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NEW URBANISMS IN INDIA

URBAN LIVING . SUSTAINABILITY . EVERYDAY LIFE

FINAL REPORT
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Dr. Sophie Hadfield-Hill
Dr. Cristiana Zara

University of Birmingham, UK

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

E·S·R·C
ECONOMIC
& SOCIAL
RESEARCH
COUNCIL

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For further information contact:
s.a.hadfield-hill@bham.ac.uk
@hadfieldhill

Copies are available to download at:
www.new-urbanism-india.com

Particular thanks go to the children and their families who shared their everyday experiences of urban transformation

NEW URBANISMS IN INDIA

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CONTENTS

1   EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Urban transformation is on the Indian agenda. From visions, to plans and sites of construction, Indian cities are undergoing change.   The scale and pace of this vision is significant – 100 cities are to receive funding from the period 2015 – 2020 (Ministry of Urban Development, 2016). As the Indian Government puts plans in motion for a suite of Smart City initiatives - including retrofitting, redevelopment, greenfield development and pan-city approaches - it is the experiences and impact on people and place that need significant consideration (Datta 2015; Hadfield-Hill 2016). This research offers major insight into the everyday lives of children and families at a site of urban change.

Smart cities, sustainable urban environments and eco-cities are becoming increasingly prevalent across the majority world (see for example Caprotti 2014 and Shatkin 2011). Such urban spaces have emerged in response to a range of issues, such as population pressure on existing towns and cities, urban solutions to climate change, technological innovation into sustainable living and increasingly upwardly mobile populations. A neo-liberal urban agenda is being pursued in the name of 'smart' and often privatised solutions (Datta, 2015). As a result, new urban forms are being planned, constructed and are consequently sites for new urban experiences. This research emerges from a call for a focus on those who are at the margins of such urban development (Datta, 2015) and insight into the 'concerns, anxieties, aspirations, desires, exclusions, and inclusions that characterise newer forms of urban life' (Srivastava, 2015: 128).

The *New Urbanisms in India* project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), UK, investigated the everyday lives of children, young people and their families living in one such site of urban change in India. This report draws on data collected in 2015 with 350 people from diverse socio-economic backgrounds to explore interactions, issues and experiences of urban transformation. The context for this research was Lavasa, a private sector urban development initiative in the Indian state of Maharashtra. Given the increased role of the private sector in shaping everyday life including the development of housing and urban living schemes and the planned scale and construction of the site, this offered fertile ground for experiencing everyday life in such a shifting landscape.

The data was collected through a series of complementary methods with children, young people (aged 5-23) and their families. The research positioned young people as key informants in retelling their everyday experiences – through their voices, drawings, mobilities and interactions. Grounded in ethnography, the researchers lived in the case study site for eleven months (January – November 2015) and conducted a series of qualitative methodologies including: individual in-depth interviews, guided walks, creative methods, focus groups, community based workshops and the use of the research mobile app 'Map My Community.' Forty core families from diverse backgrounds participated in the project, 170 interviews were conducted and 350 children, young people and adults took part in the diverse range of project activities. This report represents a significant piece of work into the everyday lives of children, young people and their families living in a site of urban transformation. Twelve core themes emerged from the data analysis:

EDUCATION PROVISION – Children and young people's experiences of urban development were significantly shaped by their access, or not, to education. Limited education opportunities were available at the time of the research which had a considerable impact on young people's experiences of belonging and families' broader commitment to Lavasa as a place. Families across socio-economic backgrounds expressed frustration, disappointment and anxiety around the lack of provision and potential impact on children's futures.

(DIS)CONNECTION – Participants experienced a series of material and social disconnections in their everyday lives. Disconnections ranged from geographical isolation (substantial journey times to

other major towns and cities), to poor electricity connectivity, water, internet connection and road networks within the development. Many of these disconnections were seasonal, with greatest difficulties experienced during the monsoon. Disconnection was also experienced on a social level, culturally, between diverse groups of people coming together in an urban setting, between the tourists and the permanent residents, as well as between generations.

A PLACE IN THE MAKING – For many participants Lavasa was a landscape of memory and belonging. Children and families had connections with the land and its past. Remembering and being sympathetic to these histories should be an important part of urban change. Many participants expressed frustration and resentment with the process of land acquisition. However, it is important to note that this research is not an extensive investigation into these issues. A lack of services and facilities was acutely experienced by all those living in Lavasa. Participants of all socio-economic backgrounds spoke of the adjustment it takes to live in a space of urban transformation, a place in the making, waiting for the provision of services and facilities.

NATURE AND GREEN SPACE – Participants of all socio-economic backgrounds appreciated the connections with nature which they had when living in Lavasa. Young people growing up in this shifting landscape of urban change had an overwhelming sense of stewardship for the natural environment which surrounded them - seeing the landscape change on a daily, weekly, monthly basis with trees being cleared and buildings emerging. Young people were very much concerned with striking a balance between the concrete and nature. All participants gave vivid accounts of the importance of nature for family, friendship, their self and wellbeing.

EXPERIENCES OF PLAY – The privatisation of play facilities was a particular concern and constraint for many young people. The location of play infrastructures was a further issue. Ensuring safe and easy access to good quality play opportunities should be a priority.

BEING AND FEELING SAFE – participants of all backgrounds felt that Lavasa was a safe place to be and live. However, some felt that safety was compromised with the influx of vehicles, traffic and a potential threat from the unknown expanding population. Other fears stemmed from *living with* animals in close proximity (particularly snakes).

EXPERIENCING INEQUALITY – The research uncovered multiple everyday vulnerabilities. Inequalities stemmed from 'fitting in' with urban vision and space, to who is 'counted' as a citizen, as well as educational, employment, land and water uncertainties. Vulnerabilities were experienced at multiple scales. Furthermore, unaffordability was a core theme. From housing to healthcare, shops and play – participants, those living and working in Lavasa were priced out of accessing key services and facilities.

OPPORTUNITIES – For many participants, Lavasa was a site of opportunity. Despite the uncertainties mentioned elsewhere in the report, participants were proud of their access to employment, education, healthcare, mobility and water and recognised their general improvement in standard of living.

TOURISM vs. LIVING – Economic opportunities were facilitated through tourism. However, there was a fine balance to be met between the experiences of permanent residents and day visitors (i.e. with access to facilities and space).

BEING PART OF URBAN CHANGE – Participants frequently spoke about changes to personal habits and routines in line with the urban development project. Despite these changes, participants were aware of the need to remember the past and prior values. Further themes related to formal participation in the urban transformation project. Whilst residents were sympathetic to the time it takes for infrastructure and services to be put in place, further communication with all residents was needed to manage expectations.

LIVED EXPERIENCE OF FINANCIAL TURMOIL – Throughout the research participants spoke of instability and turmoil surrounding the Lavasa development. Instability and the resulting insecurity had significant, everyday impacts for people living in this space of urban change (i.e. particularly in terms of education and employment opportunities).

IMAGINING A FUTURE – There was an overwhelming energy from people of all ages across the social spectrum who wanted Lavasa to succeed. Increased participation was needed to facilitate interaction between diverse social groups and offer opportunities for intergenerational engagement.

NEW URBANISMS IN INDIA

URBAN LIVING . SUSTAINABILITY . EVERYDAY LIFE

This research has provided space for detailed ethnographic research into the everyday experiences of urban transformation. Children and families are a key stakeholder in urban change, through this research they express their ideas of what they want their city to look like.

This research pays attention to all visions, mobilities and everyday experiences, from those who were on the land prior to the development, to students who studied for higher education, and those who were working, whether they be shop keepers, hoteliers, gardeners or in the construction industry. The research was grounded in the experiences of children who were growing up, witnessing and negotiating urban transformation.

To the right are a series of recommendations to be considered by governments, policy makers, developers and urban planners who are embarking on or involved in planning urban futures.

It is clear from this report that sites of urban change should not be planned, designed and constructed without a consideration of the everyday lives of children and their families, particularly those who have a claim to land and its past.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1 Connections between the rural and the urban are vital for pathways of social and economic prosperity. Small towns and villages are core components of urban life; connections should be made and maintained.

2 A diverse education portfolio must be at the heart of any urban strategy. Sites of education connect young people to place and enable families to commit to urban change.

3 Spaces of interaction are key sites of belonging and community building. It is essential to integrate spaces for people to sit, eat, walk and play throughout the development (both indoor and outdoor. Importantly there should be no charge for using such facilities.

4 When translocating urban design features across contexts and communities, the design and physical properties need to be compatible with the local environment. It is also important to acknowledge the socio-cultural context in the translocation process.

5 Recognising the importance of water for wellbeing (beyond water for survival), providing spaces for recreation and avoiding the privatisation of such facilities.

6 Urban planning should have nature as a key component for the wellbeing of urban dwellers. A diversity of natural spaces are needed (from planned nature trails to informal spaces for people to interact with nature).

7 Play spaces are important for young people's everyday lives and careful consideration needs to be given to their safe location, walkability and accessibility for all young people.

8 When planning, building and transforming urban spaces, developers and policies need to be sympathetic to the landscape of memories which families and communities hold.

9 Urban agendas need to be inclusive in terms of who is counted as a citizen and actively seek opportunities for utilising local resources, skills, labour and knowledge in urban development.

10 New urban spaces, whether they be entirely new cities or sites of urban change should not be visioned, designed and built without considering the everyday lives, needs and desires of diverse groups of children, young people and families.

2   THE PROJECT

The *New Urbanisms in India: Urban living, sustainability and everyday life* research project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (Reference: ES/K00932X/2), investigated the everyday lives of children, young people and their families living in a site of urban change in India (2013-2016). Three hundred and fifty people from diverse backgrounds took part in this research which explored interactions, issues and experiences of urban transformation. The methodological approach was qualitative, supported with the use of an innovative mobile app (designed as part of the project) 'Map My Community'. Three core thematic areas were pursued: i) everyday routines, mobility and access; ii) experience and interaction with nature and green space and iii) everyday experiences of internationalising principles of urban design. The project was led by Dr. Sophie Hadfield-Hill (PI) and Dr. Cristiana Zara both from the University of Birmingham, UK and was affiliated with Symbiosis International University, Pune, India.

India's economic growth has been matched by rapid urban development in recent years – from visions to large scale urban infrastructures, India's cities are undergoing change. This project was a unique opportunity to gather empirical evidence of the experiences, issues and needs of children, young people and their families, living in and moving through new urban spaces. This report and material emerging from the project significantly contributes to the knowledge of everyday life in spaces of urban change and offers a series of both context specific and broader policy recommendations for the urban transformation agenda.

For eleven months the researchers lived and worked in the case study site, getting to know, being known and themselves experiencing the goings-on of urban development – the ebbs and flows of living in a site of construction, witnessing change first hand, experiencing the turmoil of crisis and getting to know the diversity of life.

TWITTER INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD

Guided walks monsoon style #research #intherain

Day 211 in the field: one nine year old participant has just finished #mapmycommunity 88 photos of her #everydaylife

Day 219 in the field: #mycity workshop in full swing #designing #thinking #creating

Day 219 in the field@ great guided walk with #civil #engineers #socialscientists sharing project findings

Day 229 in the field: #children training #adults how to use #mapmycommunity #intergenerational #learning

Day 231 in the field: early morning #guidedwalk with siblings

Day233: insight into the #gendered #mobilities of #women and #daughters

4 days left #inthefield: saying goodbye is always hard, but easier when you know you are coming back #dissemination

#fieldwork is complete: 11 months of #hardwork #ethnography #friendships #emotion #datacollection #india @ESRC @GeogBham #yearoffieldwork

3 THE CASE STUDY

Lavasa, a new urban development currently under construction in the Indian state of Maharashtra, was the focus of the research. Located in the western Ghats, approximately 130 miles from Mumbai and 40 miles from Pune, this is a site of urban transformation, 1/5th the size of greater Mumbai (10,000 hectares of land). Conceived by the Hindustan Construction Company (HCC) and managed by Lavasa Corporation (a subsidiary) this is a private sector urban development initiative. According to the plans, upon completion, key features will include: i) 'five self-sustaining towns with a permanent population of 300,000,' diverse accommodation types including 'studio apartments, villas, affordable starter homes, rental … and workforce [housing]'; ii) an 'integrated development [where people can] … live, work, learn and play in complete harmony with nature'; iii) a 'dedicated City Management Services team'; and iv) award winning urban design 'developed on the principles of New Urbanism' (Lavasa, 2016).

At the time of research, Dasve the first of the five planned towns was near completion (i.e. housing, public spaces, shops, schools and colleges, hotels and tourist attractions) with construction work underway in Mugaon. Since its conception and initiation of the build by Lavasa (in 2004) the project has been mired in controversy surrounding environmental land clearances (Datta, 2012) and an uncertain extended period of financial turmoil – this has had significant impact on people and place. At a time of planned urban change in India (Ministry of Urban Development, 2016) this was an opportune moment to be investigating such a landscape, researching the lives of those who were living in, interacting with, moving through and negotiating a new urban life.
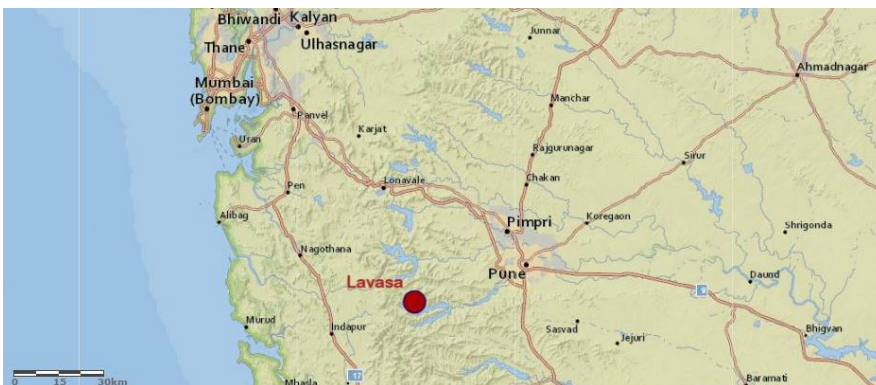
Location of Lavasa relative to Mumbai and Pune (ESRI Maps, 2017)

4   URBAN TRANSFORMATION

The broader context for this research is urban transformation in India; new urban environments which are being planned and executed at a variety of spatial scales. Urban transformation is a significant feature of Prime Minister Modi's Government. The Smart City initiative, promotes urban change as a solution to many societal and environmental ills in existing towns and cities. In 2015, the 'India Smart Cities Challenge' was launched where cities outlined their vision for smart urbanism. Twenty cities have since been selected and received funding from the Ministry of Urban Development (India Smart Cities Challenge, 2016). The Indian Government claims that over the period 2015 to 2020, 100 cities will receive funding to implement their Smart initiatives. Through a strategy of retrofitting, redevelopment, greenfield development and pan-city approaches, emphasis is on adequate water supplies, affordable housing, IT connectivity and citizen participation to name but a few directives (Ministry of Urban Development, 2016).

The Indian Government proposals are part of a wider shift in the majority world in terms of planning for sustainable urban environments (see for example Caprotti 2014 and Shatkin 2011). From Brazil, to India and China, new urban forms are being modelled and replicated from European movements such as Garden Cities (Howard and Osborn, 1965), towns based on the principles of New Urbanism (Grant, 2006) and Asian models of development (Roy and Ong, 2011). Urban visions propose to solve population pressure on existing towns and cities, provide urban solutions to climate change, technological innovation into sustainable living and increasingly upwardly mobile populations. A neoliberal urban agenda is being pursued in the name of smart, often privatised solutions. These factors are contributing to the development of new urban forms and new urban experiences.

This research emerges from a call for a focus on those who are at the margins of such large scale urban development in India (Datta, 2015) and attention to the 'concerns, anxieties, aspirations, desires, exclusions and inclusions that characterise newer forms of urban life' (Srivastava, 2015: 128). This research offers a major insight into the everyday experiences of those who lived in a shifting landscape of urban change. As Smart Cities are planned and executed, the needs of families need to be at the core of the urban agenda.

'Ethnographic details on the everyday struggles faced by those at the risk of being excluded from India's urban future are needed … research is essential' (Datta, 2015: 18)
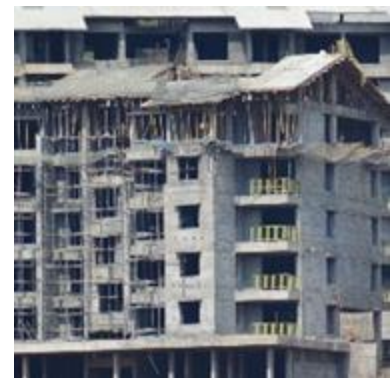
5   THE METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach for this project was qualitative, collating a diverse range of data about the everyday lives of young people (aged 5-23) and their families living in a site of urban change. As Children's Geographers, our approach enables children and young people to be key informants in retelling their experiences of urban change – through their voice, mobilities and everyday interactions. Grounded in ethnography, for an eleven-month period the researchers lived in the case study site (January – November 2015), getting to know what life is like for children and their families. Project methodologies included: individual in-depth interviews, guided walks, drawings, focus groups, community based workshops and the use of a research mobile app 'Map My Community.' Forty core families from a diverse range of social backgrounds participated in the project – the team conducted 170 interviews and engaged with 350 children, young people and adults.

DIVERSE FAMILIES

One of the primary aims of the project was to gather data on a diversity of experiences of urban transformation. Forty core families participated from diverse social backgrounds. Examples included: i) families who lived on the land prior to the development, with ancestral links to the land and its past; ii) migrant workers and their families, who were contracted to work on the build; iii) students who had moved to the area for Higher Education; iv) families who had bought a villa or a flat either as a second home or permanent residence; and v) families who were supporting the tourism industry, from hotel workers, to restaurateurs and shop keepers.

ETHNOGRAPHY

For an eleven-month period the researchers lived and worked in Lavasa, living alongside the participants, being seen and known as the researchers. Research with young people began in local schools, spending time in the classrooms getting to know everyday routines and insights into life and relations in Lavasa.

'I have never shared all these things with anybody yet, so I am confused, I feel as if I am saying something wrong' (PA51, Female, 26)

The researchers were able to experience first-hand many of the issues associated with urban change which participants faced, from problems with local transport to access to services and facilities.

The researchers also lived through seasonal variations, including the monsoon - a significant event in the life of young people and their families living in this region. Not least, they were witness to the struggles associated with being disconnected, the ongoing financial uncertainty which surrounded the Lavasa development and the resultant angst which participants faced.

DRAWINGS

Young participants (under the age of 10) were asked to draw a picture – '*Draw a picture to show a child in another country where you live.'* This method was used to introduce young participants to the research project and as a prompt in the first interview '*Getting to know you*' – where the researcher and the participant would talk through the drawing to glean further information about their life and everyday experiences. These drawings and narratives formed a key part of the data analysis as evidenced throughout this report.

INTERVIEWS

Core families took part in a series of interviews about various aspects of their lives. The first interview focused on '*Getting to know you*' and the second was in relation to mobility, going through the data collated from the mobile app 'Map My Community'. During this interview, participants would be asked a series of questions about their data (tracks from the GPS) and using Google Earth they navigated around the development and spoke to the data. Interview three focused on access and experiences of nature and green space.

GUIDED WALKS

Participant-led guided walks were used to further gather data on mobility and everyday interactions with the natural and built environment. The guided walks were arranged with young people, either individually or in peer groups and they guided the researcher around their local area, prompted with questions. Typically, guided walks would last over an hour and would involve walking through the forest, taking familiar journeys and highlighting areas of the development participants liked or thought needed improving.
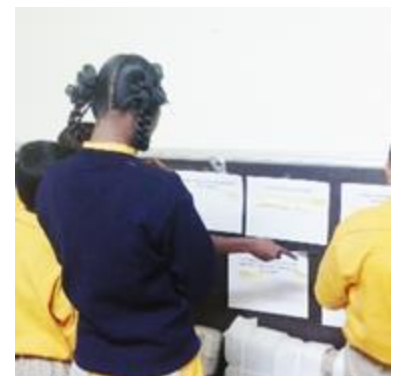
During the monsoon guided walks were extremely difficult to organise, thus, these became 'Google guided walks' (using a laptop and Google Earth to navigate through and around where they live). This method had many benefits, including the ability to show the researchers other spaces of importance to them, which were often out of reach on a traditional guided walk (i.e. where the family collects water or an area of the forest used to pick berries).

'MAP MY COMMUNITY' MOBILE APP

'Map My Community' app was designed as an innovative mapping tool to capture data on young people and their families' mobilities, their access to services and everyday experiences of their local environment. Mobile technologies are being increasingly used as tools to support social research (Hesse-Bieber 2011; Ergler *et al.* 2016; Hadfield-Hill and Horton 2014). Indeed the mobile app and the data collected was part of the broader suite of qualitative methodologies. The use of the app builds on previous ESRC funded research (*New Urbanisms, New Citizens*: RES-062-23-1549) which used GPS devices to collect and visualise participant data. The use of a mobile app in this research was particularly innovative given the direct insight into social and spatial practices which the data yielded. The data gave extraordinary insight into everyday mobilities, marginal spaces and temporalities of life in a new urban development. The data revealed insight into everyday interior, private spaces and moments which are normally difficult to access in social science research - favourite spaces, family routines and habits.

The app was targeted at Android users given the market penetration in the case study area. 'Map My Community' had three research-led features: *Map my week, Capture that* and *Explore that space.*

Map my week gathered data on participants' everyday life, mobility and use of community space. Outdoor movements were tracked for up to a one week period and at regular intervals participants were prompted to take part in short surveys to ask where they were, who they were with and how they got there.

Capture that allowed participants to share with researchers their emotional responses to specific features of the built environment. They could take photographs and comment on what they liked or thought needed improving.
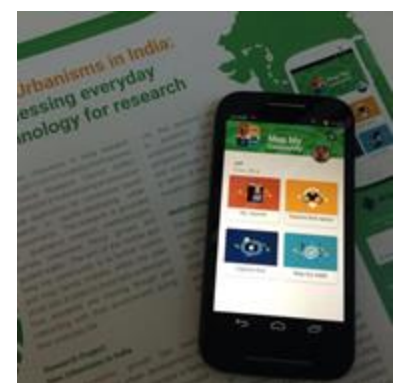
New technological tools prompt new ethical approaches and exciting opportunities in our research with children and young people

Explore that space enabled the researchers (informed by stakeholders in Lavasa) to pre-define specific areas of the urban environment to prompt information from respondents (i.e. a park, a promenade or open space). The app was set to poll for a participant's position (through the device's GPS), detecting whether they had entered a pre-defined area and then requested the completion of a survey.

Designing, building and consent

The app was conceived by the research team and the build was outsourced to an app development company (Bluetel Solutions, UK). The process of designing, building and testing the app was significant and should not be underestimated in social science research. Once the three core components were designed (Map my week, Explore that space and Capture that), the formulation of the questions and visualisation of the tool was designed in discussion with over 100 young people both in the UK and India to ensure appropriateness and ease of use (i.e. language and content layout). At the same time the researchers worked on the development of the backend to download, read, analyse and interpret the data. The app was tested for accuracy and ease of use by young participants. A group of young people worked with the researchers to design a culturally and age appropriate consent form.

Ethical issues and app based technologies

As with all methodological approaches in working with young people, careful ethical consideration was needed. There were numerous points of sensitivity including: digital literacy; anonymity; location based data; non-English speaking participants; loaning phones to young people; capacity for participants to withdraw from the study; and cultural appropriateness. These issues were raised in the ethics statement and the use of the app gained full approval from the University of Birmingham Research Ethics Committee.

'[The] mobile was in my pocket when I was playing … so these tracks got recorded when I was playing cricket'
(YR49, Male, 18)
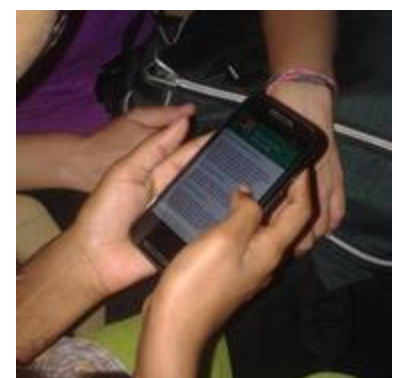
The app methodology

The app component of the methodology was introduced to participants once they had participated in other aspects of the project. Adult and young person consent was needed for participation to ensure that all parties knew of the implications of data visualisation research. Training and information sessions were run with parents (or guardians) and young people prior to participation. Most participants were loaned a phone and charger for a defined period and a date was arranged to review the data during a follow up interview. The app data was an extraordinary complementary tool for the other methods, i) yielding photographs from participants (ranging from 5-80 images) giving detailed insight into everyday life (from playing, to cooking and farming); ii) survey data gave details on location based experiences and iii) tracks were used as a prompt for discussions about everyday mobility.

Example of app based data (CH28, Male, 15)

'In nature. There is no sound. Uh no vehicle sound or some big cars sound. Only birds are talking with each other'
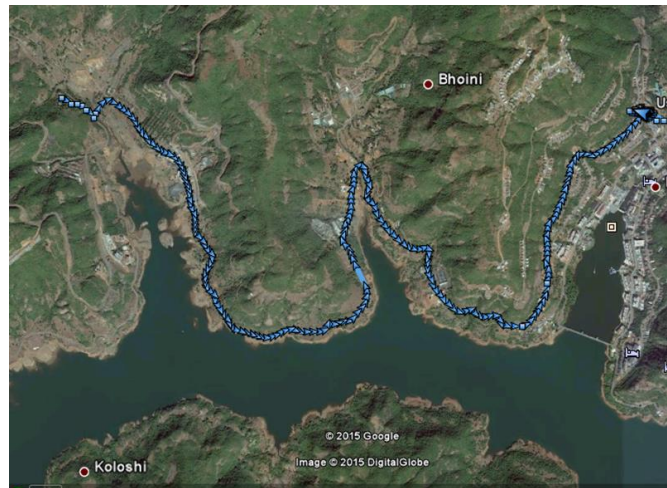
App track showing collecting water in the morning and the bus journey to school (Google Earth image)

6 KEY FINDINGS

The key findings are divided into twelve core themes which emerged from the data analysis. It is hoped that the experiences of young people and their families provide the evidence needed to contribute to understandings of urban transformation, policy and practice.

EDUCATION PROVISION
Themes: Existing provision; lack of opportunities; split families; futures in the balance

(DIS)CONNECTION
Themes: Physical infrastructure; social interaction

A PLACE IN THE MAKING
Themes: Land, agreements and failed promises; isolation; promises and expectations; building and design

NATURE AND GREEN SPACE
Themes: Under control; narratives of loss; calming and restorative; co-belonging and co-existing

EXPERIENCES OF PLAY
Themes: spaces for play; importance of location; privatisation

BEING AND FEELING SAFE
Themes: Shifting landscapes, vehicles, traffic and accidents; new people, new threats; security provision

EXPERIENCING INEQUALITY
Themes: Not belonging to the vision; who is a citizen?; unaffordability; exacerbating inequality

OPPORTUNITIES
Themes: General standards of living; employment; mobility; neo-liberal bodies in the making

TOURISM vs. LIVING
Themes: Facilities; shared spaces

BEING PART OF URBAN CHANGE
Themes: Physically building the vision; 'Our city'; land ownership and belonging; sticking with it; participation

LIVED EXPERIENCE OF FINANCIAL TURMOIL
Themes: Narrative of turmoil; everyday impact of precarity; navigating turmoil

IMAGINING A FUTURE
Themes: Concerns about the future; hopes for the future

6.1 EDUCATION PROVISION

A key theme arising from the analysis was the importance of education provision at sites of urban transformation. At the time of the research (2015) education options for those families living in Lavasa were limited. Provision included: i) government schools, ii) an NGO run school for young people and their families who had a claim to the land and its past and iii) Higher Education facilities in the form of two specialist colleges (Hospitality and Management). Research found that young people had hugely contrasting experiences of life in Lavasa, primarily based on their access, or not, to different sites of education. Provision was negotiated, which ultimately carved out who belonged and who did not. Families had difficult decisions to make which resulted in children being separated from parents in pursuit of viable educational opportunities. As these findings show, it is essential that education provision is at the heart of any urban transformation strategy, as this is what connects young people to place and enables families to commit to sites of urban development.

EXISTING PROVISION

At the time of research there were three primary forms of education provision within Lavasa. Christel House School provided education for those young people who had a claim to the land and its past. Supported by the Lavasa Corporation, the school was NGO-run, English medium and free for over 300 young people. Key findings from participants attending this school included: i) young people and their families believed that the standard of education exceeded that provided by the Government; ii) children and young people were proud of this school; iii) this was regarded as a safe space through which they felt connected to Lavasa as a place. Through everyday ethnographic observations, time spent at the school and interviews with young people, the following quotes show the sense of belonging and pride which it afforded:

> *'This school is very different, very different. I love this school because I learn many languages, many subjects, many, many improvements have happened in me' (CH06, Female, 11).*

'I think this school is very much nice. There is everything here that I am proud of' (CH08, Female 10).

However, it is important to acknowledge that many participants were concerned that access to English medium education would create cultural and intergenerational divisions amongst families and communities. Indeed, the establishment of Christel House is thought to have impacted upon the provision of Government run schools in the region. Government schools operating in Lavasa were an important part of the education provision. Despite the lack of facilities (a common issue with government funded education in India), participants studying in Marathi medium acknowledged that these spaces were important anchors of belonging for them and their families and thus vital in the education landscape of Lavasa. However, it was those children who had left government education that were the most perceptive about the standard of education. A recurring theme from these young people was the comparative practices of discipline and access to learning materials.

The third fully functioning education provision at the time of research were two private, English medium, Higher Education colleges, specialising in Hospitality and Management. These institutions were highly regarded in Lavasa by staff, students and residents. Students were proud to be studying at such well-respected institutions. Their experiences of Lavasa were very much shaped by their access to 'world class' educational opportunities.

LACK OF VIABLE EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES

It was widely reported by participants across the socio-economic spectrum that further educational options were needed to cater for diverse needs and for all young people across their childhood. Given the lack of education opportunities, research found that families were unable to fully commit to Lavasa as a place (for living and employment). Time and again, participants expressed disappointment in the diversity of education provision for young people. In the following quotes, participants refer to a patchwork of education options which were needed to make a place such as Lavasa viable, socially and economically:

'It's not possible for to have an elite education only ... [the] middle ground [is] missing ... they have to all coexist' (SH38, Female, 47).

'For all kids. Be it labourer's kids or kids of well-to-do parents they should have a school here' (AR61, Female, 28).

'If children don't have what they need, then it's meaningless … if there is no school, it's meaningless (PA62, Male, 30).

In the following quote, a parent talks about the necessity of education provision being at the heart of urban transformation – new urban spaces cannot be built without priority services and facilities such as schools. At the time of the research, workers were travelling from Pune-Lavasa each day (approximately 60km) – if there were diverse education opportunities, compromises would not have to be made:

'… if they are building such a huge city, first of all there should have been a hospital and a school. Residents were gonna come anyway. The occupancy was going to increase … not just for the villagers, now it's not like only the villagers work here, we; employees work here too. Not everyone who's going to work here is going to be a bachelor or childless … if there was a school, the occupancy would have increased more. People who travel to Pune-Lavasa back and forth, they wouldn't have done that. People would have been happier … people like me have to make compromises to live here' (PA58, Female, 34).

Furthermore, it was evident that there was an imbalance in terms of accessing sites of education – rules of access shifted over space and time, a source of confusion and anxiety for many.

In addition to the existing provision of formal educational institutions, at the time of research there were numerous crèche facilities provided, primarily for children and young people of construction workers and labourers. Through ethnography and speaking to parents and the children themselves, such environments were found to be sub-standard in terms of the provision of learning spaces, the physical environment and facilities for wellbeing and learning.

HARD CHOICES – SPLIT FAMILIES

Many young people who participated in the project experienced years of separation from close family members. Participants spoke of having to make extremely difficult decisions over splitting families in pursuit of educational opportunities which were unavailable at the time of the research (and for many years) in Lavasa. Many people who were living

and working in Lavasa, as drivers, as office workers and key workers had to make difficult decisions about where to send their children to school. The quotes below are symptomatic of the challenges which faced many participants. As a key worker living in Lavasa, a mother emotionally explained that there were simply no education opportunities available for her ten year old son. As a result she had to make the decision for her son to live with extended family in another part of the State in order to attend school. She took part in the Map My Community app activity and her GPS tracks showed her leaving Lavasa, embarking on a six hour drive to return her son to her extended family – during the interview she explained that she would not see him again until the next school holiday. Her son, explained the situation during an interview:

> 'I live in my aunt's home … for the school … there is … in Lavasa one school is there. But they are not taking us. They are only taking the villagers … there should be a school … they should allow me to come to the school … I [want] to stay here but they are not taking me' (YP57, Male, 10).

Some parents (primarily those who had moved to Lavasa in search of employment) spoke of potentially changing children's names and paperwork to meet local requirements – in the end, however, families will be caught and children's futures will be at stake. This is an example of the shifting rules of governance which shape many children's education futures:

> 'It's illegal. If we change it and after a few years if he does well in his life and then he will be caught as a fraud, what's the use of doing all this?' (PA58, Female, 34).

> 'Now they are admitting children … without even informing us, so any person can produce false documents to show that he is a local here and they charge commission for that… our children's education is in danger' (PA48, Male, 53).

There were also multiple cases of children being sent to live in Lavasa with extended family members - those extended families who had a claim to the land - in search of free education. Due to the good reputation of Christel House school, children were sent from Mumbai and other parts of the State, living with extended family, away from parents. As two young participants explained, they have moved primarily because of the free education on offer:

> 'I lived before in Mumbai, [why did you move?] because here … is school. That's why we move' (CH10, Male, 12).

'There was holidays for us … in Pune, we had came to picnic over here. Then my uncle said that here is very nice school opened, you join here. And my father agreed with him. Then he tell to join us here' (CH08, Female, 10).

From getting to know and speaking with many young people who both lived in Lavasa without their parents and those who had to go to school elsewhere given the provision on offer, there was significant resentment and sadness that they were unable to live with direct family. Lack of education provision divides families in sites of urban change.

CHILDREN'S EDUCATION IN THE BALANCE

Many parents and children of those attending Christel House expressed a series of anxieties around the longevity of education provision. Families were anxious that education was beholden to financial instability and uncertainty (a significant theme in the project, see Section 6.11). Participants were worried that the 'free status' of the schooling may be terminated and education would then become unaffordable with dire consequences for children and their families. In the following quotes parents speak of this precarious situation:

'If something happens like the school gets stopped halfway or something like that, then the careers of all these children will be ruined' (PA41, Male, 36).

'If they decide to shut down the school then 75% children will have to sit at home, and also they won't get admitted in a [government] school... this is a 100% loss for the children …' (PA50, Male, 37).

Indeed, prior to the research period, a private school was shut down in the early stages of inception, participants were acutely aware of the turmoil and upset that this can cause. The quote below is from a participant who experienced this school closure – as a result she boarded in another part of the State, away from her family:

'One day they just said that they are shutting down and all, so we have to take our bags and leave … well we were pretty shattered when the school shut down. But I don't know I guess we had to go with it … ' (YR76, Female, 15).

6.2   (DIS)CONNECTION

A core theme from the data analysis was children's and families' multiple experiences of (dis)connection, materially and socially. Children's everyday lives were embodied through material connections with electricity wires, solar panels, water tanks and concrete; they were symbolically and materially wired with Lavasa as an urban space. Connections were vital for belonging to place and for livelihood. However, young people's experiences of connection varied significantly across time and space. Participants felt that 'urban advantages' needed to be more consistently implemented throughout the site, minimising the challenges encountered through disconnection. Socially, too, new urban spaces need to ensure social interaction - building and maintaining connections between diverse urban spaces was crucial for social and economic prosperity.

PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

The mapping, planning and construction of Lavasa had significant implications for who and what was connected. Where roads were laid, pipes installed and electricity wires connected had significant implications for young lives. The analysis of young people's drawings and subsequent discussions, showed the importance of urban materialities in young people's lives. The pipes, storage tankers, solar panels, electricity wires and roads were key features in young people's drawings. This can be seen in the image to the right, where the water tank and pipes are prominent features. However, the politics of water allocation acutely impacted on children and families' experiences of belonging, in terms of the control of water provision and uncertainties surrounding allocation (see Section 6.7 *Experiencing inequality*). Furthermore, the financial turmoil surrounding the project meant that disconnections were an everyday reality in terms of tankers not delivering water, power cuts and transport issues (see Section 6.11 *Lived experience of financial turmoil*). The monsoon also meant that connections were severed, having a particular impact on everyday mobility. Young people and their families asked for roads to be constructed with appropriate materials (i.e. tarmac), to prevent the heavy rain washing away vital links between people and place. In the following quote, a young person asks for all roads to be constructed of cement (not just a certain few), she explains
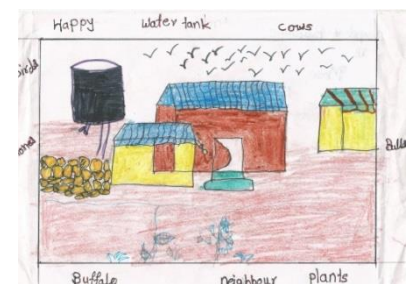
'Where I live'
(Male, aged 10)

that her life in the village is difficult because of the lack of road and vehicle access:

> 'Put cement on that [the road]... with cement … I don't like [to] live in village, because there is no road or no cars and we walk by leg only' (CH14, Male, 13)

SOCIAL INTERACTION – DIFFERENCE

Many participants positively highlighted the socio-economic diversity of young people and their families living, learning and working in the Lavasa development. However, difference was a key theme raised by many, some expressing worry and anxiety about the socio-economic diversity, but others suggesting that opportunities could be gained from living, working, learning and playing alongside one another. Many participants who were prior residents of the area expressed particular anxieties about construction workers and labourers who come to work from outside the region. In the quote below, a parent speaks of this difference and the anxiety which this creates:

> 'The people that come to work in Lavasa from outside … any type of labour people come here … so they are single, some of them don't have families, some do … so those people don't think that much, they're very different … you get scared because of them … going anywhere alone' (PA64, Female, 32).

Participants were also concerned about the lack of interaction generationally. The college students expressed the most dissatisfaction, particularly with regard to those older than them:

> '… they don't interact with us. Uhh … they cross by, like they cross a lot when we are walking and all but we tried to initiate. They are not interested and they never initiate anything. Moreover, they are roaming in their golf cart all the time.' (EC26, Female, 19).

Spaces of social interaction were important for participants, particularly the area of shops, stalls and the market place. These spaces were important for everyday life, buying essentials, but also in terms of meeting and interacting with people. However, the promenade was seen to be a space which exacerbated difference:

> 'We have hardly seen them at the promenade … that's what I was telling one of my friends, you hardly see like the villagers at the promenade … we are leading two parallel lifestyles' (EC25, Female, 19).

Further differences were purported between those young people and families who lived in Lavasa and the diverse tourist groups which visited. On the one hand, we found some young people actively seeking to speak to tourists, to practice their English and find out information about other cultures, however, on the other, as shown in the quote below, difference is clearly articulated. The opportunities and challenges of *Tourism vs. Living* is reported on in Section 6.9.

> *'Those who come to visit Lavasa, some of them talk to us but some people don't , some tourists … and people like us … they are all top-level people … their thinking is different'* (YR49, Male, 18).

'I mean we have always lived here … we never gone out … so we are fond of this place' (PA35, Male, 34)

6.3   A PLACE IN THE MAKING

There are several key themes to raise in this section, first, an acknowledgement of the challenges associated with urban transformation, particularly in terms of land and ownership. Many families spoke of anxieties around losing ancestral land and perceptions of failed promises on the part of the developers in terms of the signing of paperwork and access to services and facilities. A second key theme is the experiences of a place in the making, with regard to living with construction work, experiencing isolation and a lack of facilities to sustain everyday life.

LAND, AGREEMENTS AND FAILED PROMISES

Many participants with ancestral ties to the region expressed resentment surrounding the loss of their land, agreements which were made with agents and failed promises. Issues raised were associated with perceptions of: i) agents changing land records without participants' full compliant knowledge; ii) false promises in terms of land allocation and registration of documentation; and iii) lack of compensation in terms of what was lost (primarily land, agriculture and water resources). The following quotes are indicative of this:

> 'No, no I didn't sell it, I tell you what the agent did. Now suppose I want to sell you half of this teacup but you have to drink it and keep the cup here, in the same way the villagers wanted to sell suppose 10 acre out of their 20 acre to the company and they wanted to keep remaining 10 acre to themselves but the agents changed the whole land records and took their thumb prints on those papers … yes, people have lost their lands in this way … what I am saying is that give me whatever is mine… it is my ancestral land, which I gave you, you exchanged it so now give me my deed of conveyance' (PA48, Male, 53).

> 'Yes, they have cheated many, not just one person. Moreover, they haven't compensated for the damages or loss that people have suffered. So I just hope that this is not repeated' (PA51, Female, 26).

The narrative of loss over land is extremely significant in the lives of these families. This is further exacerbated by extended periods of uncertainty around the provision of education and other promised services.

The quotes below show the anxieties which participants faced at times of uncertainty:

> 'The locals have lost a lot here … Like there was region, lands. Everything's gone now … 5% lands of the houses would have been here … everything's almost over' (PA41, Male, 36).

> 'So now they are saying that we won't admit your children, on what base won't they admit our children? We helped you in your such a huge project, the entire village… we gave our land for the road … also when you had problems we faced them, in the times when Lavasa was shut down, villagers protested that near the town hall, we wanted it to restart' (PA50, Male 37).

ISOLATION - LACK OF FACILITIES

Participants of all socio-economic backgrounds spoke of the adjustment it takes to living in a space of urban transformation, living in a site of construction which responds to the ebbs and flows of financial (in)stability. The lack of services and facilities was acutely felt by all of those encountering Lavasa on an everyday basis. Living in a place in the making means that children and families spent months and years without access to facilities which are routinely found in most urban spaces. College students, in particular, experienced problems adjusting to this way of living, with many of them having previously lived in Delhi, Mumbai, Ahmedabad and Pune. The lack of shopping facilities and entertainment was particularly challenging:

> '… sometimes [it] gets very depressing when you come, when you just, just feel that there is nothing to do here, sometimes it comes to my mind that Delhi is such a lively and such a cheerful place' (EC24, Male, 18).

> 'Like I really don't like Lavasa … I used to like it. I was like … it's a calm place. There's that blah blah blah.. but but after 2 months, continuous 2 months no party, no alcohol nothing...' (EC31, Male, 19).

The lack of facilities and access to services was exacerbated by the remote location, with a one hour journey to the nearest town, many participants found it exhausting and challenging experiencing this isolation. One participant, likened it to a prison, one which is surrounded by mountains:

> 'I sometimes find it like a prison. You're covered by green mountains everywhere. You have nothing to do you just have one road' … (EC22, Male, 19).

PROMISES AND EXPECTATIONS

As evidenced elsewhere, participants with a claim to the land and the past felt betrayed that the perceived promises of free education and employment had not been withheld. In a similar vein, participants reflected on promises which were made to them when investing in property, with delays and inconsistent messages being common points of anxiety. In the quote below, a second home owner, reflects on the promises that were made at the outset and what has yet to materialise:

> 'This was supposed to be a Wi-Fi city, it's still not … so, all these things worry me that lot of beautiful things had been promised and that we all are looking forward to … so I hope they stick to it' (SH34, Female, 47).

As raised in other sections of this report (see Section 6.1 and Section 6.7), the lack of education provision was a particular source of anxiety for many and something that was very much expected to be in place from the outset, in the process of urban change:

> 'All the young parents seem to … be worried that there is nowhere to send their children to school you see … most of them are in Pune or boarding or… they should have a school here … there is that one but nobody is allowed in … I think that is so unfair' (SR46, Female, 69).

LIVING WITH CONSTRUCTION WORK

In addition to the expectations which people had living in spaces of urban change, they also had to live with, literally, the bricks, the wires, the dust, the vehicles and the sounds of construction work. Those who were most affected by the construction were those previously living on the land, participants spoke about the damage to land, property and livestock. In the quote below the participant speaks of the destruction which the development caused to her property:

> '… because of the rocks. Some lost their cattles. I suffered a lot. One night, my daughter and I were sleeping. They were constructing a road … at around 11-12 in the night, when we were fast asleep, a huge rock fell directly into our house … we incurred a huge loss. Many others suffered too. But the rich and influential people they received the compensation. What I wish is the poor who suffered such huge damages, they should also get the compensation' (PA51, Female, 26).

BUILDING AND DESIGN

Lavasa, in terms of its urban design, was influenced by New Urbanism, built environments which encourage diversity, walkability and inclusion (Lavasa, 2016). Without exception children and their families from diverse backgrounds praised the overall design and planning of urban space. Notwithstanding the recommendations for improvements which are garnered throughout this report, for many, Lavasa was considered a beautiful environment and well-designed. The following quotes show the positive attitudes which many had towards its architecture, spatial layout and infrastructure:

> *'… well-designed, nice trees and all … roads are nice you can navigate through them, quite open nothing covering anything' (YR83, Female, 16).*

> *'So they built a city, which is … well-planned. As you can see, during rainfall … water never used to clog anywhere … they have built sewages everywhere … so that water flows and then they have this purification system. Even the taps the water which you get is pure, it's mineral water' (EC22, Male, 19).*

In terms of walkability, there were numerous spaces within the development which encouraged walking, from the location of the promenade and pedestrian paths to the layout of shops and facilities. However, from observations and research, the vehicle dominated much everyday mobility within the built up area, particularly those who could afford to travel by car; this negated the efforts at designing a walkable space. The heat and the monsoon in particular, meant that participants favoured the car over foot. Despite this, the college students would often reflect on living in a place without access to vehicles and the benefits of walkable spaces:

> *'I love walking. So when I am back home I am only driving, I am not walking at all. So I go 75kg, 80kg I go. When I am here I will be 69kg or 68kg something' (EC40, Male, 20).*

Particular features of the urban design were appreciated by participants, in particular the attention to seating and spaces of relaxation. As seen in the image on the following page, the seats were designed to overlook the lake, set in a semi-circle, facilitating social interaction. Participants also spoke about the placement of the street furniture:

> 'I like the aesthetics of the place … it gives a place for people to sit around and interact … it has got that sun and shade all together and nice greenery around … whenever I pass by I want to sit down here and you know like spend some time and I love this sculpture' (PA96, Male, 54)

'The promenade. Outside [NAME OF RESTAURANT] to sit, because it blows… because it blows beautifully over there. Yeah … beautifully there. So, after you've had your walk … you sit there' (SR42, Female, 59).

However, there were numerous suggestions that the materials used in the construction were inappropriate for the environmental context. In the following quote, a participant living in a villa explained that the building could not cope with the sheer amount of water during the monsoon:

'… we had soaking walls because they were not equipped for the Lavasa monsoon … everyone was shocked because they have not designed the houses according to … the second highest rainfall in India' (PA47, Female, 48).

Participants also spoke about the inappropriate materials used in constructing the promenade – a space where people were encouraged to walk. During the monsoon, it was extremely slippery – indeed during the time of the research, numerous accidents were observed. Further thought needs to go into the design of the urban space, in relation to the externalities of the environment.

Despite these suggestions for improvements, the majority of participants who had previously lived in other Indian towns and cities spoke of Lavasa's urban advantages. Participants would reflect on urban India as sites of stress, exclusion, pollution and congestion:

'uh it's very quiet, beautiful place, away from pollution, away from traffic and the typical aspects of a city you know, like a proper city. So as compared to Mumbai or any other city in India, this place is very beautiful, very quiet and you uh you're actually relaxed' (SH55, Female, 15).

'… and I like the lifestyle, I like the… I like the idea, I like the concept, I like the way… you know it's not just an elite gated community but it's a mix of everything, which what I like' (SH34, Female, 47).

'Indian cities … very crowded, not very clean streets … and we go to Europe we see so many places which are so beautiful … and we say why not in our country. We should also have good place … so lot of hope, lot of inspiration, a lot of like dream come true' (SH53, Female, 29).

6.4   NATURE AND GREEN SPACE

One of the aims of this project was to investigate how nature had been integrated into the development and how it was viewed and experienced by participants. Lavasa was planned around nature, promoting itself as having 'urban advantages in a natural setting' (Lavasa, 2012). A significant theme from the data was the importance of nature, spiritually, for many participants. As shown in this section, its location, within the Sahyadri mountain range worked to both its advantage (primarily in terms of the nature experiences in which residents and visitors sought). However, it was also a detriment, where nature and urban development often came in conflict.

BRINGING NATURE UNDER CONTROL

Lavasa, according to the developers, had been built in harmony with nature, with the town planning inspired by biomimicry (a system which mimics natural processes). However, research shows the great lengths to which the developers have gone to 'tame' nature. Overwhelmingly, nature had been planned as something which should be viewed from a distance (i.e. from strategically located viewing points). The 'nature trail,' man-made and heavily engineered, offered a particular experience and interaction with nature, controlling how people access and experience the natural environment. They have also attempted to control nature from interfering with humans, through the removal of animals from certain community spaces and the positioning of watering holes on the top of the mountain range, to prevent animals coming down to the lake, to minimise human-nature interactions. For those participants who had lived on the land prior to the development, they have witnessed first-hand the taming of natures; the fall of trees and rise of the buildings. Given that the development was under construction at the time of the fieldwork, there was an overwhelming sense of stewardship to this landscape. These young people saw the landscape change on a daily, weekly, monthly basis, with land and trees being cleared and buildings emerging. The following quote shows the concern that participants had for nature, being depleted at the expense of urban development:

> *'Ma'am, there are no trees … and there are now growing only buildings more. That is why, the trees are cut and the air is very less in Lavasa' (CH03, Male, 12).*

'When they build new cities they should preserve the nature'
(CH72, Male, 15)

'Ma'am first there were, all there was all full forest and nature. It was full nature. But now they are …. when Lavasa came, they have cut trees, destroyed nature' (CH20, Female, 10).

Indeed, many participants expressed particular concern for the animals that once inhabited this land, as this young person explained:

'They are building … so animals are getting frightened. There were many tigers, lions over here. They went away. One day they will come and harm the villagers because people have cut their forests. So where they will go?' (CH28, Male 15).

NARRATIVES OF LOSS

In many interviews with those who lived on the land prior to the building of the new development, there was a narrative of loss in their accounts of their experiences with nature. For many children and their families this was not a clean slate, a new city emerging from nothing, starting from scratch – it was a landscape of memories. Many participants had connections with the land and its past; remembering these histories is an important part of urban change. In reflecting on growing up on the land this parent considered his emotional connection to land, nature and place:

'if I properly think about it then I personally feel that the earlier life was better … [there was an] affection and emotional connection' (PA41, Male, 36).

Indeed, many participants, particularly parents, spoke of this prior emotional affiliation. The quote below by a parent is particularly telling of the narrative of loss which pervaded so many of the research interviews – here he talked of the changing relationship he had with the land. The quote begins with a reflection on the need for green spaces (as managed and designed parcels of land):

'We don't feel much of a need for green spaces … we don't go and sit in the gardens or anything … it's that there's not much of a connection left now (laughs) like before … it's like we don't love it anymore (laughs) earlier … everything was going on, that's why there was a continuous contact with it … to cut down trees, roast lentils, rice plantations, all this was related to nature' (PA41, Male, 36).

' We are scared of buildings … because we hadn't seen them before , we had mostly seen the forest. All the routes in the forest that we knew were broken so we didn't know where to go so that's why we are scared' (YR49, Male, 18)

Whilst parents were the most perceptive to the changing relationship with the land particularly given the time they had spent living there, some children also reflected on an emotional connection to prior landscapes. One child, spoke of her relationship with a mango tree, planted in memory of her grandmother – this tree for the child and the family had emotional significance and was important in maintaining attachment to place (see quote to the right).

NATURE AS CALMING AND RESTORATIVE

Participants of all ages and across the socio-economic spectrum gave vivid accounts of the importance of nature for family, friendship, their self and wellbeing. Given the geographical setting of Lavasa, in the Western Ghats, it is not surprising that participants felt in awe of the natural surroundings. Those participants who had moved from Mumbai and other large Indian cities (i.e. Delhi and Ahmedabad) were quick in comparing access to nature in the city – escaping the concrete jungles and finding solace in Lavasa. Those young people who had moved to Lavasa, their experiences of accessing nature were spatially determined, controlled and tamed. Participants would frequently talk about going to a certain place, a favourite spot to relax and be calm. This was particularly important for the Higher Education students who found that living in close proximity with their peers and a heavy teaching schedule meant that getting away, a form of escapism into nature, was important for them – the two quotes below are indicative of this:

> '… whenever we want to calm… we want to calm ourselves, we just take a little stroll down the promenade. We just sit for sometime near the lake' (EC24, Male, 18).

> 'It's amazing. Because, everyone in life wants a place, like a ... like ... green ... surrounded by mountains. And when you get up in the morning … you have a mountain facing view, which refreshes your eyes, makes your day beautiful' (EC22, Male, 19).

In addition to the core project methodologies mentioned in Section 5, a survey was conducted with 40 young people who visited Lavasa on a week-long summer camp (from Mumbai). The greenery, mountains, nature trail and clean air were common highlights of their visit with 62% making at least one reference to nature.

My father's mother have planted one tree. It's a mango tree. When I talk about that tree I feel like crying … this mango tree is for her record (grandmother) … whenever my father felt like meeting my grandmother, his mother, he hugs that tree (CH06, Female, Age 11)

CO-BELONGING AND CO-EXISTING WITH NATURES

The monsoon rains formed a significant part of everyday life for people living and working in Lavasa. The importance of the rain for landscapes, natures and agriculture was evident, but so too was its emotional meaning. Many participants talked fondly of the rain and its positive relationality to health and wellbeing. Indeed, tourists came to Lavasa primarily to encounter the rain, to walk and run, play and admire it. However, for those living in Lavasa the rain can be unrelenting. For months on end it causes physical and social disconnections and makes everyday mobilities somewhat impossible – participants talked about living with, and going on with the rains:

> 'Rainy. I'll just say one word rainy. A lot … it's heavy rain, that's all I am gonna say because my first week of this city was rain, rain, rain, rain that's it. Our phones are getting wet, our clothes are getting wet, we are slipping and everything was happening' (EC40, Male, 20).

Co-existing with diverse natures was a further significant theme. Indeed, given the location of Lavasa, it was not surprising that living with natures was a core theme of the analysis. Encounters with diverse natures were mentioned by all participants, young and old, living with snakes, rats, tigers and insects all formed an important connection to place. However, it was also mentioned by participants that the animals have also been brought under control by the building of Lavasa:

> 'Earlier the animals used to roam around anywhere … now since these buildings are constructed, animals are confused that what have these humans built here … like how do we go inside this … earlier the animals had the all jungle to roam around so they would just roam anywhere' (YR49, Male, 18).

6.5 EXPERIENCES OF PLAY

Lavasa invites people to live, learn, work and *play.* This section reflects on young people and their families' experiences of *playing* in Lavasa, whether that be children or young adults – where do they like to go, what do they like to do and how does Lavasa's infrastructure support their everyday playful activities? Three key themes emerged from the data, first, as reported on in Section 6.3, facilities for young people were lacking. Second, the privatisation of play was a particular concern and constraint for many young people's experiences and third, the location of where play happens needs further consideration. From this research it is evident that spaces of play, both planned (in terms of infrastructure) and unplanned are vital components of urban life and should be a core feature of urban planning and design.

SPACES FOR PLAY

For all participants, across the socio-economic spectrum, it was evident that what *play* was had different meanings to different people. For some it might mean going to a shopping mall, others swimming in a lake or playing in the forest. However, what was clear was that play spaces, both designed (with infrastructure) and open spaces for playful activities were lacking. College participants, for example, were most disappointed about the lack of shopping malls and clothing stores, for these young people the adventurous activities on offer (i.e. rock climbing and boating) were not regarded as everyday sites of play. For them, they needed 'timepass activities':

> *'Building a place like Lavasa: they should have created – other than nature … at least some recreational activities other than the adventurous like … should've created some, your time timepass activities like going to a mall, or at least a clothing store'* (EC22, Male, 19).

Other young people who worked in Lavasa would like to see facilities such as a gym, library and short courses such as yoga:

> *'There should be a library there should be a gym, proper gym then you know a swimming pool, which is open for all … there should be a yoga-meditation centre so youngsters may do these things'* (YR86, Female, 24).

Spaces to play cricket were also a common request. Participants spoke about playing in the road with their friends; however, having designated spaces to play cricket would have been appreciated. Swimming in the lake was also frequently mentioned, indeed, many participants have always swum in the lake, but since the building of Lavasa they have been prohibited from doing this:

> 'But I prefer uh swimming in the lake as compared to a swimming pool because there it's an endless stretch of blue and you can go anywhere you want … so I'm not a big fan of swimming pools … I would have surely gone there every day [swim in the lake]. I think they were allowed earlier' (SH55, Female, 15).

Many young people made reference to the children's park, located near to the dam. The young people living in Lavasa commented that this was primarily for tourists, it was located in an inappropriate place and the equipment was designed for younger children:

> '… but big children like us won't play on the swings. We play games like kabaddi, cricket, games like this, not like those small children, and on Saturday and Sunday there are mostly tourists there … they don't go at all' (YR49, Male, 18).

> 'I'm very bored … first week was exciting but now this is just a place for tourists … you see this environment is not for youth, youth want something happening' (EC22, Male, 19).

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCATION

As previously mentioned, there was a large children's park in Dasve, free for all to use, comprising a range of play equipment. Children, of all social backgrounds commented that they liked to play here. However, a key theme raised by many was its inappropriate location. Many had to be taken to this play facility by parents or older siblings, often by vehicle. In the following quotes, children and parents explain the difficulties of sending their children to play in this facility:

> 'We go with my brother … brother dropped us at children park. We play very much' (CH17, Male, 11)

> 'It will be better if it is close by. If it is far away, then I am scared to send them there' (PA102, Female, approx. 25).

'There are kids around but they don't have a proper place to play … they play on the street … earlier we used to play in open spaces or empty farms but now since they built the roads we lost those spaces and we have to play on the road' (YR49, Male, 18)

Indeed, even for children living in Dasve, the children's park was difficult to get to, on the outskirts of the built-up area and on the other side of a busy road. Young people recommended that there should be spaces for children to play close to their homes, towards the centre of built up area, so both children and their parents feel comfortable in letting them play:

'It would have been nice if they make a garden [near] that building. Because it's in the centre and close to the people to roam. And from the safety side ...' (PA58, Female, 34).

It was the children in the villages who particularly lacked opportunities and spaces to play. Participants commented that with all of the construction and building work, there was limited space for children to play. It was also suggested that each village should have dedicated play space:

'... but when it comes to playing this place not that good, there was a ground earlier... there were open grounds, there was open space in between the trees, children in the village would play Kabbadi ... but now there is no place to play such games because there are so many buildings now' (YR49, Male, 18).

'children should and must get that chance but it is not possible here in village that children go somewhere to play' (PA82, Male, 44).

'... there should be a playground for kids so that all the children from village come together ... children can't go from this village to other villages. So each village should have a play area. So not only for us, it should be built for all' (PA66, Female, approx.35).

However, it is also important to note that whilst dedicated spaces to play are vital in the planning of new urban developments, we need to acknowledge the spaces in-between where children play, on journeys to school, in the forest and at the market:

'We play here, we play sometimes in this area, sometimes we do dance, we do anything, and here in the woods is where we play' (CH20, Female, 10).

'Their mind is free, hands and legs stay fit, even the whole body, they jump around ...' (PA64, Female, 32).

We walk along the road and stop for a bit, to see if someone is willing to offer you a lift. When I walk home with my friends, we stop here and there and have fun on the way (YR79, Female, 13)

PRIVATISATION OF PLAY

One of the most concerning themes arising from the research on young people and play in Lavasa was their experiences of privatisation. There were numerous sites across Lavasa, from a children's water park, boating activities and indoor gaming spaces that charge for admission and use. As this is a prime tourist site, it is not surprising that this is the case. However, this is problematic for those children who live in Lavasa, walk past and look on to other children playing. This is particularly the case for the small children's water park, where in the summer months, whilst some children have paid to play in the cool, refreshing water, others have to stand and watch – behind the barrier:

> CH15   In the gardens, they can come and play. How we can?
> INT   You never come to the children garden?
> CH15   No, because [we] have to pay for it
> (Female, 11)

> 'all the outside-kids come and play there, They see that big garden, it's for children, so they would also like to play there, free of cost but they can't' (PA48, Male, 53).

Indeed, with respect to swimming in the lake and the charge for using the water facilities, these participants comment:

> 'If you want to go there, take a round there, then you've to pay Rs. 500. Earlier we used to bathe in the water for free' (PA63, Male, 33).

> 'They can enjoy, they can play, those who are rich, [but] we can't. Those who have money, they can enjoy, they can swim in this dam, they can play. Everything.' (CH15, Female, 11).
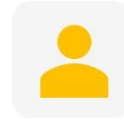
The privatisation of play in Lavasa has further exacerbated inequalities for children and young people - between those who can afford to pay to play, and those who cannot.

'… then we went [there], in that water, just play and I stand, I wait here for peoples to come'
(CH90, Male, 14)

6.6   BEING AND FEELING SAFE

Participants' experiences of being and feeling safe was a further core theme of the analysis. In the main, participants of all socio-economic backgrounds felt that Lavasa was a safe place to be and live. However, numerous discussions dominated about safety. First, participants reflected on the shifting landscapes and the subsequent impact on safety and security, with the emergence of new buildings and layouts often confusing orientation and sense of place. Second, for many children and young people, the influx of vehicles and traffic was a significant concern. Third, socially, participants were concerned with the potential threat of unknown bodies being part of new landscapes and ways of living. Lastly, participants were keen to report on the security services and the fine balance which is to be met when ensuring safety within urban life.

SHIFTING LANDSCAPES

In Section 6.4 the narrative of loss which participants spoke about in relation to shifting landscapes also had an impact on their experiences of safety. The two quotes below show how shifting environments, changing routes and routines were a point of anxiety for participants. In the first quote the young person explains that when he worked on the land as a young boy, he would be in the forest late at night – this would not be scary. What does scare him however, is the way the atmosphere has changed, the landscape shifts with the development of buildings, confusing orientation and sense of place:

> 'Even at 12 in the night we used to roam in the jungle, but now we are scared … earlier the atmosphere was very nice, we didn't fear anything, now we are scared that there is lot of change, we can't see anything because of the buildings there, we can't figure out what is in front of us' (YR49, Male, 18).

> 'Earlier we were not scared at all … there were no roads then, it was deserted. Still we were not scared even to go via a forest … yeah I am scared in the night as well as during the day' (PA51, Female, 26).

VEHICLES, TRAFFIC AND ACCIDENTS

With the building of new urban development comes vehicles, traffic and most likely, accidents. For many participants, particularly those children and young people who had not experienced large volumes of traffic elsewhere in India, this was a threat and made them feel unsafe. Young people spoke about playing in the roads, as often these were the only open spaces suitable for play, but with the increased volume of traffic as the development progressed, the likelihood of accidents was perceived to increase:

> 'There is no safety because vehicles are there … children run and go on the roads to play … and then the vehicles will come and then accidents will take place' (CH02, Male, 12).

At the time of the research, the most common mode of transport to Lavasa was by car, bus and bike. As the development continued, participants expressed that further planning was needed in terms of the management of vehicles and road safety. During the 'My City' model making workshop (see Section 7), young people were keen to build models of roads with pavements – well maintained infrastructures were essential for young people's safe experiences.

NEW PEOPLE, NEW THREATS

With roads and access, comes people. A significant theme raised by many participants (particularly those on the land prior to the development) was the potential threat posed by new people visiting and living in Lavasa. The quotes below are indicative of the worry which many children had about thieves and 'different' people coming to Lavasa:

> 'First it was very safe. Because there were no roads, no thieves will enter. Now road is coming they are becoming danger' (CH17, Male, 11).

> 'A tensed atmosphere, from that aspect it's not safe … different people come here. They drink and misbehave … it's happened once or twice' (PA41, Male, 36).

Indeed, some children expressed anxiety about being kidnapped, it seems there is much work to do with young people to make them feel safe and reassured in the contexts of rapid urban change:

'I feel dangerous. Because some people are bad to us. That's why I feel it is dangerous … sometimes they catch us and take… to remove our kidney … I have heard. That's why I'm feeling so scared to come alone' (CH17, Male, 11).

'Ma'am they will… in car … they will stop in middle. Then they will … give chocolate to you and they will take … and sit in car and they will put this one close our mouth and eyes and they will take and they will send anywhere' (CH14, Male, 13).

Some participants expressed concern about the migratory population living in Lavasa and the perceived threats. In the quote below this adult speaks of migrant construction workers as outsiders, in that they were not seen as community members and that living and working alongside them generated fear:

' … but psychological … fear there will be bit … as of now Lavasa has not reached a full maturity level. … so there is a lot of migratory population, especially the labour population where accountability and traceability is an issue. Once this community is developed the situation is different … then everybody from that community, there is a wider … connect. As of now where there are lot of outsiders' (SH54, Male, 45).

Indeed, in a similar vein, some anxieties were expressed by young residents towards those living in the villages. The experiences of vulnerability were thus experienced by children and young people across the socio-economic spectrum – fear of difference and the unknown:

'And the villagers. You never know what will happen. Because they go in the forest in the night and you don't know what they are going to do … They could steal something …' (YR77, Male, 14).

Encouraging chances and spaces of interaction between different social groups was vital in urban design – this helped to limit anxieties, mutual suspicion and fears of the unknown.

SECURITY PROVISION

Many participants reflected on the presence of security guards across the Lavasa development. On the whole, their work was praised, and participants felt safer and reassured with their presence. The following quote is an example of a parent feeling reassured by the security system which Lavasa had in place:

> *'I have heard something about Lavasa that there's some rule. I don't know if it's true or not but if you are living alone and you feel that there's some crowd or something suspicious is going on then you can call on the emergency number and those people will come within 5 minutes' (PA58, Female, 34).*

Indeed, participants cited examples of where they had: i) lost items such as phones and bags and they had been returned by the security team; ii) made calls to the monitored number to alert suspicious activity, and iii) reported the removal of snakes from properties and other daily issues. On the whole, the security guards were praised for the work they do and some participants reflected on their ongoing relationships with members of the security team that become a part of everyday routines and life:

> *'… if sometime me and my friend, we roaming around the promenade then … a female security gives us smile and she just asking where are you from? Where are you going? So such kind of things are happen' (YR86, Female, 24).*

However, a particular issue for many was the overarching system put in place. Part way through the fieldwork, security guards at the Main Gate were instructed to check who was entering and charge for tourists. This was a significant problem for many who lived and worked in Lavasa; for them, they would have family and friends visiting throughout the week - charging for this was considered wholly inappropriate. In addition to this, some participants mentioned that at times they felt the manner in which the security team undertook these checks was insensitive to those who lived and worked in Lavasa:

> *'Now we are feeling insecure, we are scared to go out with our family that someone will come and threaten us some security guard and that it will get violent … they say bring you card, bring your pass, do you have a gate pass to come in, why are you here, who has sent you … the security guards outside the town hall, they ask us who do you want visit, do you have the permission, do you have a pass' (PA48, Male, 53).*

6.7   EXPERIENCING INEQUALITY

Throughout the research and interactions with participants it was evident that on an everyday basis, multiple inequalities were experienced socially and spatially by those living and working within the Lavasa development.   Here we focus on two main themes raised by participants: i) not belonging to the vision of Lavasa, socially and economically and ii) physical disconnections based on socio-economic parameters.

NOT BELONGING TO THE VISION OF LAVASA

A recurring theme across the dataset was participants' everyday experiences of inequality, both socially and economically.   Many participants (across generations) talked of feeling vulnerable – experienced socially and spatially in everyday life. Participants reflected on their bodies not fitting with the urban dream – a dream often represented with images which convey middle class India. Those who had lived on the land prior to the development in particular felt that they did not belong in certain spaces – their bodies out of place. In the quote below, a mother speaks of her anxiety of not belonging in certain spaces (in this case the promenade) when selling fruits. She talks about her vulnerable body not being able to resist the Security in fear of the potential consequences:

> *'I thought we all belong to this area, we are not even allowed to sit here selling fruits. We can't sit here, we have to sit at the roadside … and if we risk ourselves and argue, then the company people immediately call the security or the police. So I feel we will face all the more problems in the future … I do agree that we should not roam around. I like cleanliness, I feel good at clean places' (PA51, Female, 26).*

From her experience, Lavasa discourages selling fruits on the promenade as it is regarded as a dirty practice – however, from the ethnographic research and speaking with many users of the space, the selling of fruits on the promenade was well received, it is a sign of life and a much liked commodity in community places.   In a second example, one young participant, a female aged 10, used the Google guided walk to show areas in the development she liked to go, where she felt safe and welcome. She placed a black dot on the promenade next to the water sport area. In the interview she explained that this was a space she felt uncomfortable, unwelcome and where her body did not belong. The research found that

'It is going to be a big city … at that time we won't be counted … at that time, only your customer's name, of the owners of these bungalows, they will be mentioned there' (PA48, Male, 53)

fears have escalated with the influx of buildings, of building the urban vision – however, with new buildings comes new people, new ideas, behaviours and actions, many participants felt that they did not fit in with this vision.

Other vulnerabilities stemmed from an explicit sense of difference in wealth. In the quote below, this young person expresses her anxiety, where she feels that the 'rich' people in the buildings will think that the 'poor' have stolen from them if there are any incidents:

> *'Because of buildings, people will be rich. They will be having more money and they will think that we have stole it '* (CH05, Female, 12).

WHO IS A CITIZEN?

Who is 'counted' as a citizen in Lavasa further perpetuates existing socio-economic inequalities. The citizen agenda functioned through a 'Citizen Contact Centre', primarily focusing on the needs of home buyers and rental tenants, with around the clock access to assistance and services. However, the research found that many residents (who did not fall into the categories of buyers or rental tenants) were dislocated from the citizen agenda. Particularly those families with a claim to the land, their experiences of vulnerability and being out of place was exacerbated by not being counted (literally) as a resident, as a citizen. Alternatively, their needs were 'dealt with' through a Community Development department. Whilst the intentions and actions of this department were commendable – the starting premise, in that these residents were not counted as fully participating citizens within the Lavasa vision, undermined the city building project and exacerbated inequality. However, it is important to acknowledge the complexity of this situation given the responsibilities of the rural Government administration, the Gram Panchayat, in the governance and citizenship of people and place.

UNAFFORDABILITY

A recurring theme by participants across the socio-economic spectrum was the unaffordability of many of the services and facilities in the Lavasa development. Participants frequently made reference to the price of food and services being more expensive than in other cities and towns. Participants of all ages reflected on the high price of living and working in

> 'The Gram Panchayat will never construct the roads. Years have gone by and they never constructed the roads. It is only because of the company that we might get the road work done now' (PA63, Male, 33).

Lavasa, with many requesting a resident discount, from the inflated tourist prices. The high prices of food and services further exacerbated social inequality for many, indeed children spoke about not being able to take part in recreational activities, given the cost. In the quotes below, the first participant suggested that she and her family would like to go to the cinema – however, given the ticket cost, this is unattainable. The second speaks of the water sport facilities and explains how they watch others doing this, as her family cannot afford it:

> *'There is less of money, that is why … it is 120Rs one ticket, then we are six people'* (CH08, Female, 10)

> *'They are taking many money … 500… 200… like this [for the boat ride]. That much facility is not there … We just see there how are they riding …'* (CH28, Male, 15)

However, it is not just the services and facilities which were unaffordable, but the housing provision too was out of reach for many. Indeed, a further issue expressed by participants was the selling of flats to investors who had no intention to live in or rent out their properties. In the quote below a parent talks of the difficulty of finding somewhere to live in Lavasa:

> *'There are no proper houses available for us. I could hardly [find] a house in which I could live on rental basis. The rooms available … are very expensive, the rent is almost Rs. 20-30 thousand. I don't even earn that much. My salary is very less so I can't live in those houses (PA62, Male, 30).*

In the following quote this issue is clearly explained, indeed she argues that it is not all about affordability of services, but provision of land and diverse needs:

> *'That's good that many a people can visit Lavasa and enjoy but [what] about poor families, what they will do? Because they don't have money … and when this factories are there, how will their cows, buffalo will get grass and all' (CH15, Female, 11).*

EXACERBATING INEQUALITY

In Section 6.2, a series of disconnections were highlighted, including physical disconnections from water pipes, roads and electricity wires.

These disconnections further exacerbated inequality for many, particularly at times of financial uncertainty and cut backs by the Lavasa Organisation. Second, the provision of employment and the allocation of work. Many participants who lived on the land prior to the development expressed anger that many jobs on offer were being allocated to people from outside the region. In the quote below, the parent asks for further allocation of work to the local population, acknowledging that despite their lack of education, there would be some jobs that they could do:

> 'What part would a poor man get? All these good people will get it, get work … we don't have work … yes, we would like. We don't have proper education but anyone from the village would like to take part, the work is same' (PA56, Male, 65).

The lack of (permanent) employment opportunities for local people was a source of tension for many. Indeed, in the quote below, a parent reflects on the time of Colonial rule by Britain and finds similarities in the process of urban transformation which he and his family experienced:

> '… that's what we don't understand, now we are feeling that the Britishers have returned, they behave similar to the Britishers, initially we thought that Lavasa is a good thing that has happened to us. But now we have sold our lands, we have destroyed ourselves, our children have studied till twelfth, fifteenth, they have graduated and they are still not getting jobs then is this not like the British rule?' (PA48, Male, 53).

6.8 OPPORTUNITIES

Despite the vulnerabilities and narrative of loss which were key themes from the data, at the same time, Lavasa was also a site of opportunity. Participants across the socio-economic spectrum spoke of the opportunities which living in Lavasa afforded, in terms of employment, education, healthcare, mobility, access to water and general standards of living. Whilst all participants expressed some appreciation of these opportunities, it was the children and families who lived on the land prior to the development that saw the greatest difference in standards of living.

GENERAL STANDARDS OF LIVING

In the quotes below, a child and two adults reflect on the positive changes which have occurred in their lives as a result of living in the Lavasa development – urban change has brought roads, access to hospitals, food, knowledge of the 'outside world' and importantly for many, light:

> *'Yes. I used to eat mud. I was very sick. My father and mother made lot of medicines for me' (CH04, Male, 11).*

> *'I feel really good. I mean earlier there was no light, we had to go really far to get water, there were no roads. And now it's better than before. We are getting water in our home, there is a cab service, we have electricity. Now there's light in our homes. We had to live in the darkness using just the lamps of kerosene ... it's better than that' (PA37, Female, 31).*

> *'We used to wear shabby clothes, we were messy, and we had no proper clothes because of poverty' (PA35, Male, 34).*

EMPLOYMENT

Adult participants in particular spoke of the employment opportunities which living in Lavasa afforded. Prior to the development participants reflected on there being no source of income. Since the development began participants were employed, working as builders, supervisors, maintenance workers, gardeners, cooks and cleaners (although as shown later, in Section 6.11, the nature of this work was precarious and permanent positions were unattainable):

'First we used candle only … Ma'am, before there is so dark, and now … we can see everything!' (CH14, Male, 13)

'… there was no source of income … now it has changed … some take care of the trees, some take care of the lawn, so we get these kind of jobs … I mean our earlier conditions have changed so much that now we can't think of anything … it is definitely better and it is the right change' (PA82, Male, 44).

'so like we did not earn any wages before … we did not get wages, I mean we did not have any work … so compared to that now we can earn to feed ourselves … earlier there was severe poverty, like we did not have rice or pulses. But since now Lavasa is there we can at least eat something' (PA66, Female, approx. 35).

MOBILITY AND INCREASED ACCESS

The building of roads was a particular point of enthusiasm for participants. For those from the region, the paving of roads opened up opportunities for education, employment, healthcare and access to markets. The following adult participants explain the difference that roads have made to their everyday lives:

'for us the most important factor was the road, nothing else … we used to climb up these mountains on feet, we used to carry 30 kilos of load with us' (PA82, Male, 44).

'Earlier when Lavasa was not there, we had to go walking and climbing these huge mountains. If someone would fall ill and in case of emergency 2-3 people would have to carry him all the way. So I feel it's okay. It's good that now Lavasa is built, a lot of new facilities have come up for us' (PA37, Female, 31).

Young people also reflect on the change, where previously they would have walked through forests and over mountains to collect water:

'Ma'am, I think when the building started … there was no road, no buildings … people used to walk from one place to another. For water also, they used to go till 3 to 4 to 5 km and there were lots of mountains, stones and there were no roads, only footpath they used to go' (CH04, Male, 11)

Many participants never imagined that they could be faced with these opportunities. One participant considered his future, armed with an education and opportunities for mobility he said 'one day I will definitely go beyond this street' – participants could imagine a new life, beyond this place.

Indeed, participants also commented on the access to knowledge which the building of Lavasa had afforded them and their families. Participants commented on having access to news and knowledge of the 'outside world':

> 'There was no internet, TV ... no news ... we had no knowledge about the world. Now we are getting everything at home' (PA41, Male, 36).

> 'Our life has changed a lot, it has changed 100% … we were not aware of the outside world but now we are a part of the world' (PA45, Male 35).

NEOLIBERAL BODIES IN THE MAKING

It is appropriate here to acknowledge a theme which emerged from research with children in particular. This was not just a city in the making in terms of bricks and mortar but bodies were being shaped, trained and habits formed in line with a neoliberal vision. This was particularly evident in the language used by young people when describing the education opportunities which living in Lavasa had afforded some young people. In the following quotes, participants spoke of the opportunities which education gave, in terms of knowledge of 'how to live':

> 'My teacher tells me, reading makes a man, teaching makes a man perfect' (CH06, Female, 11).

> 'Because children are getting school. They are learning more how to live, how it should be done or should be not done. What we have to do' (CH05, Female, 12).

In other conversations, young people would speak of now knowing how to sit, how to speak, how to brush their teeth, how to dress, how to be clean – the training of neoliberal bodies. One parent reflects on this change in behaviour:

> 'Our behaviours have also changed a lot. I mean earlier people did not live properly but now they live and behave properly. They are good with their families. Earlier no one paid attention to cleanliness but now everyone lives neat and tidy. They wear proper clothes' (PA51, Female, 26).

Indeed, another young person sees the advertisement boards which show a particular way of life, a style of living, a type of family and comments that if you live in Lavasa then your 'body will be like this':

> 'There [are] boards … you come here you will get like this, you will get like this. Your body will be like this and there will be many facilities of our body, ourselves' (CH28, Male, 15).

These changes to attitudes and behaviours have not gone unnoticed by older participants who reflect negatively on the change in habit, practice, attitude – and importantly to the body:

> 'I mean villagers' attitude has changed as they observe what and how the outsiders behave' (PA51, Female, 26).

> '… so when we were working hard in the field… in our village a person's life was 118 years … my own father lived up to 118 years and even when he passed away, he was unwell just a day before. But now we are not working hard in the fields anymore, our life has become easier, now we have bikes and we roam around in cars … there is no hard work in the field so our life span has lessened … if a person is working hard or he is working in field, or walking 5 km, the body stays fit … there is no load on his body' (PA48, Male, 53).

Despite these changes however, remembering the past and being aware of these changes to bodies, ways of learning, of values needs to be remembered. The following quotes are indicative of the changes which have happened and importance of retaining prior values in a shifting landscape of urban change:

> 'All this westernisation depends on us, we must not forget our values … we should tell our family how much to … take in values' (PA45, Male, 35).

> 'If I properly think about it then I personally feel that the earlier life was better … now everything's different and affection and emotional connection like before … everything's changed … because of money or anything else, I don't know. But people don't live with that affection anymore …' (PA41, Male, 36).

6.9 TOURISM VS. LIVING

Throughout the report there have been hints of both opportunities and tensions between those that live and work in the development and the tourism industry. Although tourism in Lavasa offered jobs and supported the local economy, residents often expressed concerns regarding the difficulties of living in a place so reliant on tourism and the everyday challenges which this posed.

FACILITIES GEARED TOWARD TOURISM

Many participants reflected on the difficulties associated with living in a place which is so heavily geared towards tourism. In terms of the facilities, as reported elsewhere, these were highly priced and aimed at one-off occasions (i.e. canoeing, rock climbing) rather than everyday needs such as supermarkets, swimming pools, clothes shops and general stores:

> *'Living here is a bit … I have contradictory opinions. You see when I came here … I felt bored … because no offence to this place, it's a tourist's place … I don't think it's suited for living here' (EC23, Male, 18).*

SHARED SPACES

Tourists not looking after the infrastructure and keeping it clean was a further common theme. Lavasa is well endowed with waste disposal facilities, particularly in the main tourist spaces (i.e. the promenade), however, participants observed tourists irresponsibly disposing of their litter:

> *'Uh the tourists that come along, they just keep throwing garbage here and there, even though there are proper dustbins marked' (SH55, Female, 15).*

Participants often commented that on the weekends and during holidays they would refrain from going out of their houses to avoid the tourist crowds. For some participants, sharing the space with tourists was a common source of disturbance – disturbing the rhythm of 'home'. However, it is important to note that children would frequently mention positive aspects of tourist interaction, including practising their English and yielding knowledge of the 'outside' world.

'For tourists like you know if they come for 3-4 days, if they see the like the place, they're all happy … but people who live here … it's misery for them' (EC25, Female, 19)

6.10   BEING PART OF URBAN CHANGE

A recurring theme was the stake which participants felt they had in the building of the Lavasa development, being part of urban change. This section reports on the multiple ways in which participants (of all ages) felt they were part of the process, in terms of i) physically building the vision; ii) the everyday language and articulation of 'our city'; iii) the importance of land, ownership and belonging and iv) being acutely aware of the progress of development and commitment to Lavasa as a place. Despite the diverse ways in which participants felt that they were involved in the process, the research shows there is far greater scope for formal participation in the building of Lavasa.

PHYSICALLY BUILDING THE VISION

For those who were on the land prior to the development, many spoke about being involved in the urban change, from physically building and constructing the urban vision to dreaming that this was possible. Participants also spoke of becoming 'mixed in the atmosphere' and being proud of living in Lavasa.

Many never imagined that they could be involved in such a project, that the opportunities acknowledged in Section 6.8 could become available to them. Many families who took part in this project were intrinsically part of building this urban vision – they were the ones who gave their lands, they were the ones who were constructing the buildings, laying the pipelines and the roads – on an everyday basis they were involved in the materialities of building the urban. One young girl, aged 11, explained that '*we take part in building these buildings*' and thus '*have ideas how to make the city more attractive.*'

'OUR CITY'

Participants across the socio-economic spectrum and of all ages were found to use the language of 'Our city' and 'My city' in their narrative of Lavasa as a place to live:

'We will play cricket … It's like …it's our city only. Because during weekdays no one is here … only us. So you feel, you have a different attitude about the city. You feel like it's your city. People invading city on weekends it's like they should not it's our city' (EC40, Male, 20).

A series of quotes given below show how young people want tourists to have a positive experience of Lavasa, in the hope that these experiences will spread:

'There are new people coming here to see our new city Lavasa and they are staying here and they are [saying] that this city is nicer than Pune … new people coming and settling, they will see how city is very nice. They will talk to one another. Then the news will come that the city is very nice … and I will feel nice' (CH08, Female, 10).

'They take photograph. Send to internet. That makes Lavasa's name go further' (CH17, Male, 11).

In the following quotes, participants speak about being part of Lavasa, knowing it better than others, having a connection to place:

'The more I explore the more I learn, the more I experience. That's how I am … no one knows the city as good as me. I can give you plenty of areas where I can take you and I can show you … the city which no one has ever seen' (EC40, Male, 20).

'when you say, ok I live in Lavasa, I'm a part of it, it's a proud feeling' (SH55, Female, 15).

LAND, OWNERSHIP AND BELONGING

Participants who lived on the land prior to the development spoke of a particular connection to land and place. Participants acknowledged the symbiotic relationship which is so important in the process of urban transformation – the relationship between land, people and developers. In the quote below, a parent explains the importance of this relationship between Lavasa as an organisation and the people who had a connection to the land and place:

'Today the city has become a golden city, we gave you our lands, we cooperated when and wherever you asked us to because we wanted the project, we got facilities, we came to know about other countries and the outside world, all because of Lavasa … Lavasa was our land … so today you need us and we need you' (PA48, Male, 53).

Other participants reflected on times in the development process when the developers needed the support of the villagers. Subsequent to operations being suspended due to suspected violation of environmental protection laws, the villagers were reportedly asked by Lavasa to join them in a protest to resume the building work:

'When the company shut down for a year ... what they did was they asked the villagers to join them. They asked the villagers to participate in the protest and rallies so that company starts its operations again' (PA35, Male, 34).

However, it is also important to acknowledge that for residents to feel as if they belong to a place, there needs to be opportunities for diverse groups of people. Reflecting on the loss of land and opportunities for farming, this participant explains that in the future he may not be able to call this his city as there will be nothing for him:

'I feel incomplete as in ... I feel that, in this new city there might not be anything ours … nothing ours might be here … I mean there are so many villas ... in this entire city nothing might be ours' (PA41, Male, 36).

MONITORING PROGRESS AND COMMITMENT TO LAVASA

Participants of all backgrounds were keen to reflect on the progress of the development and pace of urban change. As detailed in Section 6.11, during the time of the research, the Lavasa project faced multiple uncertainties. However, despite these challenges, families were keen to stick with the project, see it through the tough times – there was a strong sense of wanting this project to succeed, for the benefit of all. The following quotes show a sense of perseverance with the development. In the first, a participant, an owner of a second home in Lavasa, talks about the progress of her property and the build in general. In the second quote the participant speaks about committing to a place, through the troubles, through periods of uncertainty:

'So I keep waiting and hoping that they mean it eventually, that I am going to get it … they keep saying six months more, now I am supposed to get it by the end of this year and I don't know. I hope they mean it … a few months ago it looked all frenzied and quite a bit … and now again it's all at a standstill, so …' (SH34, Female, 47).

'yeah you know what you do? You can't just hop and go every time. Once you have made up your mind, I said let's just see it through. I have enough faith in this place I think you know. I want to see it through to the end and lot of people who work here as well you know left with very heavy hearts because they were made to leave because of you know either not being paid for months … or because there was no school' (PA47, Female, 48).

PARTICIPATING IN THE VISION

It is evident from the research that there were missed opportunities for children, young people and their families to participate in the urban change process. The data shows that participants from diverse backgrounds want to be involved in decision making processes and planning for urban change. All participants, including those who lived on the land prior to the development and new residents, would appreciate the opportunity to be able to participate in the development process. The following quotes show the willingness of people to be involved, to elicit opinions, to discuss options, to work together:

'… if they involve us in their project then we can say that our future-our life is good' (PA48, Male, 53).

'… we were never asked anything about that … of course I would have liked it if I was asked' (PA45, Male, 35).

'Since it's our land they should accept our demands. Before doing anything or building anything new, they should at least ask us or inform us' (PA51, Female, 26).

'I think there should be a community-based approach' (YR86, Female, 24)

'I mean the Lavasa management can do a much better job by involving people, involving citizens in managing it …. or asking for citizen suggestions, acting upon it, creating forums …' (SH54, Male, 45).

There were numerous participants who felt that they were not in a position to be able to participate. Those with a lack of land, understanding and education were unaware that it was their right to participate:

'I would like it but you know we can't say much because we don't understand this. Or we are under obligation so we can't show courage to go ahead' (PA37, Female, 31).

'I would like to participate, but I just don't understand what is going on there' (PA50, Male, 37).

'I would like to do that but actually I don't have to deal with them as I have not sold my land to them' (PA35, Male, 34).

'All the other common people don't have any connection to this. They just took whatever place that was there. Nobody asks the common man' (PA63, Male, 33).

'We are poor people; we don't have a house or farm in our village. We live form hand to mouth' (PA102, Female, approx. 25).

Several participants did however, make references to previous attempts of participation in the building of Lavasa. However, from their perspective, these failed given the perceived lack of action to suggestions and the overall process of participation. In the second quote the participant questions why 'outsiders' were hired to mediate the participation process:

'No there was no reason … like if we have any problem in the village then we had to write that on a piece of paper and give it to the management so that the problem was discussed in the meeting … but there wouldn't be any proper action taken on that so everybody stopped coming …' (PA41, Male, 36).

'They have hired some villagers … we don't even know them so then why would we let them talk to us? We had suggested them that appoint two people from our village, who are educated … then whatever concerns our village … we can sit together with this people and discuss it …' (PA50, Male, 37).

The research found that there was appetite for a formal process of participation in Lavasa, involving both adults and young people who lived, learned, worked and played in the development. Indeed, there were several examples of citizen initiatives which have emerged from a willingness of people to be involved. One such concept, the *Citizens Initiative* was driven by a small group of residents in the wake of the financial uncertainty - their vision was to do what they could to support the Lavasa project as citizens of the development:

> *'Well, put it this way … Lavasa per se is going through bad times at the moment … and with a view to trying to help out … they started what we call the Citizen's Initiative … it's just to make sure that we give support to the various businesses or suppliers, whatever you want to call them …' (SR43, Male, 60).*

This forum was initiated during the period of fieldwork, the group was small and drawn from a particular socio-economic group. Other participants recognised that the group needed to represent the diversity of people that lived, learned and worked in Lavasa and suggested that the group should not only be in the interests of a few:

> *'… giving opportunit[ies] for their citizens to volunteer in such initiatives . helping the community around and they might be surprised with the results, that how many people are willing to reach out' (SH54, Male, 45).*

It was evident that there was much willingness by diverse groups of people to be involved in formal participation processes with regard to the development of Lavasa as a place, its planning and vision for socio-economic livelihood.

6.11   LIVED EXPERIENCE OF FINANCIAL TURMOIL

Throughout this report there have been indications of instability in the everyday experience of young people and their families living in the Lavasa development.   This section focuses on the lived experience of instability, caused in the main by financial turmoil. It is important to note that this had implications for all those who lived and worked in Lavasa, regardless of socio-economic background.   The researchers, in the eleven months of ethnographic research, experienced first-hand the everyday challenges which faced those living in a site of urban transformation in a period of uncertainty. This section identifies three important themes: i) the everyday impacts; ii) a narrative of struggle and uncertainty; and iii) navigating the turmoil.

NARRATIVE OF TURMOIL

A narrative of struggle was voiced by the majority of participants, regardless of socio-economic background. The financial turmoil which the Lavasa Corporation were going through in terms of financing the ongoing development was spoken about in interviews, on the street, in shops, in homes and in schools – everyone expressed anxiety on a daily basis of the struggles which the Corporation faced, about the build and the impact on everyday life. The following quotes are indicative of some of the narratives and awareness which circulated around the development during the fieldwork period:

> 'Someone [is] saying Lavasa is going to stop … they are saying that Lavasa is stopping. But [it] is not stopping …' (CH29, Female, 11).

> 'This financial intervention by the government has put Lavasa in a huge financial crisis … they don't have money to go ahead with whatever intentions they may have … it's going to be very difficult … if Lavasa comes to a grounding halt, it'll be a huge, huge setback …what a waste' (SH38, Female, 47).

EVERYDAY IMPACTS

Throughout the eleven-month fieldwork period the Lavasa Corporation reportedly went through multiple cycles of precarity and instability which had a direct impact on the everyday lives of research participants. Young people and their families recounted on a daily basis experiences of losing jobs, not being paid and buses not running. School bus drivers were not paid by the Corporation resulting in children not being able to travel to school. Parents' contracts were severed (the majority of participants were employed on a temporary contract basis) and money owed was not paid. This precarity can be seen in the first quote shown below, a parent explaining that as of the morning he may not have a job:

> 'Tomorrow there will be a list, a list of the employees who are going to be removed' (PA82, Male, 44).

> 'Everyone is worrying because Lavasa's environment has changed … The work has stopped. People are not getting paid. Since December it's deserted' (PA41, Male, 36).

> 'Company doesn't pay salaries regularly. People don't get salary for almost 5 months … they do pay us, but sometimes they don't pay regularly. Now I haven't received salary for last 5 months' (PA80, Male, 40).

> 'Now-a-days I am hearing that lots of issues are going on and the employees they are leaving the organisation due to salary … so somewhere I fear that, one day will come that … they just ask [me] to … resign' (YR86, Female, 24).

The situation with water allocation was equally vulnerable, particularly for those participants who had been promised water deliveries by tankers as part of their agreement for the loss of land (mainly based on verbal promises). If the tankers stopped delivering then the villagers would have no other access to a source of water as this participant explained:

> '[since] this blasting has happened we lost our natural springs of water … today we don't have drinking water … tomorrow they might even stop the water tankers' (PA50, Male, 37).

The implications of parents not being paid for their work had an acute impact on the lives of children. They were fully aware of the implications of this financial turmoil, as identified in the following quotes:

> *'This troubling is going on … we don't have money, so I have to stay over here. My father doesn't have money … now 2-3 months have passed, but my father is not getting money from work. Don't know why. Some problems are there now' (CH15, Female, 11).*

> *'… they have let go of them, tomorrow there will be a list, a list of the employees, who are going to be removed, they are cutting down even the managers, or employees in the city management, so when they are firing their own employees why will they want us? That's what is I am saying' (PA82, Male, 44).*

Throughout this report, the importance of sites of education has been emphasised. The turmoil experienced had a significant impact on educational institutions. Prior to the fieldwork, a school was set up and infrastructures put in place, however, within a short time frame, it was closed down. Participants in this research (both parents and young people), experienced this first-hand:

> *'… the kids cried and cried all of them and like some of them tried it daily from Lavasa so it was an hour down and hour up. Some of them moved back to Bombay, some of them moved back to God knows where … people who come here love the place … everybody I have seen who leaves goes with tears in their eyes as nobody wants to leave you know' (PA47, Female, 48).*

Throughout the fieldwork, the future of Christel House was also uncertain. On a daily basis in interviews and interactions with young people, the uncertainties surrounding the future of the school was evident, causing anxiety amongst hundreds of children and their families. The buses were frequently cancelled which meant that children could not travel to school and parents were asked to provide financial support in the form of fees:

> *'They say that our school is going to shut down' (CH59, Male, 11).*

'If that also starts to vanish then everything will come to an end. The life will come to an end' (PA41, Male, 36)

'In yesterday's meeting they contacted everyone over the phone and said that now we don't have sufficient funds now and Lavasa is not paying us so now you will have to drop and pick up your kids … now they have started telling this and plus the fee … yes they have asked us to pay fees' (PA48, Male, 53).

'… now Lavasa is asking for a fee, when it was new, it had money so the admission was free … now that Lavasa is almost on the verge of shutting down, they are asking for a fee, they gave assurances that there will be a bus pick-up and drop service for the students but now they are saying that there won't be bus to pick up the kids, bus drivers are not paid salaries on time so there won't be any bus service' (YR49, Male, 18).

The everyday impacts of financial instability were experienced by participants across the socio-economic spectrum, from transport cuts, to lack of water and reduced volumes of food being delivered. As explained by this participant, these were stressful times:

'That's what we're waiting for [to see Lavasa grow] … Because these are stressful times … it's not happy' (SR43, Male, 60).

NAVIGATING THE TURMOIL

From the interviews and living in Lavasa for an extended period, the research found there was an essence of togetherness which had formed as a result of continued uncertainty surrounding the progress of the development. Participants made reference to helping each other, particularly in terms of buying produce on credit and sharing transport. In the following quote, a participant explains how they were able to continue to buy food if they were not able to get access to credit (as they had not been paid):

'It causes lot of stress when we don't get the payment on time. We work for 6 months and still don't get paid for it. At such times, we feel like going back to village … that's the reason why we have stopped working past 10-12 days. We buy some food stuff on credit from the shopkeeper. We are yet to pay the shopkeeper' (PA102, Female, approx. 25).

'If I see somebody walking towards the village, I offer them a ride as well. Either way. I take them if there is free space in my car. I can carry two or four kids as per the space. If I cannot, I tell them no' (PA63, Male, 33)

6.12 IMAGINING A FUTURE

In this final thematic section, the hopes, fears and imaginations of life in Lavasa are considered by participants. Two main themes are explored in relation to: i) a series of concerns about what the future might hold for the development and its residents, primarily with regard to education and employment opportunities and ii) a series of hopeful narratives about what urban change can continue to bring to those that encounter Lavasa on a daily basis and imagining a future where there is greater scope for fuller participation of diverse groups in the process of urban change.

CONCERNS ABOUT THE FUTURE

As previously identified in Section 6.1 residents of all backgrounds expressed concern for the future of Lavasa, primarily given the lack of education and employment opportunities. Indeed, the development moving beyond a tourist destination was a concern for many, catering for those who want to live, learn, work and play – rather than just visit for a few hours, a day or a weekend:

> '... the main anchor or the main driver that is missing here is economic opportunities for people to work, I mean still this is not a work and live kind of [place] ... unless that is created this will remain a second home kind of destination' (SH54, Male, 45).

> 'Lavasa will pick up only if there is some sort of jobs available. Whether its education, schools ... or even industries coming up ... hospitals, as some work ... if I want to for example, work in Lavasa, there is very limited scope available' (SH38, Female, 47).

However, a particular suite of concerns were expressed from those residents who lived on the land prior to the development. Given their experience of the process of urban development and financial uncertainty, they were concerned that as Lavasa continues to grow, they will be increasingly pushed to the margins. The quote below is indicative of this widespread angst:

> 'I [am] worried because I think that though we are from this village, in future we may not be allowed to live here ... until [the] project is complete, Lavasa will consider us at least to some extent ... once that project is complete, I don't think Lavasa will even look at us' (PA51, Female, 26).

HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

Young people and their families across the socio-economic spectrum did however, remain hopeful that their dreams and visions would be realised as part of the urban change. Indeed, participants often spoke about their own dreams for the place, that Lavasa would become a dream city:

> *'we [only] hope that this all happen[s] and everything complete full Lavasa dream city' (SH53, Female, 29).*

Parents, who previously lived on the land, hoped that their children would be educated, stay on the land, get a job and start a family. In the quote below, the parent reflects on his own experience of schooling and having to move away in search of employment – he does not want this for his own children:

> *'We used to go out of this village to complete our schooling … halfway in my school education I went to Mumbai for a job … but those who are learning now, they will get job here and they will study further and would settle here' (PA45, Male, 35).*

In addition to the hopes with regard to participation, in Section 6.10, it was also made clear by many that the local community (all those that live, work and play) were a vital asset (in terms of skills and knowledge) in urban change and should have been utilised for the benefit of all.

7 PROJECT OUTCOMES: MY CITY MODEL

The aim of the My City workshop was to involve research participants in the building of a city model representing a future phase of the Lavasa development. The city model was built (using recycled materials) to reflect the data and findings from this in-depth research project with children, young people and their families living in Lavasa. The workshop emerged from discussions with young people about project outputs and impact. Young participants used the preliminary findings from the project to build the model. A group of 'planners' worked on the overall plan for the city each specialising on a particular element of the built environment (i.e. education, transport, play etc.). The 'planners' then liaised with the 'builders' to construct the model using recycled materials.

Working with key stakeholders was an important part of this process and representatives from the Lavasa planning and urban design team participated in the workshop. Through this process of listening and engaging with children and young people it is hoped that this will inform future phases of planning and development.

The research process enabled young people from across Lavasa, geographically and socially, to be involved in 'Having a say' and participating in future visions. In the final stages of the project, 130 young people took part in building a 'My City' model. The final model reflects the data and findings from the research project.

Researchers explaining the workshop process. Read, think, talk, create

Young people reading the preliminary research project findings

The 'planners' discussing and negotiating key features of the city design

The process and output of the My City workshops resulted in a series of specific recommendations. For example, one of the key themes which emerged when working on the model was to ensure that the villages were connected to the urban core, to the schools, playgrounds and shops. As seen in the image to the right, roads and pavements across the site were constructed from materials to symbolise concrete – well maintained roads were essential.

'The best thing about taking part in this workshop is to make new thing and places for each other' (Male, aged 13).

'The city should have everything, it should be well-planned' (Male, aged 14).

MY CITY
Model making from a children's perspective
Workshop
5-17th September, 2015

ROADS AND PATHWAYS	Pathways should be planned and maintained across the site
ZEBRA CROSSINGS	Zebra crossings are needed to facilitate safe crossing spaces for all (particularly in places where children like to play)
PUBLIC TRANSPORT	Public transport should connect all areas within the development, but importantly, also link Lavasa to other urban centres
RECREATION SPACES	Covered, free, indoor, community spaces should be available for young people to use
WELL-DESIGNED HOUSES FOR ALL	Well-designed houses should be available for all
ROADS, PIPES, ELECTRICITY	Roads, pipes and electricity should be available for all
EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES	Diverse education opportunities should be available so that young people can go to school
STREET LIGHTS	Street lighting needs to be implemented throughout the development
FACILITIES	Shops, entertainment and facilities should be available for all (not just for tourists)
GARDENS AND GRASS	Gardens and grass (manicured) between buildings are needed
PLAY PROVISION	Play spaces integrated throughout the development; play provision should be free across the development and safely maintained
SAFEGUARDING NATURE	Nature should be looked after and persevered, building and construction work should be sympathetic to this
EXPERIENCING NATURE	The development should have multiple (formal and informal) opportunities for people to explore and connect with nature

8   CONCLUSIONS

The core conclusions from this project are as follows. These findings should be considered for future phases of the Lavasa development but also when planning any new site of urban transformation.

The research highlights the importance of diverse education provision at sites of urban development. In Lavasa, the limited education opportunities on offer at the time of the research had a significant impact on young people's experiences of belonging and families' ability to commit to Lavasa as a place.

The importance of connection (both materially and socially) in urban development was significant in the lives of children, young people and their families. Experiences of connections to water, electricity and road networks varied significantly across the development. Participants felt that 'urban advantages' needed to be more consistently applied across the development to prevent disconnection and the associated inequalities.   Connections to electricity, water and transport were deemed a priority.

The research highlighted the anxieties of families giving up and losing ancestral lands in the pursuit of urban development. A series of challenges associated with communication, perceived promises and expectations were a source of apprehension for many.

A lack of services and facilities were acutely experienced by all those living in Lavasa – many participants were committed to living in a place in the making, however, lack of essential services was a frequently articulated issue.

Without exception, participants from diverse backgrounds praised the overall design and planning of urban space. Notwithstanding the specific recommendations in terms of improvements, for many Lavasa was considered a beautiful place and well-designed.

Overwhelmingly, young people were concerned for the protection of the natural environment. Young people were growing up seeing the landscape change on a daily, weekly, monthly basis with trees being cleared and buildings emerging. Young people were very much concerned with striking a balance between the concrete and nature. Participants of all ages gave vivid accounts of the importance of nature for family, friendship, their self and wellbeing.

The privatisation of play facilities was a particular concern which shaped many young people's experiences of accessing sites of play. The location of provision was also problematic, ensuring safe and easy access was a priority for participants.

The research highlighted a series of social and spatial inequalities within the Lavasa development. Many spoke of feeling vulnerable, with their bodies not fitting in with the urban dream. Research found that who is counted as a citizen in Lavasa, and who is not, further perpetuates existing inequality.

Unaffordability of many services and facilities was a core theme of the research. From housing to healthcare, shops and play – many participants were priced out of accessing key services and facilities; this had a significant impact on experiences of belonging.

Tourism offered employment and supported the local economy, however, young people and their families spoke of the everyday challenges of living in a place which primarily catered for tourism. A balance needed to be struck between the experiences of permanent residents and day visitors.

Participants frequently articulated changes to bodies and habits in line with the neoliberal city building project. Despite these changes, participants articulated the need of remembering the past, being aware of the changes, ways of learning and prior values.

The research highlighted a series of ways in which participants felt that they belonged to the process of urban change. However, there was far greater scope for children, young people and their families' formal participation in the building of Lavasa. Participants from diverse backgrounds wanted to be involved in decision making processes and planning for urban change.

Whilst residents living in sites of urban transformation were sympathetic to the time it takes for infrastructure and services to be put in place, further communication with all residents was needed to manage expectations.

Throughout the research, participants spoke of the instability and financial uncertainty surrounding the Lavasa development. This had a significant impacts on people living in this space of urban change (for example, losing jobs, not being paid and buses not running).

The research found that despite the vulnerabilities experienced by participants, Lavasa was a site of opportunity for many in terms of access to education, water, healthcare, improved mobility and general standards of living.

There was an overwhelming energy from people of all ages, across the social spectrum who wanted Lavasa to succeed. Increasing avenues for people to participate in decisions about their local environment should be a priority. It is also thought that participation would facilitate interaction between diverse social groups and encourage intergenerational engagement.
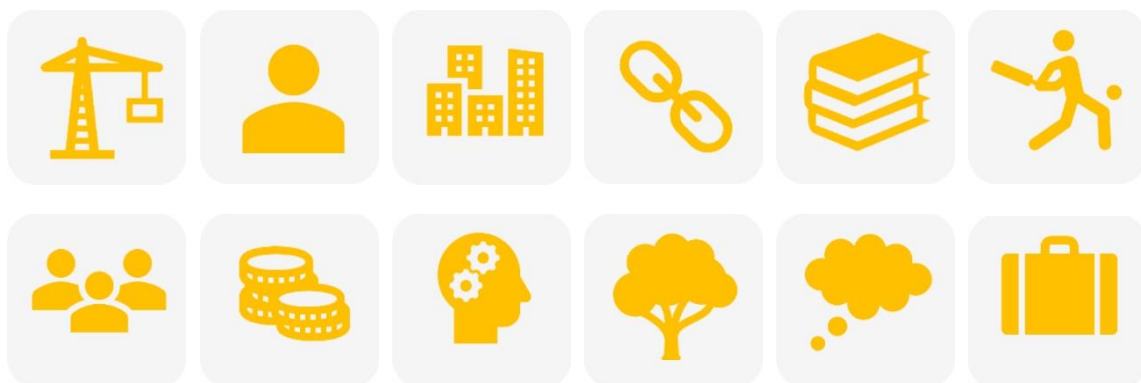
9 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

These policy recommendations are based on extensive research with 350 young people and their families who have lived, moved through and negotiated the everyday opportunities and challenges associated with urban transformation. The findings in this report are intended and support governments, policy makers, developers and wider civil society on their work in the urban transformation agenda. A series of ten policy recommendations are as follows:

1 Connections between the rural and the urban are vital for pathways of social and economic prosperity. Small towns and villages are core components of urban life; connections (roads and pavements) should be made and maintained.

2 A diverse education portfolio must be at the heart of any urban transformation strategy. Sites of education connect young people to place and enable families to commit to sites of urban change.

3 Spaces of interaction are key sites of belonging and community building. It is essential to integrate spaces for people to sit, eat, walk and play throughout the development (both indoor and outdoor).

4 When translocating urban design features across contexts and communities, the design and physical properties of materials need to be compatible with the local environment. It is important to also acknowledge the socio-cultural context in the translocation process.

5 It is important to recognise the significance of water for wellbeing (beyond its requirement for survival), providing spaces for recreation and interactions with water, avoiding the privatisation of such spaces.

6 Urban planning should have nature as a key component for the wellbeing of urban dwellers. A diversity of natural spaces are needed, from planned nature trails to informal spaces for people to interact with nature.

7 Play spaces are important for young people's everyday lives and careful consideration needs to be given to their safe location, walkability and accessibility for all young people.

8 When planning, building and transforming urban spaces, developers and policies need to be sympathetic to the landscape of memories which families and communities hold.

9 Urban agendas need to be inclusive in terms of who is counted as a citizen and actively seek opportunities for utilising local resources, skills, labour and knowledge in urban development.

10 New urban spaces, whether they be entirely new cities or sites of urban change should not be visioned, designed and built without considering the everyday lives, needs and desires of children, young people and their families. Opportunities for citizen participation needs to be at the core of urban agendas.

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NEW URBANISMS IN INDIA
URBAN LIVING . SUSTAINABILITY . EVERYDAY LIFE

NUI: Urban living, sustainability and everyday life
Overall project consent (children and young people)

	Initials here
I have received an information sheet for this project	
I have asked the researcher any questions I have about the project	
I understand that I do not have to take part in this research and I can stop taking part at any time. If I don't want to participate in this project anymore I need to ask the researcher to delete my collected information within two months of taking part	
I understand that my name will not be used in any reports, publications (like journal articles, books, magazines, etc.) or research outputs, but that the researcher will speak and write about the research findings both here in India and in other countries	
I have received information about storing the collected information safely	
I understand about storing information safely and agree to my data (interviews, activity sheets and photographs I take) being stored without my name; this means other researchers may also use this information in their research projects	

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NEW URBANISMS IN INDIA

URBAN LIVING . SUSTAINABILITY . EVERYDAY LIFE

I agree to my interview being audio recorded	
I agree to take part in the following research activities:	
Interview 1 – All about you	
Interview 2 – Your everyday routines	
Interview 3 – Nature and green space in the city	
Show me your local area (walk, bike etc.)	

* I have read and understood the information leaflet and give permission for the child (named below) to participate

YOUNG PERSON	**PARENT/ GUARDIAN/ SCHOOL ***	**RESEARCHER**
Name:	Name:	Name:
Signature:	Signature:	Signature:
Date:	Date:	Date:

Address: _____

Contact telephone number: _____

Your address and telephone number will not be shared with anyone other than the research team

Participant code

NEW URBANISMS IN INDIA

URBAN LIVING . SUSTAINABILITY . EVERYDAY LIFE

If you would like more information about the research or any aspect of this report, please contact the Principal Investigator using the following details:

Dr. Sophie Hadfield-Hill, University of Birmingham
Email: s.a.hadfield-hill@bham.ac.uk
Twitter: @hadfieldhill
Website: www.new-urbanism-india.com

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