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Decoding Urban frictions: Analysing the Urban land conflicts between the state, the informality and the residents in Bengaluru.

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Summary

For centuries, land has been perceived as a vital asset of social, economic, and cultural importance. Such is its significance that the general perception of land systems has shifted from that of a 2-dimensional space with a certain value to an active space that fundamentally shapes human life (Soja, 2009). This evolution underscores the growing importance of land. However, rapid urbanisation, rising inequalities, land shortages, and other urbanisation factors have led to intense competition over control of these land systems. Given the importance these land systems hold, access and control over land remains a pressing issue across the Global South, with state mechanisms and market systems unable to address these shortcomings, often resulting in conflicts and tensions across this region.

These urban land conflicts often translate to what is known as "urban frictions" (Tsing, 2011), or uncomfortable interactions between various groups that compete and contest for control over land systems. This phenomenon poses a global challenge as it exposes deeper structural shortcomings, such as spatial inequalities, socio-economic disparities, governmental shortcomings, and political marginalization, among other issues. In the context of India, particularly in the city of Bengaluru, which is the focus of this research, these conflicts are increasingly common. Often called the Silicon City of India due to its IT boom, rapid urban growth driven by the sector has led to unplanned expansion and intense competition for land, frequently resulting in urban land conflicts and frictions. The situation is so serious that the city experiences an average of 12 land-related riots a day. This research suggests that urban frictions and land conflicts in India involve a complex interplay of state and non-state actors. These actors have diverse characteristics, goals, and roles.

Through three case studies on urban land conflicts, the study aims to establish a foundation for understanding and managing these issues. The study first identifies key themes related to urban land conflicts from the existing literature. These themes are then applied qualitatively in three case studies in Bangalore, each representing a different type of conflict leading to urban friction: conflicts between the state and residents, conflicts between residents and informality, and conflicts between informality and the state. By analysing discourse, case studies, interviews, legal documents, and observations, the research reveals divergent and convergent factors in these conflicts.

The findings reveal that while the conflict typologies share some common factors, they also have factors unique to each case. The influence of these factors varies across the three case studies. Understanding each type of conflict and its root causes is critical to resolving urban conflicts and promoting spatial justice. By emphasizing the need for spatial justice, it advocates for integrating conflict management strategies for urban public lands into urban planning. In doing so, it aims to improve the quality of urban life and support balanced, sustainable urban development.

Keywords: Urban land conflicts, Urban friction, Spatial justice, Informality, State, Residents.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Full form	Meaning
IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies	Educational institute
BJP	Bharathiya Janata party	Political party of India
INC	Indian national congress	Political party of India
AAP	Aam admi party	Political party of India
BBMP	Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike	Urban local body of Bengaluru
DULT	Directorate of Urban Land Transport	State agency that develops mobility plans
GIZ	Gesellschaft Für Internationale Zusammenarbeit	German consultancy firm
ULC	Urban Land conflicts	Signifies the constant conflicts over a piece of urban public land
TVC	Town vending committee	A statutory body for the street vendors at the urban local bodies in India.
AHP	Analytical hierarchy process	Analytical tool

1. Introduction

Since ancient and medieval times, land has been a fundamental asset, crucial not only for survival but also for establishing social, economic, and cultural dominance. This historical significance persists in the present, especially in the cities of the Global South, where access to land remains a critical and contested issue, underscoring its enduring importance through the ages. Often, neither state mechanisms nor market systems adequately supply land to meet the needs of all, particularly low-income populations. Over the last few centuries, the concept of land as a space has undergone significant changes as Soja (2009) notes. Land is no longer seen just as a flat, two-dimensional area with economic value; instead, it is viewed as an active force that shapes the human life. This highlights the importance of land in everyday life. As cities expand the population increases eventually leading to a more intense competition for land. This is worsened by the failures of state mechanisms, often resulting in conflicts and tensions over land control (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016).

Urban land conflicts are now a global challenge, shaped by various local factors. In Latin American cities like São Paulo and Mexico City, informal settlements often face significant injustices in land access and ownership due to land grabbing. In African cities such as Lagos and Nairobi, rapid urbanization leads to injustices. This is mainly due to the shortcomings in formal land allocation and regulatory that fail to keep pace. Similarly, in Southeast Asian cities like Jakarta and Manila, low-income communities frequently encounter injustices when land is redeveloped for high-end residential or commercial purposes (Land and Conflict, N.D). Each region experiences these conflicts and injustices in different yet interconnected ways. This highlights the global complexity of managing urban land conflicts (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016).

While there exists conflict between stakeholders over the control of urban land, their interactions often lead to "urban frictions." According to Tsing (2011), urban frictions are uneasy, unequal, and unstable interactions or responses among stakeholders within a conflict. Urban land frictions often arise as points of tension, conflict, disagreement, or competition among various urban stakeholders who aim to control and access land. This includes government bodies, non-governmental organizations, and both formal and informal sectors. Such interactions can sometimes lead to solutions and uncover deeper issues within cities. This could include issues such as unequal access to space, socio-economic inequalities, and governance problems etc.

Given this context, there is a need to ensure that land systems incorporate justice as a core component. Achieving what Soja (2009) refers to as the spatiality of justice, building on the concepts of Welsh planner Bleddyn Davies and Harvey's territorial justice, is essential. Soja (2009) defines spatial justice as focusing on the spatial aspects of justice, which include the equitable access to space, considering its social value and the opportunities it provides. Thus, these land conflicts have a profound impact on both urban authorities and the communities involved, adversely affecting the quality of urban life. Addressing these conflicts through the lens of spatial justice

is essential for improving urban living conditions. By resolving conflicts and ensuring equitable access to opportunities, spatial justice can foster more inclusive and harmonious urban environments.

Urban land conflicts in India, like in other parts of the Global South, have surged in recent years (Wehrmann, 2008; Bhowmick, 2013), leading to significant frictions. About 7.7 million people are affected by disputes over 2.5 million hectares, jeopardizing investments estimated at \$200 billion, according to a 2019 Centre for Police Research study. These disputes account for around 25% of all Supreme Court cases, with 30% related to land acquisition.

This thesis examines urban land conflicts in Bengaluru, a prime example of rapid urbanization in the Global South. Known as the "Silicon City," Bengaluru's population grew from 8.4 million in 2011 to an estimated 12.5 million by 2025 (B.PAC, August 24, 2023), with a growth rate three times faster than Karnataka. Annex 1 provides an overview of Bengaluru's layout, illustrating how the central areas have evolved into bustling hubs of trade and commerce, while the surrounding regions, stretching to the outer peripheries, have become zones of rapid immigration as people flock in search of better housing opportunities. Over time, this dynamic has significantly impacted land availability and the land market, leading to increased competition for the limited land resources. The pressure on land resources is so acute that the city reportedly experiences an average of 12 land-related riots daily (Times of India, May 19, 2022). Addressing urban land conflicts is crucial in rapidly growing cities where urbanization exacerbates tensions, highlighting the urgent need for sustainable development practices to manage these frictions effectively.

While scholars like Soja (2009) and Lefebvre (1968) often view urban frictions as conflicts between state and non-state actors, they frequently overlook the complex social diversity in places like India. By expanding the theoretical framework to categorize non-state actors into formal residents and informal entities, my thesis argues that conflicts over urban public land are not merely a state versus non-state dichotomy. The expectations from the thesis is that dynamics of conflicts between the state and residents, informality and residents, and the state and informality are unique and cannot be generalized. The findings should reveal patterns and factors specific to each type of conflict, offering valuable insights for policymakers and urban planners.

Reevaluating how we assess, manage, and mitigate these conflicts is crucial for addressing urban frictions, promoting spatial justice, and supporting balanced, sustainable urban development.

1.1 Research Objectives and Research Questions

The primary goal of this research is to advance the field of spatial justice by developing a comprehensive approach for analyzing and managing urban frictions particularly arising out of urban land conflicts. This approach is designed to identify key conflict factors and guide effective state interventions to manage these frictions. A major implication is integrating this strategy into existing planning and policymaking

processes, enabling new masterplans or policies to proactively address and reduce urban frictions. Additionally, this approach could evolve into dynamic assessments for evaluating the effectiveness of planning practices and policies in mitigating these conflicts. Ultimately, the goal is to minimize urban frictions and create a more harmonious urban environment.

1.1.1 Research questions:

Main Question:

How do urban frictions in Bengaluru reflect complexities beyond the traditional conflicts between state and non-state actors?

Sub-Questions:

1. What are the typologies of urban frictions arising from urban land conflicts in Bengaluru, and the underlying factors driving these conflicts?
2. How do these underlying factors differ in their impact and occurrence across various types of urban land conflicts, revealing a complexity that goes beyond the traditional understanding of urban friction?

1.2 Research gap and Academic relevance

Most established theoretical frameworks have shaped our understanding of urban dynamics, but they primarily focus on broad, macro-level implications. Lefebvre's (1968) concept of the "Right to the City" provides a valuable framework for understanding urban frictions. However, it lacks detailed application in local contexts, which is crucial for effective policymaking in Indian cities. Similarly, Castells (1983) examines the role of urban social movements in addressing urban frictions, his insights have not yet been fully applicable to urban planning, especially in the Indian context. Urbanists like James C. Scott (1985) and Asef Bayat (1997) stress on the importance of informality and resistance through collective identity in shaping urban environments. However, they fall short in addressing the contextual specifics of such urban dynamics. Most theories typically discuss urban conflicts or urban friction with a focus on state failures and systemic shortcomings, often neglecting the intricate details at the ground level.

Scholars like Edward Soja (2009) and Henri Lefebvre (1968) rightly study urban conflicts from a Marxist perspective. They focus on the frictions as a conflict between state and non-state actors. However, in a diverse city like Bengaluru, urban frictions go beyond the traditional understanding as a state versus non-state conflict. This highlights the need for a more detailed approach that considers the diverse and complex nature of urban conflicts in such contexts.

Thus, a significant research gaps identified in the study of urban frictions exists particularly within the context of the Global South. First, most scholars have

approached these theories from a macro-scale perspective, generalizing strategies to counter urban friction without delving into specific, actionable details. Second, the study of conflicts between state and non-state actors often overlooks the complexity of the different stakeholders.

This thesis aims to address gaps in applying the theoretical framework of urban frictions to Indian cities. It also further seeks to decode the complexities beyond the state vs non-state actor conflict taking into account the diversity of stakeholders involved in an urban land conflict. By integrating relevant theoretical perspectives and examining localized case studies, the research analyses the frictions arising out of urban land conflicts at the local level. This approach also helps achieve a better understanding of urban frictions and contributes to developing actionable strategies that benefit both academic discussions and practical urban planning world.

2. Literature review

2.1 Urban land conflicts and Urban frictions

Urban land conflicts and urban frictions through closely related, are distinct in their own ways. Urban land conflicts usually involve disputes over land ownership and land use. On the other hand, urban frictions refer to the broader tensions, interactions and issues that arise from these land conflicts.

Exploring the connection between these concepts helps us understand the complex nature of urban challenges. A table outlining the concepts related to urban frictions, urban land conflicts, and their associated elements is provided in Annex 2.

2.1.1 Linking Urban Land Conflicts and urban frictions.

Spatial justice focuses on the fair distribution of resources, opportunities, and services across different areas. It strives to address spatial inequalities and promote equitable urban development (Soja, 2010). Urban frictions often occur because of spatial injustices. When access to resources and opportunities is uneven, it creates tensions and conflicts among different urban actors (Marcuse, 2009; Harvey, 2012). For instance, marginalized communities may experience frictions with developers or government agencies over land use decisions that perpetuate socio-economic disparities.

Urban frictions from a perspective of spatial justice, serve as critical indicators of inequalities within urban environments. Urban frictions include a variety of conflicts, tensions, and interactions within urban environments, reflecting deeper socio-economic, political, and spatial dynamics. Tsing (2011) describes urban frictions as uncomfortable, unequal, and unstable interactions that can reshape urban environments and inspire innovative responses. These frictions are not merely superficial disagreements but manifestations of deeper structural issues such as spatial inequities, socio-economic disparities, and governance challenges (Brenner et al., 2009; Robinson, 2006).

The study of urban frictions builds on critical urban theory, particularly the Marxist perspectives that focuses upon conflicts over resources, power, and spatial control between state and non-state actors (Soja, 2009; Lefebvre, 1968). Urban frictions are crucial as they they expose the underlying power dynamics, governance failures, and socio-economic inequities within urban environments (Robinson, 2006; Swyngedouw, 2004). Beyond viewing them as mere disruptions, urban frictions act as crucial points of engagement that can drive social change and innovation (Tsing, 2011). By exposing injustices and conflicts, urban frictions initiate discussions and actions aimed at addressing root causes and promote more inclusive urban policies and practices (Holston, 2008; Roy, 2009).

Most urbanists view urban frictions as an uncomfortable encounter between the state and non-state actors. However, they often oversimplify the complexities of urban

dynamics in the global south. In countries like India, the diversity of stakeholders with diverse interests (Roy, 2009) and goals adds to the complexity of urban frictions.

Urban frictions often appear in various forms, with conflicts over land use and ownership. These conflicts are central to understanding urban land conflicts. These conflicts stem from the competing interests among developers, government bodies, local communities, and informal settlements (Davis, 2006; Harvey, 2012). Rapid urbanization, population changes, and economic factors also add to these conflicts. These factors lead to disputes over land ownership, eviction risks, and gentrification (Marcuse, 2009; Smith, 1996).

Given the crucial role land holds in shaping the urban dynamics, it's important to closely examine the conflicts centered around it. Understanding these conflicts are important also because they are a part of a broader struggle for spatial justice and access to resources (DeVerteuil & Klausen, 2016; Ghertner, 2015). For example, conflicts between informal settlements leading to evictions and protests are a struggle against spatial injustice caused to the informal sector. Conflicts between local residents and government agencies over new developments are a reaction to displacement or mismatch in aspirations. Hence, this analysis is important for effectively understanding urban frictions and the source of conflict.

2.1.2 Decoding the Urban Land conflicts

Van Leeuwen and Van der Haar (2016) have attempted to analyse the complexities of the urban land conflicts. Authors like Lombard and Rakodi (2016) have in fact viewed urban conflicts into 3 broad lenses: the environmental scarcity (Deininger and Castagnini, 2006) where land is viewed as an environmental component that is limited in nature. It takes into account the stress on the land due to rising population, poverty, high prices, accumulation of land holdings, bad quality of land, outdated/unjust rules and laws (Bruce et.al, 2011). Secondly, political ecology in which the literature aims to explain the underlying causes and mechanisms by which scarcity and resource competition are generated, focusing on structural factors such as globalization, social injustice, and identity. This perspective acknowledges that scarcity can be socially constructed and influenced by economic, political, and social elements (e.g., Simmons, 2005). For instance, Peluso and Lund (2011) examine the 'new frontiers of land control,' aiming to identify emerging regimes, environments, and actors that affect the ability to control access to land and the ability to claim or exclude others from it. Thirdly, the legal anthropology perspectives that stress on the state machinery and the political gambit of land distribution and conflict resolution. This categorically places the state institutions and machinery as a function of the land conflict.

Several authors have their own ways of describing and analysing the Land conflict although not directly in these categories. For instance, Appendini (2001) focuses on the state machinery and its process to examine the land systems and its conflicts in Mexico. According to Omenya and Lubaale (2012), political violence in Kenya is predominantly associated with spatial issues, such as disparities in land and housing.

Van Leeuwen and Van der Haar (2016) further suggest focusing on how people's actions contribute to land conflicts from the ground up and how local disputes can escalate into larger conflicts. They recommend examining the alliances (Kalyvas, 2003) that influence local views and actions, and how powerful groups shape the narrative around these conflicts. This perspective is key to understanding how these conflicts are connected to broader political and social processes.

Lombard (2016) encourages a structured approach to examining land conflicts.

- Firstly, recognize that land conflict is a social phenomenon. This requires to analyse the nature of the conflict and the context of the conflict.
- Secondly, recognize the actors and stakeholders, both directly and indirectly involved. It is particularly important to understand the complex interactions and relationships between these stakeholders in a conflict.

The interactions between the stakeholders also play a significant role in shaping how land conflicts develop and are resolved. This is due to the inherent diversity in stakeholders and their aspirations.

- Finally, recognize and decode the social, political, ecological, and economic perspectives of the urban context, the actors, and the institutions.

This comprehensive approach enables a deeper and more nuanced analysis of land conflicts, considering the diverse factors and stakeholders at play.

Thus, to gain a deeper understanding of these conflicts, it is important to thoroughly analyse the nature of the conflict, the stakeholders involved, and the various contributing factors. This thorough analysis is crucial for developing effective strategies for conflict resolution and sustainable land management ultimately achieving spatial justice.

For this research study, I employ the political ecology method to analyse and decode the complexities of urban land conflicts.

2.1.3 Political Ecology Approach to Evaluating Urban Land Conflicts

Using political ecology as a framework to study urban frictions in Bengaluru offers a comprehensive method to study urban conflicts. This approach analyses the land conflicts as a function of political power, socio-economic-historical factors, and ecological/spatial issues within the local context. It shifts away from a purely legal and economic point of view, and instead focuses on how social, historical, political, and ecological forces influence stakeholder's access and control over urban land.

By exploring the roles of various stakeholders, the factors contributing to the conflict, this approach sheds light on the root causes of conflict and spatial inequality. This approach also further sheds light on the complexities of urban land conflicts that traditional analyses often overlook.

2.1.4 Urban public lands

Public land, also called as state or government land, is owned and managed by various public authorities. These can include central, regional, or local governments, as well as parastatal organizations. These authorities can include government ministries, departments, local governments, corporations, commissions, or other public sector agencies (Home, 2009; Eidelman, 2016). As Lin and Cheng (2016) state, "public land is an asset that belongs to all citizens," and it is the responsibility of the public sector to ensure that these lands serve the public interest. Public land ownership allows the public sector to act as a developer within the market (Simons, 1994). It is crucial to ensure the efficient and equitable use of public land, as optimizing its use is inherently in the public's best interest. Basing off an International association for the study of common property in Berkeley, California, the common/public land generally included the following: land trusts and limited equity cooperatives, open spaces, state's housing area, urban public property, military bases etc.

In the case of India, the public lands are a matter of competition. Public lands in the country are particularly susceptible to encroachments and private expropriation due to the lack of legal recognition of tenure compared to private lands (P. C. a. S. Singh, 2022). This vulnerability is further worsened by improper boundaries, costly and incomplete enforcement, and overlapping land and property laws. These public lands are also subject to political manoeuvring, where politicians exploit the situation to support the less fortunate by overriding court rules and undermining authorities further complicating the matter (Mukherjee, Mukherjee, & Millennium Post, 2019). To address this issue, the Supreme Court of India delivered a landmark judgement on January 28, 2011, establishing a mechanism for preserving common resources nationwide. In the case of Jagpal Singh & Ors vs State of Punjab & Ors, the court acknowledged the socio-economic importance of common lands. It also further directed state governments to develop schemes for the removal of encroachments (P. C. a. S. Singh, 2022).

2.1.5 ULC in the Global South

Urban land conflicts in the Global South are shaped by a complex interplay of socio-economic, political, historical, and ecological factors. Rapid urbanization and demographic shifts in cities across Latin America, Africa, and Asia heighten competition for land. The historical legacies of colonialism and uneven development aggravate disparities in land ownership and access. Governance issues, corruption, and the influence of informal land markets further complicate urban land management. Additionally, ecological and spatial factors, such as rising land prices and land shortages due to urban expansion can also lead to intense competition. All of these factors potentially could lead to land conflicts.

The table below provides a detailed analysis of the various factors contributing to urban land conflicts in the Global South.

	Socio-economical	Historical	Political	Ecological
Urban land conflict	<p>Economic inequality (United Nations Development Programme, 2017)</p> <p>Insecurity of tenure (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Local issue resolving mechanism (Land and conflict, ND)</p> <p>Lure of valuable resources (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Perceptions of exclusion (Celiku & World Bank, 2017)</p> <p>Population growth (Kassa, S. A., 2020)</p> <p>Restricted access to land markets (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Sense of collective identity (Pearsall et al., 2020)</p> <p>Social cohesion (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010)</p> <p>Vulnerable population (IPCC, 2014; Field & Barros, 2014)</p>	<p>Asymmetric landownership ("Land and Conflict," ND)</p> <p>Historical grievances (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016).</p> <p>History of conflict (Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016)</p> <p>History of evictions & demolitions</p> <p>Land-grabbing practices (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Political marginalization (Baranyi and Weitzner, 2001)</p> <p>The conflict-proneness of land governance systems (Leach, Mearns, & Scoones, 1997)</p>	<p>Abuse of power (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Access to political power (Celiku & World Bank, 2017)</p> <p>Administrative unwillingness to comply with the rule of law (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>Cooperation and coordination within and between different government agencies (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Corruption (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Insufficient, inaccurate & missing survey data/land records (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Judicial incapacity (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>Lack of conflict resolution mechanisms (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016).</p> <p>Normative dissonance (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Procedural irregularities (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>Recognition of rights between occupiers and government agencies</p> <p>State expropriation and Hegemony (Davies, 2013)</p> <p>Unstable governance (Singh et al., 2021)</p>	<p>Quantity of users (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010)</p> <p>Rapid land-use change (Mach et al., 2019)</p> <p>Spatial Inequalities in access to land (policy and planning) (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016)</p> <p>Rising land prices (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Spatial Imageability (Pearsall et al., 2020)</p> <p>Land scarcity (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016)</p>

Table 1 . A table of the factors leading to urban land conflicts in the Global South context, with their relevance to these conflicts detailed in ANNEX 3. Source: Author

This study aims decode the complexities of urban frictions resulting from urban land conflicts in the Global South.

The study explores the influence of these factors across different types of conflicts such as state vs residents, informality vs residents, and state vs informality in the city of Bengaluru. The goal is to decode these complexities to help navigate and manage urban frictions effectively, ultimately promoting spatial justice.

This thesis aims to explore and understand the complex dynamics of urban frictions caused by land conflicts in Bengaluru. By focussing beyond the traditional state versus non-state dichotomy, it seeks to uncover the factors driving these urban frictions, particularly in conflicts over urban public land. While the role of the state in these conflicts is recognized, the study expands the concept of non-state stakeholders to include both formal residents and informal entities. The analysis examines how conflicts arise among these three key stakeholders, the state, informal entities, and formal residents, all of who are competing for control over urban public land.

The diagram uses red arrows to show stakeholders' claims over urban public land. Each triangle in the diagram represents a conflict between the stakeholders while trying to lay claim over the urban public land. The triangle also denotes the various factors driving these conflicts. The grey arrows represent the resultant frictions between the two stakeholders who are in the conflict whilst laying claim over the public land. The goal is to demonstrate how a combination of various factors form a dynamic uniquely influencing each of these three conflicts. When these factors show differences in intensity, occurrence, and absence across various land conflicts, it will demonstrate that generalizing urban frictions as merely state versus non-state conflicts is inadequate. This is due to both the variation in how factors influence conflicts and the diversity of stakeholders, particularly non-state actors like residents and informal sectors. This will underscore the need to expand the traditional view of non-state actors to include residents and informal sectors.

By moving beyond the state versus non-state framework, this approach aims to provide a deeper understanding of urban frictions. By doing so, it seeks to address the challenges to achieve spatial justice.

2.3 Understanding the stakes and the actors of the society:

India's society is fundamentally collectivist, focusing on social bonds and mutual support during adversity. Unlike Western cultures, which often practice individualism, Indian society focuses on the collective goals and needs of the community (Maral, 2020). This emphasis on community support is crucial for navigating challenges. Understanding this collectivist framework is essential for analyzing urban land conflicts in India. In my thesis, I examine three key actors within this context: the residents and the informal community, reflecting the collectivist ethos, and the state, representing the government and its agencies.

2.3.1. The state:

The state is typically defined as an organized political authority responsible for law enforcement, public order, services, and resource management (Heywood, 2013). This thesis uses the term state for all the state's parastatal agencies, local and non-local political actors. This includes the Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BBMP),

the state government, the central government, and all other agencies operating within a quasi-federal structure (Arora et al., 2018).

A common theme in the state's vision for Bengaluru is the drive for world-class infrastructure. All major political parties competing for control of the city promise such advancements, reflecting Ananya Roy's concept of "worlding cities," where urban areas are developed to become influential global centers (Roy, 2011; Ong, 2011; Bonakdar & Audirac, 2020). The state often implements these worlding visions through parastatal bodies like the BBMP, Directorate of Urban Land Transport (DULT), and Karnataka Infrastructure and Development Board (KIADB) (Idiculla, 2010).

A widely established pattern is that the state plays a key role, imposing worlding visions to reshape urban forms and justify its actions, often suppressing local resistance, which frequently leads to conflicts (Ghertner, 2011; Goldman, 2011; Ong, 2011). The table below presents the ideologies and visions of the major political parties in Bengaluru, further confirming the push for worlding visions.

What parties promise for Bengaluru

	Congress	BJP	AAP
Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Create Mega Bengaluru Region ■ Establish Mega Bengaluru Planning Committee ■ Enact a new BBMP law, bringing all service providers such as water supply and sewage, transport, housing, power and development authorities under a single agency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Establish 'State Capital Region' of Bengaluru ■ A dashboard to help citizens and officials access local information related to governance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Immediate elections to BBMP, formation of BMPC ■ Recommendations of the Bengaluru Restructuring Committee shall be taken up for implementation ■ Property tax to be abolished ■ 20% ward budget to ward committees
Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Construct North - South and South - East elevated corridors ■ Construct tunnel roads in CBD areas under PPP model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Establish a gigabit optical fibre network along the lines of the network laid in Germany and Japan, for high internet speeds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The new Bangalore Infrastructure Development Agency will be in charge of all infrastructure work in the city ■ Peripheral Ring Road will be developed immediately
Mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ To complete all ongoing metro work in one year. Strive to get approval and complete Phase 3 and 4 in next 5 years ■ Create seamless integration of Namma Metro, suburban rail and all public transport ■ Increase BMTC fleet strength to 10,000 ■ Free travel for women on buses ■ Within 2 years 50% of all buses in State to be electric buses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Establish a world-class multi-modal transport hub "Concorde Bangalore", similar to WTC transportation hub, New York ■ Create a unified transit network, inspired by the system in London. It will include integrated travel card and a ticket-booking app 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Bus fleet of BMTC will be increased to 12,000 ■ Bus lanes on all BIG10 routes and ORR ■ Free bus travel for women

Figure 2: A comparative table of the manifestos of the 3 major political parties of Bengaluru striving to create world class city.

Source: (Bharadwaj, 2023a)

Congress will give world class infrastructure to 'Bengaluru': PM

Figure 3. A poll promise made by the Indian national congress in 2013 before they came to power in the same year.
Source: (Ians, 2013)

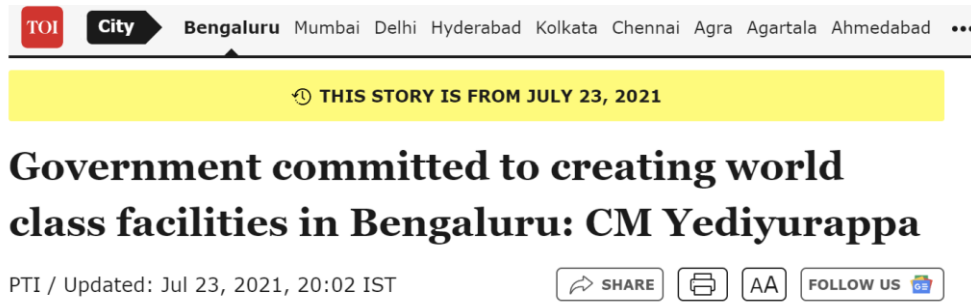


Figure 4. The head of the state of Karnataka announcing his visions for the city in 2021
Source: (Pti, 2021)



Figure 5. The website of KIADB promoting the concept of world class infrastructure.
Source: KIADB Website, N,D.



Figure 6. The state partnering up with world design organisation in order to promote the brand Bengaluru image.
Source: The Hindu Bureau, (2023)

Bengaluru To Be A 'Global City': Karnataka CM Shares Vision For Transformation of City

Karnataka Chief Minister Siddaramaiah unveils the 15th consecutive budget, outlining a vision to transform Bengaluru into a global city. Emphasising sectors like IT, BT, Artificial Intelligence, Robotics, Semi-Conductors, and Automobiles, the government introduces "Brand Bengaluru" with reforms aimed at enhancing living standards, reducing traffic congestion, and attracting investors.

 TN City Desk | Updated Feb 16, 2024, 05:28 PM IST



Figure 7. The head of the state of Karnataka announcing his visions for the city in 2024. Source: Times now news Desk (2024)

It can be inferred that the city has often witnessed a political battle over who gets the right to remake its image to a world class city. The state's objective to promote Bengaluru as a brand by upgrading it with world-class amenities, aesthetic spaces, and cleanliness is a strategy to place the city on the world map.

2.3.2. The informality:

Informality, often perceived as everything outside formal systems, is more complex than this simple definition. According to Roy (2011), urban informality can be viewed through two main lenses. The first perspective sees it as a consequence of over-urbanization and inequitable growth. This view is also supported by Davis (2006) and Gilbert (2007), who link it to financial crises and political decisions that aggravate informality. Perlman (2004) expands this by describing the "reality of marginality," where the poor face systemic exclusion.

The second perspective views urban informality as a way of life. According to Al-Sayyad (2004) and Bayat (2007), this condition is prevalent in many developing countries, emerging from local living conditions. Bayat (2007) describes it as involving "flexibility, pragmatism, negotiation, and survival". This perspective sees informality as a strategic response and adaptation by the marginalized communities to systemic issues.

Form of informality	Cause of informality	Link to formality	Main scholars
1. Poverty-driven	Poor skills, education, and resources	No link	Hart, 1973 Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000 Sethuraman 1981
2. Exploitation-driven	Market failure	Exploitative	Banks et al., 2019; Portes et al. 1989
3. Legal-driven	Government failure	Informal as entrepreneurial	De Soto, 1989
4. Voluntary-driven	Choice	Free movement	Chen, 2012; Maloney, 2004
5. Hybrid (continuum)	Efficiency and effectiveness	Combinations	Hall, 2005

Table 2. Types of informality.

Source. Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Erasmus University Rotterdam, (2024).

In the Global South, especially in India, urban informality plays a vital role due to the large number of informal settlements in the major cities (Eisenack et al., 2014). India with a population of 1.4 Billion, depends heavily on the informal sector which plays a significant role in the national GDP. This highlights the economic importance of informal sector. The formal sector often fails to meet the needs of the rapidly growing urban population. As a result, many people rely on informality, which offers more flexibility, and opportunities compared to the formal economy (Jha, 2018). This highlights the crucial role urban informality plays in supporting millions of lives across India's expanding cities.

Bengaluru is experiencing a rapid economic boom, resulting in a rise in informal living. This trend is majorly because of the city's shortcomings to accommodate the growing influx of people (Patel, Furlan, & Grosvald, 2021). According to the Karnataka Slum Development Board, there are 2,804 slum areas in the state, with 597 located in Bengaluru. These informal settlements house approximately 405,000 people, representing 22.56% of the state's urban population. The residents, mainly the urban poor, face harsh living conditions with limited access to essential services and infrastructure, often relying on the informal economy for employment due to its low entry barriers.

The urban poor receive scant support from the government and civil society and possess limited bargaining power (Krishna, Sriram, and Prakash, 2014). Their employment often includes roles such as fast-food stall owners/workers, construction workers, domestic helps, drivers, and rag pickers, all varying in terms of stability and security of employment. Street vendors, a common sight and a symbol of informal business in Bengaluru, face unique challenges. According to Patel (2021), these vendors encounter harassment from the public and authorities, threats of eviction, demands for bribes by officials, financial liabilities, and a lack of infrastructure to support their businesses (Roever, 2014). Accidents are also a common risk.

The state's efforts to support informal vendors have been inadequate. In 1999, the BBMP, formerly BMP (Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike), announced the formation of city-wide hawking zones, but no laws or regulations were actually implemented. Naveen and Hampole (2004) noted that neither the vendors nor the authorities were aware of these hawking zones or the necessary regulations. Consequently, vendors set up businesses in areas they deem viable, often leading to traffic and safety issues that disturb the lives of nearby residents (Patel et al., 2021). These conflicts with authorities and local residents further exacerbate the challenges faced by Bengaluru's informal economy.

THIS STORY IS FROM JANUARY 27, 2024

Footpath vendor assaults member of Church St assn

TNN / Updated: Jan 27, 2024, 07:23 IST

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A 23-year-old roadside vendor from Telangana, Himmat, allegedly assaulted a 45-year-old member of the Church Street Welfare Association after being asked to vacate the footpath. Himmat runs a pushcart business near a supermarket on Church Street, despite repeated warnings from Chaluvaraju, a member of the association.

Himmat claims to have permission from BBMP and police to run his business on Church Street. But Chaluvaraju insisted that he has no permission. "Authorities concerned have to vacate footpath vendors from the street," he added.

Figure 8. One of the many conflicts in the city is over the spaces that the formal dwellers claim to have the sole right upon.

Source: Tnn (2024b)

THE NEW INDIAN EXPRESS

Bengaluru

Street vendors stage protest after 'assault' by traffic police

Tension prevailed in front of the Shivajinagar traffic police station after a group of street vendors staged a protest alleging that the traffic policemen assaulted them.

Updated on: 02 Sep 2018, 7:21 am · 1 min read

WhatsApp Facebook Share

BENGALURU: Tension prevailed in front of the Shivajinagar traffic police station after a group of street vendors staged a protest alleging that the traffic policemen assaulted them. The police, however, said the vendors have encroached upon a footpath here and, based on a court order, the police asked them to stay away from the footpath.

Figure 9: The actors are in a constant tussle over the space.

Source: The New Indian Express, (2018)

To counter the conflicts, the vendors of Bengaluru have a number of active communities at various levels of the region. For instance, a community group called the "Karnataka State Raste Badi Vyaparigala Maha Mandala" (Karnataka state's street vendors union) or the Federation of Bengaluru District Street Vendors Union (Deccan Herald 2023) are regularly very vocal for the cause of the street vendors during evictions or protests. They are further supported by activists and political barons who view them as a stable vote bank and forget them right as after the elections (Naveen and Hampole, 2004).

2.3.3. The residents/formal community:

In my thesis, "residents" or "formal community" refers to those adhering to Bengaluru's established systems. Bengaluru, Asia's fastest-growing city, has seen a surge in population due to its economic prosperity, boasting the highest GDP among Indian cities and a significant number of wealthy residents, including 10,000 millionaires and 60,000 super-rich individuals (India Seminar, N.D.). The city's residents are primarily concentrated in the central business district, known for its high density and mix of residential and commercial properties, and along major roads in the northern and southern regions, which are crucial for transportation and connectivity.

As Bengaluru is growing, resident activism has risen. The residents are increasingly organizing themselves through Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) to tackle neighbourhood issues and push for better infrastructure/services (India Seminar, N.D.). RWAs are considered crucial for fostering community engagement, coordinating events, and enhancing living standards. Civic activists also use social media platforms like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter to reach out about the concerns to the official.. For example, the JP Nagar Resident Welfare Association actively uses these platforms to host discussions and raise awareness about community matters. They also present the residents proactive role in neighbourhood maintenance (JP Nagar Resident's Welfare and Cultural Association, N.D.).

In my thesis, I explore urban frictions in Bengaluru by examining conflicts among three key actors: the state (government and its agencies), the formal community (residents/users of official systems), and the informal community (those operating outside formal structures). This approach highlights how various factors, divergent interests, and competing claims over urban public land leads to friction among these groups, revealing the complexities of their interactions.

3. Research design and Methodology

3.1 Research methodology

The research methodology is divided into three main phases. Each phase is designed to address the research questions and decode the dynamics of urban land conflicts.

The first phase involves conducting a comprehensive literature review through the lens of political ecology. While not traditionally considered a method, this phase plays a vital role in identifying the factors that trigger urban land conflicts. Political ecology is chosen as the framework because it offers insights into the complex interplay of environmental, historical, social, and political forces that drive the conflict. This framework forms the foundation of the research. The process also includes collecting academic papers, policy reports, and case studies. A thematic analysis is then carried out to identify recurring themes, driving factors and examine the roles of the state, formal residents, and informal groups.

In the second phase, the research shifts to analysing three case studies of urban public land conflicts in Bengaluru. This phase examines the complex dynamics of these conflicts. Through a mix of case study analysis and qualitative methods, it aligns the findings with the themes identified in the literature review. Data will be gathered through semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, such as government officials, local residents, and informal vendors. Observations will also be used to source additional data. The analysis will involve a mix of case studies, discourses, interviews, and observations. This approach aims to uncover the factors driving the conflicts and the resulting urban frictions. Finally, a stakeholder analysis will be conducted to map the frictions between different conflict actors.

The third phase examines the intensity, variation, and presence of factors contributing to urban land conflicts across different typologies. To do this, the study will use the Multi-Criteria Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) (Saaty, 1988). Experts will be interviewed to evaluate the importance of the factors identified in the case studies. AHP will then help rank these factors and assign weights to show how these factors influence each type of conflict uniquely. This analysis is crucial for determining if urban frictions extend beyond the traditional state versus non-state dichotomy. By incorporating expert insights, this phase will provide a clearer understanding of the complex dynamics involved. A table will then present the factors identified from the literature review alongside the three types of case studies. This will highlight the presence and influence of each factor, revealing the differences within each conflict type. This approach will hint at the need to expand the traditional understanding of urban frictions.

This research aims to provide a deeper understanding of urban frictions caused by land conflicts by a combination of methods. It explores these frictions using literature review, case studies, stakeholder analysis, and AHP multi-criteria analysis. By incorporating data from journals, interviews, observations, and supported by expert opinions, this approach seeks to decode the complexities of urban conflicts and their

frictions. The findings will further guide urban planners and policymakers in managing, navigating and mitigating urban frictions more effectively.

3.1 The case studies and their relevance to the research question.

The detailed description of the case studied can be found in Annex 4.

Type of Urban Friction	Case Study	Relevance to Research Questions
Friction between State and Residents	<i>"An attempt to westernize Gandhi Bazaar"</i>	Highlights the conflict over public land use, where state-led modernization and pedestrianization initiatives are imposed with little regard for the needs of residents and business owners. These groups resist changes that disrupt their routines and economic interests, exposing a struggle over who controls urban space.
Friction between Informality and Residents	<i>"Frazer Town has had enough"</i>	Examines the tensions as residents, often motivated by self-interest, push back against informal vendors who occupy public spaces. This resistance reflects deeper issues of exclusivity and the residents' reluctance to share urban spaces with economically vulnerable groups.
Friction between Informality and the State	<i>"Reclaim Footpath" and Other Eviction Drives</i>	Investigates the state's heavy-handed attempts to reclaim public land, often at the expense of vulnerable informal vendors and settlements. This case highlights the state's authoritarian approach to urban governance and its prioritization of order over the livelihoods of marginalized communities.

Table 3: Summary of the 3 case studies signifying the types of urban friction.
Source: Author.

Together, these case studies offer a detailed exploration of urban frictions in Bengaluru, focusing on conflicts over claiming urban public land among the state, residents, and informal dwellers. By highlighting how different stakeholders navigate and negotiate competing interests, these cases offer valuable insights into the complexities this research aims to address and understand.

3.2 Operationalisation table

CONCEPT CONSTRUCT	DIMENSION	ASPECT	OPERATIONAL DEFINITION	METHOD/ INSTRUMENT.	SCALE/ UNIT	
Urban frictions	Understanding the factors driving the various types of conflict.	State Resident Conflict	Identifying the themes of the factors leading to a conflict between the state and the residents	Literature review, Case study analysis to explore the themes via various discourses, interviews, and observations.	NA	
		State Informal Conflict	Identifying the themes of the factors leading to a conflict between the state and the informality.			
		Resident informal Conflict	Identifying the themes of the factors leading to a conflict between the residents and the informality.			
	Analysing the stakeholders	Analysing the conflict between the various stakeholders	Mapping the stakeholders and their relationship with one another.	Stakeholder analysis through interviews, discourses and observations.	NA	
		Examination of how the occurrence of factors contributing to urban frictions varies across three types of conflicts.	State Resident Conflict	The extent to which the identified factors contribute to the conflict between the state and the residents.	Multi criteria analysis using Analytical hierarchy method.	Likert scale (1-5)
			State Informal Conflict	The extent to which the identified factors contribute to the conflict between the state and the informality.		Likert scale (1-5)
	Informal Resident Conflict		The extent to which the identified factors contribute to the conflict between the informality and the Residents.	Likert scale (1-5)		

Table 4: Operationalisation table.

Source: Author.

3.3 Research matrix

RESEARCH QUESTION	OBJECTIVES	DATA REQUIRED	DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION METHOD	DATA ANALYSIS
What are the typologies of urban frictions arising from urban land conflicts in Bengaluru, and the underlying factors driving these conflicts?	To understand and explore the three types of urban frictions through a detailed case study analysis.	Political manifestos, Themes and factors, Stakeholder aspirations, News reports, Current Policies and Regulations.	Political manifestos of parties (particularly BJP, INC, and JDS), BBMP policies, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, news reports, TV clippings, academic journals, and government websites.	Case study analysis
	To analyze the themes and factors contributing to the types of conflicts by generating a comprehensive analytical table using a political ecology framework.	Stakeholder aspirations, envisioning stories, issues, points of conflict discussed through news reports.		
How do these underlying factors differ in their impact and occurrence across various types of urban land conflicts, revealing a complexity that goes beyond the traditional understanding of urban friction?	To map the stakeholders and their conflicts through a stakeholder analysis.	Stakeholder aspirations, envisioning stories, issues, points of conflict discussed through news reports.	Expert surveys	Stakeholder analysis
	To understand the variation in occurrence, intensity of the factors influencing the urban land conflicts in Bengaluru.	Factors that contribute to the conflicts, Expert opinions on each of the factor and its influence on the conflict		

Table 5. Research matrix with the data requirements and analysis.
Source: Author.

3.4 Data Collection Method

The research uses a structured approach to gather data on urban frictions in Bengaluru. It examines how different conflict factors contribute to various types of conflicts. The goal is to explore the complexity of these frictions beyond traditional views.

The methodology includes diverse sources such as political documents, news reports, and interviews to conduct detailed case study analyses. These analyses examine discourses to perform comprehensive stakeholder analysis, revealing the nuances of conflicts among stakeholders. Factors identified through the analysis are evaluated by experts to determine their influence on each type of conflict, aiming to construct a nuanced understanding of what’s driving these conflicts.

The identified tools are considered optimal for addressing the research questions due to their structured and comprehensive nature:

a. Case Study and Stakeholder Analysis:

These tools are essential for examining the ground reality, as they help analyze and comprehend the impact of different factors on the case, the roles of various stakeholders, and their conflicts or alliances. Data is gathered from various sources, capturing diverse perspectives and factors contributing to urban conflicts:

- **Political Manifestos:** Documents from major political parties like BJP, INC, and AAP provide insights into political influences.
- **News Reports:** Articles from reputable publications such as Citizen Matters, Times News Network, Deccan Herald, and The Hindu help identify overarching themes and factors.
- **Government Websites:** Official policy releases and legislations, such as the Street Vendors Act and DULT survey outcomes, provide essential context.
- **Observations and Interviews:** On-site observations and interviews with primary and secondary sources offer firsthand insights into stakeholder perspectives.

This comprehensive data collection captures the multifaceted nature of urban conflicts, ensuring thorough analysis.

Case Studies and Interviews	Data Collection Method	Data Sources
CASE STUDY A: State-Resident Conflict	Mix of discourse and qualitative methods through mainly secondary data collection.	Interviews and data from mostly Secondary data sources*, including news articles, policy documents, and academic studies
CASE STUDY B: State-Informality Conflict	Mix of discourse and qualitative methods through primary data collection.	Semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, including street vendors and state executives; Observations.

CASE STUDY C: Informality-Resident Conflict	Mix of discourse and qualitative methods through primary data collection.	Semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, including residents and street vendors; /Observations
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Table 6: Table highlighting the case studies and the data collection methods.

Source: Author.

**To avoid reigniting tensions in the recently stabilized conflict region, research for this case study was mostly sourced from secondary sources.*

Interviewee	Type of conflict	Summary
R1 Street vendor	Case C: Informality vs State	Insights into the challenges faced by informal vendors dealing with state eviction efforts and the lack of support except during elections
R2 Ward Ranger	Case C: Informality vs State	Understanding the state's perspective in combating informality and the constant tension with vendors.
R3 Street vendor	Case C: Informality vs State	Discussion on the daily struggles with evictions and bribery, and the mixed relationships with local businesses and residents
R4 Resident	Case B: Resident vs Informality	Resident's perspective on the negative impact of street vendors on community aesthetics and property values, advocating for designated vending zones.
R5 Street vendor	Case B: Resident vs Informality	Economic and cultural significance of the informal food melas and the severe impact of its ban on informal vendors.
R6 Street vendor	Case B: Resident vs Informality	Struggles faced by informal vendors post-eviction and their fight for fair treatment and proper rehabilitation.
R7 Street vendor	Case C: Informality vs State	Experience of sudden eviction, the resulting hardships, and the inadequate support to tackle the issues.
R8 Resident	Case B: Resident vs Informality	Voiced concerns about hygiene and cleanliness problems caused by street vendors, and the competition for local resources.

Table 7. List of Interviewees and their relevance to the research.

Source: Author.

b. Multi criteria analysis and Analytical hierarchy process (Saaty,1988)

Expert and stakeholder opinions are solicited from urban planners, policymakers, and individuals with extensive experience in conflict regions (stakeholders) to evaluate the factors contributing to urban frictions. Surveys are conducted with these professionals to gauge their perspectives on the impact of different factors on urban conflicts. This

approach ensures that the analysis benefits from expert insights, providing a nuanced understanding of urban environments.

3.5 Analysis Methodology

Method	Description
Case Study Analysis	Detailed examination of the 3 specific cases of urban friction caused by land conflicts. Analyses political manifestos, stakeholder goals, and current policies to identify main themes and factors driving these conflicts.
Stakeholder Analysis	Assesses conflicting interests among stakeholders through news reports and stakeholder narratives. Helps map out points of conflict and understand relationships between different actors.
Multi-Criteria Analysis	Evaluates opinions on factors contributing to conflicts using data from survey of 12 local experts. Builds a comprehensive understanding of the presence/absence and influence of these factors on the types of urban land conflicts.

Table 8. Analytical methods and their description.

Source: Author.

By combining data from different sources and using various analytical methods, this research aims to provide a clearer understanding of urban frictions in Bengaluru.

3.6 Reliability and validity

To ensure the reliability of the research, triangulation was carried out. This involved cross-referencing case findings with observations, existing literature and news articles. The approach was supported by a thorough literature review that established a solid conceptual framework. The case study benefited from various sources that included academic literature, journals, and articles. This also helped minimize potential biases.

Additionally, interviews with experts as a part of AHP multi criteria analysis were conducted to validate the research and provide additional perspectives. This helped reduce the risk of bias. Aligning the conceptual framework with these findings further strengthened the validity and reliability of the research outcomes. This ensured that the study's conclusions were well-supported and credible.

3.7 Possible limitations to data collection

This study uses qualitative research methods like case studies and stakeholder analysis, relying heavily on purposive sampling. The case study analysis draws from various sources, including grey literature, media outlets, and newspapers. These sources might have political biases. Interviews could also be affected by the interviewees personal interests in the conflict, which might introduce bias.

A significant challenge encountered during the research was the election period in May and June, which led to a reduction in the availability of informal workers and government officials. Additionally, because the research focuses on conflicts, many individuals were hesitant to participate, fearing that their involvement might either harm their prospects or worsen the conflicts. Specifically, many informal vendors refused interviews due to concerns about worsening their situation.

Furthermore, much of the discourse occurred in regional languages, including Hindi, Kannada, and some Telugu, which introduced the risk of information loss during translation and potentially impacted the overall research quality.

4. Results, analysis and discussion

4.1 Case study A: Friction between the State and the Residents- "An attempt to westernize Gandhi Bazaar"

The drivers in urban land conflicts between the state and the residents are complex and multifaceted and addressing these drivers is crucial to resolving conflicts due to their inherent volatility (World Bank, 2017). In Bengaluru, a city experiencing a significant population surge (B.pac,2023), the redevelopment of Gandhi Bazaar highlights several key themes and tensions. Annex 5 provides insights into both the state and residents' perspectives on the conflict.



Figure 10 Gandhi Bazaar Street Market Re-Design, Bengaluru.
Source: Mayapraxix website, n.d.



Figure 11 Gandhi Bazaar Street Market Re-Design, Bengaluru.
Source: Mayapraxix website, n.d.

Gandhi Bazaar, in the heart of Bengaluru, is a bustling area with little vacant land (99 acres, 2024). The state's redevelopment plans have sparked significant discontent among residents and traders, who feel the project's goals are unclear and unnecessary. They argue that the redevelopment is devaluing their resources and businesses, creating economic and livelihood risks. Reports indicate traders have already suffered business losses of 50% to 80% (Reddy, 2024), deepening frustrations. The President of the Basavangudi Traders' Association expressed widespread concerns, noting that the number of 'to-let' boards in the area had surged,

and businesses have suffered due to the street entrances being dug up (Bangalore Mirror, 2023).

*“I am moving out of the Area, My bank just incurred a loss of 100 crore rupees just in the last 6 months”- **Local Bank manager, (Times Now, 2023)***

With the state’s aim to restrict vehicular access and completely emphasise pedestrianism, the residents strongly feel violated to this move.

*“If all the entrances to the street are blocked, there will be no footfall since we are not selling any exquisite items here, only regular fruits and flowers. With that, people will naturally refuse to use pay parking and walk long distances for their daily groceries,”- **member of the Vendors’ Association (Citizen matters,2023)***

A key driver of the land conflict is restricted access to land markets, with prices reaching Rs 40,000 per square foot—eight times higher than the regional average (99 acres, 2024). The redevelopment project restricts residents' and traders' access to valuable commercial spaces, intensifying skepticism about the state’s intentions. Residents and traders are particularly resentful because the state plans to formalize spaces for informal vendors in front of their shops, increasing competition and economically hurting established businesses. This move exacerbates feelings of being sidelined in favor of newcomers. Additionally, Bengaluru’s rapid population growth (B.pac, 2023) adds pressure to the already limited urban spaces, heightening competition for land and resources (Kassa, 2020). The influx strains existing infrastructure, making it harder for long-time residents to sustain their livelihoods. While new infrastructure may be introduced, residents fear that the formalization of street vending will devalue their properties and businesses, driving significant conflict and prompting doubts about the project’s intent. *A resident trader questioned the state’s plans, noting,*

“They have around 80 extra pillars being put up; who will they give them to?” (Deccan Herald, 2022).

Another resident trader and secretary of the Basavanagudi Heritage Residential Welfare Forum commented, noting,

“There are more than a hundred buildings on the stretch. People have been living here for ages. The vending kiosks will affect existing vendors and help outsiders establish their business.” (Times of India, 2022).

They added that the redevelopment, initially planned to cost Rs 4 crore, now threatens the market's essence with white topping and new pillars. They warned that the

proposed design will spoil the traditional and cultural aesthetics of the market, causing the loss of cherished community memories (Times of India, 2022).

This sentiment reflects the broader issue of maintaining a community's identity amidst rapid urban changes (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010; Pearsall et al., 2020). The residents fear that the state's actions could weaken the spatial imageability, potentially eroding cultural landmarks, disrupting familiar navigation, and weakening social cohesion. Ultimately, this could diminish the area's unique identity and sense of community as they argue.

The state's vision too, as residents believe increases the economic vulnerability of local traders and residents, threatening their livelihoods and financial stability making it a key driver to the conflict (IPCC, 2014; Field & Barros, 2014). The fear of losing their primary source of income makes residents more resistant to changes that they perceive as detrimental to their economic well-being. A resident trader highlights this concern illustrating the practical challenges traders face in adapting to the new changes imposed by the state:

“Why would a trader run his business in a rented shop when a permanent facility is created on the footpath?” (DHNS & DHNS, 2023).

The conflict stems from a strong perception of exclusion, with residents and their associations claiming they were left out of the planning process. For instance, The residents claim that the decision to reduce the road width to 7 metres was done without consulting them. (Bangalore Mirror, 2024). One resident who is a member of the Heritage Basavanagudi Residents Welfare Forum, also criticized the project's participatory claims, stating,

“The people they spoke to during the planning process are not even from Gandhi Bazaar. The signatures they show were from a meeting five years ago unrelated to this project. We were not involved at any stage” (Bangalore Mirror, 2023).

The state's decision to transfer the project to an international firm is viewed by many as an attempt to legitimize the process. Critics argue that such projects often involve limited public engagement, primarily in later phases. This exclusion undermines trust and fuels resistance against the state (Celiku & World Bank, 2017). The residents also highlight the issue of Political marginalization, which is another key theme, as residents feel their voices are not being heard by the authorities. Multiple traders and resident vendors claim to have voiced their opinion out but to no avail. This marginalization is exacerbated by procedural irregularities and the administrative unwillingness to comply with the rule of law, as evidenced by the residents' frustration as well as the state's very own departments unhappy with the lack of transparency and accountability from government agencies (Cprindia, 2022).

Bengaluru traffic police raise red flag over narrow Gandhi Bazaar Main Road

There are concerns over the handling of emergency situations if a vehicle breaks down or if there is a congestion

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Figure 12. The state's very own department flagged the project displaying the lack of coordination between the agencies.

Source: ([The Hindu](#), 2023)

The Joint Commissioner (Traffic) in Bengaluru expressed concerns about the narrowed road, stating, "With the road reduced to two lanes in the middle, there are worries about handling emergencies and congestion." A senior official added that their approval was sought only retroactively for white topping, not for narrowing the road. Additionally, a local resident criticized the project's transparency, pointing out that objections were ignored and warning that the narrowing of the road could lead to increased congestion and pose risks in emergencies. (The Hindu, 2023) Many other residents have joined in opposing the state's actions, citing a lack of accountability and violation of official procedures. An advisor to the Basavanagudi Traders' and Residents' Association expressed frustration, stating,

"We don't know what they are doing and how. Last weekend, we went to the police station with a complaint and the BBMP engineer promised to bring the project plan to us in a day. It's been more than two days and not a word from him yet" (Athavale, 2023).

"Due to the project, there has been an increase in accidents and pollution. Officials are violating rules as per the court order" (Member of the Heritage Basavanagudi Residential Welfare Forum Bangalore Mirror, 2023).

The conflict is exacerbated by the nature of land governance systems, which often lack effective conflict resolution mechanisms (Leach, Mearns, & Scoones, 1997; Land and Conflict, ND). Residents claim they have consistently voiced their dissent and disapproval of the state's actions through formal channels, but these efforts have made little impact. This high perception of exclusion and the lack of effective conflict resolution mechanisms further illustrate the frictional nature of the context. For instance, many traders, landowners, residents, and independent activists have protested the state's actions for ten years, yet their voices have not been heard, and the conflict remains unresolved. The normative dissonance between the residents' expectations and the state's actions adds another layer of complexity to the conflict, highlighting the need for better cooperation and coordination within and between different government agencies (Singh et al., 2021).

Drawing on Davies (2013), this situation exemplifies state hegemony and insensitivity to the public, leading to conflict, confusion, and dissatisfaction. For example, the local MLA mentioned that Gandhi Bazaar hadn't been developed in 60 years and decided to proceed with a new project, claiming, "all stakeholders, from street vendors to others, have been considered and will be given space to run their businesses." However, owners' opposition reveals a disconnect, with the MLA stating, "they are now retracting their statements, which is not right." (Kumar, 2023) This unilateral decision-making, ignoring genuine public consensus, highlights the state's hegemony and neglect of public opinion, fueling unrest and conflict.

Additionally, the scarcity of land in urban areas, along with rising land prices and rapid changes in land use, creates a highly competitive environment. This environment fuels conflicts (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016; Singh et al., 2021; Mach et al., 2019). The state's actions in expropriating land for redevelopment is perceived as arbitrary and unfair. This process too intensifies conflicts. This contributes to the residents feelings of historical grievances and exclusion (Baranyi & Weitzner, 2001).

In summary, the conflict in Gandhi Bazaar highlights the tensions between the state and residents. This conflict is driven by issues such as competition for resources, limited land access, population growth, social cohesion, economic vulnerability, political marginalization, and procedural irregularities.

The following table details the key themes associated with this conflict:

	Socio-economical	Historical	Political	Ecological
Urban land conflict	<p>Lure of valuable resources. (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Perceptions of exclusion (Celiku & World Bank, 2017)</p> <p>Population growth Kassa, S. A. (2020)</p> <p>Restricted access to land markets (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Social cohesion (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010)</p> <p>Sense of collective identity (Pearsall et al., 2020)</p> <p>Vulnerability of the population (IPCC, 2014; Field & Barros, 2014).</p>	<p>Historical grievance (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Political marginalization (Baranyi and Weitzner, 2001).</p> <p>The conflict-proneness of land governance systems (Leach, Mearns, & Scoones, 1997).</p>	<p>Abuse of power (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Access to political power (Celiku & World Bank, 2017)</p> <p>Cooperation and coordination within and between different government agencies (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Judicial incapacity (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>Lack of conflict resolution mechanisms (Land and conflict," N.D.)</p> <p>Normative dissonance (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Procedural irregularities Administrative Unwillingness to comply with the rule of law (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>State hegemony (Davies, 2003)</p>	<p>Land scarcity (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016).</p> <p>Rapid land-use change (Mach et al., 2019)</p> <p>Rising land prices (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Spatial Imageability (Pearsall et al., 2020)</p>

Table 9. Themes in the State – Resident urban land conflict.
Source: Author.

4.2 Case study B: “Frazer towns had enough”: The case of urban friction between the Informality and the residents.

The conflict in Frazer Town, a vibrant neighborhood in Bengaluru, centers on escalating tensions between long-standing residents and informal street vendors. The Residents, feeling their community's standards and spaces are being encroached upon, clash with vendors who rely on these public spaces for their livelihoods.



Figure 14: Mosque road, frazer town madness L-R.

Sources: (Menon, 2023), (Asra Mavad & Asra Mavad, 2024), (Rakesh, 2024).

Recently, members of the Frazer Town Residents' Welfare Association (FTRWA) protested and filed multiple complaints with the BBMP against informal vendors. Their memorandum highlighted issues such as footpath encroachment and the operation of stalls without proper licenses from the BBMP, Karnataka State Pollution Control Board (KSPCB), or other relevant authorities. They also raised concerns about traffic and parking problems, air and noise pollution, alcohol consumption, littering, harassment, and unsanitary food practices. A representative from the FTRWA stated,

“We started late last year, aiming to prevent this year’s mela. Our campaign began earlier this year, with strong support from the MLA, who has promised to evaluate our concerns. We are determined to ensure the mela does not occur this year” (The Hindu Bureau, 2024).

The discourse surrounding the presence of street vendors in areas of the city reveals deeply entrenched notions of "cleanliness," "hygiene," and "silence" that residents associate with "purely residential" areas. The residents with formal property rights often feel threatened by informal vendors in the proximity to their spaces, whom they perceive as devaluing their property affecting the price and imageability of the area. The term street vending is perceived negatively, as it disrupts the aesthetic and order residents expect in their neighborhood (Jotwani, 2021). This statement underscores the influence residents wield over municipal authorities (BBMP), using their perceived status to maintain the exclusivity and "purity" of their residential environment. This fear propels some residents to use their social connections and networks to evict street vendors. For instance, in a semi-structured interview with a 47-year-old resident (R4), he emphasized that they have political support on their side and insisted that it's time to remove the vendors from their streets.

“The area becomes very crowded..... The litter and waste they generate attract pests and make the environment unhygienic.

This is bad for aesthetics, and it brings down the land value of our properties.....” (Resident, R4)

This discourse of “street vendors are outsiders” is one of the major contributing factors to the resident informality conflict where the residents see the informal vendors as a threat to the established social cohesion. Most residents also believe that the community identity is important and hence its important to keep the social identity intact without letting it being taken over as claimed by the residents.

“..... They are mostly outsiders. They are not from our community and have come from different places..... these vendors hampers our peace.....

..... Moreover, they are not from here; they don't belong to our community, and that makes it difficult for us to accept them. Too many users on that land cause problems for everyone.....

.....Yes, we came here before them..... These vendors, on the other hand, are mostly recent arrivals. They come from other states and set up stalls without any regard for the rules or the existing community...” (Resident interviewee, R4).

Thus, the discourse extends beyond physical space to encompass social hierarchies and identity. These factors further alienate street vendors, who are perceived as lacking the necessary social identity for inclusion in the community. Interviews with street vendors R5 and R6 reveal their frustration and helplessness regarding the residents' exclusivist attitudes. As one vendor explained, being treated as though they don't belong—like invaders in their own community—is deeply demoralizing. The street vendor (R6) also pointed out that the impact goes beyond financial loss, affecting their sense of security and self-worth, stating,

“The constant harassment undermines our spirits and motivation. Despite sharing the same religion and worshipping the same god, I've been told I'm not 'one of them.' ”

In addition to facing hostility from residents, the informal community often lacks political support, leaving them more vulnerable to resident complaints. While residents can leverage backing from local politicians, vendors typically lack access to influential figures, exacerbating their challenges and creating ongoing tensions. Resident interviewee R4 highlighted that they have valuable connections with “local politicians who understand our needs and support us,” as well as access to lawyers, providing significant political backing. There are also multiple instances in the city, as reported in the news, where a resident welfare group tweets to the Bengaluru City Police to remove street vendors, labeling them a nuisance, and the police promptly respond, assuring that teams are being dispatched to address the issue. (Nirupama V, 2016).

Elites of state pushing street vendors out of livelihood by evicting them to peripheries

By Nirupama V, ET Bureau • Last Updated: May 17, 2016, 02:04:00 PM IST

Figure 15: Multiple reports of elitist entitlement as displayed by the residents.
Source: ET bureau, (Nirupama V, 2016).

On the other hand most vendors see traders' unions and NGOs as their primary sources of support, while residents often boast about political backing, which intensifies the pressure on informal vendors. These vendors find themselves caught in a tug-of-war between residents supported by local politicians and NGOs or trade unions urging them to return to contested areas despite the risks. Meanwhile, the justice system remains aloof, offering no real relief. For vendors, especially like R5 and R6, taking legal action is a challenging process. Securing a favourable judgment to protect them is difficult, time-consuming, and expensive. Given their limited resources, vendors often find it more practical to use short-term solutions rather than get caught up in long and expensive legal disputes.

The street vendors argue that the wealth disparity, political backing, and access to courts make it difficult for vendors to compete with residents. The resident R4 frequently boasted about the political backing his community receives, noting their “political connections” with the government. R5 highlights the difficulty in fighting the residents by saying,

“It's tough because we're up against powerful residents with more influence and resources.”

The threat of eviction causes vendors a lot of stress and uncertainty. In an interview, R6 shared how daily conflicts and verbal altercations with the authorities and residents makes it difficult for them to find any peace. Complicating the issue further, they constantly face the threat of eviction as they lack legal protections for their livelihoods. Many vendors work without proper licenses, which makes them vulnerable to evictions/displacements. Residents often view them as a threat to the existing social order, believing they disrupt social cohesion. Several vendors have reported struggling to find peace, constantly fearing and loss of livelihood. As R6 explained,

“We are always worrying that we might be the day we're forced to give up our bandis (pushcart). The constant threat of eviction makes it hard to focus on anything..... I barely can sleep in the night knowing I might not have any work from tomorrow”

R5 also echoes similar emotions,

“The ban has been very difficult for us. The food mela was an important event as it was a crucial source of income. With the ban, I'm now struggling economically. There are many people like me who depend on this event to make a living. We work

various jobs during the rest of the year, but the mela was crucial for our earnings.”

The rapid population growth and limited access to land markets in the city also make competition for space even tougher. Most vendors struggle to find affordable spots. The obvious wealth disparity and the strong collective identity of long-term residents, adds to these tensions. This often results in frequent conflicts over valuable resources and public spaces.

The struggle for public space between established communities and informal vendors is a widespread issue in Bengaluru, not confined to Frazer Town alone. Similar tensions have been reported in areas like Banashankari and Sadashivnagar (Jotwani, 2021), where residents also face challenges due to competition for space. Informal vendors, on the other hand, struggle with the scarcity of affordable locations to set up their stalls. This competition has led to residents expressing reluctance to accommodate outsiders. One resident (R4) reflected this sentiment, noting that the lack of space in areas like Frazer Town makes it difficult to support new vendors. The resident suggested that while such arrangements might have been possible 20 years ago, the current situation calls for prioritizing their own community members for the available spaces.

“..... Maybe it was okay 20 years ago but definitely not now. From whatever land is available we would rather have our own people have the space to sell” (Resident, R4).

When interviewed, a vendor (R6) expressed shock at the difficulty of finding a stable place to set up a stall, humorously asking to be 'found a spot to sell without a headache.' He explained that most areas are 'fenced off, owned by private individuals who dislike them, or earmarked by the government for future plans.' The vendor lamented that the 'only option' left is to 'float around like a bird and sell.' Vendors and their lobbyists often allege that while the Street Vendors Act is intended to grant formal rights and recognition to informal vendors, it 'lacks implementation on the ground.' Both residents and street vendors in the survey agreed that local authorities have 'weak enforcement' of the Act. The formation of street vending committees and the conducting of surveys are crucial for the Act's planning and implementation; however, these measures have been insufficient in the city. Over the past two years, street vendor surveys have been postponed due to consecutive elections ("Azim Premji University," n.d.). This administrative lapse and lack of a clear mechanism to resolve issues are further compounded by allegations of corruption. Both vendors and residents allege that executives exploit both sides for financial gain, a serious issue corroborated by multiple news outlets reporting that each vendor pays 'Rs 50 to Rs 100 per day (0.50 – 1 euro) to the police to continue their operations' (Tnn, 2023b).

In conclusion, the plight of vendors in this typology of conflict paints a vivid picture of economic and social struggles. These vendors, who often face financial instability and lack secure tenure, find themselves compelled to navigate a complex landscape where

bribery and uncertainty are common. The recent ban on the mela has only made their situation worse. Vendors are now struggling to find new, affordable spots for their stalls amid rapid population growth and limited land availability. This shortage of viable vending spots not only increases their economic vulnerabilities but also worsens tensions with long-term residents. (These residents have a strong sense of identity and are highly aware of the competition for resources and public spaces).

At the heart of these conflicts are deep-rooted issues of economic inequality and lack of secure tenure. The vendors' struggles highlight these broader problems where their lack of formal rights and secure spaces, deepens their vulnerability. This contributes to the cycle of conflict and friction over the city's limited resources.

The following table details the key themes associated with this conflict:

	Socio-economical	Historical	Political	Ecological
URBAN LAND CONFLICT	<p>Economic inequality (United Nations Development Programme, 2017)</p> <p>Insecurity of tenure (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Local issue resolving mechanism (Land and conflict, ND)</p> <p>Lure of valuable resources (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Perceptions of exclusion (Celiku & World Bank, 2017)</p> <p>Population growth (Kassa, S. A., 2020)</p> <p>Restricted access to land markets (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Sense of collective identity (Pearsall et al., 2020)</p> <p>Social cohesion (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010)</p> <p>Vulnerable population (IPCC, 2014; Field & Barros, 2014)</p>	<p>Asymmetric landownership ("Land and Conflict," ND)</p> <p>Historical grievances (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016).</p> <p>History of conflict (Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016)</p> <p>History of evictions & demolitions</p> <p>Land-grabbing practices (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Political marginalization (Baranyi and Weitzner, 2001)</p> <p>The conflict-proneness of land governance systems (Leach, Mearns, & Scoones, 1997)</p>	<p>Abuse of power (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Access to political power (Celiku & World Bank, 2017)</p> <p>Procedural irregularities</p> <p>Administrative unwillingness to comply with the rule of law (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>Corruption (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Insufficient, inaccurate & missing survey data/land records (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Judicial incapacity (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>Lack of conflict resolution mechanisms (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016).</p> <p>Normative dissonance (Land and Conflict, ND)</p>	<p>Quantity of users (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010)</p> <p>Rapid land-use change (Mach et al., 2019)</p> <p>Spatial inequalities (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016)</p> <p>Rising land prices (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Spatial Imageability (Pearsall et al., 2020)</p> <p>Land scarcity (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016)</p>

Table 10. Themes in the Informality – Resident urban land conflict.

Source: Author.

4.2.2 Stakeholder mapping:

Based on the work of Fisher and Ury (2012), an extensive stakeholder mapping was conducted to gain a deeper understanding of the conflict. This map illustrates the relationships between parties, identifies the distribution of power and influence, and determines potential allies and adversaries.

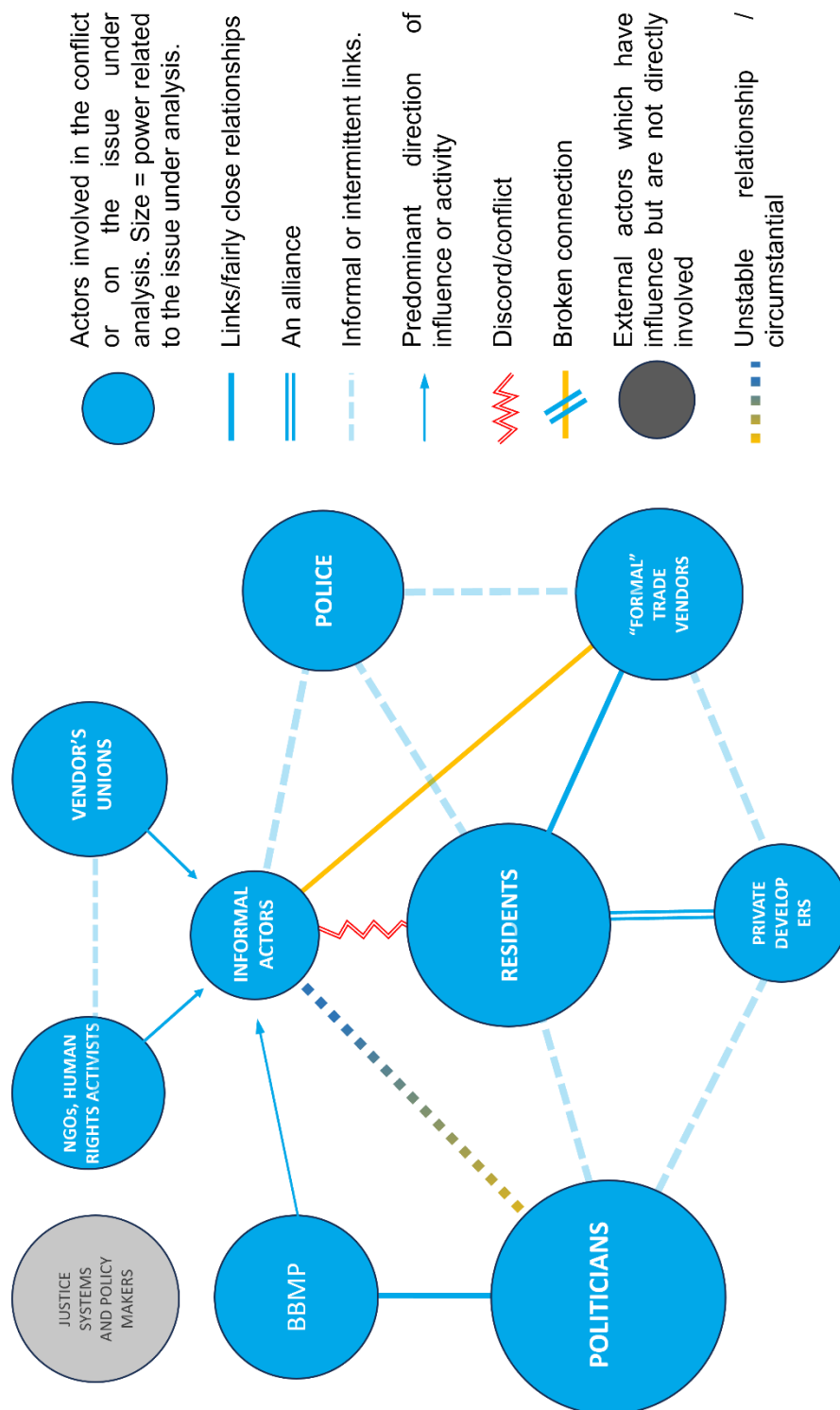


Figure 16 Stakeholder mapping of the Informality – Resident conflict.
Source: Author.

4.3 Case study C: “Reclaim Footpath” The case of urban friction between the Informality and the state.

The conflict over the state's efforts to reclaim clearer footpath spaces highlights a struggle between the state's "worlding" vision (Roy, 2011) for spatial imageability and the informal sector's mission to use the space for their livelihoods. As previously discussed in the literature review, the state strongly promotes the brand of Bengaluru, which is central to this conflict of interest, while the informal sector views these spaces as essential for their survival.



Figure 17. Street vending as a Livelihood, a way of life.

Source: (Ravi, 2021), (Shree D N & Shree D N, 2023), (Sridharan, 2023).

Although the state including the various parastatal agencies such as DULT, BBMP, BDA as well as various levels of the government have recognised street vendors as a part of the city through the enactment of street vendors act, 2014 (Parliament & Ministry of Law and Justice, 2014). Street vending was illegal in urban India until the 2014 Street Vendors Act. Despite its legalization, most cities still clamp down on street hawkers. However, street vending remains a crucial source of employment, and with accelerating urbanization, more street traders are likely to contest for space (Small enterprise India, 2023)



Figure 18. The clamping down on the street vending is a common sight across the city.

Source:(Bharadwaj, 2023a), (Tnn, 2024), (Express News Service & Express News Service, 2023)

Basing off of the previous case study, the general discourse about the informal sector, particularly street vendors, is that they are considered dirty or nuisance creators who affect the image or the brand of the region. When conversing with a flower seller who has frequently faced displacement, she explained that they were ordered to vacate for the area's beautification, referring specifically to the footpath reclamation by the traffic police.

“.....We were told that this area needs to be beautified, and we are often labeled as nuisances. I don't know exactly who

wants us gone because the Sahebs here don't like us. The traffic police want us gone, the government wants us gone, and the people don't like us too" (Street vendor, R1)

Her situation reflects a broader issue, as hundreds of street vendors across Bengaluru have faced similar evictions clear footpaths by the urban local body to get rid of all "encroachments" to enhance pedestrian safety and address a rise in pedestrian deaths from accidents time and again. In an interview to The Hindu, (2023) a street vendor in her fifties from the city, shared her frustration:

"I had been selling vegetables by the roadside for years. But recently, civic officials and police evicted me, saying I can no longer sell on the footpath. I don't know where to go. How do I make a living? I don't know any other trade apart from this."

Despite finding a new spot on another street, she remains constantly afraid of being evicted again Reflecting the broader trauma of displacement again owing to the insecurity of tenure and the state's handling of the situation.

A deeper analysis of the state's handling of the situation, based on the Street Vendor's Act of 2014, reveals significant procedural lapses. The Act requires urban local bodies to form a Town Vending Committee (TVC) with 40% elected street vendors to oversee decisions regarding street vending. It also mandates planning authorities like BBMP to survey all street vendors every five years, including mobile vendors, and create designated vending zones. All identified vendors must be issued licenses. However, there have been numerous reports of these procedures being severely mishandled. For instance, Citizen Matters reported in 2023 that a 2017 survey identified only 24,000 vendors in the entire city, a gross underestimation given that the civic body expected at least 200,000 vendors. Moreover, only around 18,000 of these vendors were issued licenses. Although a resurvey was planned, none of the street vendors in the TVC were consulted, highlighting a significant oversight in the process.

"We were not consulted for the previous survey, and we are not being consulted today,"- A member of TVC (Sridharan, 2023b)

Furthermore, while the Street Vendor's Act (2014) is progressive, its implementation by the state is flawed. For example, a 62-year-old licensed fruit vendor in Vijayanagar, who has set up her cart for 30 years, was asked by police to move her cart before a festival sale. When she refused, a policeman confiscated her weights and scale, despite her valid license and pleas for their return. This forced her to use borrowed equipment, further hurting her income already diminished by the pandemic (Ravi, 2021b). Similar stories have also been found, for instance when interviewing R7,

"Authorities come and take our goods without warning, leaving us with nothing. It's a harsh reality that we face daily." (Street vendor, R7)

"Under no circumstances are the police or allied parastatal officials allowed to take independent action against the vendors

such as evicting them or confiscating their belongings,” Member of the federation of the street vendors union (Bengaluru Jilla Beedhi Vyaapari Sanghatanegala Okkuta).

The Federation argues that eviction drives are often prompted by wealthier residents, Resident Welfare Associations, or larger corporations, and that all eviction instances should be brought before the TVC, which is not happening. For instance, a 45-year-old informal dweller and street vendor, R7, reported losing his house and small street vending business within a few days. He also mentioned that this situation is common among his peers in the community, who have since united in response to these adversities.

“One fine day, they came with bulldozers and told us to get out. No proper notice, nothing. They just started tearing down our homes. Lost everything in a flash – my house, my things, everything gone. We were out on the streets with nowhere to go.” (Street vendor, R7)

There have been claims that the BBMP lacks a clear list of beneficiaries for resettlement, leaving many families completely excluded, according to R7. Different numbers and promises are frequently mentioned, but there is no transparency, leading to feelings that the process is being improvised. This lack of clarity creates significant uncertainty and fear among affected individuals.

The vulnerability of street vendors is further challenged by the state’s hegemonic behavior, administrative lapses and inter agency confusion. For instance, despite promises of designated vending zones, there have been significant issues with their management. According to Sridharan (2023b), the zones were demarcated without using survey data. A lack of coordination among state parastatal agencies and concerns about the infrequency of TVC meetings have also been reported. Sudden actions against street vendors such as threats, harassment, and issuing only a one-day notice instead of the mandated 30 days have faced criticism (Ravi, 2021b) (Shivani Kava et al., 2024).

From the street vendors perspective, the situation in Bengaluru is worsening. As the city expands quickly, vendors are finding it harder to find good spots for their stalls/business. Most vendors when interviewed felt that finding a place to set up their business or safeguarding their “spots” have become challenging. This exemplifies the pressures of urban expansion and increasing competition for limited public areas. Another vendor, R3, mentions that this problem is made worse by rapid changes in the way land is being used and its rising prices. He notes that areas that were once available for selling are now being developed or repurposed for other uses. As a result, vendors are left with fewer options for establishing new stalls, further complicating their efforts to secure a livelihood.

The lack of political influence significantly impacts the informal sector's ability to advocate for their rights and fair treatment. Street vendors often feel left out of political

conversations and don't have much power to make their voices heard. For example, R1 mentioned that despite politicians' promises of support during election campaigns, they are completely forgotten once the elections are over.

This pattern, where vendors are exploited for political gain during elections but then sidelined without promises being kept, highlights their limited political power. As R3 mentioned,

".....If anna (politician) really wants something to be solved, won't he get it done?"

highlighting their frustration with the political system's failure to address their needs effectively. This lack of access to political power makes vendors vulnerable to inconsistent enforcement actions, which complicates their efforts to achieve lasting improvements.

Furthermore, issues of corruption worsen the vendors situation. R1 highlights that vendors frequently need to pay bribes to secure a vending spot or avoid eviction. It demonstrates how corruption not only undermines fair access but also worsens their insecurity.

"We pay bribes just to keep our vendor spots. Without paying, it's almost impossible to secure a spot or avoid harassment." (Street vendor, R1)

"Every time the officials come, they expect something from us. If we don't pay, they threaten to remove our stalls." (Street vendor, R3)

"Bribes are a regular part of our life now. It's frustrating because we are already struggling to make a living, and this just adds to our burden." (Street vendor, R7)

A deeper analysis from the discourse and interviews reveals significant normative dissonance, marked by conflicting views on the right to public space, inconsistent promises versus actions by authorities, breaches of legal and ethical norms, and contrasting perceptions of the vendors' role in the community (Land and Conflict, ND). Vendors like R3 and R1 feel entitled to their spots, essential for survival. R3 highlights the increasing difficulty of finding space as the city grows, while R1 underscores sudden threats and insufficient compliance time, showing how urban order is often prioritized over livelihoods. Authorities frequently promise support but rarely follow through, leading to mistrust and highlighting a normative dissonance.

The lack of proper survey data for vending zones, as mentioned by Sridharan (2023b), further illustrates the gap between procedural norms and actual practices. Vendors' expectations of fair treatment are often unmet, with the required 30-day eviction notices reduced to just one day. R7 points out that authority's norms overshadow their expectations of stable tenure, emphasizing the dissonance between development policies and vendors' rights. Vendors believe they contribute positively to the community but are often treated as obstacles, reflecting a normative clash. Interviews

reveal that while vendors see themselves as integral to the urban fabric, authorities view them as nuisances. This pervasive dissonance contributes to street vendors' vulnerabilities, making their daily existence a constant negotiation between survival and compliance.

The following table details the key themes associated with this conflict:

	Socio-economical	Historical	Political	Ecological
Urban land conflict	<p>Economic inequality (United Nations Development Programme, 2017)</p> <p>Insecurity of tenure. (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Local issue resolving mechanism (Land and conflict," N.D.)</p> <p>Lure of valuable resources. (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Perceptions of exclusion (Celiku & World Bank, 2017)</p> <p>Population growth Kassa, S. A. (2020)</p> <p>Social cohesion (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010)</p> <p>Sense of collective identity (Pearsall et al., 2020)</p> <p>Vulnerable population (IPCC, 2014; Field & Barros,2014).</p>	<p>Historical grievances (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>History of conflict (Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016)</p> <p>History of Evictions & demolitions (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016b)</p> <p>The conflict-proneness of land governance systems (Leach, Mearns, & Scoones, 1997)</p> <p>Political marginalization (Baranyi and Weitzner, 2001)</p>	<p>Abuse of power (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Access to political power (Celiku & World Bank, 2017)</p> <p>Cooperation and coordination within and between different government agencies (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Corruption (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Insufficient, inaccurate & missing data/land records (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Judicial incapacity (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>Lack of conflict resolution mechanisms (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Normative dissonance (Land and Conflict, ND)</p> <p>Procedural irregularities and administrative unwillingness to comply with the rule of law (Cprindia, 2022)</p> <p>Recognition of rights between occupiers and government agencies (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016b)</p> <p>State expropriation and Hegemony (Davies, 2013)</p> <p>Unstable governance (Singh et al., 2021)</p>	<p>Land scarcity (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016)</p> <p>Quantity of users (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010)</p> <p>Rapid land-use change (Mach et al., 2019)</p> <p>Spatial inequalities (Lombard & Rakodi, 2016)</p> <p>Rising land prices (Singh et al., 2021)</p> <p>Spatial Imageability (Pearsall et al., 2020)</p>

Table 11. The key themes associated with the state-informality conflict, Source: Author

4.3.2 Stakeholder mapping:

Based on the work of Fisher and Ury (2012), an extensive stakeholder mapping was conducted to gain a deeper understanding of the conflict. This map illustrates the relationships between parties, identifies the distribution of power and influence, and determines potential allies and adversaries.

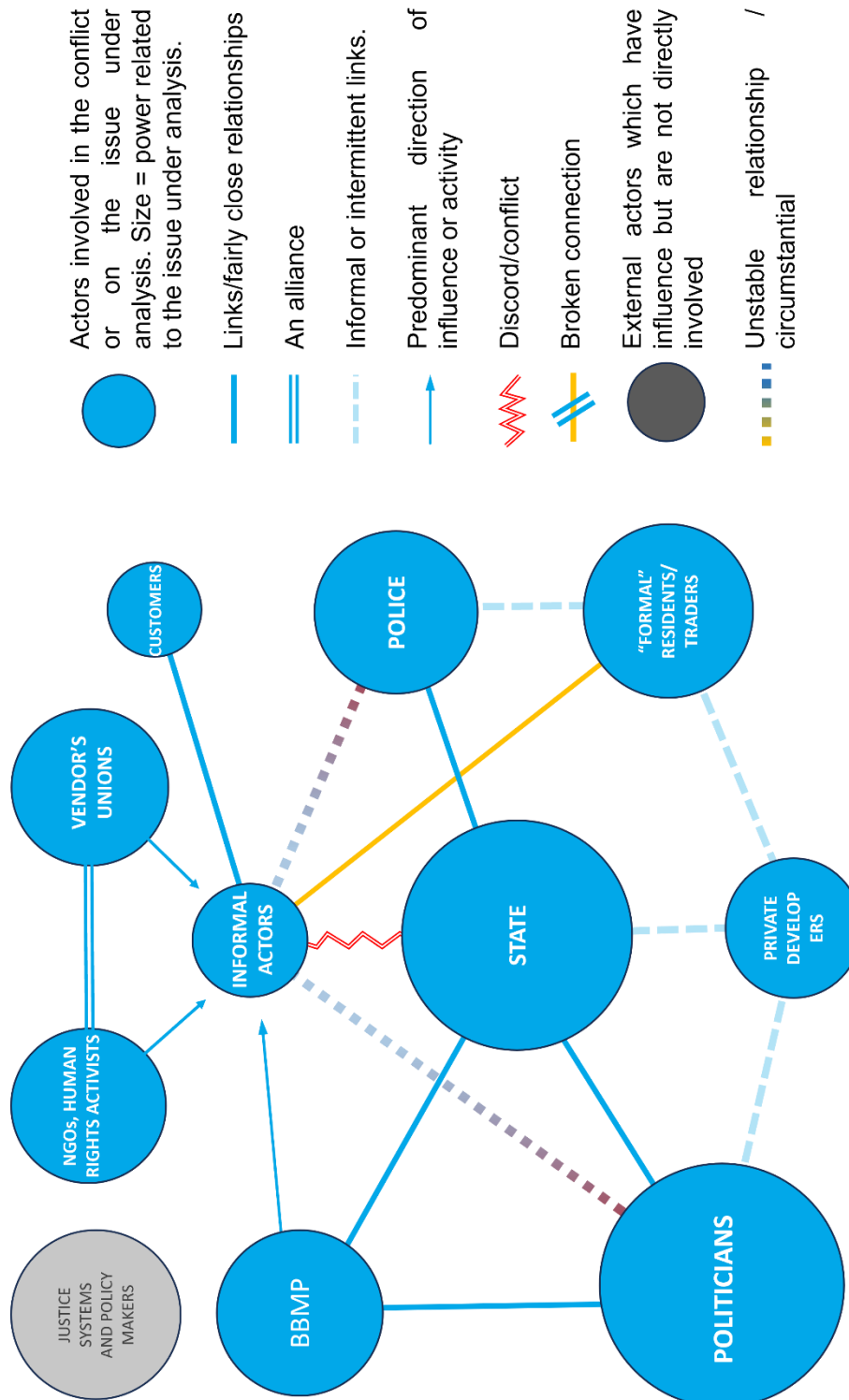


Figure 19 Stakeholder mapping of the State – Informality conflict.
 Source: Author.

4.4 Understanding the variance of the factors affecting the Urban land conflicts

The following table presents a comparative study across the 3 case studies in terms of the absence, presence or the variations of a certain theme/factor highlighting the differences in each of the case study.

	THEMES	CASE A: STATE VS RESIDENTS	CASE B: INFORMALITY VS RESIDENTS	CASE C: STATE VS INFORMALITY
SOCIO ECONOMIC FACTORS	ECONOMIC INEQUALITY			
	INSECURITY OF TENURE			
	LOCAL ISSUE REOLVING MECHANISM			
	LURE OF VALUABLE RESOURCES			
	PERCEPTIONS OF EXCLUSION			
	POPULATION GROWTH			
	RESTRICTED ACCESS TO LAND MARKETS			
	SENSE OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY			
	SOCIAL COHESION			
	VULNERABLE POPULATION			
HISTORICAL FACTORS	ASYMMETRIC LANDOWNERSHIP			
	HISTORICAL GRIEVANCES			
	HISTORY OF CONFLICT			
	HISTORY OF EVICTIONS & DEMOLITIONS			
	LAND-GRABBING PRACTICES			
	POLITICAL MARGINALIZATION			
	THE CONFLICT- PRONENESS OF LAND GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS			
POLITICAL FACTORS	ABUSE OF POWER			
	ACCESS TO POLITICAL POWER			
	ADMINISTRATIVE UNWILLINGNESS TO COMPLY WITH THE RULE OF LAW			
	COOPERATION AND COORDINATION WITHIN AND BETWEEN DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT AGENCIES			
	CORRUPTION			
	INSUFFICIENT, INACCURATE & MISSING SURVEY DATA/LAND RECORDS			
	JUDICIAL INCAPACITY			

	THEMES	CASE A: STATE VS RESIDENTS	CASE B: INFORMALITY VS RESIDENTS	CASE C: STATE VS INFORMALITY
	LACK OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS			
	NORMATIVE DISSONANCE			
	PROCEDURAL IRREGULARITIES			
	RECOGNITION OF RIGHTS BETWEEN OCCUPIERS AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES			
	STATE EXPROPRIATION & HEGEMONY			
	UNSTABLE GOVERNANCE			
ECOLOGICAL FACTORS	QUANTITY OF USERS			
	RAPID LAND-USE CHANGE			
	SPATIAL INEQUALITIES			
	RISING LAND PRICES			
	SPATIAL IMAGEABILITY			
	LAND SCARCITY			

Low influence or absent	Moderate influence	High influence	Very High influence

Table 12. A comparative table showing the themes identified across the 3 case studies on varying levels of influence, occurrence.
Source: Author.

Applying the Analytical Hierarchy Process (Saaty, 1988) to assess the influence of various factors on the case studies reveals that each of the three case studies is shaped by a unique combination of these factors.

4.4.1 Socio economic dimensions of the 3 types of urban land conflicts:

Socio-economic factors significantly influence the ability of non-state actors to resist, negotiate, or engage in conflicts with other entities.

- Factors such as Lure of valuable resources, local problem-solving mechanisms, and population growth affect all three types of conflicts (state-resident, resident-informality, and informality-state) in similar ways.
- Another common factor in these 3 types of conflicts is the vulnerability of populations, which critically impacts their capacity to resist, often making the

poorest residents the most vulnerable. This vulnerability is intensified by limited access to land markets, which systematically prevents populations from acquiring new land and heightens their need to contest for urban space.

- Additionally, Social cohesion—characterized by unity and collective action within a group—plays a pivotal role across all types of conflicts. It drives collective resistance against state policies, informal settlements, or disputes among residents.
- collective identity becomes particularly important in the conflict between the state and the informal sector. The informal sector relies on strong social ties and a shared identity to effectively organize and challenge state dominance. This dynamic is notably observed in the actions of informal trade unions and, to a lesser extent, resident welfare organizations, where feelings of exclusion motivate well-established residents and unionists to resist state interventions related to urban land.
- The table also indicates that economic inequality and tenure insecurity have a greater impact on conflicts involving informality with the state and residents than on conflicts between the state and formally well-settled residents.
- The economic disparity is more pronounced, in conflicts involving informality with the state and residents, with informal settlers facing greater threats to their livelihoods and tenure security.

4.4.2 Historical dimensions of the 3 types of urban land conflicts:

Historical factors significantly shape urban land conflicts, with varying impacts across different scenarios.

- Political marginalization is a significant factor in all three types of conflicts—state vs. residents, residents vs. informality, and informality vs. state—though its impact varies. It has a higher influence in conflicts between informal sectors and residents, followed by state-informality conflicts, and is somewhat less significant in state-resident disputes. This reflects varying levels of access to political power among the conflicting parties.
- Land grabbing practices also play a critical role, especially in conflicts between informal sectors and residents. These practices are especially significant in areas where informal groups are vulnerable to exploitation. Aggressive land acquisition by more powerful entities exacerbates these conflicts.

In state-resident and state-informality conflicts, land grabbing is less common. This is because of the formal structures and state regulations that offer protection.

- Asymmetrical land ownership is notably more severe in conflicts involving informality and residents. This asymmetry increases the tensions and highlights the deep-seated inequalities in land distribution.
- The history of evictions and demolitions is most prominent in conflicts between the state and informality. This pattern is primarily due to the state's ability to impose its will on less organized and resource-constrained informal groups.

This often leads to frequent and severe displacement actions. Such actions are less common in other types of conflicts, where resistance and organizational strength vary.

- Historical grievances and conflicts play a crucial role in all types of disputes. However, their impact is somewhat less in conflicts between informality and residents compared to others.

4.4.3 Political dimensions of the 3 types of urban land conflicts:

Political factors are crucial in urban land conflicts. They shape the nature and outcomes of these conflicts by influencing power dynamics, legal frameworks, and institutional responses.

- Abuse of power, access to political influence, and ineffective conflict resolution mechanisms drive all three conflict types of state vs. residents, informality vs. residents, and state vs. informality. These factors undermine fairness and increase inequalities, enabling those in power to manipulate outcomes and marginalize vulnerable groups.
- Administrative unwillingness to follow the rule of law and poor coordination among agencies have a greater impact in state-related conflicts (state vs. informality and state vs. residents) compared to other conflicts. The state's reluctance to reform and cooperate creates legal and bureaucratic barriers. This results in long and complex disputes.
- The recognition of occupiers' rights by government agencies significantly influences state vs. informality conflicts. This reflects the state's hegemonic behaviour and practices of expropriation, which increase tensions and resistance from the informal sector.

Unstable governance further aggravates conflicts between informality and the state. This also creates an uncertain environment where policies and enforcement are inconsistent, complicating the conflict resolution mechanism.

- Corruption is notably higher in conflicts involving marginalized groups, such as in state vs. informality and informality vs. residents. It could be due the fear of losing livelihoods makes these groups more vulnerable to corrupt practices. Conversely, corruption has a lower influence in state vs. residents conflicts, where the dynamics and stakes are different.
- Normative dissonance and procedural irregularities also have a greater impact in state-related conflicts. This highlights the disconnect between legal norms and the realities faced by individuals.
- Insufficient and missing land records are a common issue in conflicts involving informality. This problem affects the less fortunate, impacting their disputes with both the state and residents. Without proper documentation, informal vendors/dwellers cannot prove their land rights. This makes them more vulnerable to eviction and other injustices.
- Judicial incapacity significantly affects state related conflicts, such as those between the state and residents or the state and informal sectors. It makes the legal system ineffective, reducing the trust in it. It further leads to stakeholders to seek alternative, informal methods of resolving conflicts.

In contrast, informality vs. residents conflicts see less impact from judicial incapacity. This is because participants often view the formal system as a waste of resources. They prefer grassroots methods, such as street protests and welfare unions.

4.4.4 Ecological dimensions of the 3 types of Urban land conflicts

Ecological factors significantly shape urban land conflicts by affecting land use, availability, and perceptions of space.

- The quantity of users has a moderate influence on land conflicts involving informality, such as state vs. informality and residents vs. informality, but has a much lower impact on state vs. residents conflicts. A higher number of users in informal areas increases competition for limited resources and space, intensifying conflicts. This is supported by Varna & Tiesdell (2010), who highlight how increased user density in a region can aggravate disputes over land and resources.
- Rapid land use change moderately influences conflicts between residents and informal groups. However, it has a much lower impact on state-related conflicts.

Sudden changes in land use can displace informal settlers or alter the value and purpose of their land. This often leads to conflicts with formal residents as

they may see informal activities as a nuisance. They believe informal vendors reduce land values and disrupt their plans and expectations.

- Spatial inequalities, which involve planning and policy issues that limit access to land markets, significantly impact state-driven conflicts, such as those between the state and informal groups or residents. These inequalities are less relevant or absent in conflicts between informal groups and residents.

Marginalized groups are often the subject of spatial inequalities as they cannot afford to access land markets. This leads to increased tensions and conflicts when these groups confront state interests or formal residents.

- Rising land prices are recurring influences across all three conflict types. Increasing land prices rise up the expectations of land ownership and use, making conflicts more likely as different groups vie for valuable land.
- Spatial imageability, or the way land is perceived and valued based on its visual and functional characteristics. It plays an important role in influencing all the types of conflicts as different groups have varying visions, ideas of what the land should look like.
- Land scarcity is a common factor in all three types of conflicts. In urban areas, the limited availability of land leads to competition and disputes among various groups, including formal residents, informal settlers, and state entities.

In conclusion, the analysis shows that each type of urban friction from land conflicts—whether between the state and residents, residents and informal vendors, or the state and informal vendors—has distinct influencing factors. These factors vary in presence, intensity, and frequency across conflict types. These variations highlight the complexity of urban frictions and the need to avoid generalizing stakeholders. This also emphasizes the importance of a more detailed understanding of the urban frictions that moves beyond the basic state vs. non-state framework. Relying solely on the traditional framework overlooks the intricate socio-economic, historical, political, and ecological factors driving these conflicts.

Expanding non-state actors to include residents and informal entities and localising the research is the first step toward fully understanding land conflicts and their urban frictions. This broader approach can be refined to address urban frictions due to urban land conflicts more effectively. In doing so, it can contribute to spatial justice and promote sustainable development in the global south.

5. Conclusions

The research was to answer the question, “How do urban frictions in Bengaluru reflect complexities beyond the traditional conflicts between state and non-state actors?”. By delving into the intricate phenomenon of urban frictions resulting from urban land conflicts, with a particular focus on Bengaluru the study sought to understand how these frictions extend beyond the conventional dynamics between state and non-state actors. It began with a comprehensive literature review through the lens of political ecology to highlight key themes, then put forward a hypothesis that there exists 3 key actors laying claim over public land. There exists 3 types of urban land conflict not 2, each formed by their own combination of factors contributing to the conflict. Through a combination of case studies and a qualitative thematic analysis and Analytical hierarchy process, the research uncovered the unique manifestations of these frictions in each scenario. Initially, the study hypothesized that land conflict is diverse and multifaceted, set against a complex backdrop. Analysing it solely through a traditional framework that views it as a struggle between state and non-state actors would be reductive.

By methodically analysing case studies structured around theoretical perspectives, this research breaks down the complexities of urban land conflicts. The findings reveal that urban conflicts and their frictions are influenced by a mix of converging and diverging factors, extending beyond the traditional framework of frictions. Each of these factors contribute uniquely to these conflicts and, consequently to urban frictions.

The findings show that the factors influencing urban frictions in Bengaluru vary significantly across different conflict types reflecting the complexities of urban friction. Although common factors such as socio-economic vulnerabilities, historical injustices, political dynamics, and ecological pressures are present, their impact varies significantly depending on the type of conflict. For example, socio-economic vulnerabilities, like limited access to land markets, are intensely felt in conflicts involving informal settlers, who face significant challenges in competing for urban public land. These same vulnerabilities play a lesser role in state-resident conflicts, where formal mechanisms and protections are more robust. Similarly, historical factors like land grabbing and political marginalization are most severe in conflicts involving informal groups, leading to frequent evictions and displacement. Formal residents are less affected by these historical issues, owing to their more secure land tenure. Politically, the abuse of power and corruption disproportionately impact marginalized groups, creating severe frictions in conflicts involving state - informality and informality – residents. These political challenges have a reduced impact in state-resident disputes, where formal residents typically have greater access to legal and political power. Ecological pressures, such as land scarcity and rising prices, affect all types of conflicts but with varying intensity. Typically, Informal settlements forego the greatest

burden due to high population density and limited resources, while formal areas experience these challenges to a lesser extent.

This research provides important insights that can help planners and policymakers better understand and tackle urban conflicts. By looking beyond the usual state versus non-state dichotomy, the study reveals specific patterns and variations in the nature and intensity of conflicts between different stakeholders. This deeper analysis helps decode the complexities involved, giving a clearer understanding of how urban land disputes emerge and evolve. In doing so, the study not only contributes to academic debates but also provides practical strategies for promoting more just and sustainable urban growth.

5.1 Potential for further Research

Based on the research findings, a practical framework and toolkit can be developed for urban local bodies or civic bodies. This will help manage and address the factors leading to urban conflicts and frictions identified in the study. This toolkit could focus on the three types of urban land conflicts explored in the study. The toolkit could taking into account the social, economic, historical, political, and environmental factors shaping the conflicts.

By expanding the framework to include more factors leading to urban land conflicts, an urban friction index (UFI) could be formed. The index can be made operational by incorporating expert opinions through AHP (Saaty, 1988), allowing weights to be assigned to these factors. Periodic assessments can be carried out to score these factors within specific administrative boundaries. Along with a composite UFI score, this toolkit would provide a detailed assessment of the frictions, conflicts, and the factors influencing them. This scoring system will also help planners and policymakers understand the severity of conflicts and the factors contributing to it. The toolkit could also lead to more targeted and effective intervention strategies to address these frictions.

Along with the toolkit, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) could map conflict patterns, identify hotspots, and measure the intensity of urban frictions in different areas. This GIS-based mapping would provide a visual representation of regions with high levels of tension and highlight the key factors behind these conflicts. Integrating the Urban Friction Index (UFI) into urban planning and policy decisions is a key step toward achieving spatial justice.

The potential application of this research and toolkit is for the urban local bodies / civic bodies in cities across India. This tool could be periodically used by them to assess conflicts (and frictions) and adjust their strategies to mitigate them. With an aim to promote spatial justice, the toolkits helps improve the management of urban spaces and support a more equitable-sustainable urban development across the region. Additionally, while this research focused on urban land conflicts, future studies could look into disputes involving private urban lands. By examining the factors driving these

conflicts and their complexities, it would help in better understanding and navigating through these frictions.

5.2 Limitations

This study on urban land conflicts in Bengaluru, while detailed, has a few limitations. Since it focuses mainly on Bengaluru, the scope to generalise is low and the results may not apply to other cities. Every city has its own unique social, economic, political, and historical factors that can influence land conflicts in different ways. Additionally, because thematic analysis is qualitative, it involves some level of subjectivity. This can result in different interpretations and potentially affect the conclusions reached.

Urban environments are constantly evolving, which means the factors influencing land conflicts can change over time. As a result, this research might only capture an abstract of these dynamics. The interaction between socio-economic, historical, political, and ecological factors is very very intricate and may not be fully represented in the analysis. This could potentially impact the accuracy of the findings.

Furthermore, while the research highlights the conflict between the actors, it may not potentially address the variation of preferences within the actors or their conflicts internally. Lastly, potential biases in data sources, particularly those from government or institutional reports, could affect the integrity of the research outcomes.

Appendix 1:

Annex 1: Decoding Bengaluru.

Bangalore, also known as the Silicon Valley of India for its booming IT industry. Beyond its reputation as an IT powerhouse, Bangalore has a rich history as a centre for Trade and businesses.

While the centre of the city is densely packed with trade centres and markets, the residential areas spread out from the Central Business District (CBD).

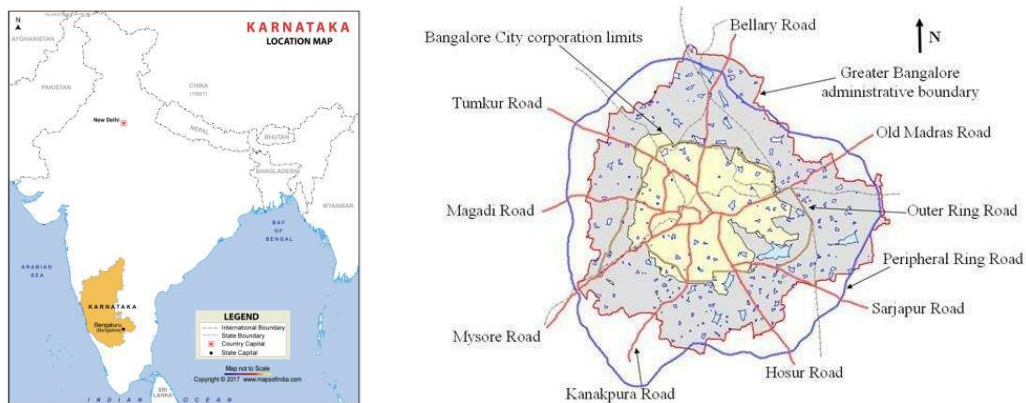


Figure 20. Map showing location of Bengaluru and the structure of the city.
Source: Administrative Map of India, 2021; Ramachandra and Kumar 2010;

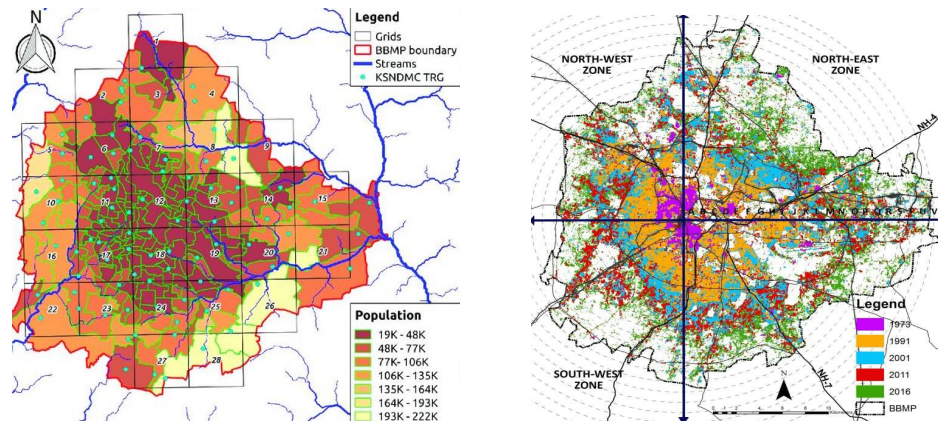


Figure 21. Map showing population density and the temporal changes of Bengaluru.
Source: Sekar M et al, (2017) ; Verma et al. (2017)

In 2017, the World Resources Institute (WRI) introduced a mapping system for Bengaluru. It divided the city into four regions: centres, corridors, wedges, and peripheries (Pai & Dhindaw, 2017).



Figure 22. Economic centres, corridors, wedges, and peripheries in Bangalore and location of Gandhi bazaar.

Source. WRI India.

Structurally, the centres and corridors of Bangalore are strategically located, providing greater accessibility and offer traditional market space. However, increasing real estate prices have made it difficult for local traders to obtain commercial spaces, which has forced many to trade in the streets. This practice has become widespread over time, leading to significant congestion and chaos. These areas now support thousands of traders, both formal and informal, with informal economies, particularly street vending, dominating the scene. Vendors from nearby villages/regions often travel to the city to sell their goods (Patel et al., 2021).

The rapid expansion of Bangalore along important roads such as the Outer Ring Road and Hosur Road has increased the population density and demand for residential and commercial spaces, driven by their strategic locations and transport connections. As a result, informal settlements have gone up. According to the Karnataka Slum Development Board, the city has more than 60,000 informal settlements, in which more than 350,000 people live (Census of India, 2011). This informal growth highlights the challenges of accommodating the growing population of Bangalore amidst ongoing urbanization.

Annex 2: Theoretical Foundations

The table included in the literature review acts as a quick reference guide to the key concepts related to urban frictions, urban land conflicts, and the associated theories. This table was created to offer a clear and concise overview of the various ideas and frameworks essential for understanding the complexities of urban frictions. By organizing these concepts in a tabular format, the review aims to facilitate easier comparison and comprehension, enabling readers to quickly grasp the theoretical landscape and understand how different theories intersect and diverge.

Concept	Description
Alliance	Kalyvas (2003, p. 486) describes dynamics between a supra-local and local actor where the supralocal actors provide external support to local actors, helping them gain a significant advantage locally. In return, supralocal actors leverage local conflicts to recruit and motivate their supporters, and to gain control over local resources and information.
AHP multi criteria analysis	Proposed by Saaty (1988), it is a decision-making method that arranges multiple choice criteria into a ranked order, enabling the assignment of varying weights to each option based on the assessments of experts.
Environmental scarcity	In this perspective, land conflict fundamentally represents a competition for limited resources. It is viewed as an entity that naturally encounters conflicts due to rival interests and claims (Deininger, 2003, Homer-Dixon, 1999).
Legal anthropology	Legal anthropological perspectives shed light on the ways in which violence and conflict are interwoven with the process of institutional change and reforms in land management. It emphasizes the conflict-proneness of land governance systems (Institutions and mechanisms) instead of the conflict potential inherent in the land itself (Leach, Mearns, & Scoones, 1997).
Political ecology	In the field of political ecology, issues of land shortage and restricted access are seen as outcomes of the political dynamics surrounding land distribution and governance. These issues also stem from broader historical, political, socio-economic, and ecological shifts (Peluso and Watts, 2001; Turner, 2004).
Social project	Richard (2005) constructs conflicts such as land disputes as social projects. Defined as a continuous process, one in which the actors react to external stimuli & respond in a conflict.
Triggers and factors contributing	Land scarcity, insecurity of tenure, lure of valuable resources, historical grievances, normative dissonance (Bruce J, 2011). Evictions, demolitions, and state expropriation, recognition of

to land conflict	rights between occupiers and government agencies, lack of conflict resolution mechanisms (Rakodi, 2006).
Urban frictions	Urban frictions are characterized as discomforting, inequitable, and unstable encounters that can "create worlds" and stimulate innovative forms of interaction (Tsing, 2011). Most Marxist literature conceptualizes urban frictions as a political economy of globalization and pushback against hegemony.
Urban informality	Although most definitions of informality define it as a system outside the formal system, Roy (2009) defines informality "as a state of deregulation in which the ownership, use, and purpose of land" cannot be definitively determined or mapped according to any specific set of regulations or laws.
Urban Land conflicts	Johnson (2000) interprets the concept of conflict from the viewpoint that the world situation is shaped by groups and/or individuals who are engaged in struggles or competition over various resources and rewards. In this case, particularly, land being scarce is a subject of contention between various actors and factors each with their conflicting aspirations.

Table 13: Key concepts and their relevance

Source: Author.

Annex 3: List of factors, their definition and their relevance to the urban land conflict.

A. Socio-Economic Dimension

Factor	Relevance to the conflict
Economic Inequality (United Nations Development Programme 2017)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic inequality refers to the uneven distribution of wealth and resources. It's believed that inequality leads to urban land conflicts as it increases competition for urban land among different social groups.
Insecurity of Tenure (Land and Conflict ND)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Insecurity of tenure refers to the lack of legal protection for landholders, leading to fear of eviction. This uncertainty drives conflicts as people struggle to protect their homes and land, often clashing with other users or authorities.
Perceptions of Exclusion (Celiku & World Bank 2017)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceptions of exclusion occur when groups feel left out of decision-making processes, particularly regarding land use. These feelings often lead to conflicts as marginalized communities feel alienated as they perceive land allocations and urban development as exclusionary.
Population Growth (Kassa S. A. 2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rapid population growth increases competition for land in urban areas. It leads to conflicts over ownership and use as more people compete for land to ensure housing and livelihoods.
Restricted Access to Land Markets (Land and Conflict ND)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Restricted access to land markets limits opportunities for certain groups to buy or lease land. It often leads to informal or illegal means of access and resulting in disputes with landholders or authorities.
Sense of Collective Identity (Pearsall et al. 2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A sense of collective identity is the shared feeling of belonging to a group. It can often unite communities in defending land rights but also lead to conflicts with other groups over land seen as vital to their identity.
Social Cohesion (Varna & Tiesdell 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social cohesion refers to the social bonds that foster cooperation in society among various users of the space. It can prevent urban land conflicts by promoting dialogue, while its absence can lead to increased tensions and disputes among different groups.
Vulnerable Population (IPCC 2014; Field & Barros 2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vulnerable populations are those at higher risk of harm due to poverty or social exclusion. It makes them easy targets for eviction or land grabbing, which fuels urban land conflicts as these groups struggle to defend their rights.
Local Issue Resolving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This refers to the local systems or processes within communities for addressing and managing disputes.

Mechanism (Land and Conflict, ND)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In urban settings, when these mechanisms are weak or ineffective, unresolved grievances can escalate into broader land conflicts. • These issues that could have been settled locally grow into larger disputes.
Lure of Valuable Resources (Land and Conflict, ND)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lure of valuable resources involves the attraction of land due to its richness in natural assets such as minerals or water. • In urban areas, this often leads to conflicts as various groups or external actors compete for control over these valuable lands, contributing to tensions and disputes over ownership and access.

B. Historical dimension:

Factor	Relevance to the conflict
Historical Grievances (Lombard & Rakodi 2016)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical grievances are resentments rooted in past injustices related to land ownership or use. • This can contribute to conflicts when communities feel that their historical claims or rights have been ignored or violated, leading to disputes over land. • This also makes the groups lose trust in the governance systems forcing them to take up other means to resist and seek justice.
History of Conflict (Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar 2016)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History of conflict refers to long standing conflicts over land. • This factor also leads to distrust and unresolved tensions. • It can easily worsen present day urban land disputes.
History of Evictions & Demolitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The history of evictions and demolitions relates to past actions where people were forcibly removed from their land or homes. • These actions generate trauma, mistrust and anger, often leading to conflicts when similar threats arise.
Land-grabbing Practices (Singh et al. 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land-grabbing involves the illegal or forceful acquisition of land, often by powerful entities. • Historically, such practices create deep-seated anger and resistance, contributing to ongoing land conflicts as affected communities fight to reclaim or protect their land.
Political Marginalization (Baranyi and Weitzner 2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political marginalization occurs when certain groups are systematically excluded from political power and decision-making. • This exclusion often leads into unequal access to land and resources, leading to conflicts as marginalized groups seek spatial justice.
The Conflict-proneness of Land Governance Systems (Leach, Mearns & Scoones 1997)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict-proneness in land governance refers to the inherent weaknesses or biases within land management systems. • It often makes the land systems susceptible to conflicts. • Poor governance can lead to inequitable land distribution and unresolved disputes, escalating into conflicts.

C. Political Dimension

Factor	Relevance to the conflict
Abuse of Power (Singh et al. 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abuse of power involves the misuse of authority by government, its officials to benefit certain groups. This leads to conflicts as those affected by such actions resist and challenge the abusers.
Access to Political Power (Celiku & World Bank 2017)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to political power determines the ability to influence peace, land policies and decisions. No access to political power often leaves the groups excluded from the political support to their cause. This also contributes to conflict as they resist the powerful in their own way (protest / strikes / retaliate / violent demonstrations etc).
Administrative Unwillingness to Comply with the Rule of Law (Cprindia 2022)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This factor refers to government agencies' reluctance to enforce laws fairly for instance matters related to land management. Such administrative failures can lead to conflicts as individuals or communities to seek justice, take matters into their own hands.
Cooperation and Coordination within and between Different Government Agencies (Singh et al. 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of cooperation among government agencies often results in failure in efficient land policies and enforcement systems, leading to conflicts. Poor coordination can also create gaps or overlaps in land governance, worsening the conflicts.
Corruption (Singh et al. 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Corruption in land administration involves bribery, favouritism, and other unethical practices in land allocation and access. Corruption also worsens conflicts by creating perceptions of unfairness and injustice among the less fortunate.
Insufficient, Inaccurate, & Missing Survey Data/Land Records (Singh et al. 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inadequate land records or inaccurate data complicate land ownership leading to disputes. When records are missing, it becomes increasingly difficult to resolve conflicts over land, as claims cannot be verified.
Judicial Incapacity (Cprindia 2022)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Judicial incapacity refers to the inability of the legal system to effectively resolve land disputes. This incapacity can lead to conflicts, as communities lose faith in the system and may resort to other means to settle disputes.
Lack of Conflict Resolution Mechanisms (Lombard & Rakodi 2016)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The absence of effective mechanisms to resolve land disputes peacefully can worsen the conflicts. Without proper platform for negotiation and settlement, disputes over land worsens further leading to violence.
Normative Dissonance (Land and Conflict ND)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Normative dissonance occurs when there is a mismatch between formal laws and customary practices regarding land.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This dissonance leads to conflicts, as different groups may have conflicting views on land rights and usage.
Procedural Irregularities (Cprindia 2022)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It refers to the irregularities and improper conduct of the established legal or administrative processes in land management. • Such irregularities create confusion and mistrust, leading to conflicts over land ownership and use.
Recognition of Rights Between Occupiers and Government Agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This refers to acknowledgment of rights between land occupants and government bodies. • Conflicts arise when these rights are not recognized or respected. • It leads to disputes over land control and usage.
State Expropriation and Hegemony (Davies 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State expropriation is the government's laying claim over the private land. They often justify it as public interest. • When this process is done with irregularities and improper conduct, it leads to conflicts as affected landowners resist losing their property.
Unstable Governance (Singh et al. 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unstable governance refers to frequent changes in government policies or leadership, which creates uncertainty in land administration. • This instability leads to conflicts in many ways. For e.g.: The stakeholders try out (unfair/loophole) ways to navigate through the unstable rules and regulations. The stakeholders also lose faith in the governance systems and begin to take matter in their own hands often leading to conflicts.

D. Ecological Dimension

Factor	Relevance to the conflict
Quantity of Users (Varna & Tiesdell 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The quantity of users refers to the number of people competing for the same piece of land. • Given the high demand in urban areas for land, it leads to conflicts as different groups clash/compete over limited land.
Rapid Land-use Change (Mach et al. 2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapid land-use change involves quick changes to land use, often by urbanization or development. • These changes can lead to conflicts when existing communities are displaced or when land is repurposed without consultation.
Spatial Inequalities in Access to Land (Policy and Planning) (Lombard & Rakodi 2016)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial inequalities refer to uneven access to land based on locational or socio-economic status. • It lead to conflicts as groups fight one another for their share of land.
Rising Land Prices (Singh et al. 2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rising land prices often lead to exclusion of certain social groups from participation in land markets leading to a struggle to avail public land.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It also increases competition for space among developers, residents, and informal vendors.
Spatial Imageability (Pearsall et al. 2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial imageability is the ease with which the physical environment can be navigated and recognized. • Poorly planned urban spaces can lead to conflicts as unclear boundaries and disorganized land use create confusion and disputes among different land users.
Land Scarcity (Lombard & Rakodi 2016)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land scarcity refers to the limited land availability for development in urban areas. • The scarcity of land leads to fierce competition and conflicts as different groups wish to lay claim over it.

Table 14: Relevance of the factors influencing land conflicts

Source: Author.

Annex 4: Case studies and their brief description

Case study A: *Gandhi bazaar's attempt to westernise: The case of urban friction between the state and the residents*

Gandhi Bazaar (Gandhi market), situated in the heart of Basavanagudi, a prominent area in southern Bengaluru, captures the rich cultural and historical essence of the city. Since its inception in the early 20th century, the bazaar (market) has transformed from a traditional marketplace into a bustling hub of commerce, culture, and community engagement, mirroring the broader evolution of Bengaluru. The street, alive with various informal activities, restaurants, banks, clothing shops, and stores selling puja items, is a vibrant and diverse space (Directorate of Urban Land Transport [DULT], n.d.).

Due to the continuous inflow of foot traffic, local authorities decided to convert Gandhi Bazaar Main Road into a pedestrianized zone to ensure pedestrian safety and preserve the market's vibrancy (DULT, n.d.). The redesign was a collaborative effort led by the German development agency GIZ in partnership with the architecture firm MayaPraxis, supervised by the Directorate of Urban Land Transport, Bengaluru.

Although well-intended, the pedestrianization project has sparked significant debate and conflict among stakeholders. While state authorities claim the project aims to modernize and enrich the area, residents have expressed opposing views. Business owners and local residents are concerned about the impact on their livelihoods and daily routines. Some argue that pedestrianization could deter customers who rely on vehicular access and potentially harm the formal vendors who contribute to the area's unique character (Mirror, 2024). Since its informal inauguration in March, the project has faced continuous friction, including protests, bandhs (shop closures), and sometimes even semi-violent demonstrations.

Case study B: “Frazer towns had enough”: The case of urban friction between the informality and the residents.

Mosque Road in Frazer Town, a prominent area in northeastern Bengaluru, has undergone significant transformation since its establishment in the early 20th century. Initially a quiet residential neighbourhood, its proximity to the mosque has attracted numerous street vendors ranging from food to fabrics.

This has led to conflicts between the informal sector and local residents. While vendors contribute to the local economy, residents are concerned about the negative impacts on their quality of life. This friction has resulted in regular protests and public meetings, with the Frazer Town Residents' Welfare Association demanding stricter measures to “control the spread” of informal activities. The association cites rising crime rates, noise, traffic congestion, and inadequate waste management as key issues with the influx of vendors (The Hindu Bureau, 2023).

On the other hand, vendors argue that their livelihoods depend on operating in this residential area and that they provide essential services to the community (DHNS & DHNS, 2024). This ongoing conflict highlights the complexity between the livelihood of informal community and the wants of the residents.

Case study C: “Reclaim the footpaths”, Urban friction between the state and the Informality.

"Reclaim Footpath" is a state-run initiative in Bengaluru designed to enhance pedestrian safety by focusing on footpath accessibility.

Street vendors are crucial to Bengaluru's informal economy. However, civic authorities believe their presence on footpaths causes congestion, safety issues, and accessibility problems for pedestrians (The Hindu Bureau, 2023). To address these challenges, the Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike (BBMP) launched the 'Reclaim Footpath' campaign. The vendors are being evicted as a part of this campaign.

This initiative has caused conflicts between street vendors and state authorities (The Hindu Bureau, 2023). Supporters of the initiative say clearing footpaths is crucial for pedestrian safety due to Bengaluru's rising traffic and population. However, vendors and their supporters worry about the negative impact on their livelihoods (Udbhavi Balakrishna et al., 2023). The absence of designated vending zones or rehabilitation plans also worsens the issue, leaving many vendors vulnerable.

This conflict highlights the tensions between the state authorities and the informality over public land in the city of Bengaluru.

Annex 5: Understanding the State's vision in Gandhi bazaar redevelopment:

As part of the city's attempt to turn world class (Roy,2011), the state announced a redevelopment project focused on redeveloping Gandhi Bazaar, an old marketplace in South Bengaluru.

A deeper look into the project's documents, authored by DULT and designed by MayaPraxis, reveals a focus on beautification and aesthetics. This project is an example of the city's broader strategy to enhance its global appeal by prioritizing visual redevelopment, aiming to create an attractive urban landscape that can compete on the international stage. The focus on these elements underscores Bengaluru's commitment to redefining its urban identity and striving for global recognition.

*“The spatial infrastructure plan for Gandhi Bazaar Main Road is prepared with the aim to enhance it as a vibrant and inclusive Socio-cultural space, while making it economically efficient, safe, accessible, **clean, green and comfortable for all users**.....*

*..... to develop a spatial infrastructure design that provides an approach and a framework **for improving the physical, social and health conditions of Gandhi Bazaar Street Market and Main Road**, through a participatory planning process”- (MayaPraxis project brief, n.d)*

*“The aim of this study is to check the feasibility Pedestrianizing Gandhi Bazaar and to suggest measures which will facilitate comfortable shopping experience to shoppers by **the provision of world class facilities**, while preserving the cultural and historical value of the area.....*

*..... To transform the street into an **attractive and aesthetically appealing destination**, that also serves as a tourist destination..... To improve the quality of street by working with the local shop keepers and the hawkers.....To improve air quality by encouraging pedestrian rather than vehicular trips”- (DULT website, n.d)*

Given the state's ambition to present itself as a world-class city, this region focus of this project on beautification and aesthetics promotes the concept of world-class spaces. It has been legitimized through the rhetoric of beautification, suggesting that these spaces are designed for public benefit.

Understanding the Resident perspective:

The opposition to the "Gandhi Bazaar's attempt to westernize" project is believed to be from multiple concerns among local residents and traders. The residents and traders feared that the proposed changes would increase accidents, rise the pollution levels, disrupt the cultural "character", and erase the memories associated with the old space. Traders were also worried that permanent structures for street vendors on footpaths would affect their businesses due to reduced visibility for rented stores. There was also a sense of betrayal among the community members, who felt excluded from the planning process and misled about their involvement in the project. These concerns highlighted a significant mismatch between the community's aspirations and the project's vision. This has attracted a strong resistance to the project as the changes are viewed as aspirational mismatch.



Figure 23. Gandhi bazaar friction.

Source: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bengaluru/bengaluru-residents-traders-up-in-arms-against-remodelling-of-gandhi-bazaar-street/articleshow/91929192.cms>

Annex 6: Code Book

CODE GROUP	CODES
SOCIO ECONOMIC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic inequality • Insecurity of tenure • Local issue resolving mechanism • Lure of valuable resources • Perceptions of exclusion • Population growth • Restricted access to land markets. • Sense of collective identity • Social cohesion • Vulnerable population
HISTORICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asymmetric landownership • Historical grievances • History of conflict • History of evictions & demolitions • Land-grabbing practices • Political marginalization • The conflict-proneness of land governance
POLITICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abuse of power • Access to political power • Administrative unwillingness to comply with the rule of law • Cooperation and coordination within and between different government agencies • Corruption • Insufficient, inaccurate & missing survey data/land records • Judicial incapacity • Lack of conflict resolution mechanisms. • Normative dissonance • Procedural irregularities • Recognition of rights between occupiers and government agencies • State expropriation and Hegemony • Unstable governance
ECOLOGICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantity of users • Rapid land-use change • Spatial Inequalities in access to land • Rising land prices • Spatial Imageability • Land scarcity

Table 15. Code book with a list of code groups and their codes.
Source: Author.

Annex 7: interview guide:

Semi structured in depth interview

Respondents: Informal vendors, Residents: Ranger (ward officer for the state)

Areas in focus: Gandhi bazaar / Frazer town / Footpath evictions.

Opening and Introduction

Hello. Good morning/afternoon/evening.

My name is Goutham KB and I'm from Bengaluru. At present, I'm pursuing my master's in urban management and development at IHS, Erasmus university Rotterdam. I wish to interview you as a part of my research project on urban conflicts involving street vendors, Residents and State (the govt).

Firstly, thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview.

As you might already be familiar with the conflict at Gandhi bazaar/Frazer town/Footpath evictions. This research aims to help the planners understand deal with the urban land conflicts between different actors of the society. To do that I need to understand the perspectives and experiences of the main actors in the conflict to understand the the driving factors of the conflict. Although many reports and articles discuss this issue, few studies capture the firsthand experiences and perceptions of the involved parties. My thesis seeks to address this gap by gathering insights directly from those affected.

Duration and Format

The interview will take not more than 15-20 minutes. Initially, I will ask you a few questions about your background and personal details. Moving on, I will be asking a series of open and closed-ended questions related to the main topic. Please let me know me if you don't wish to discuss the question.

Permission for Recording

I would like to begin this interview by requesting your consent to record this interview. The recording will be used for academic analysis purpose only. It will be deleted once the analysis is complete.

Do I have your permission to record this interview?

You can withdraw your consent during the interview, and I will stop the interview right away.

Consent for Research

The information you provide will be kept confidential and used strictly for academic purposes. Your responses will be anonymous to protect your privacy. Do you agree to let me use this data for academic research?

Thank you. Let's begin the interview.

Interview Questions:

A. Street vendors

Categories	All Questions
Introduction	1. "Can you introduce yourself please and tell us about your background and what you do?"
	2. "How long have you been working as a street vendor, and what led you to this line of work?"
	3. "Can you describe a typical day in your work life as a street vendor?"
Socio-Economic Questions	4. "What's your view on the recent conflict/friction/eviction in the region?"
	5. "How do you manage to support your family in these difficult times?"
	6. "Can you describe the economic challenges you face as a street vendor?"
	7. "How has the threat of eviction affected your business operations and financial stability?"
	8. "What alternative livelihoods are you considering if street vending becomes unsustainable?"
	9. "How has the eviction impacted your children's education and your family's overall well-being?"
	10. "What kind of support would you like to see from local authorities or the community to improve your situation?"
	11. "Have you or your community received any support from NGOs or local organizations? How has this helped?"
	12. "What measures have you taken to adapt to the changing economic conditions in your area?"
Political Questions	13. "How do you perceive the role of local government in addressing the concerns of street vendors?"
	14. "Can you elaborate on the dynamic between political leaders and your community?"
	15. "What has been your experience with the BBMP's (Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike) policies regarding street vending?"
	16. "Have there been any efforts from political leaders to address the challenges faced by informal settlers?"
	17. "Do you feel that the authorities have been transparent in their decisions affecting your community?"
	18. "What do you think is the root cause of resistance from authorities regarding the legalization of street vending?"
	19. "What changes would you like to see in the policies governing street vending and informal settlements?"

Historical Questions	20. "Can you share your experience with the eviction process in Ejipura?"
	21. "How have the relations between street vendors and residents evolved over the years?"
	22. "When did tensions between street vendors and local residents first start, and how have they escalated?"
	23. "Can you recount any specific incidents of conflict or harassment that stand out in your memory?"
	24. "How was the situation for street vendors different when you first started compared to now?"
Spatial Questions	25. "Can you describe the location where you currently conduct your business?"
	26. "What are the conditions like in the temporary shelters provided after the eviction?"
	27. "How do you think the rapid changes in land use and urban planning have affected street vendors?"
	28. "In your opinion, how could the city better integrate street vendors into the city?"
	29. "What is your perspective on the allocation of public spaces for street vending in your area?"
	30. "How do the spatial arrangements of informal settlements contribute to conflicts with residents?"
	31. "What would be an ideal spatial solution to reduce conflicts between street vendors and formal residents?"
Closing remarks	32. "Looking ahead, what are your plans if the ban on the food mela continues?"
	33. "What message would you like to convey to the broader community about the situation of evictees in Bengaluru?"

"I'm done here with the interview. Thank you for your time. Feel free to let me know if there's anything you wish to ask."

B. State authority - Civic ranger

Categories	All Questions
Introduction	1. "Can you introduce yourself please and explain your role in maintaining public spaces?"
	2. "How long have you been working in this position, and what are your main responsibilities?"
	3. "Can you describe a typical day in your work when dealing with street vendors?"
Perspectives on Street Vendors	4. "What are your thoughts on the street vendors selling goods in unauthorized areas?"
	5. "How do you balance the need for public order with the livelihoods of these vendors?"
	6. "Do you see street vendors as a significant problem, or are they a part of the city's fabric?"
	7. "What challenges do street vendors pose to public space management?"
	8. "In your opinion, why do these vendors continue to return despite the risks?"
Authority's Perspective	9. "Can you explain why the authorities see street vendors as a problem?"
	10. "What are the specific legal or municipal regulations that street vendors are violating?"
	11. "How do you enforce these regulations, and what steps are involved in an eviction?"
	12. "What are the common reasons given by vendors for occupying public spaces?"
	13. "Do you think the current policies towards street vendors are effective?"
	14. "What are the challenges you face in implementing these policies?"
	15. "Are there any misconceptions the public might have about your role, or the actions taken against vendors?"
Interactions with Vendors	16. "How do you typically handle interactions with vendors when they are found in restricted areas?"
	17. "Have there been any successful negotiations or agreements with vendors to relocate or comply with regulations?"
	18. "How do you address situations where vendors resist eviction orders?"
	19. "What kind of training or guidelines are you given for handling confrontations with vendors?"
	20. "Have there been instances where you felt that evictions were handled poorly? How was this addressed?"
	21. "How do you deal with the emotional or moral aspects of evicting people who depend on their stalls for their livelihood?"

Final Thoughts/ Closing Remarks	22. "What do you think could be a balanced solution to accommodate street vendors while maintaining public order?"
	23. "Are there any initiatives or plans from the municipality to help resolve this ongoing issue?"
	24. "Do you believe there is a need for policy reform to better address the challenges of street vending?"
	25. "What role do you think vendors themselves could play in finding a solution?"
	26. "How can authorities and vendors work together to create a more sustainable solution?"
	27. "What are your hopes for the future of public space management in relation to street vendors?"

"I'm done here with the interview. Thank you for your time. Feel free to let me know if there's anything you wish to ask."

C. Resident Interview questions

Categories	All Questions
Introduction	1. "Could you please introduce yourself and tell us a bit about your background?"
	2. "How long have you been living in this area, and what changes have you observed over the years?"
Perspectives on Street Vendors	3. "Can you share your perspective on the issue of street vendors in your area, particularly those on Mosque Road?"
	4. "What specific issues do the presence of street vendors create for you and your community?"
	5. "Do you see any positive aspects to having street vendors in your area, or is the impact mostly negative?"
Community and Cultural Concerns	6. "You mentioned that most vendors are outsiders. How does that impact your views on their presence in the community?"
	7. "Can you explain why maintaining the exclusivity of your community is important to you?"
	8. "How do you think the cultural and social fabric of your community is affected by the presence of these vendors?"
Impact on Daily Life	9. "How do street vendors impact your daily life, particularly in terms of safety, cleanliness, and convenience?"
	10. "You mentioned concerns about cleanliness and hygiene due to vendors. Can you elaborate on that?"
	11. "Have there been any incidents that made you particularly concerned about the vendors?"
Interaction with Authorities	12. "What is your view on the municipality's efforts to manage or evict street vendors?"
	13. "Do you think the local government's actions have been effective in addressing your concerns?"
	14. "How has your community engaged with local authorities to address the issues posed by street vendors?"
Possible Solutions	15. "What do you think would be a balanced solution to accommodate street vendors while maintaining public order?"
	16. "Are there any specific solutions that you think could work for both the residents and the vendors?"

	17. "Do you believe that designated vending zones could be a viable solution, and if so, where should these be located?"
Community Influence	18. "You mentioned having political strength. How does that play a role in this situation?"
	19. "How do you view the role of your community's political connections in addressing these issues?"
	20. "Do you believe that your community's interests are being adequately represented by local leaders?"
Final Thoughts	21. "Do you think there's a way to improve the relationship between the residents and the vendors?"
	22. "What would you say to those who argue that street vendors have a right to earn a living just like anyone else?"
	23. "Do you see any potential for peaceful coexistence between residents and vendors?"
Closing Remarks	24. "Is there anything else you'd like to add regarding this issue?"
	25. "Thank you for sharing your perspective. Is there anything else you'd like to discuss or any final thoughts you have on the matter?"

"I'm done here with the interview. Thank you for your time. Feel free to let me know if there's anything you wish to know or ask."

Table 16. Interview questions.

Source: Author.

Annex 8: Interview summaries.

R	Overview	Major Findings	Tone
R1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Street vendor's challenges. - Problems with local authorities. - Impact of evictions on their livelihood. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frustrated with frequent evictions. - Needs a stable place to work. - Feels authorities don't care about vendors' struggles. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calm but frustrated. - Feels tired and resigned. - Determined to keep working for their family.
R2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Municipality's view on street vending. - Balancing vendor needs with complaints from residents. - Eviction and regulation enforcement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hard to manage public spaces. - Pressure to enforce strict rules. - Better communication and designated areas might help. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focused on their job. - Understands vendors' problems but committed to enforcing rules.
R3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Street vendor's experience with eviction. - Daily challenges of street vending. - Communication issues with local authorities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Worried about frequent evictions. - Feels authorities ignore vendors' needs. - Hopeful for better dialogue and a lasting solution. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frustrated but hopeful. - Quiet determination to keep working despite challenges.
R4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resident's view on street vendors. - Concerns about congestion and cleanliness. - Communication with authorities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Worried about cleanliness and traffic. - Wants stronger action from authorities. - Thinks designated areas for vendors could help. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assertive and focused on stricter rules for the vendors. - Frustrated with current situation and is angry.
R5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informal vendor's challenges. - Resident complaints affecting their business. - Need for better relations with residents and authorities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Growing tension with residents. - Feels authorities aren't helping vendors enough. - Wants better communication to ease conflicts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concerned and frustrated. - Caught between business needs and residents' demands.
R6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informal vendor's perspective on conflicts with residents. - Impact of complaints on their livelihood. - Possible solutions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frustrated with constant complaints. - Wants better dialogue between vendors and residents. - Thinks clear rules and designated areas could help. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Weary but cautiously optimistic. - Hopes for solutions that work for both vendors and community.
R7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informal vendor's challenges with frequent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uncertainty and fear of eviction. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hopeful but aware of difficulties.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evictions. - Efforts to communicate with authorities. - Thoughts on the future of street vending. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Current system is unsustainable. - Hopeful for better communication and support for vendors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focused on positive change and systemic improvements.
R8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informal vendors struggles with government crackdowns. - Failed efforts to reach authorities. - Impact on livelihood and view of future change. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frustrated with constant evictions. - Feels the system is flawed and indifferent. - Hope for change is fading. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subdued and cautious tone. - Worn down by evictions and lack of support. - Skeptical about prospects for reform.

R- interviewees.

Table 17. Interview summaries

Source: Author.

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