 4.5*). The functioning of street vending is influenced by their inclusion or exclusion from worlding projects. In Gandhi Bazaar, vendors have security through registration, political agency, and participation in decision-making, leading to urban transformation. However, on Church Street, vendors operate precariously with limited space and temporary arrangements. Regardless, street vending persists and cannot be disregarded by authorities.

Urban informality spans spatial, economic and political domains as a site of critical analysis, revealing a nuanced view of complex socio-political relationships and the role of the political economy (Banks et al., 2019). The manner in which states respond to informality is determined based on the individual agency of populations and their capacity to undermine institutional power (Banks et al.,

2019; Lombard & Meth, 2016; Roy, 2005; Weinstein, 2017). Cities are shaped by informality, which resides in the grey areas and is influenced by the deeply entrenched lower-level bureaucracy (Benjamin, 2008; Yiftachel, 2009). The materialisation of state visions and worlding aspirations cannot be solely attributed to the state-subaltern dynamic, as it operates within grey areas and involves intricate interactions between various actors, including lower-level authorities. While worlding visions often exhibit elitism, initiated at the top, and promise improved futures through inter-referenced models (Ghertner, 2011; Ong, 2011), the intricacies of implementation are left to lower-level authorities. In the case of Bangalore as well, the state envisions resolving urban issues like water, health, and traffic through smart solutions, as well as implementing pedestrianization projects to create orderly markets similar to Singapore. Similarly, legal frameworks for street vending are established by higher-level state, while the implementation details are left to lower-level authorities. While worlding aspirations are absorbed by subaltern subjects who mobilise it for different ends (Ghertner, 2011; Simone, 2001), it is not limited to state visions, as seen in the absorption of shopkeepers' demands by vendors in the case of Gandhi Bazaar to ensure project implementation. In the case of Gandhi Bazaar, lower-level authorities willingly alter the vision to improve street vending conditions, contradicting the state's worlding vision of a clean pedestrianized market, while resistance to these changes comes from shopkeepers who oppose benefits for vendors.

Thus, as initially claimed, the remaking of urban spaces goes beyond the political agency of the subaltern, as it is influenced by the complex socio-political relationships between state and non-state actors. Not only do the subaltern utilise their political agency within India's bureaucratic system, taking advantage of its porosity (Benjamin, 2008), the fragmented functioning parastatals in Gandhi Bazaar utilise it to independently alter visions. The subaltern discourse highlights the city as an exclusionary space created by the state subject to resistance (Tripathy, 2018) but in the case of Church Street, the city created by the state actually enables the subaltern to thrive. Complex spatial organisations arise out of constant negotiation between state and non-state actors (Parida & Agrawal, 2022; Schindler, 2014; Schindler, 2014; Tripathy, 2018), seen in how the local authorities allow vendors and hobbyists to function on Church Street but harass and evict them for encroaching in other world class projects.

Further research is necessary to deepen our understanding of the relationships and dynamics between different stakeholders, including the state and non-state actors, in the context of urban informality. This research should focus on cities like Bangalore, where power and land are decentralised and multiple parastatals are involved in project implementation. It is important to explore how these dynamics influence the alteration of worlding visions and the realization of state objectives. Additionally, investigating the role of lower-level authorities in implementing state visions

and worlding aspirations is crucial. Looking into the influence of informal practices, bureaucratic systems, and governance structures on the creation of urban spaces, the study opens up possibilities for further analysis on how lower-level authorities navigate between state visions, stakeholder demands, and their own agency, and the implications for marginalized communities. Through such research, insights into the complex interplay of power dynamics and negotiation processes that shape urban transformations can be gained. This will aid in changing governance structures, such as the formation of ward-level legal frameworks to include street vending and the development of comprehensive planning methods that genuinely consider the needs of street vendors rather than purely regulate them. Understanding the gap between implementation and existing frameworks is essential if the state aims to effectively integrate street vendors into formal processes.

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Appendix 1: Data Collection-Discourse

1.1 Karnataka State Assembly Elections 2023 party manifestoes for traffic infrastructure (*left below*).

1.2 Karnataka State Assembly Elections 2023 party manifestoes for health infrastructure (*right below*).

AAP	BJP	INC	JD(S)
– Pothole-free, well-designed roads to ensure smooth traffic and mobility – Make Bengaluru streets pedestrian-friendly – Focus on public transport – BMTC fleet will be doubled to 12,000 buses – Immediate implementation of Peripheral Ring Road – Cycle lane network around the city – Airport and railway terminus to serve South Bangalore – Hi-frequency suburban railway services	-Multi-Modal Transport Hub 'Concorde Bangalore', on the lines of WTC transport hub, New York, which will act as a single central node for all public and on-demand transport services. – Bengaluru Unified Transit Network, consists of: Integrated ticket-booking app called "MyBengaluru MyRoute", which will work as a one-stop app for bookings across various modes of transport. – Universal Travel Card called "My City My Card", which will facilitate travel across all modes of public transport in Bengaluru. – Comprehensive mobile application that integrates AI-driven solutions to tackle Bangalore's traffic challenges in areas like Silk Board Junction, Hebbala, Gorgunte Palya, Mekhri Circle, Sarjapur and others.	– North South, South-east long elevated flyovers with necessary wings to ease traffic flow. – Complete all pending metro projects under Phase 2, 2A, 2B within one year. Phase 3 and 4 in the next 5 years. Extend Metro upto Tumkur, Vasanta Narasapura Industrial hub – Construction of tunnel roads in CBD area on a PPP model to decongest traffic – A system for seamless integration of Namma Metro, Suburban Rail projects and public transport systems. – Efficient management of traffic by adoption of TOT, Drone, speed camera, and other modern technologies – Add 5000 new electric buses to BMTCs fleet – E-rickshaw to improve first/last mile connectivity – Provide free bus passes to BBMP pourakarmikas – To complete ORR and PRR projects on priority basis.	– To reduce outstation vehicular movement in Bengaluru, roads around the city to be developed. – Widening of the NH 48 road into 4 way lane Makali to APMC 18 Kms at 450 Cr – Sondekoppa to Bidadi 40 kms at Rs 800 Cr

AAP	BJP	INC	JD(S)
Tablet to surgery, all free for the urban poor – Delhi model Mohalla Clinic in every locality and panchayat for primary care – 10 Delhi model Polyclinic in each assembly constituency for multi speciality consultation – Delhi model super Specialty hospital in every assembly constituency for major procedures and surgeries.	– Strengthen healthcare infrastructure in the state through Mission Swasthya by establishing one Namma Clinic, equipped with diagnostic facilities, in every ward. – A free annual master health check-up for senior citizens.	– To fill up vacancies of staff and doctors in all Government hospitals. – Extend Rashtriya Swasthya Bhima Yojna and bring all the health services under one umbrella and extend it to gig workers. – Establish government sponsored rehabilitation centres for drug addicts. – Increase the health expenditure to % of the GDP, in accordance with the National Health Policy. – Reorganise PHCs according to population. – Puneeth Rajkumar Heart Health Scheme to offer subsidy to Doctor/Clinics/Nursing home to buy Defibrillator (AED). – Promise to construct a sufficient number of old age homes, both day care and residential and child care centres.	– Fixing the issue of wage disparity of doctors under Rashtriya Bal Swasthya Karyakram (RBSK) and National Health Scheme. – Up to Rs 25 lakhs to be released from Chief Minister's Relief Fund within 24 hours, towards expensive treatments, such as bone marrow treatment, heart, lungs and liver transplantation.

1.3 Karnataka State Assembly Elections 2023 party manifestoes for water infrastructure.

AAP	BJP	INC	JD(S)
– Lake restoration and increased water bodies – BWSSB water to all homes	Under Digital 4.0 – Smart Water for Bengaluru to optimise water usage, reduce waste, and improve sustainability of the existing water systems. We will use advanced technologies such as sensors, real-time data analytics, and automated control systems to monitor and manage the city's water supply. Mission Reclaiming Rajakaluve – Create an integrated storm water drainage system, including connecting missing links, building new drainage systems and desilting of existing drains. – Connect the storm water drainage system network with appropriate waterbody outlets. – Remove encroachment over drains and create pedestrian pathways	Irrigation – Jeevajala: – An overall estimate of Rs 1.5 lakh crores in the next 5 years, which includes the Mekedatu project to be implemented at Rs 9,000 crores. – To provide 100% effluent treatment for reuse of water for non-drinking purposes To extend the Cauvery water supply to cover all parts of the city. – To identify, revive and expand traditional waterways and storm water drains. – New policy on Bengaluru river beds, Lake catchment areas. – Mission mode programme to cleanse and rejuvenate lakes of Bengaluru and prepare blueprint for water sports in the next 5 years and to – Constitute Lake Development Authority for BBMP. – River Vrishabhavathi rejuvenation.	Only JDS has an entire section dedicated to water – Jaladhare, which mainly focuses on irrigation and drinking water supply including the controversial Mekedatu reservoir project, which is touted to help water starved Bengaluru. The project is supposed to build a dam with a capacity to store 67 tmc water and generate over 400 MW of electricity. The projected cost stands at Rs 13,000 crores.

1.4 Street vending in party manifestoes for the 2015 BBMP Elections (Sreenivasa, 2015).

Party	Aspects of their manifesto which talk about Street Vendors		JD(S)	No mention of Street Vendors rights or welfare of Street Vendors.
Congress (I)	No mention of Street Vendors rights or welfare of Street Vendors.			
			Lok Satta	Calls for the Implementation of the National Street Vendors Policy
BJP	The BJP manifesto says – *Shall be* widening pedestrian roads where commutation is dense and relocate traders from such roads to a *more accommodativ e location.*		Civic Front	Calls for – Welfare measures for Informal sector workers (Auto Drivers, Street Vendors) Widening of footpaths keeping in mind the interests of Street Vendors

1.5 The 8 pedestrian street proposed in the CMP 2019 (IDeCK, 2020; Menezes, 2019).

- Gandhi Bazar Main Road between KR Road and DVG Road
- 10th Main Road adjacent to Jayanagar Shopping Complex
- Russel Market Road
- Commercial Street, from Kamraj Road to Juma Masjid Road
- Brigade Road, from MG Road to Residency Road
- Church Street, from St Marks Road to Brigade Road
- Between 7th Cross and 10th Cross Malleshwaram
- Malleshwaram 8th Cross, between Margosa Road and 18th Sampige Road

Table 4-15: Pedestrian Streets

Sl. No.	Street	Sl. No.	Street
1.	Gandhi Bazar Main Road between KR Road and DVG Road	2.	10th Main Road adjacent to Jayanagar Shopping Complex
3.	Russel Market Road	4.	Commercial Street from Kamraj Road to Juma Masjid Road
5.	Brigade Road from MG Road to Residency Road	6.	Church Street from ST. Marks Road to Brigade Road
7.	Between 7th Cross and 10th Cross Malleshwaram	8.	Malleshwaram 8th Cross between Margosa Road and 18th Sampige Road

Appendix 2: Data Collection-Interviews

2.1 Gandhi Bazaar Redevelopment

Steps carried out by mayaPraxis, ESG and DULT, under GIZ, to ensure the project was carried out through a "people-centric approach" to ensure effective participation (mayaPRAXIS, 2019).

i. Profiling the stakeholders and information dissemination through group meetings, discussions and on-street conversations.

ii. Gathering information on issues, opportunities and ideas by carrying out on-site interviews, holding focus groups, and through surveys and questionnaires.

iii. Public workshops to prepare three different design scenarios.

iv. Open house exhibitions to assess the design scenarios.

v. Developing the preferred scenario and street design plan.

vi. Meetings with government agencies to ensure coordinated efforts.

vii. Meetings with other NGOs and vendors to discuss market management strategies and waste management strategies.

2.2 Interview Summaries

The interviews conducted were semi-structured and the prompts included questions to understand when they were involved, how they were involved, how much support they receive from the MLA and the conflicts with other stakeholders.

Interviewee 1: Street Vendor

The vendor and her family have been selling flowers in the market for 3 generations. Presently, she holds the position of the head of the Street Vendor's Association and has been closely involved with the authorities since the project's inception. Therefore, it was essential to interview her.

Overview: The following themes were discussed with her.

i. The introduction of the project to the street vendors, the aspirations of the urban authorities and the subsequent changes that were demanded by the street vendors, followed by the current issues in the project.

ii. The conflict between different stakeholders, namely the street vendors and the shopkeepers.

iii. The political support street vendors have received from the state, i.e., the MLA.

iv. The growing numbers of street vendors.

v. The duration and method of implementation of the project.

Major findings: The following paragraph illustrates the major findings from this interview.

The project was pitched with a certain vision in mind but DULT and BBMP did listen to stakeholder demands and change what was asked. Vendors and shopkeepers still continue to make demands even though the project is in its implementation phase. At the same time, the involvement is only in the design of the project. There is obvious conflict among the vendors and the shopkeepers. Street vendors, especially the head of the Street Vendors Association, possess immense political agency with the MLA. They have the ability to put a stop to the project if their needs are not met. At the same time, there is a willingness to compromise on their demands and incorporate that of the shopkeepers to ensure the project is completed. Additionally, they possess political agency to ensure that new street vendors do not set up their businesses in Gandhi Bazaar. Lastly, the project has no clear timeline for its implementation. It has already been stalled by election processes, strikes and internal conflicts within the authorities. There are no provisions made for vendors during the construction process.

Situation: The following paragraph discusses findings from tonal language, mannerisms and the environment.

She takes great pride in her role as the head of the Street Vendors Association, and this greatly influences the way she discusses the state and other stakeholders involved in the project. She generally maintains a diplomatic tone while speaking about them. She was very proud when recounting the visit organized by ESG, which took her and several other vendors to *Ima Keithel* in Manipur. While she took immense pride in the political agency that street vendors posses with the MLA, there was also a feeling of inferiority in front of the state and the shopkeepers. She perceives the project as a favour bestowed upon by the state upon the vendors. Despite the clear delays in the project, she remains unrealistically optimistic and grateful, mainly due to their inclusion in the decision making. She mentioned that shopkeepers have been making unreasonable demands, but she quickly defended them to avoid appearing at odds with them.

Interviewee 2: Street Vendor

The vendor and his family have been selling bags in the market for 20 years. He was interviewed because he was one of the vendors taken to *Ima Keithel* in Manipur.

Overview: The following themes were discussed with him.

i. The introduction of the project to the street vendors, the aspirations of the urban authorities and the subsequent changes that were demanded by the street vendors, followed by the current issues in the project.

ii.   The disagreements with the vision presented by the authorities
iii.   The conflict between different stakeholders, namely the street vendors and the shopkeepers.
iv.   The duration and method of implementation of the project, and the difficulties caused by delays.

Major findings: The following paragraph illustrates the major findings from this interview.

Some vendors were okay with the street being pedestrianised. However, ESG only surveyed the vendors and not the shopkeepers at the beginning. DULT conducted a vehicular study, which revealed that most vehicles just pass through the street. Shopkeepers were agitated when they realised that the street vendors were going to get improved facilities and benefits. Prior to this, the shopkeepers had shown no interest in the project. When significant construction work takes place on the pavement where the vendors operate, they choose to take the day off at their own expense. The state made a promise to complete the project within six months, but it has been over six months since the commencement, and even the pavements remain unfinished.

Situation: The following paragraph discusses findings from tonal language, mannerisms and the environment.

He was quite happy about the project regardless of the design outcome and appreciated the fact that the authorities involved the street vendors in the decision-making process. While he did not necessarily agree with the demands of the shopkeepers, he showed understanding and justified their perspective by acknowledging that they also needed to conduct their business. At the same time, he rationalised their demands by saying they could not oppose the shopkeepers even if they wanted to because they all belonged to the same ecosystem. He indicated a sense of jealousy on the part of the shopkeepers because of the benefits the vendors were receiving. Similar to *interviewee 1*, he feels inferior to shopkeepers. He expressed anger when he spoke of the way the construction was being handled by the authorities, but simultaneously felt hopelessness in dreaming that it will be completed quicker.

Interviewee 3: Street Vendor

The vendor has been selling clothes in the market for 45 years. He was interviewed at random.

Overview: The following themes were discussed with him.

i.   The demands of street vendors for the project.
ii.   The conflict between different stakeholders, namely the street vendors and the shopkeepers.

Major findings: The following paragraph illustrates the major findings from this interview.

Although DULT is a government authority, the vendors perceive it as distinct from the state. The vendors asked for a *basement* (a colloquial term for a plinth) and a *sheet* (a colloquial term for a metal roof, commonly on 4 supports). The conflict between vendors and shopkeepers arises from shopkeepers having three issues with the *basement* and *sheet*. The conflict between vendors and shopkeepers stems from three main concerns raised by the shopkeepers. Firstly, they believe that granting vendors a permanent structure would elevate them to the status of "owners." Secondly, shopkeepers worry that a permanent structure would obstruct customers' line of sight. Lastly, they feel that vendors are receiving the project's benefits without bearing any cost or "for free". This perception of vendors as inferior to shopkeepers contributes to the tension between the two groups.

Situation: The following paragraph discusses findings from tonal language, mannerisms and the environment.

He perceived DULT as distinct from the state due to their high level of involvement and accessibility. He was appreciative of their involvement in decision making but was unaware of how the project was being executed. When discussing the shopkeepers' concerns about the vendors, he displayed disbelief in response to the remarks made by the shopkeepers, which he believed to be audacious. He was taken aback by the shopkeepers' perception of the vendors as inferior.

Interviewee 4: Street Vendor

The vendor has been selling flowers in the BBMP market, which is situated on the Gandhi Bazaar Road, for over generations. He was interviewed because he operates inside the BBMP market scheduled for demolition under the redevelopment project. The flower vendors inside the BBMP market are extremely famous and supply flowers for occasions to cities across South India. The market is designated to become a parking complex for Gandhi Bazaar and the vendors operating inside are to be relocated on the street amongst other street vendors.

Overview: The following themes were discussed with him.

  i.   The administerial heterogeneity of vendors.
  ii.   The process of demolishment followed by authorities.
  iii.   The political support that flower vendors inside the BBMP complex receive.

Major findings: The following paragraph illustrates the major findings from this interview.

The biggest finding was that the flower sellers located within the BBMP market do not identify themselves as street vendors, nor are they affiliated with the Street Vendor's Association, which means they do not possess a street vending license. Although they are supposed to be allocated spaces alongside the street vendors, it remains unclear whether they will be granted licenses or need to apply

for them. Presently, they pay rent to the BBMP to utilise the BBMP market, scheduled for demolition. It is unclear when they will switch to the status of a street vendor. Despite not facing harassment or eviction threats for being unregistered, they have been subjected to multiple instances (unclear how many times) of harassment and eviction from the BBMP market, on the pretence of renovation. During these occurrences, they were not provided reallocated spaces. Once the demolition and renovation plans were delayed, the sellers would return inside the BBMP market. This even took place when they were evicted for the redevelopment project. Additionally, the sellers inside the market do not receive the same political support that the street vendors outside do.

Situation: The following paragraph discusses findings from tonal language, mannerisms and the environment.

The vendor seemed quite regarding their treatment within the project. While he takes pride in being a flower vendor who contributes to the fame of Gandhi Bazaar, he also questions why they are subjected to mistreatment. His remarks conveyed a lack of optimism or enthusiasm towards the redevelopment project.

Interviewee 5: Street Vendor

The vendor has been selling fruits in the market for over 50 years.

Overview: The following themes were discussed with her.

i.   The impact of construction on the business of street vendors.

    Major findings: The following paragraph illustrates the major findings from this interview.

Due to the construction, vendors have seen a drastic drop in business as a result of the construction, as people are not able to approach them easily. The construction has been going on for over 6 months, leading to a decrease in footfall and vehicular thoroughfare.

Observations conducted during this interview: The construction process has reached a stage where the pavements have been excavated but not yet finished, resulting in challenging walking conditions. Workers are currently focused on constructing planters abutting the pavements. Although the concrete road has been completed, the presence of carts and parked two-wheelers has made it extremely inconvenient to navigate on foot. Moreover, the surrounding environment is extremely dusty, creating an inhospitable environment for vendors to conduct their businesses. Vendors who have been displaced from the pavement because of construction, have temporarily made space for themselves on the hot concrete road, sometimes sitting on a mat in a tiny space in between parked two-wheelers.

Situation: The following paragraph discusses findings from tonal language, mannerisms and the environment.

The vendor was not enthusiastic to talk because she believed the conversation was futile. Although she listened to the questions, her responses did not facilitate further dialogue. Instead, she primarily focused on venting her grievances and recounting her struggles.

Interviewee 6: Shopkeeper

The shopkeeper has been selling *puja* items in the market since the project was initiated. He was picked at random.

Overview: The following themes were discussed with him.

i. The impact of construction on the business of street vendors.

Major findings: The following paragraph illustrates the major findings from this interview.

Some shopkeepers have chosen not to participate in the project's development. The shopkeepers who have an issue with the vendors are typically those who rent their shops rather than own them. While shopkeepers pay significantly higher rents, ranging from approximately 1-1.5 lakhs, vendors pay a much lower amount, typically in the range of a few thousands. The poor construction has caused many accidents with people falling and injuring themselves.

Situation: The following paragraph discusses findings from tonal language, mannerisms and the environment.

The shopkeeper was not keen on talking. He had no hope or faith in the state. Due to his lack of trust in the system, he even refrains from participating in order to avoid disappointment.

Interviewee 7: DULT official

The official has been a part of the project since the beginning.

Overview: The following themes were discussed with her.

i.   The vision for the project.
ii. Demands on shopkeepers.
iii. The attitudes of street vendors and shopkeepers.
iv. The difficulty in building consensus.

Major findings: The following paragraph illustrates the major findings from this interview.

The initial plan aimed to pedestrianize the street while maintaining a timed vehicular access. However, the authorities intended to involve all the stakeholders from the beginning and upon their involvement, full-time vehicular access was incorporated based on their demands. The stakeholders do not question the benefits of the project but they bring up minor issues. Nevertheless, DULT is receptive to stakeholder demands and strives to incorporate them. DULT continues to hold public meetings to incorporate stakeholder demands into the final outcome of the project.

Shopkeepers possess significant financial agency and have three demands: the removal and relocation of street vendors, increased street parking and wider road width. The first demand is not feasible, and although street vendors, too, initially requested more parking spaces, they understood that it would mean lesser vending spots and agreed not to increase it. The maximum width possible beyond the tree line has already been allocated. There is a perception among both vendors and shopkeepers that most customers park their vehicles and shop in Gandhi Bazaar, but this is not true. There was no willingness from stakeholders to pedestrianize the street.

Situation: The following paragraph discusses findings from tonal language, mannerisms and the environment.

The contents of the interview were guided by the interviewee and only the tone of the conversation could be discerned from this interview, which was conducted through a brief phone call. The official was extremely passionate in the way she spoke which may have impacted the manner in which she defended the stakeholders' demands. She implied that both vendors and shopkeepers showed reluctance in grasping technical aspects of the project, such as the vehicular study or the required road width. She also indicated that group sentiments are very strong amongst the vendors and shopkeepers. She explicitly stated that perhaps Bangalore was not ready prepared for pedestrianization, emphasising that ideas cannot be forced and a shift in mindset is necessary.

Interviewee 8: Architect from MayaPraxis

The architect has been a part of the project for the last 5 years.

Overview: The following themes were discussed with her.

   i.   The timeline of the project and the involvement of stakeholders.
   ii.   The vision and design for the project.
   iii.   The attitudes of street vendors and shopkeepers.
   iv.   Points of conflict.

Major findings: The following paragraph illustrates the major findings from this interview.

GIZ 's Green Logistics Project ran from 2017 to 2018. Following their exit, the responsibility for the Gandhi Bazaar redevelopment was transferred to DULT and BBMP. The financiers changed from GIZ to DULT to BBMP presently. Any changes in design have to be approved by DULT but BBMP is responsible for on-site decisions. The designs were opened to public consultation after GIZ exited. A point of contention amongst stakeholders during the consultation phase was that the project seemed to disrespect the culture and ethos of the place, as it was being redeveloped based on international standards. At the same time, the vendors and shopkeepers are reluctant to understand decisions taken based on technical aspects such as safety standards.

BBMP has not yet limited the number of registered vendors. The count of vendors increased from around 150 to around 190 since the start of the project. DULT and BBMP have not made specific provisions for vendors during the construction phase. Vendors adapt and occupy the street and the footpath "organically" (expressing an informal manner) during construction. The vendors possess political agency. The initial design included public spaces, but these were subsequently removed due to the vendors' intervention through the MLA.

Situation: The following paragraph discusses findings from tonal language, mannerisms and the environment.

This interview was conducted over a phone call. Therefore, only the tone of the interviewee could be discerned. The interviewee sounded frustrated with the demands of the stakeholders, made at the expense of technical aspects of the project. She also seemed quite annoyed at the stakeholders' frequent change in their demands, suggesting a lack of contentment. Moreover, she expressed irritation at the vendors' ability to exert political influence and bypass the authorities to bring about changes in decisions. She also indicated that the regulation of vendors should be the responsibility of BBMP, while the provision of space for street vendors during construction should be handled by DULT. Additionally, she seemed to perceive no issue with the vendors occupying spaces in an ad hoc manner during the construction period.

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