NO PLACE TO PLAY? STUDIES OF HOW ADOLESCENTS USE PUBLIC SPACE IN DISPOSSESSED COMMUNITIES

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: No Place to Play? Studies of How Adolescents Use Public Space in Dispossessed Communities

Scholars agree that public space is essential for adolescents living in low-income communities.[1] However, design professionals struggle to justify public space in resource-constrained environments such as rapidly densifying urban areas. As competition for space heats up, complex neoliberal processes often push out or squeeze in low-income communities that can be generally described as forms of forced dispossession—the taking of land—to make way for new development. Although development-forced dispossession and resettlement (DFDR) is widespread, the lives of adolescents in these environments have rarely been subjected to systematic and in-depth study.

Manila, Philippines and Hyderabad, India represent vivid cases where adolescents experience the most extreme forms of dispossession. Focusing on seven dispossessed communities this dissertation asks: what spaces perform as public space and how do adolescents use them? To answer these questions, I used a two-part, inductive research methodology starting with an environmental psychology approach that relied on intensive interviews with adolescents (n=73) to document their mobility, describe their place use, and characterize their environments. After collecting and analyzing photographs taken and maps made by adolescents as well as 178 hours of audio recordings with adolescents, adults, designers, and officials, I identified the most frequented spaces in each dispossessed community that were "public" in way adolescents used them and developed eight cross-cutting influences on their spatial activity.

In part two, I adopted an architectural approach to investigate the broader transferability

[1] These findings drove the UN to adopt SDG 11.7, "…provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible green and public spaces, particularly for women and children..."

of adolescents' spaces to the community and evaluate their accessibility, safety, and environmental qualities. Through two years of field saturation including 250 hours of public space observations and nearly 1,300 detailed behavior maps, I found that urban planning processes of dispossession often oppresses girls' environmental affordances and spatial mobilities more than any other sub-group. Therefore, architects and planners should work with adolescents, especially adolescent girls, to understand the power structures within each community and design upgrading strategies to improve the safety and accessibility of local public spaces. These findings were validated by using multiple sources of data for triangulation, recruiting diverse participant perspectives, and member-checking transcripts.

This dissertation has rich impacts. It extends previous findings on children's experiences in low-income communities such as Lynch (1977), Chawla (2002), and Kreutz (2015) by shifting the framework toward the economy of space. Additionally, research involving adolescents' experiences in dispossessed communities is scarce and, as such, this dissertation makes a significant contribution to the interdisciplinary field of children's environments and, more broadly, to the study of dispossessed environments.

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In my fieldwork, I witnessed the challenges and sometimes the desperation of dispossession play out in the lives of the children that I worked with. For both of us to be comfortable, this exposure required familiarity. I got to know the families and community members on a deeper level that went beyond superficial professionalism and often involved personal exchanges of laughter as well as anxieties. With the utmost sincerity, I would like to acknowledge the bravery of these volunteers - the children and their parents - in revealing their lives to an outsider under circumstances in which they often felt that their agency was suppressed and their conditions humbling. Thank you.

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To the adolescent girls playing in streets of our cities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Why Does it Matter? 3

Argument and Structure 8

PART 1: DISPOSSESSION'S REACH 13

II. THE NEOLIBERAL REGIME OF DISPOSSESSSION 14

Neoliberalism and Dispossession 17

The Experience of Development-Caused Forced Dispossession and Resettlement (DFDR) 20

The Price of Privatization 23

The Role of Architects and Planners 25

III. ON METHODS 29

Research Philosophy and Approach 31

Positionality and Bias 34

Research Model 38

Theoretical Framework 39

Case Study Selection 40

Resettlement in Manila 41

Erasure in Hyderabad 43

Community Selection 45

Protocol 51

Conceptual Framework as Grounding 52

Methods 54

Focus Group 54

Youth Interviews 56

Photovoice 60

Supporting Interviews 62

Social Space Observations and Diagrams 62
Analysis 65
Research Team Recruitment 66
Sampling 68
Validity 71
PART 2: ADOLESCENT'S VOICES 74
IV. RESETTLEMENT IN QUEZON CITY 75
A Brief History of Land Rights in the Philippines 77
The Influence of Haciendas and Post-Colonial Relocation Programs 78
Post-War Reconstruction and Dispossession 79
The Presidential Traditions of Neoliberal Dispossession 81
DFDR and Sprawl in the Greater Metro Manila Area 84
The Sites from Above: Planning Analysis 88
Pabahay 2000 92
Site Analysis 93
Community Origins 97
An Architectural Tour of Pabahay 2000 99
The Local: Burger 105
The Churchgoer: Kathleen 112
Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Pabahay 2000 120
The Additional In-Dept Interviews 121
The Focus Group 128
"Public Spaces" in Practice 130
Towerville VI 131
Site Analysis 131
Community Origins 136
An Architectural Tour of Towerville VI 137
The Mother: Julia 145
The Worker: RJ 155

Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Towerville VI 162
The Focus Group 163
"Public Space" in Practice 165
San Jose Del Monte Heights (SJM) 165
Site Analysis 165
Community Origins 170
An Architectural Tour of San Jose Del Monte Heights 170
The Protected: Ariadna 178
The Hypebeast: Shen 188
Summary of Adolescent Experiences in SJM 198
The Wonderer: Cardo 199
The Focus Group 201
"Public Space" in Practice 203
Garden Village 203
Site Analysis 203
Community Origins 209
An Architectural Tour of Garden Village 210
The Shopkeeper's Ward: Paul 217
The Writer: Ley 226
The Frat Boy: Joven 237
Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Garden Village 245
The Additional In-Depth Interviews 246
The Focus Group 254
"Public Space" in Practice 256
Adolescent's Spatial Activity in Manila's Resettlement Communities 256
Range & Territory 258
Typical Routes 262
Social Groups 263
Gendered Space 264
Mobility License 266
Chores & Work 271

Fears, Risk, & Safety 272
Social Media & Computer Games 275
Improvements 277

V. ERASURE IN HYDERABAD INDIA 281

A Brief History of Land Rights in India 283
The Feudal Structure of Land Appropriation 283
Colonial Influences on Land Acquisition 284
The Post-Colonial Developmentalist Regime of Dispossession 286
DFDR and Sprawl in the Greater Metro Hyderabad Area 288
The Sites from Above: Planning Analysis 291
Gachibowli Village 295
Site Analysis 296
Community Origins 303
An Architectural Tour of Gachibowli Village 307
The Watchman's Son: Nivant 314
The Politician's Daughter: Aadita 320
The Other Side of The Highway: Loknath 326
Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Gachibowli Village 330
The Additional In-Depth Interviews 331
"Public Space" in Practice 343
Nanakramguda 343
Site Analysis 343
Community Origins 349
An Architectural Tour of Nanakramguda 352
The Vegetable Stand Worker: Preet 360
The Sarpanch's Son: Maruti 363
Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Nanakramguda 368
The Additional In-Depth Interviews 369
"Public Space" in Practice 384
Ishaan Nagar 384

Site Analysis 386
Community Origins 391
An Architectural Tour of Ishaan Nagar 395
The Grown-Up Girl: Anju 401
The Cool Kid: Vardan 407
Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Ishaan Nagar 414
The Additional In-Depth Interviews 414
The 3rd Places in Ishaan Nagar 432
Adolescent's Spatial Activity in Hyderabad's Dispossessed Communities 432
Range & Territory 434
Typical Routes 437
School 438
Social Groups 440
Gendered Space 442
Mobility License 445
Fears, Risk, & Safety 447
Social Media & Computer Games 450
Mode of Transport 451
Improvements 452

PART 3: ADOLESCENTS' ENVIRONMENTS 454

VI. ADOLESCENTS' 3RD PLACES 455

The Nature of the 3rd Place 456
Urban Analysis Tools 458
Adolescents' 3rd Places in the Philippines 461
Destination Space: The Computer Shop 462
The Computer Shop in Pabahay 2000 463
The Computer Shop in Garden Village 466
Threshold Space: The Pocket Basketball Court 470
The Pocket Basketball Court in Pabahay 2000 470

The Pocket Basketball Court in Garden Village....473
Transitory Space: Residential Street....476
The Residential Street in Pabahay 2000....477
The Residential Street in Garden Village....480
Adolescents' 3rd Places in India....484
Destination Space: The Temple Ground....485
The Temple Ground in Gachibowli Village....486
The Temple Ground in Nanakramguda....489
The Temple Ground in Ishaan Nagar....493
Threshold Space: Residential Street....497
The Residential Street in Gachibowli Village....497
The Residential Street in Nanakramguda....501
Transitory Space: The Shop Street....504
The Shop Street in Gachibowli Village....505
The Shop Street in Nanakramguda....508
The Shop Street in Ishaan Nagar....511
Adolescents' 3rd Places are "Public Spaces in Practice"....515
The Ambiguity of Space/Place in Architecture....516
Summarizing the Results of the Architectural Analysis....517

VII. CONCLUSION....520
The Context of Neoliberalism....522
How Adolescents Play in Dispossessed Communities....524
Dissertation Limitations....528
The Importance of 3rd Places....531
Do Architects Protect or Exploit?....532
A Closer Look at Cyberabad....535
Design as a Solution....541
The Value of Adolescent Girls....543

APPENDIX A: PHOTOVOICE....1

Participants from Pabahay 2000 1
Ash 1
Burger 4
Kathleen 6
Jobsey 7
Kyrie 10
Participants from Towerville VI 14
Julia 14
JR 17
Participants from SJM 20
Ariadna 20
Cardo 23
Shen 26
Participants from Garden Village 29
John Paul 29
Joven 33
Ley 36
Caril 40
Dos 43
Participants from Gachibowli Village 47
Loknath 47
Aadita 50
Bindiya 51
Jaisal 51
Kamalaj 54
Nivant 54
Rakhi 57
Vo Poolla 58
Participants from Nanakramguda 59
Adhira 59

Bhavesh 60
Nikhil 62
Maruti 63
Rajalakshmi 64
Sunny 65
Ujhala 67
Participants from Ishaan Nagar 68
Anju 68
Ketan 70
Manish 73
Narayan 76
Godavari 78
Pramoda 79
Smija 80
Vardan 81

APPENDIX B: RESEARCH TEAM RECRUITMENT POSTER 85
Philippines Recruitment Poster 85
India Recruitment Poster 86

APPENDIX C: INDEX OF GAMES ADOELCENTS REFERENCED 87
Philippine Sites 87
Indian Sites 89
Common International Games 92
Online Games/Social Media 93

REFERENCES CITED 1
I. Introduction 1
II. The Neoliberal Regime of Dispossession 3
III. On Methods 7
IV. Resettlement in Quezon City 14

V. Erasure in Hyderabad India 18

VI. Adolescents' 3rd Places 23

VII. Conclusion 26

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

Figure 1: these elite housing communities such as Alekhya Homes that dispossessed villagers in Nanakramguda, one of the sites in this study, advertise exclusive architectures that help residents "forget [the] rest of the world," (Source: Author 2019). 2

Figure 2: I conducted this study sequentially, first in Manila, Philippines and then in Hyderabad, India (Source: Author 2021). 7

Figure 3: Images of the 23 September Movement of San Roque (Source: Undisclosed). 15

Figure 4: (L-R all in Quezon City, Philippines): Photograph of typical high-rise ultra-dense housing (author, 2018); rendering of a new commercial center, Vertis North, shown on a greenfield site (courtesy of Ayala Land company, 2018); and photograph of the construction of Vertis North in an informal settlement (courtesy of Arjay Baltores, 2016). 42

Figure 5: The Hyderabad case study includes work with adolescents from Gachibowli Village, Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021). 47

Figure 6: The Manila case study includes work with adolescents from Pabahay 2000, San Jose Del Monte Heights (SJM), Towerville VI, and Garden Village (Source: Author 2021).....49

Figure 7: Conceptual Framework Diagram (Source: author, 2020). 53

Figure 8: Participants use different colored markers and stickers to annotate their map as they tell us about the places, they hang out (Source: Author 2018). 58

Figure 9: Examples of photovoice images taken by participating adolescents. Chapter IV. RESETTLEMENT IN QUEZON CITY and Chapter V. ERASURE IN HYDERABAD INDIA provide a comprehensive analysis of the photovoice results (Source: author, 2018).....60

Figure 10: Research assistant Raph is working with a participant to locate the images on a map of the community and to develop captions for each image (Source: author, 2018). 61

Figure 11: His "transparency" website shows architectural renderings of modern buildings in a green, clean city. (Source: www.build.gov.ph accessed on April 7, 2021). 86

Figure 12: The latest research clearly illuminates the socio-spatial segregation boiling over as a result of neoliberal DFDR programs such as Duterte's Build Build Build. (Source: Chappel and Thomas 2020). 87

Figure 13: Four communities studied in the Bulacan province, just north east of the Metro Manila border (Source: Author 2021). 91

Figure 14: Pabahay 2000 is the oldest community (first occupied in 1999) and developed on an agricultural site. (Source: Google Earth/Maxar Technologies, 2001). 93

Figure 15: Pabahay 2000 has 7,045 families living in an area of 107.13 acres (or 66 families per acre; 395 people per acre) (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021).....94

Figure 16: The community is V-shaped with the basketball court, National Housing Authority and Homeowners Association offices, and open space at the juncture. The other two non-residential features are the market and the high school. (Source: National Housing Authority with graphic edits by author, 2018).....95

Figure 17: The main street is 5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021). 96

Figure 18: The side street is 3.5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021). 96

Figure 19: The alleway is 2m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021). 96

Figure 20: The figure ground diagram clearly shows the three tiers of streets (Source: Shrestha 2020). 98

Figure 21: The community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map. (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020). 99

Figure 22: Participant-directed map for Pabahay 2000. (Source: Burger 2018). 106

Figure Page

Figure 23: Participant-directed map for barangay Muzon. (Burger 2018).....106

Figure 24: yan yung mga kaibigan uminom kami ng softdrink at malaya kamp ngan [those friends we drank softdrinks and camped freely] (Source: Burger 2018).....107

Figure 25: *yan ang bahay namin duyan alu nakatira* [that's the house we live in] (Source: Burger 2018).....108

Figure 26: *ito ang basketball court minsam may away danil sa hinan payku kaurawaan sa paggamit ng pwesto* [this is the basketball court once had a fight danil to hinan payku kaurawaan in the use of seats] (Source: Burger 2018).....109

Figure 27: Participant-directed map for Pabahay 2000. (Source: Kathleen 2018). 113

Figure 28: Participant-directed map for barangay Muzon. (Kathleen 2018). 114

Figure 29: *Any bantay na si snowwhite*. [Snowwhite is on guard]. (Source: Kathleen's Dad 2018).....115

Figure 30: Meeting with a new friend. (Source: Kathleen 2018). 116

Figure 31: *Tamang laro lang ng counter-strike* [Just the right counter-strike game] (Source: Kathleen 2018). 118

Figure 32: The rooftop appears to be a common hangout because of the food wrappers discarded on the roof but also, possibly, a dangerous place because of the wood stick with nails sticking out that appears to be a weapon. (Source: Kyrie 2018). 122

Figure 33: He said that his *barakada* recently found a new basketball court to hang out at that was in an adjacent community. 123

Figure 34: A friend group hanging out in an informal space in the Pabahay 2000 market near the ALS classroom. (Source: Jobsey 2018).....124

Figure 35: *Pag dumadaan po ako sa court bago pumasok, marami po akong nakikita… Opo, puro boys po talaga* [only guys play at the basketball court (street court) and there are never any girls] (Source: Jobsep 2018).....125

Figure 36: An overgrown abandoned plot that she photographed between Pabahay 2000 and Melody. (Source: Jobsey 2018). 126

Figure 37: *Tambayan. kwentuhan kasama kaibigan.* [hangout. chat with friends] 127

Figure 38: *Gilid ng bukid. puno ng saging. Sampalok. kama chile.* [Edge of the farm. banana tree. Sampalok. Tamarid Tree] (Source: Ash 2018). 127

Figure 39: Towerville IV was developed on an agricultural site just across the river from the urban area Caloocan. (Source: Google Earth, 2011 with author edits).....132

Figure 40: Originally, the color of the roof signaled the *barangay* to which the house belonged; red roofs were assigned to Gaya-Gaya and white and green roofs were assigned to Graceville. (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021). 133

Figure 41: The community consists of seven subphases of development labeled 6A-6F (National Housing Authority with author edits, 2018). 134

Figure 42: The main road is 11m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).....134

Figure 43: The streets are 10m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021). 135

Figure 44: The streets have a three-tiered hierarchy with the main road at 10m, the streets at 8m, and the alleyways at 4m that is easily distinguishable in the figure ground diagram. (Source: Shrestha 2020).....135

Figure 45: The government constructed the houses in rows each sharing a common wall (zero-lot line). (Source: Author 2018).....136

Figure 46: The community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map. (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020).....138

Figure 47: Participant-directed map for Towerville VI. (Source: Julia 2018). 146

Figure 48: Participant-directed map for barangay Graceville. (Source: Julia 2018). 146

Figure 49*: tulay na bakal. daanan po sya ng mga tao at mahangin.* [iron bridge. people pass by and it's windy] (Source: Julia 2018). 148

Figure 50: *Tulay na bakal. sa baba po sya san po kami nakakapag usap usap in private*. [iron bridge. at the bottom where we can talk in private]. (Source: Julia 2018). 149

Figure 51: "We will meet up here and we'll walk there. Pass by the Grotto Vista, crossover, and then that's it [we have arrived]." (Source: quote by Julia, image by RJ 2018). 150

Figure 52: *practice ng athletic* [athletic practice]. (Source: Julia 2018). 151

Figure 53: *pwedeng tambayan* [quiet hang out group]. (Source: Julia 2018). 152

Figure 54: *maraming nangtitrip at madilim* [many tripping and dark]. (Source: Julia 2018). 154

Figure 55: "It has a more beautiful view than other places, because it's spacious, and no one will disturb you." (Source: RJ 2018).....157

Figure 56: Sometimes he plays basketball at the courts near the school. (Source: RJ 2018). 158

Figure 57: When they get bored of playing, they get a snack. (Source: RJ 2018). 158

Figure 58: Picture 1 of a creek (Source: RJ 2018). 160

Figure 59: Picture 2 of a creek. (Source: RJ). 161

Figure 60: He also thinks it's very dangerous to go near Maringal High School. (Source: RJ 2018). 162

Figure 61: As the farthest site from Metro Manila, many families have refused to resettle to this remote and rural location. (Source: Google Earth/Maxar Technologies, 2010) 166

Figure 62: SJM has 4,283 families living in an area of 66 acres (or 64.45 families per acre/387 people per acre) (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021). 167

Figure 63: The community is shaped like a figure "8" with two phases connected at a central pinch-point. (Source: National Housing Authority with author edits, 2018).....168

Figure 64: The main trunk road is 15m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).....168

Figure 65: The residential street is 5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).....169

Figure 66: The unusual and chaotic angles that dictate the property boundary also impede the gridded framework as clearly shown in the figure ground diagram. (Source: Shrestha 2020).....169

Figure 67: The community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map. (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020). 171

Figure 68: Participant-directed map of SJM (Ariadna 2018). 180

Figure 69: Participant-directed map of barangay Muzon (Ariadna 2018). 181

Figure 70: One of the interesting photos is a picture of a small clearing space behind the school (Ariadna 2018).....182

Figure 71: She has a lot of photos of snack shops although she doesn't talk about it much in the interview (Ariadna 2018).....183

Figure 72: There are also boys and girls that hang out and watch from the bleachers and from the top of the wall (Ariadna, 2018).....184

Figure 73: She told us when she was describing and placing her photos that she does tambay in a vacant lot behind the Phase 2 basketball court (Ariadna 2018).....188

Figure 74: Participant-directed map of SJM (Shen 2018).....189

Figure 75: Participant-directed map of SJM (Shen 2018).....189

Figure 76: *sa kalsada kasi malapit lang sa bahay naming*. [on the road because it's just near our house] (Source: Shen 2018).....191

Figure 77: *kasi po sa gilidng bahay ng lola ko po sa bukid po* [because it's on the side of my grandmother's house in the farm] (Shen 2018).....192

Figure 78: *kasi po madumi na po yung ilog at maraming basuta* [because the river is already dirty and there is a lot of garbage]. (Source Shen 2018). 194

Figure 79: *kasi po color brown na po yung tubig* [because the water is brown]. (Source: Shen 2018).....194

Figure 80: *kasi po nag papractice kami ditto* [because we practice here]. (Source: Shen 2018).....196

Figure 81: *kasi po nag papractice kami ditto* [because we practice here] (Source: Shen 2018).....197

Figure 82: sugalan. binigay ng para. may mali pati tapos umalis doon din. [Gambling. The house was given by someone and something went wrong so they left there.] 201

Figure 83: The site is a shaped like an upside-down triangle by an oxbow in the river. (Source: Google Earth/Maxar Technologies, 2010). 204

Figure 84: Garden Village is significantly smaller with only 494 families living on 13 acres (or 37 families per acre/223 people per acre). (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021). 205

Figure 85: The community is the only site in this study that had developed park space within the community. (Source: National Housing Authority with author edits, 2018). HOA is the Homeowner's Association 206

Figure 86: The main street is 6m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021). 207

Figure 87: The alleyways are 1.5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits). 207

Figure 88: Garden Village has three tiers of streets by width that can be seen clearly in the figure ground diagram. (Source: Shrestha 2020). HOA is the Homeowner's Association. 208

Figure 89: The community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map. (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020). 210

Figure 90: Participant-directed mapping for Garden Village (Source: Paul 2018). 218

Figure 91: Participant-directed mapping of barangay Graceville (Source: Paul 2018).....219

Figure 92: *Court sa shool. ang court ay pinaglalaruan an basketball* [court in school. the court is playing basketball] (Source: Paul 2018). 220

Figure 93: *mga tao. mihirap siland kaibiganin dahil hindi ko sila kilala.* [people. it's hard for them to be friends because I don't know them.] (Source: Paul 2018). 220

Figure 94: *Billiard table. dapat hindi tayo naglalaro ng billard pala iwos gulo* [billiard table. we shouldn't be playing billiards to avoid trouble] (Source: Paul 2018). 221

Figure 95: *practice. ang mga bata ay sinagayaw.* [practice. the children danced.] (Source: Paul 2018).....221

Figure 96: *Court. ay pwedeng maglaro ng.* [court. can play basketball.] (Source: Paul 2018).....222

Figure 97: *Tindahan. ang tindahan ay bilihan ng mga tao* [store. the store is a shop for people]. (Source: Paul 2018).....223

Figure 98: creek. sa creek ay pwedeng tumambay dahil mahangan [creek. in the creek can hang because it is windy]. (Source Paul 2018).....224

Figure 99: *court. ang court ay mapag laroano ng basketball at iba pa* [short. the court can play basketball and so on]. (Source: Paul 2018). 224

Figure 100: Participant-directed mapping of Garden Village (Source: Ley 2018).....227

Figure 101: Participant-directed mapping of Garden Village (Source: Ley 2018).....228

Figure 102*: tambayan tuwing gabi a dito kami nag kikita* [tambayan every night and here we meet] (Source: Ley 2018). 229

Figure 103: *kasi may mgataga-samin na dumadayo san para naglaro ng basketball tapos para sakin ok namin tong lugar nato*. [because there are those of us who go there to play basketball and then for me, we are ok in this place.] (Source: Ley 2018).....230

Figure 104: *maganda kasi maraming tindahan* [it's nice because there are many shops] (Source: Ley 2018). 231

Figure 105: *bilihan ng siomai kainan* [siomai eatery] (Source: Ley 2018). 232

Figure 106: *maganda at maaliwalas kasi sa narap ng school* [it's beautiful and airy because it's in front of the school] (Source: Ley 2018). 234

Figure 107: Participant-directed mapping of Garden Village (Source: Joven 2018).....238

Figure 108: Participant-directed mapping of Garden Village (Source: Joven 2018).....239

Figure 109: ilog. saan kami naliligo. paboritong liguan. [river. where we bathe. favorite bath.] (Source: Joven 2018).....239

Figure 110: bahay na kahoy tambayan nagpapahinga [wooden house for resting hangouts] (Source: Joven 2018). 240

Figure 111: hiding spot during hide and seek (Source: Joven 2018).....241

Figure 112: tambayan. gabi ak umaga bakanteng bahay [Hang out. evening and morning vacant house] (Source: Joven 2018). 242

Figure 113: *Sa bahaging ito baka bumaha dahil sa dami ng basura ng nakatambak* [in this part it may flood due to the amount of garbage piled up]. (Source: Dos 2018). 248

Figure 114: *Dito inilalagay ang mga basura namin baka merong matulis na bagay kapag pumunta kami ditto* [here we put our garbage lest there be a sharp object when we go here]. (Source: Dos 2018). 248

Figure 115: *tapat ng bahay naming yan umuupo kami jan nag kukumpol kumpulan para mag kwentohan lang* [opposite our house, we were sitting in a group just to talk]" (Source: Caril 2018). 252

Figure 116: *pero may mga good side naman itong lugar nato pag gusto mo mapag-isa* [but there are good sides to this place when you want to be alone]. (Source: Caril 2018). 253

Figure 117: The participants from Pabahay 2000 had an average range of 13,894 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,368 m (Source: Author 2021). 259

Figure 118: Julia was the only participant from Towerville VI to complete a map; she had a range of 5,579 m2 with a maximum path distance of 1,031 m (Source: Author 2021). 260

Figure 119: The participants from SJM had an average range of 15,003 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,859 m (Source: Author 2021). 260

Figure 120: The participants from Garden Village had an average range of 8,005 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,356 m (Source: Author 2021). 261

Figure 121: The routes for each site were overlaid onto a single map to identify the most frequently used streets and pathways (clockwise from upper left: Pabahay 2000, Towerville VI, SJM, and Garden Village). (Source: Author and Shrestha 2021). 262

Figure 122: *ilog kasi nakakatakot sa gabi dahil walang ilaw.* [The river because it's scary at night because there is no light.] (Source: Paul 2016). 273

Figure 123: The master plan laid a blanket of formality over a fringe area that historically functioned in the space between formality and informality (Source: *Hyderabad Master Plan 2020* 2003).....292

Figure 124: The three villages were originally located within the area designated for the Cyberabad Development Authority (CDA), Gachibowli Village, and Nanakramguda have remained there while Ishaan Nagar was displaced further outside of the city (Source: Deaton 2021).....294

Figure 125: The earliest and clearest satellite image available was captured in 2003. It clearly shows the agricultural context, the bounded settlement of Gachibowli village (pink polygon), the adjacent government housing schemes, and the framework for gentrifying gated communities such as Rolling Hillls (Source: Google Earth 2021).....297

Figure 126: Centralized planning for redevelopment of the area included realigning the road and draining the tank, which fractured the area into distinct development *nagars* ("cities") (Source: Google Earth 2021 with author edits).....297

Figure 127: Chhota Anjaiah Nagar and Rajeev Nagar have over 5,000+ families living in an area of approximately 80.1 acres (or 62.4 families per acre; about 290 people per acre) (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021).....299

Figure 128: Chhota Anjaiah Nagar is shaped like a "pitch-fork" while Rajeev Nagar is shaped in in a right angle (Source: Shrestha with gradphic edits by author 2021).....300

Figure 129: The Gachibowli-Miapur Highway is 45m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).....301

Figure 130: The Rajeev Nagar Main Road is 7m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits).....301

Figure 131: The residential side streets are 4m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).....302

Figure 132: The figure ground diagram clearly shows the the change in building typology divided by the highway (Source: Shrestha 2020). 302

Figure 133: The comnunity photographs are keyed to the figure ground map (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020). 307

Figure 134: The parking garage was a half level underground leaving a clearstory opening on the back wall that let in a little light (Source: Nivant 2019). 315

Figure 135: The valley was inaccessible because of the steep retaining wall but a graveyard was visible at the bottom of the valley amongst trees and lots of foliage (Source: Nivant 2019).....315

Figure 136: Nivant's surface parking lot next to the main road (Source: Nivant 2019).....316

Figure 137: He walked to and from school every day along the edge of the highway pavement because the sidewalks were broken and often blocked by cars and vendors (Source: Nivant 2019). 317

Figure 138: The Gachibowli-Miapur highway then became a border of his spatial range and limited him to playing with his friends who lived on his side of the street (Source: Nivant 2019). 318

Figure 139: Even when it was not raining, there was an almost constant flow of drainage along the highway encroaching on the parking lot play area (Source: Nivant 2019).....319

Figure 140: Participant-directed map of Rajeev Nagar (Source: Nivant 2019). 319

Figure 141: Participant-directed map of Rajeev Nagar (Source: Aadita 2019). 321

Figure 142: Aadita revealed that she walked to a gated apartment complex behind Rajeev Nagar (Source: Aadita 2019). 323

Figure 143: She would play in that complex's playground because her father, as a local politician, had spoken with the watchman (Source: Aadita 2019).....324

Figure 144: She liked the playground because there were a lot of plants and trees (Source: Aadita 2019). 324

Figure 145: Participant-directed map of Rajeev Nagar (Source: Loknath 2019). 327

Figure 146: There was no reception space, so we sat on the balcony/exterior corridor to the next unit (Source: Loknath 2019). 328

Figure 147: The homes are smashed together in a zero-lot line form like charms on a colorful craft necklace (Source: Rakhi 2019). 332

Figure 148: She likes the school grounds because there are trees (Source: Rakhi 2019). 333

Figure 149: A lot of teenage boys play by the big temple but because they are mostly boys she doesn't play there (Source: Rakhi 2019). 333

Figure 150: He mostly got his exercise from playing games like out-out, kabaddi, kho-kho, and racing games on the dead-end street next to their house (Source: Vo Poolla 2019).....336

Figure 151: It was zero-lot line with an enclosure wall and a series of very small courtyards just off of the dirt road.....338

Figure 152: They would play gully cricket in the street or just hang out and chat in front of the Masjid (Source: Kamalaj 2019). 339

Figure 153: In between there was a small stand with a TV on it and a plastic stool (Source: Jaisal 2019). 340

Figure 154: It had a small courtyard that was protected from the street by a solid metal panel gate (Source: Bindiya 2019). 341

Figure 155: Nanakramguda is a historic community tracing its origins back over 400 years (Source: Google Earth, 2003 with author edits). 344

Figure 156: There were three urban layers concentrically organized in Nanakramguda—the interior was for construction workers, the middle was for the heritage community, and the exterior for the new middle-class Information Technology professionals (Source: Author 2021).....345

Figure 157: Nanakramguda has over 5,000 families living in an area of 104 acres (or 48 families per acre/223 people per acre) (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits 2021).....345

Figure 158: Nanakramguda Road is 9m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).....346

Figure 159: The residential streets range in width from 4-6m (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021). 346

Figure 160: The residential pedestrian pathways are between .5m and 1m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits). 347

Figure 161: The three concentric layers and the key destinations are centered around the two-lane, paved Nanakramguda Road that is 9m wide (Source: Shrestha with gradphic edits by author 2021).....348

Figure 162: The figure ground diagram clearly shows the encroachment of large Information Technology facilities surrounding the small building footprints of the original village (Source: Shrestha 2020). 349

Figure 163: The comnunity photographs are keyed to the figure ground map (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020). 352

Figure 164: Participant-directed map of Nanakramguda (Source: Preet 2019). 361

Figure 165: There was an iron gate, but it was always open. Then the ground level was for cars (Source: Maruti 2019). 364

Figure 166: Participant-directed map of Nanakramguda (Source: Maruti 2019). 365

Figure 167: He plays with his cousins on the road next to his house and sometimes they go to the shops (Source: Maruti 2019). 366

Figure 168: in the auto photography he took several pictures of what appears at first glance to be a ground with kids playing (Source: Maruti 2019). 367

Figure 169: Maruti explained that the area was actually a construction site and they were not kids playing but construction workers squatting on the site (Source: Maruti 2019).....367

Figure 170: Because we roam this entire area, and play hide and seek here, and we can hide in here. We are also able to play kabaddi in this small area. (Source: Ujhala 2019). 370

Figure 171: A large courtyard shaded by a couple of large trees and the secret passageway (Source: Sunny 2019). 372

Figure 172: There was a common outhouse off the courtyard with running water for bucket bathing (Source: Sunny 2019).....373

Figure 173: The roads are dangerous because they are full of stones and trash like glass that hurts the kids when they fall (Source: Sunny 2019). 374

Figure 174: Sometimes they played on the street in front of her house because they did not have access to a ground (Source: Rajalakshmi 2019). 375

Figure 175: A large space for the girls to play in the lower level that was behind the protection of the gate but outside of the house (Source: Adhira 2019). 376

Figure 176: She had three friends in her group (Source: Adhira 2019).....377

Figure 177: She fought a lot with her sister so Rajalakshmi rarely took her along when she walked with her friends. (Source: Adhira 2019). 377

Figure 178: There was a 17-story building going up just behind their building that would look down onto their neighborhood (Source: Nikhil 2019). 379

Figure 179: Now, the place is a sand pit for other buildings under construction in the area and Nikhil plays there with his friends (Source: Nikhil 2019). 380

Figure 180: He played kabaddi with his friends inside the bottom level parking area of the building his family occupied (Source: Nikhil 2019). 381

Figure 181: he played games such as out-out, gully cricket, and hide-n-seek on the street just in front of their house (Source: Nikhil 2019). 382

Figure 182: Where the apartment towers were now located used to be a ground that he played outdoor games in (Source: Bhavesh 2019). 383

Figure 183: The land that they had settled on was reallocated to Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation at the turn of the century and developed into a golf course across from the new Microsoft Campus (Source: Interviews, Google Earth with author edits 2004/2021). 385

Figure 184: They shifted several times along the highway, with each shift moving them a bit further away from the city. A decade ago, a politician gave/leased/sold them a remote property to settle and develop into the current Ishaan Nagar community (Source: Google Earth 2003 with author edits). 386

Figure 185: The community density is significantly smaller than Gachibowli Village and Nanakramguda but is understandable due to the remote location (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits 2021). 387

Figure 186: Since I completed the fieldwork, the state government has constructed a massive social housing project just north of Ishaan Nagar (Source: Environs Contriver 2020). 388

Figure 187: The only other building types were the temple, a government elementary school on the highway corner, and a small but mostly vacant strip center with four stalls and only one occupied by seamstress (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020); ORR is the Outer Ring Road. 389

Figure 188: The residential streets were between 3-5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021). 389

Figure 189: The community had a strong orthogonal grid composed of blocks that were 20 m by 120 m on average (Source: Shrestha 2020). 390

Figure 190: The comnunity photographs are keyed to the figure ground map (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020). 395

Figure 191: Participant-directed map of Ishaan Nagar (Source: Anju 2019). 402

Figure 192: She waits for the bus at 7:30 near the main highway but said they are careful to play there because of the high-speed vehicles (Source: Anju 2019). 403

Figure 193: She plays with them sometimes in the street in front of her house (Source: Anju 2019). 404

Figure 194: She added that some of the boys go to the field behind the village or to other grounds, like Osman Nagar, that are in the adjacent colonies, but the girls don't go because it's dangerous for them (Source: Anju 2019). 405

Figure 195: Field behind Ishaan Nagar (Source: Anju 2019). 405

Figure 196: Additionally, there is no place to walk along the highway (Source: Anju 2019). 407

Figure 197: Participant-directed map of Ishaan Nagar (Source: Vardan 2019). 408

Figure 198: . It is a dirt lane like all of the others (Source: Vardan 2019). 409

Figure 199: He doesn't leave the community much, but he does walk around, and he fetches milk at the shop on the north side (Source: Vardan 2019). 410

Figure 200: He plays and hangs out in the open areas like the ground in the field (Source: Vardan 2019). 411

Figure 201: He doesn't like that the roads are not good, and the ground is not "proper" (Source: Vardan 2019). 412

Figure 202: He doesn't think there are places in the street to hang out but in the mapping exercise he revealed that he likes to hang out near his friend's house about three blocks away and sit on the corner (Source: Vardan 2019). 412

Figure 203: He feels like his relatives, who have houses all around, watch out for him on the street (Source: Vardan 2019). 413

Figure 204: On Sundays he liked to walk and sometimes jogs along the highway (Source: Narayan 2019). 416

Figure 205: The first was along the dirt lane on the side of the community, which he said he walked in order to be in nature (Source: Narayan 2019). 417

Figure 206: He said there was a ground in Ishaan Nagar, but it was not well maintained (Source: Narayan 2019). 418

Figure 207: There was a restroom (like an outhouse) in the corner of the courtyard that I later learned was a source of income (Source: Ketan 2019). 420

Figure 208: In Ishaan Nagar he played with his friends on the roads and on the ground (the field behind the community) (Source: Ketan 2019). 421

Figure 209: In the mapping exercise he showed that he mostly played on the street about a one-block radius from his house or the ground where he played marbles, cricket, volleyball, and kabaddi (Source: Ketan 2019). 422

Figure 210: His favorite places in Ishaan Nagar inlcuded the temple grounds (Source: Ketan 2019). 423

Figure 211: Her house was small and on a dirt road (Source: Smija 2019). 427

Figure 212: In the mapping and photovoice exercise, he revealed that he played in the temple grounds as well (Source: Manish 2019). 429

Figure 213: They hung out around his house (Source: Manish 2019). 430

Figure 214: She played with her friends in the courtyard of her house (Source: Godavari 2019). 432

Figure 215: The participants from Gachibowli Village had an average range of 8,999 m^2 with an average maximum path distance of 494 m (Source: Author 2021). 435

Figure 216: The participants from Nanakramguda had an average range of 7,089 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 646 m (Source: Author 2021). 436

Figure 217: The participants from Ishaan Nagar had an average range of 5,221 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 348 m (Source: Author 2021). 436

Figure 218: The figure ground diagrams show how open space is used for circulation (Source: Author and Shrestha 2021). 437

Figure 219: Nivant shaded the green area to represent where he feels safe to go alone; the blue area where he feels safe to go alone in the daytime; the pink area he avoids because of his fears; and, the white area he never thinks of going (Source: Niavant, Author, and Shrestha 2021). 448

Figure 220: Behavior maps from Gargden Village (left) and Nanakramguda (right) (Source: Author 2018, 2019). 460

Figure 221: I found commonalities in five types of places: the computer shop, the pocket court, the residential street, the main basketball court, and the vacant lot/river fort (as similar behavior settings). Locator maps for Pabahay 2000 (left) and Gachibowli Village (right) (Source: Shrestha with Author edits 2021). 462

Figure 222: Street view of the computer shop in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Google 2018). 463

Figure 223: Interior organization for the computer shop in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2018).....464

Figure 224: Annotated plan of the computer shop in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 464

Figure 225: Users play games on the computer in pairs and in small groups (Source: Author 2018).....466

Figure 226: The computer shop in Garden Village in the daytime (Source: Author 2018). 467

Figure 227: The computer shop in Garden Village in the nightime (Source: Author 2018). 467

Figure 228: Annotated plan of the computer shop in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 468

Figure 229: The pocket court was a popular space for a diversity of user groups (Source: Author).....471

Figure 230: Pabahay 2000 haflf court elevation (Source: Author 2019). 471

Figure 231: Annotated plan of the half court in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 473

Figure 232: The Garden Village half court is used by adult men in the evenings (Source: Author 2018).....474

Figure 233: During the day, the space is used by mostly adolescent boys (Source: Author 2018).....474

Figure 234: Annotated plan of the half court in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 476

Figure 235: The diversity of activities on the residential street inlcuding couples holding hands, children playing chase, and a lone man walking (Source: Author). 477

Figure 236: Vehicles are often parked in the street, which calms traffic and increases the pedestrian friendlines of the place (Source: Author 2018). 478

Figure 237: Kids play on the residential street in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2018). 478

Figure 238: Annotated plan of the residential street in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 480

Figure 239: The main street was an open space used by adults as well as chidlren (Source: Author 2018).....481

Figure 240: Most residents adorned the street face of the house with potted plants after their namesake, Garden Village (Source: Author 2018). 481

Figure 241: The houses were narrowly spaced and connected on the backside with attached restrooms (Source: Author 2018).....482

Figure 242: Annotated plan of the residential street in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 482

Figure 243: Clockwise from top are the locator maps for the 3rd places in the communities of Gachibowli Village, Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar (Source: Shrestha with Author edits 2021).....485

Figure 244: Gachibowli Village temple ground entrance elevation (Source: Author 2019). 487

Figure 245: Annotated plan of the temple ground in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 487

Figure 246: People waiting for transit at the Hanuman Temple as viewed from the busy road during afternoon traffic (Source: Prayas 2018). 489

Figure 247: (L) the main road near the Hanuman Temple at dusk (Source: Author, 2019).....490

Figure 248: Nanakramguda temple ground street elevation (Source: Author 2019). 491

Figure 249: Annotated plan of the temple ground in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 491

Figure 250: The Hanuman temple in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Mahesh Babu 2021, Maruti 2019).....494

Figure 251: Annotated plan of the temple ground in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 495

Figure 252: Local children playing back streets of Rajiv Nagar (Source: Author, 2019).....498

Figure 253: The children played in a variety of ways from formal games, to climbing the walls, to tricking friends, to chasing others, to riding bicycles (Source: Author 2019). 498

Figure 254: Annotated plan of the residential street in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 500

Figure 255: Children run through the residential street and the small pedestrian pathways in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2019). 502

Figure 256: Driveways are popular places to sit and play (Source: Author 2019). 502

Figure 257: Annotated plan of the residential street in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 504

Figure 258: Gachibowli Village shop street elevation (Source: Author 2019). 505

Figure 259: The stacked-up inventory blocked the frequent traffic and offered a protected space. Similarly, a permanently parked tanker offered protection. (Source: Author 2019).....506

Figure 260: Annotated plan of the shop street in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 506

Figure 261: Nanakramguda shop street elevation (Source: Author 2019). 508

Figure 262: The gated enclave of Golf View contrasts with the local community entrance acros the street (Source: Author 2019). 509

Figure 263: Annotated plan of the shop street in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 509

Figure 264: The shop street in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2018). 512

Figure 265: A connecting side street that shows the exposure of the commuity (Source: Author 2018). 513

Figure 266: Annotated plan of the shop street in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale. 513

Figure 267: Former site of Sitio San Roque was developed by Ayala Land Corporation into a live-work-play community for the middle and upper classes (Source: Ayala Land Corporation 2012). 520

Figure 268: The density, ratio of open space, and street structure of Bisketville II (left) was similar to Garden Village (right) as shown in the street space diagram (Source: Bombach and Deaton 2019). 521

Figure 269: In Pabahay 2000 and Towerville VI the sidewalks were enclosed as domestic space (Source: Author). 533

Figure 270: The Amazon India Headquarters, a LEED BD+C Gold building, inside the walled Special Economic Zone compound and newly constructed middle-class housing across the street with the Nanakramguda Women's Center still standing amidst the construction rubble in the foreground cut off from the community (Author, 2019). 535

Figure 271: (L) Migrant construction workers come to purchase goods on the main street where vendors have set up stalls on the pedestrian pathway. (R) Adolescents, without any safe open space use the top deck of the recently collapsed residential tower to fly a kite. (Source: Author, 2019). 540

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

Table 1: Community selection criteria with selected communities in Hyderabad highlighted (Source: author, 2020). 48

Table 2: Community selection criteria with selected communities in Manila highlighted (Source: National Housing Authority, Google Earth, and author 2021). 50

Table 3: Total participants in this study across both cases (Source: author, 2020). 66

Table 4: Ultimately, I collaborated with four communities in the Bulacan province, just north east of the Metro Manila border that provide a cross section of communities by size, age, and architecture (Source: National Housing Authority, Google Maps, Author, 2021). *I've used the population of all Towerville settlements (I-VI) as they are colocated and operate as a single settlement despite their various phases of construction.....90

Table 5: The results of the spatial analysis (Source: Author and Shrestha 2021). 92

Table 6: The roster of adolescents from the Pabahay 2000 site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study (Source: author 2021). *ALS is an acronym for Alternative Learning System. 120

Table 7: The roster of adolescents from the Toweville VI site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study (Source: author 2021). 163

Table 8: The roster of adolescents from the SJM site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study (Source: author 2021). 199

Table Page

Table 9: The roster of adolescents from the Garden Village site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study (Source: author 2021). 246

Table 10: Using Google Earth, I calculated the adolescent's independent range and found that there were significant variations based on gender and community site (Source: Author 2021).....259

Table 11: The frequency with which adolescents mentioned these concerns in their interviews provides some insight into how they are perceived across gender (normalized raw counts based on descriptor ratio) (Souce: Author 2021). 273

Table 12: Ultimately, I collaborated with residents of three villages along this spectrum as case studies: Gachibowli Village (Chhota Anjaiah Nagar/Rajeev Nagar), Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar (Source: GHMA, Google Maps, Author 2021). 293

Table 13: The results of spatial analysis (Source: Author and Shrestha 2021).....295

Table 14: The roster of adolescents from the Gachibowli site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study (Source: author 2021); SC is Schedule Caste, ST is Schedule Tribe, OBC is Other Backward Caste. 330

Table 15: The roster of adolescents from the Nanakramguda site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study (Source: author 2021). OBC stands for Other Backward Caste and SC stands for Schedule Caste. 368

Table 16: The roster of adolescents from the Ishaan Nagar site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study (Source: author 2021). OBC refers to Other Backward Caste, SC refers to Schedule Caste, and ST refers to Schedule Tribe. 414

Table Page

Table 17: Using Google Earth, I calculated the adolescent's independent range and found that there were significant variations based on gender and community site (Source: Author 2021).....434

Table 18: The proportion of words allocated to each code broken out by gender (Source: Author 2021).....449

Table 19: While I completed the fieldwork and analysis on all of the 3rd places identified, I selected 14 to highlight in this study for their comparability within a case study (Source: Author 2021).....457

Table 20: I completed the behavior maps and counts in 15-minute intervals for a 1-hour period of time in a given place (Source: author 2021). 459

Table 21: The summary of human-environmental observations on the computer shop in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). 466

Table 22: The summary of human-environmental observations on the computer shop in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021).....470

Table 23: The summary of human-environmental observations on the pocket basketball court in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). 473

Table 24: The summary of human-environmental observations on the pocket basketball court in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021).....476

Table 25: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). 479

Table 26: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021).....484

Table 27: The summary of human-environmental observations on the temple ground in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). 489

Table Page

Table 28: The summary of human-environmental observations on the temple ground in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). 493

Table 29: The summary of human-environmental observations on the temple ground in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021)....497

Table 30: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). 500

Table 31: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). 504

Table 32: The summary of human-environmental observations on the shop street in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). 507

Table 33: The summary of human-environmental observations on the shop street in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). 511

Table 34: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021)....515

I. INTRODUCTION

Sitting in a parked autorickshaw on the lane outside of his home in Ishaan Nagar, India, 14-year-old Manish clearly explained the situation to Research Assistant Prakash (emphasis added by author):

> Prakash: After coming back home do you play?
>
> Manish: No
>
> Prakash: Why?
>
> Manish: There is no place to play. [2]

Over the course of two-and-a-half years of fieldwork in Hyderabad, India, and Manila, the Philippines, I witnessed firsthand how neoliberal urban development marginalizes lower-income communities. One experience was especially illuminating. On my daily commute by scooter to the high-tech enclave of Cyberabad in Hyderabad, I often took a shortcut through a community of about fifty families tucked away behind two gated apartment complexes. Over the years, as I rode through this area, I watched as the government displaced the last remnants of what had once been a traditional village to make room for new apartment construction and forced the villagers who did not leave to settle informally on remaining areas of public space. Often as I passed, I could see women seated on the curb fanning the flames of their small charcoal fires in preparation for lunch, while their children, with no other place to play, chased each other in the street, dodging cars, rickshaws, and the occasional push-cart vendor. The tarpaulin tents these families called home spanned the width of a public planting strip and sidewalk (a space about three meters wide), and without private courtyards, domestic activities such as cooking, and laundry were forced to take place in the street. Meanwhile, the white concrete towers of the gated enclave, with their wide balconies, loomed over the remaining trees, providing a stark contrast to the constant bustle of people living beneath their canopy.

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[2] I named this dissertation "Growing Up with No Place to Play" because 17 of 42 in-depth interview participants used the words "no place to play" without prompting. This was the most frequently used phrase across case studies.

While acknowledging that these two communities have a complex and deeply dependent relationship, interdependence says nothing about equity. Indeed, viewing these communities together as a system raises important questions about who gains from planned development, and at what cost. Unlike more longstanding and accepted uses of forcible acquisition — for example, when a government acquires land for a civic project such as a dam or a highway — the government displaced these villagers to make room for a private apartment complex, which was justified based on its economic-development potential and theories of trickle-down economics (Cyberabad Development Authority 2003). And yet, these elite housing communities such as Alekhya Homes that dispossessed villagers in Nanakramguda, one of the sites in this study, advertise exclusive architectures that help residents "forget [the] rest of the world." In a similar manner, cities around the world are increasingly expanding the definition of "public good" to dispossess poor communities to implement economic-development policies that benefit the rich (Robinson 2003).



Figure 1: these elite housing communities such as Alekhya Homes that dispossessed villagers in Nanakramguda, one of the sites in this study, advertise exclusive architectures that help residents "forget [the] rest of the world," (Source: Author 2019).

As these exclusive architectures encroach and replace very low and often informal communities through dispossession processes, the power of land speculation devalues safe and accessible public spaces. Thus, after dispossession these communities are typically crowded, incomplete, low-rise developments without formal public spaces and few open spaces.

Why Does it Matter?

The stakes inherent to neoliberal policies are extensive — especially as reflected in the experience of the built environment. This is particularly the case when it comes to the lives of women and children. It is known, for example, that a decline in the quality of their built environment more seriously affects women and children than other groups, and that low-income adolescents are susceptible to developmental risks if they do not have access to public space. The criticality of public space for adolescents' developmental needs is firmly established (Chawla 2002, Kyttä et al 2018, Spencer and Woolley 2000, Ward 1978). Carroll et al (2015: 417) assert that "if children safely and satisfactorily engage with urban neighborhoods, their independence, resilience, and social competence are enhanced and society at large benefits." Children, especially in the ages of adolescents, need varying opportunities for independent mobility (unsupervised outdoor play and travel), physical activity, and social interaction for their well-being and their physical, cognitive, and social development (Ibid). Indeed, such access is so dire that the United Nations sustainable development goal (UN SDG) 11 has specifically called out the need for quality public space in cities. And its Target 7 specifically pointed to the necessity, by 2030, to "provide universal access to safe, inclusive, and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities" (UN 2020).

By investigating the impact of absent and/or low-quality public spaces in dispossessed communities, this dissertation intends to move discourse about neoliberalism's role in promoting inequality past what is generally apparent to reveal specific connections between policies and architectural outcomes. Previous studies of neoliberalism focused on historical relations (Dreamer 2014, Johnson 2020), resistance (Leitner et al. 2006), space (Brenner and Theodore 2002), or theory (Davis and Monk 2007, Easterling 2014). And a few studies have used on-site investigations to document the spatial implications of neoliberal policies (Hackworth 2006) and planning practices (Perucich 2020). But these have not taken into account the extensive literature on dispossession or looked at how vulnerable groups within dispossessed communities survive

without public spaces. This dissertation thus seeks to point out how something as seemingly insignificant as how adolescents experience their community can help encapsulate the stakes involved in neoliberal planning practices and policies.

It should also be noted that, to date, the age dimension has largely been missing from discourses surrounding neoliberal planning and architecture. Age is important because, as children grow, they need to interact with a range of spatialities to support cognitive development (Tienda and Wilson 2002). For children under twelve, these spatial qualities are largely present in the home. But as children enter adolescence, they need to interact with spaces outside the home — from spaces of open nature to social spaces to observational spaces (Freeman and Tranter 2011, Hart 1979, Moore 1986, Wells 2000). Adolescents need "outside" spaces to gain a sense of independence, test their identities, practice socializing, and watch and learn from other people.[3] Thus, public spaces are environmental settings for key behaviors such as socialization, observation, and play. Some researchers suggest that public spaces are the only places that adolescents can claim for themselves (Valentine et al 1998).

Access to safe and inclusive public spaces is thus a critical component of adolescent development in cities. Yet not all adolescents experience the city in the same way. For example, relatively affluent adolescents may be insulated and isolated from urban problems such as crime, pollution, and traffic (Christensen and O'Brien 2003). Prout (2003), on the other hand, observed that mechanisms that maintain and magnify social division by economic class make cities less friendly for lower-income groups. Thus, adolescents from lower-income families must seek out public streets, sidewalks, and parks as resources for cognitive development, even when they may be identified as "out of place" in them, or when they may contribute to a sense of danger for others. Those who have resettled outside of the city, of course, may lack access to public space entirely (Owens 2002, Deaton 2018).

If cities continue to adopt neoliberal planning policies and practices, the danger is that space will become increasingly segregated by income, resulting in environments that inhibit the social development of adolescents. And without access to safe and inclusive public space,

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[3] See Erickson's (1950) stages of psychosocial development; Marcia (1966, 2001) on adolescent identity status theory (how children develop identity within the framework of families and culture); Kohlberg and Gilligan (1971) on social relations importance to cognitive development; Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs; and Piaget's (1972, 1990) four stages of cognitive development.

adolescents may even fall victim to crime, drugs, gangs, and violence (Valentine and Skelton 1998). Such vulnerability has been shown to rapidly increase as family income decreases (Maira and Soep 2005). Indeed, families who have been dispossessed often suffer the loss of livelihood, propelling them into a cycle of poverty, while removing the public amenities that could offset their losses.

Recent changes in the conditions of international bank lending may further diminish the social sustainability of cities. Thus, in October 2018, the World Bank, the world's preeminent development lender, removed binding protections against community dispossession arising from its financing activities, rolling back a nearly forty-year-old policy intended to avoid, minimize, and remediate the "human suffering and hardship caused by involuntary resettlement" (Price and Singer 2019). At the time, the former World Bank Senior Advisor for Sociology and Social Policy Michael Cernea and the anthropologist Julie Maldonado (2018) wrote that rolling back these protections (known as the bank's Safeguard Policies) in favor of optional guidelines (officially called the Environmental and Social Framework, Standards), "vastly weaken[s] the protection of people and the environment adversely affected by development."

The bank's rationale for the change was that local governments needed to develop their own laws and policies protecting the rights of displaced people. However, such governments are frequently unprepared, either financially or administratively, to handle such responsibilities (Ibid). At the same time, they are being incentivized to liberalize regulations and create a more competitive business environment. It is also highly unlikely they will create and enforce new bureaucratic procedures to monitor, evaluate, and hold developers accountable for dispossessed communities (Ibid).

In practice, the change thus amounted to an attempt by the World Bank to minimize its responsibility for the adverse effects of economic development. Typically, such activities benefit speculators at the expense of lower-income groups (Ibid). And the financial burden associated with providing compensation for dispossessed people had also stalled and even shut down projects such as the Cambodian Railway Project backed by the Asian Development Bank (ADB 2014). Critics of the rollback thus charged it was primarily intended to limit the costs of resettling dispossessed communities and make controversial economic-development projects more attractive to borrowers and lenders.

Whatever the case, the rollback will have severe impacts in developing countries, where urban projects are typically funded by international development agencies. For example, each nation's commitment to pursue the UN SDGs is largely voluntary. Both cases in this study, India and the Philippines, have committed to the UN SDGs and undergone multiple, national reviews of their progress — in 2017/2020 and 2016/2019, respectively. Yet prominent cities in both nations have adopted aggressive neoliberal policies to promote economic growth that have led to numerous instances of community dispossession. The contradiction between these policy agendas is sure to become increasingly evident in future years. And now that the World Bank (and the many other agencies that follow its lead) has abandoned its commitment to support the rights of such communities, such as their continued right of access to quality public spaces, there will be increasingly fewer safeguards to protect the interests of their residents.

This dissertation uses a systems-based perspective to look at the fallout of this trend — what I call the neoliberal regime of dispossession. My perspective is deliberately broad, transnational, and interdisciplinary, because such a view is needed to gain a holistic understanding of its causes and consequences. Yet, at the same time, my purpose is to focus on the architectural issue of how dispossession alters conditions of access to public space, and how those changes affect the lives of the urban poor. As a specific measure of these impacts, I will try to describe the environmental experience of adolescents in communities that have been resettled, displaced, gentrified, or otherwise affected by government-supported redevelopment. Then, I will take an architectural position and analyze their environments in terms of accessibility, safety, and quality.

Dispossession works through both formal and informal mechanisms. Thus, I chose a case-study approach, less to compare formality and informality but rather to situate specific instances of dispossession along this spectrum. On one hand, dispossession in the Philippines is largely a formal process called "resettlement." On the other hand, dispossession in India is basically an informal process relying on political power and caste-based social structures. I conducted this study sequentially, first investigating four resettlement sites (Pabahay 2000, San Jose Del Monte Heights, Garden Village, and Towerville 6) that were the "new" homes for families dispossessed of their land in Manila to make room for private development projects. I then used the methodology I developed there to examine the impact of similar policies in Hyderabad, India, where the government dispossessed residents of the villages of Gachibowli,

Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar to create "special economic zones" for multinational information-technology and finance firms. The Manila case study explores the architectures and daily experiences resulting from a formal approach to dispossession through centralized resettlement while the Hyderabad case study explores an informal approach to dispossession through what I will come to describe as erasure.

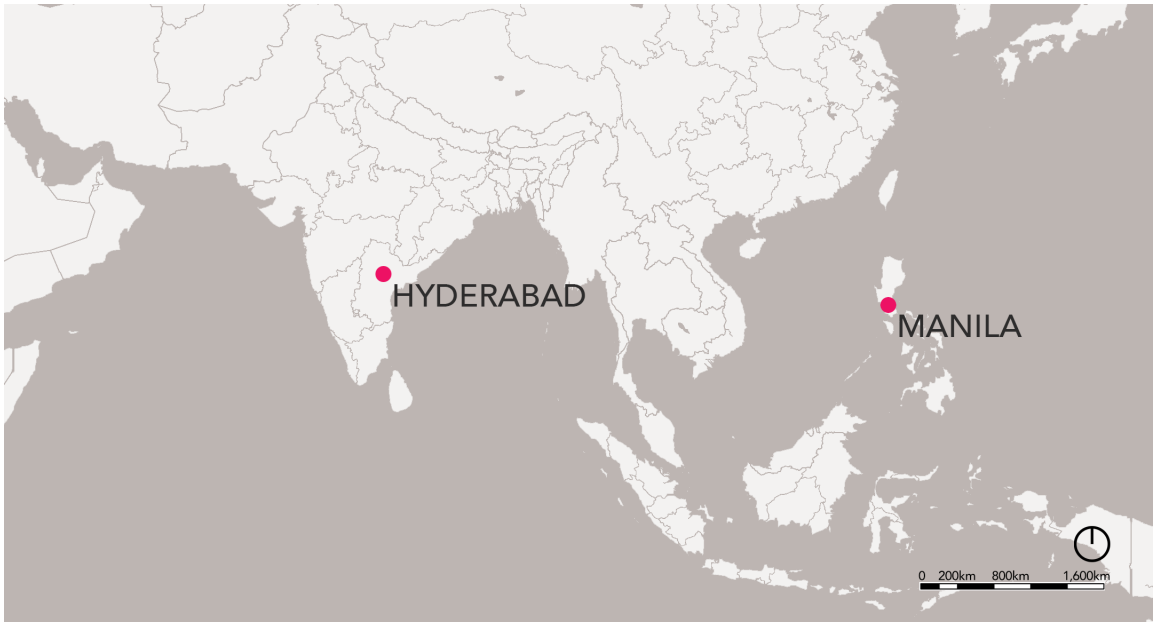


Figure 2: I conducted this study sequentially, first in Manila, Philippines and then in Hyderabad, India (Source: Author 2021).

At both sites, using the first-hand accounts of adolescents and architectural studies of the spaces they visited, I investigated how adolescents from dispossessed communities struggle to make use of their environments as a critical arena for growth and development. My inductive position allowed me to discover the extent of influences on their environmental experience such as the pervasiveness of patriarchy in shaping, regulating, and organizing public space. After working in the field for many months, I found the concept of "3rd places" especially helpful to describe specific and important hangout spaces in adolescents' environments that were outside of the home (1st place) and school (2nd place) and will continue to reference this term throughout the dissertation. While Carroll et al (2015) successfully applied Oldenburg's (1989, 2001) concept of the "3rd place" to describe adolescents' use of public spaces, I extend the definition beyond formal public spaces to include to adolescents' frequented hangouts in communities with limited or no formal public spaces.

As an architect, I further sought to connect the deliberate intentions of policymakers and planners to the lack of green, public spaces in these communities. As such, my findings are also intended to contribute to ongoing discussions about social sustainability, such as those encompassed by the UN's Sustainable Development Goal 11 (2020), about how to make cities and communities "more inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable."

Argument and Structure

As described above, the central argument of this dissertation is that the neoliberal regime of dispossession has dramatically changed how adolescents living in dispossessed communities conceive of and use the environment. I have divided this investigation into three parts that examine the political, experiential, and environmental aspects of this situation. PART 1: DISPOSSESSION'S REACH introduces the worldwide context of urban dispossession through international actors and globally reproduced policies. I also reveal the gap in scholarship on the experience of dispossession, especially from the perspective of adolescents, through a comprehensive review of the research process. PART 2: ADOLESCENT'S VOICES will describe how these processes have played out at my two principal research sites — Manila in the Philippines and Hyderabad in India. This examination will seek to both historically and culturally contextualize the study sites and examine how adolescents feel about their changing landscapes by reporting on my intensive interviews with them. In PART 3: ADOLESCENTS' ENVIRONMENTS the dissertation takes an architectural lens to view adolescents' 3rd spaces independently from any particular adolescent's perspective and then assumes a theory-building position, attempting to analyze the results of my research as these contribute to spatial-justice discourse. Throughout, my goal is to provide insights both into the architecture of dispossessed communities and the economic-development projects that have displaced them. Only through such a broad, holistic approach can design professionals hope to account for the full costs of dispossession.

In the first part, I begin with a review of some of the most influential qualities of the neoliberal regime of dispossession in Chapter *II. THE NEOLIBERAL REGIME OF DISPOSSESSSION* – not to analyze grand socioeconomic policies but to reveal how such qualities manifest in the built environment as spatialities. This chapter covers the spatial impacts of public-private partnerships, deregulation, privatization, austerity measures, economic liberalization, incentives, and speculation at the global scale. Exposing the international policies

and actors establishes a framework for a trans-national, multi-case investigation of urban public spaces. Drawing on interviews with government officials, design and construction professionals, and real estate developers, and a variety of archival and secondary sources, it shows how city governments have transitioned toward a competitive model against other regional cities for international investment beginning at the turn of the century. The conditions of neoliberalism increased the pressure for economic growth despite the broader social consequences to the truly local populations.

This chapter then reveals the actors responsible for orchestrating dispossession. It identifies the key stakeholders in the production of urban space and describes the vested interests of each. It starts with designers—architects and urban planners—to address the professional responsibility and ethical commitment that they have to society. Design professionals are taught processes and techniques for assessing the social impact of projects and yet, these tools are ignored in practice. Oftentimes, even when Social Impact Studies or Social Assessments are required for policy compliance, the design alternatives lack rigor, and the design process fails to fully engage affected stakeholders. I argue that the social inequalities caused by dispossession are fundamentally a design problem and charge design professionals with the solution. However, no one is innocent in the transformation of the city. This chapter also addresses the fundamental role played by banks, investors, politicians, and stakeholders. The neoliberal system structurally benefits some actors by taking resources away from other actors contributing to growing inequality (Harvey 2007).

Before revealing the results of the investigation, all rigorous research must explain its processes and assumptions. Chapter *III. ON METHODS* starts with my ethical perspective and philosophy as derived from spatial-justice discourse and then moves on to describe the project methodology and approach. Research for this dissertation relied on a mixture of methods, including firsthand observations and interviews, participatory photographs and maps, architectural drawing, and the tabulation of spatial data. I worked with three dispossessed communities in Hyderabad and four such communities Manila, using an inductive methodology called grounded theory, which allowed me to spend time in these communities listening to their residents before defining my research questions. I paired the methodology with an environmental psychology approach to analyze environmental affordances and identify congruence in public spaces. Over two and half years of living between these communities, I

thus designed this study to link the empirical data and findings to my research questions: What spaces perform as public space in dispossessed communities? And how do adolescents use these public spaces?

The chapter also examines how I identified Hyderabad and Manila as case-study sites, how I selected specific communities in them, and how I recruited adolescent participants. It outlines each of the primary research and analysis methods and evaluates them for their success in working with adolescents. Finally, it describes the process of recruiting and managing an international research team that could work across multiple cultural contexts (with five different primary languages) and navigate the dangers of working with marginalized communities.

The second part of the dissertation then contains two chapters, one each documenting the circumstances of the work in the two case-study cities. IV. RESETTLEMENT IN QUEZON CITY begins by describing the history of land appropriation in the Philippines. Following World War II Manila transitioned from a war-ravaged and relatively compact colonial capital to a metropolitan region and the administrative and financial hub of a newly independent nation. It grew ferociously during this period, with the addition of lands within the separate municipality of Quezon City, into what the United Nations would term the "densest city in the world" at the turn of the twenty-first century. In the heat of this rapid urbanization, amidst political conflicts and environmental disasters, the government came under pressure to improve its global competitive standing by capitalizing on the value of public lands. Mentored by large development banks, a favored solution was to leverage the high value of inner-city public space occupied by other uses for economic development. This process became so profitable under the rubric of urban renewal that the government formalized into law policies for dispossession and resettlement, leading to the displacement of low- and very-low-income communities to peripheral areas outside the city.

The chapter then examines the results of working with more than fifty adolescents in four such dispossessed communities (48 focus group participants and 16 interview participants). In this work, I did not attempt to construct a singular image of adolescents, or even suggest there is a typical adolescent experience in these dispossessed communities. Rather, I constructed vignettes for each adolescent and in this chapter reveal the most critical voices from each community to understand the spaces that perform as public space, and the individual ways adolescents use them. I thus sought to develop a commentary on the spatialities within these communities outside the orbit of individual small homes and businesses. This led to the

discovery of just how dangerous it is for adolescents, on account of their age and gender, to survive in environments that do not meet their developmental needs.

Chapter *V. ERASURE IN HYDERABAD INDIA* then gives a similar accounting of the conditions of and research work at my other research site. It first describes the history of land appropriation in the state of Telangana, where Hyderabad is located, highlighting its passage through periods of feudalism, colonialism, and nationalism. It then identifies how a rogue chief minister, Chandrababu Naidu, was central to the city's swift economic liberalization in aggressive regional competition with Bengaluru. Dazzled by a world tour of such developments as Malaysia's Multimedia Super Corridor and the tech campuses of Silicon Valley, Naidu launched planning for Cyberabad, a new-technology hub that would be created on the suburban outskirts of the city, using the state-sanctioned creation of special economic zones to forcibly develop the lands of some eighteen traditional villages.

Unlike the case in the Philippines, Naidu's government took a less formal approach to dispossession, and the resulting outcomes spanned from gentrification to displacement to erasure. The chapter examines the results of working with 26 adolescents in three dispossessed communities along this spectrum.

The third part of the dissertation begins with Chapter VI. ADOLESCENTS' 3rd PLACES, which examines the 3rd places from the two case study sites (n=24) through architectural and spatial analysis, including geographic information system (GIS) mapping. By focusing only on subjective voices, researchers may miss the more telling story found objectively on the ground. The chapter thus evaluates the architectural successes and failures of the 3rd places, and when available, ties them to the formation of space deemed public — if only in practice. From this analysis, I evaluate these places in terms of safety, inclusivity, and accessibility.

The dissertation ends by reflecting on the neoliberal regime of dispossession in the most important chapter, VII. CONCLUSION. Under neoliberalism, exclusionary architecture commandeers formal open and public spaces in very-low-income communities rendering the residents without complete environments. This chapter describes exclusionary architecture in the context of dispossession and confirms that it ultimately reproduces and heightens underlying conditions of spatial inequality.

Then I ask what role economic prosperity plays in the neoliberal regime of dispossession; as cities in Asia develop and come to rely less on international financial

institutions, will they scale back exclusionary architecture and favor more equitable development? With cities globally on a neoliberal trajectory based on ramping up economic profitability, the dissertation concludes it will be up to architects and urban planners to step back and evaluate whether such a future can fulfill the spatial needs of all urban residents.

This dissertation shows how adolescents' 3rd places apply to the development of sustainable communities. Most policies, tools, and templates for assessing and improving public space, including recent publications such as the UN's *Public Space Site-Specific Assessment* (2020), are based on western design models relying on formal public space. I reinforce the importance of 3rd places as behavior settings for adolescents' socialization, observation, and play by identifying seven transferrable themes. The first theme is that streets are extremely valuable unprogrammed spaces for adolescents. The second theme is threshold spaces and transitory spaces were the most active and rich environments when both children and adults were considered. The third theme is that there was a relationship between the definition of the place (the edge condition) and the performance of places with stronger edge conditions resulting in safer and more active spaces. The fourth theme is that there were no places that were female-dominated; most places were male-dominated, and a few places were balanced or fluctuated. The fifth theme is that most places were accessed by walking and used by pedestrians (strolling, walking, etc.). Finally, none of the places had architectural features or qualities intended to support universal mobility; a few places had incidentally supported universal mobility through features such as hard surface paving, ramps for vehicle access, and curbs that were clearly defined edges. Ultimately, I challenge the assumption of formal public space as applicable in all environments, especially the semi- and informal environments common in developing countries. In the end, this dissertation also reveals important findings about gender in public space. I argue that all the sites political-economic dynamics are organized by patriarchy, which highlights an opportunity for change if community-makers give adolescent girls greater agency in the production of space.

PART 1: DISPOSSESSION'S REACH

The experience of place marks the beginning and the end of every architectural and urban design project – the desire to change the world, and the results as lived. Placemaking is fundamentally about the invention and construction of the future – thus, it will always be a practice of power, for better or worse.

-Kim Dovey (1999: 50), Framing Places: Mediating power in built form

II. THE NEOLIBERAL REGIME OF DISPOSSESSSION

In the hours before daybreak on the morning of September 23, 2010, some 9,000 informal settler families of the Sitio San Roque in Quezon City, the Philippines, anxiously started to gather, waiting to confront the police-escorted demolition crews scheduled to come that day to tear down their homes. The National Housing Authority's deadline for voluntary relocation had passed, and the men, women, and children of the community were now massed together to discuss their strategy for defense.

Many of those present, like Elmer, had seriously considered offers extended by the National Housing Authority. In his case this was to return to his former "home" province with a one-time cash payment of 24,000 pesos (about $540 in 2010). Alternatively, some had been offered a one-time payment of 6,000 pesos (about $135 in 2010) to resettle in a social housing community in Montalban, Rizal — a remote agricultural area without running water or power (Tudehope 2010). But the social housing was not free. Indeed, it would require obtaining a thirty-year mortgage, an impossibility for many in the community who had no credit history, bank accounts, or formal employment. Elmer also had five children and was supporting them and his mother-in-law solely on income from driving a tricycle (auto rickshaw) in nearby Manila — a three-hour, one-way trip from Montalban. For him, neither option was viable; he had to stay close to where he could earn a livelihood.

Around 8:30 AM, the demolition team showed up, armed with all the tools required to begin the destruction. Believing they were fighting for their lives, the residents responded by throwing anything they could at the workers, from small rocks to debris from their houses. The efforts slowed the demolition, and the crew retreated and called for police backup.

During the pause, Flora, a community organizer who had gone door to door to incite her neighbors to protest, led members of the group onto a nearby main arterial, North Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA). She hoped that by blocking traffic and inconveniencing middle-class professionals, her community would gain attention from the media, and perhaps the government. She felt that visibility was their only option, and such a strategy had been successful just a few months before at nearby Sitio San Mendis. As a full-time activist for housing rights, Flora had helped organize 500 members of that community to march on the city hall of Quezon City, where they had remained for six weeks, appealing to politicians and government employees, and embarrassing the city. The government had tried hard to dislodge them, even

resorting to tear gas at one point, but Flora's network was strong, and the people persisted. Ultimately, they had been able to gain the attention of the international media, and they subsequently also received support from UN Habitat in their effort at continued negotiations.



Figure 3: Images of the 23 September Movement of San Roque (Source: Undisclosed).

Flora's strategy to take the fight to North Epifanio del los Santos Avenue (ESDA) also held powerful symbolism. Twenty-five years previously, in 1986, hundreds of thousands of Filipinos had assembled there to protest, demonstrate, and eventually oust the notorious dictator, Ferdinand Marcos. The People Power revolution of that time had been unusual because it was premised on nonviolence as a way to expose government brutality. Flora's plan now was to invoke that same spirit of nonviolent revolution by leading the people of Sitio San Roque onto North EDSA in search of similar media attention. If they could spark international interest, the National Housing Authority might offer them a better deal, as had been the case with Sitio San Mendis — or even grant them what they really wanted, space to stay in San Roque.

In the lull, waiting for the police to show, the settlers piled sofas and steel structures on North EDSA to stop traffic, eventually shutting down all movement along it (Batallones 2010).

Then a first group of 200 police arrived, followed shortly by 300 more. The National Housing Authority deployed two special weapons and tactics (SWAT) teams, and finally a fire engine used a water cannon to repel some of the demonstrators. In all, the clashes lasted for about eight hours, injuring at least fourteen people, and they subsided only when the demolition crews were released from work at 3 PM (Suarez and Abella 2010). For one side, the confrontation had been a business matter, but for the other it had been a matter of life and livelihood.

During the conflict, it turned out that a formal petition by another Sitio San Roque organizer, Lucia Velarde, had also been heard by the courts, resulting in a temporary restraining order that halted the National Housing Authority's demolition action for two days. The sentiment from the community was clear. According to one resident:

> *Buhay at kinabukasan ng pamilya namin ang nakasalalay dito. Bahagi din kami ng pag-unlad. Kung aalis lang ang mga demolition teams, tatahimik ang mga tao. Wala kaming ipinakikiusap (kundi) buksan ulit ang negosasyon*.
> [The life and future of our family are at stake here. We too should be part of progress. If the demolition teams will only leave, the people will keep their peace. We ask for nothing but for negotiations to resume.] (Suarez and Abella 2010)

Initially, Flora's strategy thus seemed to have worked. Despite the loss of 130 homes that day, no one had been killed, and media interest seemed to have been aroused. In the coming days, journalists even confronted the president of the Philippines about the incident, embarrassing him on a visit to the U.S. The formal petition by Velarde created additional hope. But these hopes were eventually dashed when the demolition resumed, the government denied their petition, and the media lost interest. For at least half the families in Sitio San Roque the initial confrontation thus only opened the way for slow and violent defeat, as they persisted over the next ten years in efforts to cling to their homes, while their neighbors, weary of the battle, trickled away.

But for one very strong people's organization led by Lucia the outcome was eventual victory. Through her tacit skills, Lucia was able to negotiate with the National Housing Authority to gain a say in the design of the new community and resettlement housing units. The group was also able to demand a resettlement location that was more habitable than Montalban, and they obtained a 20 percent increase in cash assistance. In a later chapter, I will follow the story of Lucia, her family, and the 700 other families from Sitio San Roque who established Garden

Village in the small suburb of Graceville. But her efforts brought a positive outcome for only 8 percent of the former population of Sitio San Roque. The grim reality is that success stories like Garden Village are exceptions to a global pattern of reproducing and enhancing inequality through dispossession of the urban poor.

Neoliberalism and Dispossession

The story of Sitio San Roque highlights a persistent problem around the globe today. As competition for space in cities heats up under pressure from neoliberal economic-development policies, governments are marginalizing lower-income groups by forcing them to relocate to less valuable land outside of the city. With the move, they may lose access to valuable urban amenities such as public space, transportation, schools, healthcare, and utilities.

The separation of profit from cost, the rollback of social and environmental protections, and the rollout of financial mechanisms to increase investment return are all products of an ideological phenomenon known as neoliberalism (cf. Brown 2019, Harvey 2007, Hackworth 2006).[4] As an approach to the construction of societies based on free-market capitalism, neoliberalism seeks to promote policies such as fiscal austerity, deregulation, free trade, privatization, and an overall reduction in government spending (Kenton 2020). In the second half of the twentieth century, the United States government and key Washington, D.C.-based institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were uniform in their support for the philosophy and deployed their resources strategically to support sympathetic regimes in developing countries (with particular emphasis on Latin America) (Williamson 1989). However, since the turn of the century, scholars and watch groups have criticized neoliberal policies for undermining many of the purported benefits, such as free trade and democratic values (Chomsky 1999, World Bank 2005, Appel and Orenstein 2018). Some thus now criticize

[4] In this study, I draw on David Harvey's definition of neoliberalism as a "political-economic theory and rhetorical framework that rests on the notion that freedom, justice, and well-being are best guaranteed by a political-economic system, undergirded by state power, that promotes private property, open markets, and free trade." Essentially, the agenda of neoliberalism is to roll back state interventions that promote public programs (medical care, social housing, public space, etc.) and roll out interventions that promote economic interests (protecting markets, capital, private property, etc.).

neoliberal initiatives for endangering democracy and worker's rights, failing to address severe social and environmental impacts, and increasing inequality and financial instability (Ibid).

One byproduct of the present neoliberal era — in which space has global, speculative value — is increasing contestation of the boundary between the public and private realms, and a consequent decline in government protections for the poor (Hackworth 2006). The contrasting architecture of concrete apartments and informal tents I observed in Hyderabad may thus be seen as emblematic of how neoliberalism is giving new meaning to old patterns of inequality (Chalana and Hou 2016, Loukaitou-Sideris and Mukhija 2014, Holston 2009, Davis 2006, AlSayyad and Roy 2004, Perlman 1976). Moreover, in the early 2000s, under neoliberal regimes, many cities around the world were stripped of support from national governments and pushed to compete against each other for private investment. As a result, neoliberal policies came to be embedded in the fabric of urban and regional development plans as a condition of access to capital markets. Such plans are typically long-range documents, projecting development scenarios twenty to thirty years into the future. And today, the full magnitude of the new spatialities created by them is only just becoming clear.

Certainly, neoliberalism did not create all inequalities. But, as neoliberalism forces cities to compete with each other in international markets, local governments have exacerbated underlying conditions of inequality by promoting new forms of architecture for the educated middle class and rewarding them with urban services, while marginalizing and dispossessing lower-income groups (Das 2015). Supporters of neoliberal policies claim that the benefits of such a strategy will trickle down to lower-income groups through increased spending (Kenton and Potters 2021). But in practice these benefits never reach (or fail to adequately compensate) marginalized groups, and these groups are thus subject to such traumas as loss of income, psychological dislocation, and homelessness (Pred 2017).

"Dispossession" is a useful term to describe the condition of such people, because it reflects the forcible transfer of assets from one group to another.[5] It may also be applied both to situations where a group is formally resettled on less valuable land or where it is given no

[5] According to Michael Levien (2018, p.6), "dispossession makes it clear that coercion-wielding entities transfer land from one group of people to another." Other terms (like land acquisition, eminent domain, expropriation, compulsory action, land grab, etc.) fail to appropriately assign agency.

recourse but to informally occupy public land (as in the case I witnessed in Hyderabad). Dispossession thus acknowledges the trauma of forced removal regardless of the legal specifics. This may be particularly important in contexts such as those in India, a country whose laws for centuries tightly proscribed the right of marginal groups such as scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and backward castes to hold legal property titles.

However, neoliberal logic further exacerbates underlying conditions of inequality because it is unable to appropriately account for social goods such as accessibility and safety. Instead, it drives the policies and practices of cities toward the goal of economic efficiency at the expense of all other priorities (Brenner 2004). With an appraisal mindset, planners thus typically pursue a notion of "highest and best use" that devalues competing concerns such as the equitable provision of medical care and decent housing. As I saw in India, this approach almost always results in the privatization of formerly public assets or the creation of an exclusionary set-aside such as a Special Economic Zone. Through visioning exercises, planners are even taught to strategically identify sites with high speculative value that can be redeveloped for middle- and upper-class users (Das 2015). This typically implies that the government dispossess incumbent villages, whose residents are then excluded from the benefits of urban development such as improved communications connectivity, transportation, and public services (e.g., for water, power, and drainage).

In a study of new urban spaces in Hyderabad, Das (2011, p. vii) noted that "a direct consequence of processes such as large-scale dispossession is the emergence of a splintered urban landscape." In doing so, he evoked Graham and Marvin's (2001) use of "splintered" to refer to the way the neoliberal model favors the provision of infrastructure to select users, leading to the increased distancing of social/racial/economic groups.

Neoliberal logic is also problematic when applied to development projects on lands occupied by informal communities. Thus, in Hyderabad, the government dispossessed longstanding informal communities without recourse, leading to their complete dispersal and erasure. But in Manila, the government dispossessed informal communities through a formal process commonly referred to as "development-caused forced displacement and resettlement" (DFDR) (Cernea and Maldonado 2018). To justify the profitability of such acts of government-sanctioned formal removal, however, the cost of resettlement must be minimized. And one common solution is to resettle the informal community far outside the city on cheap,

undeveloped, and generally undesirable land in small, high-density living units that minimize construction cost. Such a strategy of creating affluent spaces by resettling informal communities on the urban periphery mirrors what Harvey (2003, 2012) has termed "accumulation by dispossession."

Interestingly, the notion of “highest and best use” was also fundamental to the transformative idea of the “right to the city” first developed by the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1967). “The right to the city” is today a complex, malleable concept that has evolved to encompass many theories of politics, space, and society. But for the purposes of this dissertation, I have chosen to interpret it broadly as a metaphor to describe the right of people to come together and design the space around them. Since cities are inherently a product of society, the “right to the city” is thus a human right, and it can only be carried out through collective processes of design (Maringanti 2011, Harvey 2003).

This perspective deviates from other popular interpretations, such as Brenner’s inclusive growth policy (Brenner et al. 2009). But the underlying reality is that under neoliberal regimes, in which planners define highest and best use in strictly economic terms, urban development benefits middle- and high-income groups and disadvantage low- and very-low-income groups. This conflicts with the basic philosophy of the right to the city, according to which all people, regardless of income, have a right to shape the urban environment around them.

The Experience of Development-Caused Forced Dispossession and Resettlement (DFDR)

Under neoliberalism, the number of people who have lost their voices in the city-making process is staggering. Each year, around the world, some 20 million people are uprooted from their homes to make way for "progress" in the form of redevelopment (Cernea and Maldonado 2018). Before neoliberalism, dispossession almost always came because of a need to construct new public facilities (e.g., dams, levees, or other public infrastructure), or as a consequence of political crises (wars or revolutions) or natural disasters. However, under neoliberalism, especially in the developing world, the number of families dispossessed as a result of DFDR has been steadily increasing, calling into question the justifications for dispossession and requiring a deeper understanding of its repercussions.

Many scholars have described the detrimental effects of forced displacement and resettlement (cf. Levien, 2018, Cernea and Maldonado 2018, Levien 2017, Zaman and Khatun

2017, Padovani 2016, Price 2015, Mathur 2013, Sreya 2013, Smith 2009, Cernea and Mathur 2008, Vangdergeest et al. 2006, UNHCR 2004, Stanley 2004, McDowell 1996). According to Cernea (1995):

> Forced population displacement is always crisis-prone, even when necessary as part of broad and beneficial development programs. It is a profound socioeconomic and cultural disruption for those affected. Dislocation breaks up living patterns and social continuity. It dismantles existing modes of production, disrupts social networks, causes the impoverishment of many of those uprooted, threatens their cultural identity, and increases the risks of epidemics and health problems.

However, the effects of DFDR due to *economic development projects* are distinct. Where traditional civic projects may at least be intended to produce equitable economic impacts, neoliberally inspired economic-development projects predominantly benefit the middle and upper classes (Cernea and Maldonado 2018). As a result, according to Robinson (2003):

> For millions of people around the world – development has cost them their homes, their livelihoods, their health, and even their very lives. While victims of disaster – especially natural disaster – generally are the focus of sympathetic attention and international aid (as are many of those displaced by conflict), the same cannot be said for victims of development-induced displacement, though the consequences may be comparably dire.

The case with which I began this chapter is instructive in this regard. According to *Kalipunan ng Damayan Mahihirap Kadamay* (Urban Poor Group) the government dispossessed 6,300 families from Sitio San Roque to develop its 30-hectare (75-acre) site as part of a new central business district for Quezon City (Abella 2010). (Anakbayan, a people's organization, has estimated the number of displaced families was more likely 16,000.) These families did not have legal title to the land they occupied, and yet they had improved the site for multiple generations. Like most of Quezon City, the area had been acquired by the national government following the widespread devastation of the Manila region during World War II. Initially, the government considered moving the national capital to Quezon City, and planners outlined a series of grand boulevards sprawling over its vast undeveloped space. However, many government offices didn't want to be separated from the thriving businesses of downtown Manila. Thus, for most of the twentieth century, government offices remained in Manila, and much of Quezon City lay barren.

As it awaited transition, however, Quezon City's open land provided a valuable resource for rural migrants flooding the capital region in hopes of finding work. And during the mid- to late twentieth century politicians, including presidents looking to gain migrant votes, opened government-owned property there to informal settlement, proclaiming with grandiose sentiment that it was owned by all Filipinos. The result was the creation of some of the most densely populated communities in the world. Thus, at the time it was destroyed, Sitio San Roque was home to an estimated 720-1,280 people per acre (for reference, the island of Manhattan in New York has a density of 1,200 people per acre). Yet, unlike Manhattan, Sitio San Roque's buildings were rarely more than four stories tall, meaning it was largely composed of small, crowded units that were informally constructed and dangerous. As a community, it was not a healthy, safe, or comfortable place to live. Nevertheless, life was possible there because of access to transportation, jobs, and amenities like schools.

By the turn of the century, the Manila metropolitan area acquired new needs however, such as for metro rail improvements and high-speed internet infrastructure. And providing for these required obtaining loans and credit from large banks. It was in this context that financial institutions began to criticize the Philippines for not courting businesses and leveraging its vast land reserves in Quezon City. The national government subsequently embarked on a policy of public-private partnerships to offload the cost of urban renewal and stimulate the economy. And, as part of this effort, it identified the land occupied by Sitio San Roque as essential to its plans to build a new central business district for Quezon City.

To initiate the effort, the government granted National Housing Authority ownership of the site. It then formed a joint venture with a private multinational firm, Ayala Land, Inc. The planned central business district would be home to high-rise condominiums, technology centers, recreational facilities, and commercial establishments. While architectural renderings showed happy shoppers walking between glistening buildings, they made no reference to the people who already lived there.

With a total project value of P22 billion (about $499 million in 2010), the National Housing Authority alone stood to earn P12 billion (about $272 million in 2010) from the sale of the reclaimed area (Suarez and Abella 2010). Cumulative cash payouts to compensate existing residents, meanwhile, amounted to only between 0.4% and 2.4% of those profits (Batallones 2010). Nevertheless, when asked why the National Housing Authority could not meet the

demands of existing residents to build new housing for them in the vicinity, the National Housing Authority general manager, Chito Cruz, replied that his agency "cannot afford it." Instead, the National Housing Authority money would be used to relocate the residents outside of the city, to Rizal, and to support other relocation efforts for informal communities occupying esteros and waterways.

Francisco Alican, the National Housing Authority's deputy area management officer for the National Capital Region, was more to the point regarding the government's motives. "Of course, there's resistance, [the residents] want to stay here, but the government can't give in. This is a prime lot. It is intended for commercial ventures" (Suarez and Abella 2010).

The Price of Privatization

The case of Sitio San Roque indicates how in the neoliberal era DFDR projects may take on new justifications, new logics, and new costs whose impacts are misunderstood. Yet, according to Kumar (2016, p. 72), such projects typically contribute to rapidly growing inequality and thus raise important ethical issues:

Such projects have imposed costs, which are born not by the rich but essentially by the poor and indigenous people. Therefore, given the extent and consequences of development-induced displacement, this issue must be seen in a larger spectrum of human rights.… In the neoliberal paradigm, displacement has become synonymous with development, and its inevitability is unchallenged. Even the loudest of its critics regard it as a necessary evil and only ask for rehabilitation of the displaced, rather than questioning the very neoliberal paradigm of development itself which actually leads to mass displacement.

A key element of the vision behind DFDR projects is privatization. In the context of the discussion of dispossession and public space in this dissertation, this is understood to entail the transfer of assets such as land or businesses from the government to the private sector.[6] Proponents of neoliberal economic development efforts typically claim that privately-owned companies manage assets more economically and efficiently than governments because they are incentivized by the profit motive to eliminate wasteful spending and pursue economic growth

[6] Denationalization is broadly synonymous with privatization, but only refers to nationally owned public assets. Privatization is a more inclusive concept that covers local, city, and state assets, and so I will stick with privatization throughout this dissertation.

(Hargrave 2019). They also argue that private companies don't have to contend with red tape and bureaucratic government processes, and that they are typically pressured to be competitive by market forces, unlike public entities that typically have no competition. Public entities may further be susceptible to bribery, corruption, and control by politicians without business experience, they maintain. For all these reasons, privatization is typically seen as a key instrument of neoliberal economic transformation. It was also a key element of the land deal between the National Housing Authority and Ayala Land, Inc., to redevelop the site of Sitio San Roque

Now that a significant number of privatization schemes have come to fruition, however, serious deficiencies have begun to appear in the underlying assumptions of neoliberalism. One is that when the provision of public services such as electricity, water, schools, and parks is driven by profit, it becomes less accessible to low-income groups (Das 2015). Adopting a free-market approach to some economic sectors while propping up favored business activities in others also leads to underfunding activities necessary for the long-term health and viability of an economy (Kenton 2020). According to a recent report by the International Monetary Fund, neoliberal initiatives thus often fail to provide the expected economic stimulus. Indeed, some have even worsened conditions of growth, economic segregation, and inequality (Ostry et al. 2020).

The theory of trickledown economics is intended to promote economic growth and as such, may offset the primary danger of privatization — inequality. But this premise, too, has been challenged by economists. For example, in *Is Inequality Harmful for Growth?* (1994), Persson and Tabellini used empirical evidence from 56 democratic countries spanning the development spectrum to examine this very question. They found a strong *negative* relationship between conditions of income inequality and the start of periods of growth — such that as inequality increased, subsequent periods of growth decreased. This seminal study thus challenged the claim that establishing the conditions for long-term growth justified the increased inequality due to privatization. And a later study determined that cities that ignore inequality risk long-term negative economic performance (Jensen-Butler 1996).

The view that privatization increases inequality without contributing to economic growth served as a point of departure for my investigation of government-sanctioned economic development in Manila and Hyderabad. In both cases privatization allowed the speculative value

of land to be leveraged — either by transferring spatialities such as high population density outside the city through resettlement, or by demanding that communities raise their level of economic performance to remain in the city (gentrification). As a measure of its impact, I chose to examine its effect on the *restructuring* of public space in dispossessed communities. The neoliberal era provides a crucial context for the restructuring of what counts as public space today. Two well-studied restructuring trends are the privatization of public space in which public space is privately managed and semi-public space in which private social gathering areas (like shopping malls) are misconstrued as public spaces (cf. Sorkin 1992, Loukaitou-Sideris 1998, Kohn 2004, Low and Smith 2006, Madanipour 2010, De Magalhães and Freire Trigo 2017, and Mehta and Palazzo 2020). In particular, I seek to draw conclusions about the loss of access to quality public spaces on the healthy development of adolescents.[7]

The Role of Architects and Planners

This contradiction between social equity and economic growth policies raises questions about the role of planners and architects in promoting sustainable development. In discussing the issue of dispossession with planners, architects, and policymakers over the course of this study, I was repeatedly reminded of the story of New York City's pigeons as told by Nathanael Johnson (2016). I share this example only to illuminate the failure of architects to address systematic problems with short-sighted solutions and in no way do I suggest pigeons are an appropriate metaphor for people.

As architectural advances led to higher buildings in New York City, pigeons began to occupy ledges, rooftops, and stoops because those features afforded them shelter from weather and predators. However, people living and working in these skyscrapers found the pigeons'

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[7] Public space in the discipline of architecture is a concept in the West derived from the idea of a grazing commons, where pasture resources were shared within a community. While the quintessential public space is a park or town square, the traditional definition also includes sidewalks, roads, libraries, and other spaces where there are few restrictions on access. Prominent urban theorists such as Setha Low and Neil Smith (2006) and Steven Carr et al (1992) have valorized public space as emblematic of democracy because of its social mixing potential. However, in this study, I have taken Ash Amin's (2008) agnostic approach to the benefits of public space on the social cohesion and democratic realization of a given community. I explore these ideas further, in Chapter VI. ADOLESCENTS' 3rd PLACES, and I delve into the cultural and contextual interpretations of public space to balance a post-colonial perspective with the restructuring forces of neoliberalism.

presence to be a nuisance. In response, the city implemented a building code requiring pigeon deterrents on urban and outdoor spaces, and a huge industry thus emerged to produce architectural solutions including spikes, nets, and miniature electric fences. Yet, such strategies only moved the pigeons between adjacent structures. If viewed from the perspective of a particular building, the solutions were successful but when viewed from the perspective of the city, the solutions provided no real change to the number of pigeons seeking shelter and arguably made the situation worse because the few structures without deterrents became overcrowded.

Like the pigeon-deterrents in the New York building code, economic-development projects that dispossess people of their existing houses and communities can only be considered successful when viewed in narrow perspective. When viewed as part of a whole system, such projects (especially when they involve DFDR), do not address the basic problem — accessibility. Rather, they simply move people around, pushing them to adjacent cities or to rural areas with limited public space and services. To achieve real economic, social, and environmental sustainability, planners need to develop a more comprehensive social strategy, and architects need to act on their ethical responsibility to promote more equitable urban environments. It was in this sense that the famous modernist architect Le Corbusier once called for the design professions to constantly critique and correct their work to follow the flow of life as it is actually lived (Boudon 1969).

In a 2020 course called "Design Activism," the architect Craig Wilkins, Faculty Fellow in Design for Spatial Justice at the University of Michigan, made a compelling case that the professional structures guiding architects are deficient in how they support social equity compared to other professions. His argument was based on the existence of a mutually beneficial "social contract" between professions and society. Professions are provided with benefits, status, and the exclusive right to work under license in return for a promise to champion and safeguard broad social interests. Within this framework, architects and planners bear a responsibility to society's interests that exceeds the interests of any particular client.[8] While Wilkins may derive this assertion from conditions of practice in the United States, its principles may be seen to be globally transferrable. Indeed, both case-study countries, the

[8] Although not regulated by state licensing boards, I include planners and urban designers in my definition of the design profession.

Philippines and India, have professional duties and requirements for architects similar to those in the U.S. that require above all other considerations architects to protect the health, safety, and welfare of the public (Keane 2018).

Professionals, as defined by Wilkins, are members of society who have obtained a combination of specialized knowledge (usually requiring a university education, apprenticeship, and applied judgement), disciplinary identity (usually through organizations, journals, and accredited levels of promotion), autonomy (earned and recognized by society through licensing, ethical standards, and codes of conduct), and the knowledge and expertise to advance the well-being of society (Wasserman et al. 2000). More to the point, the two cornerstones of professional standing are a duty to *provide public service* and to *merit trustworthiness* (Ibid). Essentially, this means that professionals have certain ethical responsibilities because they have developed complex and specialized skills necessary for the functioning of society, and the practice of those skills are managed and maintained in the broader interest of society. The social contract thus implies that professionals should not use their knowledge and abilities to their (or their client's) exclusive advantage, and that they should ensure that all members of society can access their skills.

Professions typically have codes that guide their members' interaction with the public. Thus, consistent with the overarching principle "first, do no harm," the medical profession provides *pro bono* (for the public good) services, guarantees attention in emergencies, supports free clinics, and promotes student-loan forgiveness in return for public service. Similarly, consistent with the principle "better one hundred guilty go free than one innocent be convicted," the legal profession provides *pro bono* services, guarantees attention in criminal cases, supports free clinics, and promotes student-loan forgiveness for public service. However, inconsistent with the principle "protect the health, safety, and welfare of the public," design professionals are bound to few organized and enduring commitments (e.g., the principle has no teeth).

In the midst of the civil rights era of the 1960s, when confronted with the reality of racially charged housing policies and urban renewal designs, some progressive architects did revisit the social contract and initiate a series of community design centers (similar to free

clinics).[9] But these were largely supported by individual practitioners and organizations, not the profession at large (Wilkins 2020). Today, many designers have called for similar efforts to address the profession's public shortcomings, and organizations such as Public Architecture have promoted and advocated *pro bono* design activity in the service of the public good. Yet the design professions' continuing inattention to a larger sense of public purpose is nowhere more apparent or more critical than in response to the neoliberal regime of dispossession.

At the core of a profession's sense of public duty is the idea that its members should champion and safeguard the common interest. Yet policies such as privatization actively encourage architects and planners to abandon the making and maintenance of public space for the public in order to focus on the interests of a private client. At the same time that design professionals profess an ethical obligation to represent society at large as well as their clients, such policies and practices also increase inequality by restricting access and segregating space by income group.

One root of the growing trend toward urban inequality can therefore be identified as a failure within the design profession to fulfill its social contract. Recognition of this responsibility would, however, enable designers to play a significant role in the evolution of more equitable environments for all people. In cities of the developing world especially, I believe, a key principle here will be advocating for safe and inclusive public space, especially for women and children. This will, however, require rediscovering a sense of responsibility to society and pursuing more comprehensive, systems-based analysis in future development projects.

[9] Examples include the Community Design Center of San Francisco (1961); the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED, 1963); the Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem and the Real Great Society and the Urban Planning Studio and CHARAS of New York City (1964); the Urban Workshop of LA (1965); the Architects Workshop in Philadelphia (1967); and the Architect's Resistance and the Black Workshop (1968). Yet at the time the Society of American Registered Architects (SARA) sought to bar architects from engaging in *pro bono* work and codify that an architect's first responsibility was to the client.

III. ON METHODS

"Just sing naturally into the microphone," my colleague, Dr. Gopi Nageshwara Subba Rao, coaxed me on with contagious excitement. I looked anxiously into the microphone that I shared with Dr. Pallavi Kabde while a small audience gathered and watched us with anticipation from the window. Except for a fourth-grade rendition of "Oklahoma" I have never been asked to sing, so there was nothing "natural" about it. I found myself in a hot, make-shift recording studio on a residential street in Hyderabad, India. I had made fast friends with Dr. Rao and Dr. Kabde after consulting with them about how to respectfully approach and work with low-income communities in this area.

Our conversations one evening flowed from different research strategies to a shared concern that our findings would never be accessible to the people that had informed the research. Dr. Kabde's work with child trash-pickers and Dr. Rao's work with political land reform measures both engaged marginalized communities in Hyderabad, but their findings remained bound into prestigious journals and books that were difficult for their participants to access, like my own work. Rarely do those outside of academia read academic journals, so we felt the need to "open up" the important themes in our work to a larger audience. We were impressed with progressive research groups like the Hyderabad Urban Lab who produced an annual pseudo-research exposé called the Do Din Festival that is free and open to all and breaks down traditional barriers to emerging research themes.

Over several cups of chai, we brainstormed ways to engage a larger audience and settled on a music video. For the lyrics, Dr. Rao and I pulled from one of my recent conference abstracts; we had to use artistic license as "neoliberal" and "privatization" were difficult to rhyme. For the filming location, Dr. Kabde suggested we approach the informal community that she had worked with on a past research project. She had developed close relationships with them. By inviting the community to work with us, the community was engaged in a transparent process. While I deeply respect Dr. Kabde's position as a local researcher with years of experience working with the same community, I did not suggest working directly with or in the communities that I engaged in my research due to our different ethical perspectives.

The researcher's ethical perspective is seldom discussed in formal research, but I believe that it is the most important aspect of a project's methodology. Aside from a few dedicated resources that focus on specific ethical areas such as working with children, working in foreign

cultures, and working with new technology, most researchers develop their ethical perspective in the field through a conscientious approach to research (Leadbeater 2006, Tinson 2009, Mayes 2019, Smith 2009, Smith and Narayan 2012). While Dr. Kabde and I based our approaches on thoughtful decisions, our positions led to slightly different views on priorities and risks. There are many ways to design and manage a research study that engages ethical concerns, which results in a wide spectrum from a conservative to a liberal approach. The viewpoint of the particularly conservative side of the ethics spectrum risks the possibility of silencing the voices of marginalized groups and reinforcing the inaccessibility of the findings. On the other side of the spectrum, a particularly liberal viewpoint to ethics risks revealing and affiliating participants' identities indefinitely with the research, which could affect their relationships within their community, affect their future livelihood prospects, or even put them in danger.

I developed a personal ethical approach to this research project through a series of trainings on research with children at the University of Oregon (UO), workshops on child safeguarding sponsored by Save the Children, close readings such as *Placemaking with Children and Youth*, and my own ever-evolving experiences working within these communities (Derr 2018). Ultimately, I developed my own list of priorities, which I relied on over the course of this project. My ethical approach was to (a) prioritize the safeguarding of children; (b) obtain informed consent from potential research participants; (c) identify and minimize risks to participants (which included anonymous affiliation with the project); (d) identify and support benefits for participants; (e) support participants' right to withdraw without consequences; and (f) maintain transparency through simple language, patience, and accessibility (to researchers, the results, and the implications of the study).

Especially in ethnographic projects, which attempt to know the world from the standpoint of social relations through hands-on, in-the-field learning with people, ethical issues arise. In the moments when ethics are in question, the best course of action is often difficult to find. Clearly establishing protocols for concerns, mitigations, and violations before the data collection work begins supports a consistent and cohesive project as well as improves the researcher's responsiveness in the midst of an ethical crisis.

Dr. Rao, Dr. Kabde, and I had a challenging and ambitious goal to "open up" the deep questions and emerging concepts of our research to a broader audience. Our initial plan for the music video seemed simple until Dr. Rao revealed his idea for a saxophone solo. The idea for a

simple music video quickly snowballed into a series of recording sessions and required hiring a film crew. We became so passionate about the video and its important perspective on public space that we challenged the rules that we studied by filming a portion of the video in a "public" park that was located inside of a Special Economic Zone. We were escorted out of the Special Economic Zone by police who had caught us entering the public park inside of the central traffic circle on a hidden camera that monitored the use of sidewalks. The police and corporate surveillance only reinforced our findings about the practice and control of these privatized "public" spaces. While making the video was an enjoyable experience and a creative challenge, I question our success. With only slightly more than 600 views and a watered-down message, the final product was possibly more successful in its participatory capacity—explaining the process to the community, onlookers, and police during filming—than the final 1990s-style video itself.

Research Philosophy and Approach

I designed this study to respond to the fast-moving and developing conditions at play in the global political economy. Using the two case studies of Manila and Hyderabad I have attempted to connect the neoliberal regime of dispossession to the social production and physical consumption of space. Within this framework, I engage the spatial justice discourse by giving a voice to children who live in dispossessed communities to shed light on how changes in the public space influence where they hang out. I worked specifically with adolescents, because they have more spatial agency than children of other ages, and their developmental needs (e.g., independence, identity) correspond to architectural qualities or patterns often found in public space, such as "pedestrian density."[10] My focus was built on Kevin Lynch's original intentions for his seminal study *Growing Up in Cities* (1977) that were not realized for funding reasons. The study was intended to "focus on low-income communities undergoing rapid change, where

[10] "Pedestrian density" is an architectural pattern for paths and squares established by Christopher Alexander et al and documented in *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction*. At the core of this book is the point that in designing their environments people always rely on certain "languages" which, like the languages we speak, allow them to articulate and communicate an infinite variety of designs within a formal system which gives them coherence. "Patterns" are the units of this language and are the answers to design problems.

children were particularly dependent on the resources of their immediate environment and where the findings could have the most immediate effect on urban policies" (Chawla 2002).

My research design links the empirical data and findings to the following research questions: What spaces perform as public space in dispossessed communities? How do adolescents use these public spaces? My ethical approach and positionality led to an inductive methodology known as grounded theory that mostly relies on qualitative methods (e.g., observation, interviews) as well as contemporary architectural methods (e.g., maps and drawings) to develop a working theory to contribute to the spatial justice discourse. In *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Edward Soja claims that spatial justice is a theoretical concept that "has a consequential geography, a spatial expression that is more than just a background reflection or a set of physical attributes to be descriptively mapped" (2010).

The spatial justice discourse is primarily engaged with mapping vectors of power in spatialities (geographies) and revealing the perspective of marginalized people. This field of work requires an assertive and explanatory approach that may be unfamiliar to those who do not regularly engage in social science research.

Science has developed multiple "ways of knowing" from the traditional experimental science conducted in a laboratory to prove or disprove a pre-established hypothesis to the contemporary approaches such as grounded theory that is conducted in the field to develop an emerging theory. The positivist philosophy of experimental science is based on repeated experiments rendering the same result as the way to prove truth. The positivist philosophy places the researcher as independent and objective to what is being studied. However, in the mid-twentieth century, most scientists working with social issues (and many others) embraced a new philosophy called post-positivism. This philosophy asserts that the researcher is never completely independent from the work being studied, and therefore, knowledge as society understands it is changing and fallible. Furthermore, post-positivism claims that society's constructions of reality are ultimately rooted in the perspectives of people and experiences. Instead of trying to emphasize how the researcher is independent of the research, post-positivists pursue objectivity by recognizing and mitigating the possible effects of bias—in part by clarifying the researcher's unique position (positionality). Work in the field of spatial justice, including this study, is based on the philosophy of post-positivism and heavily relies on mitigating bias.

However, the research philosophy does not tell much about how the researcher approaches the process of developing a theory. Generally, there are two approaches: deductive and inductive. A deductive approach works from specific to general (top-down), starting with a given theory, refining an aspect to a testable hypothesis, collecting data, and analyzing the data to confirm (or refute) the theory. However, a pre-determined hypothesis requires the researcher to presuppose information about the focus of the research, such as the definition of terms, the range of answers or experiences, and the dependent/independent variables. Alternatively, an inductive approach to research flips this model to be bottom-up. The researcher starts with observations and then identifies patterns that lead to a tentative hypothesis, and with more analysis they develop an emerging theory. For example, this study primarily focuses on "public space," which has an entrenched history and many controversial definitions (see Setha Low, 2017). With a deductive approach, the researcher would select a theory that rests on a definition of public space. Instead, I have used an inductive approach, which started by working with participants to show, draw, and talk about spaces where they hang out when not at home or school. As mentioned in the introduction, this inductive process leveraged Carroll's et al (2015) use of Oldenburg's (1989, 2001) concept of "3rd places." I developed working definitions of 3rd places based on adolescent's perspectives and my observations. From this work, I developed the aforementioned research questions that guided the inductive analysis process. Without this contextual grounding, I risked incorrectly generalizing and misappropriating the concept of public space.

An inductive methodology, such as grounded theory, allows the researcher flexibility to develop definitions in the voice of the participants, to collect a range of answers from the participants, and to identify the variables *after* intensive fieldwork with the participants. The researcher then frames the structure of the study in the voice of the participants. However, a common failure of grounded theory studies is when researchers abuse this flexibility by omitting a framework or scientific basis rather than building it with the participants in the initial stages (Bryant, 2020). Therefore, my description of the methodology of this study is largely a reflective exercise to clarify the rigor of the study. The post-positivist and inductive approaches rely heavily on the positionality of the researcher and the researcher's ability to identify and mitigate bias.

Positionality and Bias

According to Farhana Sultana (2007), self-reflexivity and positionality both document qualities that have continued to influence the research and may affect the perspective by which the researcher interprets data. Expanding on Sultana's interpersonal approach to positionality, David Coghlan and Mary Brydon-Miller (2014) add that "positionality is the stance or positioning of the research in relation to the social and political context of the study—the community, the organization, or the participant group." Understanding the researcher's positionality is helpful to reduce the challenge of bias toward the researcher's perspective and to document issues of access and potential privileges or disadvantages (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002, Johnson and Sackett 1998). Maher and Tetreault emphasize this importance to qualitative research.

> …understanding the lens by which the study has been captured imbibes the study with confidence and validates the findings as changing contextual and relational factors are crucial for defining identities and our knowledge in any given situation. (1993)

I documented my positionality early in the research process, during the proposal development stage, and maintained a reflexive journal during the fieldwork and analysis process. I referenced Linda Alcoff's construction of positionality as an initial guide to include factors of race, gender, class, and markers of identity, such as experience and expertise (1998). Alcoff has shown that these factors ground the research in a particular position and shape the lens by which they view the qualities of the research data. After reviewing the journal, data, and analysis documents, I found the following identifiers most relevant to my position in the field: I identify as a white, middle-class, agnostic woman. My position presents privileges that are sometimes advantageous and at other times disadvantageous to the objectives in the field. While this summary is not exhaustive, it provides a comprehensive and general understanding of the forces that influence my perspective.

My skin color brought the most privilege in both case study contexts (Manila and Hyderabad). The communities in both countries were generally receptive to working with me as a white foreigner possibly due to strategic social engineering by white colonizers who prioritized the white race. However, a disadvantage was the assumed wealth that I brought and the anticipation that participants would receive a large share of it if they worked with me. Therefore, my white privilege "got me in the door," but it quickly became a challenge. I needed to have

many conversations to overcome the hurdles of appropriate compensation to align my institution's research ethics board and the community's levels of comfort. Similarly, my position as a white female allowed me to observe and document the environment without harassment from authorities (this was generally but not always the case). However, the disadvantage was that I was never able to "blend in," and my presence consistently altered the behavior of people in a space. To mitigate this disadvantage, I tailored my strategy to the local context. In the communities around Manila, I made direct observations in a car with black-out tinted windows where this was a normal component on the street. In the communities around Hyderabad, I made observations in conservative local dress escorted by one or more male research assistants as this approach was more appropriate.[11] Another effect of privilege as a white female was that many participants assumed that I identify as a Christian. In some ways this was advantageous, because the minority Christian households were more receptive to working with me. However, this was also a disadvantage, because, as my research assistants carefully explained, some non-Christian households firmly resisted participation as they believed this research project was a guise for missionary work attempting to convert their children to Christianity. I chose not to mitigate either of these effects proactively, because I did not want to bring up the topic of religion in the study at any point.[12] The teenagers seldom expressed religious opinions, but I am confident that parental views are often repeated by teenagers trying to form their own position.

Related to my position, I only speak English fluently. I did not learn all of the languages spoken by the participants, which include English, Hindi, Telugu, Urdu, Tagalog, and Cebuano (Bisayas). Hiring local research assistants provided a deep cultural context and awareness that was invaluable to the contemporary case study model. Furthermore, they were able to communicate, answer questions, and comfort the participants in a way that is unreachable for someone in my position. Learning the language would never overcome my racial and religious barriers. However, the disadvantage was mainly that I was slow to respond to "new findings" or

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[11] A male research assistant was not present due to safety concerns but rather I found that I was less likely to appear suspicious when I was in a group and especially when a local man was part of our group. When someone did approach us or inquire about our activities, they rarely addressed me and spoke only to the male in the group.

[12] Demographic information about the family's religion was taken from context clues such as a framed picture of Saint Mary indicating Catholicism and in some cases the family's religion remains unknown.

"important points." To mitigate and compensate for this shortcoming, I structured the research design around three iterative interviews with each participant. Immediately after each interview, the research team transcribed and translated the audio recording, and I analyzed them before the next interview so that I had the opportunity to manage the conversation and review key points. I also trained and worked closely with the research assistants, who were passionate about the project, and most of them remained involved throughout the study. While I was present at every interview for guidance, they had agency in balancing the flow of a natural conversation, supporting a positive participant experience, and gauging when to diverge from the semi-structured prompts to encourage the participant to elaborate on an important element. Finally, to mitigate the subjectivity of translation, another researcher independently reviewed and annotated each interview transcript. This process helped me determine when multiple interpretations of the data were problematic, and we resolved them mostly by checking the interpretation directly with the participant.

My positionality was dangerous on more than one occasion. In Ishaan Nagar,[13] for example, a small but powerful group was convinced that my research intentions were a guise for trafficking children. News reports of sexual abuse, harvesting organs, and child labor were regularly heard among parents in communities located on the urban periphery. With limited access to support services, like the police or an Anganwadi Center (a government-sponsored child services center), families were keenly aware that their children were at a higher risk of predatory crimes. The community leader and the women's group assuaged our concerns that this small group was not representative of the larger community, and the families who were concerned need not participate. We proceeded empathetically and with some additional protocols by only working with children in their family homes and under the watch of at least one family member.

Despite these initial challenges, we were popular with the children in Ishaan Nagar. When we sat for interviews, four to eight other children typically ran over and wanted to sit with us, and they mimicked us by making notes with an imaginary pen and paper. However, one

[13] Ishaan Nagar is an alias. The village families were deeply concerned that their participation in the study would result in their eviction (again). Therefore, care has been taken to strip identifiable information from this study. However, if the identity of the village is somehow clear, I humbly ask this information is not disclosed further.

weekday afternoon as we were finishing the interviews at the second participant's house, we heard some commotion outside of the gate. With the sun setting and the tree in the courtyard it was difficult to discern what was happening. "Madam, come, come." The mother motioned to me and my research assistants, Ayesha and Shekhar. We ducked into their one-room concrete home unaware of the danger, as we were more focused on the swarming mosquitoes. In the dim light, I saw Shekhar's eyes widen with alarm as he took in what the mother explained.

He said that one of the small children, not a participant in our study but one of our "fans," who had been dancing in the corner during our last interview had gone missing. This emergency was evidence to the small, suspicious group that our purpose was indeed trafficking, and they were certain that I had taken the child. The group was in the street in front of the house shouting at the family to turn me out. The mother was further concerned for our safety, because at dusk working family members return from town and bring liquor, which would only increase the agitation and resentment against what my privilege—as a professional female, an American, and a white person—represents.

The mother went out and spoke with the group and asked them to thoroughly search the community before they made such claims. An agreement was made that we should not leave the house until the child was found. We waited for nearly an hour in anxious silence. The parents of two of our participants came and sat in support with us during this time. Finally, a neighboring child knocked on the gate and notified us that the missing girl had been found and was unharmed; she had climbed inside of the community water tank to swim with friends. This experience reinforced our position as outsiders in this community and the perceived threat that it carries. In response, we revised our protocol to leave participating communities by 5 pm and not to return before 8 am in an attempt to minimize our risk.

In sum, my positionality has continued to influence my relationship with the participants. I argue, as a post-positivist and inductive researcher, that regardless of the positionality there is an interplay between the researcher and the participants. This interplay results in the reciprocal shaping of data through opportunities, threats, experiences, and the filters of perspective. My positionality shaped the development of the project's research model and the selection of the research methods.

Research Model

I used a descriptive case study model (Yin 2017, Creswell 2014, Groat and Wang 2002) that included seven dispossessed communities around Hyderabad and Manila. I started each case by working with adolescents to understand their everyday experience in the community, how they socialize, and where they hang out. By drawing from their perspectives, I identified a range of "3rd places" in each case, and I conducted a series of observations. I complimented the case studies through contextual interviews with community members, architecture-engineering professionals, local scholars, child-service non-profit employees, and government officials.

The descriptive case study model attempts to construct theory through iterative data collection and analysis that strongly relies on participants' perceptions of their social and built environment. The case study model is most appropriate for "how" and "why" questions asked of contemporary events for which researchers have little to no control (Yin, 2018). Case studies address situations in which there are more variables of interest than data points, and as a result, they rely on multiple sources of evidence, and the data needs to converge in a triangulating fashion (Ibid). The cases construct a working theory by following the principles and processes of grounded theory (Bryant 2017, Bryant 2019, Strauss and Corbin 1990, Charmaz 2017). Grounded theory is distinct, because it relies primarily on subjective accounts that are inductively investigated through iterative cycles of data collection and analysis. Bryant notes that the critical issue of grounded theory "is the extent to which the ensuing accounts move forward to coherent and rigorous analyses and constructs" (2013).

With grounded theory, the early stages of research should not be informed by research questions, a hypothesis, or a rigorous literature review but rather they should emerge as the data evolves (Bryant 2013). The accounts in this study are the words that adolescents use to narrate their perspective, and the units of analysis are the concepts that interrelate those words to the significant 3rd places (Corbin 1990).

Shifting the fieldwork hours, as described in the story about the missing child, was an adaptation of the research protocol that was necessary for our safety. However, I made other adaptations to the research protocol to further investigate and respond to key concepts as they emerged. Through my positionality, ethical approach, and the heuristic process of coding, I co-created a working theory based in part on my interactions with the participants (rather than only through observations of/interviews with participants) as well as the collected data. This process

of co-creation that responds to the researcher's interactions is referred to as a constructivist adaptation of grounded theory, and it dredges up a long-standing feud between the founders of the methodology, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Bryant 2009).

On the one hand, Glaser and many grounded theory scholars promote a "purest" mentality, insisting that the researcher is an independent observer who must adhere to a strict protocol that does not allow for the contamination of the data by any other intersecting framework. On the other hand, Strauss and later his student, Kathy Charmaz, further developed grounded theory to have a constructivist approach that requires a responsive protocol, and they pragmatically expanded grounded theory to include a theoretical framework (Ibid, Charmaz). Their approach evolved in response to scholars who questioned whether researchers could conduct grounded theory studies free from positionality, bias, or preconceived thoughts (Charmaz 2017, Miles and Huberman 1994, Edwards and Jones 2009). I intentionally co-constructed the grounded theory that emerged in this study by introducing dispossession as the theoretical framework.

Theoretical Framework

I detail Michael Levein's (2018) model of land dispossession in Chapter 2. Levein defines land dispossession as "a social relation of coercive redistribution," arguing that the model appropriately attributes power and agency to the external actor "grabbing" the land. Levein further differentiates dispossession from other contemporary models of land appropriation such as Michael Cernea's development induced displacement and resettlement by categorizing the process by the political economy under which it falls rather than the typological outcome of the process. Levein advocates for a contextual approach to the dispossession model defining four chronological periods in his research in India: the feudal structure of land appropriation, the colonial influences on land acquisition, the post-colonial developmentalist regime of dispossession, and the neoliberal regime of dispossession. Levein's approach to dispossession is most relevant to the aims of this research, given the emphasis it places on agency, the importance of the political economy, and the contextual application.

I could have approached the research without a theoretical framework. However, I would not have been as intentional in the development of the initial coding categories and the intersection of spatial and architectural data. In addition, I initiated the research with

preconceived interests, beliefs, and thoughts, which is partially why scholars select sites and certain populations—because of their interests in various topics. I posit that interests, beliefs, and preconceived thoughts are not absent from researchers when they decide to explore using grounded theory, and this perspective is constant with my understanding of post-positivism and inductive research.

My initial interests focused on the intersection of children's domains and public space in informal communities. After some early pilot studies in Concepcion, Chile and Manila, Philippines I was drawn to the political and economic structures that dictate the boundary between formality and informality. I came to view the city not as a unified spatial or social whole but as a series of urban fragments rooted in contextual histories (Roy 2016, Dear 2002). The initial interviews highlighted the role of dispossession as each of these fragments cycled between informality-formality-informality. With each evolution, the quality, access, and availability of public space seemed to diminish, which raised important questions such as what is public space under the neoliberal regime of dispossession and for whom is the space public? This investigation and the findings are richer and more informative with the presence of the dispossession framework.

Case Study Selection

To investigate how neoliberal dispossession processes shape adolescent's environments, I chose a collective case-study research design for its exploratory and theory-building nature. The strength of case study research is its capacity for the in-depth study of complex social phenomena in real-life settings (Yin 2003). A case is a bounded system that includes activities and context within the system that may be, but are not always, compared. To frame neoliberal processes as ideological rather than the product of a particular form of government, I completed the study in two different nations with vastly different cultural and historical backgrounds, although both manifest symptoms of neoliberalism. Through a sequential research design, I compared multiple sites within one case (Manila), developed an emerging theory, and then tested the transferability of that theory in the second case (Hyderabad). As three notable social scientists describe in their seminal case study, *Union Democracy*, the goal of a case study is to do a "generalizing" and not a "particularizing" analysis (Lipset, Trow, & Coleman, 1956: 419–420, Yin 2018).

Many nations around the world are implementing neoliberal development policies, but a few unusual political and economic circumstances have revealed cities in which the dispossession morphology is unusually stark. I selected the most appropriate national contexts for this study by first identifying rapidly growing cities (a minimum of 10% growth by GDP in the past five years) with large urban populations (over 5 million) that have been targeted by large banks (e.g., the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank) for developmental loans that contain lending conditions requiring the implementation of neoliberal policies among other factors. I analyzed the following eight cities' political, economic, and urban development morphologies by assessing recent patterns of dispossession for developmental growth: Seoul, South Korea; Manila, Philippines; Houston, USA; Santiago, Chile; Lagos, Nigeria; Hyderabad, India; Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; and Kuwait City, Kuwait. Through this analysis and a literature review, I found that dispossession acts in different ways, which partially depends on the country's income group (classified by the World Bank as low income, lower-middle income, middle income, and high income).[14] I further narrowed the focus to the lower-middle income group (the Philippines, India, and Nigeria) as these nations have a high potential for growth and some economic stability, which makes them ripe for lending. I ultimately selected Hyderabad and Manila because they offer the most accessibility to work with dispossessed communities.

Resettlement in Manila

Space is at a premium in Metro Manila. As the densest city in the world, apartment towers reach upwards of 30 floors and hover over fragmented sidewalks and tangled, traffic-filled streets. Metro Manila's cost of living is similar to other dense Southeast Asian megacities such as Hong Kong, Seoul, and Delhi (Expatistan 2020). Construction cranes and closed-off streets are commonplace as the building boom for modern lifestyle centers that couple indoor shopping malls with residential towers take over low-density development and informal settlements. Despite the continued construction, occupancy rates for such middle-class flats hover around 60%, suggesting an impending housing crisis.

[14] For detailed reference see ADB. (2012), Stanley (2004), McDowell (1996), Oliver-Smith (2009), Price (2009), UNHCR (2004), Cernea (1997), and Vandergeest et al (2006).



Figure 4: (L-R all in Quezon City, Philippines): Photograph of typical high-rise ultra-dense housing (author, 2018); rendering of a new commercial center, Vertis North, shown on a greenfield site (courtesy of Ayala Land company, 2018); and photograph of the construction of Vertis North in an informal settlement (courtesy of Arjay Baltores, 2016).

The USA's intervention through military, political, and religious avenues at the turn of the nineteenth century targeted the Philippines as a stronghold of capitalism and a source of agricultural resources (sugar). Despite a history of bloodshed and resistance, the current neoliberal government under Rodrigo Duterte closely aligns with America's political interests by prioritizing economic development at the expense of social issues (Anderson 2018). What makes the case of Manila so stark are the urban policies that give power to developers to build commercial centers by displacing informal settlers to low-valued property outside of the city. The blatant use of national policies to advance the neoliberal agenda combined with a localized government structure that shifts social burdens sets the stage for a case study of a race to the bottom. Policies such as the Urban Development and Housing Act of 1992, which requires a developer to develop 20% of their project area or project cost toward socialized housing within the same city (when feasible), initially appear to alleviate inequalities. However, upon further inspection, these policies are a vehicle for exacerbating economic fragmentation and displacing marginalized members of society further outside of the city to the urban fringe.

The story in Manila is not unique, and the common plight of economic resettlement is currently trending across Southeast Asia. Resettlement sites are often on the peri-urban fringe with limited access to work, social services, grocery stores, or public transportation to urban centers. Typically constructed on former agricultural land, these sites shift the "problem" of informal settlements to less powerful local government units without providing livelihood resources. As described in an interview with Barangay Muzon Capitan, Hon. Marciano

Gatchalian, the process thus increases tension for the receiving local government unit populations, which must squeeze their tax base to accommodate the needs of the dependent resettlement site or abandon the needs of the resettling families. The result is often a combination of unmet needs and violent tensions on the peri-urban fringe while development in the urban core transitions the former site into a profit-generating commercial district. However, the profits are retained elsewhere—possibly in the city or taken for national use.

The case of Manila exclusively concerns a specific process under the neoliberal regime of dispossession—the process of displacement and resettlement, known in some circles as DFDR. Initially, my work rested on the premise that DFDR was the primary form of dispossession. Therefore, I selected communities in Manila to show variation in DFDR (e.g., age, size of the community, and level of community cohesion). However, as I attempted to replicate the study model in the second case, Hyderabad, I was unable to identify clear cases of DFDR under the neoliberal regime of dispossession. Since Hyderabad exhibited strong signs of neoliberal urbanism, it was unclear why incumbent residents were not displaced, as government reports and documents indicated. The discrepancy was in the formality of DFDR—to be resettled required formal acknowledgement of a family's occupation of space. Hyderabad illuminated the informality-formality spectrum at play under the neoliberal regime of dispossession.

Erasure in Hyderabad

The race in India is for formal, white-collar jobs. An exploding population that is transitioning from agricultural subsistence lifestyles toward a burgeoning middle class of skilled workers has created a country of competitive municipalities. Over 70% of jobs are in the informal, low productivity sector (daily wage labor; Nair 2017). Limited federal power and strong cultural ties embolden city governments to compete against other cities by enticing corporations to invest in jobs in their city (Naidu 2000). For the past two decades, Bengaluru has led India as the tech-capital (Rastogi 2019). However, poor infrastructure has stalled the rapid growth, and the city is faltering as tech giants such as Google and Microsoft relocate their offices elsewhere (Arora 2016).

Hyderabad is quickly taking the lead by offering subsidies and tax breaks to entice Information Technology and finance corporations. In turn, this city is grappling with an identity crisis, as its conservative past must come to terms with its hunger for economic advancement.

Hyderabad is a historic, well-planned city with public gardens, markets, and a street-grid network dating back to the Qutub Dynasty when the city was the pearl of the East-West spice trade. The last city to fall under British rule, Hyderabad has embraced its conservative Islamic roots and patriarchal culture. Furthermore, mostly informal, unspoken rules govern urban development, such as the prohibition of single women renting apartments, which has driven the development of female "guest houses."[15]

However, expatriate workers and Information Technology professionals are bringing liberal lifestyles. The government of Hyderabad has addressed this duality by enticing Multi-National Corporations to invest in a satellite location—HITEC City/[16]Cyberabad—where it has built infrastructure that segregates the liberal newcomers from the city's roots. Of course, this peri-urban, agricultural area is substantially lower in cost to develop and has less prominent and powerful stakeholders than the old city, and the use of government land acquisition strategies is less contentious in the remote west than in the dense urban core.

The construction of Information Technology campuses in HITEC City/Cyberabad predates the support fabric (e.g., residential communities, social services, and commercial centers), which resulted in rapid, unplanned growth. The Multi-National Corporation campuses have the privileged status of Special Economic Zone, which enables them to circumvent municipal taxes. As the city has metastasized, it could not keep up with developmental needs, and smaller, grassroots development projects (e.g., thousands of illegal two-to-four-story apartment buildings) have sprung up to address the housing demand. Funding for public spaces, utilities, and services has been heavily strained, because both of these property types, the Special Economic Zones and the informal apartment buildings, contribute to the city's tax

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[15] Generally, a guest house is a type of lodging found around the world but with specific importance in India during the growth of the Information Technology sector. In Hyderabad, guest houses are professionally run accommodations most often segregated by gender and with 2-8 guests per unit. The units typically do not have all of the amenities of an apartment such as a kitchen, which is offset by a required meal plan served in a common dining area. They also typically have curfews and strict rules about visitors, noise, and dietary restrictions (there are vegetarian-only guest houses), amongst other factors. These accommodations have been very popular for emerging professionals traveling to the city without family connections. They offer a sort of guarantee about the moral behavior of the tenants.

[16] Hyderabad Information Technology and Engineering Consultancy Center (HITEC) lies within the Cyberbad Development Area

base. However, when state resources are scarce, not all city residents are treated equally. The Special Economic Zones continue to receive the benefits of improved stormwater and transportation infrastructure, high-speed dedicated utilities, and privatized public spaces while the surrounding informal, low-income communities struggle to make do with dirt roads that flood every monsoon season, intermittent utilities, and fee-based access to public spaces. For example, the Shri Kotia Vijayabhaskara Reddy Botanical Gardens, which is the only public park in Cyberabad for open access (versus a pocket park or neighborhood park), charges an entry fee of 15 rupees per person, making it inaccessible to the poor as described by some of the adolescents in this dissertation.

The case of Hyderabad reveals alternative processes under the neoliberal regime of dispossession that are not accounted for in the Manila case study. Extensive fieldwork and interviews returned limited evidence of formal displacement and resettlement processes. When I let go of my preconceived notion assuming formal resettlement and looked for signs of informal dispossession, I found multiple communities that claimed that their land had been dispossessed due to development made possible by neoliberal policies. Following grounded theory, I modified the working theory to focus on the spectrum of dispossession. In the constant comparative method, I sampled communities that represented a variety of processes and could be compared within the case of Hyderabad. I selected comparison groups because of their theoretical relevance for fostering the development of emergent categories (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

Community Selection

In late 2017, I moved to Hyderabad, India. A former colleague with the USA government offered me residence in her home located in Cyberabad. The home was in an elite gated community where each single-family home had five to eight rooms spanning three to five floors on a lot surrounded with landscaping and walls. It had been selected by the USA government primarily for security reasons and also for proximity to the new consulate construction site. This type of elite enclave is a common new typology developed to meet the residential needs of executives at Multi-National Corporations in Cyberabad. Our neighbors were a mix of Indians from other cities such as Mumbai and Delhi as well as expats from Korea, the USA, Germany, and the UK. By getting to know the residents and their daily engagement with the city, I learned

about the high-income residents of Cyberabad and how the government often addressed their needs and made their spaces accessible rendering a progressive and promising version of Cyberabad.

From our second-level patio, I could see beyond the manicured lawn, past the pool, and over the walls lined in barbwire where there was a large pond, and on the far side, an informal village. Without city utilities, the pond was used by the villagers for their daily needs, and this scene was a stark reminder of the drastic inequality. Our neighbors convinced us that hiring a maid offered much-needed employment and was a way to support local people. We acquiesced despite our sense of independence and hired Padma (alias). She was my first personal exposure to low-income communities in Cyberabad. Padma lived in an informal village farther away and was dropped off by her husband in the mornings. Although she stopped schooling at grade five to work, she had never held employment outside of the family. Her husband explained that they would use her salary to send their son to a private school. I learned over the course of this study that Padma's journey as a domestic laborer in elite enclaves was typical employment for women, and she introduced me to many of the challenges faced by low-income communities in Hyderabad.[17]

While living in the elite enclave, I interviewed employees at local design firms, universities, and relevant organizations such as the Hyderabad Urban Lab, and I also informally interviewed local friends. I conducted a thorough review of the city's morphology and historical evolution that led to a compelling example of dispossession through the development of Cyberabad, just to the west of the old city. I spent four months driving between the old city and the new enclave on my scooter, sketching, mapping, and getting to know each environment. With the support of Dr. Anant Maringanti, I relinquished the attempt to identify a typology or common circumstance to represent community dispossession in Hyderabad. Instead, I contextually modeled dispossession along the informality-formality spectrum that resulted in gradients of displacement, gentrification, or erasure.

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[17] For more on the discourse of hired domestic work in India see Barau (2019), Frøystad (2003), Grover (2017), John (2013), Neetha (2004), Neetha and Palriwala (2011), Palriwala and Neetha (2010), Ray (2010), Sen and Sengupta (2016), and Vasundhara (2019).

Hyderabad 2020 (the city's Master Plan) identified pre-existing villages "underneath" the development plans for the Cyberabad Metropolitan Area (Hyderabad 2030).[18] I went to each of the eight locations, which were indicted on a map through hatching, and only found evidence of three rapidly gentrifying villages (Gachibowli, Madhapur, and Kothaguda) and one village that was nearly encroached on all sides (Nanakramguda). After persistent inquiries about the whereabouts of the other four villages, local contacts revealed the location of one village (Ishaan Nagar) that had been informally displaced to the urban fringe in a manner that I liken to an attempted erasure. The government erased the remaining three villages, and their names are unknown. After presenting this study to the leaders within each village, three of the five villages agreed to participate in the study, and they represent different moments along the informality-formality spectrum. The Hyderabad case study includes work with adolescents from Gachibowli Village, Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar.

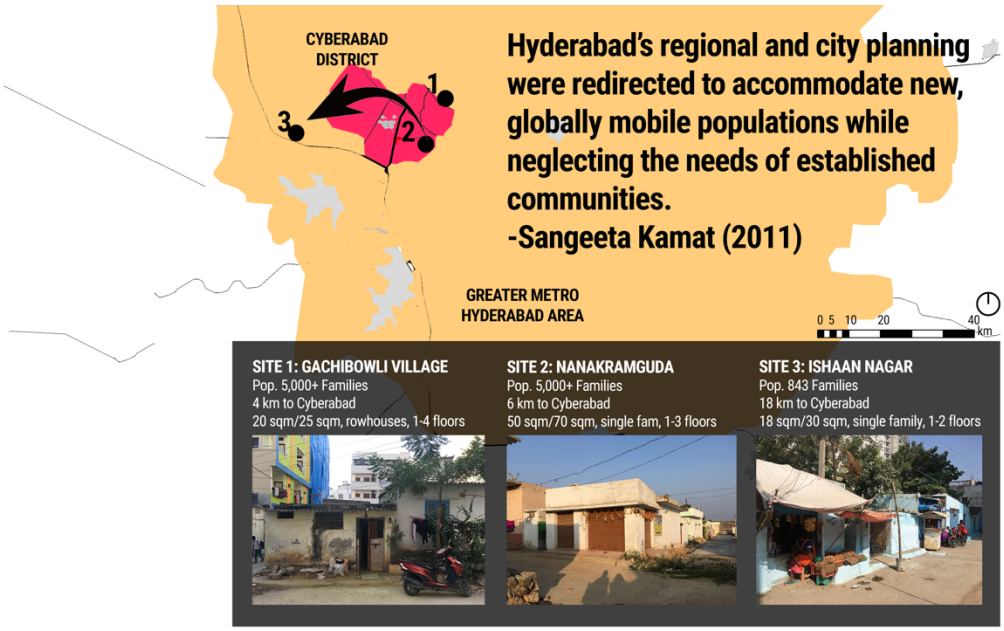


Figure 5: The Hyderabad case study includes work with adolescents from Gachibowli Village, Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021).

[18] I use the term "underneath" because the plans showed a hatched area where villages (are/were) but they did not impact the layout of streets, zoning, or utilities. It was as if the 2020 plan was overlaid on top of the existing map with minimal relationship.

Community	Neighborhood	Distance to Cyberabad	Population (families)	Age (yrs.)	Housing Typology (Floor Area/Lot Size)
Gachibowli Village	Gachibowli	4 km	5,000+	80	Divided by highway: half incrementally upgraded mid-rise paying guest (PG) accommodations and the other half approx. 20 sqm/25sqm, rowhouses (RH), 1-4 flr
Nanakramguda	Financial District	6 km	5,000+	400	Heterogeneous: 50 sqm/70sqm, single-family, 1-3 flr or mid-rise apartments/PG
Ishaan Nagar	ORR	18 km	843	5	18 sqm/30 sqm, single-family, 1-2 flr
Madhapur	Madhapur	1 km	8,000+	N/A	Mid-rise apartments, PG, RH
Kothaguda	Kothaguda	3 km	8,000+	N/A	Mostly PG, RH
Anonymous 1	Kothaguda	3 km	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous 2	Gachibowli	4 km	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous 3	Gachibowli	4 km	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 1: Community selection criteria with selected communities in Hyderabad highlighted (Source: author, 2020).

While my work in India progressed, I took a position with a humanitarian non-profit (Save the Children) working on displacement and resettlement in Manila, Philippines. I first moved to the Philippines in mid-2018, and I subsequently alternated between the case study locations every three to six months over the next two years. My exposure to the model of dispossession in Manila was more advanced than it was initially in Hyderabad because I had completed pilot studies around the Metro Manila in mid-2017. When I arrived a year later, I had a literature review of the city's morphology and contacts with local friends, academics, and organizations. Furthermore, my work relationships closely aligned with my research, which afforded me contacts with government officials and access to state documents that otherwise may have been difficult to obtain.

Possibly because of this access or the formality of the resettlement programs in the Philippines, I was able to quickly find an extensive list of displaced, dispossessed communities. Not all of the displaced and resettled communities are characterized by the neoliberal regime of dispossession. I interviewed a case worker to distinguish between the communities. I presented this study to nine communities, and seven agreed to participate (as shown in the table below). However, a politician in one of the Cavite communities was murdered as the mayoral election drew near, and the rules of engagement that I agreed to with the non-profit suspended all activities in southern Metro Manila (Cavite and Rizal), especially those associated with the former politician. This restriction reduced the study to four communities in the north-eastern province of Metro Manila called Bulacan (as highlighted in Table 2).

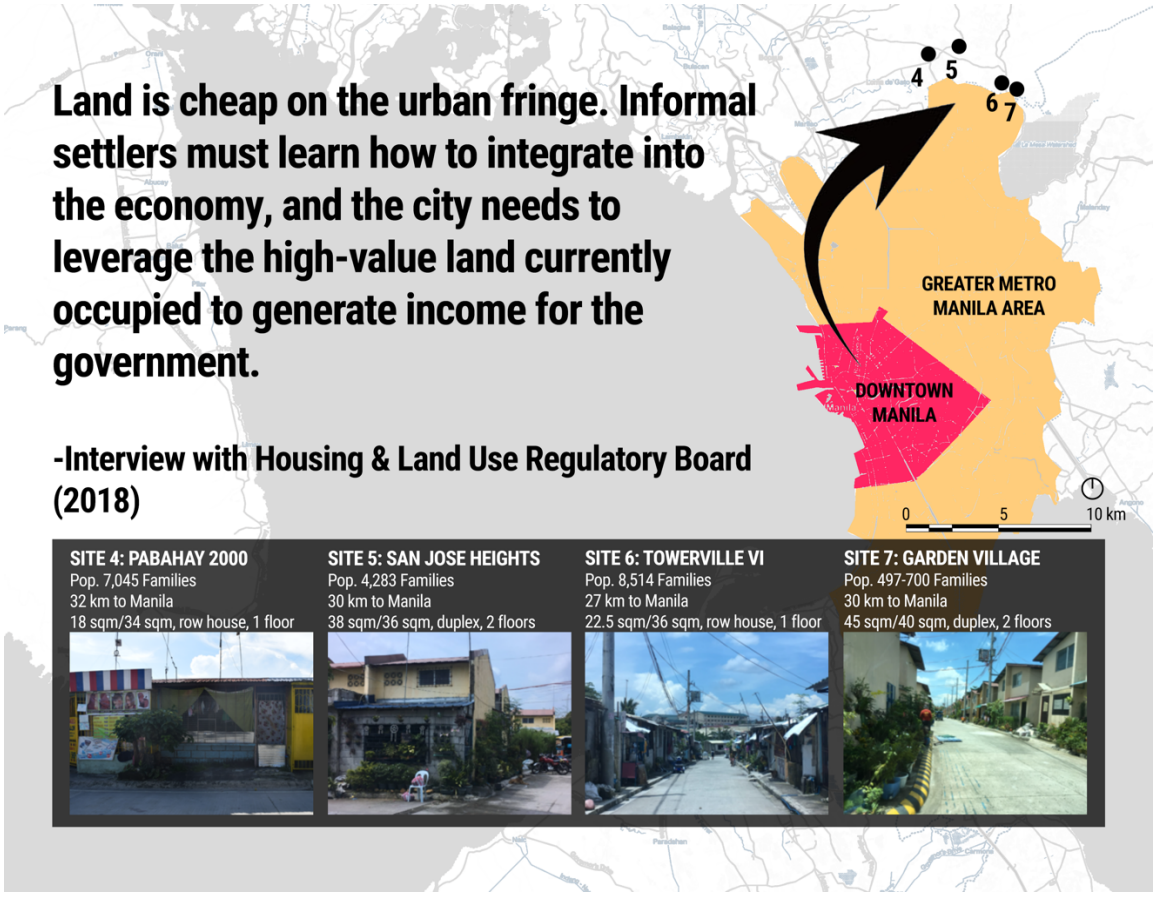


Figure 6: The Manila case study includes work with adolescents from Pabahay 2000, San Jose Del Monte Heights (SJM), Towerville VI, and Garden Village (Source: Author 2021).

Community	*Barangay* (neighborhood)	Province	Distance to Manila	Population (families)	Age (yrs.)	Housing Typology Floor Area/ Lot Size
San Jose Del Monte Heights	Muzon	Bulacan	39 km	4,283 F	6	22 sqm/40 sqm, some lofts, rowhouses (RH)
Pabahay 2000	Muzon	Bulacan	32 km	7,045 F	22	22 sqm/36 sqm, RH, 1 flr
Garden Village	Graceville	Bulacan	30 km	494 F	1	45 sqm/40 sqm, duplex, 2 flr
Towerville VI	Graceville	Bulacan	27 km	8,514 F	12	22.5 sqm/36 sqm, RH, 1 flr
Golden Horizons	Hugo Perez	Cavite	50 km	1,500 F	7	N/A, RH, 1flr
Dorothea 1	Halang	Cavite	49 km	N/A	5	N/A, RH, 1flr
Belmont Homes	Halang	Cavite	48 km	54 F	1	N/A, RH, some lofts
Bronzeville 2	Halang	Cavite	51 km	270 F	4	N/A, RH, some lofts
Resettlement Site	San Isidro	Rizal	36 km	0 F	1	N/A, RH, some lofts

Table 2: Community selection criteria with selected communities in Manila highlighted (Source: National Housing Authority, Google Earth, and author 2021).

Alex Lubigan, the vice-mayor of Cavite, and his driver Romulo Guillemer were shot dead in July 2018. This act made Lubigan the fifth vice mayor at the time to be killed under the Duterte administration, and by the time I left the Philippines in 2019, more than 12 mayors and seven vice mayors had been killed in political events (CNN Philippines Staff 2019). The regime under the Duterte administration is often characterized by these violent and militaristic events. Fear of the police, politicians, and the government's surveillance methods were similar concerns heard in all of the communities.

The residents voiced a different type of "fear of the government" in some communities in Hyderabad. Ishaan Nagar had serious reservations about participating in the study because of their fear. I explain their history of continued erasure in detail in Chapter V. ERASURE IN

HYDERABAD INDIA including the fact that the repeated displacement by politicians and official figures instilled in them a strong sense of vulnerability. Their community leaders initially voiced concerns that this study would reveal their location and open them up to challenges about their community's legitimacy. At the end of our meeting, we decided it was too risky to include Ishaan Nagar in the study. However, a few weeks later, I received a call from Charvi, the head of the women's group, requesting we discuss the matter further in person. This time, two other leaders were present. Their fears were the same, but something new was also expressed—anger over their story not being told. The leaders heatedly made their case that they have been constantly shifted, because the government operates as if they do not exist. In this second conversation, their fears were outweighed by their determination to be heard and to be recognized. We worked together to develop protocols to ensure their community's identity would not be revealed while their voice was represented. I acknowledge all of the communities that chose to participate in this study despite their fears.

Protocol

In each community, I repeated the same mixed-methods protocol to answer the following research questions: What spaces perform as public space in dispossessed communities? How do adolescents use these public spaces? I used qualitative methods to work with adolescents to locate the spaces that perform as public in these communities. I attempted to construct the daily experience of nearly 50 adolescents to understand the full spectrum of 3rd places with a specific focus on the restrictions (e.g., accessibility, inclusion) and the disparities between the dispossessed and the newly developed communities.[19] Then, I used architectural methods (e.g., mapping, sketching, observing, and diagramming) to analyze the spatial attributes (e.g., accessibility, inclusion, use, and safety) of selected 3rd places. To bring the process together and clarify the variables, I have developed a conceptual framework to ground the protocol.

[19] Outside of the medical field, the terms used to indicate a person's developmental stage such as "adolescence," "child," and "youth" are culturally constructed. The age of emancipation is 18 in both India and the Philippines. Initially, I attempted to contextually define the parameters for adolescence. However, through focus groups and initial interviews with parents, teachers, and adolescents, I kept returning to the age range of 12-16 consistently across cases.

Conceptual Framework as Grounding

A conceptual framework typically defines the relevant variables in the research protocol and maps their relationships to each other. In grounded theory, this is done continuously throughout the process of data collection and analysis. A conceptual framework helps to develop the emerging theory and aids in constant comparison and theoretical sampling by clarifying what is essential and non-essential in a manner that maintains closeness to the data (Strauss and Corbin 2000). Bryant (2006) quotes Charmaz's definition of a conceptual model.

> A "concept indicator model" refers to the outcome to be produced by researchers as they develop constructs that encompass and account for relationships developed from [the] gathering and interrogation of empirical data—this is the GROUNDING.

Britt as well as Soulliere et al. support a conceptual framework within the grounded theory methodology because it balances the demand for conceptual density and theoretical saturation with oversimplified theories (Britt 1997, Soulliere et al. 2001). The conceptual model is a tool that may be used with the iterative research process of grounded theory to develop a theory rather than a predetermined plan. The diagram in Figure 7 represents the variables and perceived relationships in the conceptual model.

I identified the key variables and mapped their relationships after I had analyzed the first round of interview transcripts, participant mapping, and behavior observations. The independent variable is the neoliberal regime of dispossession that acts on the dependent variable of how adolescents use 3rd places. In the conceptual framework, the neoliberal regime of dispossession is not the only force that impacts how adolescents use 3rd places; there are four other factors that are identified as control variables that are held constant: weather, demographics, social customs, and personality. Ideally, I would be able to control for personality, but this was not possible and is common in ethnographic work. I identified at least two mediator variables, the architecture of and the access to 3rd places, that help explain the relationship between the neoliberal regime of dispossession and how adolescents play in 3rd places. While my initial work exclusively related to displacement and resettlement as the primary process under the neoliberal regime of dispossession, I broadened my understanding to the informality-formality spectrum that includes, but is not limited to, gentrification and erasure as additional processes of dispossession. The process of dispossession enters the conceptual model as a moderator

variable that alters the effect of the neoliberal regime of dispossession on the architecture and access mediator variables and in turn changes the effect component of the cause-effect relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

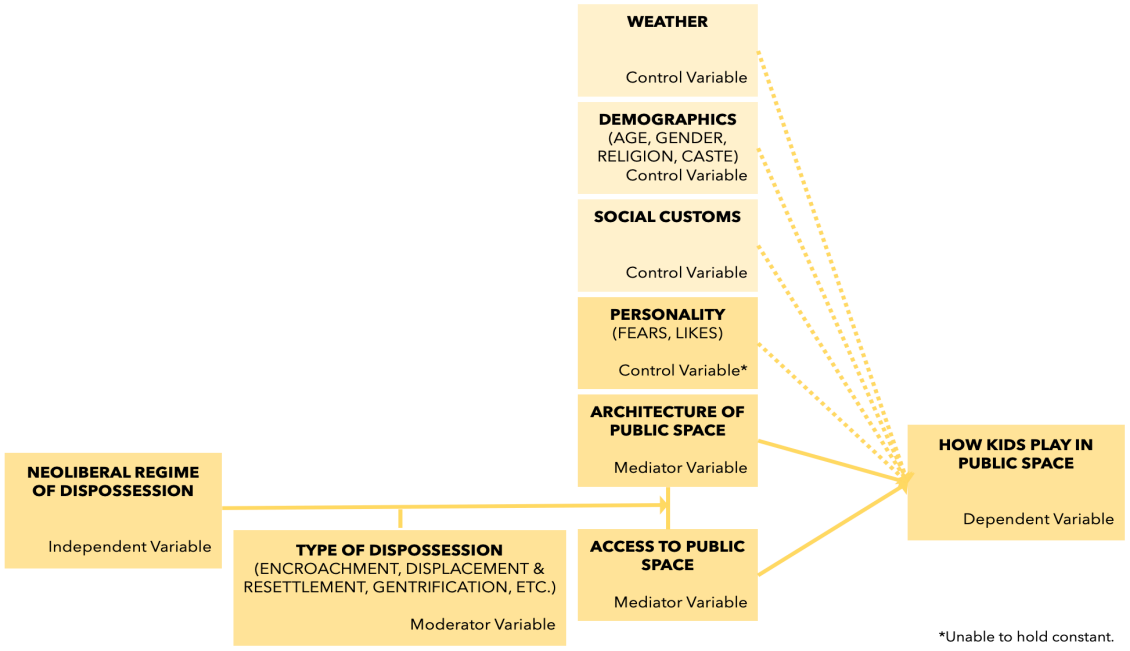


Figure 7: Conceptual Framework Diagram (Source: author, 2020).

Although I did not realize the complete conceptual model until after the analysis, I suspected some control variables based on literature reviews of related projects such as Louise Chawla's study *Growing up in an Urbanizing World* (2002) and Kevin Lynch's *Growing up in Cities* (1977). The control variables identified at the beginning of the project that I controlled throughout the study were "social customs," "demographics," and "weather." "Social customs" is a broad variable that loosely addresses cultural concepts. The control strategy was to compare only cases within the same city region, economic range, and privilege structure. The relevant demographic information was confirmed through pilot studies. The demographic control variables were "age," "gender," "religion," "caste," and "type of house." These were not isolated, but rather, I selected participants to ensure a balance and representation across the range of these demographics. "Weather" was controlled as the observations were completed only on fair-weather days, with a similar temperature, humidity, and precipitation value across the sites.

Methods

I independently repeated the following methods in all of the seven communities. In each section, I describe the strength of the method, why it was selected, and how it renders data. Then, I describe the chronological process of data collection and analysis starting with site approval, participant recruitment, the method, and iterative analysis.

Focus Group

I used a focus group to investigate issues identified from the literature review. Its strength lies in gathering multiple perspectives and teasing out controversy or agreement between group members (Seal 1998). Often unplanned conversations lead researchers to new insights about the issues, especially when participants are from diverse backgrounds. Typically, focus groups are used as an introductory research method to establish a range of possibilities and to develop a sense of the local context (Krueger and Casey 2000). In this study, I used the focus group to establish the context, understand the major factors that influence adolescents in the community, and identify hangouts within the community.

I initiated each of the four community protocols in the Philippines with a focus group. Each focus group had approximately eight to twelve youth living in the site (n = 42). While I facilitated the focus groups, research assistants were present to translate my English into Tagalog or Basaya. We documented the focus groups through field notes and audio recordings, but we did not take photographs to help protect the residents' privacy. On average, the focus groups lasted approximately three hours including the instructions and concluding remarks. I used a semi-structured list of questions developed from the literature review. To maintain the participants' attention and to keep the activities engaging, we incorporated a game every 15 minutes such as coloring, teamwork, and guessing games. The focus groups were held at the local community center.

In our first focus group, we encountered issues of child safeguarding that delayed the project. Save the Children trained me and all of the research assistants on the policies, procedures, and practices of child safeguarding. This training allowed our research team to act quickly and responsively while in the field.

Each focus group was broken into four parts: an introduction with the whole group, breakouts with older and younger teens, breakouts with girls and boys, and a conclusion with

the whole group. Breakout groups afforded participants the opportunity to voice their thoughts in a more comfortable environment, and it also acknowledged differences that were important to some of the teens. Participants self-selected their breakout groups.

During the first session as we concluded the gendered breakout groups, Mia, a senior research assistant, came to me concerned. She felt that one of the participant's body language and facial expression looked withdrawn and uncomfortable when she asked the breakout group to talk about their fears. While many of the other girls were expressive, this participant stared at the floor. From the child safeguarding training, Mia identified the signs that this child might be a victim of abuse. Following our child safeguarding protocol, we invited this participant and her friend[20] to stay after the focus group and talk with us. We did not require them to stay, because we did not want them to feel pressured, and we did not say why we invited them to stay, because we did not want to increase their discomfort or reveal our suspicions to the larger group (by "outing the victim"). However, as we cleaned up the markers and moved the chairs back into place, both girls were waiting in the corner.

We created a safe space for them to talk by ensuring their privacy. Mia and I listened while the girl told of her fears of family abuse and the abuse of her younger sister that had taken place in their home last year. In this case, child safeguarding protocols required us to determine if the child was in immediate danger (she was), and if so, not to allow the child to return to a dangerous space. We thanked the children for telling us and trusting us. We asked them to stay with us for lunch while we contacted our community liaison, Mika, at Save the Children. Having specialized training and experience with abuse, Mika came immediately and took charge of the process. She contacted the Department of Child and Welfare Services and the neighborhood (barangay) leader who assigned a known advocate. As a foreign researcher, my involvement in this process was delicate at best. While researchers are not abuse professionals, qualitative researchers working with underprivileged and marginalized groups, such as children, must develop protocols for responding to claims of harm. These populations have higher rates of harm than other groups, and because they are often silenced, when someone does listen closely, it is common for them to reveal their most critical concerns.

[20] One of our safeguarding protocols is that the child is never without an advocate that they know, be it family member or friend.

Unlike the communities in the Philippines, in which there was a community center nearby each resettlement community, only one of the three communities in India had a nearby community center. I did not hold focus groups for the three communities in India because of the lack of a safe and private location combined with contextual safety concerns that required family members to be present for each interview. The logistics of attempting to host children as well as their family members would have put an unnecessary burden on the families.

Youth Interviews

Researchers use interviews in a number of ways, but social scientists usually consider interviews as a source for learning about an individual's experience (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Interviews take several forms, spanning from a simple conversation between the researcher and the participant to elaborate activities. Mapping exercises are common interview activities in architectural studies. Made famous by Kevin Lynch et al. in *Growing up in Cities* (1977) and Louis Chawla et al. in *Growing up in an Urbanizing World* (2002), participant-directed mapping offers researchers insight into spatial perceptions. This activity is especially appropriate, because children and youth often lack the confidence to describe their experiences or surroundings and need an opportunity to communicate through multiple mediums.

During the interviews, I focused on adolescents' behaviors in various environmental settings (spaces) with special attention on how and where they socialized, observed others, and played. Play is a complex concept in the fields of philosophy, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. I leverage Linda Florey's six principles of play common to most major theorists and used them to set parameters for the analysis. Florey defined play as "fun;" sensory, neuromuscular, mental, or a combination of all three; involving repetition, exploration, experimentation, and imitation of surroundings; proceeding within its own time and space boundaries; functioning as an agent for integration the internal and external worlds; following a sequential, developmental progression (1991: pp. 519-520). Her broad definition allowed me to include advances in technology such as video games and social media as well as diverse settings such as streetscapes.

Following the focus groups, I individually interviewed 15 adolescents across all the communities in Manila and 26 adolescents across all the communities in Hyderabad. The interviews consisted of two phases separated by the photovoice method. The first phase was a

semi-structured interview with questions developed from the focus group analysis and literature review. While I conducted the first phase interview in person, a research assistant translated my English to Tagalog or Basaya in the Philippines and to Urdu or Telugu in India. I documented the first phase of interviews through field notes and audio recordings. The intention of the first phase interview was to understand more about the adolescents' daily experiences with a higher level of resolution than the focus groups could provide. Additionally, it was a way to get to know each participant, laugh, and break down the barrier of formality. Before proceeding, the research team transcribed and translated the audio recordings and then I analyzed them to refine the working concepts.

The photovoice method followed the first phase interview (described in "Photovoice"). Then, once the film was developed and analyzed, I scheduled an independent second phase interview with each adolescent participant. The second interview had three parts: a semi-structured discussion, daily-route mapping, and social network mapping. I developed the semi-structured interview questions from the analysis of the first phase interview and the photographs. In the daily route mapping activity, I asked participants to map their weekday and weekend routes (by season) on pre-drafted maps of the community. Interpreting spatial awareness and navigating through a map is not a skill that every participant possessed. I believe that experience with first person video games and web-based tools like Google Maps helped some of the participants easily understand the mapping exercise, but for most, it required some training. To aid the participants, we took them on a short walk with the map in-hand to help them understand how our movements translated to the map. Then, we identified key locations in their community on the map to give them points of reference. Finally, as the participants answered questions and identified spaces on the map, we confirmed their location with follow-up questions like, "So, the place you're pointing to is next to the Sunday market, right?" If the participant disagreed, then we knew to go back and help them learn about the mapping process again. In the social network mapping activity, I asked participants a series of questions to map their social networks by distance, frequency of contact, and means of contact. As relevant, we discussed social media access. I led all three activities in the phase two interview with translation support from the research assistants as needed. The intention of the second phase interview was to understand the adolescents' exposure to places outside of the home, to gain insight on the

influence of the virtual realm, and to classify spaces of socialization, and to identify spaces that were public in practice.

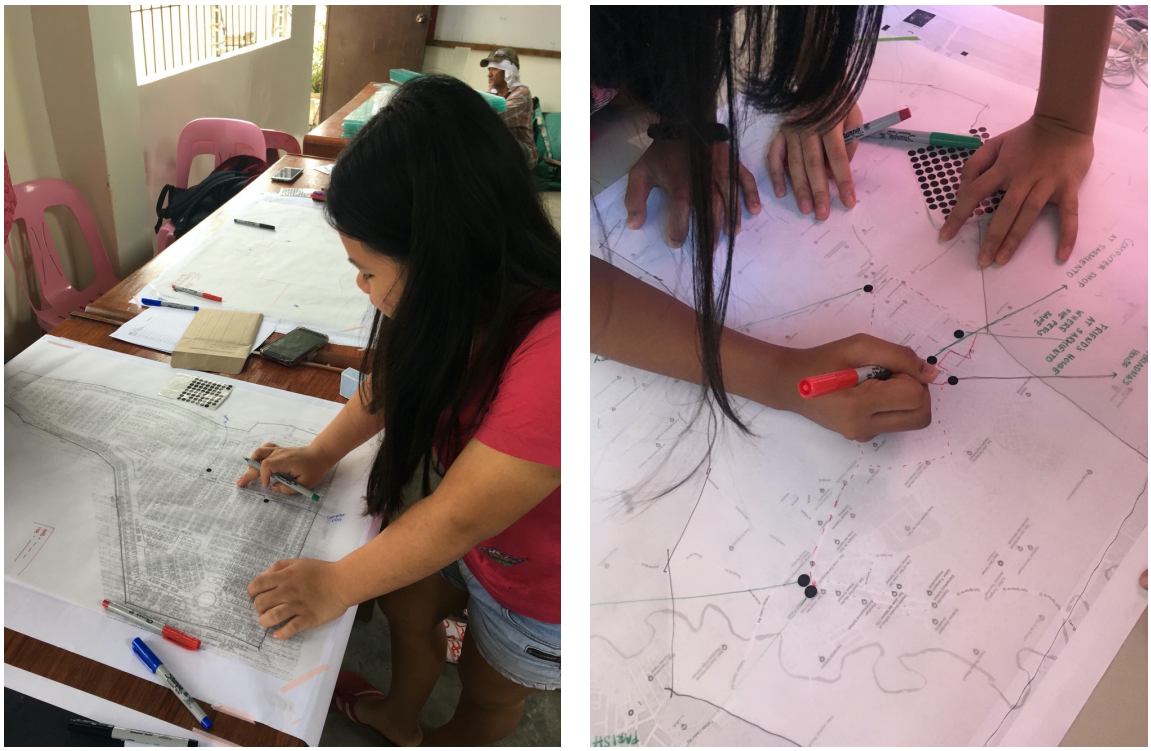


Figure 8: Participants use different colored markers and stickers to annotate their map as they tell us about the places, they hang out (Source: Author 2018).

In the Philippines, the small size of the resettlement houses means that none of the participants had space inside to hold the interview. Only Julia requested that we come to her house, because she had to stay home to care for her three-month-old baby. To accommodate us, her friends came over and moved her furniture into the bathroom, and then we sat in a circle on the floor of the single room. For most participants, we met them at a community center or at a local homeowner's association office. For the participants from Pabahay 2000, where these spaces were not available, we held the interviews in our van. This worked well until the monsoon rains came.

As a low-lying area, Pabahay 2000 is susceptible to flooding. We had parked on the street outside of Ash's home, and as we were finishing the first interview with him the rain changed from a drizzle to a downpour. Within minutes, our driver notified us that the water was rising in the street. We cancelled the interview and Ash went home. Before we could get the van turned around to leave the community, the floodwaters had risen to nearly half a foot. We slowly

plowed through the flooded street, looking for higher ground to wait out the storm, but there was no place to go—the entire community was flooded. By the time we made it out of Pabahay 2000 and onto a hill where the water was draining, the floodwaters in the street were over a foot high and were creeping into homes. We slowly made our way back to Manila in a 12-hour commute that typically only took 4–5 hours. Two other research assistants, who had the day off and were staying at home in Bulacan were stranded in the province for three days due to the flood waters. They were left, like most of our participants' families, with intermittent power, backed-up sewage, no ability to gather food, and no ability to get to work. The peri-urban areas around Metro Manila frequently suffer from underdeveloped stormwater infrastructure, like many large cities around the world including Hyderabad. Each year the national news features protesting mobs that demand that politicians address the lack of stormwater infrastructure, and the debilitating floods it causes.[21]

In India, the interviews were held at each participant's home. I adapted our protocol to account for contextual safety issues (e.g., parental concerns of trafficking) that required the interviews to be conducted in the presence of at least one family member. Although this requirement was not an ideal trade-off as the presence of a family member impacted what participants chose to share with us, it was necessary for the protection of the participants as well as the protection of the research team. We mitigated the impacts by carefully asking the parents to sit on the other side of the room. One research assistant conversed with the parent while the other research assistant and I spoke with the participant. This process proved to be reasonably effective. Only the parents of five out of twenty-five participants insisted on participating in the process directly by intently listening as well as commenting as questions were asked. I gathered that they were less concerned with their child's safety; instead, they were enthusiastic to participate and answer questions about their life. This type of interference was not debilitating to the study because of the variety of data collection methods that we employed. The photovoice, maps, interviews, and observations informed a comprehensive understanding.

[21] See the following for some recent new coverage of flooding in Hyderabad and Manila: Vadlamundi (2020), Pisharody (2020), Deekshith (2020), Mithun (2020), Mallari (2020), Estacio (2020), Garcia (2020), David (2020).

Photovoice

Social scientists established the method of photovoice, or auto-photography, in the 1970s according to Balomenou and Garrod (2016). The technique involves giving participants cameras to take photographs that represent a particular theme. The researcher analyzes images through qualitative techniques, such as discourse analysis, or quantitative techniques, such as frequency-based content analysis (Chambers 2012). The maps could also be used as prompts in interviews. Balomenou and Garrod argue that incorporating photovoice into a mixed-methods research design enables findings to be triangulated and allows for greater confidence in the finding's validity (Balomenou and Garrod 2016). Dodman notes that the autonomy the method gives to participants is a strength (2003). Stedman et al. add, "It also empowers participants to express concepts and feeling that would not ordinarily be possible using verbal interview technique" (2004). Other benefits include the reliance on visual media by offsetting the monopoly of data that relies on words and the reflexive nature of the method (Dakin 2003). Furthermore, photovoice is a common method used in child and youth studies (Dodman 2003).



Figure 9: Examples of photovoice images taken by participating adolescents. Chapter IV. RESETTLEMENT IN QUEZON CITY and Chapter V. ERASURE IN HYDERABAD INDIA provide a comprehensive analysis of the photovoice results (Source: author, 2018).

Following the first phase interview, I provided participants with a single-use, point-and-shoot camera and asked them to take photographs of hangouts over a one-week period. I trained the participants on how to use the camera and guided them through the exercise of photovoice. At the end of the photovoice period, either a research assistant or myself collected the used camera from each participant and developed the film. I conducted preliminary qualitative and frequency-based content analysis using the photographs. I combined these results with the first phase interview transcripts to develop interview questions for the second

phase interviews. Some of the participants needed more time to complete the exercise or more motivation. Three participants, Kathleen and Ley from the Philippines and Sonu from India, were uncomfortable with the exercise. For these three girls, we opted for a participant-guided-tour in which I took pictures with the camera while they identified and described hang-out spaces to me. This type of adaptation meant that the data was not congruent with other participant's data, but it still contributes to the comprehensive understanding of their community.

Before the second phase interviews, I gave the participants the developed photos and asked to identify each location on a map of the community. Then, I gave them a worksheet and asked to write a caption for each photograph. Our instructions described the captions as a short statement or description of the place in the photo that they might put on social media. The caption exercise helped me to understand why the space in the image was important and what my focus should be on; this process was a way to calibrate the adolescents' perspectives. The full inventory of participant's photos is available in ***Error! Reference source not found.***.



Figure 10: Research assistant Raph is working with a participant to locate the images on a map of the community and to develop captions for each image (Source: author, 2018).

Supporting Interviews

To thoroughly investigate the rising themes, I interviewed 18 community members and professionals in Manila and 25 community members and professionals in Hyderabad. These community-member interviews were either with specific community members (e.g., child advocates, teachers, parents) who provided a greater depth of understanding about adolescents' activities and the local context or with professionals responsible for the development and management of the neighborhood. The professional interview participants included architects, planners, policy makers, and officials. I conducted the community and professional interviews in the language most comfortable to the participant (occasionally a research assistant translated), and I documented them through field notes and audio recordings. These interviews were semi-structured with questions developed from the analysis results. The community and professional interviews were intended to validate the findings, triangulate the themes, and provide additional context.

While I sought out most of the supporting interview participants, I was occasionally approached by someone in the community. On one occasion, an older woman's bright smile caught my eye as I walked down the market street in Gachibowli Village while recruiting adolescent participants. She was seated with her daughters on the edge of the road behind a large pile of red onions. She motioned for me to come to her and sit down next to her. We did not share a common language, but she talked fervently, nonetheless. I tried my best to keep up by following her facial expressions and gestures, but I was unable to piece together the story. Research assistant Shekar eventually found us. The first thing he translated was, "she wants to be interviewed." We emphasized that we were recruiting adolescents and also that we were not providing gifts or payment of any kind. She ignored us, and with an authority only bestowed by age she continued with her story. While she did not initially fit the profile of someone that I would have solicited for an interview, her contributions to piece together the oral history of Gachibowli Village proved invaluable, and she became an advocate by introducing us to parents and giving the nod of approval as others gave us inquisitive looks.

Social Space Observations and Diagrams

The next phase entailed observations of selected 3rd places within each community. Observations are a cornerstone method of architectural research. From the environment-

behavior perspective of John Zeisel (1981) to the ethnographic perspective of Jane Jacobs (1985), observations take many forms to answer a range of questions about the interaction of people in space. This study used the strategies that Jan Gehl and Birgitte Svarre described in *How to Study Public Life,* which includes counting, mapping, tracing, tracking, looking for traces, photographing, journaling, and test walking (2013).

I observed 11 3rd places across all the communities in Manila, Philippines and 12 across Hyderabad, India in one-hour blocks during four periods over two weeks: weekday mornings and afternoons as well as weekend mornings and afternoons (eight hours of total observation per site). I sat in a nondescript place on the edge of the 3rd place for the observation period and recorded field notes as well as mapped the behavior of all people coming, going, and using the public space in 15-minute intervals. Behavior maps are an observational tool to quickly convey the movement of people over time. I developed a quick legend for the maps consistent across the cases that included gender (male/female), age (adult/child), mobility (foot, bike, scooter, car), and the direction of travel. The intention was to document how the built environment functions as a "public space in practice" by annotating the primary paths of travel, the avoided spaces, and the spaces where people come together. The observations were not tethered to any particular adolescent or community participant; these were not observations of the interview participants using their 3rd place, but rather, I selected notable 3rd places after comprehensively analyzing all of the interview results. In addition to the behavior maps, my observational field notes were extensive including photographs, hand-sketches, and architectural drawings. Additionally, after the observations were complete, I saturated myself in the data by developing diagrams to help me build and convey the argument. I started with figure-ground diagrams and then expanded the list to include public-private space diagrams, circulation diagrams, accessibility diagrams, nodal diagrams, density diagrams, and behavioral diagrams.

Observational methods are challenging when they require the researcher to observe the site externally versus participating in the site. In this study, I conducted observations to validate adolescents' experiences and to dig deeper into emerging theories by exploring the spatial aspects. Therefore, the observations needed to be conducted impartially as a referee might watch a sports game from the sidelines. As a foreigner in both cases, remaining an innocuous bystander was difficult. I quickly became creative in how I attempted to blend into the landscape while maintaining visual awareness of the majority of the 3rd places.

In the Philippines, the tight-knit resettlement communities had no exposure to foreign pedestrians. I completed the observations from the inside of a car with black-out tinted windows, which was a common occurrence on the street. On occasion, an inquiring neighbor knocked on the window, but once we explained our project, they left satisfied. However, cars were not a common feature within the communities in Hyderabad. For the 3rd place adjacent to the Miyapur Highway in Gachibowli Village, I completed the observations in front of a franchise ice cream shop where bypassers seemed comfortable with my presence. However, to appease the shop owner and to accommodate my insistence that I sit in his parking lot rather than inside the store, I bought nearly a dozen milkshakes. In other communities, there were fewer opportunities to disguise myself as a commercial patron. I dwelled on this conundrum for several weeks and even considered mounting video cameras on rooftops in a "William Whyte"-style effort to capture impartial observations. I returned to my ethical principles and decided that video recordings in these communities carry too many privacy risks. Ultimately, I decided to leverage my relationships with the community members and conduct integrated observations.

While I would never be a "normal" part of street life, I had been working with families in each of the communities for over four months. People no longer stared when I walked down the road, and the children no longer followed me around. I took these changes as a sign that my presence was less disruptive than it had once been. I asked the *Dwarka Mahilalu* (women's group) if I could hire a local woman as my escort. In this way, if bystanders had questions about who I was or what I was doing "watching people," a trusted local woman would be there to explain. While a research assistant was also present during all of the observations, they too were considered outsiders. This process took a week to "normalize," and as the first week's data was deprioritized, I conducted an additional week of observation (week three) to compensate for this. In the first week, we had many questions that generated changes in how people used the environment, but by the second and third weeks, our novelty had worn off. Children, who at first came and sat with us because they thought we were playing a fun game, quickly decided that we were boring and returned to entertaining themselves with games of chase or completing their household chores.

Analysis

I designed the analysis process to be concurrent with the data collection and required analysis between methods to corroborate or guide the following steps, but the analysis process also allowed me to cycle between thinking about the collected data and developing strategies for collecting new data. Generally, I used the analysis results to refine the lines of inquiry for the proceeding data collection method. For example, I used the analysis of focus groups to refine questions for the phase one interviews. This iterative and reflexive process connects the methods together through a dependency structure.

The analysis process consisted of several rounds of review for the same set of transcripts. Either a research assistant or I processed the raw data by converting the field notes into expanded write-ups and translating and transcribing the interviews. After the focus groups, I reviewed the data in detail to develop awareness for larger patterns, constituting my first cycle of coding. The first round of data analysis gave way to general categories and refined the focus of the research. I used the general categories to refine the phase one youth interview questions.

The first round of coding was a means of summarizing segments of data while the second round of coding entailed grouping these summaries into categories, themes, or constructs. Huberman and Miles liken this process to the cluster-analytic and factor-analytic devices used in statistical analysis by quantitative researchers (2002). Once the phase one youth interviews were complete—field notes written, audio transcribed and translated—I performed a second round of coding (pattern coding) on both the focus group data and the phase one youth interview data. I coded using Dedoose Software. Huberman and Miles explain that pattern codes are "explanatory of inferential codes, ones that identify an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation." (2002) The pattern codes bring together material from the First Cycle coding into concise and consequential units of analysis; "they are a sort of meta-code". (Ibid)

I used the analysis to further refine the lines of inquiry for the phase two youth interview questions. Following the phase two youth interviews and data processing, I performed a third round of coding (also pattern coding) that comprehensively reviewed all the interview and focus group data. This cross-cultural multi-case analysis resulted in the development of assertions and propositions that formed the theoretical underpinning for a revised or expanded understanding of what spaces are considered public in disposed communities and how they are used.

Participant Type	*Number of Participants per Case Study*
Focus Group Participants	58
Adolescent Interview Participants	41
Supporting Interview Participants	33

Table 3: Total participants in this study across both cases (Source: author, 2020).

Research Team Recruitment

This study would not have been possible without the dedication, passion, and professionalism of research assistants. Research team recruitment and management is rarely discussed, but nonetheless, it is an integral part of studies that seeks to understand the perspective of people outside of the researcher's own culture (Kutsche 1998). In this study, research assistants influenced the recruitment process as well as the data collection, but they were not involved with the data analysis outside of the occasional brainstorming session over tea. Primarily, I relied on the research assistants to translate as well as to provide cultural awareness on current events and practices. In return, they were paid a competitive hourly wage, taught research skills, earned training certifications (e.g., Child Safeguarding Certification, Social-Behavioral-Educational Basic Course for Human Subjects Research), and mentored, as appropriate, regarding their academic and professional goals.

Recruiting high-caliber assistants required numerous efforts and multiple approaches. My first attempt was in the Philippines. I developed a colorful poster announcing the position and requested that applicants email me their *curriculum vitae* (see APPENDIX B: RESEARCH TEAM RECRUITMENT POSTER). I started by placing the poster around the University of The Philippines Diliman campus. After about two hours, I was stopped by campus security, because posting was an officially sanctioned activity, and my posters were not appropriately stamped. They were all removed, and I began the two-week-long process of procuring the three required stamps at the university, college, and department levels for each building that I wanted to post an announcement. With limited resources and my schedule already delayed, I decided to initiate a Facebook Advertisement. The announcement was sent to 10,000 people who identified as living in Manila with at least a bachelor's degree and English proficiency. Within minutes I

started to receive inquiries, but my hopes were dashed as I reviewed the quality of the applications. I went back to the university, because I felt that participation in the study would be most beneficial for emerging planners, architects, and social scientists and that these students would have a point of reference from which to understand our research goals (e.g., they were more likely to find it interesting and become invested in the results). I carefully identified faculty with similar research interests from a list at the School of Regional Planning in the College of Architecture at the Population Institute. I gave three guest lectures in return for student references and the opportunity to announce the position at the end of the lecture. Eventually, I legitimately posted the poster.

Between the three efforts, I received over 100 inquiries and interviewed 27 applicants. I hired seven, and four continued throughout the project; one was not able to complete the training, one resigned, and I dismissed one for missing too many deadlines. About a third of the way into the project, the demand for work exceeded the availability of the research assistants. A trade-off in working with students is that their curriculum takes priority over the research. Scheduling fieldwork around their examination period is challenging, especially so for emerging professionals still developing their time management skills. I quickly realized that I needed more staff to support the extensive translation requirements. I divided the team into 1) research assistants who were trained and would work with me in the field and 2) translators who were not trained and only transcribed and translated the audio recordings. I quickly hired 10 translators between the previous list of inquiries and references.

In India, the process was slightly different. My colleague had recently completed research in Hyderabad, and they facilitated my introduction to a number of local faculty, including his former research assistant Raj. I was enthusiastic that this process would be smooth and fast because Raj assured me that he would recruit assistants on my behalf while I was completing my field work in the Philippines. However, when I returned to India ready to start the fieldwork, Raj revealed that he thought it best that I hire only one research assistant who was not a student and required full-time employment. Raj's plan was not a good fit with my research program, and I returned to my old habits. I gave a few guest lectures at the Jawaharlal Nehru Architecture and Fine Arts University and the Hindu School of Architecture in exchange for student references and hanging my poster. I received only twelve applications, and I hired six research assistants. Only four completed the project, because one received an internship in

Bengaluru, and another resigned to work full-time. A close colleague also came from the University of Delhi to help. Similar to the study in the Philippines, the amount of translation work was overwhelming, and I eventually went to the Church of South India Institute of Technology and the Sri Venkateshwara College of Architecture and recruited 11 translators.

This study benefited from 13 local research assistants and 21 translators. However, as the primary investigator, I was responsible for a large team in the field. Working on the urban periphery is dangerous because of its distance away from urban services such as police, streetlights, and cell phone signals. In addition to the safety training, I took measures to ensure our safety such as implementing a dress code, hiring a car to wait for us throughout our fieldwork, and making sure we worked in pairs if not as a single group. However, these measures were not always enough. Four months into our field work in Hyderabad after we had finished the first phase of interviews and were scheduling the second phase of interviews, a 26-year-old veterinary doctor was brutally gang raped and murdered on the Outer Ring Road only a few kilometers from one of our participating communities. Her body was found burnt under an overpass and days later four lorry drivers were arrested for the premeditated crime. In addition to the unspeakable brutality, this event triggered many professional women, such as me, who frequently followed the patterns of her movements on the day she was killed by driving our scooters to work around the city. This event was not the first of its kind, and Hyderabad is known to struggle with safeguarding professional women (if not women in general). However, this event was so devastating because of the shaming discourse it promoted about professional women. After this event, I felt that riding my scooter to work unchaperoned was an unspoken invitation for assault. I was not alone in my feelings as most of the female research assistants were restricted by their families from leaving their home.

After this event, I did not feel able to ensure the safety of our team without having a male research assistant present. The incident reveled the dangers of challenging conservative social customs. A male researcher was needed as an escort rather that for his ability to fend off assault.

Sampling

The process of sampling participants was improved with research assistants who spoke the local languages (e.g., Telegu, Urdu, and Hindi in Hyderabad, India and Tagalog and Bisaya

in Manila, Philippines) and were familiar with the cultural expectations. With the communities selected, we started recruiting adolescents. As with recruitment for research assistants, recruiting and enrolling participants in the study required numerous efforts and multiple approaches.

I began recruitment for focus groups in the Philippines first. In an attempt to capture a spectrum of experiences, I chose not to recruit the adolescents through school, church, or a common organization, because this would bias the data. The communities in Manila were wary of outsiders, so they discouraged us from walking around and going door to door to recruit participants. With the support of Save the Children, I hired a few community health workers in each community to initially approach households and give a brief explanation of the project. If the household included an adolescent who was interested, the community health worker would pass on their name and contact information. In each community, I received about 15–20 names. A few days later, accompanied by research assistants and the community health worker, we went to each interested household and explained the study in more detail, provided easy-to-read handouts in the local language, and requested consent from the guardian and assent from the young person. If all documents were signed, we gave the adolescent a small business card that contained the date and location of the focus group. We followed up with the recruited teens about every-other-day through telephone to let them know how excited we were to have them participate. On the day of the focus group, we had nearly 90% of the recruited adolescents participate. This process is between a convenience sample and a voluntary response sample.

Participants in the focus groups were restricted from participating in the interviews. From the focus group data, I identified contextual themes and demographic information that guided our purposive sampling of adolescents for interviews. As a qualitative study, my goal was not to try to represent or define a participant's experience by a particular theme but rather to acknowledge that certain themes help establish diversity. In qualitative studies, diversity is important to inform the range of experiences and perspectives (Creswell and Miller 2000). Some of the themes that I used to recruit in Manila were "church-goer," "teen pregnancy," "high-achieving student," "school dropout," "drug user," "worker," "parentally abandoned," and "parentally involved." Sometimes these themes overlapped in the same participant, and sometimes we recruited a participant who did not associate with any of these themes; generally, the themes were used as a guide to ensure that I was accounting for appropriate diversity within the context. The demographic information that I used to recruit was balanced between males

and females and young people 12–13, 14, or 15–16 years-of-age. I used the first-round interviews to determine the point of saturation. By continuing to recruit until there was no substantially new information revealed in the first phase interviews, I found saturation to be at 15 adolescents. Only two participants dropped out of the study between the first and second part; one moved away and another did not want to attend anymore.

In Hyderabad, where focus groups were not conducted, I used purposive sampling (selective sampling) to recruit for balance among demographic factors as reflected in supporting interviews and the literature review. The demographic factors included the following categories: Hindu, Christian, or Muslim; male or female; *pucca* or *kuccha* house[22]; 12–13, 14, or 15–16 years-of-age; public or private school; and rent or own their house. The themes surfacing in Manila were not readily applicable to Hyderabad and had to be tested through interviews with youth-advocates (e.g., school staff and related non-government organization workers). Some of the themes that I used to recruit in Hyderabad were "religiously involved," "high-achieving student," "school dropout," "worker," "boarding school," and "sports player." Without the resources of community health workers as in the Philippines or *Anganwadi Centers* (local government child service centers) as in other work I have done in India, we were left to scout the communities by walking door-to-door to find adolescents. I refrained from snowball sampling, only allowing one member of each family to participate, and limiting groups of friends in an effort to maximize diversity. We chose to start recruitment over Diwali, a major holiday in which students stay home for several days. This allowed us to recruit all day and access students who would normally be away at boarding school. We recruited two students from boarding schools, and while I was delighted for the diversity that their perspective represented, I was stuck with the problem of conducting their interviews at the boarding schools, which were located several hours away by private car. Ultimately, we recruited 26 adolescents in Hyderabad over the course of two months. No one dropped out of the study once recruited. However, our success belies the hardships and adaptations that were necessary to recruit so many participants.

Recruiting in Hyderabad was exceptionally difficult. We approached over 65 adolescents and met with hundreds of parents. In the first month alone, we had met with 34 families and less

[22] The Hindi terms *pucca* and *kuccha* are typical ways of categorizing housing in India largely referring to the quality and materials used in construction. A "pucca" house refers to a solid house while a "kuccha" house refers to a flimsy house.

than 20% agreed to sign the paperwork required by my Institutional Review Board. What was considered a protection for the families by the Institutional Review Board—the consent and assent forms—was considered suspicious by families in Hyderabad. The research team explained and provided the forms in the local language at a fifth-grade reading level complete with inviting colors and images, when we requested a signature, the families asked us to leave. Contextually, these families had been marginalized through dispossession—a legal process that they did not fully understand and of which they regularly felt the consequences. Multiple conversations revealed that the families were comfortable with the study but would never sign a paper that they believed could be used to dispossess them of their home. I went back to my Institutional Review Board and explained the situation. We modified the protocol in India to allow the research assistant and myself to be witnesses, attesting that the project had been comprehensively and appropriately explained and that a guardian consented and the adolescent assented. This process combined with our added safety protocols of only interviewing the adolescents in the family home under parental supervision were satisfactory to the Institutional Review Board.

The University of Oregon Institutional Review Board recognizes children as a vulnerable population within human subject's research. I gained permission from the Research Compliance Services' Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects prior to working with human subjects. Furthermore, all research staff interacting with participants successfully completed a human subjects training and were officially accounted for with the Institutional Review Board. As this study contains international cases, I also determined that in both cases in-country Institutional Review Board approval is not required. My research presented minimal risk to participants. The University of Oregon Institutional Review Board approved my application (RCS 040402018.005) under the title *Life on the Urban Fringe: Stories from Youth in Sprawling Cities*. I submitted the application in phases to facilitate the review process and to allow me the flexibility to adapt the methods to each case study site.

Validity

Rigor in this type of study implies openness to the data, adherence to the philosophical perspective, and thoroughness in collecting data. Researchers should identify common strategies to mitigate threats to validity and to improve the credibility and trustworthiness of the

data collection and analysis. Scholars have a range of tools for determining if the findings are an accurate representation of the participants' experiences and/or the phenomenon under question (Creswell 2014, Crewsell and Miller 2000, Schofield 2002, Lindstrom 2016, Shepley 2013, Zeisel 1981). Schofield states that the objective of qualitative research is not to "produce a standardized set of results that any other careful researcher in the same situation would have produced" (2002). Rather, the goal is to develop a "coherent and illuminating description of perspectives on a situation based on a detailed study of the situation" (Ibid).

Ultimately, valid qualitative results are considered comparable and translatable to other populations but never generalizable (Sarah 2012). To determine if a qualitative study is valid, readers assess its descriptive and interpretive validity. I used several tools in this study to improve its credibility and trustworthiness. I triangulated the data by using multiple sources of data (methods) to build a coherent justification for the theme. After transcribing, translating, and analyzing the first interviews, I member-checked the accuracy of the account in the second interview by asking the participants if they felt that my interpretation was correct. I used rich descriptions of observations and direct quotations to convey the findings. I clarified my bias early on through reflection and described my positionality in this study. I also presented discrepant information that showed that the full range of data was collected, and I did not only present data that supported the central theme in my findings. I was in the field for over two years, fluctuating between the case study sites. During this time, I had prolonged engagement with participants, and I developed an in-depth understanding of the communities that I worked with through my own daily experiences navigating the city. Finally, I identified multiple perspectives of data by recruiting for diversity and continuing to recruit until I reached a point of saturation. Together, these six tools increased the rigor of the study.

I have tried to achieve a balance between representing personal accounts of adolescents' perspectives and the broader construction and transferability of themes within a case. On the one hand, critics who take a traditional ethnographic approach may suggest that I have too many participants to fully capture the voices in these communities. With 41 adolescent participants, this may be understandable. On the other hand, supporters of environment-behavior studies may suggest that I have deviated from the focus on space to capture ancillary subjective accounts. There is some truth to both sides. In my position as an architect, I developed this study to ultimately focus on space and spatial qualities; however, I believe that

space is individually experienced and thus best understood through personal accounts and experiences. The purpose of this work will thus be to view these personal experiences as a collection to sort out the "randomness" and develop themes that can ultimately be used to affect public policy and the design process. To account for the true range of spatial qualities, as a researcher I needed to listen closely to how residents experience space then to use my skills as an architect to relate those stories to the built environment. I respect all those who may argue that this balance is not possible to achieve. However, over the next two chapters, I attempt to strike this balance by establishing the context of each case through a brief historical summary, revealing the voices of the participants, and then relating those stories to the 3rd places that I have chosen to study.

PART 2: ADOLESCENT'S VOICES

The truth is that the vast majority of urban planning decisions and projects take no account of their potential impact on children and make no effort to seek children's views. On the rare occasions where children are involved, all too often the results are unhelpful, unilluminating, and make little or no difference. …this is down to a simple lack of respect for children's rights or abilities.

-Tim Gill (2021: 2), *Urban Playground: How child-friendly planning and design can save cities*

IV. RESETTLEMENT IN QUEZON CITY

> …the dark underbelly of the property boom [in the Philippines] involve[s] the struggles over land and the lives of the Philippines' unwanted others, the supposed expendable populations of landless peasants, informal settlers, urban poor, and indigenous populations.
>
> - Arnisson Andre Ortega (2016) in *Neoliberalizing Spaces in the Philippines: Suburbanization, Transnational Migration, and Dispossession*

Here, on the urban fringe of the Greater Metro Manila area, the National Housing Authority has approved sites for the resettlement of informal communities from the city's thriving city center. The government cites a neoliberal agenda for relocating the communities to the periphery: land is cheap on the fringe, informal settlers must learn how to integrate into the economy, and the city needs to leverage the high-value land currently occupied to generate income (Interview with HLURB 2018). While it is clear that the inner-city informal communities are prone to unsafe and hazardous conditions, I argue that resettlement to the extreme periphery (off-city) has dangerous social and environmental consequences. According to an interview with Maria Faith Verona, Assistant Professor of Architecture and Urban Studies at University of the Philippines Diliman, despite the government's long and unsuccessful tradition of resettling marginalized residents, the government has not previously considered these consequences in the cost-benefits analysis of resettlement.

Promoters of off-city resettlement argue that dispossession is necessary to bring middle class employment, stimulate domestic and foreign investment, boost the economy, and leverage the spatial resources of a catastrophically crowded city. However, the residents of off-city resettlement sites told me that the lauded benefits never trickle-down to the people who need it most as the distant location prohibits access to the newly created jobs, improved public amenities, and social programs. Some contemporary scholars working in the Philippines, such as Andre Ortega (2018, 2016), Christopher "CJ" Chanco (2015), and Narae Choi (2015), refuse this dialectic and argue instead for a diverse complex spatiality based on trans-national (Overseas Filipino Worker) speculation, the "othering" of urban poor, and inter-dependent labor markets. Their work calls for a deeper understanding of the impacts of the *neoliberal regime of dispossession;* a term coined by Michael Levien (2018: p. 6) for his work in the context of India that I apply to the context of the Philippines to describe a social relation of coercive redistribution that relies on David Harvey's (2003) theory of *accumulation by dispossession*. A call made even

more relevant to architects, urbanists, and policy makers as the World Bank and other global financial institutions successfully incentivize National and State governments, especially but not exclusively, in Central and Southeast Asia to implement neoliberal development policies at an increasing rate (Cernea and Maldonado 2018).

Understudied throughout the academy, adolescents offer a unique perspective on the spatiality of dispossession.[23] They are typically integrated members of the community with some spatial agency and with high stakes in the viability of public space but without the permission to directly participate in the politics or the economy. Following the work of Architects Kevin Lynch (1977) and Louise Chawla (2002), this research focuses on adolescents' perspectives (age 12-16) in four resettlement sites that have been forcefully composed of a mixture of dispossessed communities from the Greater Metro Manila Area.[24] In this chapter I answer two questions: 1) where do adolescents hang out in Manila's resettlement sites (3rd places)? and, 2) how do adolescents use them? I do this in order to contribute to the on-going discourse of how dispossession processes under distinctly neoliberal policies reproduce spatial inequality.

I begin this chapter by briefly summarizing the history of land rights in the Philippines in order to establish a foundation of social distrust, illuminate traditions of nepotism and corruption, underscore the destructive forces of colonialism, and remember the decades of unsuccessful resettlement programs. This history sets a foundation from which I describe the current DFDR policies and programs in the Philippines that are responsible for many of today's resettlement campaigns. Next, I introduce the sites. At first, I stay above them and provide descriptions of their spatial form and critique their master plans. Then, I land on the ground and give a tour of each community followed by vignettes with some of the most diverse adolescents. At the end of each site tour, I summarize the collected data and identify the five most common 3rd spaces for adolescents. In the final section, I step back and look for transferability across the sites and reveal eight key themes that influenced adolescents' spatial activities in these resettlement communities. The journey will be sobering at times and refreshing at others. The

[23] I leverage Massey's (2005: pp.10-11) use of the term "spatiality" as a product of intersecting social relations constituted by the mutual production of space and time.

[24] Age is culturally constructed. I developed this age range by studying the literature on children and adolescents and setting a range that broadly represented diversity but specifically defined parameters of participant selection.

voices of the participants cause laugher, understanding, frustration, and humility. At the end of this chapter, I hope to have identified the 3rd places and described how adolescents use them in a convincing way that ties back to the designs and policies that created them.

A Brief History of Land Rights in the Philippines

Manila is a historic city with transnational importance as a port city dating back nearly 500 years. While archeologists have excavated some pre-colonial settlements in the area, most agree that it was not until the Spanish rule of Raja Suleyman that the city grew political importance. Like many cities around the world, its history is filled with narratives of expropriation and accumulation. This complex history reveals a problem with the terminology - that it is normative and politically charged and refers to a phenomenon that scholars assess differently according to competing perspectives and interests. Scholars have interchangeably used a variety of terms from appropriation to acquisition across broad contexts leading to an obfuscated understanding of how different histories, cultures, and economic structures shift the agency and agenda of land rights. [25]

Organizing the history of Manila into three significant periods of land procurement will aid in contextualizing and distinguishing resettlements in the neoliberal regime of dispossession from the influence of *haciendas* and post-colonial relocation programs and post-war reconstruction and dispossession. These two earlier periods have impacted urbanization throughout the Philippines but have manifested in such a way in the Greater Manila Metro Area that they have rendered an especially stark expression of the neoliberal regime of dispossession, specifically in Quezon City. The third section establishes a tradition of presidential campaigns using DFDR as a cornerstone campaign issue. This very brief historical grounding will help to illuminate complexities found in the fieldwork with adolescents in Manila's resettlement communities.

[25] *Eminent domain* (United States and Philippines*), land acquisition* (India, Malaysia, Singapore), *compulsory purchase* (United Kingdom, New Zealand, Ireland), *resumption* (Hong Kong, Uganda), or *expropriation* (France, Italy, Mexico, South Africa, Canada, Brazil, Portugal, Spain, Chile, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Panama). More recently, Michael Leiven (2018) gives a good rejection of the use of "displacement" and "acquisition" in favor of the term "dispossession" citing the direction of agency and power.

The Influence of Haciendas and Post-Colonial Relocation Programs

Informality and the demand for subsidized or "social" housing is a deeply political and social issue embedded in the island nation starting with the imbalance of resources between the landowning elite and the tenant farmers. Colonized by Spain, Japan, and the United States of America (USA) the Philippines underwent centuries of agricultural exploitation by way of *haciendas* (plantations) that echoed feudal property-rights and ultimately displaced millions of tenant farmers. Following the Spanish-American War, the USA sought to use the Philippines' rich agricultural resources to expand economic development. In 1901, the government under American administration held 93% of the islands' land area (Dolan 1991). The Catholic Church was the second largest private landowner and through negotiations with the USA sold the majority to Filipino estate owners (Seekins 1993). In the later stages of the American Colonial Period, the USA established a Commonwealth system to subdue rising insurrection regarding pressures on the failing sharecropping system especially around the country's growing commercial port city, Manila (Windows on Asia 2007).

American President Taft commissioned Architect Daniel Burnham to design plans for the physical redevelopment of Manila.[26] While this garden-city plan was never fully carried out, some of the ideals were evident in the structuring of corridors and public space. Burnham saw possibility in the exotic environment but believed that the city could benefit from the influence of a "progressive civilization" (e.g., the USA). While his plan possessed climatically specific designs it did not address social equity and gave no caveat for low-income housing (Morley 2008). Further, Kyle Hoeskstra (2019) criticizes Burham's plan for Manila as lacking community engagement:

> Where Burnham's Chicago plan was complex, took years and entailed collaboration with hundreds of citizens, Burnham spent six months on the Manila plan, and just six weeks in the Philippines. And with no voters to persuade, there seemed little reason to register Filipino input in his designs.

[26] Manila was an established centuries-old city with a population over 220,000 when the American government planned its redevelopment. The Americanization of territories and possessions was largely for the comfort of American businesses and for ease of social control (Bentley and Ziegler 2011).

Yet, social inequality worsened due to competition for tenant land and the increasing population of the landless working class despite efforts from social revolutionaries such as Benigno Ramos and President Manuel Quezon. The Philippines' federally initiated relocation programs have their roots here. The People's Homesite Corporation was the first government-housing agency established in the Philippines. One of the most notorious projects by the People's Homesite Corporation was the 1940 Kamuning Housing Project. These suburban Manila communities intended to relocate poor farmers were the first to include community services and facilities such as schools, open spaces, markets, and utilities. Around this time, squatters, looking for service work in the port inhabited reclaimed land from Manila Bay; over the next three decades this settlement would come to be *Tondo Foreshore* – Manila's largest slum and the one in most need of basic urban services (World Bank 1976).

Just a year after People's Homesite Corporation was established, the government enacted the National Land Settlement Administration whose mission was:

> To facilitate acquisition, settlement, and cultivation of public lands, to afford an opportunity to own farms for tenant farmers in congested areas, to encourage migration to sparsely populated regions, and to develop money-crops to take the place of the present export crops to America (Commonwealth Act No. 441, 1939).

Post-War Reconstruction and Dispossession

When the Second World War broke out, the government had already established major relocation settlement areas with allocations upwards of 50,000 hectares signifying to working class Filipinos that top-down resettlement was a viable option (Manapat 2010).

However, due to its strategic position in the Pacific, Manila was a major site of conflict in World War II (WWII) suffering destruction to the built environment only second to Warsaw, Poland. During the reconstruction period, the Philippine government tried various social programs to stabilize unrest. A small group of elite landowners held the majority of land, who exploited tenant farmers and many working-class poor were rendered homeless from the WWII fallout. The democratic system failed to produce equitable legislation likely because most political candidates came from large land-holding families. In 1945, President Jose Laurel created the National Housing Corporation and two years later, under a newly independent Philippine government, President Manuel Roxas merged the National Housing Corporation with the People's Homesite Corporation to create the People's Homesite and Housing Corporation.

Each president used social housing as a cornerstone issue to define his or her term in office ultimately with little lasting material effect. President Magsaysay established the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration, which excised land to indigent families for farming. In 1963, President Macapagal enacted the *Agricultural Land Reform Code* which abolished tenancy based on harvest yields and replaced it with a leasehold system based on fixed rent. This was a significant advancement that helped to break-up the *haciendas* but was inhibited by Congress' failure to allocate funds for implementation. In the years that followed, each successive president established more agencies for a separate and distinct facet of urban informality and housing insecurity (six total).

The notorious dictator, Ferdinand Marcos, framed the next era (1965-1986) of social housing. He attempted to balance the agricultural economy with industry by procuring large foreign loans to finance massive infrastructure projects. During his first term, the people of the Philippines approved of the increase in federal spending, and he was the first Philippine president to democratically win a second term. But as funds ran out, interest rates increased, and inflation dramatically rose which triggered social instability. Marcos reacted by decreeing martial law that lasted 15 years. During this period, he enacted some social housing legislation. Most notably he abolished the many existing housing agencies and created the National Housing Authority to take over and integrate their functions. A few years later he created the Ministry of Human Settlements to take a holistic approach to housing (National Housing Authority was placed as a child agency to the Ministry of Human Settlements). The Ministry of Human Settlements developed a standard set of guidelines for social housing called *Batasang Pambansa 220* (BP 220). Importantly, this legislation made transparent the theoretical shift in social housing to rely on the private sector. It officially defined new categories and requirements for housing:

> It is hereby declared a policy of the Government to promote and encourage the development of economic and socialized housing projects, *primarily by the private sector*… [emphasis by author]
>
> Economic and socialized housing refers to housing units which are within the affordability level of the average and low-income earners, which is thirty percent of the gross family income… and to government-initiated sites and services develop and construction… in depressed areas (BP 220 1982).

BP 220 is still the law for architectural life safety codes for economic and social housing as of 2021. The Housing and Land Use Regulation Board is responsible for updating the code and the National Architectural Council is responsible for implementation. One of Marcos most notable programs under the new National Housing Authority was *Bagong Lipunan Improvement of Sites and Services* (BLISS). Marcos intended that BLISS would illustrate to the surrounding rural communities the benefits of a 'settlement' approach to community building. The BLISS program ultimately constructed over 230,000 housing units.

The Presidential Traditions of Neoliberal Dispossession

In 1986, when the People's Power Revolution overthrew President Marcos and he fled the country, the people elected President Corazon Aquino. She shut down the Ministry of Human Settlements and reorganized social housing efforts through a National Shelter Program. She coordinated this effort through a newly formed Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council chaired by a Presidential appointee (EO No. 90 1986). President Aquino maintained the success of the National Shelter Program through public-private partnerships in social housing and directed government agencies to, "encourage greater private sector participant in low-cost housing through liberalization of development standards, simplification of regulations and decentralization of approvals for permits and licenses" (EO No. 90 1986). She allocated a large amount of public land for social housing. Many informal settlers occupied public land in Manila at this time because they knew they would get resettlement options under her administration (Interview with TAO 2018). During the final months of her presidency, Aquino's government passed what is still the foremost law on social housing, the Urban Development and Housing Act of 1992.

According to Dr. Grace Ramos, Professor of Architecture at the University of the Philippines, the Urban Development and Housing Act 1992 intended to ensure social housing was a priority by setting guidelines and metrics for success. However, she critiques the policy as vague, lacking participatory methods, instilling inadequate architectural guidelines, and measuring success through quantitative brackets that mask the story:

> Design standards prescribed by the various building and planning laws are problematic. The application of the concepts of ergonomics and anthropometrics to low-cost housing have been very much oriented to the physical realm [and do not incorporate the developmental needs of children]. Minimum dimensions of

> house components are largely taken from measurements of the users while laying out of functional zones are based on very rational analyses of sequential movements, oftentimes based on western models (Ramos 1999).

Despite the push back, the Urban Development and Housing Act supported the construction of nearly one million housing units on the urban fringe. In the late 1990s, along with many western capitalist nations, the government shifted its perspective on social housing from a highly centralized and subsidized perspective to a market-oriented approach. President Fidel Ramos had the idea of 'toilet-communities.' During his time in office, the National Housing Authority acquired large plots of land and put down slabs with only a toilet (no partitions or roof) (Interview with TAO 2018). The minimalist idea assumed residents would eventually invest in their home. However, these communities became seeding grounds for blight because the residents didn't have the knowledge or materials to construct homes to a safe standard. People used what they could find—old wood, galvanized iron sheets, and tarpaulin. President Ramos also focused on military housing and under his term National Housing Authority experimented with 3-story housing along the railway easement (higher density, in-city housing). However, most residents sold their units to those more enterprising. Critics argue that the high-density units were too small at just 18 sqm for an average family of six to promote child development and support healthy behaviors, especially since most residents did not have access to outdoor space.

President "Erap" Estrada is likened to American President Ronald Regan because he always played the hero during his acting career and was beloved by Filipinos. His presidential cornerstone was a mass housing development (55,600 units) called Erap City (Kasiglahan Village) administered through his newly formed Presidential Commission for Mass Housing (EO No. 159). Erap invited private investment through the Asian Development Bank and the project received over 3.2 billion pesos (roughly $61M) from the Social Development Loan Facility, the Landbank of the Philippines, and the New San Jose Builders Incorporated. This was one of the first all-horizontal housing communities constructed on agricultural land outside of suburban Manila—displacing over 200 active farms. Ironically, even though the government constructed this resettlement to relocate settlers from the flood-prone banks of the Pasig River, it also experienced significant flooding likely due to poor grading and insufficient stormwater design. Over 80% of residents did not have access to livelihoods due to the remote fringe location. But the Filipino people fed into the culturally imbued concept of 'home' as a function of land-

ownership—something that wasn't offered with the high-density, in-city housing promoted by architects through both President Corazon Aquino and President Fidel Ramos.

President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo supported many large resettlement sites. The *Philippine National Railways Clearing Act* moved informal settlers from dangerous railway easements to the distant fringe of Bulacan, Laguna, and Cavite (at least 60,000 families). However, once the government cleared these easements, new informal communities formed again due to the lack of policing. Following Ketzana, a destructive typhoon, President Arroyo reallocated funds from the relocation program to focus on building high-density in-city housing. But informal settlers didn't want to live in multi-story housing because of the cramped space and the cultural stigma that promote "home" is in the land. This perception only worsened due to the poor architectural designs of the high-density social housing units that limited access to natural light, offered no cross-ventilation, and had little opportunity for parents to see their children playing from their unit. Another major issue was that settler's experiences in low-density communities inadequately prepared them for the responsibility and maintenance required of living in high-density units; without oversight or organization the buildings were often abandoned or sold.

Next, President Benigno Aquino III was known for his support of a participatory planning method through the National Housing Authority that resulted in communities such as the Sampaloc Project. These communities are small in scale, incorporate behavior requirements (such as keeping the community clean), and are located in the metropolitan areas of Manila. Aquino targeted informal residents in danger zones due to environmental natural disasters such as fire, flooding, earthquakes, and typhoons (Yolanda victims explicitly). Unlike many countries grappling with social housing and informality, the Philippines is an exceptionally dangerous state for housing insecurity because of the environmental conditions. Typhoons, earthquakes, landslides, flooding, and volcanic eruptions have plagued the state's most marginalized residents making stable housing an even more critical concern.

Finally, the current President, Rodrigo Duterte, has taken a neoliberal perspective and shifted the responsibility of social housing to the market economy. In this light he reduced the national social housing budget to less than half of 1% in his term (from 1.1% to 0.46%) (Interview TAO 2018). The few remaining social housing projects have been tied to the threat of the Islamic

State in Marawi (Mindanao) or to support his war on drugs through increased para-military housing.

Social housing in the Philippines is closely tied to each Presidential campaign. Constant turnover of housing agencies and juggling for control have rendered little material changes but rather a pendulum swinging between strategies always with a focus on 'numbers of housing units' over qualitative assessments. Over the past three decades specifically, social housing has transitioned from a public responsibility to an opportunity for the private industry. Relocation is not a new concept but rather a century-old plan for dealing with the pressures of a rural-urban migration. Administrations have alternated through in-city or off-city models; horizontal or vertical typologies; self-help housing or holistic housing models. As urban designers and architects work toward tailoring solutions to the next relocation project, little empirical work has been done to understand, qualitatively, how relocation affects the residents.

DFDR and Sprawl in the Greater Metro Manila Area

Politicians in Manila have been grappling with the fallout of housing a large urban poor population for decades largely due to economic drivers that promote rural-urban migration. However, that situation is more acute today than ever before with the number of people in Manila who cannot afford housing and therefore resort to informal settlements increasing to 37% of the Greater Metro Manila Area's residents (Chappel and Thomas 2020). As competition for space in the urban core heats up, political programs reduce the pressure that forcefully dispossess the most marginalized communities from their land (DFDR).

Urban growth in the Greater Metro Manila Area is still informed by the colonial legacies of Spanish and American occupation in the country. The popularity of gated communities and other forms of Western-inspired segregation through urban design are examples of this. As the country moves into the future, the ambitions of transforming Manila into a "global city" are driven and facilitated by the influx of foreign capital, particularly from the USA, mainland China, and returning Overseas Filipino Workers (Ortega 2016). These range from mega infrastructure projects and master-planned communities geared towards foreign buyers, expats, Overseas Filipino Workers, and wealthy Filipinos. These projects increase the heat of gentrification.

Dispossession in the Greater Metro Manila Area pushes Western definitions and epistemologies of gentrification and displacement. These issues and processes are very much

tied to notions of formality and homeownership—middle class norms that are not inclusive of all members of urban poor communities. Dispossession in this context can take different forms: disaster forced, development forced, and infrastructure forced. It is realized through the government actions of eviction, demolition, and oftentimes, resettlement.

As described in the previous section, displacement is deeply embedded within Philippine housing policy, which is characterized as an institutionalized process through formalized evictions and resettlement. Resettlement is often framed as an inevitable process due to infrastructure development and disaster risk reduction and management. But resettlement due to economic development changes the framework of progress by displacing marginalized residents in return for more lucrative ones. The debate about on-site, in-city, and off-site resettlement asks architects and urban planners to justify hardships such as reduced access to public amenities and limited opportunities for livelihoods.

The DFDR process in the Greater Metro Manila Area today has predominantly opted for off-city resettlement through the National Housing Authority due to lack of available land and high land prices in the city. However, off-city resettlement has often been implemented against the wishes of the Informal Settler Families and has resulted in perverse socio-economic impacts such as loss of livelihood, lack of adequate access to basic services, and disruption of social networks (Neef and Singer 2015). A five-year longitudinal study that compared the bottom 30th percentile of Informal Settler Families who were resettled off-city and those that remained in-city found that after five years, the income gap between the two groups rose to more than 50%. The study also found that off-city resettlement resulted in increased costs of transportation to work, schools, and health facilities (JJCICSI 2008).

Today, the majority of subsidized housing units created by national government agencies are located in peri-urban areas. According to research by The Urban Displacement Project, "the private sector is taking advantage of the gaps in long-term, coordinated government planning and playing an increasing role in urban development - such as the emergence of "unsolicited" infrastructure projects (such as highways and subway lines) initiated by private developers." (Chappel and Thomas 2020).

President Rodrigo Duterte's Build, Build, Build program is aimed at reducing poverty largely through fast-tracking development project such as the Clark International Airport Expansion. His "transparency" website shows architectural renderings of modern buildings in a

green, clean city. What the transparency site does not show are architectural renderings of the social housing communities that evictees will be resettled to upon completion or images of neighborhoods the government will erase in its quest for neoliberal rewards.

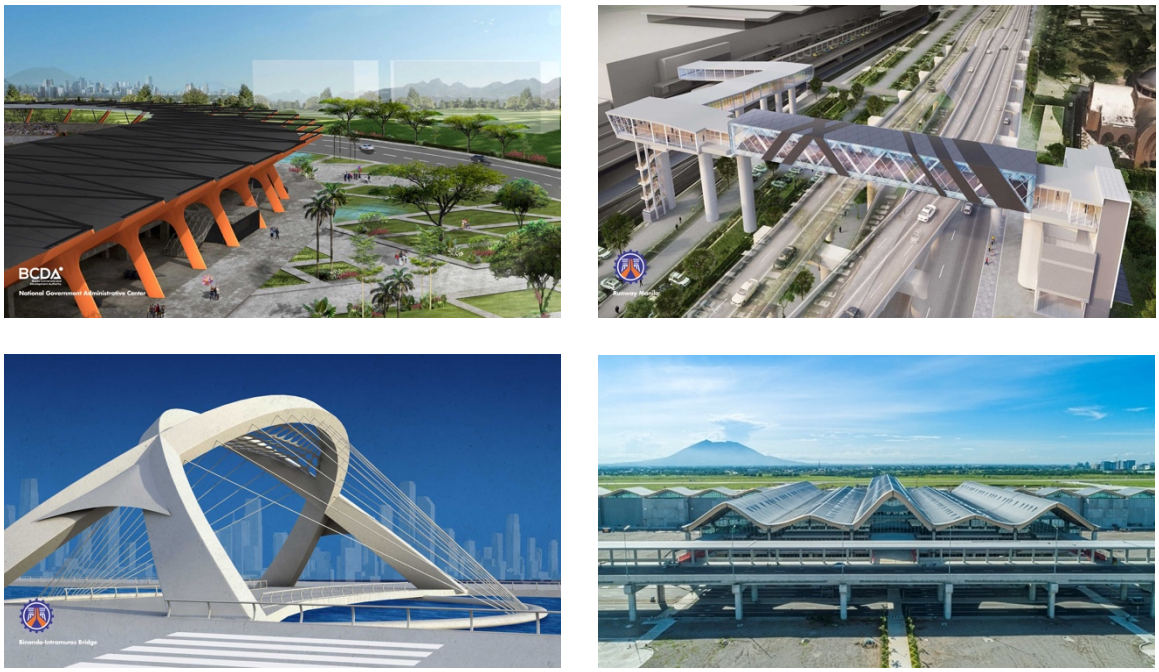
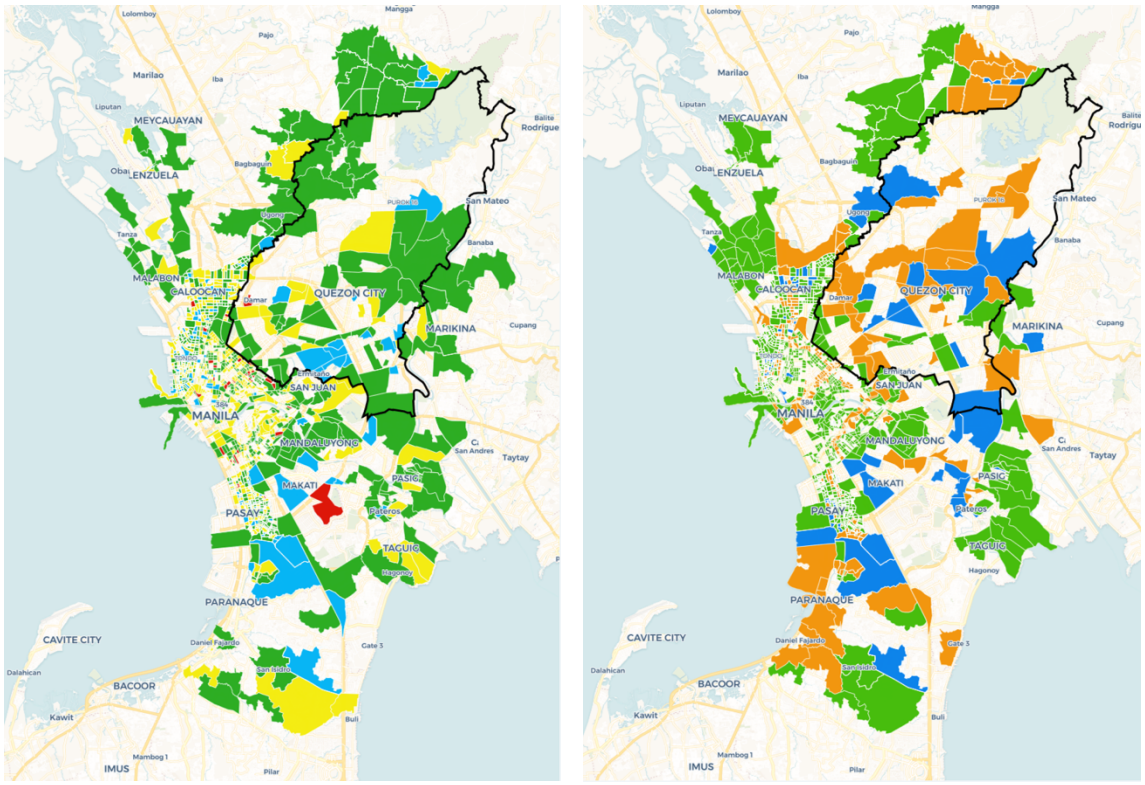


Figure 11: His "transparency" website shows architectural renderings of modern buildings in a green, clean city. (Source: www.build.gov.ph accessed on April 7, 2021).

In order for the construction of new medium and high-rise buildings to occur, the land must be devoid of any obstruction including preexisting development. Many of the sites selected for development are the homes of Informal Settler Families who for many reasons may not have access to a legal title. The latest research from the World Bank clearly illuminates the socio-spatial segregation "boiling over" as a result of neoliberal DFDR programs such as Duterte's Build Build Build. In a recent report, it criticized the current administration for not taking responsibility in specific urban planning and land management decisions that have led to the negative consequences of increasing economic segregation through the off-city resettlement of Informal Settler Families (WB 2017).



Typology 2010-2015

Receiving Communities:
- No Major Economic Investments/Proximity (Economic Zones and/or CBDs)
- Increase in ISF population

Displacement without Gentrification:
- Loss in ISF population
- New Infrastructure Overlay (Transit Lines, Highways, not Stations)
- Disaster Risk Overlay

Gentrification and Displacement:
- Existing Transit Station
- Increase in Homeownership
- Loss in ISF
- Major Economic Investments/Proximity (Economic Zones and/or CBDs)

Exclusion:
- High Homeownership
- High Housing Quality
- No ISF population

Risk Factor Typology 2015-Present

Disaster-Induced Displacement Risk:
- High ISF population
- Flood or Storm Surge Risk
- Low Housing Quality

Infrastructure-Induced Displacement Risk:
- High ISF population
- New Transit Line
- New Highway Project
- Low Housing Quality

Gentrification-Induced Displacement Risk:
- Decreasing ISF population
- Economic Zones or CBD Proximity
- New Transit Station

Figure 12: The latest research clearly illuminates the socio-spatial segregation boiling over as a result of neoliberal DFDR programs such as Duterte's Build Build Build. (Source: Chappel and Thomas 2020).

These maps from the Chappel and Thomas' Urban Displacement Project in Manila show the spatial analysis of *barangays* (administrative districts) due to various types of displacement and development using two sets of data that correspond to different time periods (2010-2015 and 2015-present). The boundary of Quezon City is outlined in black on both maps to reference the origin settlements of the communities in this study. In the 2010-2015 period, barangays described as "exclusion" are limited to the Greater Manila Metro Area, "gentrification with development" are predominantly on the outskirts of the Greater Manila Metro Area, and "receiving communities" and "displacement without gentrification" are beyond the Greater Manila Metro Area at the urban periphery. In the 2015-present period, the barangays described as "disaster-induced displacement risk" and "infrastructure-induced displacement risk" largely overlap with the "receiving communities" and "displacement without gentrification" barangays in the prior period. This is a recipe for disaster as these receiving barangays are both inundated with high numbers of ISFs while lacking the development and housing necessary to support thriving communities. All of the resettlement sites in this study are located in barangays described as "disaster-induced displacement risk" and most (I was not able to track all origination communities) came from barangays described as "gentrification-induced displacement risk."

Although neoliberal development in the Greater Metro Manila Area has created many jobs and added to the economic growth of the Philippines, it has ultimately impacted the lives of the most marginalized. The Urban Displacement project shows that Manila is primed for a crisis in social housing due to DFDR. Part of the solution is a better understanding of the problem. However, few studies capture the experience of DFDR from the field or connect the resident's experiences to the planning policies and processes that the communities. I hope that this chapter will contribute to discourse on DFDR in Manila, the daily experience of resettlement communities, and adolescent's spatial activities.

The Sites from Above: Planning Analysis

At 4:30 am, the sky still dark and most of the community sleeping, half of the kids in Garden Village wake up and prepare for school. The first shift of high school is from 6 am to noon and the second shift runs from noon to 6 pm. Scheduling two shifts of classes per day is a common practice in Manila's peripheral communities where resources are scarce and even

buildings must work overtime to accommodate demand. However, the adolescents that I spoke with, like Caril, "don't mind" getting up early; they told me that there isn't anything to do or anywhere safe to go, so they stay at home anyway.

Resettlement communities like Garden Village range from 500 to 15,000 families collocated on vast stretches of former agricultural land. Promoters of resettlement communities argue that they are potential stepping-stones to a better life while critics challenge that the cost is extreme isolation (Kumar 2016, Neef and Singer 2015). International humanitarian organizations are aware that these remote communities face daunting challenges such as a lack of basic infrastructure, transportation, and livelihoods leading many scholars to argue that they are seeding grounds for future slums (Ibid). Yet, the tangible impacts of these environments on the everyday lives of the residents are often overlooked.

This study reveals a more nuanced truth to the everyday lives of adolescents in resettlement communities than Caril admits. In the following sections, I will introduce the study sites and let the adolescents share their experiences through multiple interviews, photovoice, and participant directed mapping exercises. Their experiences will lead to the identification of five places in each site that perform as public spaces in practice. Then, I will navigate through the iterative analysis process to reveal eight transferrable themes that influence adolescents' spatial activities across the sites.

I described the selection of cases and communities in detail in *Chapter 2: On Methods*. To give a brief summary, space is at a premium in Metro Manila. As the densest city in the world, real estate speculation drives lucrative public-private partnerships to redevelop unprofitable sites, such as land occupied by crowded squatter settlements, into commercial centers through western banking mechanisms (DFDR). I selected Metro Manila as a case to study communities dispossessed by DFDR because of its long history of land appropriation and dispossession, its current housing crisis, and the formality with which DFDR processes are established and practiced. National Policies such as the *Urban Development and Housing Act of 1992* exacerbate economic fragmentation and displace marginalized members of society to the urban periphery. The government typically resettles these dispossessed communities to greenfield sites, often cheap agricultural land, without access to public services and amenities. The receiving Local Governance Units are strained to accommodate their needs because it takes several cycles of census, audits, and elections to represent the newcomers in the Local

Governance Units' tax base. Meanwhile, Metro Manila benefits from an increase in development for middle- and upper-income groups.

The formality of the resettlement programs in the Philippines facilitated the identification of dispossessed communities. I worked with several community case workers at a local non-profit to differentiate the communities disposed due to DFDR and those with existing community relationships. I then presented the project to nine communities that met both requirements, and while seven agreed to participate, a series of homicides prevented work with three. Ultimately, I collaborated with four communities in the Bulacan province, just northeast of the Metro Manila border that provide a cross section of communities by size, age, and architecture. All the communities are co-located, planned developments constructed on greenfield agricultural sites.

Community	Barangay (neighborhood)	Province	Distance to Manila	Population (families)	Age (yrs.)	Housing typology Flr area/ lot size
Pabahay 2000	Muzon	Bulacan	32 km	7,045 F	22	22 sqm/36 sqm, RH, 1 flr
Towerville VI	Graceville	Bulacan	27 km	8,514 F*	10	22.5 sqm/36 sqm, RH, 1 flr
San Jose Del Monte Heights	Muzon	Bulacan	39 km	4,283 F	8	22 sqm/40 sqm, some lofts, rowhouses (RH)
Garden Village	Graceville	Bulacan	30 km	494 F	3	45 sqm/40 sqm, duplex, 2 flr

Table 4: Ultimately, I collaborated with four communities in the Bulacan province, just north east of the Metro Manila border that provide a cross section of communities by size, age, and architecture (Source: National Housing Authority, Google Maps, Author, 2021). *I've used the population of all Towerville settlements (I-VI) as they are colocated and operate as a single settlement despite their various phases of construction.

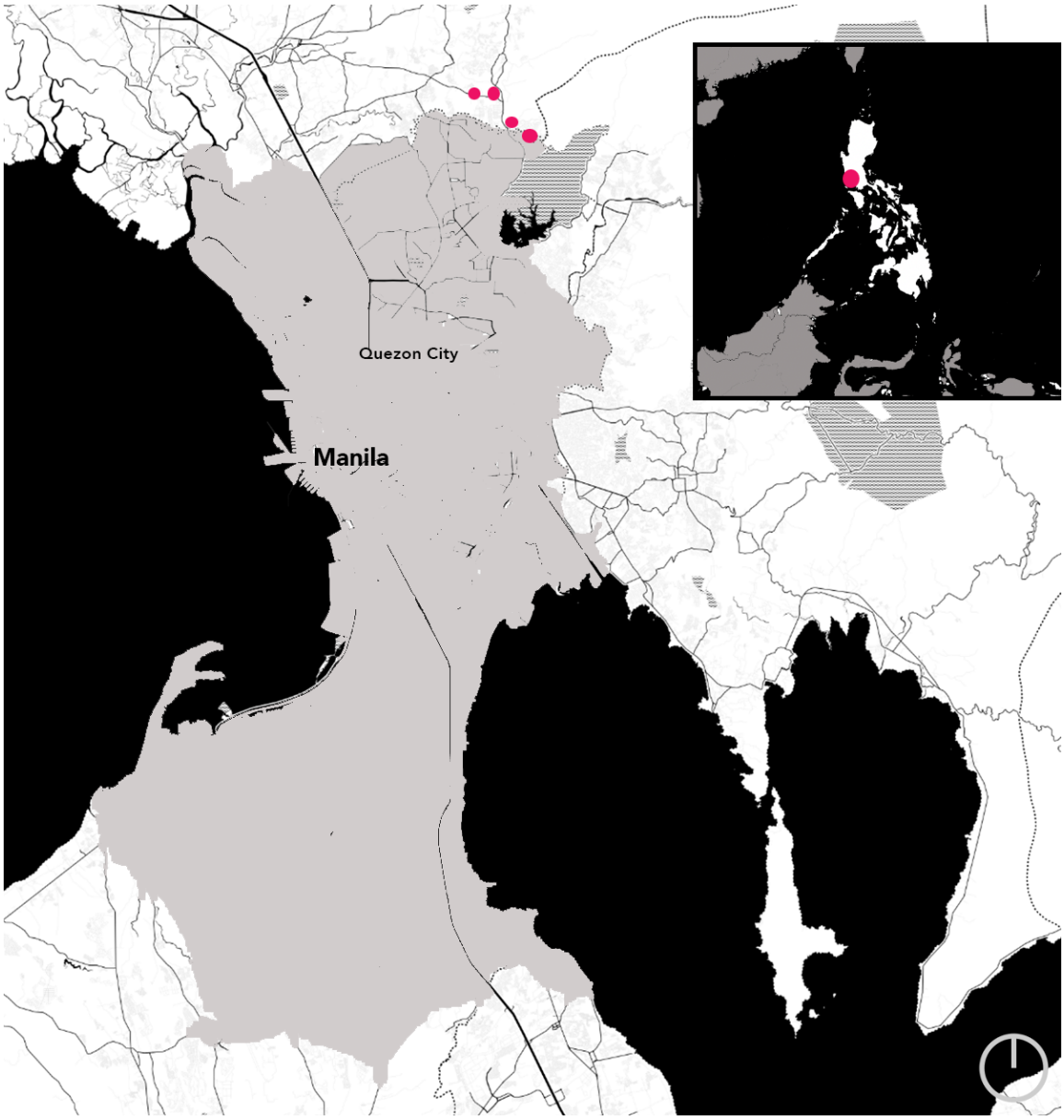


Figure 13: Four communities studied in the Bulacan province, just north east of the Metro Manila border (Source: Author 2021).

After enrolling the community sites, I contacted multiple government agencies and departments to procure official design documents such as site plans and as-built drawings. However, I quickly realized that the government did not have/did not want to give consistent levels of data for each site. Thus, my research team drafted each house in all sites using AutoCAD, GIS, and Google Earth to provide comparable as-built conditions of each community. For the purposes of this study, the descriptive spatial analysis helps inform the emerging understanding of the way residents experience these spaces by providing supporting analytical

evidence. I describe the results of the spatial analysis in Table 5 as well as contextualized in the community descriptions. However, I also found the "total number of plots" in Towerville VI was lower than reported by the National Housing Authority and in Garden Village higher. In the case of Towerville VI, I chose not to include phases 6F and 6G because they were more continuations of the same form (as shown in Figure 41). This means that the community is spatially about 50% larger than presented in the table at approximately 124 acres. Garden Village shows nearly 700 plots while the National Housing Authority reports under 500 families residing in the community. This is because the southern one-third of the community was vacant; some sources say because it flooded dissuading newcomers while other say it is undergoing resettlement. Neither discrepancy detracts from the value of the data to contextualize the density and spatial categories of each community.

Community	Total Site Area (Acres)	Total Plot Area (Acres)	% Built Up Area (Acres)	Total Street Area (Acres)	% Street Area	Total Plots
Pabahay 2000	107.1	73.6	68.7%	28.0	26.2%	7085
Towerville VI	82.6	51.7	62.6%	29.1	35.3%	5801
San Jose Del Monte Heights	66.5	35.8	53.8%	7.8	11.7%	3907
Garden Village	13.3	3.7	27.9%	3.8	28.5%	682

Table 5: The results of the spatial analysis (Source: Author and Shrestha 2021).

Pabahay 2000

Pabahay 2000 is the oldest community (first occupied in 1999) and developed on an agricultural site. It is a critical site to understand the longitudinal effects of DFDR where the government resettled large populations of low-income groups without supporting amenities such as commercial markets, public spaces, and institutions. As "Dr. Ian Malcolm" memorably says in the 1993 classic film *Jurassic Park*, "life, uh, will find a way." By comparing the original construction documents to current field data, this site shows "the way" this community has morphologically transformed in two decades. According to the National Housing Authority, most of the houses are no longer occupied by the original resettled families. Many have been traded,

bought, and sold to the surrounding community residents, recycled for secondary and tertiary national resettlement campaigns, and others have been converted into businesses.

Site Analysis



Figure 14: Pabahay 2000 is the oldest community (first occupied in 1999) and developed on an agricultural site. (Source: Google Earth/Maxar Technologies, 2001).

Pabahay 2000 has 7,045 families living in an area of 107.13 acres (or 66 families per acre; about 395 people per acre).[27] For reference, Manhattan has on average 112 people per acre so

[27] According the Philippine Statistics Authority (2016) the average household size is 4.4 people per the 2015 census considering all income groups. Historically, lower income groups have higher household sizes. Save the Children, Philippines uses six as the average household size when planning project budgets. Following their model, I estmited six.

when considering open and developed space, Pabahay 2000 is about 3.5 times as dense as Manhattan. The community is V-shaped with the basketball court, National Housing Authority and Homeowners Association offices, and open space at the juncture. The other two non-residential features are the market and the high school. Importantly, the government developed the high school on land originally identified as "parks and playgrounds." The high school is not open to the public. It is enclosed by a fence and not even accessible to students outside of school hours.



Figure 15: Pabahay 2000 has 7,045 families living in an area of 107.13 acres (or 66 families per acre; 395 people per acre) (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021).



Figure 16: The community is V-shaped with the basketball court, National Housing Authority and Homeowners Association offices, and open space at the juncture. The other two non-residential features are the market and the high school. (Source: National Housing Authority with graphic edits by author, 2018).

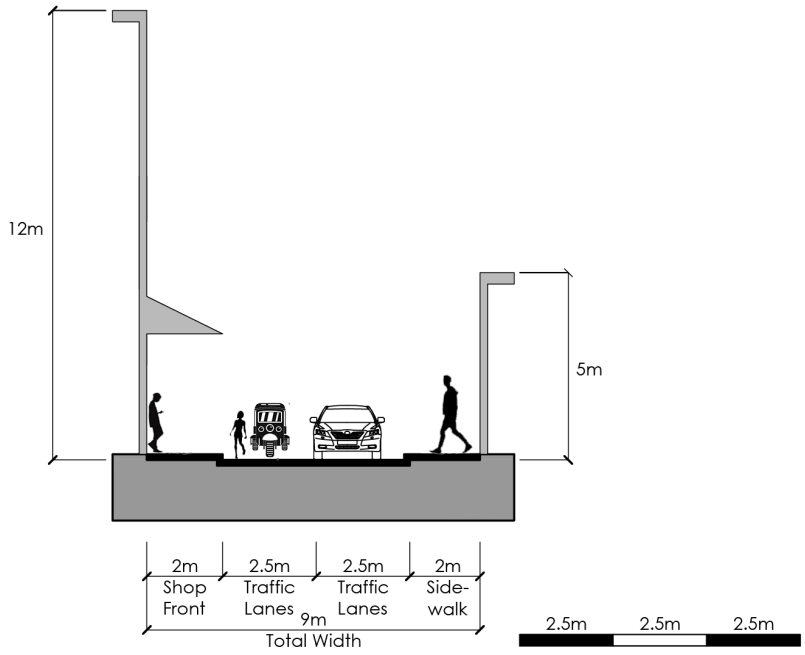


Figure 17: The main street is 5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

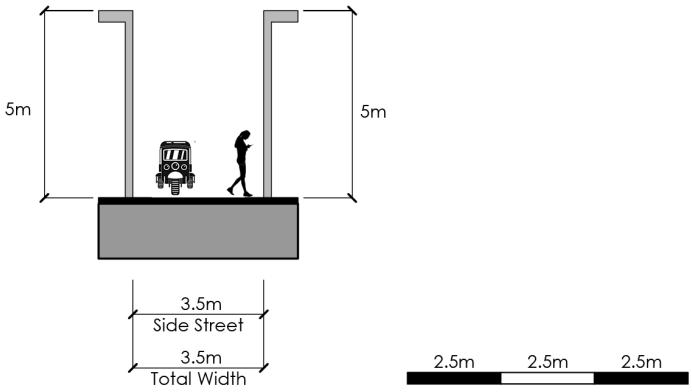


Figure 18: The side street is 3.5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

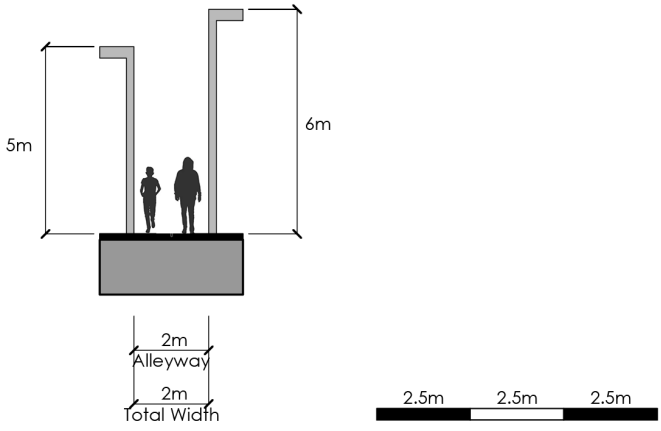


Figure 19: The alleway is 2m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

The figure ground diagram clearly shows the three tiers of streets within Pabahay 2000: the main street (5m wide), side streets (3.5m wide), and alleyways (2m wide). The alleyways form sub-blocks of 16 houses on average with two rows of zero-lot lined houses abutting. While the subblock framework is consistent, the block framework formed by streets is organic, cutting angles, curves, and cul-de-sacs into the community. There are between 8-30 subblocks in each block. Pabahay is unique because of the six pocket parking areas that are interspersed throughout the community double as pocket basketball courts by the neighborhood youth. A figure ground drawing abstracts the built environment by shading the built structures black and leaving all non-built area (e.g., streets, fields, trees, etc.) as white. The abstraction helps to quickly assess density especially with regard to open public space.

Community Origins

Locals would orient Pabahay 2000 to newcomers as "about three kilometers on the other side of the Jolli Bee in barangay Muzon." It is the oldest community I worked with originating in 1998. The community has undergone many transformations and many presidential campaigns. The community is only accessible through a two-way loop that dead ends into a gated community. Other than from the high density, it would be hard to tell from the architecture that this community was once and perhaps still is a social housing site. Today, every unit has undergone at least one renovation. Plots have been combined, divided, and raised. Property has been sold to enterprising neighbors and the National Housing Authority estimates that perhaps 40% of the residents would not qualify for social housing.

Originally planned with one street size and one house layout copied throughout the entire site, the community has morphed into a complete town with a main street lined by commercial use: bakeries, computer cafes, restaurants, poultry supply, liquor stores, ice cream stores, resale shops, sportswear, private schools, water filling stations, etc. The standard single-room single-level layout—as constructed in Towerville VI—has completely vanished underneath medium density mid-rise construction. Initially, the houses were setback 6 m back from the street curb to accommodate a sidewalk, but long-ago homeowners unanimously encroached on this frontage with a small porch, a *sari-sari* store, or an expansion.[28]

[28] A *sari-sari* store is a home-based convenience store. About 20% of the homes dedicated frontage space for a sari-sari store. It was a main form of income for women as they were able to

The residents came from a few different locations. Like Garden Village, the government resettled some residents from public lands in North Triangle to support a public-private partnership with SM Land Inc. for the SM North commercial shopping center. The government relocated others from flood prone areas around Tondo. The community is now a hybrid social housing project with little cohesion, but residents also feel less stigmatized.



Figure 20: The figure ground diagram clearly shows the three tiers of streets (Source: Shrestha 2020).

manage the store while rearing children at home. Programmatically, this space takes away from livable family space.

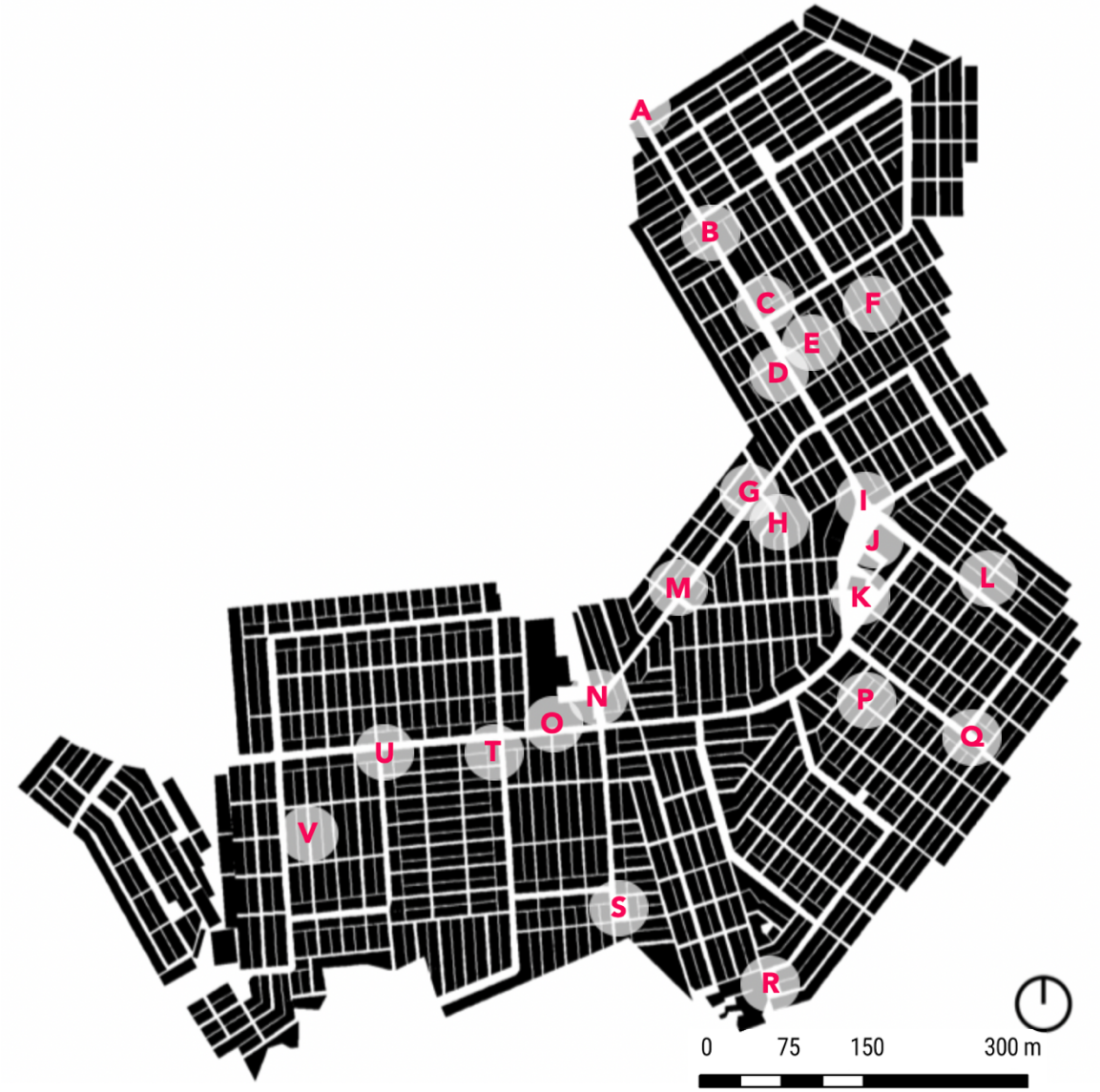


Figure 21: The community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map. (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020).


A


B


C


D


E


F


G


H


I


J


K


L


M


N

O



P



Q



R



S



T



U



V



The entry to Pabahay 2000 is non-descript (A). It is a slight fork in the road just before the entrance to the gated community, Melody Homes. The main street is two lanes with sidewalks on either side (B). Branching off the main street are side streets and alleyways (C). The architecture is varied with some two -and three level buildings rising above the predominantly single-level construction (D). In most cases, multi-level buildings feature balconies on the levels above the street (E). The alleyway infrastructure in the interior of the blocks is accessible and frequently used pathways, however most of the windows and doors along these alleyways are wrapped in metal cage, signifying security concerns (F).

Most of the houses along the main street have been converted into businesses (G). The variety of commercial uses combined with the diversity in architectural form, and established vegetation give the main street a pleasant feel, distinct from the other resettlement communities (H). The only formal public space in the community is the covered basketball court (I). The area in front of the court is used as a gathering node for community services such as trash collection (J). Adjacent to this court block, on a small traffic island dotted with trees and a few concrete benches, is a popular spot for the village elders to gather and play games or hold celebrations such as birthday parties (K).

The side streets have less traffic and are slightly narrowed than the main street (L). Popular renovations include increasing the height of the house, adding security walls/fencing, and expanding the house to commandeer the front-yard sidewalk (M). The market is the planned commercial space but has been infilled with informal vendors in the form of pushcarts, temporary kiosks, and semi-formal shops (N). The central transportation hub for trikes is adjacent to the market (O). Other than walking, trikes are the most common form of transportation based on my interviews with community members.

The block interiors are lively spaces but connotate a residential feel as most families hang laundry in the alleyways between houses (P). The community erected basketball nets post-construction in the planned parking areas throughout the community asserting dual functionality of the spaces as basketball courts and parking lots (Q, R, S). Residents have converted houses into small family businesses but also major commercial franchises such as BoGS Bakery (T). While the homes open along the alleyways, they are typically closed along the side street giving a hostile and abandoned feel to these mid-size streets (U). The community has come full circle with some abandoned lots infilled with squatters occupying informal development (V).

The architectural tour provides a sense of the community environment and the range of spaces. It also identified the planned and formal public spaces and described their current conditions. However, an architectural analysis must be paired with resident's experiences to understand how the spaces function in practice. To expand the environmental understanding of Pabahay 2000, I provide two vignettes from adolescents in the community. I summarized the results of working with all five participants in Pabahay 2000 and the focus group participants later in the section. But first, I found that presenting vignettes of individual adolescents to be critical to honestly representing participant's voices. Including singular perspectives emphasizes the individuality of these narratives and helps shield against a tendency to generalize a "common" adolescent experience. A vignette in this study is a short and descriptive piece of writing that captures the experience of an adolescent from their point of view. To emphasize the diversity in perspectives, for which this study strived, I gave each adolescent's vignette a title that highlights a self-described defining characteristic about their identity and their self-selected alias.

The Local: Burger

Our interview with Burger was off to a rough start as we were seriously delayed by traffic. When we arrived, he had already gone home so we had to coordinate with his mother to bring him back to the community center, but by the time we all arrived, another activity was booked. We decided to hold the interview in the van since it started raining. About ½ way through the interview, the rain was coming down really hard. We received a red alert that flooding had started, and roads were getting shut down. We quickly wrapped up the interview, but Burger had a lot to say so it was challenging to find the right moment. He was uninhibited and wanted to tell us all about life in Pabahay 2000.

The pictures below are of the participant-directed maps for Pabahay 2000 and for barangay Muzon (administrative district). According to the mapping exercise, Burger has a small range of 100 m from his house (radius) except for the occasional trip to the market.



Figure 22: Participant-directed map for Pabahay 2000. (Source: Burger 2018).



Figure 23: Participant-directed map for barangay Muzon. (Burger 2018).

Burger had about five friends that all lived within a few blocks from his house. He has been friends with them since childhood. He would walk to their house and home. He would also walk to the computer shops (2), his aunt's house, church, and the basketball court. He took many photographs of two friends hanging out in the evening at his friend's house. They were drinking sodas and playing on a cell phone. They sat in the threshold where the house had been expanded into the sidewalk. There, there was an old sofa and it was behind a metal gate. So, you could see out to the street and be seen but people couldn't harass you easily. In all of the pictures the door was shut, and the kids were inside the threshold space.

He has school from noon until 7 pm. He hangs out with his *tropa* (group) after school. They pass by the 7-11 in Muzon and eat there and then they go to someone's house and stay inside the house. They usually go to a friend's house where the parents are away. They drink alcohol when no one else is around. Mostly brandy, Emperador. He took a picture of his hangout and wrote the following caption, "*yan yung mga kaibigan uminom kami ng softdrink at malaya kamp ngan [those friends we drank softdrinks and camped freely]* (Source: Burger 2018). He mentions "hypebeast" and says that they have fights and they are not cool.



Figure 24: yan yung mga kaibigan uminom kami ng softdrink at malaya kamp ngan [those friends we drank softdrinks and camped freely] (Source: Burger 2018).

On weekends he strolls around. He doesn't go out alone. When he was younger, like 9 or 10 he used to hang out in a rice field with his *tropa*. Now he only goes there with them occasionally because he is "tired of playing outside." He also hangs out with his friends, but their parents come home on weekends, and he is shy around them, so he leaves when they arrive. Some of his friends go on vacation in the province on weekends but he doesn't, he just walks around his community.

His friend group has a group chat (GC). There are about 20 in the GC, but some are not allowed to go out, so they just chat on the phone. He took a picture of his friends playing on the phone and wrote the following caption, "*yan ang bahay namin duyan alu nakatira* [that's the house we live in]." His *tropa* is both girls and boys but it sounds like the girls are just the girlfriends of the boys who are the core group. He is "courting" a girl, but they are not "MU."[29]



Figure 25: *yan ang bahay namin duyan alu nakatira* [that's the house we live in] (Source: Burger 2018).

[29] MU stands for 'mutual understanding' and is slang that refers to the early stages of a romantic relationship in which each partner acknowledges there is something between them but before they agree to be in a formal relationship.

He plays basketball a lot. The full court near his house gets really crowded so you have to "be earlier than others to have a spot to play." If they are late, then they will gamble on the winning team. He uses his allowance on this. To him, the basketball court is noisy, chaotic, and smells of dog poop. Only boys go to the basketball court. He took a picture of the court he went to and wrote the following caption, "*ito ang basketball court minsam may away danil sa hinan payku kaurawaan sa paggamit ng pwesto* [this is the basketball court once had a fight danil to hinan payku kaurawaan in the use of seats]. In his photo descriptions, he noted that he got into a fight at the court once looking for a place to sit.



Figure 26: *ito ang basketball court minsam may away danil sa hinan payku kaurawaan sa paggamit ng pwesto* [this is the basketball court once had a fight danil to hinan payku kaurawaan in the use of seats] (Source: Burger 2018).

Sometimes he goes to SM with his *tropa*. Once he skipped school to go. He likes to hang out at the view deck there at SM. It is "spacious" place, and it smells nice and its quiet. He said he would go everyday if it was closer because there is air-conditioning. He typically goes about 3-4/mo. To get there he has to take two jeepneys and it costs him 40 pesos total (same as four hours at the computer shop).

As a way of controlling skipping school, the Barangay has rules that you cannot be socializing around with your school uniform on… so, he cannot go directly to SM mall or most computer shops as they will restrict him. He must go home and change his clothes first, but this doesn't seem to be a problem for him. However, he said he knows one where they don't care.

He only goes to the computer shop on weekends. He will spend 3-4 hours there playing games. League of Legends, Crossfire, Rules of Survival – these games have a chat window, so he plays with his *tropa* as a team and plays other groups in "another place." He likes it because "they're together in the game." The computer shop is noisy, but he likes to go there because it is air conditioned, and it smells nice. Some girls play there but not many. He noted, "I don't know what they play or if they just make noise there… when their crushes are playing, they scream." He said dealers are always trading drugs outside of the computer shop. There is a community curfew, but his parents require him home an hour earlier (at 9 pm).

He uses social media such as Facebook, YouTube for watching blogs like *Jamile* onTV, and Claro the Third (vlog). He also chats his friends. He goes to the computer shop up to 4 days a week to use social media but mostly he uses his dad's cell phone. They do not have Wi-Fi at home but his dad's phone "has fast mobile data." In the Philippines, Facebook Messenger is free without a data plan.

His elder brother is an Overseas Filipino Worker. His brother used to take him to a Christian church but now, since he has no one to go with, he doesn't go. There are five in their family. His eldest brother with two kids, his second older brother (also an Overseas Filipino Worker), an older sister, and a younger sister. His brother's girlfriend sleeps at their house with them. When asked about amenities Burger consistently defers to his eldest brother who is working in Saudi when asked about his activities: "I am waiting [to buy a cell phone, to have internet, to go places] on my brother."

Burger said his dad has always lived in this area, since "1958." His parents are from Bicol and he also speaks this dialect. This is interesting because it implies that his family bought their house from National Housing Authority or from another resident and not that they were relocated there. This could be the reason why he makes a distinction between the lower income group people. His people are those from the area that have moved in.

Overall, he thinks that Pabahay 2000 is quiet, and that people generally get along with each other; "there is no ruckus." What he doesn't like is the creek because people throw trash,

and it gets blocked up and floods. He doesn't go to the creek because it smells but it is just a bit of a walk from Pabahay 2000. He sees other kids his age *tamabayan* on the street carrying liquor bottles and they drink inside their houses.

He doesn't feel safe in Pabahay 2000, though. "Here in Phase I, the other day, even if we weren't doing anything – this is the second time this has happened to us – is always like [the *frats*] want to hit us" He goes on to tell about a time when he and his friend were walking near Harmony Hills going to Silang and another group of boys (frat) said that his friend was acting "arrogant" and they beat his friend up. When asked why he thinks this happens he said it was about territoriality, "it's like they want to be him up." This suggests that teens walkable domains are limited by frat activity and territoriality. I wonder if the frats do this out of a sense of dominance, out of fear/crime fighting, or boredom? Interestingly, he refers to them as "*badjao*" but the research assistant, Denise, does not actually believe he means the seafaring indigenous peoples from South of Philippines but rather he uses the term in a derogatory sense to suggest beggars/squatters/others. This othering of these groups is interesting because he is placing himself above them economically. He also makes a key distinction by saying he is part of a *tropa* while they are part of a *frat*. He said they are about 13 – 14 years old and they are students of Harmony. They "strike" at night so he is careful not to walk around Phase 1 at night. He said he doesn't fight back because the beating will just be worse.

It happened not long before the interview again but with a different group in a different location… near Melody two boys chased him and his friend around. He feels safe in Phase 2 and Phase 3. He doesn't have "enemies here." It is interesting that within Pabahay 2000 there are community subdivisions by phase of construction. I think this has more to do with the size of the community and less with the actual phases as his family is from the area and not part of the resettlement campaign.

He mentioned the threat of drug-related crimes. He reported that recently the police arrested two brothers for possessing *shabu* (methamphetamines) and it made national news. He knew them (they were about 30 years old). He said it is common in his area and a lot of people get arrested. He also said that the drug disputes cause violence and homicides.

He feels safer when he sees the police and the barangay officials. He doesn't want a gate though. He does want street cameras because "that's where the hold-ups happen" and they happen "often here in Pabahay 2000." He shared a story when, last year, one of his friends

was held up in the street and their two cellphones were taken. This is interesting because in a later interview he said that his Oppo cell phone was stolen last year. He wants there to be streetlights and to improve "tambays who pick on people." In a later interview he talks about pranking or "tripping" which is beating people and throwing rocks at them. They hang out near the Muzon Pabahay Elementary School. When asked why he said, "maybe it's their happy pill?"

Burger's experience in Pabahay raises themes of "othering" between economic class, of bullying and the challenges of navigating emerging masculinity, of depending on an Overseas Filipino Worker for income, and creating safe space for hangouts that still offer gradients of privacy. In contrast to Burger's organic and wondering nature, Kathleen presents the perspective of an ambitious and religious adolescent. Her world doesn't revolve as much around the fears of bullying but rather she raises the vulnerability of being a young woman.

The Churchgoer: Kathleen

Kathleen presented herself as very wholesome. She was timely and respectful and paid attention to the questions that we asked while giving thoughtful, complete answers. Her perspective is important because it shows the range of experiences and perceptions within a resettlement community. However, she was really shy and only took about six pictures in the photovoice assignment. The pictures below are of the participant-directed maps for Pabahay 2000 and for barangay Muzon (administrative district). According to the mapping exercise, Kathleen has a small range of 350 m from her house (radius).

She has multiple *barkadas* (informal friend group) depending on the context – she has one for school, another for church, and others for the different sections and past years. However, all of her *barkadas* are from school and church. She seems very sociable. She says that recently she spends most of her time hanging out with her current classmates because she has extracurricular activities with them. While she mainly hangs out with the other girls in her group, there are some boys as well, but she notes that "they are not the type of friends that you tell your troubles to." She mostly spends her free time hanging out at home.

When she hangs out outside of school, she walks around a neighborhood (outside of Pabahay 2000) with her *barkada* and they chat. They rarely have a plan but usually someone in the group will want to go somewhere and they all just go along with it. One of the most frequented places is "Deca" which is a planned neighborhood in which there are parklets for

each saint (there is one saint per phase of development). Each parklet has a playground and a basketball court. They usually don't leave the Muzon area.

She goes to school from noon to 7 pm. On school days, she wakes up and makes rice for herself for lunch and then goes out and buys a viand (this is an English term for a meat side dish but its most common in Filipino food). She walks to and from school which is outside of Pabahay 2000 (Harmony Hills High School). She has extracurricular activities everyday such as church choir and youth fellowship. On the weekends she has domestic chores, like the laundry, that take up half a day. She also has school activities most weekends. She has a second church choir practice on Saturday, church service on Sunday morning, and then she teaches a kid's bible study on Sunday afternoons. She stays late to help feed the kids that come for the bible study and also attends church meetings. She said she rarely gets home before 9 pm on Sunday evenings.



Figure 27: Participant-directed map for Pabahay 2000. (Source: Kathleen 2018).

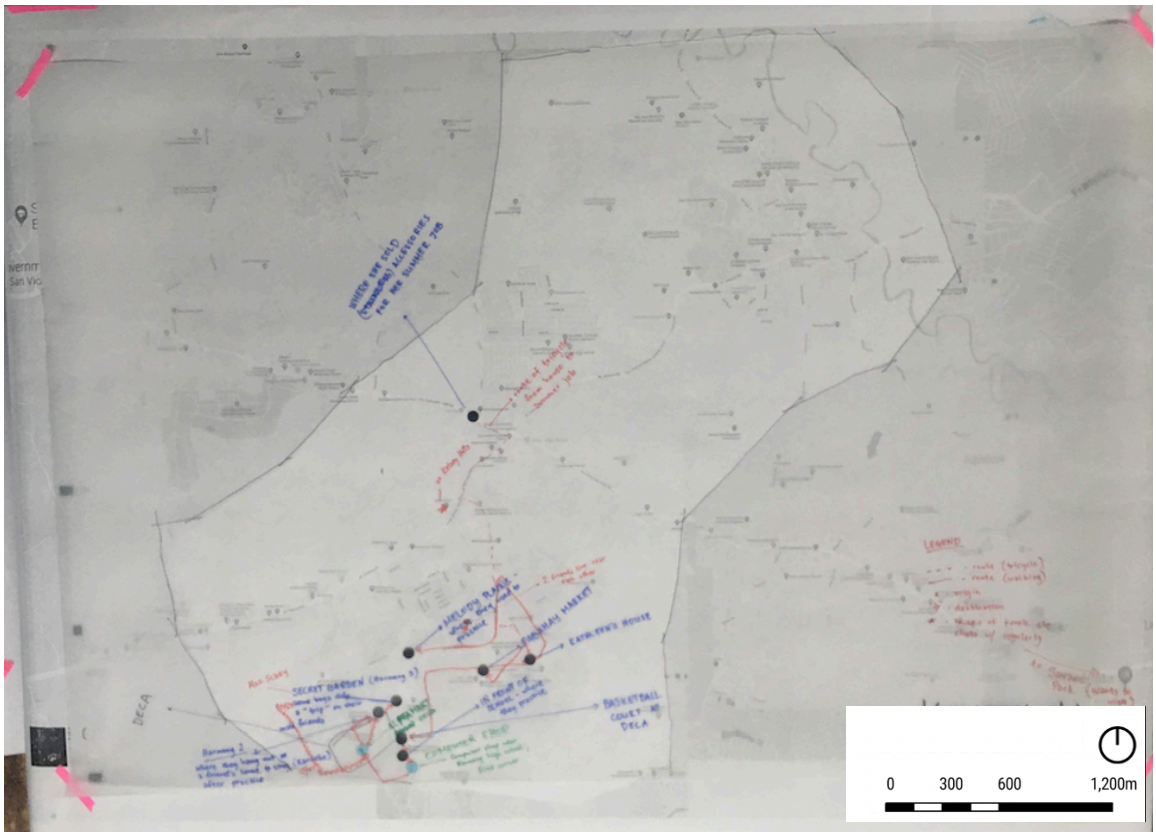


Figure 28: Participant-directed map for barangay Muzon. (Kathleen 2018).

When she has school practices they practice on the street outside the school. She and her friends mostly practice at school because they can easily ask permission from the teachers. There are very few cars that go by there, so they feel that it is okay. The summer prior to our interview, she had church camps and was also on the swimming team. She received a scholarship that sponsored her to participate in activities and she was excited about it. The prior year, she didn't have a scholarship and so she stayed home all summer. She said she was so bored that she got a job in Muzon. She worked as a saleslady for a jewelry kiosk on the street. She was recruited for the job by a friend from church, so she didn't have to look for work. I find it interesting that she treats having a job as an alternative to boredom while some of the other kids comment on how there are no jobs in Muzon and how difficult it has been for their parents to get work. Perhaps this is about age discrimination or the difference in seasonal/temporary work? It also appears that her church network provides her with a rich network. In a later interview she mentioned that, "Around the time that I was working, that was when papa got sick with tuberculosis, so I also gave some money to mama" however at the time of the interview he was

getting better because the Barangay provided him with monthly medicine. This is an interesting part of the barangay governance - to provide medicine.

She lives with her mother, father, younger brother, and her mom's cat, Snowhite. She explained during the photo review that their house is one room with a shelving divider. They took apart a bed and put the box frame on one side and the mattress on the other side to make two sleeping areas. However, it's too hot on one side to actually sleep so the whole family sleeps together on the other side. Her dad took a photo of their house, and she wrote the following caption, "*any bantay na si snowwhite*. [Snowwhite is on guard]."



Figure 29: *Any bantay na si snowwhite*. [Snowwhite is on guard]. (Source: Kathleen's Dad 2018).

She easily answered the question about public space that other participants had trouble with by suggesting Deca, Harmony, and Melody have the best public spaces. These are all subdivisions that have sidewalks and parks. She uses the spaces to practice and to walk around and chat with friends. Except for strolling around Deca, her *barkada* mostly hangs out inside a friend's house and does karaoke. However, she couldn't think of any place that mostly girls went to. She notes that she goes to Deca for a "stroll," but it is quite far to go there. "A lot of people go out to visit Deca because there are lots of places you can hang out at, like they have

basketball courts you can actually use." She also took a photo of friends working on a project on the outside tables next to the Deca grocery store with the following caption, "meeting with a new friend." She said that a lot of kids go there from other surrounding neighborhoods to play basketball. She doesn't know any place that has nature around Muzon except for the trees at Harmony Hills.



Figure 30: Meeting with a new friend. (Source: Kathleen 2018).

In addition to strolling in Deca her friends also post videos of strolling to Facebook Live. She has a touchscreen cellphone with mobile data, but they usually use her classmates Samsung. They only use Facebook for social media. She said, "I can't live without it. I'm just really on Facebook a lot." She likes to "scroll" from home. She also communicates with her aunts and uncles who live abroad through Facebook as well as her friends from Melody. She has seven active individual chat boxes that she uses to communicate with classmates from Melody, with church friends, and her aunt in Jeddah. She has six active group chats for church friends and classmates.

She has access to a basketball court (covered) at church that is open to everyone. There is also one near National Housing Authority in her neighborhood, but she has only been to it

one time. Guys also hang out at the basketball court, and they drink in the street. It is not forbidden by the barangay as long as they don't exceed the curfew.

Church is her favorite place – especially when she is "jamming" and making music. She likes it mostly because "it's where you can find true friends you can tell your problems to and who will give you sound advice." She practices the Pentecostal religion, and her church is nearby.

"When I walk to church, I encounter a lot of *tambays* on the way." She encounters a lot of *tambays* (loiterers) on her street. She defines a *tambay* as someone without a job and someone who "doesn't do anything with their life – they're usually just out sitting in the streets." She said uncool places are where people go and drink but when we asked where those might be, she just said it's in their houses.

She only goes to a computer shop to print things. She knows how to play Counterstrike but doesn't play it much – just when she is waiting on something to be printed – about 30 minutes. She noticed that the computer shop is mostly for boys who play League of Legends and other online games. Her brother who is 13 plays it a lot. She took a picture of friends playing games at the computer shop and wrote the following caption, "*Tamang laro lang ng counter-strike* [Just the right counter-strike game]."

She explains further that she almost never goes to SM Mall, "maybe just once a year." She said she really spends most of her time in her house- not because her parents are strict but because she "doesn't have anyone outside to see; say for example, our neighbors, they're all grown up and busy." She said that she hangs out there and plays games at Tom's World (arcade) and eats meals at Jollibee. She usually has a budget, but her friends don't. In the second interview she restated that she only goes to SM once a year. When asked if she buys clothes there, she said, "No, because last year, I was still immature. Not like now, I'm more mature, I get embarrassed going to SM without any money. Only when I'm window shopping." This raises some important themes that she hints at throughout. She obviously had friends that are in a higher income group, and she struggles to afford being able to hang out with them. She is just realizing that socially she should be "embarrassed" by her inability to afford their lifestyle.

She has never been to the creek.



Figure 31: *Tamang laro lang ng counter-strike* [Just the right counter-strike game] (Source: Kathleen 2018).

Her favorite things about Pabahay 2000 are the "interdependence" and "generosity." She said neighbors often lend money that helps them get through difficult times. Her dislikes are that it is noisy compared with Deca and Melody and people taking advantage of others. She told a story about when the water service to the community was cut just last week firefighters came to supply them with water but quickly ran out because some people showed up with large barrels. Then those with barrels sold the water that they got for free from the firemen to those who didn't get their ration. It took days for the firemen to come back, so some people were forced to buy. Luckily for her family, the pastor of her church lives in a different community and he provided them with water.

She feels safe at home. Generally, she feels safe most places, but new places can be uncomfortable to her. She said she is only really uncomfortable when she has to pass by tambays at night. She recalled a time when she was on her way to youth fellowship and "passed by an *eskinita* (narrow alley) and saw that there were people drinking. We had a friend with us - she's pretty - and as we were walking, they all of a sudden did this to her [gestures about touching]. So, we ran." She said that since then she learned to "avoid passing through sketchy

places. If we know there might people drinking there, we go around instead of passing right through them." It occurs to me that in a community like Pabahay 2000, avoiding eskinitas and groups of boys/men on the street really narrows down where you can go. It also suggests from her story that she feels that her frequent and everyday routes pose some danger that she has normalized because she speaks casually about it. She also clearly believes that it is her responsibility to avoid such situations. Generally, she thinks that Pabahay 2000 is safe for women and men and children. However, she notes that there are some spaces that are safer than others in the community. When asked if the street she lived on was safe at night she said, "Well, yes. But sometimes I pick up my pace when walking, because I sometimes see people doing *shabu* (meth) in the shadows… I see them holding a small plastic bag - like those I see in the news when they catch drug suspects. I just avoid looking at them and try to walk home faster." She is dismissive about suggesting what could make the community safer.

No one supervises her or her *barkada* when they are out. This is consistent across everyone that I've interviewed so far, which is interesting because in India the kids were highly supervised and strictly controlled. She did mention that she is not allowed to have a boyfriend yet. However, she does have a "special friend" but they don't go out because she is worried that someone would find out. She said that couples are pretty demonstrative and hang out everywhere. But she thinks that most hang out together at SM and window shop while holding hands.

She has traveled alone to run a family errand from her house to Tondo (on the port of Manila). She stayed there with her aunt. Otherwise, she mostly walks. She moved to Pabahay 2000 from Tondo about 10 years prior. She said the main difference between Pabahay 2000 and Tondo is that Tondo never sleeps; it is bustling all day and night while in Pabahay it is "already dark at 7 pm or 8 pm and everyone is already at home." Also, the houses in Tondo were shanties made from wood while in Pabahay the houses are made from concrete. When asked where she wants to live later in life, she mentions a nice subdivision called Bellvue with security that you can report noise complaints.

The farthest place she has been to is called Secret Garden, its past Harmony 3. She went with her *barkada* including two guys because the view is supposed to be good for a Facebook profile. They say the place is beautiful, so we got curious. So, when we went out, that was one of the places we went to. We had two companions, two boys. They were *pinagtripan* (beat up with

no reason), so there. Two of my classmates, they were beaten up – but we weren't able to go to the Secret Garden they talk of. Just as we were about to enter the place, people were waiting on us, then they did that."

She thinks Pabahay 2000 could be better if there was a volleyball court. She things that sports are a good way to spend time for youth. "This would be good so that they don't get into trouble, like unwanted pregnancies." She also wants more lights and guards patrolling the *eskinitas* (alleys) because "that is where things like kidnappings happen." She thinks the side of the streets in Pabahay 2000 are used for parking cars, for *tambayans*, and for parties.

Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Pabahay 2000

Burger and Kathleen's vignettes are helpful to understand the range of topics and influences that each adolescent navigates through their environmental experience. They also reinforce the qualitative nature of this study in documenting a collection of individual experiences. Yet, their perspectives only represent two voices in a large community with thousands of adolescents.

Name	Gender	Age	Religion	School Type	House Type/Floor Area/Lot Size
The Local: Burger	M	14	N/A	Public	Row House /22 m^2/36 m^2
The Churchgoer: Cathleen	F	15	Christian	Private	Row House /22 m^2/36 m^2
The Climber: Kyrie	M	13	N/A	ALS*	Row House /22 m^2/36 m^2
The Newcomer: Jobsey	F	15	N/A	ALS	Row House /22 m^2/36 m^2
The Country Boy: Ash	M	14	N/A	ALS	Single-Family/N/A

Table 6: The roster of adolescents from the Pabahay 2000 site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study (Source: author 2021). *ALS is an acronym for Alternative Learning System.

I held three additional in-depth interviews that included the full spectrum of mapping and photovoice with Kyrie (The Climber), Jobsey (The Newcomer), and Ash (The Country Boy) as well as an intensive focus group with fifteen other adolescents. In this section, I summarize the data from working with these 20 adolescents and identify "public spaces in practice" specific to

their experience in Pabahay 2000. The table below shows the roster of adolescents from the Pabahay 2000 site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study. At the end of the chapter, I compare the summaries across sites according to eight themes and then develop questions about adolescent's spatial environments that are answered in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

The Additional In-Dept Interviews

These additional interviews give insight into the experiences of adolescents who have dropped out of school. School spaces are fundamental to meeting adolescent's environmental needs of social mixing and athletic activity. Spaces such as playgrounds, courtyards, classrooms, commons, hallways, and lunchrooms often offset their need for public space (Tranter and Malone 2004). I recruited some participants in Pabahay 2000 who had dropped out of school and were attending (at varying degrees of consistency) an Alternative Learning System (ALS). ALS provides an alternative to traditional education for students with extenuating circumstances such as pregnancy, a need to work, issues of motivation and behavior, or those returning to school after a long break. However, ALS in Pabahay 2000 is conducted in a large, single classroom above the market and does not have the traditional supporting spaces typical of a school environment. Further, the students in ALS tend to be adults and not adolescents so the social opportunities are very different from traditional school.

Kyrie (The Climber) occasionally attended ALS. He was mostly despondent during the interview although he volunteered. He didn't show up for the second interview but completed the photovoice exercise. In trying to locate him, I came across his father gambling on the sidewalk near their house. His father shrugged and chuckled in response to Kyrie's absence and noted that if he didn't want to attend then it would be hard to find him.

Kyrie has lived in Pabahay 2000 since he can remember and feels like he knows the place well. His photographs reinforce his familiarity with the community because they show a sequence in which Kyrie climbs the side of an abandoned building to walk across rooftops. The rooftop as public space is a very interesting find. The rooftop space appears to be a common hangout because of the discarded food wrappers but also, possibly, a dangerous place because of the piece of wood with nails sticking out that appears to be used as a weapon.



Figure 32: The rooftop appears to be a common hangout because of the food wrappers discarded on the roof but also, possibly, a dangerous place because of the wood stick with nails sticking out that appears to be a weapon. (Source: Kyrie 2018).

Kyrie didn't mention the rooftop hangout in his first interview, rather he spoke only of the basketball court as his primary domain. He said that his *barakada* recently found a new basketball court to hang out at that was in an adjacent community. He didn't elaborate on the reason why but later in the interview hinted that he was scared of the *tambayans* who hang out on the court and use drugs.

In contrast to Kyrie, Jobsey attended ALS regularly but didn't consider herself as a typical "ALS" material. She was in ALS because she had recently moved to Pabahay 2000 from Batangas, an international port city about 100km south of Manila, and wasn't planning on staying. In Batangas she was always out with her friends and decided to drop out of school. Because of her social lifestyle, her aunt took her to live with her in Pabahay 2000. Jobsey was angry because her *barkada* was "*hindi naman po*" (not really) the reason for her dropping out of school. She noted, "*dahil ano po- dahil sa kanila po natuto po ako makipag, natutong lumaban* (I learned how to fight for myself because of them [her old friend group])." She said she will go back to Batangas as soon as she finishes the ALS program (she returned just three weeks later,

before completing ALS and the second interview). During the interview, Jobsey was shy and quiet, and she gave very short answers.



Figure 33: He said that his *barakada* recently found a new basketball court to hang out at that was in an adjacent community.

She mostly described her experience as *naboboring po kasi ako* (boring). She wished she could meet new friends instead of just staying at home and playing on her phone and watching TV. In contrast to the interview, 10 of her 15 photos were of a friend group hanging out in an informal space in the Pabahay 2000 market near the ALS classroom. This space was important because it was clearly a storage area in the back of the market that the adolescents converted into a hangout. They used boxes and storage containers for seating and put up a shower curtain for privacy as the walls were made of cage wire mesh and allowed for auditory and visual exposure. In the photographs, the teenagers made faces at the camera, played on their phones, and ate snacks. The busy market and bright daylight could be seen in the background suggesting that they occupied this space in the afternoon while the market was busy. It afforded gradients of privacy with the security of public surveillance.


Figure 34: A friend group hanging out in an informal space in the Pabahay 2000 market near the ALS classroom. (Source: Jobsey 2018).

She told us that she felt like she spent all of her time at home watching her nieces/nephews. She took three pictures, all inside a house, that had toddlers in them – presumably her nieces/nephews. She told us that sometimes, when she watched her two-year-old nephew, she would take him for a walk to the street court, but she never played there. She noticed that only guys played at the basketball court (street court) and there were never any girls (*Pag dumadaan po ako sa court bago pumasok, marami po akong nakikita… Opo, puro boys po talaga*.) She noticed that there were other kids her age that hung out on the street, though. She saw them smoking and listening to music on their cellphones and talking.

Another interesting moment in the interview was when Jobsey described her ideal hangout as particularly urban in contrast to most adolescents who preferred controlled nature. She liked places that were "lively" (*mas masaya po talaga pag maingay*). She liked a place to have a lot of other people around because that is what would make it feel safe (*feel ko okay… opo, dahil marami po akong kasama*). She didn't care for places in nature. These sentiments contrast with the overgrown abandoned plots that she photographed between Pabahay 2000 and Melody. Other adolescents said that these areas were often hangout spaces.

Even though she had strong negative emotions about being in Pabahay 2000, as a place, she gave it a fair rating. It was good because it was "not chaotic," "quiet," and "mostly clean" (*siguro po hindi po magulo, wala po masyadong- tahimik po siya… malinis, di siya makalat*). She didn't like that "*siguro po maraming aso po* (there were too many stray dogs outside)" because they scared her, and the alleys were too narrow (*Sa mga eskinita po medyo masikip na. Marami po kasing eskinita dun, pero medyo masikip-sikip na. Hindi na po nadadaanan ng mga sasakyan; ang nakakadaan lang po ay motor*). She said she wished the alleys were wide enough for a car to pass through and not just a scooter.

Ash (The Country Boy), who also attends, ALS brings the unique perspective of an adolescent who depends on the amenities of the resettlement community but does not actually live there. His family lives about 2.5 km from the Pabahay market on a rural lane surrounded by farms. Ash stopped schooling for unknown reasons at age 10 and was now going back to school through ALS. He had a great attitude.



Figure 35: *Pag dumadaan po ako sa court bago pumasok, marami po akong nakikita… Opo, puro boys po talaga* [only guys play at the basketball court (street court) and there are never any girls] (Source: Jobsep 2018).



Figure 36: An overgrown abandoned plot that she photographed between Pabahay 2000 and Melody. (Source: Jobsey 2018).

His main actives are hanging out with friends, building forts, and storytelling. He took a photo with the following caption, "*Tambayan. kwentuhan kasama kaibigan.* [hangout. chat with friends]. They sometimes play traditional Filipino games on the street between their houses such as tumbang preso, sipaang bola, sipaang lata (which he calls, "90's games). Ash's *barkada* has five members who are all boys between 13-14 years old. He said that they met each other about five years prior because they are *gala* (people who rove around). They currently *naggagala* (rove around) at places with trees and at a *bukid* (farm) near their homes. He took a photo with the following caption, "*Gilid ng bukid. puno ng saging. Sampalok. kama chile.* [Edge of the farm. banana tree. Sampalok. Tamarid Tree]." He doesn't like to go out alone because he wants to have someone to talk to. He likes the *bukid* (farm) because it is breezy, has natural beauty, and has a lot of trees – he makes a point to list specific varieties of trees.



Figure 37: *Tambayan. kwentuhan kasama kaibigan.* [hangout. chat with friends]


Figure 38: *Gilid ng bukid. puno ng saging. Sampalok. kama chile.* [Edge of the farm. banana tree. Sampalok. Tamarid Tree] (Source: Ash 2018).

They also play basketball in the nearby neighborhoods (200m away). He mentions that they don't have parks in this area. Sometimes they play but mostly they must watch the other kids play because they don't have a ball to play with. When they watch, they tell each other stories. He says there are *siga* (Research Assistant Clarisse believes him to mean "gangsters" or "tough guys" from the way he uses it) around 19 years old that hang out at the courts. Even when he and his friends are quiet, the *siga* come over and pick on them. He generally doesn't like the basketball court (it is just a half court) because "sometimes there are brawls there, that is where – during the night, that is where *adiks* (drug addicts) hang out." He notices that only boys play on the basketball court, and some are *dumadayo* (people from other places that come play). He and his friends make sure to leave the court by 8 pm because of the *tambay* there (fears). The court is open (uncovered) and hot and noisy.

When asked about girl's spaces he says, "only there at the front of their houses" because other places are "too far [for girls to go safely]." He says that girls play volleyball but there are no facilities for them nearby.

He feels safe at home and makes a point to say that it's not because he is scared but rather "to avoid the drunkards who start a fight." They are nearby his house and come over for "drinking sessions." He says he feels safe at home because he can "run away and close the door." This implies that he feels a sense of agency and control over his environment at home but it's also interesting that he is not connecting safety to his parent's protection. It's also interesting that when asked what he doesn't like about his community he says, "there's none, we don't have *eskinita-eskinita* (alleys)," which implies that the alleyways in Pabahay 2000 are dangerous spaces where bad things happen and that by eliminating the space the bad things are eliminated too.

The Focus Group

I organized the focus group into breakouts by gender and age over a period of two hours. It included games such as storytelling, ball-toss, and activities such as coloring to break up the intensity of the discussions and keep the group engaged. I provided reimbursement for travel expenses and lunch to encourage attendance. The participants identity was never documented to protect their privacy and thus quotes are minimal in this section.

Adolescents in the focus group were highly engaged in school and church activities as well as independent dance groups. The expressed a lot of pressure to do well in school. They have a lot of school projects that require group homework and practice. In a contextual interview, a community member explained that in the Philippines school was the primary vehicle for distributing resources to families and thus most families push their children to attend school regularly. Most of the adolescents had to travel on a bus to get to school (as far as a 1-hour commute), which cuts into their free time. Many found the intensity of school and school-related activities to be exhausting and thus reported that in their free time they rested. Local schools have a morning and afternoon session so that the facility can accommodate twice the number of students. The school session thus drives the adolescents schedule into a "morning bird" or "night owl" trajectory. The participants in the Young Adolescent breakout group talked extensively about hangouts at the school that were informally permitted for the "good students." They liked these spaces because they were peaceful, safe, and exclusive.

Church was also another major influence on adolescent's environmental experiences. Generally, the participants who said they went to church did so as a family activity and those who did not go to church did not spend a lot of time with their family. The Church separated youth groups by gender and the girls preferred it this way. The Churches sponsored many of the private schools in the area and required attendance at services.

The basketball court was a contentious space because the participants said that they were often "pushed" off the court by older people. This drove them to seek out or construction smaller courts on the street. The Female Adolescent breakout group revealed that they were not harassed at the court so much as they were "embarrassed to talk about girl stuff on the court because the boys might hear it."

Social media is a key pathway for schools to communicate with students. Almost all of the participants have Facebook accounts but only use the messenger feature because it is accessible without a data plan on the cellphone. One participant brought up that his mother made his Facebook account for him when he was 10. Many participants have their own cell phone, and all have regular access to a family member's cell phone.

The participants in the Male Adolescents breakout group revealed that different *barkadas* territorialize the computer shops. They have favorite computers and typically go to the same location each time. They go as a group because they will stand around the computer and

watch one person play in order to make their money last longer. There is a class difference as some computer shops are more expensive because they provide air conditioning, and some operate 24 hours. They revealed that *komp adiks* is a term used to refer to the people who stay up all night playing.

The Female Adolescents breakout group voiced a stigma about the girls that are in a "mixed-gender" gang called PTH (Pabahay Town Head). They fight with other girls in the vacant lots between Pabahay 2000 and Melody Plains Subdivision (Jobsey took several photos of these vacant lots). Adults in the community, parents, and teachers tightly regulated most of the girls' activities but they didn't seem to mind because the rules made them feel safer. Generally, they avoid spaces that are male-dominated and only went out when they were in a group. Most of the girls have a curfew around 6 pm whereas the boys were generally around 9 pm.

The Young Adolescents breakout group said that they start having the freedom and will to stroll on their own around the age of 10 but they typically play at the street corner near their house. They generally felt safe to walk around but the destinations that they want to go to require a jeepney (namely the view deck at SM mall). Within the community, the Male Adolescent breakout group said the streets and the alleyway crossings were popular for games such as tag. Some hang out in the town of Muzon, which is walkable, but noted that the store owner checks their student identification card (which lists their school hours) and prevents them from cutting class. They all agreed that they wanted a park with nature, specifically an open are for physical activity. One vocal participant said, "I want to take selfies with nature and not with Jolibee" and this was unanimously endorsed.

"Public Spaces" in Practice

From the focus group discussion and the five intensive interviews, I identified the five primary hangout locations that were "public spaces" in practice to be the pocket half courts, the computer shops, the vacant lots between Pabahay 2000 and Melody Homes (referred to henceforth as "melody lots"), the residential streets, and the covered basketball court.[30] Most of these spaces are categories of types of space rather than a singular location. I used the results of

[30] Recall that I am using the concept of "public space in practice" to refer to spaces that may or may not be formally public space but due to their perceived accessibility, non-domesticity, and support of social activities they act as public space within a particular community.

the mapping exercises to identify the most active singular space within each type for spatial analysis. The results of the spatial analysis are reported in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*. The next community, Towerville VI was built nearly a decade after Pabahay 2000 but the policies guiding the architecture and community design were similar resulting in similar densities and also similar themes from the adolescents' interviews.

Towerville VI

Towerville VI is the largest community in this study. According to the National Housing Authority there are 8,514 families living in an area of 124 acres (or 69 families per acre; about 412 people per acre) about 5.6% higher residential density than Pabahay 2000. However, this population does not reflect the residents in co-located communities such as Gaya-Gaya. Residents told me that from the ground, they experience Gaya-Gaya and Towerville VI as a continuous community despite the creek that separates them. Including Gaya-Gaya, the population of Towerville VI is over 10,000 collocated families. Less than 1% of Towerville VI is designated for commercial development and one school provides all the allocated public space. This site provides a glimpse into the dangers of planned overcrowding.

Site Analysis

The government developed Towerville IV as an agricultural site just across the river from the urban area Caloocan. There are no vehicle crossings in the area, just a single foot bridge. The community consists of seven subphases of development labeled 6A-6F.[31] The government used these subphases to break up the development into seven different construction contracts to expedite the project.

Similar to Pahabay 2000, the community consists of 18 to 25 single-room dwellings in a zero-lot line formation abutting end to end to form a subblock. There are between 8-10

[31] To facilitate mapping, I did not include subphases 6F and 6G in the spatial analysis and thus not shown on the figure ground diagram. Because, they follow the same floorplans and spatial logic this additional area was not needed to evaluate the built environment of Towerville VI; I worked under the assumption that the spatial qualities in 6A-6E transfer to 6F and 6G. For transparency, they are highlighted in .

subblocks that form a block. The Maringal National High School, including the covered basketball court is in the center block. This resettlement community sits on the border of two barangays (administrative districts). Originally, the color of the roof signaled the barangay to which the house belonged; red roofs were assigned to Gaya-Gaya and white and green roofs were assigned to Graceville. However, at some point in the last five years, this practice has stopped.

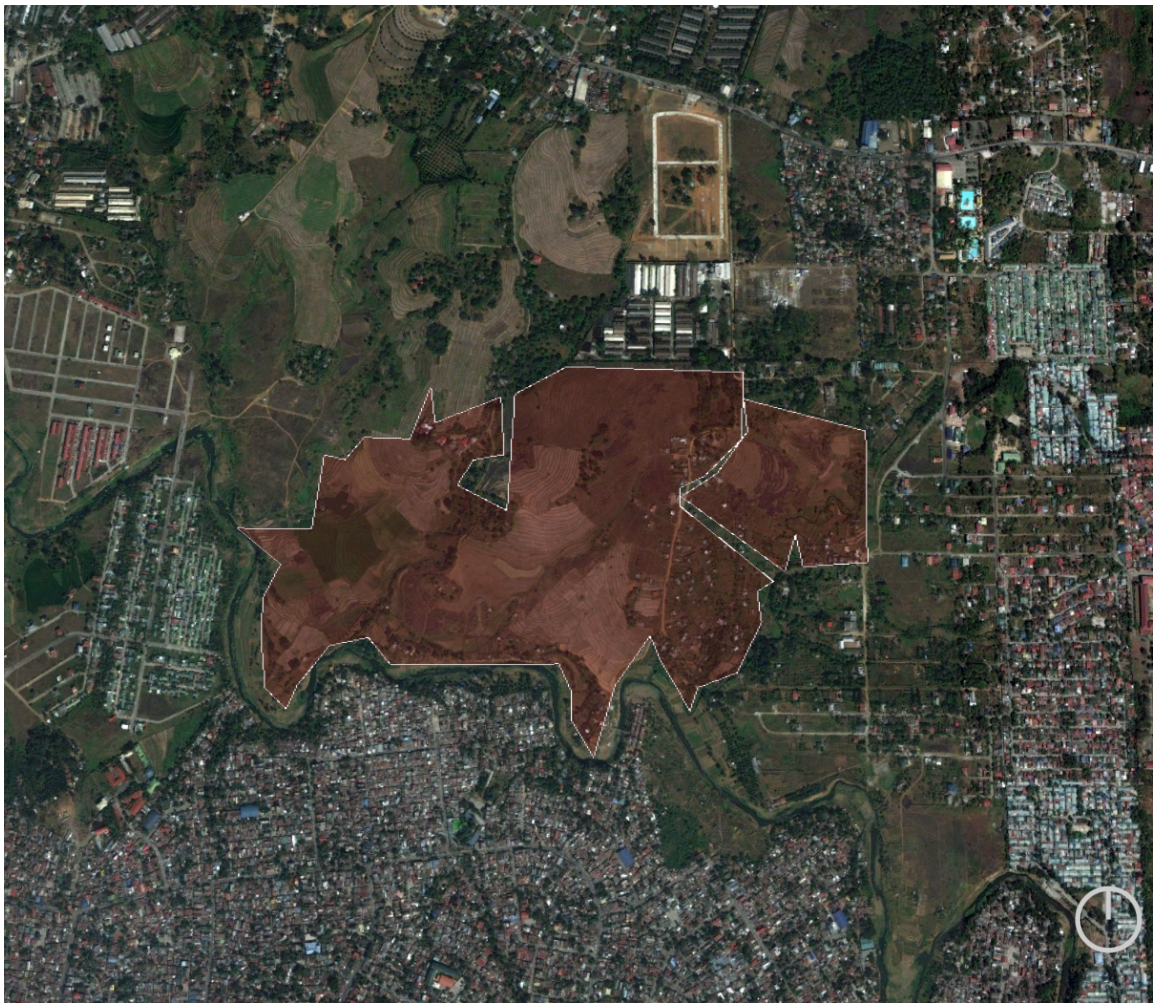


Figure 39: Towerville IV was developed on an agricultural site just across the river from the urban area Caloocan. (Source: Google Earth, 2011 with author edits)



Figure 40: Originally, the color of the roof signaled the *barangay* to which the house belonged; red roofs were assigned to Gaya-Gaya and white and green roofs were assigned to Graceville. (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021).

The community plan uses a modified grid layout. There are more open/vacant lots available in Towerville VI than in Pabahay 2000. However, they are not useful recreational spaces. The streets have a three-tiered hierarchy with the main road at 11m, the streets at 10m, and the alleyways at 4m that are easily distinguishable in the figure ground diagram. This community expands into agricultural areas to the North, East, and West while flanked on the Southern edge by a river and an informal settlement. Garden Village is located two kilometers to the Southeast.

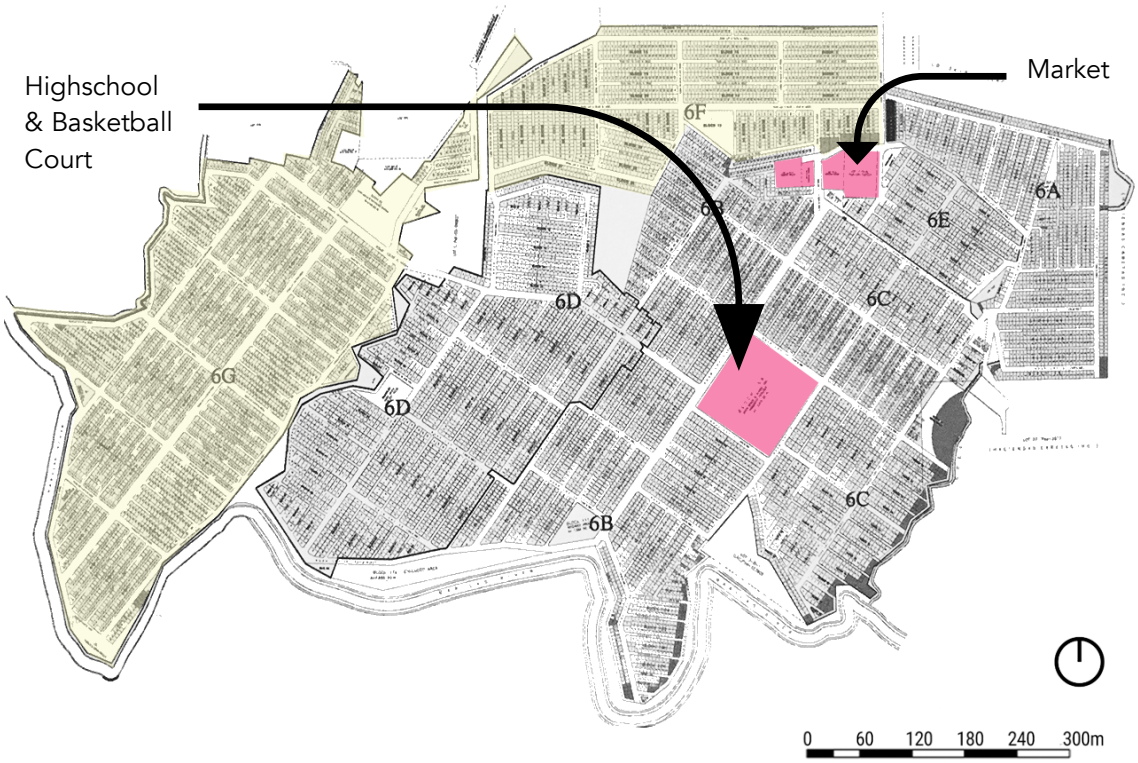


Figure 41: The community consists of seven subphases of development labeled 6A-6F (National Housing Authority with author edits, 2018).

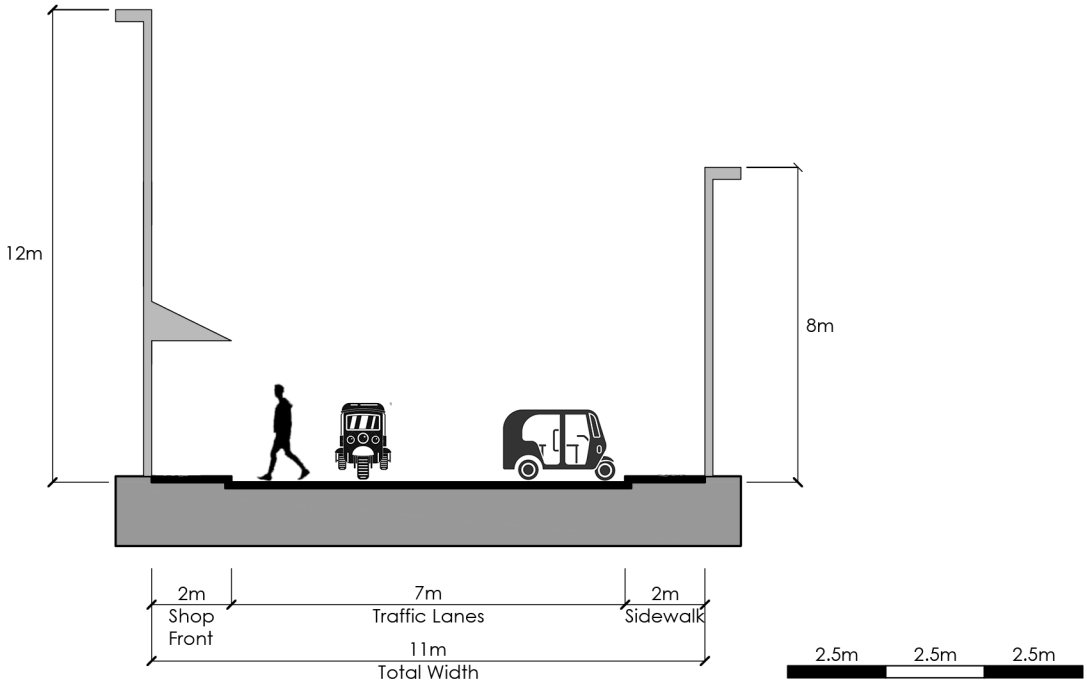


Figure 42: The main road is 11m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

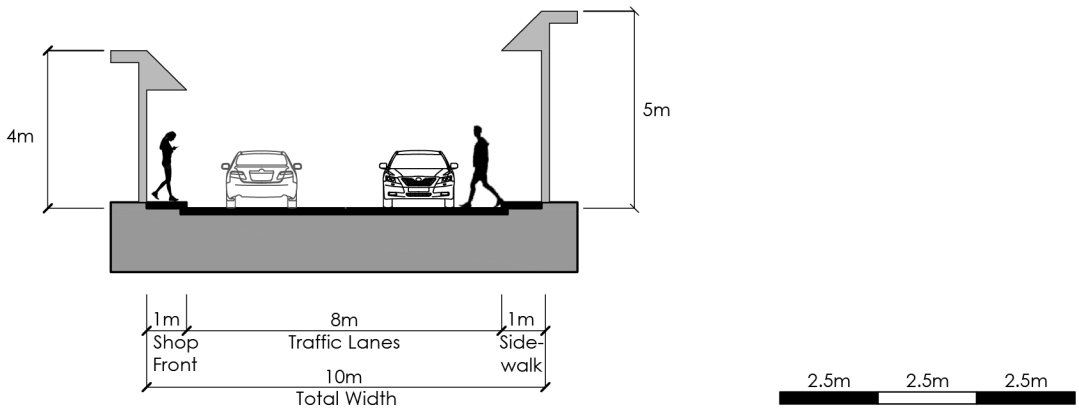


Figure 43: The streets are 10m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

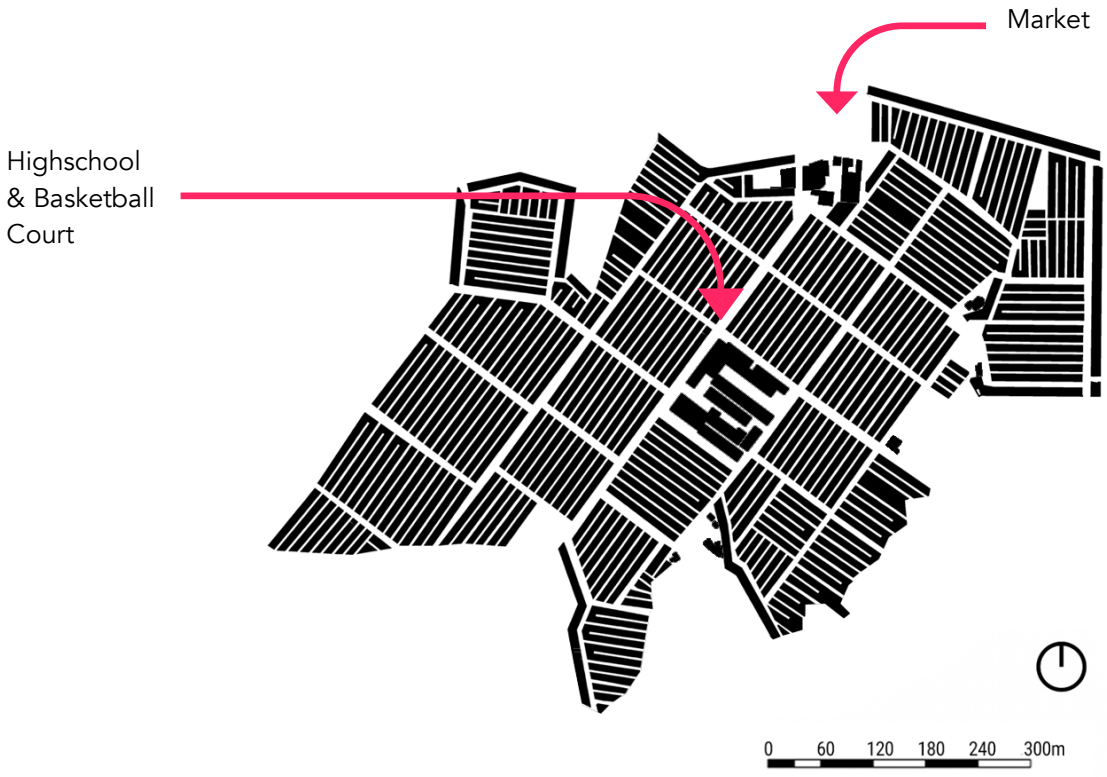


Figure 44: The streets have a three-tiered hierarchy with the main road at 10m, the streets at 8m, and the alleyways at 4m that is easily distinguishable in the figure ground diagram. (Source: Shrestha 2020).



Figure 45: The government constructed the houses in rows each sharing a common wall (zero-lot line). (Source: Author 2018).

Community Origins

Towerville VI is located just a few kilometers from Garden Village, but it was vastly distant in form and character. It was one of many expansions to an older relocation site with a combined population of over 12,000 families spread over *Barangay* Graceville and *Barangay* Muzon. The community was rundown and tired with an air of tension on the streets. The residents did not relocate from the same informal community or the same ancestral village at the same time; neighbors spoke different languages and had different conditions governing relocation. Some were victims of Typhoon Ondoy while others resettled from railway easements

and still others relocated from public property. Without similar cultures or circumstances the community didn't form a strong People's Organization and was not able to advocate for their interests in the way Garden Village was successful. The residents of Towerville VI did not have a say in their relocation site or in the design of the community or the layout of their homes. This detachment from their surroundings seemed to contribute to a lack of household maintenance and an increased presence of violence.

The community had been living together since 2006 and over the last decade the hardships of remote relocation had visibly taken a toll. Abandoned carts and vehicles dotted the narrow lanes. The government constructed the houses in rows each sharing a common wall (zero-lot line). The single-room houses were one-level with a small, attached bathroom along the rear alley. As with the front of the house, the alley, too, had been encroached and now was impassable by foot traffic. Many families used the alley encroachment space as the kitchen and for storage of bedding. Few residents made architectural improvements suggesting that they did not consider the community as a long-term solution.

An Architectural Tour of Towerville VI

The vastness of Towerville VI is difficult to describe because the housing typology is so unassuming and low. There are only three entrances to the community and the one I used most often connected at the base of a hill to Graceville. The perspective of looking up into the community hid the reality that it extends across several hills and valleys. Only when I toured Maringal National High School, which is located at the highest point and was inside an office on the third floor did I finally understand the extent of the community. For this architectural tour, the community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map and are intended to establish a general visual understanding of the community. I will cover the architectural analysis of public spaces in each community in detail in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

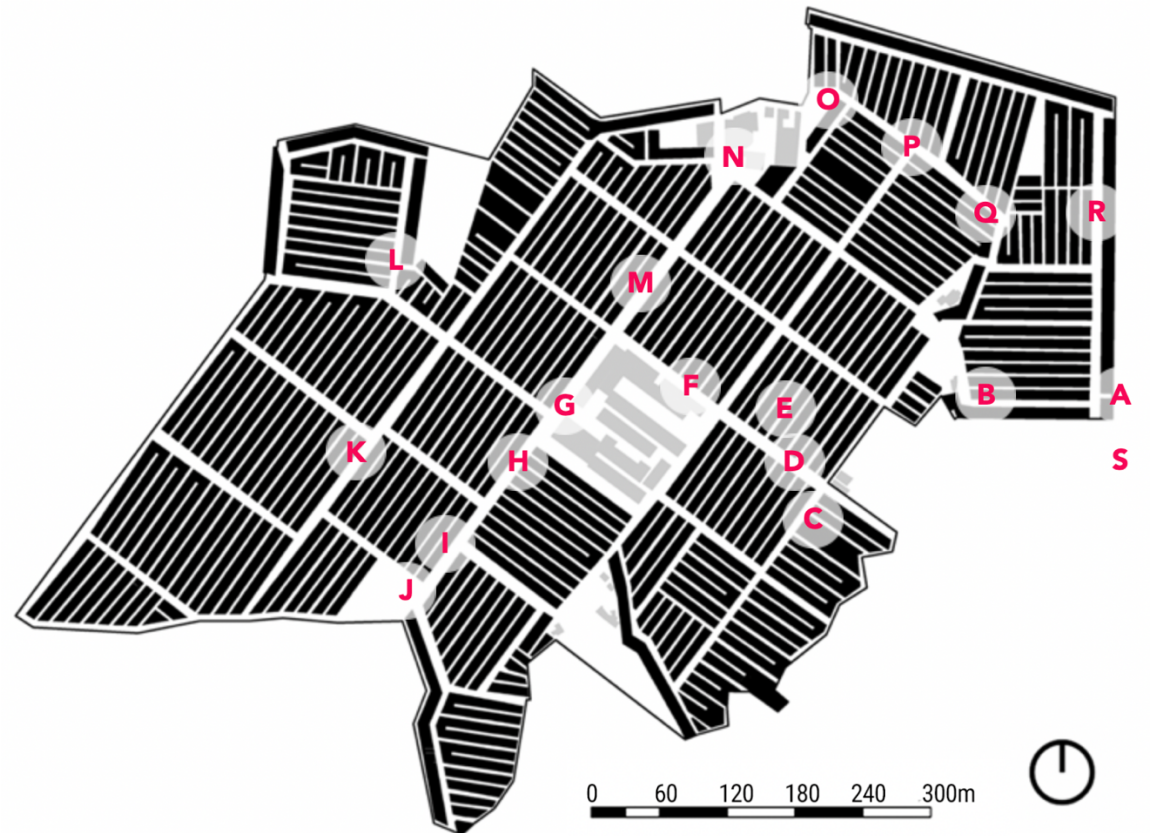


Figure 46: The community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map. (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020).




C


D


E


F


G


H


I


J


K


J


K


L


M

N



O



P









The entrance to Towerville VI from *barangay* Graceville is difficult to find. It is a small, unpaved connector that often floods, stranding the community and causing a bottle neck at the remaining two locations (A). The school is located at the community's highest point and is a wayfinding landmark (B). Over the past decade there has not been a place for community gathering other than the school basketball court. While I was conducting fieldwork in 2018, the

National Housing Authority started on a community stage at the far edge of the community that was a popular shady spot for young children (C).

There are a few lofted housing blocks, but most are single story unless the residents renovated them (D). The side street and alleyways are popular play spaces for younger children. They are often covered with tarpaulin and hanging laundry which shades the hot sun (E). The expansiveness of the community is not readily visible from the streets; it's only when viewed from the highpoint of the high school. However, the high school grounds are strictly controlled through guards, perimeter fencing, signs, and gates (F). The covered basketball court is located on the same block as the high school and elementary schools. The popular node is also a transportation hub for trikes (G).

The wide main street loses its liveliness after the basketball court node and feels more like a barren wasteland (H). Many residents are not able to/don't pay for electricity and use wood coal as fuel for cooking on indoor fires (I). This means that many of the houses are dark inside as the interior walls are stained with soot and mold. The main road dead-ends into the river with a vacant lot on the right that has been used as an area for dumping trash (J). Along the residential streets, in-home food stands, and kiosks offer popular treats (K, L). Scooters and motorcycles dominated the main streets throughout the community while pedestrian activities were primarily in the alleyways and residential streets (M).

The market was at the threshold of the second entrance to Towerville VI making it more accessible to adjacent communities and less accessible to residents of the community's southern and western residents (N). The market includes formal stores and franchises as well as a long series of kiosks and roadside stands of informal vendors from both Towerville VI as well as the surrounding community (O). The wide streets and lack of green space means that there are very few options for shade making pedestrian activity uncomfortable (P).

Unlike the other communities, very few houses in Towerville VI had been modified to commandeer the sidewalk. However, the sidewalks were commandeered by the units in informal ways such as storing live chickens, sitting outside, or as a raised platform (probably to keep floodwaters from entering the house); in this image these young boys are gambling without money (Q). Raising roosters for fighting is a popular sport and caged roosters' line many of the streets (R). Although just outside of the resettlement community, this popular pool hall was

frequently mentioned by the adolescents in Towerville VI as a place where young men and boys hangout (S).

The architectural tour of Towerville VI provides a sense of the community environment and the range of spaces. And, as in Pabahay 2000, it also identified the planned and formal public spaces and described their current conditions. Still, an architectural analysis must be paired with resident's experiences to understand how the spaces function in practice. To expand the environmental understanding of Towerville VI, I provide two vignettes from adolescents in the community. I summarized the results of working with the focus group participants a bit later.

The Mother: Julia

We interviewed Julia at her aunt's house (where she was living) so she could look after her 3-month-old son, Joy. He was sound asleep when we arrived, and Julia was watching MTV with her cousin. We asked her cousin to leave for privacy. After the interview started her son woke up and she held him during the interview. Julia gave detailed and elaborate descriptions. She was very polite, respectful, and willing to share. To me, she looked very happy to be a mother and did not act ashamed even though her aunt had made some derogatory comments about her situation to us when we explained the project weeks prior.

The pictures below are of the participant-directed maps for Towerville VI and for barangay Graceville (administrative district). According to the mapping exercise, Juila has a small range of 650 m from her house (radius).

Julie's family owns multiple houses in the neighborhood. They also own the grocery in a sewing shop. Her aunt has the standard, one-room, resettlement house as everyone else in Towerville 6 (T6). In the main room there is a small counter (2m long) with a sink and some things for cooking. The place was clean and simple - no shelves, no posters. Turquois walls and cement floor. Every day, Julia and her aunt pull the mattress out and convert the single room into the bedroom at night. To accommodate Research Assistant Raph and myself, Julia had pushed the mattress up against the bathroom wall. The baby was sleeping on his back swaddled in some blankets on the only place to sit, a wooden bench. Before she left, her cousin brought in some plastic chairs for Raph and me, while Julia sat on a plastic stool.



Figure 47: Participant-directed map for Towerville VI. (Source: Julia 2018).

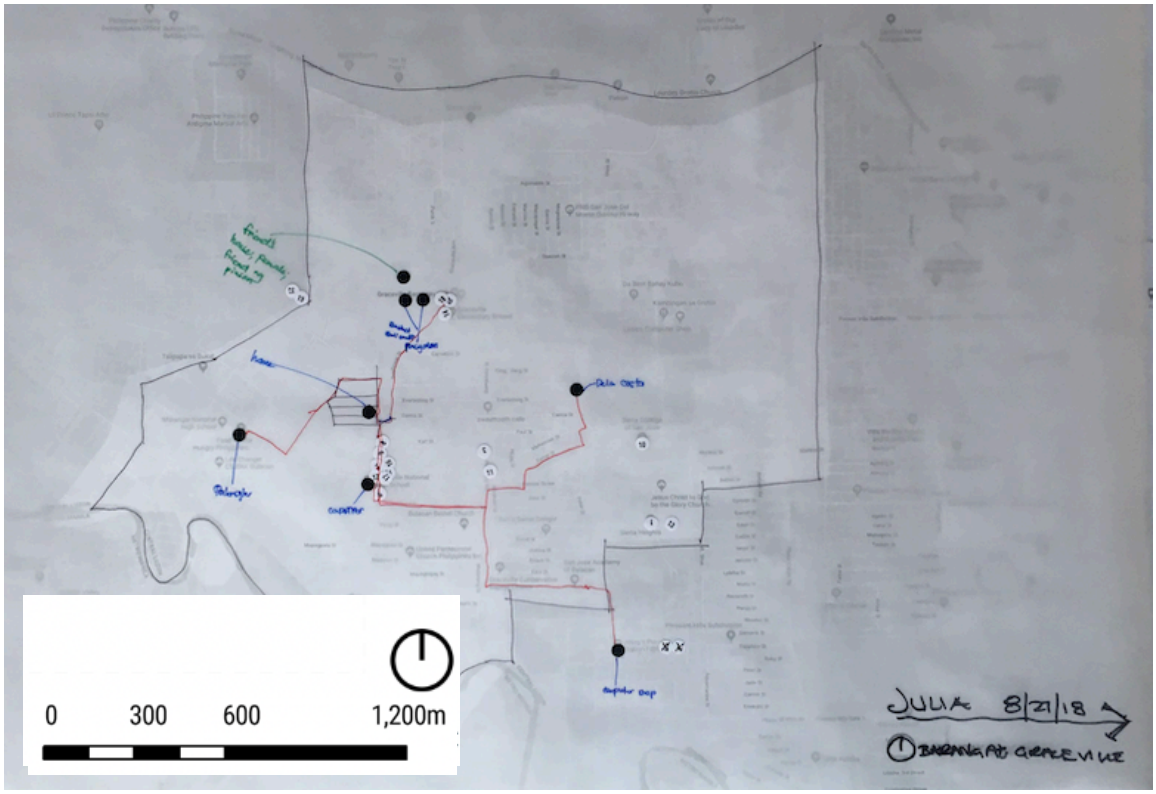


Figure 48: Participant-directed map for barangay Graceville. (Source: Julia 2018).

Julia has a *barcada* of five people, four girls and one boy. They like to hang out near the metal bridge. Interestingly, Julia says that she "*tambayan*" and "vice," which are typically terms that are used negatively to describe other people and rarely used to describe oneself. When we asked her, what does she mean by "vice" she said, "cigarettes." She was clear to say she does not play. Not even on phones or mobile games. Later in the interview she revealed that she does do these things but has been cautioned against them because they may distract from good parenting. Only when her aunt or another family member is looking after her baby does she go out. "I look for my *barkada* and I ask them out to *tambay*."

She said that her *tambay* habits are different now that she has a baby to look after. "Before, I'd be there every day. After school I'd go there immediately, and I'll go home in the afternoon. Now I can't come by as much, they are the ones who go here." When she is at home, she just watches TV, cleans, and washes the dishes. She hangs out at her house for about four hours. She wakes up around 7 am and then goes out around 11 am. She dropped out of school a year before she got pregnant.

Julia's mom restricts where she can go but it is ineffectual. She goes where she wants and hides it from her mom. She tells Ralph about her plans. "I can't go to de la Costa [Homes] nor *pakwanan*. When [they] leave in the morning, you can't go out immediately. I clean the house first and then I go to my friend's house. My uncle would usually accompany me there." She explains that she gets out when no one is guarding her. She goes to places that are outside of her community like SM mall.

When I asked about public space, Julia immediately responded with "the view deck in SM Mall." She said that she goes with her *barakada* and they chat, buy food, and just pass the time. They also hang out at the circle just by Tom's World (an arcade).

She said that they like to hang out by the metal bridge because, "there are stairs there and there's a river at the bottom of it. It's long and metal, with cables and there's a road on the other side. There is a cement slab that is really long on the bank of the river." They picked that place because her friend lives there. They don't just walk across the metal bridge. They also climb down the side of the metal bridge and hang out underneath it, "because there are chairs there. Wooden chairs and the roof are the bridge. It's nice. Its windy. The air is fresh. I'm happy because I'm with my friends. I can relax, my body can relax." She also thinks that the space under the bridge is *asteeg* [cool] because it is a "place that people don't go too often. A place

that's not too eye catching." This is important to her because "sometimes we have stories that are just for us. We don't like people who are noisy and curse at each other like that." She took a picture of the bridge with the caption, "*tulay na bakal. daanan po sya ng mga tao at mahangin*. [iron bridge. people pass by and it's windy]. And a picture of the area underneath with the caption, "*tulay na bakal. sa baba po sya san po kami nakakapag usap usap in private*. [iron bridge. at the bottom where we can talk in private]."



Figure 49*: tulay na bakal. daanan po sya ng mga tao at mahangin*. [iron bridge. people pass by and it's windy] (Source: Julia 2018).



Figure 50: *Tulay na bakal. sa baba po sya san po kami nakakapag usap usap in private*. [iron bridge. at the bottom where we can talk in private]. (Source: Julia 2018).

However, a little later in the interview she said she doesn't like the river though. "[The river is] dirty, but there is only a little garbage. There are times that the water is huge, and there are times that the water is low. [It is] stinky, and then on the side there are animals, and the kids defecate there sometimes too." She said that when her friends want to eat snacks like *isaw* [grilled innards] they must eat on top of the bridge "cause there's animal poo and if we see it, we might not get to eat." As she talks, she becomes more negative about the environment around the bridge and the river. This leads Raph to ask her why they picked this place to *tambay*? "We don't have a choice. It's nearest to my friend. And it's the only place I'm allowed to go." Just on the other side of the bridge is an informal community that Julia refers to as the "squatters." Some of her friends live there and she visits their houses often. Their houses are made of "GI sheet and other light materials like wood" (GI refers to galvanized iron sheets).

They also like *tambay* at the *pakwanan*. This was an unclear use of the term as *pakwan* means watermelon. "They just call it *pakwanan* but it's a residential area." She said that she hangs out at the metal bridge for about 1 to 2 hours and about 30 minutes at *pakwanan*. According to the map that Julia annotated, *pakwanan* is a shop in the denser part of Towerville VI. It takes her 20 minutes to get there and when they do, "we'll talk and then ask each other out

for a cigarette. Just like that, then we'll buy food. Then we'll go back to the metal bridge and go home."

Julia mentioned that she goes to the basketball court near the barangay offices to sing. "If there's intramurals at school that's one week there. It's two days in *barangay*. We'll watch basketball, volleyball and sometimes we will practice there and sing and dance." She goes on to explain that she uses it for rehearsals to sing, dance, and perform. "If it's Valentines and there's a show, they include me with my aunt. And sometimes even if we have nothing to do, we just sang there." She also likes the wet market near the barangay office.

She also goes to the grotto with her friends. They only stay about 30 minutes. "We will meet up here and we'll walk there. Pass by the Grotto Vista, crossover, and then that's it [we have arrived]." Before church, Julia goes to SM Mall with her friends to walk around and eat. "We go up to four and sometimes three hours." She really likes Savano Park (amusement park) but she only goes on New Year's Day. She talked about how there are rides and activities like karaoke.



Figure 51: "We will meet up here and we'll walk there. Pass by the Grotto Vista, crossover, and then that's it [we have arrived]." (Source: quote by Julia, image by RJ 2018).

The photographs also revealed that she occasionally hangs out in front of the Graceville High School and meets up with friends she has there. She took two pictures with the following respective captions: "*practice ng athletic* [athletic practice]" and "*pwedeng tambayan* [quiet hang out group]."



Figure 52: *practice ng athletic* [athletic practice]. (Source: Julia 2018).

Having a baby has changed her life and small ways. Before she used to be on social media about three times a day but now, she only checks it once a day. Her parents told her that she couldn't have a smart phone because she wouldn't be able to take care of her child. "The keypad one is different from the touchscreen. The touchscreen has Internet and it's addicting it has Wattpad (an open-source story telling platform popular in the Philippines). If I have that I might forget my baby." She agrees and said, "I can feel the difference." Julia visits the computer shop near the school to access Facebook and YouTube now that she doesn't have a smart phone. She goes to the shop alone and uses social media to contact her friends. She goes about four days a week and spends about two hours a day there but it's mostly on weekends.



Figure 53: *pwedeng tambayan* [quiet hang out group]. (Source: Julia 2018).

She doesn't like her grandmother's house because she gets in trouble for *tambayan*. And, she said she doesn't like the on-way street near San Francisco Homes because it is a dark alley. It also a boys-only type of place where boys trip and have vices. She doesn't pass by there because other *barkadas* might *mapagtripian* (trip on her)… even *barkadas* that are all girls. However, she cannot think of any spaces are for girls only. At San Francisco, the danger is about cars. "People who go to the one-way [alley] pass by there. And in San Francisco there are not many people so if there's an accident, or people who got tripped on, no one will see it. It's mostly grass."

She feels safe at her friend's house, her aunt's house, and the metal bridge. She said that the metal bridge is safe because "they already know that we're the ones who hang out there." *It seems that what makes a place see if the Julia is when the people in the area know who she is and approve of her being there.*

In contrast, the places that she feels are dangerous are on the Marangal side, Dela Costa Homes, and San Francisco - these are all nearby neighborhoods. "In Dela Costa, my friends sometimes get in fights there. Then they'll get to, they'll warn us that they'll get us sacked. At Marangal, there are times, they'll go to Caritas in a uniform and they'll trip/gang up on people.

And if they also see un a uniform they'll trip/gang up on us. It's like they're not scared anymore, it's like they already what that place." She goes on to describe that 'dangerous spaces' are spaces that others claim as their territory. When asked if she had a territory, she said no.

Overall, Julia does not think that Towerville VI is safe for girls. "Here in Tower Ville, they say the criminals go here. We get on the news about killing and rape." It's also dangerous for boys because they get tripped on however the guys are safer because they have more strength than the girls have. Children are not safe. "Sometimes there are those that get the kids. Before, there by the river, there's a kid who fell and didn't get saved." However, Julia thinks that teenagers are safe "because they don't go to places that they don't know. They know if it's safe or not." For her, safety is about the ability to make cautious choices in where you hang out, with who, and when.

It's never safe at night, though. "No, at night there are places that are dark that you have no choice but to walk through. At night there are those who do vices and drink. At the dark they like it there, the tambays because they can see who's passing and who they can trip on." She is most afraid of "those who do vices because they're the ones who lose themselves and do wrong. Like that. Because you hear a lot of cousins who get raped and then in the other house, they killed their own spouse. They have the strength to do the evil things."

Julia knows where the drugs are sold. She described the location at the end of the alleyway where they both make and use drugs. She sees other *tambays* in the street, but she doesn't know any of them. She took a picture of this location and wrote the following caption, "*maraming nangtitrip at madilim* [many tripping and dark]."

When we asked her to talk about how to improve the community, Julia mentioned the safety of her family and friends. The police? "I can't say, there's a different side to the police, there are police who are bad, and there are police that are good." Local guards? "[They're] safe because the guard just stays there. They can't do bad stuff because everyone knows them."



Figure 54: *maraming nangtitrip at madilim* [many tripping and dark]. (Source: Julia 2018).

The bottom line continued to be that the more people you knew, the safer you would be. She did concede but adding a gate would make her safer "because if there is a gate there is no one else who can come in." In contrast to the other adolescents, Julia said that closed-circuit television would not make anyone safer. "No, a camera can't do much. If it can do anything, the incident is already done. It can tell you who did it, but the deed is done." She added suggestions such as "for every small street there's a light and always there should be a curfew." She believes that the curfew should be for everyone and not just those under 18 as the law currently stipulates because it would prevent kidnappings. Her advice to parents, now that she is a parent, is not to let your kids go out at night and don't allow them to walk around anywhere. She also wants to fix the roads and clean up the garbage.

When we asked about crimes in the area, Julia told of a heinous crime in which a young child was raped by the mother's boyfriend who was on drugs. The sibling of this child reported it to our team during the focus groups and we paused our study for a week while we brought in child protective services.

She added that she doesn't go to any parks or gardens. "I'm scared of them. I don't feel comfortable. Something bad might happen to me."

Julia has a husband. On weekends, both her and her partner as well as other couples go to church near the grotto, they also go to SM mall and then go home. They can hang out at home because they're "legal."

Julia moved to Tower Ville IV six years ago. Before that she lived in many places such as Lucena, Bulacan, Fairview, Caloocan, and Navotas. She moved every two to three years but lived in Quezon Province near Lucena the longest. She likes it there better because that's where her real family is. "We had fresh fish there, here it's greasy. There is the ocean and a lot of places to go to and we had more money to go to parks in the city. There is fresh air and every day you were at the beach." Lucena is a town of about 300,000 people nearly 200 km south of Manila. However, in Lucena they lived by the sea in shacks—some people had a cement house, but most were made of wood.

The Worker: RJ

We recruited RJ by walking around on a school day. His house was rundown and rough. There were two children playing outside. After we talked with RJ and he wanted to participate we asked if we could speak to his mom who was inside holding a baby with a toddler at her feet and doing chores. There were several small children inside, I counted seven, that I could see from the doorway. The mother was overwhelmed but allowed him to participate.

There's no private place to conduct an interview in Towerville VI. The closest office is the barangay office but that is nearly a kilometer away. We offered RJ the option to do the interview from our van that we could park near his house or to meet him at the barangay office. He preferred to sit in the van, however his two younger siblings (probably six to eight years old) wanted to tag along. This was controversial because we wanted to maintain RJ's privacy. I said the kids could not get into the car with us. The youngest seemed very worried for RJ. So, I asked our driver to sit outside of our car to show the children that we would not be leaving. Since our windows were blacked out, I also cracked my window a little bit so that they could see the tops of our heads. Every once in a while, the youngest sibling would knock on my window, and I would roll it down and give him a thumbs up and smile. This seemed to appease him. He sat across from our car and played with his other friends except when he got up to check on his

brother but after about 20-minutes he seemed to forget his concerns and ran off somewhere to play.

RJ wanted to participate in the interview but couldn't seem to gather his thoughts. Research Assistant Clarisse was very patient, but this led to a lot of silence and to keep the conversation going, suggestions. RJ took exquisite photos. Out of all the kids who participated in the study, he followed the instructions for auto photography exactly. In part, this is why we were so disappointed not to work with him in the second mapping interview. However, RJ had to get a job to help his mother in Manila and rarely came back to Towerville VI. We tried four separate occasions, but he missed all the appointments with profuse apologies although he did arrange to have his younger brother return the camera. This narrative is constructed just from his first interview and the photographs.

There are 10 people in his *barkada* and they like to hang out at Parang, which is a nearby place like a mountain or hill. They go there every week on Saturdays and Sundays to practice dancing. "It has a more beautiful view than other places, because it's spacious, and no one will disturb you. And whenever we practice, it's just us." There is a cemented pathway to the top and it only takes about 30 minutes to climb. What is interesting is that RJ is clear to describe Parang as "beautiful" but not "cool" as he describes the computer shop and the basketball court. He thinks that couples usually go to the mountain, Parang. However, the couples are older than him – perhaps around 20 or 21. He thinks that they go there because they want" to be left alone."

He is responsible for taking his younger siblings to school and doing a lot of the domestic chores. There are seven children and his family. After he wakes up, he cooks the rice and washes the dishes. When the chores are done, he likes to go hang out with his friends. They hang out at the SM mall and sometimes the computer shop. At SM mall he likes to go to the arcade and just walk around. When they meet up at the computer shop, they stay, playing games like Rules of Survival and Crossfire, for many hours sometimes even 24 hours at a time. Whoever goes into the computer shop together becomes one team playing against a group located somewhere else (*dumadayo*). They share one computer and take turns playing so their money last longer. He has social media through his Facebook account. He checks it every day "to talk to our family members from other places, or sometimes I talk to friends, or in Divisoria."



Figure 55: "It has a more beautiful view than other places, because it's spacious, and no one will disturb you." (Source: RJ 2018).

Sometimes he plays basketball at the courts near the school. He plays with his friends and classmates. When they get bored of playing, they get a snack. To invite his friends out to play he goes directly to their house. When he gets home, he sleeps –sometimes even early in the evening, like 8 PM. Since he doesn't go to school, he dropped out many years ago, on the weekends "it's just the same." He does not go to church.

He has a job in Divisoria but he works during the week. Typically, he comes home on Saturday and then leaves again to go there on Sunday. He is a guard at a clothing store. His boss is a Muslim man. He got the job through his sibling last December. He earns about 150 pesos per day. He takes the bus in the zone by himself which costs about 50 pesos and he takes it until Doroteo. Then he transfers to a jeep to get to division area. Sometimes he goes with his older brother.



Figure 56: Sometimes he plays basketball at the courts near the school. (Source: RJ 2018).



Figure 57: When they get bored of playing, they get a snack. (Source: RJ 2018).

During summer vacation he goes with his family to Rizal Park in Manila and Luneta in Divisoria (Ilaya) where he used to live. Compared to Divisoria, Towerville VI is quiet and has less fighting. Back there, "For example, there are neighbors quarrelling. There are also those who cause trouble to children. There are kids who go missing- many children got kidnapped. But here, if there's a missing kid, he or she can easily be found, it can be directly reported to the village." He also likes that the province's name means flower (*bulak*). He thinks that Towerville VI is better than Divisoria because before "it was too chaotic, too many children. The cars can't pass through the roads compared to here in Bulacan." He suggested that his family was relocated to Towerville VI because of flooding in Divisoria. He mentioned that the road was always muddy due to people passing by and a lot of water. He also said that he has more friends here, some of the friends from Divisoria transferred here like him but the others are still back there. He keeps in touch with them through Facebook.

While he prefers life here, he thinks that he had a better house there because it was much bigger. However, it was made of wood, and it was demolished. He doesn't know what was built in its place. He had more freedom in Divisoria too.

In a very interesting moment when we were talking about public space and Rizal Park, RJ said that he felt freer to walk around in Towerville VI. When we asked why he said Manila Bay or Rizal Park were very strict, and he was not allowed to go there. He explained that he had been turned away multiple occasions by the guards. They did not give him an explanation and he was too shy to ask why. "Like for example, when you enter near the garden, it is prohibited, we were not allowed there. Then it is prohibited to go near the fountain to." *His narrative suggests that he was not allowed to go because he did not look the part of a middle-class tourist.*

Although the curfew is not until 9 PM, his mother requires that he come home by 6 PM. However, he said that sometimes he gets *nalilibang* (carried away) and forgets the time. He never walks around alone; "I always have someone with me." When I asked if he sees other people *nagtatambay* (loiter) he said, "before there is a lot, now, there's a few." When I asked, "what changed?" he responded, "the curfew." It is interesting, though, that he chose to answer the question in English by saying "car view." This caused some humorous confusion as Clarisse, unaware of the mispronunciation, went down a line of questioning about mysterious cars in the community.

He's noticed but inside the eco park near the school it's only for boys to practice and review. "It's for boys during Thursdays and Saturdays and then on Mondays and Tuesdays it's for girls." This is interesting because he is the first person, from both children and adults, that we've spoken with who has mentioned separate hours by gender for the eco-park.

He has been to the river with his siblings and his *barkada* but finds that it's dirty, so he does not swim there. He has noticed that "sometimes others are catching fish [there]." He does not feel safe at the river next to the informal community (Bagang Silang) because there's a lot of *tarantado* (rowdy kids) there. "*Nabugbog po ako dun minsan. Akala po ng nanay ko sinalvage na ako dun, kaya nagpadala po siya dun ng barangay. Di na nakita yung mga nag-ano sakin, pero hindi naman po ako napuruhan po.* [I was beaten there once. My mother thought that I was looted, that's why she sent someone from the barangay there. The perpetrators were never seen, but I was not badly wounded.]" Luckily, his younger brother had been there and when the fight started, he ran and got their mother. He believes they attacked him because they were in a frat. He said he couldn't fight back because something bad would've happened them. While he didn't take any pictures of the river but did take pictures of a creek and many photographs of the rural countryside.



Figure 58: Picture 1 of a creek (Source: RJ 2018).


Figure 59: Picture 2 of a creek. (Source: RJ).

He also thinks it's very dangerous to go near Maringal High School. "There, if they saw somebody they like, they will do something to them, remove their clothes, or sometimes they snatch (kidnap). I think they snatch or hold up people. They are *nagbarakada* (a tight group) from Bagang Silang." He went on to say that those people are dangerous because they don't just harass, they also snatch.

He was very unsure when I asked about the safety of boys, girls, young children, and even himself. However, he did add that generally, "you would be safe as long as you stayed in your area." If they go to another phase, it would not be safe because "they are not known there." To him "night, morning... it's just the same; even afternoon, it's just the same." To make Towerville VI safer he thinks that the barangay should "tighten the security or stop their vices." They should increase the rounds of the local guards so that they go out every night.

He would like to change some things in Towerville VI. "They should add of the bridge so that it does not get by the flood, or maybe add more plants to avoid flooding." Specifically, he wants the bridges rebuilt "Because the floodwater overflows, it is strong."



Figure 60: He also thinks it's very dangerous to go near Maringal High School. (Source: RJ 2018).

Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Towerville VI

Julia's and RJ's vignettes are helpful to understand the range of topics and influences that each adolescent navigates through their environmental experience. They also reinforce the qualitative nature of this study in documenting a collection of individual experiences. Yet, their perspectives only represent two voices in a large community with thousands of adolescents.

I held an intensive focus group with twelve other adolescents but did not hold additional intensive interviews at this site due to security concerns from the facilitating organization. In this section, I summarize the data from working with these fourteen adolescents and identify "public spaces in practice" specific to Towerville VI.[32] The table below shows the roster of adolescents from the Towerville VI site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant

[32] In the iterative process of coding all of the adolescent interviews and focus group results, I developed and refined code categories. Interestingly, and possibly reinforcing my findings, my code categories are nearly identical to the themes that Dr. Angela Kreutz reports on children's spatial mobility in her study with an aboriginal community in Australia (Kreutz 2016) even though I did not discover her study until after I had completed my coding process.

demographic information specific to the Philippines case study. At the end of the chapter, I compare the summaries across sites according to eight themes and then develop questions about adolescent's spatial environments that are answered in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

Name	Gender	Age	Religion	School Type	House Type/Floor Area/ Lot Size
The Mother: Julia	F	15	N/A	Dropout[33]	Row House /22.5 m^2/36 m^2
The Worker: RJ	M	15	N/A	Dropout	Row House /22.5 m^2/36 m^2

Table 7: The roster of adolescents from the Toweville VI site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study (Source: author 2021).

The Focus Group

The Towerville VI focus group was challenged due to an adult intruder, the hyperactive nature of the adolescents that day, and a child security concern that required our immediate action. Still, the research team was able to complete the spectrum of activities including the four breakout groups by gender and age. The results were similar to Pabahay 2000s focus group with a few important differences or new insights.

The adolescents said they mostly play games (such as trip the can and capture the flag) in the street and like to climb up on the rooftops. There is a playground at the school, but the participants stated it was informally controlled by a *barkada*. They talked about engaging in the surrounding nature more than any other site; they like to climb the mango trees, pick up trash at the school (out of boredom), and swim in the river. The river was a point of contention; some adolescents were initially excited to talk about playing in the water but were immediately shamed by others who said it was gross and dirty. Most of the adolescents in Towerville VI have named their friend group (the Super Dirty Squad, King Salmon, Always Hungry, Playground

[33] Julia was required by school code to drop out of school while she was carrying the baby. The counselors of two local high schools told me that was because they didn't want to show off Julia's unacceptable behavior and encourage other girls to get pregnant. She was welcome to return to school after having the baby, provided she could find childcare. My interview took place when Julia's baby was just a few months old. She sounded optimistic about returning to school. However, there were alternative schools in the area (ALS) available to accommodate her new schedule.

Squad, etc.). The adolescents who attend school in the morning admitted disappointment at not being able to participate in extracurricular activities because they're held too late in the evening.

Their mobility seems to be the most limited when compared to the other focus groups. Towerville VI is the only site located in walking distance to a public park (400m from the entrance /1km from the school). However, only a few participants in the Male Adolescents breakout group had ever been to the park. Explanations of the lack of use were that the park is tightly controlled by the barangay staff and in order to use the park, an adult must register an activity and supervise the group. The barangay staff denied this requirement stating that the park was completely open to all local residents. However, a community informant said that the park's "open hours" largely unknown and are regulated by gender (girls open hours are 2-6pm on Monday and Wednesday/boys 2-6 pm on Tuesday and Thursday).

Most of the adolescents mentioned that they are responsible for doing chores such as feeding the chickens and watching their younger siblings. Many live with a relative (aunt or grandparent) while their parents work overseas or in Manila. Participants mentioned that some of their friend's families have already sold their resettlement house in Towerville VI and moved back to Manila because they were unable to find a livelihood in Bulacan. Some participants said they liked that the resettlement houses were made of permanent materials because they used to be scared that their home would "float away."[34]

The Male Adolescent breakout group revealed that gambling (billiards and cockfighting) was a very popular pastime for boys. Technically gambling is illegal so there is a cycle of the billiards hall opening, shutting, and moving that the Older Adolescent breakout group described. The older group also suggested that the reason the basketball court is for older boys is because the younger boys and children can play "silly" games in the street but as they get older, the boys must have *asteeg* (cooler) ways of hanging out.

The Female Adolescents breakout group members told many stories of predation and sexual harassment. Safety was a major concern that they have normalized through carefully managing their environment, reducing their range, and always acting with caution. Generally, the Towerville VI group mentioned "God" as a response the dangers of the streets after dark.

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[34] Specifically, this is a concern for families who moved from Navotas, where homes float on the urban waterways, and coastal Tondoy.

"Public Space" in Practice

From the focus group discussion and the two intensive interviews, I identified the five primary hangout locations that were "public spaces" in practice to be the billiards hall, the computer shops, the river, the alleyways, and the covered basketball court.[35] Some of these spaces are categories of types of space rather than a singular location. Because of the security concerns in Towerville VI and the overlap in space types, I chose not to complete spatial observations of the public spaces at this site.

San Jose Del Monte Heights (SJM)

San Jose Del Monte Heights (SJM) is about a decade old and a half the size of Towerville VI. As the farthest site from Metro Manila, many families have refused to resettle to this remote and rural location. Thus, the site has large areas of undeveloped land interspersed with high density social housing. This community features some significant architectural improvements over Pabahay 2000 and Towerville VI, most significantly an increase in home size and levels (from single floor to lofted models). The stark agricultural context is most apparent in this site.

SJM has 4,283 families living in an area of 66 acres (or 64.45 families per acre/387 people per acre). The community is adjacent to a pre-existing community, Sarmiento Homes, which has a similar residential density. However, these communities do not connect with streets rather they are only joined by a small, informal footpath.

Site Analysis

The community is shaped like a figure "8" with two phases connected at a central pinch-point. The community has many undeveloped lots identified as future commercial area, middle-income residential, and educational functions. However, development has been slow, and a

[35] Recall that I am using the concept of "public space in practice" to refer to spaces that may or may not be formally public space but due to their perceived accessibility, non-domesticity, and support of social activities they act as public space within a particular community.

Additionally, I do not consider the area under the footbridge Julia referred to in her interview to be "public space" as she goes there for privacy which is not a typical quality of a public space.

decade later, the heart of the community is a still a barren lot. The community features two covered basketball courts – an improvement in the ratio of recreational space allocated per capita in Towerville VI and Pabahay 2000.

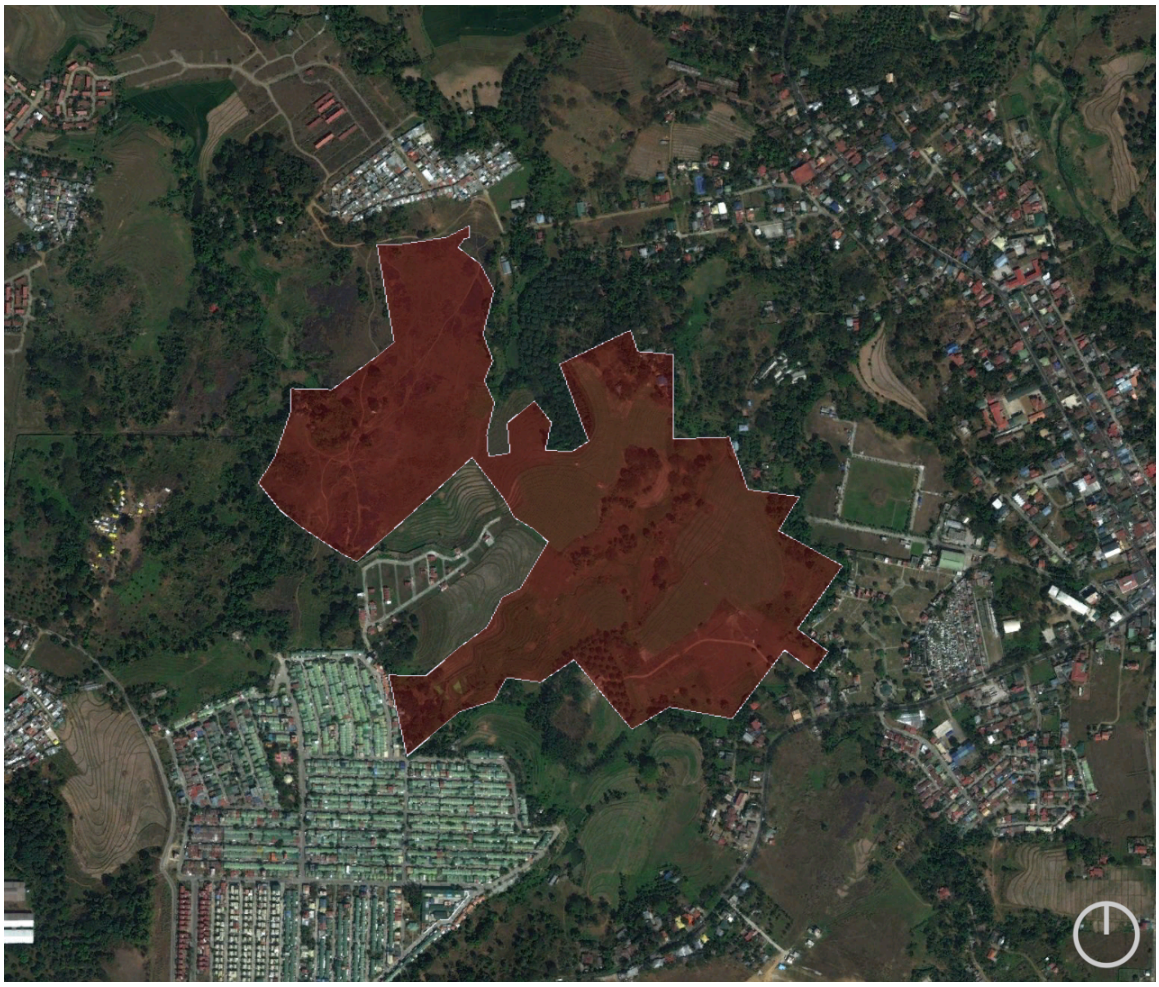


Figure 61: As the farthest site from Metro Manila, many families have refused to resettle to this remote and rural location. (Source: Google Earth/Maxar Technologies, 2010)

The unusual and chaotic angles that dictate the property boundary also impede the gridded framework as clearly shown in the figure ground diagram. The roads appear to have four tiers based on width; the main trunk road is 15m wide, the streets branching off are 10m wide, the residential streets are 5m wide, and the alleys are 3m wide. The alleyways form subblocks of between 3-30 houses with two rows of zero-lot line houses abutting. The houses in SJM are lofted unlike the single-room dwellings in the prior two sites. There are between 2two

and eight subblocks per block. As the subblocks meet the edge of the community they loose their rectangular form and mold to the topography. There is a small creek on the North side of the community and the main access road in on the South side of the community. Much of the area around the community is still agricultural land save for an older subdivision just to the South west of SJM.



Figure 62: SJM has 4,283 families living in an area of 66 acres (or 64.45 families per acre/387 people per acre) (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021).

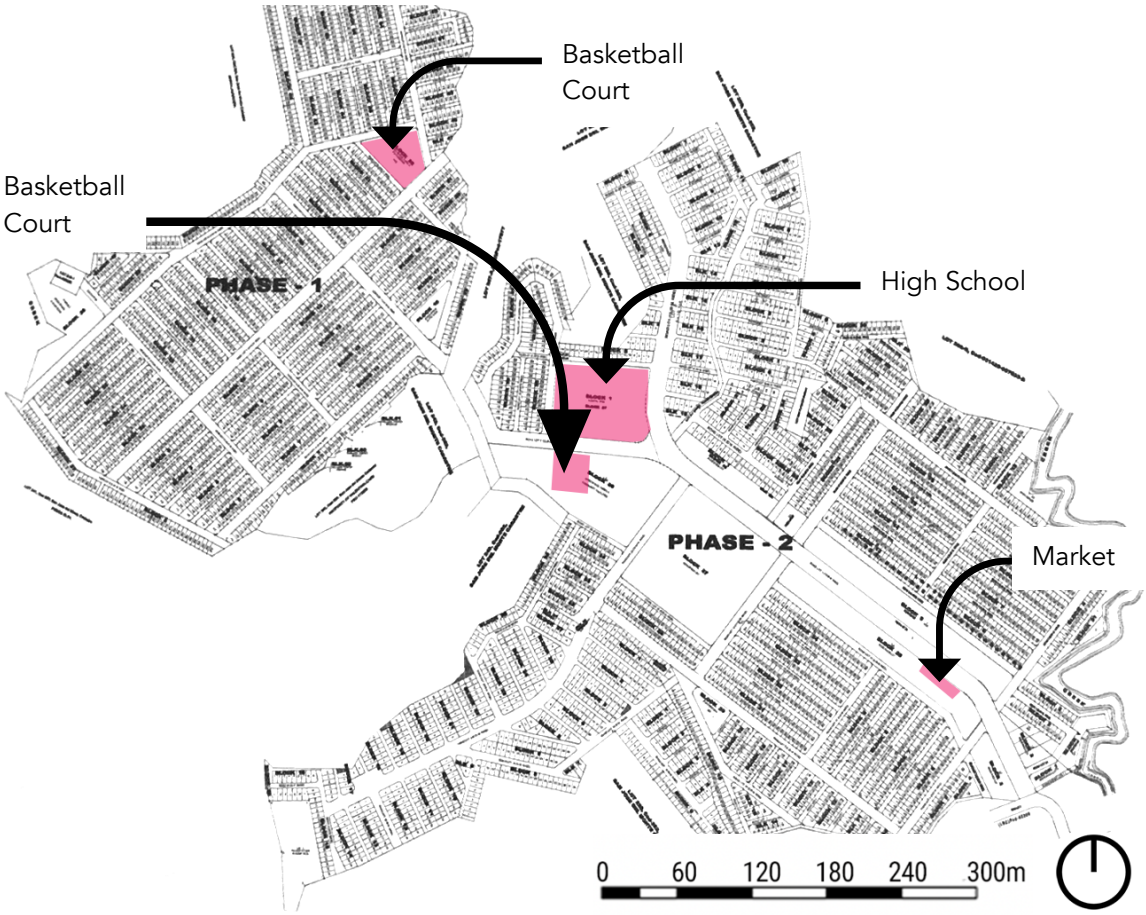


Figure 63: The community is shaped like a figure "8" with two phases connected at a central pinch-point. (Source: National Housing Authority with author edits, 2018)

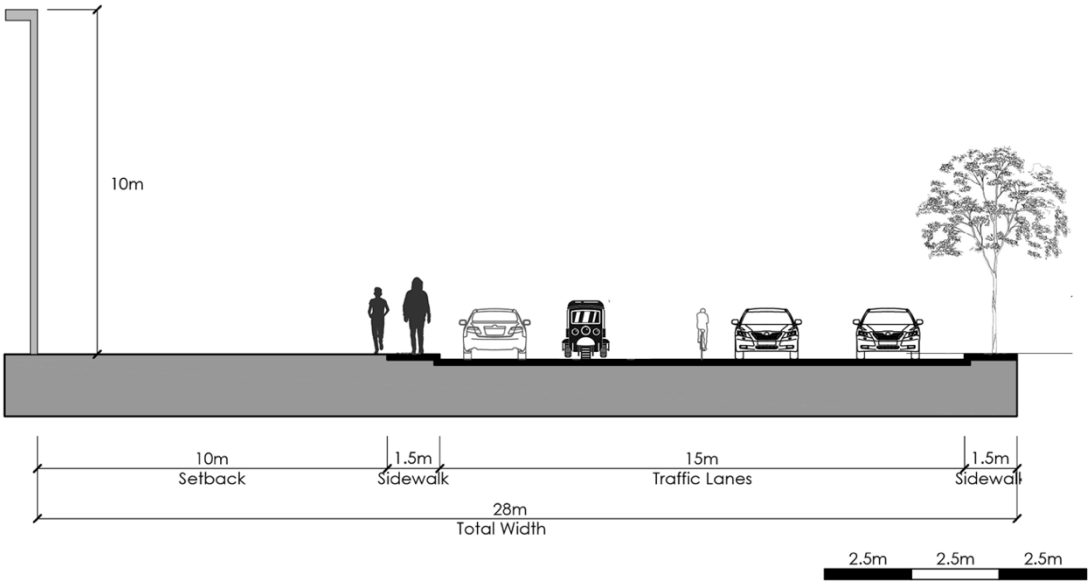


Figure 64: The main trunk road is 15m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

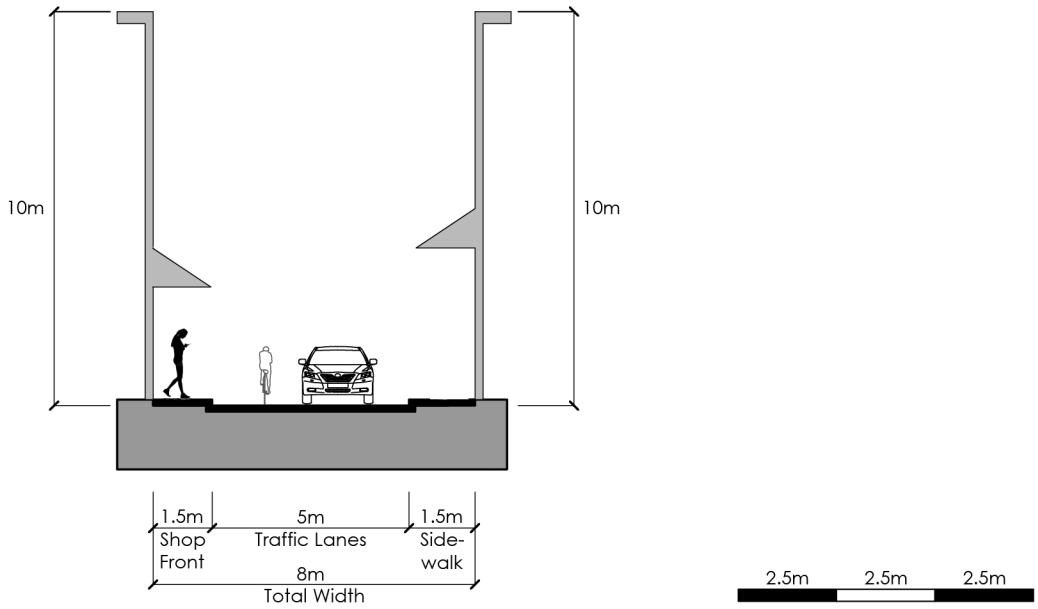


Figure 65: The residential street is 5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

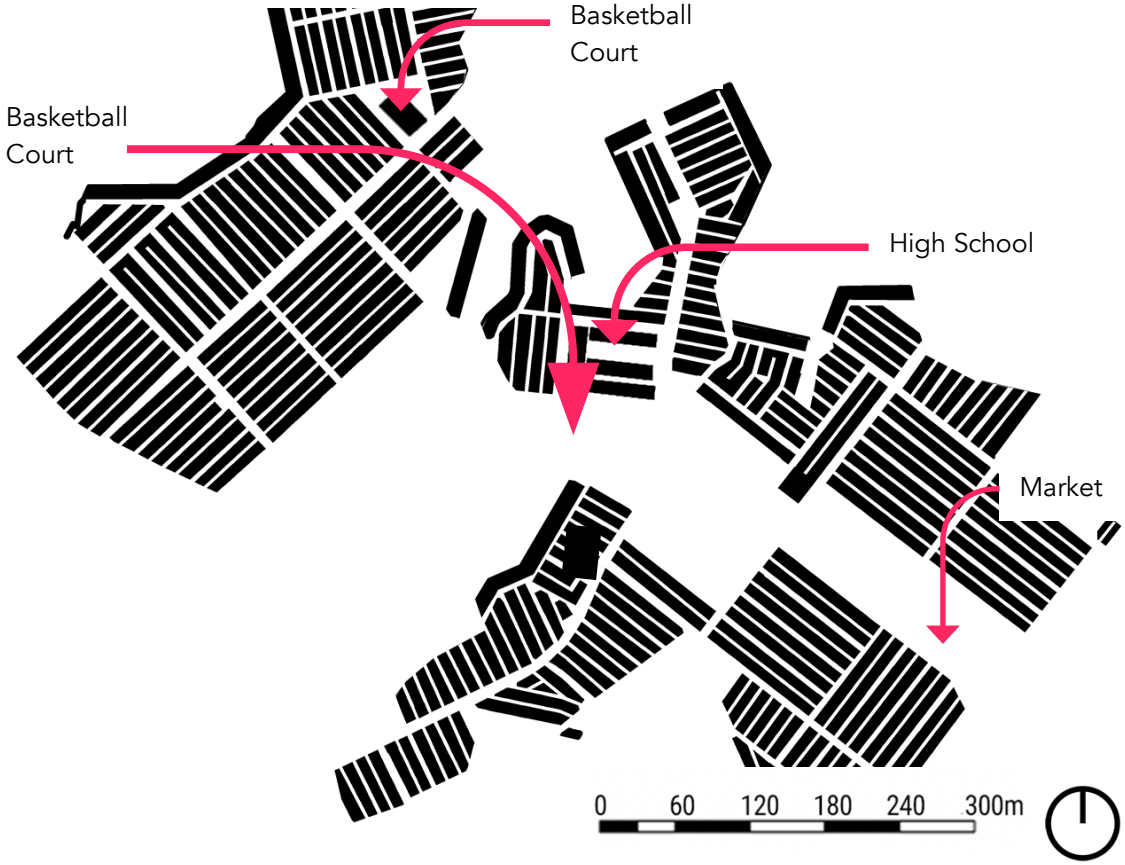


Figure 66: The unusual and chaotic angles that dictate the property boundary also impede the gridded framework as clearly shown in the figure ground diagram. (Source: Shrestha 2020).

Community Origins

Barangay Muzon is approximately a 45-minute drive farther into the agrarian countryside from *Barangay* Graceville. There is some commercial development along the major road intersection that features one franchise fast food store, Jolli Bee. The sprawling community of SJM is three kilometers from this intersection. Although over six years old, the community was still expanding; it was an active site for relocation. It was home to just under 5,000 families who had been relocated in two distinct phases with construction of community amenities and several annex zones on-going.

Like Towerville VI, many of the residents did not know each other before relocating to SJM. The government initiated the community as a resilience/risk reduction strategy as many residents lived in informal communities inside flood plains and active danger zones. However, the relocation was wrought with typical challenges: the government evicted many residents and razed their homes before setting up utilities in SJM. Many participants recalled a period of 12-18 month in which they carried water from the creek for bathing, washing, and cooking, they paid a daily fee for access to an electric generator (organized by the neighborhood), and had to purchase water by the drum from the city. But they had hope because they saw a pathway to home ownership.

The streets in SJM are wide and often stripped for a make-shift basketball court. Houses range in typology from single-level row houses to loftable duplexes similar to those in Garden Village but the loft area is half-height. Some residents maintained and painted their houses while others left them in disrepair. The community is spatially open—perhaps too open. Sprawled across a hilltop there is no visual connection from one end of the community to the other. Vacant fields awkwardly interject into the street grid and break up the cohesion. The community has no main gate or guard system and feels as though the clusters of houses between the fields operate as individual units.

An Architectural Tour of San Jose Del Monte Heights

SJM is the farthest of the four sites in this study from Metro Manila. A decade later it still has large undeveloped lots that fragment the community into three distinct areas. The community was constructed in two phases and the first phase, which his no interior space zoned for commercial development is the most successful because it functions as a complete district.

Conversely the other two areas are fractured haves of the second phase, which allocated the central corridor as commercial development that was never realized. For this architectural tour, the community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map and are intended to establish a general visual understanding of the community. I will cover the architectural analysis of public spaces in each community in detail in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

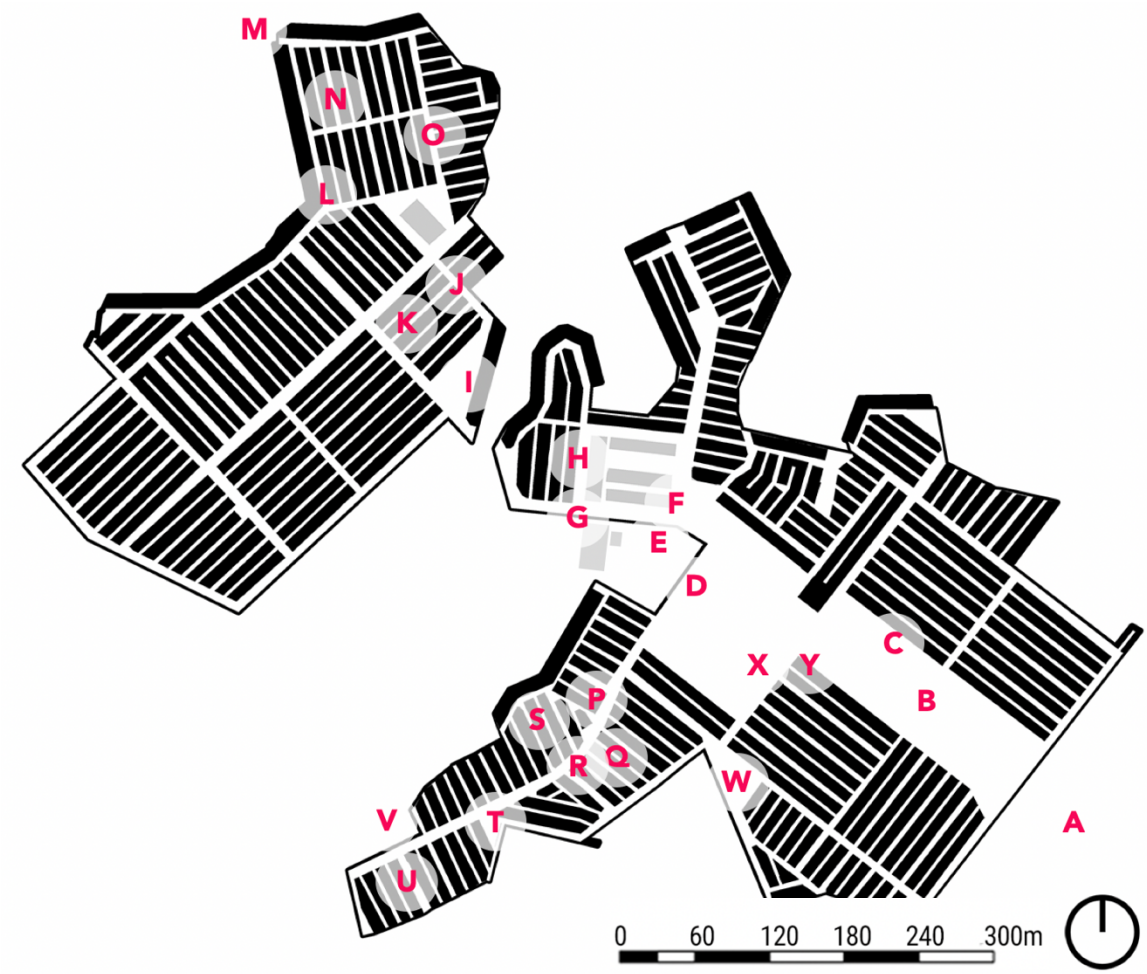


Figure 67: The community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map. (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020).


A
CUEVAS
URBAN SALON


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SCHOOL ID NO. 307513
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DONATED BY:
JOEY J. ABELA
CITY COUNCILOR



A wet market outside of the community hides the entrance to SJM (A). Continuing along the main street, the community feels rural as the two commercial zones are void of businesses except for a concrete aggregate manufacturing plan (B). On either side of the street, the houses are tucked behind fields of tall grass and construction debris (C). Sometimes I observed young boys playing in these fields but the participants in this study all feared the dangers of what might happen in a field of tall grass and admitted they never went there (D). The SJM Homeowner's Association Office is collocated with the covered basketball in Phase 2 (E). Across from the court is the San Jose Del Monte Heights High School, which is walled off with controlled access (F). A popular destination for kids after school is a nearby house that a resident converted into snack shop (G). There are some homes across from the school, but many are now businesses, which have transformed this node into the center of the community (H).

Phase 1 is disconnected from Phase 2 by vacant lots that are outside of the property boundary (I). Part of the challenges of developing this site are the unusual property boundaries that restrict a gridded framework as outlined in BP 220. Many of the streets in Phase 1 were uncharacteristically clean and well taken care of, which seems to be the result of an aggressive anti-littering campaign by the Homeowners Association (J, K). About 2/3s of the houses throughout SJM are 1.5 levels (lofted). Many homeowners have commandeered the sidewalk space and integrated it into the living area of the house (L). The road continues through Phase I to a second entry/exit that goes further into the countryside (M). The alleyways are barely wide enough for trikes to pass through and not wide enough for cars (N). There are many houses that have been fully or partially (*sari-sari*) converted into businesses (O, P, Q, R) and some street kiosks (S), which suggests that there is a market for commercial activity.

Phase 2 has a combination of 1.5 level-houses (lofts) and 1 level houses (T, U). Despite the inundation of vacant lots and overgrown vegetation there is not a formally established park. I noticed that deep in the interior of the community there were some informal pocket parks on vacant lots (V). Additionally, the community has put up basketball nets in an ambiguous paved area that acts as a pocket half court (W). The community sidewalks are incomplete, and vendors frequently repurpose the short stretches into shops (X, Y).

The architectural tour of SJM provides a sense of the community environment and the range of spaces available. And, as in Pabahay 2000, it also identified the planned and formal public spaces and described their current conditions. Still, an architectural analysis should pair with resident's experiences to understand how spaces function in practice. To expand the environmental understanding of SJM, I provide two vignettes from adolescents in the community. I summarize the results of working with the third interview participant and the focus group participants later in the chapter.

The Protected: Ariadna

The interview took place at the Homeowners Association headquarters building in a fairly nice office space with a desk, but the AC had been running for hours and it was really cold. We opened a window to let in some fresh air, but it didn't warm up too much. Ariadna was wearing a school uniform and seemed a little shy. Overall, she was attentive and gave clear answers but a little more than halfway through the first interview some drama happened in the main lobby, and it distracted her from the interview. In the second interview, the church choir was practicing in the lobby. The annex is a popular space and often booked in advance by community groups.

Ariadna lives with 6 siblings plus her mom and dad. She is the second youngest in the family. She had twin brothers that came before her, but they passed away at a young age. They go on vacations together sometimes to Cavite and Pampanga (suburbs on the South side of Manila) by taking a large bus.

She has a *barkada* (friend group) of seven people, five girls and two boys. They are all a little older than her and almost all her friends are her neighbors. There is not really an "admission" process to her friend group, "If you're nice, we'll befriend you, we won't do anything to you, but if you're two-faced, we'll be the same way, it's just like that." She hangs out

with her *barakada* every day after school, but they do not meet up on the weekends. She has also never been to their houses – just to her friend's house who lives in Sarmiento Homes. It is interesting that she has access to the whole community, but her mother does not allow her to go to other friend's houses that live there. When she walks outside alone it is usually only to go find a friend to hang out with. Mostly, she uses Facebook Messenger to plan meetups with friends.

Her mother looks after her when she is at home. No one supervises her when she is outside of the home, but her mom always asks where she is going and when she will be back. She knows that she must be back at home by 6 pm – in a later interview she said 4 pm. Many of the girls that we spoke with carefully noted that they "always" stayed at home. However, as we got to know them, it was apparent that while they seemed to stay at home more than the boys, they also went out with their friends too. Research Assistant Mia suggested a cultural norm in that girls are "supposed to be good and stay at home" so when meeting new people, they will tell you that is what they do because they want you to think they possess the qualities of a good Filipino girl. After some conversation, Ariadna revealed that she rarely stays at home for more than three hours at a time because of boredom: "if I have nothing to do anymore, I just go out."

The map of San Jose Del Monte Heights (SJM) shows that she lives at the very edge of the community. She walks (5-10 minutes) or bikes to school every day about 500m from her house. The school is in the center of the community in a small node with the Phase 2 basketball court and the water tank and some small food kiosks/vendors. She attends school from 7 am to 2 pm. Generally, she wakes up at 6 am to get ready for class and goes straight there. She is not in any school organizations, so she is free to hang out with her *barkada* directly after school. When there is no school, she mostly stays at home.

The pictures below are of the participant-directed maps for SJM and for barangay Muzon (administrative district). According to the mapping exercise, Ariadna has a large range of 550 m from her house (radius).



Figure 68: Participant-directed map of SJM (Ariadna 2018).

On weekends she does domestic chores with her mom, such as the laundry. Sometimes they will go into the urban node of Muzon and buy things. She goes to mass on Sundays at a church nearly 2 kms by trike or jeepney. After mass they go back to the Muzon node to the 7-11 and buy food and then go home. Her older sister had a car for a while, but it is broken and sitting near their home.

In the map of barangay Muzon, she revealed that she walks behind her house, on a small cut-thru pathway, to her best friend's house in Sarmiento Homes (a non-resettlement community less than 700 m from her house). She prefers to use the computer shop in the Sarmiento Homes neighborhood because it is only 100 m away. However, she also goes to the computer shop near the bakery and the "big roads" in Phase 2 which is just 250 m from her house. She goes there with her *barkada* and/or her cousins.

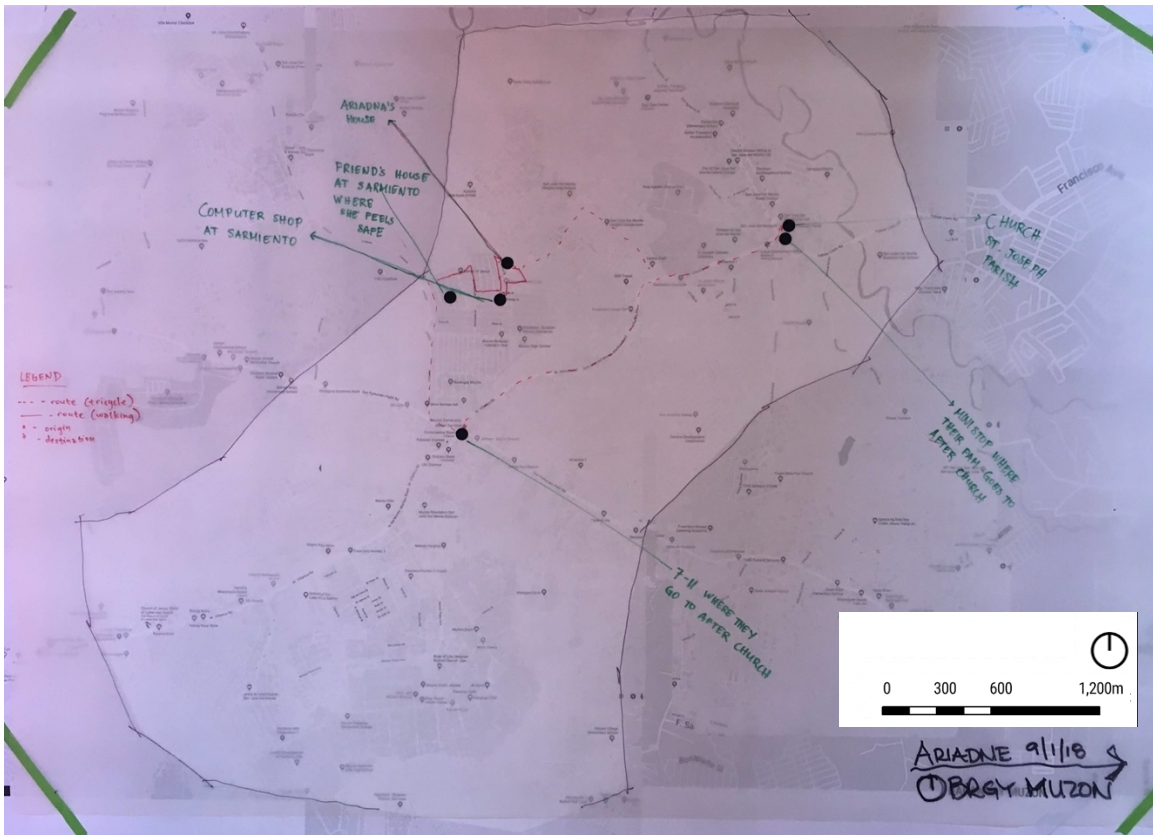


Figure 69: Participant-directed map of barangay Muzon (Ariadna 2018).

She is on Facebook and Instagram. She accesses social media through her mom's phone and when she goes to the computer shop. She doesn't go to the computer shop everyday but when she does, she is there for about an hour and with her friends. Sometimes she plays games like Y8 and Farmville. Her mom gives her money to use the computers but always asks her "how much is printing, like that." She mostly uses social media for school assignments and for chatting with her friends. Her class has a Facebook page, and they use it to post assignments. She also uses Facebook for research.

She doesn't talk much about school but many of her photos are places near and inside of the school. One of the interesting photos is a picture of a small clearing space behind the school. When I reviewed the photo, I noticed that it was an important space because the heights of some of the windows allow for spaces of privacy and spaces of observation from the classrooms above. The space also has dense vegetation along the street but is otherwise clear. Ariadna wrote, "*away kong puntahoan kasi po masigadong* [I'm going to fight because I'm strong]," which signals that this is the space that girls use for fighting.


Figure 70: One of the interesting photos is a picture of a small clearing space behind the school (Ariadna 2018).

She has a lot of photos of snack shops although she doesn't talk about it much in the interview. When captioning the photos, she usually describes these places as a stop afterschool on the way to hanging out, "*pag iwan dito po kami kuma kain on tambay* [if we leave here, we will eat and hang out]."

When asked about the public spaces that she frequents she said the basketball court at the center of SJM and her friend's house in Sarmiento Homes. She mostly goes to the covered court at the node, which is called Phase 3 but when it is crowded, she will walk another 500m (total of 1km) down to the covered court at Phase 1, although it's smaller and farther from her house. She does not play basketball at the court, though. She uses it to "practice for projects, dances" and to "play and chat" with her friends. Sometimes the boys come along, but she doesn't like it when they do because "it's embarrassing. It's different because they're rude/vulgar. I feel weird/uncomfortable."



Figure 71: She has a lot of photos of snack shops although she doesn't talk about it much in the interview (Ariadna 2018).

There are also boys and girls that hang out and watch from the bleachers and from the top of the wall. She especially doesn't like when groups of boys watch her and her friends dancing. She went on to explain that she is a little scared (not just shy) because of past experiences: "my best friend, they told her, while she was dancing, to *gahol* more."[36] When the situation happened, her friend told her to ignore them, but she has not been able to forget the incident and more keep happening. However, even with the boys, her friends like to go to the court because there is space to move about versus "if we go to houses its really small." She described the basketball court as "spacious, messy, and with a lot of vulgar people." Even though her and her friends frequent the basketball court she believes that it is a boy's hangout space while most of the girls go to SM mall.

[36] As slang *gahol* translates to English as "without" or "not having." The way the boys used it, to Ariadna, suggested that the boys were telling her friend that she needed to dance with more "desperation" in a sexual way.



Figure 72: There are also boys and girls that hang out and watch from the bleachers and from the top of the wall (Ariadna, 2018).

Ariadna said she finds that the boys that come to SJM to hang out at the court from other neighborhoods and the ones over 18 are especially rude. In a later interview she said, "*kunyari, pag yung diyan po, pag napapadaan ka, minsan po kasi diyan kami nagpapraktis, eh dadaan po kami, maraming tao. Minsan po may mga kumpulan ng lalaki po, ayun po, diyan po sa may covered court.* [for example, there (the area just outside of the covered court), when you pass by, sometimes, we practice there. So, we pass by there (bleachers) and there are a lot of people (boys). Sometimes, some guys would be huddled together, there (bleachers) at the covered court." She said that it happens also when she is visiting anther community and thus it is why she only likes to hang around people that she knows from SJM. "*Ako po naano na rin. Pumunta kaming Pampanga. Tumambay po kami sa bukiran, eh nandun po kami, may dumaan na mga bata, di po kami kilala, sabi "ate ate gusto ka daw neto o.* [I was also tripped on. We went to Pampanga. We hung out at the field. While we were there, a couple of kids passed by, we didn't know them. [they] said "girl, girl, this guy likes you." It is interesting that the translator, Denise, chose the word 'tripped on' here because that word is mostly used by the other teens to describe when someone beats up another person without a reason. She suggests that this type

of "cat calling" feels so extreme to Ariadna that it is as if she is being punched or, perhaps, she uses the term in a different way. However, Ariadna does seem very upset by cat calling and brings up several additional examples.

She has gone to SM mall but only once without her mom for a friend's birthday. After that, her mom told her not to go alone anymore. She said her mom didn't like her going with her *barkada* because there are too few of them and there are boys. She goes with her mom a few times a year to buy supplies, eat food, and play. When Research Assistant Denise asked her if she would go to the mall more often if it was closer, she said, "no, it's better if you don't keep going out." This sentiment seems to be a repeated phrase from her mom hinting that she doesn't want her to leave the house so often. She thinks that couples go to the mall together "so that they're far away. Because if they're just there [pointing to the court], people would see them and tease/scold them." This helps us to understand that the SM mall is as much about getting away from "prying eyes" and privacy as it is about the air-conditioning and cleanliness that other kids describe.

She doesn't go to the creek because her mom won't let her. But she added that she is also afraid of the deep side. When friends push her to go to the river, she tells them that she cannot because she has to care for her younger sibling. In a later interview she expanded by bringing up another waterway near a cemetery. She thinks there are many drownings in that area because of the ghosts and supernatural forces.

She generally likes the streets in SJM. "Sometimes, when there aren't too many cars passing through, we play badminton there." But she does think that the cars are not safe for young children. There were sidewalks constructed but the only remaining sidewalks are along the larger streets. On the residential streets, the houses have commandeered the sidewalk space by either extending the house, using it to stack goods, or using it for parking. In the first interview she said that she does not see *tambays* in the streets but in the second interview she said that kids who live near her *tambay* in the street. "When they don't have anything to do, they just stay there, look around, do whatever, sometimes they trip on people." She added that "almost all I see are males."

When asked to define "tambay," which typically means a 'loiterer' she gave a very interesting response that reveals her (and probably her family's) values. "They're hayahay, they don't give a care. The tambay is just anywhere." The transcriber, Teresa Maria Mison, explained,

"*hayahay* is actually Bisaya, a different language. But it's been a popular word/philosophy meaning 'not having a problem in the world/carefree/lighthearted.' *Hayahay* is a very positive connotation, [I know because] my mother is Bisaya. It means, 'I feel good, and I have no problems,' like 'hakunnah matata' vibes. This may be the reason why the interviewer didn't hear/understand since it's a Bisaya concept. Ariadna says that tambays have a *hayahay* philosophy for themselves. This also reveals that Ariadna is ethnically from the Bisaya community. Ariadna said she doesn't know any *tambays* and in contrast to Teresa's interpretation, she believes *hayahay* is a negative connotation.

Her family moved to SJM from Malolos when she was seven but before that they lived in Tondo (*bungad isla sa putting bato*) on the port of Manila. She doesn't remember much about living there because she was little when they moved. In Tondo, "there are a lot of people hurting." She explained further that, "a lot of people are fighting. I'm also freer [in SJM] to go to the houses of my friends" because "I'm not allowed [to go] before because mom says Manila is dangerous." This is an interesting point because she suggests that SJM, even with its crime, is safer than where she was living before; it is an improvement in safety. In Tondo, while their house was bigger the roads were also bigger (thus more dangerous) than in SJM. "I got scared, a lot of kids [in Tondo] have gotten run over there." In Tondo, she was not allowed to leave the house without an escort, mostly one of her older sisters. Note that she is currently twelve, so this is about her being a younger child as well as the perceived dangers.

Generally, she likes SJM because "it's spacious, it's not scary to cross the street, not many people fighting." She doesn't like "vulgar people. It's dirty. People who play [at the covered court in Phase 3] just throw their trash everywhere."

She feels the safest at her friend's house in Sarmiento Homes and secondly at 7-11 in Muzon. The places that are the scariest are the vacant lot with the high grass because there are no lights at night. In a later interview she expanded by adding, "I don't want to [go there to play], I'm also scared. Especially when I don't know what that is, where I don't know the people there." She told us that other kids do go there to play, "almost everyone who goes there are kids. They play there." She is also scared of the wet market located at the entrance to SJM off the main road because "there's light but it's spaced too far apart." When asked if she thinks SJM is safe for girls her voice got small and she said, "I don't want to answer" but then added that it was okay for the boys. She doesn't think it is safe for small children because "there are a lot of

big cars." Specifically, she believes that Phase 4 is unsafe because there are a lot of drug addicts. However, she has not actually been there before. She said that people must be very watchful and wary in SJM because there are a lot of crimes that happen. As an example, she said, "in one of the houses near our place by the court, a robbery took place. The robber pretended to be someone working at National Housing Authority and he said he would fix the light, but he robbed the house."

In an ideal community, she would like "space for kids." She went on to describe other amenities that would support kids like a "park with swings, like that. Kids can play," a gate, and "more *barangay tanod* (neighborhood patrollers) going around at night." Her ideal place is a garden with butterflies and an Eiffel tower for SJM. This is a little funny because there is an Eiffel tower replica in the province of San Jose Del Monte about 7 km from her house. She has heard about it but never been, so perhaps she wants it to be closer to her? She also would like the vacant lots developed "because there are a lot of homeless that have no houses." She said in the second interview "I dream of going to Paris, to the Eiffel Tower." She learned about those places from social media and TV. She also thinks the community doesn't fully support kids. "There are a lot of kids who still don't go to school because they're poor, they also don't have money for their allowance."

There are no parks or forests or gardens nearby. Even though there are many vacant lots and natural places, like the creek, nearby she makes a point to say that she does not go anywhere that has a lot of nature. However, when describing her ideal house, she mentions that she wants a garden for her mom. She told us when she was describing and placing her photos that she does tambay in a vacant lot behind the Phase 2 basketball court. She accesses it through a narrow trail that goes between some residential houses. What makes this vacant lot safe but the others scary? Perhaps it is because it is on a main road at the center of the community? In her photos there is a pedestrian, a mom walking with two little children, and you can see the basketball court in the background so there is a lot of natural surveillance.



Figure 73: She told us when she was describing and placing her photos that she does tambay in a vacant lot behind the Phase 2 basketball court (Ariadna 2018).

The Hypebeast: Shen

Shen was very thoughtful and polite. She came in wearing her school uniform. Her mother was protective and waited in a chair outside of the annex room watching soap operas. Shen was not off put by her mother protectiveness. She mentioned in the interview many times that the spaces she feels safe are only when she is with her family, and they are watching over her "and they don't ever leave your side."

The pictures below are of the participant-directed maps for SJM and for barangay Muzon (administrative district). According to the mapping exercise, Shen has a large range of 650 m from her house (radius).

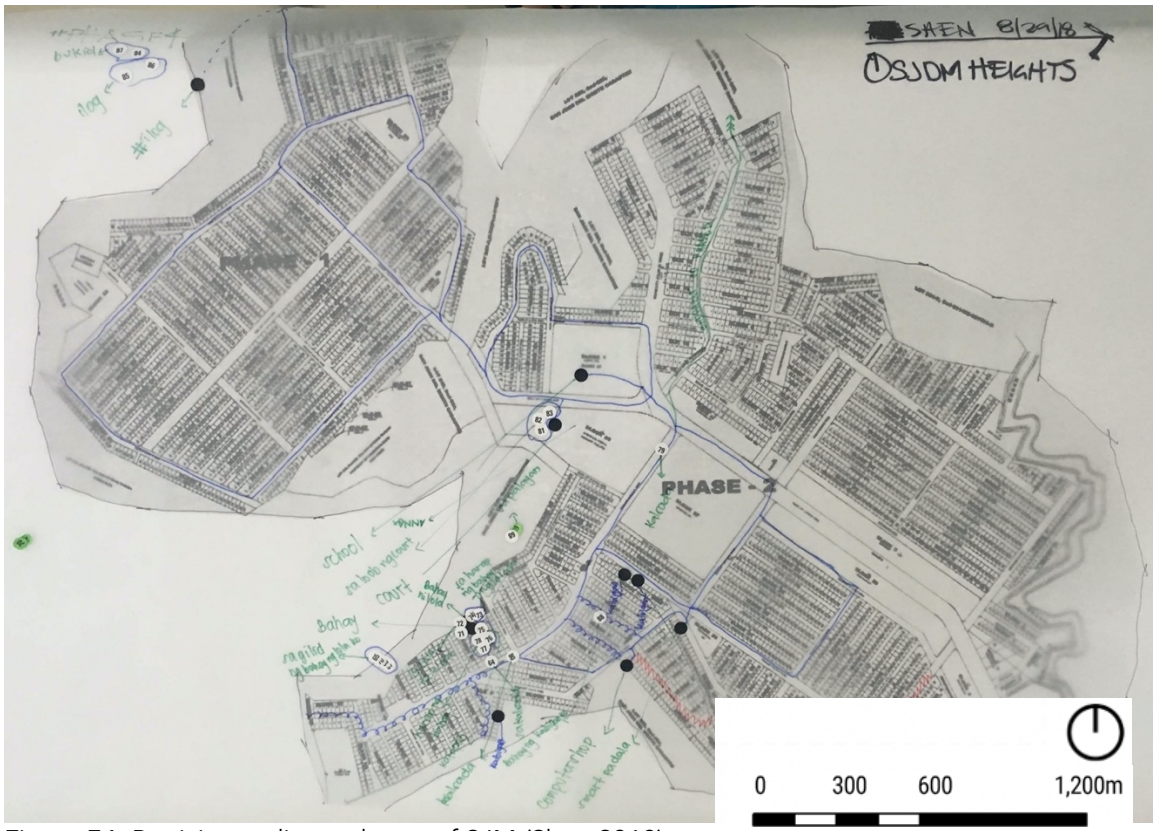


Figure 74: Participant-directed map of SJM (Shen 2018).

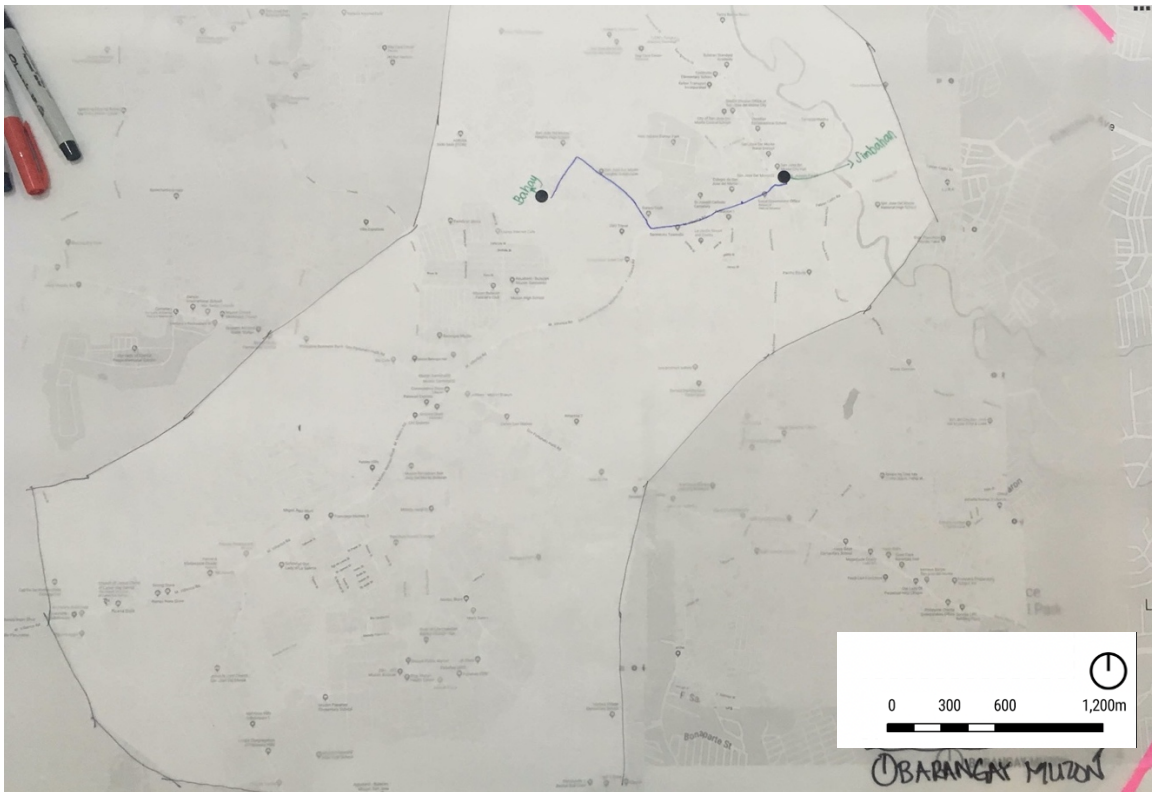


Figure 75: Participant-directed map of SJM (Shen 2018).

She has a large *barakada* of about 20 people. It is mixed with half boys and half girls. They call her by the nickname, "Beh" and sometimes "pepe." She identifies herself as a 'hypebeast.' She explained that to her a 'hypebeast' is a "kid who likes to dress up. We usually wear high socks; and the girls wear really short shorts and off-white belts." In a later interview she added, "like a gangster but not the ones who are aggressive. Just the fashion. Dressing. Proud." This is interesting because this is a very different description of 'hypebeast' than what other kids give. Other kids in these interviews refer to 'hypebeast' as a way of dressing in an outlandish way and an overly defensive attitude. However, research on the subject reveals that it is a contemporary appropriation of a derogatory word into the title of a Chinese fashion icon's blog. In the more global sense, 'hypebeast' refers to people that ironically imitate mainstream celebrities by wearing designer streetwear and the latest releases. It seems like Shen's definition is actually the more accurate of the kids we interviewed.

She mostly hangs out between her and her friend's houses. When there, they're "usually on [their] phones, taking selfies. If there's really nothing else to do, we clean the house." In the morning, she gets up around 6:30 am and goes next door to get some water from her *lola* (grandmother). Then, she heads straight to her friend's house to check and see if they have any assignments. This all takes just a few minutes because she must be at school by 7:00 am. She gets out of school at 2:00 pm. She goes home first before heading off to practice for dance or poetry. After practice, she said she just goes home again and plays on her phone for a while. Later in the interview, we circled back and asked her about her time at home during the week. She added that she watches TV at home with her friends. "If we're watching TV and the show's good, we stay for around 2 hours. If not, we're good after half an hour." Then, they go play outside in the street. She really likes to walk around SJM. "Sometimes we walk all the way to Phase 1" but she doesn't play around Phase 2. She took a picture of the street with the following caption, "*sa kalsada kasi malapit lang sa bahay naming*. [on the road because it's just near our house]."



Figure 76: *sa kalsada kasi malapit lang sa bahay naming*. [on the road because it's just near our house] (Source: Shen 2018).

On the streets of SJM Shen has observed that "when we're out walking, we usually see *mag syota* (couples) out on dates. They're just hanging out. Sometimes, they're seated by the gutter and chatting…" She thinks that the couples mostly hang out by the creek in Phase 4 and go on dates at SM mall." She also observed that there are *tropas* (groups of people) who just mess with other people. They usually mess with the girls. They call out to them 'baby,' and when the girls turn around to look at them, they proceed to say, 'baby shark.'" Other times she sees a person *tambayan* (loitering) on the street alone and they look like they are waiting for someone. However, she does note that the streets can be dangerous, "Sometimes there are kids playing outside and they might get run over by passing cars if they're not careful. Or when they're playing around and shoving each other - they might get pushed to a passing vehicle." To mitigate the danger from cars her and her friends select side streets to play on; "we don't play by the highway, where the cars pass through. We only play by the side streets where cars don't usually go."

When we asked her what she does when she has vacation from school, she became quite lively and said, "I'm always playing outside." She plays games like *tumbang preso,*

patintero, agawan base (these are traditional Filipino games that are usually played in the street). She plays for about three hours because that is when she gets tired and then goes home and rests. She took several pictures of vacant fields and farmland but doesn't talk about them much in the interviews. Only in the second follow-up interview when we specifically ask her about vacant lots does she mention that it's a place where cock fights are held on weekends when there is no class. The pastures in her picture are from her grandmother's house but she only looks at the pastures and does not consider them a space to play. She gave the following caption, "*kasi po sa gilidng bahay ng lola ko po sa bukid po* [because it's on the side of my grandmother's house in the farm].



Figure 77: *kasi po sa gilidng bahay ng lola ko po sa bukid po* [because it's on the side of my grandmother's house in the farm] (Shen 2018).

On the weekends she also stays at home. But she said, "sometimes when I get bored, I go out to play on the computer" near Smart Padala, which is about a 100 m walk from her house. Usually, she goes with her *ate* (this is an older female relative) or her friends. She only stays about 30 minutes because she is just checking the latest social media updates and watches a few YouTube videos, unless she is doing research for school and then she is there for an hour

or more. She mostly uses Facebook for social media but only about three times a week. She really likes "scrolling" or checking in on her friend's Facebook posts and new photos. She doesn't go to the computer shop on Sundays after church, though because, "the place is always full, and people tend to be noisy. Some people don't have headsets, so their music is turned up really loud." She finds this especially annoying when she is trying to do research for school because it distracts her. She observed that people who smoke hang around the computer shop. She is annoyed by this as well because, "sometimes the secondhand smoke goes directly to me." When asked to describe the computer shop, Shen said, "There are a lot of computers, and there's often a lot of people playing on their computers." The computer shop that she frequents only has three computers, but she knows of other shops that have 10 to 15 computers. She thinks it's an okay play place overall but, she said, "I wish the internet were faster, because it really eats up your hours when the internet's slow and you end up staying at the computer shop longer." She said there are guys at the computer shop who bully her. "The guys [at the computer shop] even ask for *piso* (a peso) so they can continue using the computer once their time is up."

She must get permission from her mother to go to the local church on Sundays because "they're concerned about the safety." She mostly goes with her friends but sometimes her mother will go too. After church, they go to Savemore (a grocery store in Muzon) and they get food for lunch. "Then we go home."

When asked about public space she was confused at first because she didn't understand the concept. We drew her out with a more "round-about" way of questioning. Sometimes, on the way home from practice her and her friends swing by the creek and "stay for a little while." She goes mostly with her female friends and they "just hang by the river… There's grass by the riverbank and it's a nice view when you're looking at the trees surrounding the place." She has friends who *tambay* there and occasionally swim. However, she thinks the water is dirty, so she doesn't swim much; she just washes her hands and feet if they're dirty.



Figure 78: *kasi po madumi na po yung ilog at maraming basuta* [because the river is already dirty and there is a lot of garbage]. (Source Shen 2018).



Figure 79: *kasi po color brown na po yung tubig* [because the water is brown]. (Source: Shen 2018).

When asked to describe the place she said, "it's surrounded by trees, and there's this hill-like island in the middle of the river. There are usually cows around the area. A lot of people like to go there for swimming." But "they don't really have a name for [the creek]." She doesn't think it's a pleasant space though because, "there's a lot of garbage by the riverbanks. The cows too - they usually defecate in the river, and it's making the water smell… I don't feel very safe when we're going to the river. If you fall into the water, the swift currents could take you away. You could slip when stepping on slippery rocks." She added that even though there are other people at the river they don't make her feel safer there because "they're strangers to me. They might have bad intentions." She took two pictures of where she hangs out at the river with the following captions "kasi po madumi na po yung ilog at maraming basuta [because the river is already dirty and there is a lot of garbage]" and "*kasi po color brown na po yung tubig* [because the water is brown]."

In the first interview she said that she doesn't go to SM mall (Tungko) very often but sometimes on the weekend or afterschool however in the follow up interview she said she does go often and that she plays on the playground and goes to eat at restaurants. "We usually go to stores that sell clothes and cellphones. If we have enough money, we go to Jollibee to get a Coke Float." She remembers going with her mom, dad, and *ate* when there was a birthday party. In the first interview she made a point to say that she has never been alone but in the follow-up, she admits that she has been without her parents and with friends. She said that even with her family they just walk around and go window shopping. "Sometimes, if we see clothes we like, we ask for the price." If it's a party, then she will sit with her friends and chat." When asked to describe SM mall she said, "It's really big and spacious - there are several stores where you can buy clothes and gadgets. There are also a lot of kiosks and restaurants to get food from, and seating areas, and carts selling ice cream." She finds SM mall a pleasant place because "it's built really nicely, and they sell quality items."

She only goes to the basketball court when she has practice. She has noticed a few things about the court and the people who frequent it. "There's this old person who cleans the court. I've noticed they don't eat - not even snacks. I also noticed that the guys who play basketball there are always topless." She continued that the basketball court is a space that mostly boys frequent "because there are usually only about three girls there" and those three girls just watch the boys play. She also thinks that the basketball court is not safe for girls

because "it's populated mostly by boys, and there's a tendency for girls to be messed with… even if they don't know the girls." The boys will say, "'you're ugly,' or 'you smell bad,' something like that." She explained that she is often harassed at the court, "I'm often teased I'm ugly. When I get pissed, I usually respond with, 'you're not so good looking yourself.'" But her friends are not as strong as she is and when they get teased "they usually just keep their mouths shut. When someone starts crying, that's when the guys stop." She said that rarely the old person cleaning the court will reprimand the boys but that is mostly when the boys start throwing things. She goes on to explain the social rules of the court. "[the people playing] usually split the court - some people play on one side, and some play on the other." According to Shen the court is never really used for a full game of basketball because there is too much demand to use the space. So, court users play simultaneous games on either side of the court and then some extra space is left in the middle for other games. When asked to describe the basketball court, Shen said, "There are seats on the sides and rings on each end of the court. There's also a stage up front, and concealed comfort rooms on each side of the stage." However, she doesn't think that it's a nice place "because people throw their trash everywhere even if there's a trash can provided." She took two pictures of the basketball court with the following caption, "*kasi po nag papractice kami ditto* [because we practice here]."



Figure 80: *kasi po nag papractice kami ditto* [because we practice here]. (Source: Shen 2018).



Figure 81: *kasi po nag papractice kami ditto* [because we practice here] (Source: Shen 2018).

Her favorite thing about SJM is the *perya* (carnival) and her second favorite are the animals like the cows and goats and lastly her friends. Inversely, she said, "I don't like the court that much, nor the creek. The streets are always littered with trash, and it pools water, causing light flooding in the area." She also doesn't feel safe at night in SJM. "Someone might grab you at night and push you in front of a moving car" or "you might get harassed by the drunk *tambays* outside." When we asked her how she knew this she said that she had seen it in the news and that her mother doesn't allow her to go out for these reasons. She went on to list several fears such as "the thieves. They don't only steal - sometimes, they hurt or even kill the people they're stealing from." She also said, "word around here is that [kidnappers] exist. I just hear about it." This suggests that her mother has conveyed to her a lot of fears and that she also has retained fears about her environment. What is surprising is that even though she lists more fears than the other kids in this community, she has the widest range of environment that she hangs out in. She combats her fears in a few ways. First, she takes certain routes and shortcuts because "it's faster, and there are no tambays who'll mess with you." It's as if she has developed a strategy for dealing with theses daily fears.

When we asked about how to make SJM better and suggested police she disagreed. "If a shooting occurs, they might hit civilians - or even me." She disagreed with the suggestion of 'getting to know your neighbors" because sometimes even if you know them, they'd still mess with you or might even harass you." She disagreed with the idea of a gate too. "If say there were a thief that ran to the school, even if the gates were closed, they could still climb it." This is interesting because these are common suggestions that most other kids gave but she was very particular about what would and would not increase her safely. Finally, she settled on closed-circuit television. "Yes. If say someone gets kidnapped, there's actual proof where you can see the face of the kidnappers."

Shen moved to SJM two years ago from Old Balara (*Tandang Sora*), which is in Quezon City. She thinks that SJM is different from Old Balara because it is really quiet and dusty. "I already had a lot of friends there, and the place was always alive. It also wasn't as dusty as it is here. In a place that's more alive, you get to interact with people and make new friends." She reminisced about hanging out with her old *barkada*. They would go to "a place by the creek where we usually have picnics." She had more freedom back there "because I knew most of the people there; here, not so much." It was also easier to get around in Old Balara because the streets there are smaller. However, she prefers the quality of the homes in SJM over Old Balara because "it's a squatters' area, and there are a lot of thieves and kidnappers there." And, generally, she feels safer in SJM.

In the follow-on interview, we asked her about places that she wants to go outside of SJM, and she said *tagaytay*, which is a place high in the ridges of Cavite south of Manila that has views to the Taal Lake. What is interesting is when we asked her why, her answer clearly indicated that she didn't know what or where tagatay was and was probably repeating what she had heard or seen on TV. It unclear if she was being shy, confused by the question, or if no one had asked her this type of question before. Since she gave such elaborate responses to prior questions, I lean towards the later.

Summary of Adolescent Experiences in SJM

Arianda's and Shen's vignettes are helpful to understand the range of topics and influences that adolescents navigate in their community. They also reinforce the qualitative

nature of this study in documenting a collection of individual experiences. Yet, their perspectives only represent two voices in a large community with thousands of adolescents.

I held one additional in-depth interview that included the full spectrum of mapping and photovoice with Cardo (The Wonderer) as well as an intensive focus group with 18 other adolescents. In this section, I summarize the data from working with these 21 adolescents and identify "public spaces in practice" specific to SJM.[37] The table below shows the roster of adolescents from the SJM site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study. At the end of the chapter, I compare the summaries across sites according to eight themes and then develop questions about adolescent's spatial environments that are answered in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

Name	Gender	Age	Religion	School Type	House Type/Floor Area/ Lot Size
The Protected: Ariadna	F	12	Christian	Public	Row House/22 m^2/40 m^2
The Hypebeast: Shen	F	12	N/A	Public	Row House & Loft/22 m^2/40 m^2
The Wonderer: Cardo	M	12	Christian	Public	Row House & Loft/22 m^2/40 m^2

Table 8: The roster of adolescents from the SJM site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study (Source: author 2021).

The Wonderer: Cardo

Cardo recruited us rather than the other way around. Our team was at a loss when our originally enrolled participant didn't show up for his appointment. We went to the basketball court to see if there were any adolescents that we could approach. Right away, a young boy started throwing and retrieving his basketball in the direction of Research Assistant Raph. Raph didn't respond. After about 15 minutes of this, the boy came straight up to Raph and asked him

[37] In the iterative process of coding all of the adolescent interviews and focus group results, I developed and refined code categories. Interestingly, and possibly reinforcing my findings, my code categories are nearly identical to the themes that Dr. Angela Kruetz reports on children's spatial mobility in her study with an aboriginal community in Australia (Kruetz 2016) even though I did not discover her study until after I had completed my coding process.

what he was doing. Raph explained the project and the boy, Cardo, asked if he could participate. We all walked to his grandparents' house to get consent. I mention this because his grandmother, who did consent spoke negatively about Cardo noting that he had a speech impediment and thus she didn't think he would be helpful to us. However, although he overheard his grandmother, Cardo was unphased and excited to participate.

Cardo has five boys in his *barkada*. They hang out together at the end of the basketball court in "the area few people live." His friends choose this remote half court over the main covered court because "when we play [at the main covered court], the bigger ones steal our ball." The little court only has "a few people who play there." He thinks he is really good at basketball as well as drawing. Sometimes they hang out at the basketball court, but they don't play basketball they just watch other people play and make "callouts" such as 'foul' and 'jump.' He does not feel safe at the covered basketball court because "a lot of people make trouble."

He starts school at 6 am and goes until 12 pm. He stopped schooling for a little while and is just now going back. He should be in 7th grade but he is currently in 4th grade. In the morning, after prepping for the day, he goes to class and then practices dance before going home to eat and help with chores such as the laundry. He hangs out at home from 12-3 pm. He ends every day at church where he dances and plays the tambourine. He is also involved in bible study. His church activities are with his family not his *barkada*.

At SJM, he used to go to the creek but not anymore because a few years ago his friend drowned while he was with him. He said, "suddenly it was deep, and he drowned." However, he talks about nature a lot. He spoke of the adjacent agricultural fields and said that he likes "the pretty pets, the goats." When asked if he ever goes into the *talahib* (vegetation) he said, "yes, we go to the bridge and we bow and arrow the birds. We catch fish."

Cardo took many pictures of an abandoned house, but he doesn't mention it in the first interview. He took a picture with the following caption, "*sugalan. binigay ng para. may mali pati tapos umalis doon din.* [Gambling. The house was given by someone, and something went wrong so they left there.]" He indicates that the abandoned house is several blocks away from his house in the mapping exercise and descried it as a place where young boys hang out to gamble (*naghahagis ng pera maraming nag susugal*). The abandoned house had a lot of graffiti in it and the glass louvres for the window as well as the door have been taken indicating that it has been abandoned for some time.



Figure 82: sugalan. binigay ng para. may mali pati tapos umalis doon din. [Gambling. The house was given by someone and something went wrong so they left there.]

He often sees his cousins *tambayan* in the streets. They "drink and have a lot of girls with them. They laugh together. They give things to each other and pay up." It is clear that this is a drug deal, but Cardo doesn't fully seem aware of what he is seeing. We asked what do you think they buy? He said, "They bring something small, then they give it. Its small and white." His favorite thing about SJM is that he has a lot of friends while he believes that the worst things are "a lot of people here are *pasaway* (don't follow rules), do drugs. A lot of road accidents. The thieves, I don't like that. And they've killed people." He doesn't think that it's safe in SJM at night because "there are a lot of *tambayans* here, *adiks* (drug addicts). People who drink. A lot of people kill each other. Sometimes, at night there are girls who just get kidnapped and raped."

The Focus Group

Most of our initial recruits did not show up and thus the first two hours were spent back in the field recruiting and enrolling new participants. Unlike the focus group in Towerville VI, the

adolescents in the SJM focus group were older on average. The results were similar to the Towerville VI and Pabahay 2000 focus groups with a few important differences or new insights.

Like Towerville VI, school and church were major themes. They spoke of having significant school and domestic responsibilities such that any free time was spent sleeping. The participants generally followed a schedule of school, nap, research at the computer shop, practice, and back home if they lived close to the school or, if they lived farther away, they would follow a similar schedule without a nap. After school, most of the adolescents meet up at the porridge eatery on the corner.

The Older Adolescents breakout group noted that they have full agency over their mobility, but their parents restrict their siblings under 13 years. They expressed similar concerns about the dangers of being out on the street at night and problems with gangs bullying them.

All of the adolescents have a Facebook account and were very active on social media for schoolwork, for watching shows, and for chatting with friends. Although this group of adolescents was very disciplined, one girl admitted that she wakes up at 4 am to check social media and "post" for the day. They said that social media made relocation a little easier because they were able to keep in touch with their *barkadas* from their original communities.

The adolescents told that when they first resettled to SJM there was no power, water, or garbage service. Some more remote areas still don't have power and water. For garbage, residents duped it in vacant lots. The trash problem became so bad that SJM was featured on the news (Silverio 2011).

Many of the adolescents stroll in the adjacent neighborhood, Sarimiento Homes. Couples hang out at a cliff next to the river because it is breezy and open. They spoke more about SM mall than other groups. Specifically, the older adolescents talked about pretend RKs (rich kids) that window shop and take selfies with merchandise to post to social media in order to show off. They even buy cheap coffee and then stand in front of Starbucks and pretend they got it there. They also talked about the view deck at SM mall being extra special because of the breeze – it was romantic.

If both parents work, the female adolescents will take care of the siblings and manage the house. The girls seemed really bothered by cat-calling both from other boys at the basketball court but also from adults that pass by in trucks and work construction. When asked if the boys stand up for them and defend the girls, they said they are in a tough position because

they need to respect their elders and that is more important than defending the girls. So, they usually just advise the girls not to go around there anymore, which further limits the girl's mobility.

"Public Space" in Practice

From the focus group discussion and the five intensive interviews, I identified the five primary hangout locations that were "public spaces" in practice as the covered basketball court, the computer shop, the vacant houses, the river, and the street.[38] All of these spaces are categories of types of space rather than singular locations. I chose not to complete spatial observations of the public spaces at this site because of the overlap in spatial categories with the other communities; the overlap suggests that the selection of space types reach a point of saturation. Therefore, I selected specific spaces within each category that would provide maximum diversity (Pabahay 2000 and Garden Village).

Garden Village

Finally, Garden Village represents the latest developments in social housing policy, planning, and architecture at only three years old (one year during fieldwork). Similar to the other sites, the government developed Garden Village on a greenfield site. The site is a shaped like an upside-down triangle by an oxbow in the river. This site is the only single-sourced community (meaning that all the residents transferred from the same squatter settlement).

Site Analysis

Garden Village is significantly smaller with only 494 families living on 13 acres (or 37 families per acre/223 people per acre). While co-located with Dela Costa homes (approximately 1,000 homes), residents on the ground shared that due to Garden Village's gated entry and disconnected streets, Dela Costa is experienced as a separate community. On the other side of the river is an informal community called Bagong Silang. There are no formal crossings, but

[38] Recall that I am using the concept of "public space in practice" to refer to spaces that may or may not be formally public space but due to their perceived accessibility, non-domesticity, and support of social activities they act as public space within a particular community.

residents shared that people from Bagong Silang swim the river to cross over into Garden Village.



Figure 83: The site is a shaped like an upside-down triangle by an oxbow in the river. (Source: Google Earth/Maxar Technologies, 2010).

The community is the only site in this study that had developed park space. This was done only through their own initiative and fundraising. The community also made their own half court in a leftover piece of property at the end of the market that was too narrow to develop.



Figure 84: Garden Village is significantly smaller with only 494 families living on 13 acres (or 37 families per acre/223 people per acre). (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021).

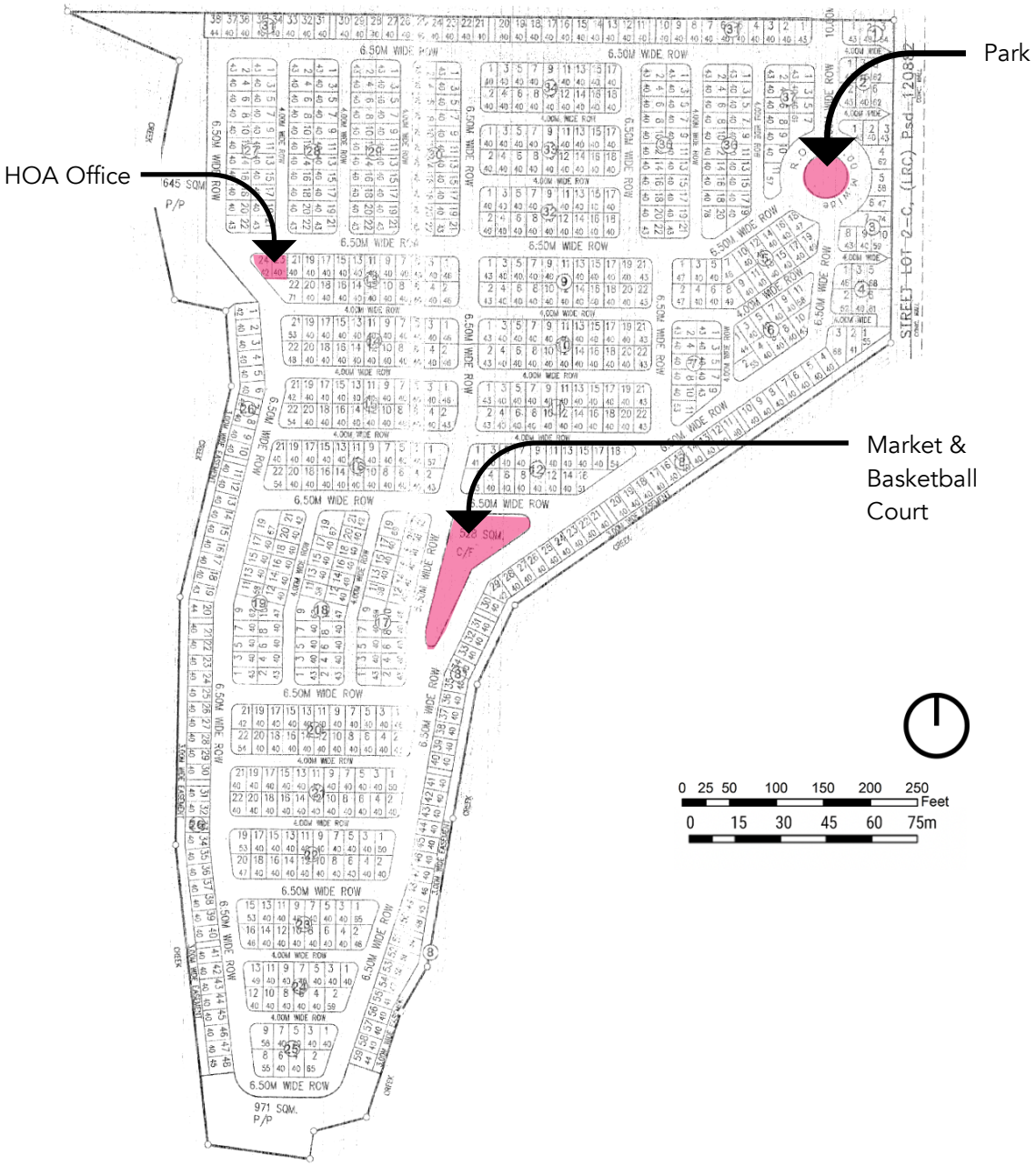


Figure 85: The community is the only site in this study that had developed park space within the community. (Source: National Housing Authority with author edits, 2018). HOA is the Homeowner's Association

Garden Village has three tiers of streets by width that can be seen clearly in the figure ground diagram. The main streets are 6m wide, the residential streets are 4m wide, and the alleyways are 1.5m wide. Architecturally, this site features the only duplex housing form while the other communities are row houses. The alleyway acts as a double-loaded corridor from which the duplexes are arranged. The average block has 22 units (11 duplexes).

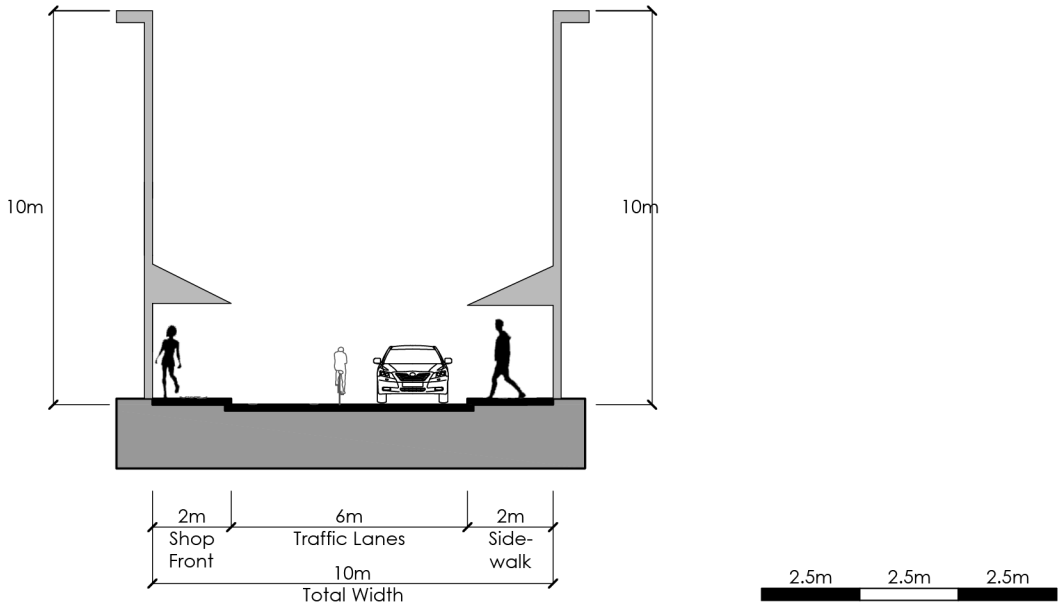


Figure 86: The main street is 6m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

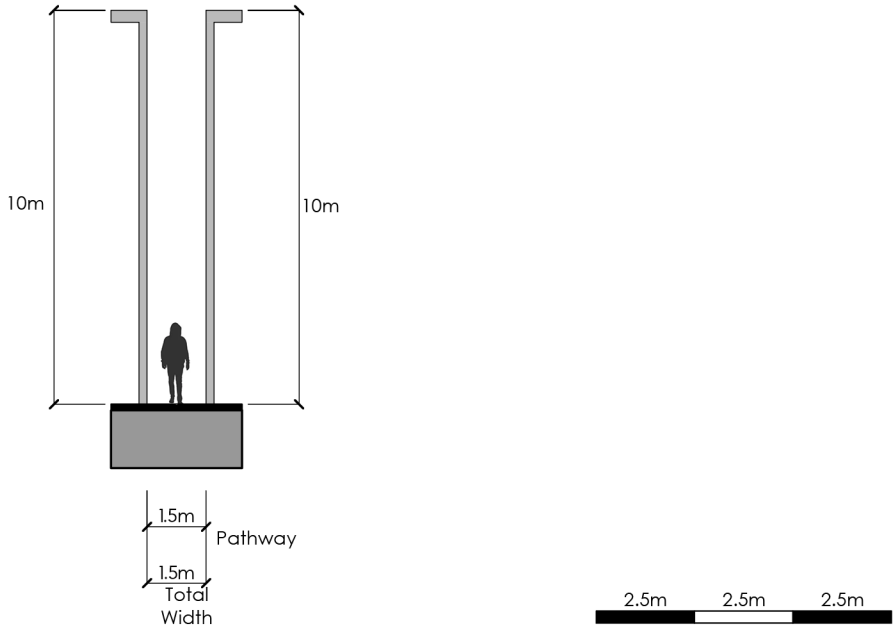


Figure 87: The alleyways are 1.5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits).

These four sites present a wide range of sizes and ages of resettlement communities on the urban periphery of Manila that drive contrasting morphologies. Pabahay 2000 no longer resembles a social housing resettlement; it has integrated into the surrounding urban fabric while belligerently carrying forward its high-density planning framework. Towerville VI is massive; it is an example of how mono-development effects the community experience. SJM is

floundering; its planning ambitions have never been realized leading to vacant lots as permanent community features. Finally, Garden Village is decidedly insular.

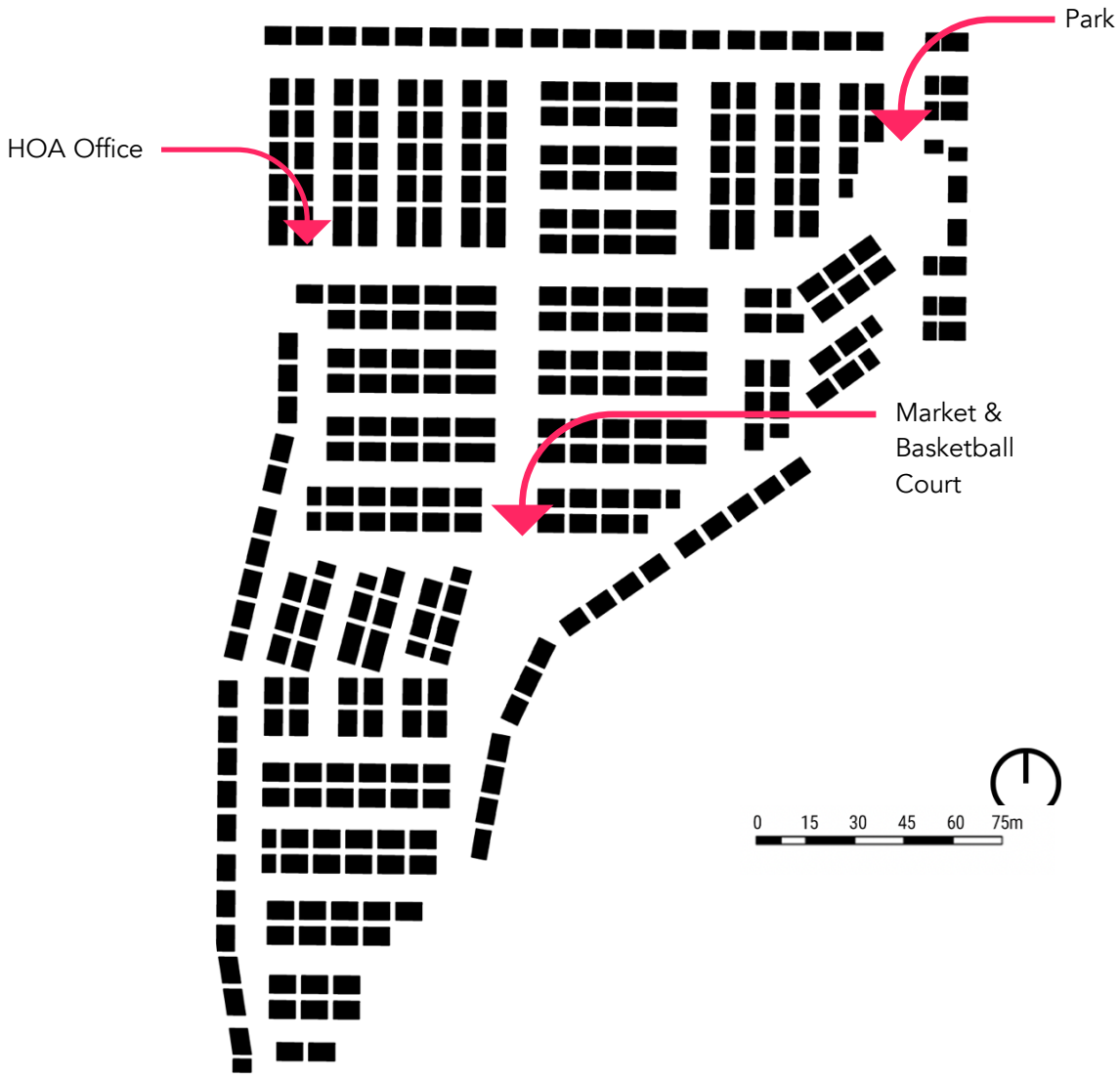


Figure 88: Garden Village has three tiers of streets by width that can be seen clearly in the figure ground diagram. (Source: Shrestha 2020). HOA is the Homeowner's Association.

The qualities of self-isolation, high social cohesion, and, possibly, improved architecture bring important new experiences of public space. Yet, looking down on these communities from above doesn't provide a full understanding of how these communities are experienced. The next sections are organized by site. First, I provide a cursory architectural tour. Then, I reveal the experiences of nine of the 16 adolescents interviewed in these communities through vignettes.

Finally, I provide a community summary that integrates the key themes from the focus groups as well as all the adolescent interviews.

Community Origins

Garden Village was a new community of about 700 plots but just under 500 families had relocated in the past year with more pending. The community was clean and new - living up to its name as a "garden village" because of a strongly enforced Homeowner's Association that emphasized planting around the houses. Each family was allotted a duplex unit with a side and front yard and alley-access in the back. The streets were wide but without sidewalks to accommodate on-street parking (as none of the houses had driveways or carports). Most residents didn't have a car, but some were taxi drivers or would entertain relatives and so there were always a few cars on each street.

The community was difficult to find and more difficult to enter. The residents of Garden Village had deep solidarity and cohesion as they had fought to first remain and then to be relocated as a community from a long-held informal settlement on public land that was now leased to Ayala Land Inc. (to build a commercial live-work-play center, Vertis North). As part of the government lease, Ayala was responsible for procuring a relocation site. The company was pressured by investors to expedite the relocation process and negotiated with the settlement's People's Organization for some atypical participation in the site selection and design process. National Housing Authority hired Dowal Realty & Management Systems Company as the designer of record.

The People's Organization had some input into selecting their site (from a list of three others) and chose the only site that allowed their community to stay together even though it was farther outside the city than many found comfortable. The site was also desirable because a river on three sides wrapped it; the site was a dead-end and for many this was a safety feature because it allowed them to control access. After driving through the rural area, the road stops at a closed metal gate. Two resident-volunteer guards are posted 24-hours and above them a sign proudly reads, "SRCC Garden Village…"

Inside, the road leads to a traffic circle surrounded by duplex houses. The residents also had some small influence on the layout of their units. Cost was tightly controlled so they opted for larger lots and a two-story shell by compensating with an unfinished, interior second floor.

The units came as a single room with a built-in counter and an attached bathroom. As residents saved money, they improved their houses. Some common improvements were awnings over the entrance, metal security bars on the windows, a second level floor and staircase, and interior partitions.

An Architectural Tour of Garden Village

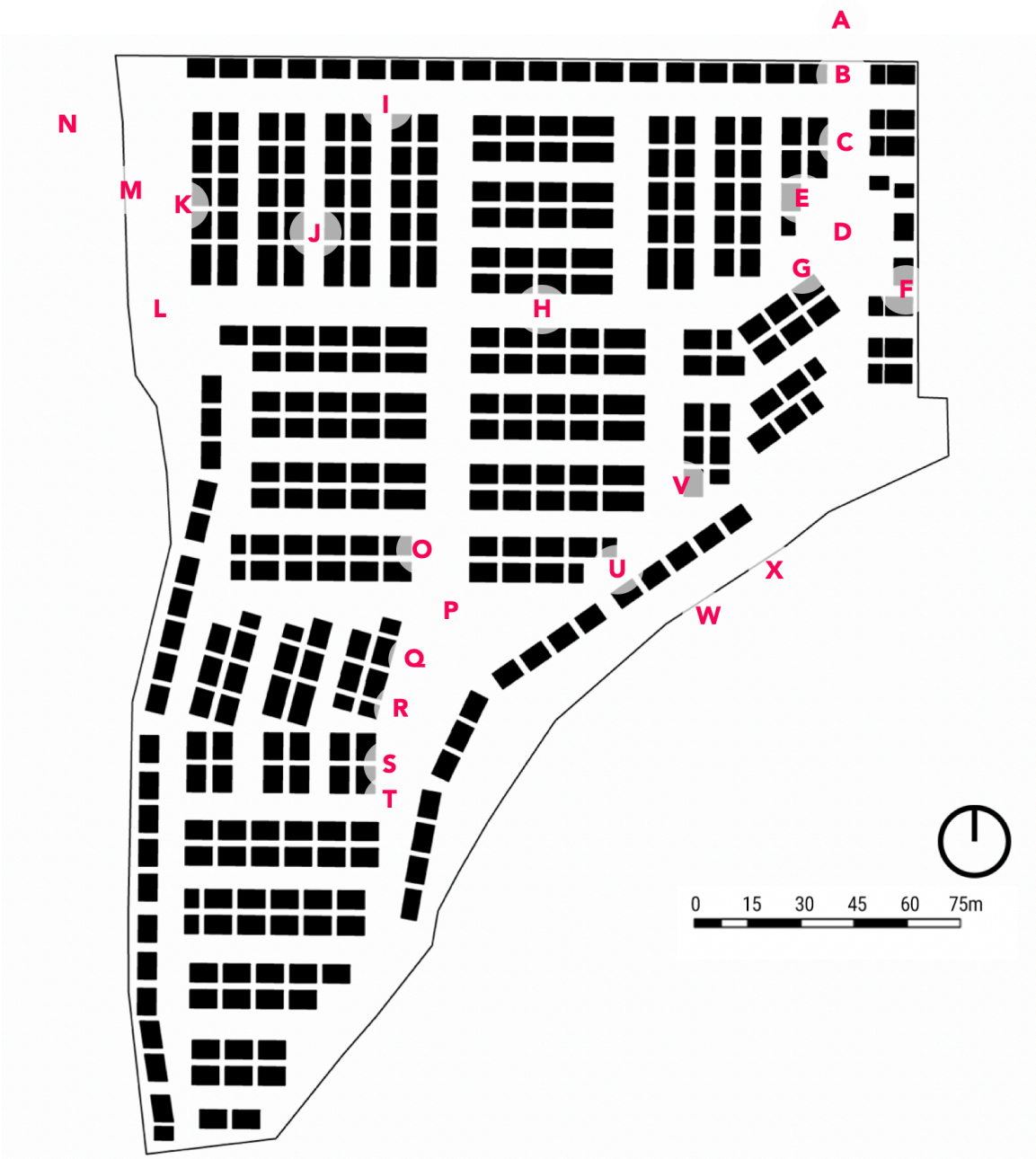


Figure 89: The community photographs are keyed to the figure ground map. (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020).


A
WELCOME


B
MAYEN JUICO


C


D


E

F



G



H



I



J



K



L



M




N


O


P
WELCOME
SRCC MPC
TALIPAPA


Q


R


S

T



U



V



W



X



Although Garden Village is set back 2 km in a semi-rural development, the entrance is the most distinct of all the sites (A). The prominent sign is hung on a rolling gate that is manually operated by volunteer gate guards that check in visitors (B). The community is clear with wide streets, but the sidewalks have been commandeered by potted plants (C). The traffic circle has been converted by the residents into a pocket parklet (D). The community hosts regular competitions after its namesake for the best "garden," which drives competition for residents to maintain their front and side yards (E). There is no formal basketball court but there are two informal courts with one shown at a dead-end street (F). The community residents have added street signs depicting Christian moral values around the community (which is also popular throughout barangay Graceville) (G).

The houses are all two levels in a duplex arrangement with a small alleyway separating the units (H). Because of the dead-end location and the gate guards there are very few cars in Garden Village, which allows young children to roam the street freely (I). Some residents have already made improvements to their units; common renovations include awnings, cages over windows and doors, and enclosing the side yard (J). The houses nearest the river are unoccupied probably because there are concerns about flooding and the soil conditions (K). There is a narrow strip of land surrounding the community that is undeveloped and is used as a community garden (L). Adolescents use a leftover structure near the river as a hangout and some use it to dispose of trash (M). The river on the west side of the community is wide and shallow, which makes it an idea swim spot (N).

There are some lots with extended side yards that operate as community gardens (O). The formal space allocated for commercial business is still underdevelopment but there are some temporary structures that provide for a *talipapa* (basic market) (P). The houses on the south side of the community appear to be uncared for, in various states of disrepair, mostly abandoned, and are not painted although some are informally occupied (Q). These houses surround the informal half court which is the most popular recreation space in the community (R). The half court is alive at night with adult men playing basketball but during the hot day it is mostly occupied by children and adolescents (S, T). The vacant houses form a stark contrast to the well-maintained "garden" houses (U). In addition to the *talipapa*, there are several *sari-sari* stores (a privately-owned shop inside of the store owner's house) (V). The river wraps around on

the East side of the community and s much deeper in this area (W). The squatter settlement Bigong Silang is visible from the East side retaining wall (X).

The architectural tour of Garden Village provides a sense of the community environment and the range of spaces. And, as in the other tours, it also identified the planned and formal public spaces and described their current conditions. Still, an architectural analysis must be paired with resident's experiences to understand how the spaces function in practice. To expand the environmental understanding of Garden Village, I provide three vignettes from adolescents in the community. I summarized the results of working with other two interview participants and the focus group participants later in the chapter.

The Shopkeeper's Ward: Paul

We had scheduled to meet with another boy who didn't show up to his interview appointment. Research Assistant Raph and I walked the streets and noticed Paul sticking his head out of a sari-sari shop on Garden Village's main street. He reminded us that he had asked to do an interview with our research team a few days prior, however, on the day we scheduled the interview he had to go to the doctor's office, and he wasn't able to get in touch with us to let us know he wanted to reschedule.

Paul works at the shop on some weekdays and most weekends because the shop owner is his guardian. The shop owner said that his parents abandoned him and moved back to Manila. She was quite bitter about taking care of and paying for Paul. She stood in the doorway and explained that Paul was in an unfortunate situation because his father abandoned their family in San Roque. His mother relocated but was not able to take care of the children while at the same time find work to support them. The mother befriended the shop owner and left Paul with her for what was supposed to be one week to find work in the local area. That was several months ago, and the shop owner has not been able to get in touch with the mother since. She seems to think that the mother ran off and will never come back to fetch Paul.

The shop owner said it was not an uncommon situation because many people have trouble finding livelihoods "out here in the countryside." Ultimately, the mother has more opportunities and more mobility to find work without the "burden" of raising a child. Additionally, the mother is likely to find it easier to find a husband without having a child from another marriage. In the Philippines, marriage/divorce laws are complex, if not archaic, and

women who are separated have limited abilities to access financial instruments such as loans without permission from their spouse. It will be easier for the mother to find financial stability if she has a husband.

The pictures below are of the participant-directed maps for Garden Village and for barangay Graceville (administrative district). According to the mapping exercise, Paul has a small range of 100 m from his house (radius) but often takes longer trips outside of the community.

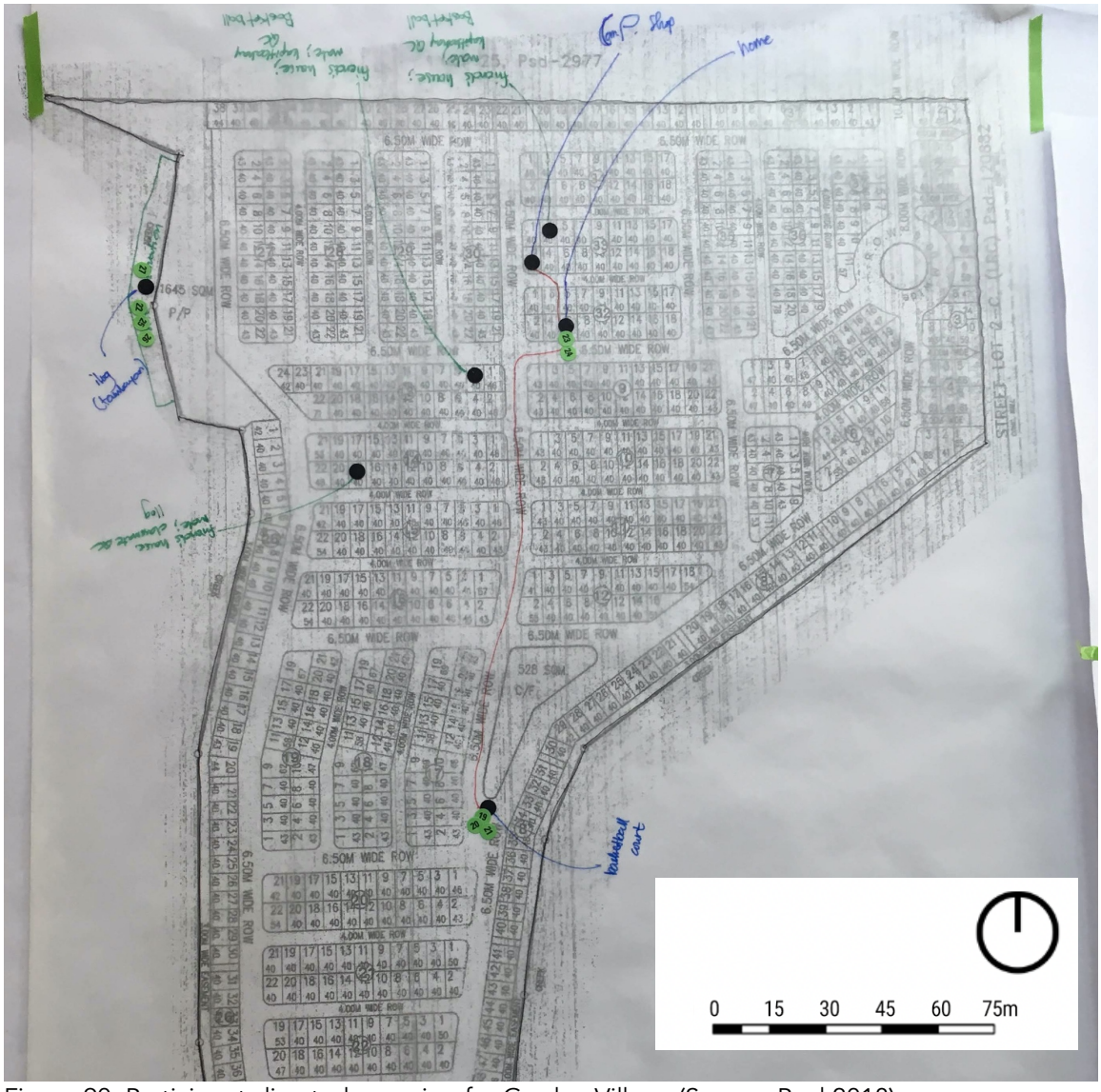


Figure 90: Participant-directed mapping for Garden Village (Source: Paul 2018).

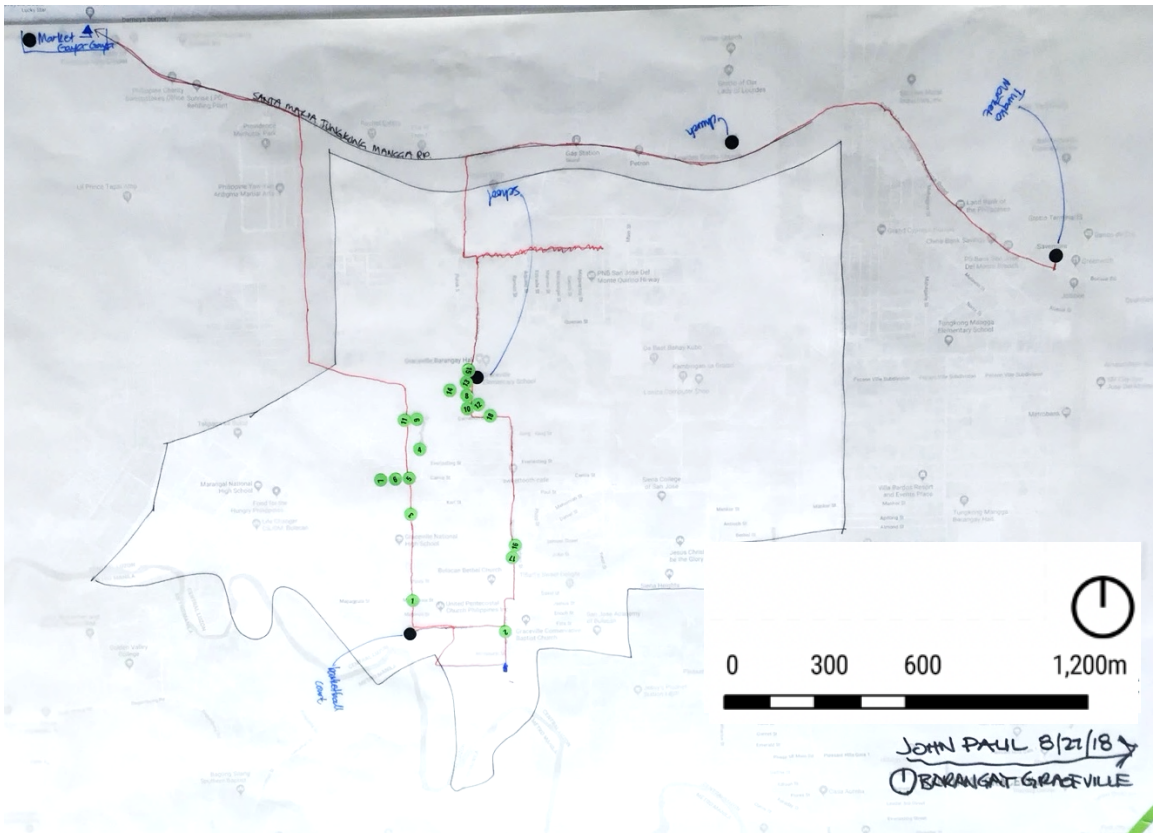


Figure 91: Participant-directed mapping of barangay Graceville (Source: Paul 2018).

Paul was excited to do the interview but was also very shy and took a long time to give thoughtful answers. He only has a few friends in Garden Village; four boys that he met in San Roque that relocated here as well. They play together in the river and sometimes they play tag in the street and other times they play basketball at the half court.

On a normal day Paul gets up, eats his breakfast, and then goes to school at Graceville Elementary school. He must leave at 5 AM in the morning because it's a long walk and class starts at 6 AM. After school he goes to the canteen and then he comes back to Garden Village. Although he doesn't talk about it much in the formal interview, during the mapping exercise, he revealed that he actually spends time outside of Garden Village on the way to and from school. He identified several places along the roads that he likes to hang out with his friends. Perhaps because the shop owner is so strict, he prefers to hang out away from the surveillance of Garden Village? In the auto photography exercise, he captured a few of these places with the following corresponding captions: "*court sa shool. ang court ay pinaglalaruan an basketball* [court in school. the court is playing basketball]," "*mga tao. mihirap siland kaibiganin dahil hindi ko sila kilala*. [people. it's hard for them to be friends because I don't know them.]," "*billiard table.*

dapat hindi tayo naglalaro ng billard pala iwos gulo [billiard table. we shouldn't be playing billiards to avoid trouble]," "*practice. ang mga bata ay sinagayaw*. [practice. the children danced.]," and "*court. ay pwedeng maglaro ng*. [court. can play basketball.]"



Figure 92: *Court sa shool. ang court ay pinaglalaruan an basketball* [court in school. the court is playing basketball] (Source: Paul 2018).



Figure 93: *mga tao. mihirap siland kaibiganin dahil hindi ko sila kilala*. [people. it's hard for them to be friends because I don't know them.] (Source: Paul 2018).



Figure 94: *Billiard table. dapat hindi tayo naglalaro ng billard pala iwos gulo* [billiard table. we shouldn't be playing billiards to avoid trouble] (Source: Paul 2018).



Figure 95: *practice. ang mga bata ay sinagayaw.* [practice. the children danced.] (Source: Paul 2018)



Figure 96: *Court. ay pwedeng maglaro ng.* [court. can play basketball.] (Source: Paul 2018).

On the weekends he works at the sari-sari store. In a follow up interview, he explained that his mother knew the shop owner since San Roque, where she also had a *sari-sari* store. He confirmed that he does not get paid to watch the store and that it is just part of his daily chores. However, the shop owner is the one who is paying for his schooling. In the Philippines, while tuition is free, sometimes the cost of required uniforms, additional fees, and supplies prevents kids from attending. He noted that they while he understands the situation, his mom was not included in the list of people assigned to move because of the location of their house. So, he just came up to Garden Village to help the shop owner move her things. He took a picture with the following caption: "*tindahan. ang tindahan ay bilihan ng mga tao* [store. the store is a shop for people]."

Sometimes the shop owner lets him go with her family to SM mall (Tungko) or to the wet market. He goes to church with the shop owner's family. They go for one hour on Sundays. About twice a week, the shop owner leaves, and he steals away to the river or the basketball court to play but just for short bursts of time like 30 minutes.



Figure 97: *Tindahan. ang tindahan ay bilihan ng mga tao* [store. the store is a shop for people]. (Source: Paul 2018).

They like to sit on the top of the retaining wall next to the river and talk. It's especially nice because there's a breeze and his friends can sit and "dry off the sweat" after playing a game of basketball. He took a picture of with the following caption: "*creek. sa creek ay pwedeng tumambay dahil mahangan* [creek. in the creek can hang because it is windy]." He sees other kids, especially those from "the other side" (referring to Silang Bangong) play in the water. They swim, catch fish, and *ligos* (bath/play). The river is dangerous when the waves get really strong and also the people across the river [Silang Bagong] are dangerous too. He is not allowed to go down to the river because the shop owner prohibits him.

Instead, he plays basketball with his four friends at the half court. He took a picture with the following caption: "*court. ang court ay mapag laroano ng basketball at iba pa* [short. the court can play basketball and so on]." They borrow a ball from one of their friends. Most in his *barkada* are younger. He usually plays tag in the street with his *barkada*. No one looks after him when he is out on the street. He thinks a place is *asteeg* (cool) if there's a fight happening. He doesn't mention it in the interview, but he took several photographs of the billards place with

the caption, "billiard table. *dapat hindi tayo naglalaro ng billard pala iwos gulo* [billiard table. we shouldn't be playing billiards to avoid trouble]."



Figure 98: creek. sa creek ay pwedeng tumambay dahil mahangan [creek. in the creek can hang because it is windy]. (Source Paul 2018).



Figure 99: *court. ang court ay mapag laroano ng basketball at iba pa* [short. the court can play basketball and so on]. (Source: Paul 2018).

When the shop owner is not home, he goes to the computer shop and uses social media such as Facebook and also download songs from YouTube. Sometimes on Facebook he plays Everwing but mostly he chats with friends about schoolwork. He also uses Facebook Messenger to chat with his friends who are still living in San Roque. He usually stays at the computer shop for between half-an-hour and two hours. Sometimes he goes alone and sometimes he goes with his friends. He doesn't have a cell phone, but the shop owner lets him use her phone.

He has noticed that none of the girls play basketball at the half court. They mostly watch. Most of the girls that he sees play in the road small games like Chinese Garter. Paul thinks that the community is safe for girls but not for boys, "because they always get in trouble."

The shop owner usually requires that he stay in the house, but he can hear the *tambays* hang out on the street. "They're there making noise every night, they *tambayan*. They just chat loudly for about four hours because when they get out of school, they *tambay* until night or until the gate keeper chases them out." The shop owner forbade him from hanging out with the adolescents who *tambay* outside of their house. However, this level of supervision is in contrast from his range. Paul has the most independence of all the kids that we spoke with. He often travels alone between Garden Village and San Roque. He must take two jeepney rides to get there. He has also gone a few times with his *barkada* to SM mall to hang out and eat food without supervision.

He feels the safest in his house and the area directly around it. He does not feel safe at the half court or at the river. It's not safe at night either because, "they do stuff to kids." He did not want to elaborate.

Paul had a few ideas for how to make Garden Village safer. He thinks that adding police, more guards, and closed-circuit television would help a lot. However, when we asked if adding more people that he knew would help he said, "no." He thinks that Garden Village could be better if people, "clean the surroundings" and change their attitude.

His favorite things about Garden Village are the houses, plants, play areas (wide street), animals, and is friends. The worst things are the broken houses and people's attitudes. It's easier to get around in Garden Village than in San Roque because the streets are wider, and his friends are close by. He used to play on the computer a lot more because he couldn't get out but now, he doesn't he plays outside. He likes it in Garden Village a lot better than he did in San Roque

because, "it's nice here. There are pretty sites." San Roque is also more dangerous than Garden Village. He said, "there was a lot of gun-shooting and many people died."

The Writer: Ley

On the day of Ley's first interview, our team was late due flooding in Garden Village. However, when we arrived at the Homeowners Association office the staff informed us that they were conducting 'official business,' so they prepared one of the abandoned houses for us to use for interviews with some plastic chairs and a 'do not enter' sign for privacy. It was quite pleasant in the abandoned house because the lack of louvred glass on the windows allowed for maximum air circulation, which was sorely needed to combat the stifling humidity.

Ley and Caril are cousins. While I typically did not enroll relatives or even friends into the study, they were both exceptionally enthusiastic. Ley did not let us down during the interview. She was, by far, the most talkative adolescent I have worked with throughout the study. It was a great break for Research Assistant Mia who had lamented earlier that day the emotional exhaustion of sensitively drawing out shy adolescents. Ley was exuberant and smiled and giggled a lot. We all gained much from her positive energy.

The pictures below are of the participant-directed maps for Garden Village and for barangay Graceville (administrative district). According to the mapping exercise, Ley has a small range of 150 m from her house (radius).

Ley moved to Garden Village from San Roque the area just behind Trinoma in Quezon City. She said that there are 10 people in her *barkada*. All of them are friends from her time living in San Roque but not all came. Some of Ley's friends from San Roque stayed in Quezon City or the government relocated then to another area, Montalban, and she hasn't seen them since. She remembers when she was there that she would hang out mostly at her house; "We would hang out and they would bring the guitar, food, clean clothes etc." However, later in the interview she talked extensively about going to the SM mall nearby and the public parks. She admitted then that she said she stayed at home because that's what girls are supposed to do.



Figure 100: Participant-directed mapping of Garden Village (Source: Ley 2018).

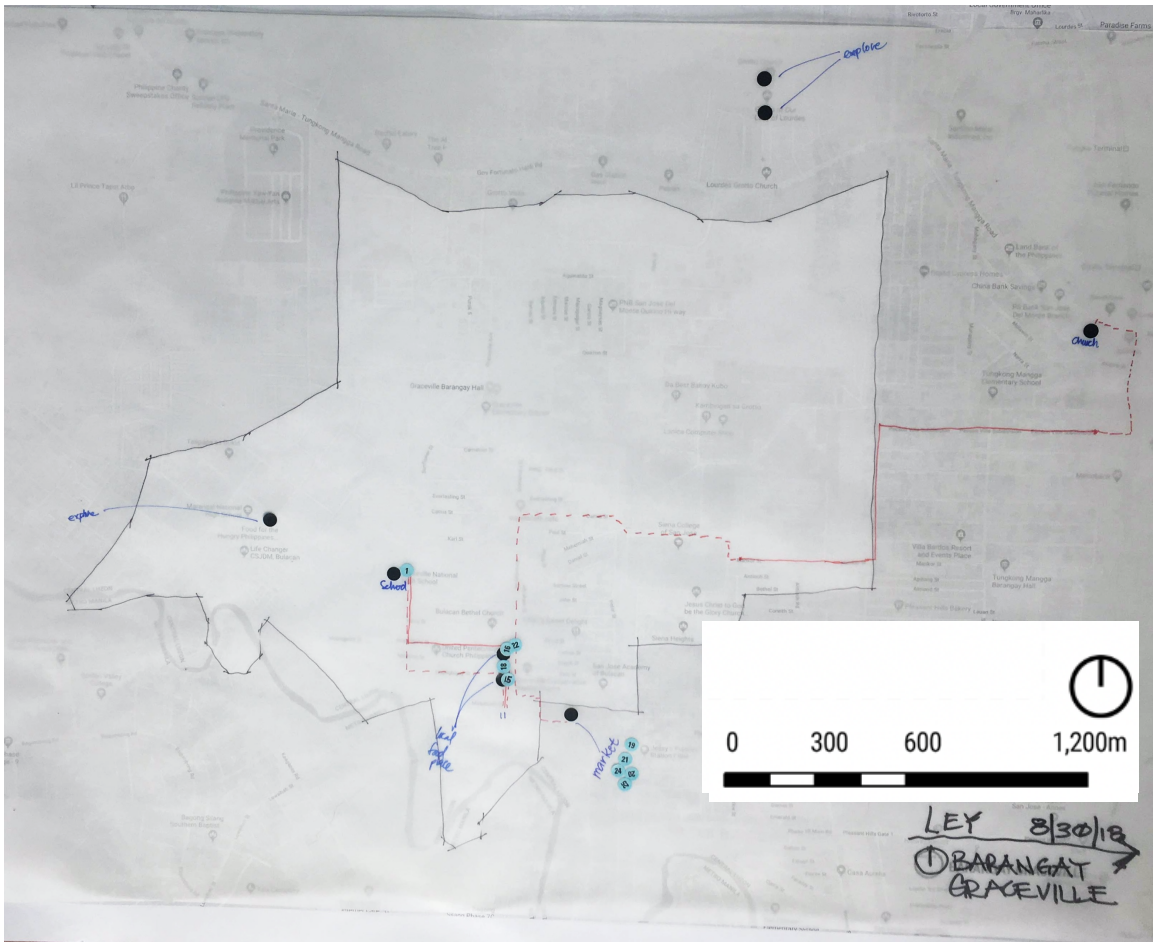


Figure 101: Participant-directed mapping of Garden Village (Source: Ley 2018).

She lives with her mother, father, and two siblings. Her mother is a housewife while her father works in Novaliches, which about 15 kilometers from Garden Village in the direction of Quezon City. He works six days a week and is home with the family on Sundays.

In Garden Village, Ley mostly hangs out on the street in front of her house. They prefer the streets and sidewalks that are in front of the abandoned houses. She took a picture of the street with the following caption, "*tambayan tuwing gabi a dito kami nag kikita* [tambayan every night and here we meet]." She said that most of their parents do not allow them to hang out inside of the house because they are messy and will yell and reprimand them, so they feel that the street is the only place for them to be together. In San Roque, because it was so crowded, even the streets were not comfortable hangout places. She recalled that when they would sit outside and talk, a person inside the house would yell at them to quiet down and throw water at them. They would stop talking and go home for the night. This happened almost every night and they would try different locations but always it was the same, a resident in the closest house

to where they were hanging out would throw water on them. In Garden Village, there are many vacant houses, so they have not had this problem. "No one reprimands us there even if we become noisy." According to the mapping exercise, Ley does not go to the middle or the southern half of Garden Village; her range extends only north of her centrally located house. She doesn't like to walk around alone on the streets, even in the daytime, "because I feel awkward. Especially when people stare." She gets lectured by her parents for not going out to pick up things for the family at the market.



Figure 102*: tambayan tuwing gabi a dito kami nag kikita* [tambayan every night and here we meet] (Source: Ley 2018).

In a later interview, Ley came to an interesting conclusion: she said that there are no sidewalks in Garden Village because of the gate and guard system. The gate and guard limit the number and types of cars, so the streets are very safe for pedestrians to walk in.

On weekdays she wakes up and watches TV until about 10 o'clock in the morning. Then, she takes a bath and goes to school. By the time she gets home there's only a little time in the day left to hang out. She usually can be found hanging with her friends on the street and sometimes she rides a bike around Garden Village. Although she doesn't talk about it in the first

interview, the photovoice exercise revealed that Ley spends a lot of time in the adjacent community, Dela Costa IV. She took a picture of the basketball court there and the market with the following captions, "kasi may mgataga-samin na dumadayo san para naglaro ng basketball tapos para sakin ok namin tong lugar nato. [because there are those of us who go there to play basketball and then for me, we are ok in this place.] and maganda kasi maraming tindahan [it's nice because there are many shops]."



Figure 103: *kasi may mgataga-samin na dumadayo san para naglaro ng basketball tapos para sakin ok namin tong lugar nato.* [because there are those of us who go there to play basketball and then for me, we are ok in this place.] (Source: Ley 2018).

She is the happiest on the weekend because her friends say they will "treat her" (buy her snacks) and stroll around the neighborhood and sometimes they go to the mall (SM Tungko). According to the mapping exercise her favorite place to stop by and get snacks is just outside of the main gate for Garden Village, a little shop that sells siomai buns. There are also some street food vendors just outside of Garden Village. They serve grilled meats or local treats like kwek-kwek (deep-fried battered quail eggs) on a stick so that she can walk around while enjoying the treat. She took a picture of the eatery with the following caption, "*bilihan ng siomai kainan* [siomai eatery]." She was careful to note, though, that when they went out to a mall each person

"KBB" (*kanya-kaynyang bayad* [pays individually]). When she hangs out with her friends, she plays the guitar and sometimes they drink alcohol. She tries to manage her limitations but finds it difficult when it is always a birthday or exam-passing celebration. Typically, when they drink, they like to do videoke.



Figure 104: *maganda kasi maraming tindahan* [it's nice because there are many shops] (Source: Ley 2018).

She jokes that she is lazy and hangs out in her house too often for the comfort of her friends. They come to her house and yell from the street, "Hey you are like a kill joy. Come out of your house, come here and hang out." They even offer to treat her to coax her to come outside.

When she is with her family she goes to church, and she dines out. However, they have not found a church community to join near Garden Village. And, she added that she is unmotivated to go with the family, so they often let her stay home alone when they attend.



Figure 105: *bilihan ng siomai kainan* [siomai eatery] (Source: Ley 2018).

She recalled differences between vacations as a child in Quezon City and vacations now that she is an adolescent. "The vacation, man, before we go to outings with my family, we went swimming. But since we were little children, it is not allowed, especially it is not allowed because we are girls. That's what they say." When asked about the malls that she has been to, she mentioned that she hasn't been to SM Fairview because it is "too big and scary" and that she might "get lost."

She does not go to the half court in Garden Village because "it is small and in [San Roque] it was large, so it was fun." She also complained that that half court was located near the *talipapa* (informal marketplace) and it often gets crowded with people. "[The half court] is too near to the marketplace. If there are many people, why at the marketplace?" The half court is also a space only for boys; "it is like really understood [that the basketball court is only for boys]." When Ley does see other girls there it is only because they are "sweethearts." She finds this so annoying that she described how she would be too shy to pass next to them (both the sweethearts as well as the boy *barakadas*) and instead walked around on a different path. There

is a large, covered basketball court near the barangay hall, but it is far from Garden Village (just over 1 km) and thus she does not go play there.

She goes to the computer shop to research assignments and print documents for school. As in many other communities, the computer shop is located inside a house just a few streets away in Garden Village. She uses social media through Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and the like. She also loves WatPadd, which is a grass-roots story telling platform. In a later interview she added that she writes romance stories and posts them but also reads a lot of stories from other people. Even though she has no experience with love she writes about older couples, those in college or in business. She only writes from her cell phone, and it takes her a lot of time because the keyboard is difficult. She doesn't like to go to the Computer Shop because people stand behind her and watch what she writes, besides, she uses a penname, and she doesn't want to reveal her identity. "They can view it; they are watching behind you and teasing you. It's awkward and better to just have your own."

She is online every day because she must check her school assignments and she checks in on her Group Chat). She has her own cell phone, so it is easy for her to check in. She used to play games on the computer and on her phone, but she isn't interested in them anymore. Sometimes her *barkada* uses the Group Chat to coordinate where they want to meet up.

She is disgusted by the river, and she never goes down there. "I look, but I don't go [down there]. It's dirty." She explained that the village elders at the Homeowners Association told her not to engage with the people playing at the river because there are ghosts there. She mentioned her fears of the area many times in the interview, expanding each time to include dangerous people, possible liquefaction, and drowning.

When we asked her about public space, she immediately mentioned Quezon City Circle memorial. She used to go there often with her friends. Her favorite place was the wildlife exhibit, but she added that there was a fee, and she could only go if she was sponsored.

When asked what type of places she found to be *asteeg* (cool) she came up with an idea for a space that doesn't currently exist in Garden Village for teenagers. "What I want is hopefully not only for children but also for teenagers too." She explained that she just wanted a space that her and her friends were permitted to talk and make noise. Although she didn't bring it up during the interview, she took a few pictures of public space near the high school with the

following caption, "*maganda at maaliwalas kasi sa narap ng school* [it's beautiful and airy because it's in front of the school]."



Figure 106: *maganda at maaliwalas kasi sa narap ng school* [it's beautiful and airy because it's in front of the school] (Source: Ley 2018).

There is no space in Garden Village that is a girls-only space. Ley said that all of the girls that live there mostly stay at home or right outside of their home.

She is scared of "*yung mga bahay na wala pang nakatira pa masyado*... (the area of vacant houses). Like what my friend said that it is scary [near the vacant houses] when it is night because like there are houses there that have no residents. If you get kidnapped or abducted then they put you in a house, no one will be able to hear you because it is made of cement, and it is even far." She adds that she fears the people that live in Silang Bagong across the river. She said that she has seen men from Silang Bagong cross the river and hang out in Garden Village. She attributes theft in the community to the people across the river. She recounted a recent incident when her mom and brother, who were at home, confronted a chicken thief. Her mother didn't know the young man and said he had a tattoo. She has heard of other items stolen as well.

She wishes the gate guards would prohibit children from leaving Garden Village. She said that she has trouble looking after her younger brother who is 10 because he is "very fast." Once, she wasn't paying attention and he rode off on his bike. When he came back, he told her that he had ridden outside of the gate to school and back. She was really scared for him because he could have gotten hit by a car.

She refers to ghosts many times. Her classmates told her that Garden Village used to be a cemetery (a place where dead people were thrown) and that is why the developers relocated the planned development for Dela Costa Homes 4.

To increase the safety, she suggests a background check for residents. She believes this would prevent thieves and other criminals from relocating with her family.

She complains a bit about her parent's rules that she thinks are not fair because they only apply to her and not her brother. While she agrees to follow them, she is angry about her limitations. She sees that her brother is allowed to have outings and go swimming and she gets jealous. She asked him once, "why is it that you have an outing with your friends, and I am not allowed? He said, like, 'because you are a girl. They say that to me. 'You are a girl, and you want to visit places and stroll around? It is not allowed.' My older brother tells me." She adds that her brother has some gender biases as well and often tells her things such as 'girls like to spend money,' and 'boys don't lose things.' This infuriates Ley because she does not thing that ALL girls/boys are like that.

She really likes that Garden Village has a competition the best front yard garden. She thinks that it really adds to the beauty of the place. Additionally, she thinks the community layout and building placement is well done. The roads are much better than they were in San Roque where the potholes were so large, "you had to carry [your bike] to be able to ride to the court." She used to like the area inside of the traffic circle; "it was really beautiful but now it seems like it is broken in the middle" (she refers to the concrete riprap that was dumped around the flagpole). She also likes the guard that patrols the streets inside of Garden Village to secure the area. She said that "they don't reprimand us but the remind us to be careful at night."

In a later interview, Ley talks about the social differences of living in Garden Village versus San Roque. She noted that in her old community, she had more freedom to make noise and roam and act silly but in Garden Village, there are a lot of rules. For example, she said that just the other day, the neighbor came over and yelled at her for listening to loud music and

explained to her that she cannot do as she pleases and must learn the proper behavior of the new community.

She has complaints, though. Ley was not satisfied with the quality of home construction; "there are cracks, and the tiles are not level." She added, "I hoped that [the homes] were made better because these are supposed to be homes that we dwell in for a lifetime. I hoped that they would be sturdy… but they are wishy-washy… there are big cracks." She added that the builders did not install the toilets properly and explained an embarrassing moment when her sibling was using the toilet and it fell over on him. Another complaint was that since they have relocated to Garden Village there has been no electricity and no water. "They are still looking for a place to connect to. Then of course it is tiring [without utilities] … mama will get angry because there is still no water when my sibling wants to take a bath." She said that the community has reported it to the National Housing Authority, but she doesn't know the status. Her last main complaint is the differences in the quality of homes. She said that her neighbor's house is very well made and has lots of amenities while her house is shoddy. It's possible that Ley doesn't realize that families have made improvements to the homes at their own expense but it's also possible that different construction contractors produced homes of varying quality. She added that while each family go to "choose" their house before they moved, most families did "through a map" without ever seeing Garden Village in person. Only the Homeowners Association leadership came to approve the site. She also likes the school in San Roque better than in Garden Village because there are more people, and the classes are less boring.

Ley has noticed that since arriving there is an increase in the amount of trash that she sees on the streets. "At first, it was beautiful and clean here. Our expectation was that it is a village (she is referring to a tightknit community). But now, we see a lot of trash. What is happening? Maybe, I said, there might come a time when we have stayed here long enough… we might end up being like the squatter area (referring to the dirtiness of San Roque)." She didn't like that San Roque was overly crowded and often flooded when it rained; she had to wear plastic shoes. She qualified that even with these complaints, Garden Village is superior to San Roque because of the susceptibility to flooding and the high density of the squatter's area.

Her idea is to hold a community clean-up meeting and ask all the residents to separate biodegradables from the trash. Then they would collect a fee to dispose of the non-biodegradables. She brings up an interesting point that our team didn't cover with the other

communities: the high cost of trash services. Ley told us that the cost of properly disposing trash prevents her family from using a trash service.

She misses the proximity between her house, school, and the mall in Quezon City. In Garden Village, the school is far from her house and the mall is far from both – so far that she rarely goes to the mall because she cannot make it home before the guards close the gate at night. When she lived in San Roque, she would hang out at the mall nearly every day.

Ley thinks that Garden Village is more dangerous than San Roque because of the dense vegetation and unfamiliarity. "I am more at peace [in San Roque] than [in Garden Village]." She went on to explain that she felt so comfortable there because everything was close together while Garden Village is so remote, she has to awkwardly walk-through other neighborhoods to go to school and shop. "Even if you see some *adiks* (drug addicts), like 'yarr,' it's shocking but I do not feel awkward anymore. Compared to here when it is awkward because everything is far, and they say it's dangerous." In fact, she admitted that she feels safer in San Roque than in Garden Village because of her familiarity with people and places.

She would make Garden Village better by "beautifying," increasing the size, and lowering the price of goods in the *talipapa* (informal market). She feels that goods were cheaper in San Roque so she felt like she could buy more things with her money but in Garden Village it is more expensive. She really wants to travel internationally and said that she wants to see Korea, Paris, and the whole world. She wants to live in the provinces, maybe Baguio because its cold there.

The Frat Boy: Joven

Joven was shy but wanted to participate. He required some coaxing to open up. The pictures below are of the participant-directed maps for Garden Village and for barangay Graceville (administrative district). According to the mapping exercise, Joven has a small range of 150 m from his house (radius).

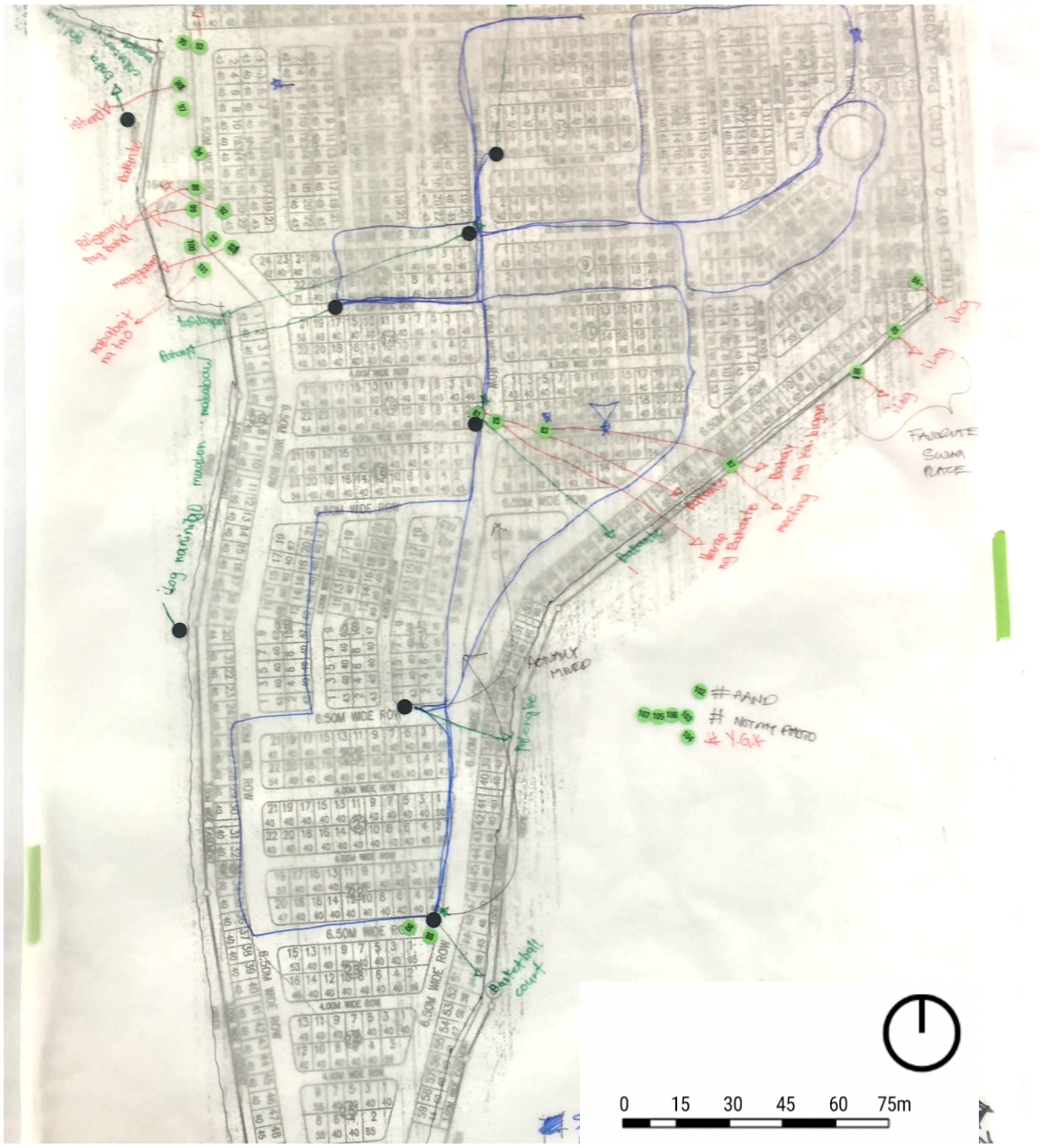


Figure 107: Participant-directed mapping of Garden Village (Source: Joven 2018).

He mainly plays near the river and he said that, "sometimes if we get bored, we take a *ligo* (play swimming/bath) there until our lips turn white." He described it as a very happy place, "when we take a *ligo* (swim) we are entertained, if we're bathing it's like we never want to get out." He feels happy there. They only go down to the river in certain spots because most areas are dangerous to access the river. Interestingly, he noted that when it rains the trash comes out and the river is disgusting but he still *ligo* (swims) with his friends. His friends and the river are his favorite things about Garden Village. The river can be deep in some places, but Joven and his

friends have learned where it's safe and where it's dangerous. He swims even on the weekends. He took a picture of the river with the following caption, "*ilog. saan kami naliligo. paboritong liguan.* [river. where we bathe. favorite bath.]"

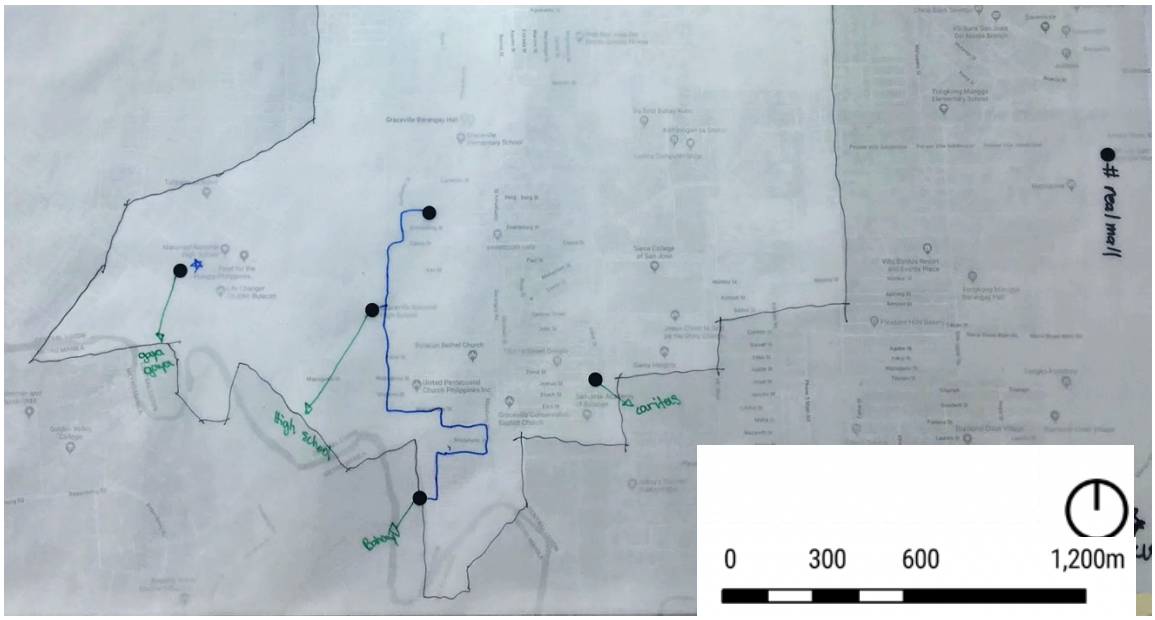


Figure 108: Participant-directed mapping of Garden Village (Source: Joven 2018).


Figure 109: ilog. saan kami naliligo. paboritong liguan. [river. where we bathe. favorite bath.] (Source: Joven 2018).

Further, while he doesn't speak of it during the interview, he showed us during the mapping exercise that he likes to hang out in a fort near the river. It is made of wood and looks like a ranger's fire watch tower. There is trash piled below and the sides are open, but it has a pleasant view of the river. He took a picture of the fort with the following caption, "*bahay na kahoy tambayan nagpapahinga* [wooden house for resting hang outs]."



Figure 110: bahay na kahoy tambayan nagpapahinga [wooden house for resting hangouts] (Source: Joven 2018).

After he gets up in the morning, his mom will cook breakfast for him. Then he takes a bath and gets ready for and goes to school. He walks to school, and it takes a while because it is over 1km away. He goes to school from 6 am to noon during the weekdays. After school he goes home, eats a snack, and takes a nap. Sometime later, if his friends ask him to hang out, he will go out and go *ligo* (swim). Although he comes home to nap, he really spends most of his time outside of the house.

He hangs out in the streets with his *frat* (gang) named YGK. It is interesting that Joven is the only kid that we worked with that considered his friend group to be a *frat* (gang) rather than a *barkada*. *The difference is generally that frats have admissions requirements and use hazing to*

develop a group-think mindset and thus are more affiliated with crime and danger than a barkada which is more informal and less structured.[39] They are 20 members (all boys, but Joven said that girls could join if they want) and they range in ages from his age of 13 to older boys at 18 and 19. Most but not all of them are from San Roque. They have a distinct leader who is an older adolescent in the community who dropped out of school.

They hang out at the *kanto* (street corner/around the block). He said, "we just sit around, sometimes in a *bakante* (vacant) lot when it's raining." He doesn't make plans in advance because his *frat* is always at their *tambayan* (street corner) or the river or playing at the half-court. In a later interview, he expanded and said that they play *habol-habolan* (tag) and *bang-sak* (a more intense game of tag about conquering like cops-and-robbers). He took two pictures of the vacant house that he hangs out in with the following captions, "hiding spot during hide and seek" and "*tambayan. gabi ak umaga bakanteng bahay* [Hang out. evening and morning vacant house]."



Figure 111: hiding spot during hide and seek (Source: Joven 2018).

39 For additional information see https://www.sunstar.com.ph/article/353603/Lifestyle/Editorial-Frat-101



Figure 112: tambayan. gabi ak umaga bakanteng bahay [Hang out. evening and morning vacant house] (Source: Joven 2018).

There are a lot of *bakante* (vacant) lots and houses in Garden Village. Some community members explained that it was because the houses closer to the river flooded easily and often so no one was willing to enter a mortgage for them. However, the National Housing Authority representative said it was because the relocation process was still on-going and that the houses have been awarded but the receiving party hasn't made the initial payments for access. Many of the adolescent boys took pictures from inside of these vacant houses. He thinks that couples hang out at the vacant houses so that they are not seen.

He does not go to church. He has gone to the covered basketball court near the barangay offices, but it is far from his house. So, instead, he sometimes plays at the "homemade" half court in Garden Village.

He goes to the computer shop as a group with his friends every day for between half-an-hour and two hours, but he complained that the rates per hour are twice as much for the computer shop in Garden Village as the one outside of the community gate. This is interesting because it implies a higher demand for the shop inside of the gate, possibly because as new relocates, parents are less likely to let their kids roam outside of the community. He goes often

and plays games like League of Legends and Crossfire as well as social media (Facebook). He uses social media, but he does not have a cellphone.

Sometimes girls go with his *barakada* to hang out. However, Joven said his female friends in Gayagaya (a neighborhood in Muzon) because that is where one of them has a boyfriend. This is interesting because it is over 6 km away and would take nearly an hour and a half to walk there, partly on a rural highway, but Joven said that the girls walk there regularly. He doesn't like to go with them because it is so far and all they do is sit and talk; he prefers playing activities.

He usually stays in Garden Village. He lamented that even when school is out for holidays he doesn't "get to go anywhere else." This past summer, he stayed at home with his grandparents in Montalban because his grandfather had a stroke and his grandmother passed away. He was bored there and only ever went to the wet market to buy things for the family.

He moved to Garden Village from San Roque in Quezon City. When we asked about public space and explained the concept, he immediately remembered the park in Quezon City inside of the traffic circle (Quezon Memorial Circle). He described it as a great place for kids because there are "play places and there's a porridge place and sometimes our friends would buy food for us." He added that the kids in Garden Village don't buy food for each other because "everyone who's from [San Roque] got wrecked, all of them got wrecked to get [to Garden Village]." He implies that the relocation was such as hardship that the families have not recovered and do not have resources to do things like buy each other food. However, not all of his friends moved with him to Garden Village and some still remain in San Roque, but he hopes that everyone will eventually move. Now that he doesn't have access to the Quezon Memorial Circle he said, "we just keep ourselves occupies in the river or tambay only." He just recently learned to swim because of moving to Garden Village but he said most of his friends do not know how to swim.

He often went to the SM mall (SM City Mall North Triangle) near San Roque when he lived there but he has not gone to the SM in San Jose Del Monte (SM Tungko). He could probably go on his own but because he and his friends are new to the area, they don't know the stops.

He has some complaints about Garden Village, specifically the houses. He didn't like that when they had first transferred, they didn't have basic things in a house that you would

expect like a door and flooring. "No floormat so when you lie down you get dirtied easily." It took his family more than two months to be able to buy these things. He said that in San Roque, "Our house before had a lot of mosquitos, and then it had cockroaches." He feels that the roads in Garden Village are safer because they are more spacious, but the community is small. He also didn't have many friends in San Roque.

He feels the safest at the house. He is scared when "the river is deep, and the water is strong." He thinks that the entire community is safe for girls, which is an interesting comment because none of the kids in the other three communities thought their community safe for girls. He contrasts this with the dangerous people (drug dealers) that might harm girls in San Roque. He also thinks Garden Village is safe for children. While there are only a few lights he thinks that it's "fine" because "there are only a few people, and we are the only *tambay* (loiterers)."

The only place that he avoids is across the river near the information community (Bagong Silang in Caloocan). The river is the divider between provinces and the official marker for the edge of Metro Manila. He said it's dangerous because "they throw stones at us." He described some of the other kids getting tripped on (harassed/bullied) for "looking too *angas* (hardcore/arrogant)." They chose not to fight back because they worried that the attackers would increase the violence, so they just avoid the part of the river near the informal community.

He didn't have many things that he would add to make the community safer because they already have a gate with guards protecting the only road in/out. He would like closed-circuit television and a fence along the river so that the people from [Silang Bagong] would not come in. He said that there is not much crime in Garden Village as there was in San Roque. In his former community, there were "thieves, there are holdups."

At home, his grandmother looks after him. He does nothing that he needs anyone to look after him in the street because he has the protection of his *frat*. She has told him that if he doesn't come home every night by 9 pm then she will throw his clothes outside but usually he is home by 8 pm.

There are also stricter rules in Garden Village than San Roque. For example, "There I'm allowed to have my shirt off anywhere that I go but here I'm not allowed to walk around without my shirt." These are rules voted on and set by the community's' Homeowner's Association. None of the other community's Homeowners Association have such strict rules. The guard drives around on his motorcycle enforces the rules and scolds his frat. He explained that once a group

from Silang Bagong asked his frat to a fight and they accepted but a Homeowners Association member intercepted and forbid it. Ever since then, the guard teases them that they are always "looking for fights." Joven doesn't like all the rules; "Everything is not allowed!" However, he still has more freedom in Garden Village because it is safer, and he likes it a lot better than in San Roque. He went out more often in San Roque, but he said it's easier to go out in Garden Village because "everything is closer." His mom pushes him to follow the rules in Garden Village because she is worried that if he breaks the rules the family will be kicked out of the community.

Despite all these feelings, when asked about where he wants to live in 10 years, he said he will go back to San Roque. "It's fun there. We just moved because it was chaotic there. There are a lot of arrests, gun fights, and the like." He recalls a time in San Roque that he walked with a friend and while minding his own business another group of four guys passed by them and "suddenly slapped [his friend]." They looked like they were on *shabu* (meth)." Still, he wants to return.

When talking about the dangers in San Roque, Joven reveals his prejudice by saying, "I want everyone [to relocate to Garden Village] but not Muslims because they hawk everywhere." However, he clarifies that he is okay with Muslim kids his age if they don't *bentahan* (sell) and he even has friends that are Muslim.

He said that tambay is a negative word, and many adults are suspect about young men and adolescent boys that *tambayan* on the street. When he is asked if he is loitering, he always responds by telling them that he just stays at home. He thinks that most people find tambay to be *angas* (tough, arrogant).

Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Garden Village

Paul's, Ley's, and Joven's vignettes are helpful to understand the range of topics and influences that each adolescent navigates through their community. They also reinforce the qualitative nature of this study in documenting a collection of individual experiences. Yet, their perspectives only represent three voices in a large community with many adolescents.

I held two additional in-depth interviews that included the full spectrum of mapping and photovoice with Dos (The Class President) and Caril (The Cousin) as well as an intensive focus group with 13 other adolescents. In this section, I summarize the data from working with these 18 adolescents and identify "public spaces in practice" specific to Garden Village. The table

below shows the roster of adolescents from the Garden Village site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study. At the end of the chapter, I compare the summaries across sites according to eight themes and then develop questions about adolescent's spatial environments that are answered in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

Name	Gender	Age	Religion	School Type	House Type/Floor Area/ Lot Size
The Shopkeeper's Ward: Paul	M	15	Christian	Public	Duplex/45 m^2/40 m^2
The Writer: Ley	F	16	Christian	Public	Duplex/45 m^2/40 m^2
The Frat Boy: Joven	M	12	N/A	Public	Duplex/45 m^2/40 m^2
The Class President: Dos	M	13	Catholic	Public	Duplex/45 m^2/40 m^2
The Cousin: Caril	F	14	N/A	Public	Duplex/45 m^2/40 m^2

Table 9: The roster of adolescents from the Garden Village site that participated in the interviews and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Philippines case study (Source: author 2021).

The Additional In-Depth Interviews

I recruited Dos (The Class President) for the focus group, but he couldn't attend because he had ESP (*Edukasyon sa Pagpapakatao*/values education) and catechism. He agreed to do a longer interview but gave us the contact information of his neighbor, Queen. When we went to fetch him, Queen answered the door and laughingly said that giving the wrong information was typical of Dos. She thought it was a funny joke and took us to his house. He lives with his grandmother and six siblings. His mom is currently an Overseas Filipino Worker living abroad, and his dad passed away.

Dos is very mature for his age. When we asked about his daily routine, he started with preparing everything for school the night before. He noted that he could not be absent because he is the class president. He puts a lot of pressure on himself to make sure that he has perfect attendance. "I really need to go to school even if I get a fever or something, I have to go to

class." In addition to ESP and the collector's ministry, Dos joined three clubs at school – the science club, the music club, and AP club (*araling panlupunan*/social studies).

"On the weekend, maybe I just eat, sleep, and browse my notebook. Then on Sundays, sometimes, I go to Quezon City. I go to a church there because I'm a collector – part of the children's ministry. That's where I also go to mass sometimes. If I don't have any money, I'll stay at home and just take a nap." It takes Dos four vehicles to get from Garden Village to Quezon City. But, around barangay Graceville, Dos walks most places. Sometimes, he borrows his uncle's motorcycle to go to the barangay hall/school and back. He plans on getting his motorcycle license when he turns 18 so that he can ride by himself to Quezon City.

In Garden Village, sometimes he hangs out around the river because "it's cold there." He only goes there with his best friends. "Sometimes we go down there and walk around. Then, if we see people fishing will watch them until they catch something." He finds the river to be very dirty. He doesn't like to swim there. There's trash that are thrown in the river and they've even seen dead animals. He took a picture with the caption, "*sa bahaging ito baka bumaha dahil sa dami ng basura ng nakatambak* [in this part it may flood due to the amount of garbage piled up]." He's also a little nervous about an abandoned house that's near the river. "They have a brutal fight first, then there are some that drink alcohol. Then they bring their bags, clothes for changing, things like that." There's no one to watch over the kids that go there. He took a picture with the following caption, "*dito inilalagay ang mga basura namin baka merong matulis na bagay kapag pumunta kami ditto* [here we put our garbage least there be a sharp object when we go here].

Sometimes he goes to the half court for just a few hours about four days a week. He likes to go in the late afternoon when it's no longer hot. However, he gets easily bored when he's not playing basketball, and just watching. He explained that the etiquette was to wait and watch the people who are currently playing. When they were done, they would hand the ball off to you if you knew each other. But it could take a long time because their friends would often ask to rematch and play a second or even third round.



Figure 113: *Sa bahaging ito baka bumaha dahil sa dami ng basura ng nakatambak* [in this part it may flood due to the amount of garbage piled up]. (Source: Dos 2018).



Figure 114: *Dito inilalagay ang mga basura namin baka merong matulis na bagay kapag pumunta kami ditto* [here we put our garbage lest there be a sharp object when we go here]. (Source: Dos 2018).

He said that he doesn't know anybody that has a girlfriend, or a boyfriend and he doesn't have one. However, when we asked if he had an MU (mutual understanding that there is something going on between you) he giggled and looked away. "She's in Quezon City so it's quite far. She's a member of the choir sometimes a reader, called a lector." Then, he also admitted that some of his other friends have an MU. "Sometimes they play mobile legends together. I don't understand those two, why they still chat when they're so close to each other."

Dos uses social media through Facebook and Instagram. He used to like watching movies but now he's more into basketball and Wattpad. He said he likes it because "you can relate sometimes, and it'll make you cry." In a follow up interview, Dos admitted that he also writes poetry and submits it to online forms. "Sometimes I interpret my life, sometimes the songs I hear, I fit the lyrics to the stories I write."

Dos knew more about the relocation process than any other adolescent we interviewed. When we asked why the government relocated his family, he said very plainly, "Ayala made us leave. Ayala - it's the big mall that's being built there." He said that the government did not relocate everyone to Garden Village; they relocated some to Tangdang Sora, Litex, Pag-Asa, and other places. He explained how the relocation process worked: "they have a group here called SRCC. It's a group that conducts meetings. It's an organization that, for example, if they're not given a house, let's say, then they'll fight for their place. They talked directly to Ayala. But the Congress - only the leader of SRCC, she requested for relocation. I have no idea why they chose this place."

He wasn't too happy with the relocation mainly because he didn't like that the people from San Roque were split up. While some of his best friends relocated to Garden Village with him many did not. Specifically, the relocation broke up his band and his friend who played the piano is still living in San Roque.

The houses were bigger in San Roque because they reached three and four levels while in Garden Village, they stop at two levels. In fact, he liked living in San Roque better than Garden Village because "it's more fun if you have a lot of friends." He also added that he was able to network with other schools including Kisay (the Quezon City science high school). He felt that he was "freer" there because he could stroll around places that he was familiar with, and they had a really nice full basketball court. But he likes the environment of Garden Village

because "it's clean, except for the air. It's peaceful, not too many fights, then this is a quiet place."

Dos often sees people hanging out on the street both in San Roque and even in Garden Village. He sees that sometimes other adolescents ("Sometimes you'll see kids younger than me and sometimes they're 18, 15, 14.") smoke and other times they use inhalant drugs from adhesives and solvents. He confessed that he was very frustrated because some of his friends have changed since the resettlement. Specifically, "my childhood friend changed. She's a short girl. She's pretty and kind. But once she got here, her demeanor changed. She hangs out around with boys, with piercings. That's what you call them right, 'piercings' on their tongues? Sometimes they smoke. We call them hypebeast. Hypebeast is when you have this fashion sense. Then, a big group of them will go Quezon City together. Like, they dress differently in a peculiar way to attract attention. They're wearing old school clothes and high socks. Then, just shorts with a nice top. It's peculiar." He continued to describe that he didn't like that she wore sexually revealing clothes. He said, "I think, they are just bragging. They're showing off with skirts and off-shoulder tops to showcase their nice bodies, things like that." Overall, he said he didn't want to be associated with hypebeast because they're a bad influence, so he wants to be very far away from it. Later in the interview he came back to talking about his friend. "My lesbian friend has a piercing [on her tongue]. We thought about that because it pisses me off when I see her [play with her tongue] sticking her tongue out and what not. They're used to playing with their tongue if they have piercings because it's fun to feel. You do like this with your tongue. I don't like it. I get grossed out by it. They're just showing off."

Dos's favorite things about Garden Village are that it's peaceful, it's clean (except for the river), and the large quantity of plants that make the place beautiful. However, he said he really doesn't like the air in Garden Village. He believes that the air in this countryside location is different because "it will make your skin darker even if you don't go out of the house." He doesn't know how it works but he said, "maybe the air that's coming in is hot on our skin? So that sometimes I noticed that it's hot. My fair skinned sibling even got darker even though he doesn't go out." In a frustrated tone he described that there was no place to get away from it. "When you come from home from school you have to use a parasol. Then when you go inside, it's too hot because we don't have air-conditioning. We're not that rich."

Later in the interview he said that he wants people to personalize their houses and paint them different colors so that "they don't look like a housing project." They are not allowed to paint the houses any color except beige.

Generally, he thinks that Garden Village is safe for boys because it's peaceful. "It's not like in San Roque where there were a lot of fights that broke out." He also thinks it's safe for girls because they're always at home, always together, always putting on make-up. Like they're just – nothing bad ever happens to them." He expanded on the dangers of being an adolescent boy even in Garden Village. "Like there's one time, we were doing a project… I suddenly remembered. It was painful. There were three of us. One had his hair cut, I bought materials for a project, then I just brought the other one along. There, I was wearing my headset, so I didn't (hear anything) there. We saw people in Dela Costa, there by the bridge, there's a bridge there. I saw people doing tambay there. We let them be. Then when we were a bit farther away from them, someone hit me on the back. There are also a lot of stories here, of people smacking their backs. My friend also got hit on the back. It's like they'll do you know. Like, they'll take off their shirt, cover (you), hit you, and then run. I don't know what influence they're under, why they do that."

Caril (The Cousin)

Caril said that her *barkada* usually goes "to tambay at night to avoid the heat, so we just stay by the street. She took a picture with the following caption, "*tapat ng bahay naming yan umuupo kami jan nag kukumpol kumpulan para mag kwentohan lang* [opposite our house, we were sitting in a group just to talk]." We just play some music and chat; we don't really do much. We only really do it if we have the time; when it's their dismissal from school, for example." Generally, she prefers staying at home. She likes being inside with or without her friends during the daytime and "usually goes out at night because its hot out in the daytime." In the auto photography exercise, she gave the following caption of the street corner, "*hilig talag a namin umupo sa hilid ng kalsada sawa na kasi kami sa loob ng bahay naming* [We really like to sit on the side of the road because we are tired of being inside our house]." She also added in the captions that her and her friends like to dance inside the house but not outside because it is embarrassing.



Figure 115: *tapat ng bahay naming yan umuupo kami jan nag kukumpol kumpulan para mag kwentohan lang* [opposite our house, we were sitting in a group just to talk]" (Source: Caril 2018).

On a typical day she wakes up around noon and goes straight to school. After school she visits the market nearby and then comes home. She added, "When I get [to school], that's when I'll go around because there's a lot of places you can go to. Sometimes, I visit the market, or just walk around." This is interesting because the school is about 1 km from Garden Village in an unfamiliar area. She added that she goes to Senior High School while everyone else in her *barkada* attends the Junior High School. This means that she must travel alone to school, and it scares her because she tends to doze off while commuting on the jeepney and is worried that she will get lost. On weekends she hangs out at the barbeque stands near Garden Village and sometimes she goes to SM Tungko. She has gone with her cousin to church at SM Mall but does not go with her family.

While she doesn't go to the river, she does stroll along the top of the retaining wall with her friends. She took a picture with the following caption, "*pero may mga good side naman itong lugar nato pag gusto mo mapag-isa* [but there are good sides to this place when you want to be alone]." She doesn't go to the court in Graceville near the barangay offices because it is

too far away, and she never goes to the half court in Garden Village because "it is hideous" because of the trash and people who hang out there. She thinks that the basketball court and the river are boys' spaces and the streets near friend's houses are girls' spaces. She sees a lot of other groups hanging out in the street, especially at night. She knows them because "they're friends of our neighbors." Caril thinks that an *asteeg* (cool) *tambayan* is one that is close to a *kainan* (a place to buy food) "because we really like snacking while we're hanging out."



Figure 116: *pero may mga good side naman itong lugar nato pag gusto mo mapag-isa* [but there are good sides to this place when you want to be alone]. (Source: Caril 2018).

Caril also moved from San Roque in Quezon City. While she couldn't think of any public space in or near Garden Village, she recalled the Quezon City Memorial Circle as the public space that she used to frequent when she lived close by.

Her favorite places in Garden Village are the roundabout and the *talipapa* (informal market). She likes that "when you're with friends, you can finally be proud of where you live because it's really nice." The worst thing about Garden Village is that "it's so boring here and they're so strict." She said that her *barkada* is often called out and reprimanded for being too loud when it is before the curfew time. Since the sun sets around 7 pm, she feels that this

doesn't give her group much time outside. Because the Philippines is so close to the equator, the sun sets almost every day between 6:30-7:00 pm. She also doesn't like that the court is far away and that it is so plain. "Back where I'm from, we had a really nice basketball court because there used to be a lot of games held there."

Interestingly, although Garden Village is surrounded by jungles and farmland, Caril said that she doesn't get to hang out in nature now that she has moved out of San Roque. Her version of nature is controlled such as the nature park in Quezon City that she used to frequent.

She said, "I really think it's better in Quezon City. There were lots of places you could go to. When you go out of the house, it's a short walk to the market or to the court. But it's also good here, because there really isn't much to do. So, we don't usually go out because we all have our own things to do. We get to focus on our studies here because there's nowhere we can go; we've strolled pretty much the entire place." She added that she feels like she had more freedom back there. In Garden Village all her friends are scared and as soon as one person says they want to go home, then they all go home. But, in San Roque they would stay out really late because there was no curfew and no patrol guards.

The Focus Group

The turnout for the focus group with Garden Village was 100% of enrolled participants. This was probably due to the fair weather supporting many to walk from the site to the barangay hall. Similar to SJM, the participants leaned more toward older adolescents, and they had great energy.

Unlike Caril and her friends, many of the focus group participants unanimously agreed that Garden Village was one of the safest neighborhoods in the area. However, they spoke about issues with *tambays* from their own community. They mentioned that the gate guards help reinforce rules such as curfew and they appreciated the guard's authority because they felt protected. They had concerns about their safety that effected mobility. Places of interest outside of their community were too far away and the participants didn't like leaving the gated community where they were more familiar with the residents. There are no streetlights, so the streets feel dangerous at night. They also voiced concerns about the people from Bagong Silang (the informal settlement across the river) bullying them and catcalling girls near the river as well as coming into the community to steal.

The Female Adolescents breakout group revealed that many participants believe that rape is a real and daily threat that they work to mitigate. The girls talked about many open vegetated spaces as being places that they might get attacked so they avoided open fields in areas with brush and trees. They make sure to walk in groups, they don't go too far away, and they especially do not go out at night. The Male Adolescents breakout group revealed that many boys are concerned with bullying outside of the community. They spoke about other adolescents and young adults instigating fights, "tripping on them" if they leave Garden Village. They displayed a real reluctance to go beyond the guarded gate. The Young Adolescents breakout group spoke of tambays on the street inviting them to hang out and they felt like these were offers to join their *barkada*. They said that 12-14 years of age is a common "initiation age" for more formal groups such as frats and gangs.

Just as in the other three communities, schoolwork and practices dictate most of their time. When not doing schoolwork, the participants use their cellphone to stream TV dramas. Kdramas (Korean dramas) were a notable favorite.

All the participants recently resettled from the same informal community, San Roque in Quezon City. They agreed that it was "chaotic and noisy" and there were rampant problems with drugs, violence, and police raids. They were also embarrassed about their origins with one participant censuring another, "don't make it obvious that we're from a squatter's area." As they talked, it was apparent that the participants had started to "other" and look down upon the residents of San Roque that had not resettled to Garden Village. They spoke more about social activities than the other focus groups in how they interacted and how well they knew each other.

Despite their safety concerns, the participants missed the walkability of Quezon City and the amenities the area provided. Specifically, they missed access to SM and Trinoma malls and the numerous parks. They said they tried to return as much as possible, but the cost of transportation prevented them. Many of the participants have at least one family member that lives in Quezon City for livelihood and remits money back to Garden Village. Also, several participants had scholarships for academic institutions/private schools in Quezon City and the relocation either forced them to give it up or they still commute to attend school there.

The barangay covered basketball court is only ½ km from the high school, but many do not feel comfortable there because it is outside of their "community." However, they do not like

the half court inside Garden Village because it is too small to hold games and often commandeered by adults.

There are several local stores along the main road that are closer than SM mall, but the participants said that the environment outside of the stores is not what they are looking for in a place to hang out. They described the local stores as dirty and old and didn't feel safe because they were along the main road/highway.

"Public Space" in Practice

From the focus group discussion and the five intensive interviews, I identified the five primary hangout locations that were "public spaces" in practice in their community as the basketball court, the half court, the river, the computer shop, and the street.[40] Spaces outside of their community that were "public spaces" in practice included church and SM mall. Most of these spaces are categories of types of space rather than a singular location. I used the results of the mapping exercises to identify the most active singular space within each type for spatial analysis. The results of the spatial analysis are reported in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

Adolescent's Spatial Activity in Manila's Resettlement Communities

This section is about adolescent's spatial activity through and beyond their resettlement community environment. Spatial activity is a function of both where adolescents go (mobility) as well as how they interact with their surroundings (environmental competence). Scholars such as Hart (1979), Moore (1986), Heft & Wohlwill (1987), Chawla (2002), Kreutz (2016), and Malone (2018) have shown a relationship between adolescent's spatial activity and healthy development.

Environmental competence is a person's ability to interact effectively with their surrounding environment (White 1959). Environmental competence is instinctual and begins at birth. The feedback loop between control, learning, and satisfaction motivates people to develop environmental competence and in children and adolescents it is embodied in the joy of play (Brown 2009). Adolescents transact with their environment through large-scale outdoor

[40] Recall that I am using the concept of "public space in practice" to refer to spaces that may or may not be formally public space but due to their perceived accessibility, non-domesticity, and support of social activities they act as public space within a particular community.

exploration and place involvements (Piaget & Inhelder, 1956; Valsiner & Connolly 2003). The quality of adolescent's environmental transactions is linked to their healthy development and environmental competence (Bronfenbrenner 1968, Moore 1983, Evans 2006).

In children's studies, mobility is traditionally divided into independent and dependent mobility. However, as this chapter seeks to investigate public spaces within resettlement communities, I will not cover adolescent's dependent mobility patterns and focus only on where adolescent go when they perceive agency. Therefore, I define independent mobility as adolescent's self-directed and peer-directed spatial activities. Independent exploration is vital to the development of environmental competence. Researchers from many disciplines have shown that children's cognitive, social, and affective development benefits from their active engagement with the environment (e.g., Hart 1979, Heft & Wohlwill 1987, Moore 1986). At the onset of adolescence, children start to peel away from adult guidance and rely more on peer relationships with others of a similar age and thus begin their journey of independent mobility (Sobel 1993). This study worked with 58 focus group participants and 15 interview participants at this critical age in which independent mobility begins (approximately 12-16 years old).

Through these methods, I sought to capture adolescents' range of spaces and environmental experiences to draw conclusions about the major themes that effected their spatial activities. Identifying and describing these themes helps to answer the original research questions, what spaces perform as public space in dispossessed communities? and how do adolescents use these public spaces?

In these four resettlement sites, adolescent's spatial activity patterns were dictated by themes of territory and range; typical routes; social groups; gendered spaces; mobility license; chores and work; fears, risk, & safety; and social media & computer games. These themes resulted from two rounds of coding in-depth interview transcripts.[41]

Similar studies with adolescents (Chawla 2002, Kreutz 2016) also incorporated spatial activity patterns based on seasonal and weather changes, fatigue, and mode of transport. In these four resettlement sites, the weather was consistently hot or hot and wet, which provided

[41] In the iterative process of coding all of the adolescent interviews and focus group results, I developed and refined code categories. Interestingly, and possibly reinforcing my findings, my code categories are nearly identical to the themes that Dr. Angela Kruetz (2016) reports on children's spatial mobility in her study with an aboriginal community in Australia even though I did not discover her study until after I had completed my coding process.

little variation in adolescent's spatial patterns. While adolescents frequently talked of taking naps, the interview data did not have a high enough level of granularity to interpret emotional/physical conditions such as fatigue. Additionally, their mode of transport within their community was consistently walking. As an outlier, adolescents mentioned a borrowed bicycle or motorcycle, but rarely had access to any other type of transportation. Although not an influence on their spatial activity, the theme of "improvements" illuminates adolescent's creativity and provides deeper insight into how and if they imagine an environmental alternative.

Range & Territory

Adolescent's range is a measurement of the maximum surface area that they independently explored around their home. Territory describes how adolescents perceive ownership or dominance over the spaces they frequent. Community site plans, in which participants drew their daily routes and identified frequent locations/destinations, measured the range of adolescents living in the four resettlement sites. Using Google Earth, I calculated the adolescent's independent range and found that there were significant variations based on gender and community site. The participants from Pabahay 2000 had an average range of 13,894 m^2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,368 m. Julia was the only participant from Towerville VI to complete a map; she had a range of 5,579 m2 with a maximum path distance of 1,031 m. The participants from SJM had an average range of 15,003 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,859 m. The participants from Garden Village had an average range of 8,005 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,356 m. These results are intended to contextualize and substantiate the primary data, which is the adolescents'' interviews. The data below is imperfect due to sample size errors and self-reporting errors but I found it useful to the findings because the extreme variations in gender adequately illustrate emerging themes found in the interviews.

Pabahay 2000	Area (m^2)	Max Path (m)	Towerville VI	Area (m^2)	Max Path (m)
Burger	15,396	745	Julia	5,579	1,031
Ash	20,810	2,555			
Kathleen	5,477	803			
Girls Av.	N/A	N/A			
Boys Av.	18,103	1,650			
Average	13,894	1,368			

SJM	Area (m^2)	Max Path (m)	Garden Village	Area (m^2)	Max Path (m)
Adrienne	6,131	1,562	Joven	7,353	1,160
Shen	11,659	1,272	Paul	9,110	2,474
Cardo	27,220	2,744	Ley	5,093	862
			Caril	6,230	595
			Dos	12,239	1,690
Girls Av.	8,895	1,417	Girls Av.	5,662	729
Boys Av.	N/A	N/A	Boys Av.	9,567	1,775
Average	15,003	1,859	Average	8,005	1,356

Table 10: Using Google Earth, I calculated the adolescent's independent range and found that there were significant variations based on gender and community site (Source: Author 2021).



Figure 117: The participants from Pabahay 2000 had an average range of 13,894 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,368 m (Source: Author 2021).

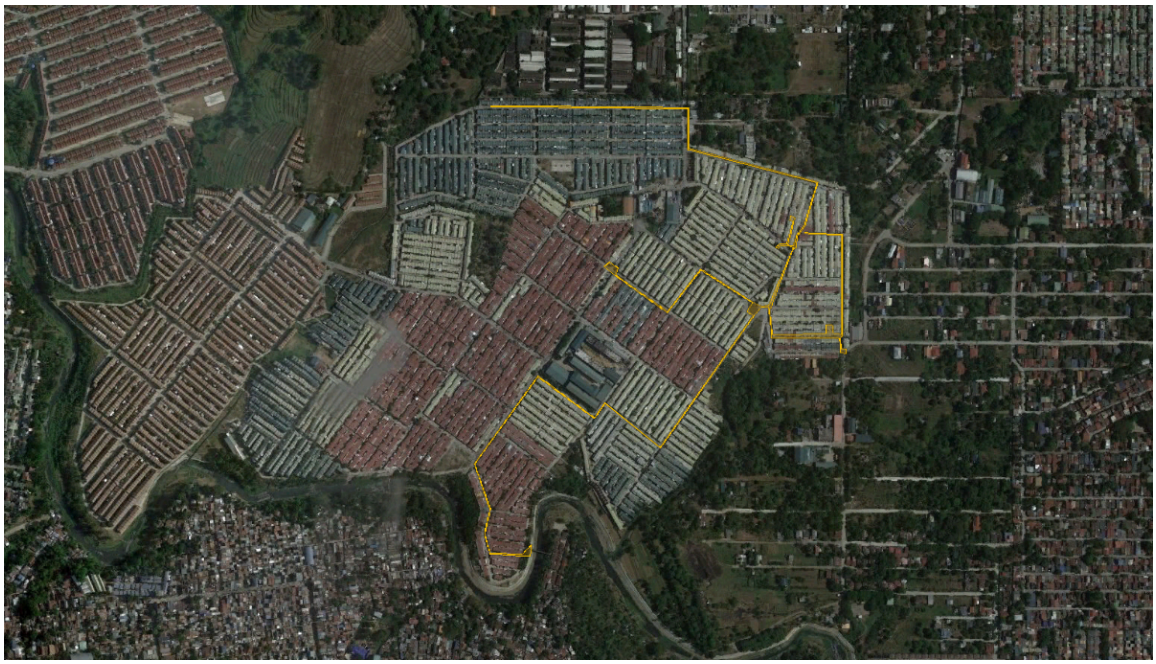


Figure 118: Julia was the only participant from Towerville VI to complete a map; she had a range of 5,579 m2 with a maximum path distance of 1,031 m (Source: Author 2021).



Figure 119: The participants from SJM had an average range of 15,003 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,859 m (Source: Author 2021).



Figure 120: The participants from Garden Village had an average range of 8,005 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 1,356 m (Source: Author 2021).

The variations in adolescent's range are described by gender and age. The average range of boys was greater than that of girls across all sites; especially when comparing the outliers at the barangay scale, boys had more and father away outlier destinations. Additionally, the average range of younger adolescents (12-13 years) was less than that of older adolescents (15-16 years) including the outliers. The reasons adolescents gave for the variation was largely a factor of safety and social expectations. On the one hand, the traditional Filipino girl stays at home, helps with domestic responsibilities, and guards her 'virtue.' On the other hand, an adventurous girl puts herself at additional risk.

Overall, adolescents in SJM had the largest home range while adolescents in Garden Village had the smallest home range. The results, however, are proportional to the scale of the communities, except for Towerville VI. Contextually, adolescents in Towerville VI were self-limiting (the adolescents did not explore up to the edge of the community), while the agricultural fields in SJM and the gate in Garden Village limited the adolescents. However, in both SJM and Garden Village communities, there were significant areas in which the adolescents did not explore. Reasons for the variation area largely related to territory among other factors such as safety and fears.

During the interviews, adolescents demonstrated a clear awareness for the informal ownership over the landscape. Someone controlled each street, corner, house, lot, etc. in the community. Navigating territoriality was a primary reason for determining which route to take and which space to hang out.

Typical Routes

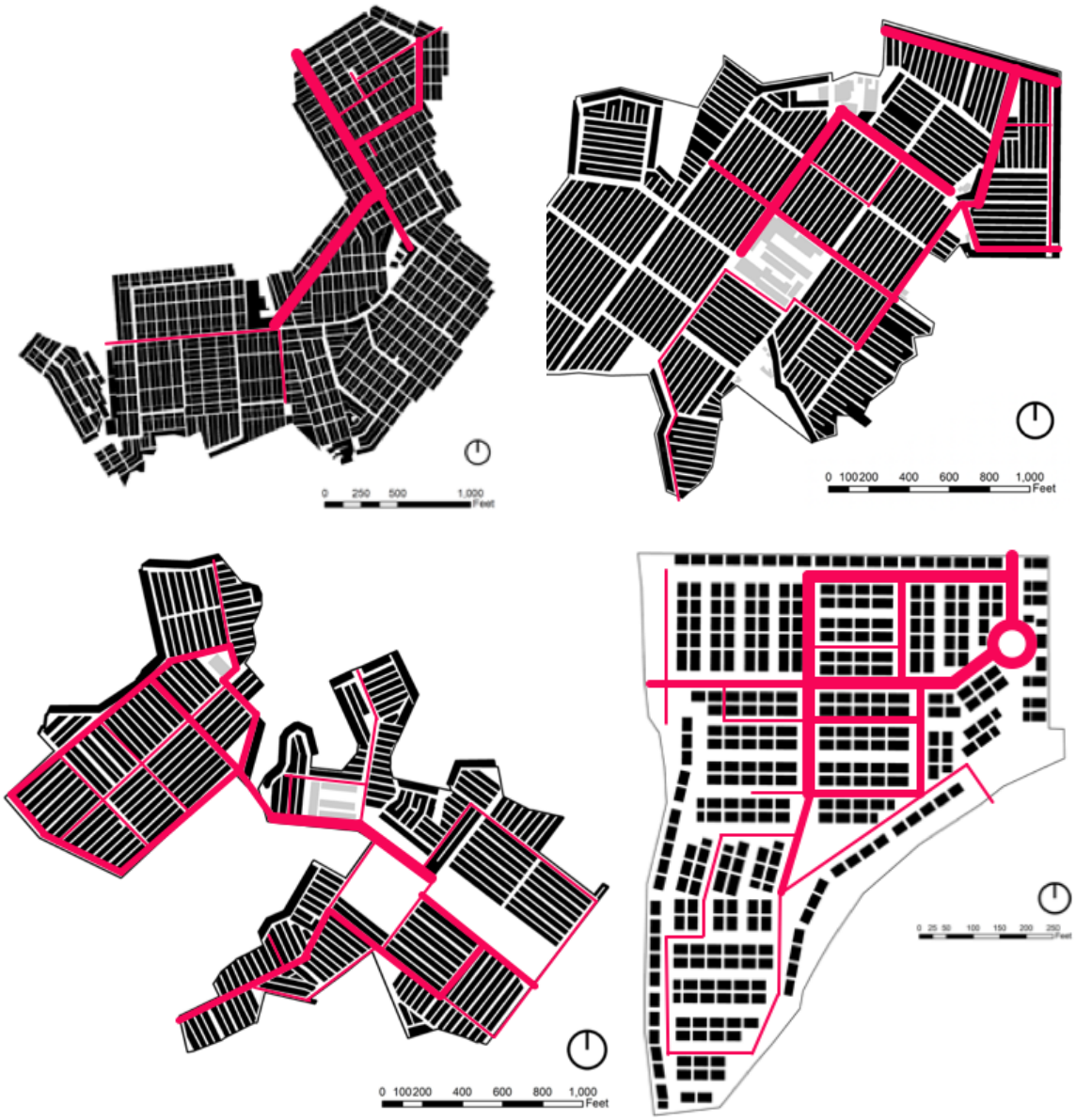


Figure 121: The routes for each site were overlaid onto a single map to identify the most frequently used streets and pathways (clockwise from upper left: Pabahay 2000, Towerville VI, SJM, and Garden Village). (Source: Author and Shrestha 2021).

The next theme that influenced adolescent's spatial activities were their chosen routes. Although territoriality dominated route choices, it was valuable to capture their movements along typical routes. In *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*, I recorded and analyzed systematic observations with critical incident frequencies. However, for this section, I rely exclusively on adolescent's aerial mapping and interview responses, with my own fieldnotes. I overlaid the routes for each site onto a single map to identify the most frequently used streets and pathways.

The entryway to each site was a dominant street route except in SJM, where the dominant route picked up in the interior of the community. Most adolescents explained in the interviews that they leave the community via a trike that departs from an informal stand about 200m before the school. Most of the adolescents prefer walking downside streets and noticeably avoided heavily trafficked areas. Most girls preferred to avoid main streets where they might be catcalled. Many adolescents also spoke of strolling or walking without a specific destination in mind. Their routes often took side streets as well as alleyways and included detours for snack shops.

Social Groups

Adolescent's social groups, commonly known as *barkadas* in the Philippines, were a primary form of safety, encouraged exploration, and supported territorial claims. I gathered these insights from the intensive focus groups, the in-depth interviews, and my fieldnotes. In each of these activities, adolescents described how and where they went and with whom.[42] In the interview, I specifically asked the adolescents where they travelled without friends or family. None of the participants suggested they went out alone with the two exceptions of going to the market to buy a viand for the family (a domestic responsibility) and/or going to the computer shop. However, even the computer shop was a peer activity in most cases.

These two exceptions along with their descriptions suggest that going out alone is not preferred but necessary in some cases to fulfil domestic responsibilities. In the daytime, going out alone is less of a safety concern as much as a preference. Most participants considered going out at night a safety concern whether alone or in a group. Ash explained:

[42] The photo voice activity does not accurately reflect social groups because adolescents were given instructions not to photograph other people for safety.

> Research Assistant Clarisse: Paano pag ikaw lang magisa? Ano yung pinakamalayong lugar na napuntahan mo mag-isa? [Where is the farthest you've gone by yourself?]
>
> Ash: *Ah wala po, diyan lang po. Ayoko po kaisng maggala nang mag-isa.* [Ah no, just nearby. I don't want to stroll around alone.]
>
> Research Assistant Denise: *Bakit?* [Why?]
>
> Ash: *Ayoko lang ng walang kasama, walang kakwentuhan ganun.* [I don't want to be alone; I don't have someone to talk to.]

Gendered Space

The theme of 'gendered space' was a major pivot-point in this dissertation upon which I built the primary conclusions. This section is best understood with a brief summary of the discourse on gendered space in relation to public space. Daphne Spain (1993) eloquently proposed that while women's status is a result of a variety of cultural, religious, and socioeconomic factors, the physical separation of genders also contributes to and perpetuates stratification by reducing women's access to socially valued knowledge. She goes on to say that these "gendered spaces" reinforce and reproduce prevailing status distinctions that are taken for granted (ibid). Geographers (e.g., Vance 1977) and sociologists (e.g., Suttles 1990) discuss gendered space as a result of the production of the built environment beyond cultural factors.

> Feminist scholars would indeed agree that the city is manmade because women had little to do with its planning, less to do with its construction, and received few benefits from being confined within a man-made environment. The built environment reflects men's activities, men's values, and men's attitudes toward settlement space (Gottdiener and Hutchinson 2011: p. 165).

The connection between gendered space and the political economy is also well established: "gender roles appear to be dictated in part by patriarchal social conventions and, in many parts of the world, by the demands of the global economy" (ibid, p. 166). Dána-Ain Davis and Christa Craven (2011) charged feminist scholars as having a unique opportunity to illuminate how neoliberalism undermines women's experience. Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2013) takes the charge a step further emphasizing the need for historical and cultural specificity in understanding women's' complex agency as situated subjects in a neoliberal context vice a view "from above of marginalized communities of women in the global South…" Scholars reference the necessary domestic and unpaid work to rear children and maintain families in nearly all societies that is

primarily understood to be the responsibility of women. They refer to these activities as the social reproduction of the labor force and emphasize the importance of physical space on this process. Specifically, spatial relations play a great role in the perpetuation of women in society.

> If the female gender role assigns a certain power to women through control of the home environment, the opposite is the case for the larger physical environment of the city and metropolis. Once out in public space, women have to beware. They are subject to harassment and, quite often, danger. Women living in large cities must acquire 'street smarts' early if they are to successfully negotiate public space…In contrast to men, women are satiated in a constrained space and do not enjoy the same freedom of movement…space places a role in gender socialization (Ibid, p. 169).

The perception of a space as "boys' space" or a "girls' space" was a huge influence on the selection of routes and hangouts. According to the adolescents, not all spaces were gendered but there were significant consistencies across communities. I gathered these insights from the intensive focus groups, the in-depth interviews, and my fieldnotes. Specifically, in each in-depth interview, I asked the participants if they noticed a space where only boys/girls go and then to describe why they think it is only for boys/girls (*saan yung mga lugar na napapansin mong puro lalaki lang yung pumupunta?*). All participants identified the basketball court (pocket courts, half courts, and full covered courts) as a boys' space. The only exception to this social understanding is if a girl were to go to a basketball court to watch and cheer for her boyfriend. Thus, even if a girl wanted to watch the sport or just hang out at the court, the social insinuation would be that she is there on behalf of a boy. In the Philippines, romantic relationships for adolescents, especially girls, are viewed negatively. Ley explains the social awkwardness for girls:

> Research Assistant Mia: *Meron bang mga lugar na pambabae naman?* [Are there any places for girls?]
>
> Ley: *Wala puro kasi ano eh…Yung ibang babae kasi dun sa bahay tulad lang namin bahay uwi.* [None because they are all… Like the other girls they just stay home just like us, we go home straight.]
>
> Mia: Mm Mm.
>
> Ley: *Pero pag sa lalaki po talaga, basketball court.* [But for boys, it is really the basketball court.]
>
> Mia: Basketball court.

> YG: Ano na talaga yun. Tsaka hindi walang kasintahan sila yan magtrotropa sila pero parang may magkakasintahan sila tapos magtotropa... So parang naiilang po pag dumaan. Kasi kahit kakilala mo, nakakailang rin. [It is, like, really understood. And, not if you don't have a sweetheart. They are those who are friends, but it seems that there are sweethearts among those group of friends. So, like, we feel awkward when we pass by there. Because, even if you know (the boys playing), you will still find it awkward.]

In communities with access to a river, the adolescents considered the river a boys' space. Some adolescents viewed the computer shop as a boys' space, but others contradicted and said that girls go there as well.

Ley's quote brings up an important perception about girls' spaces too; the only consistently mentioned girls' space across sites was the home and friend's homes. Unlike other children's studies on gendered spaces (Gracia, Gracia-Roman, and Oinas 2021), the adolescents did not correlate the home as a girls' space for domestic responsibilities but rather for safety and virtue. Girls consistently reported feeling responsible for their social image of virtue as well as making "smart" decisions for their safety, which largely included not venturing out beyond their home and immediate surroundings. Some participants went on to add that they preferred the privacy of a home because they wanted to talk about embarrassing subjects and secrets. Generally, the perceptions about gender encouraged boys to hang out outside and roam freely while girls felt "awkward" to go near boys' spaces and factors of safety and virtue encouraged them to hang out inside the home.

Mobility License

In children's studies, mobility license refers to parent's rules that influence where they go and what they do there (Valentine & McKendrick 1997, Carver et al. 2008, Kreutz 2016). In this study, I asked adolescents if they had any rules they had to follow, any restrictions on where they went, a curfew, and if they felt that anyone was "watching" over them. I carefully constructed this line of questioning to start broadly and then narrow the focus to the issue of safety and surveillance. I instructed the research assistants to leave the "rule giver" open to broadly capture mobility rules from various sources; common sources for rules in the Philippines were national *tambayan* laws, national and local curfews, school rules, parental restrictions, and local establishment's policies. I gathered these insights from the intensive focus groups, the in-depth interviews, and my fieldnotes as well as a cursory literature review of national laws and policies

and interviews with community advocates (both adults living in each site as well as organizations such as the Department of Social Welfare and Development).

In the resettlement sites, adolescents had many limitations that influenced their mobility. At the local level, the rules primarily about restricting girls and younger adolescents while national policies affected all adolescents. Younger adolescents (12-13) had less mobility license than older adolescents (15-16) with those in the middle falling to either side. Many parents dictated how far younger adolescents could travel while older adolescents reported that they could "go anywhere, anytime" but chose to act responsibly.

Strict curfews and the way the government enforces them have been internationally condemned (Rappler 2016). House Bill 2332 (2016) sets a curfew for minors between 10 pm and 5 am whereby they may not "be allowed in the streets, commercial establishments, recreation centers, malls or any other areas outside of the immediate vicinity of their residence." The Act empowers city or municipal councils to prescribe stricter curfews as warranted by local conditions. The Act provides exceptions only to "verifiable" instances when minors are accompanied by an adult, running lawful errands, or attending night school.

This Act is written under the assumption that all minors have parents at home. In the resettlement sites, interview participants and community advocates told me that adolescents are regularly left at home for multiple days while parents work in the city. Further, the Act assumes that the home is a safe place or place of least violence further endangering minors who are fleeing from abuse in the home.

Across all resettlement sites the *barangay* was responsible for enforcing the curfew and did so through patrolling guards that would "round up" adolescents in violation of the curfew. Although section 57 of the Juvenile Justice and Welfare Act says that children are not to be punished for curfew violations, community interviews with adults and adolescents revealed that both *barangays* punished adolescents who violated curfew by detaining them for 24-72 hours in a jail cell in the *barangay* office (Republic Act No. 9344 2005).

Further, major businesses in the area often did not allow adolescents to enter without an adult escort (SM mall) or required them to present an identification card and their class schedule (local supermarket). Businesses' rules supported curfew as well as prevent students from skipping school. Some adolescents reported that they had been caught and sent home when

skipping school but instead of going back to school or not skipping in the future, they stayed at home. Further, many adolescents found the curfew and business restrictions stressful because it took them between 20 minutes and 1 hour to travel to/from school which operated through sessions on the fringe of the curfew (generally 6 am to noon/1 pm to 7pm).

B*arangay* Graceville dictated curfew for adolescents earlier than the national law at 9 pm. Some parents went a step further and gave different curfews for younger adolescents (average of 7 pm) than older adolescents (average of 9 pm). Also, parents tended to prescribe stricter curfews for girls (average of 6:30 pm) than boys who frequently didn't have a curfew.

Each site had a voluntary patrol system in which local residents would take shifts to surveil the community and round-up violators with the support of the *barangay* but they operated at a broad range of effectiveness. On one hand, adolescents of Pabahay 2000 rarely mentioned the patrol guards except to suggest more when making recommendations for community improvements. On the other hand, adolescents of Garden Village spoke extensively about the patrol guards with some sentiments of appreciation for cultivating a safe environment and other sentiments of resentment for feeling targeted. All the adolescents in Garden Village reported that they felt more mobility license in their former community, San Roque in Quezon City. Joven, who often felt targeted, explains:

> Research Assistant Denise: *Pwede mo bang ikwento ang pagkakaiba ng gardenville sa san roque. Siguro anong maganda sa san roque naala mo?* [Can you tell me the difference of Garden Village and San Roque? What's better in San Roque that you remember?]
>
> Joven: *Dun pwede kang nakahubad, kahit san ka pumunta. Dito bawal nakahubad, at bawal pumunta kung saan saan.* [There I'm allowed to have my shirt off, anywhere I go. Here I'm not allowed to have my shirt off and to just go places.]
>
> Denise: Sino nagpapagalitan sa inyo? [Who scolds you?]
>
> Joven: *Yung guard dun, san nanaman kayo papunta naghahanap nanaman kayo ng away. Lagi kaming ginaganon pag magkasama kami.* [The guard there: "where are you going, are you looking for a fight" he keeps saying that if we (friends) are together.]
>
> Denise: *Sinong guard? Yung sa may gate?* [Which guard? The one at the gate?]
>
> Joven: *Opp.* [Yes.]
>
> Denise: *Anong sinasabi niyo?* [What do you answer?]

Joven: *Di po, "kumukuha kami ng santol, ganun na lang."* ["We're not! We're just picking cotton fruit" like that.]

Denise: *Anong sinasabi niyo?* [Why is he suggesting that you guys are looking for a fight?]

Joven: Simula nung binabaan kami Nung dulo, kasi lahat kami nakatambay dun, tas binabaan kami, yinayaan kami magsapakan, lalabanan na sana namin pero tinigilan kami. wag na daw sabi ni (the guard) dumating si kuya. [Ever since (a gang from Bagong Silang) found us by the end of the community because we were hanging out there, and they went down to us and asked us for a fight. We were gonna fight back but we were stopped by (the guard) who said not to fight when he got there.]

Denise: *Nakita ng guard. Kaya lagi kayong sinasabihan?* [The guard saw, that's why he scolds you?]

Joven: *Lagi ng umiikot yung nakamotor. Lagi kaming tinitingnan* [He is always going around on a motorcycle, always looking at us.]

Denise: *Siyempre di niyo gusto yun. Di kayo comportable na ginaganon kayo ng guard?* [Of course. You don't like that? You're not comfortable that the guard does that?]

Joven: *Lahat nalang bawal eh!* [Everything's not allowed!]

Caril disambiguates that, as an older adolescent, she was not scared of the dangers of night but rather of the patrol guards. She had a difficult time adjusting to the strictness and rules of living in Garden Village versus San Roque.

Common parental rules were not to smoke (not to do drugs was implied in this response) or hang out with or near people who do those things. This limited many adolescents from certain streets or street corners and in some cases the spaces around the basketball courts.

Research Assistant Mia: *Sa Quezon City? Di kayo don natatakot?* [But back in QC, you weren't scared to be out at night?]

Caril: *Di po kasi po wala pa pong curfew don at tsaka ano wala naman pong umiikot doon eh. Kasi kami-kami lang din po.* [No, because we didn't have a curfew, and there were no patrol guards going around back there. It was just us out at night.]

Mia: So dito actually mas natatakot kayo don sa nagbabawal? Ganon? [So, you're afraid of the patrol guards here?]

Caril: *Opo.* [Yes.]

Mia: *Ah okay. So, hindi dahil sa baka mapahamak kayo? Dahil sa mga nagbabawal ganun?* [Oh okay. So, it's not because you're scared you might get hurt? It's more, because you're not allowed to be roaming in the night?]

Caril: Di naman po kasi ano po eh kilala lang naman din po namin. Kunwari sila po yung mga sumasawa... mga kapitbahay lang rin po namin dati. [No, because we know these people – some were our neighbors from before.]

Mia: *Okay. Uhm... So... Kung isa-summarize ko yung sinabi mo, mas gumagala ka dati, tama ba?* [Okay. So… if I were to summarize what you said, you used to go out more often before you moved out here?]

Caril: *Opo.* [Yes.]

In an interview with the Director of Social Work for the province of Bulacan, Ladisla Felices (2018), said that curfews and rules were important to mitigating violence, drugs, and crime in the resettlement communities. While she empathized with the adolescent's feelings of restriction, her perspective was that the alternative was much worse and very common in resettlement communities. According to her data, the four resettlement sites had more active cases of "youth in conflict with the law" on average than the surrounding communities. The cases involving adolescents in these communities ranged from petty theft to snatching to frustrated homicide. She said that the *barangays* promote vigilant patrolling and surveillance at the start of the relocation during an "adjustment period" because "they have a hard time acquainting with other communities who are in this area. We observe that their adjustment is a chaotic situation as they are fighting for survival." Crime and violence increase during the adjustment period largely because of the stress caused by families who do not have access to basic services such as water and power and struggle with finding work (CITATION). Ms. Felices explained:

> Sometimes our city is called the 'bedroom city' because parents just come here to sleep and early in the morning, they travel to Manila to work. So, sometimes, most often, women are left at home while the father is working in Manila. They meet just once a week, Saturday night… The weekend seems to be popular in this area because the boys have their own time 'for the boys' where they drink a lot and jam.

She noted that crime increases on the weekend as liquor flows and added that because of the absence of one or more parents, the family home was left vulnerable. Thus, the patrols and surveillance that the adolescents lamented and feared were an important part of community safety.

Chores & Work

Family values is a topic of national interest in the Philippines. On one hand, the nation is under criticism for nepotism and corruption connected to traditions of deep family loyalties inhibiting progress while on the other hand, modernization, is seen as eroding the country's social fabric (Miralao 1997). The government required adolescents to take courses on family values, *Edukasyon sa Pagpapakatao*. These courses drove and maintained socio-cultural traditions in which the ideal Filipino child was obligated to support the nuclear family through domestic responsibilities (chores) that had both positive and negative consequences (Alampay 2013, Gamlin et al 2013). Although under continuous review and transformation, at the time of this study, adolescents said that these courses taught gender roles such as girls should help with childrearing.

For some adolescents, chores restricted their spatial mobility while for others it increased their spatial mobility. The variation can largely be explained by gender. This conclusion was drawn from the intensive focus groups and in-depth interviews and substantiated by field notes of observations. We first broadly asked adolescents to describe the activities of a normal day. If they did not bring up chores, we asked them if they had any regular responsibilities to the family as a follow-up question. Their responses seem to be influenced by family need as adolescents such as Joven, who had one sibling and both parents at home, did not do any regular chores while other adolescents such as RJ, who had six siblings all living in a single-parent household, had extensive chores as well as took on formal employment. RJ explains:

> Research Assistant Mia: Okay, kwentuhan mo ko, sa normal na araw, anong usually ginagawa mo? Kunwari simula paggising mo, ano-ano 'yung mga lugar na napupuntahan mo sa maghapon? [Okay, what do you usually do? For example, from the moment you wake up, what places do you go to for the rest of the day?]
>
> RJ: Pagkagising, nagsasaing, tapos magsaing, maghuhugas… Naghahatid po ako ng bata sa eskwelahan [After I wake up, I cook rice and wash the dishes… I accompany children to school]

Watching over a sibling was a consistent expectation that limited adolescent's mobilities. All the girls and a few boys in this study mentioned taking care of their siblings. When they were watching their sibling, they typically stayed at or nearby the home and were not comfortable taking their sibling far away, limiting their range.

In contrast, many of the girls mentioned that their chores involved buying supplies at the *talipapa* (local market) or *palenggke* (wet market), which afforded them a socially acceptable reason to venture out beyond their home. They talked brightly about these chores and often competed with siblings for the responsibility. For many girls, like Ariadna, their trips to the market were the farthest they travelled.

We asked if the adolescents were employed anywhere, either formally or informally such as getting paid by a neighbor to help. None of the adolescents had an informal job; it was expected that if a neighbor needed any help, it would be done for free. Two adolescents, RJ and Kathleen had formal employment. Although they were the same age their experiences were at opposite ends of the spectrum with Kathleen acquiring a job because "*ta's ano po, nung last ano po kasi bakasyon, nabobored ako kasi wala namang ginagawa kaya nagtrabaho nalang po ako diyan sa may Muzon* (last summer, I didn't have anything going on and I got bored and got a job in Muzon)" to RJ acquiring a job to help support his family.

Fears, Risk, & Safety

Arguably the strongest influences on adolescents' spatial activities were fear, the constantly renegotiated level of acceptable risk, and their sense of safety. These are treated as one theme because of their interdependency and the overlap in how they effected adolescent's mobility. Fears are deeply personal and usually constructed through a combination of experiences and knowledge (what adults, peers, school, etc. tell them). The extensive list of fears was common across all the resettlement sites with subtle variations in the intensity and likelihood.

I identified eleven distinct fears/sources of fear: bullying, drugs/drug addicts, fighting, human trafficking, murder, uncontrolled nature, unwanted sexual advances /rape, unwanted sexual advances, superstitions, thieves, and vehicles. These categories of fears evolved from two rounds of coding the focus group notes and the in-depth interviews. In addition to fears as a line of questioning, we asked participants to identify "unsafe" and "scary" places on the map of their community. Some adolescents even took pictures of places that they feared and developed captions elaborating such as the picture Joven took with the following caption, "*ilog kasi nakakatakot sa gabi dahil walang ilaw.* [The river because it's scary at night because there is no light.]



Figure 122: *ilog kasi nakakatakot sa gabi dahil walang ilaw.* [The river because it's scary at night because there is no light.] (Source: Paul 2016).

Fear/Source of Fear	Female Adolescents	Male Adolescents
Bullying/*Tripping*	10.4%	89.6%
Drugs/*Adiks*	28.8%	71.2%
Fighting	30.9%	69.1%
Human Trafficking/Snatching	56.6%	43.4%
Murder	45.5%	54.4%
Uncontrolled Nature	38.5%	61.5%
Rape	80.6%	19.4%
Unwanted Sexual Advances	67.6%	32.4%
Superstitions	51.1%	48.9%
Theives/Theft	13.0%	87.0%
Vehicles	51.5%	49.0%

Table 11: The frequency with which adolescents mentioned these concerns in their interviews provides some insight into how they are perceived across gender (normalized raw counts based on descriptor ratio) (Souce: Author 2021).

The frequency with which adolescents mentioned these concerns in their interviews provides some insight into how they are perceived across gender.[43] In coding, the number of words dedicated to a topic is an indicator of importance. Girls' fears in order of most to least often mentioned were rape and then unwanted sexual advances. Boys' fears in similar order were bullying/*tripping*, thieves/theft, drugs/*adiks*, and fighting. Conclusions are most accurate in coding qualitative interviews when the variation is extreme thus, I only considered percentages over 65% to have a gender bias. Other fears were equally mentioned in both genders.

"Uncontrolled Nature" was an unexpected code development. In contrast to Kreutz's (2016) conclusion in Cherbourg that the children's spatial freedom was largely related to their rural context, I found that the rural context of the four resettlement sites limits adolescent's spatial freedom. Adolescents consistently told me that they felt the rural countryside to be a dangerous place and were more comfortable independently travelling in the urban areas of their former communities. Ley spoke of having better access to nature in Quezon City where she would visit the wildlife park and picnic under the trees at Quezon Memorial Circle. In Garden Village she felt that she had no access to nature because the surrounding fields and river were too dangerous. Similarly, Julia from Towerville VI explained her discomfort with nature:

> Research Assistant Raph: *Meron ba kayong mga gubat parke o mga hardin?* [Do you have any forests, parks or gardens nearby?]
>
> Julia: *Di ko naman…* [I don't…]
>
> (At this point, Raph knows that there is a nature park at the *barangay* office, so he changes the angle of the question.)
>
> Raph: *Wala kang pinupuntahan?* [You don't go to any?]
>
> Julia: *Takot po ako doon*. [I'm scared of them.]
>
> Raph: *Bat ka takot dun?* [Why are you scared?]
>
> Julia: Feel ko di ako kumpurtable sa mga lugar na yun. Na may mangyari sakin masama… paggabi may lugar na madilim na no choice lakaran. Minsan po kasi may mangugulat sayo may hihigit sayo bigla. Sa gabi may nagbibisyo na iinom. Sa madilim mas gusto nila tumambay kasi kita nila sino dadaan at pwede nila pagtripan. [I don't feel comfortable. Something bad might happen to me… At night, there are places that are dark that you have no choice but to walk through.

[43] I normalized raw counts based on descriptor ratio.

At night, there are those who do vices and drink. At the dark they like it there, the tambays because they can see who's passing and who they can trip on.]

Adolescent's perception of safety had a significant impact on the way they moved through their community. Interviews and mapping revealed that they often took longer routes to avoid gang territories or street corners where drugs were sold. They avoided narrow alleyways except those closest to their homes, in which they knew the people living there. In fact, the most common indicator of safety for adolescents was "knowing the neighborhoods." Regardless of the fear, knowing people in the area was the preferred way to mitigate risk. While the majority of the participants admitted to attending church, a small subset mentioned that God protected them from harm. However, according to the interviews and mapping exercises, they still practiced cautious behavior and risk mitigation similar to other participants so the reference to God as a protector appears more to be about social customs and group identity and does not have any real impact on adolescent's spatial mobility. I discuss other popular solutions for mitigating risks in the section on *Improvements*.

Social Media & Computer Games

I explored adolescent's use of social media and computer games as a possible constraint on their spatial activity. I asked the adolescents a specific line of questioning about their online activities and in the mapping, exercise asked them to identify the home locations of the people that they chat/play games with online. All the adolescents in the resettlement sites either had a cell phone or had regular access to a cell phone and all except for Ash went to the computer shop regularly. Most of the adolescents used a combination of the cell phone and the computers for similar activities, namely schoolwork (Google), chatting with friends (Facebook Messenger), posting to social media (Facebook and Instagram), watching videos (YouTube), and playing games (League of Legends/Mobile Legends, Rules of Survival, Crossfire, and Counterstrike). The adolescents used the cell phone either at their house or a friend's house and rarely used it while walking in the community because of the risk of theft. The computer shops were in renovated housing units in all the sites. When reviewing the community site plans, there was approximately one computer shop per 500 families. Therefore, cell phone use inhibited spatial mobility and computer shop use encouraged it.

There was very little gender variation in the use of cell phones, but adolescents considered the computer shops to be boys' spaces in Pabahay 2000 and Towerville VI. In SJM and Garden Village they were not listed as boys' spaces and in both communities, girls played at the computer shops. There were two types of computer shops in Pabahay 2000 and Towerville VI (air conditioned at 20 pesos/hour and non-airconditioned at 12 pesos/hour). The computer shops in SJM and Garden Village were all non-air-conditioned. SJM had the lowest proportion computer shops but the adjacent community, Sarmiento Homes, had several computer shops (unknown conditioning) that the adolescents spoke of frequenting. Adolescents' preference of environmental control was a factor of budget and social standing. Adolescents who could pay for air conditioning made a point to "other" the adolescents who went to the non-airconditioned computer shop; they were "rowdier," "louder," and "listened to their music without headphones (implied bad manners)." Some suggested that drug dealers hung out near the non-air-conditioned computer shops. However, this othering was not discussed by the adolescents who went to the non-air-conditioned computer shops.

The costs of the activity also inspired new ways of playing. Most of the boys talked about going to the computer shop as a group of friends. They would take turns playing while the rest of the group stood behind them and watched/cheered the player on. None of the girls said that they went to the computer shop as a group, but they did report that they saw other groups of girls and mixed groups at the computer shop. The cost was also a factor in the amount of time the adolescents could spend online. According to the interview transcripts, the adolescents spent between two to six hours every day on their cell phone and/or at the computer shop. This time was broken up into about two hours for school research and about four hours of play time on average. Only one adolescent, RJ, admitted to an "addiction" in which he stayed up all night at the computer shop playing games. Interestingly, RJ is also the only participant who had a job and thus a steady source of income. Facebook Messenger did not require a data plan (it was free) and thus all adolescents had a Facebook account and used Facebook Messenger as their primary platform for online communication.

Facebook was also the main platform that schools used to convey announcements, homework updates, and key information. Thus, all the adolescents had and maintained a Facebook page. Some girls in the Towerville VI focus group cautioned that their peers used

Facebook to meet people from other communalities in the Philippines and internationally. They discussed the dangers of interacting online.

Maintaining a social media presence also effected adolescent's spatial mobility and encouraged some to broaden their range to take selfies or videos in *asteeg* (cool) places. Kathleen explained that her and her friends walk about 2 km away from Pabahay 2000 to Deca Homes, a planned development with many pocket parks and statues of saints. They walk around the homes and make informal videos of themselves on Facebook Live using streaming data. She said that she probably wouldn't venture so far away from Pabahay, but she feels cool when she sees herself walking around the nice neighborhood.

Improvements

As a final exercise during the in-depth interviews, we asked the adolescents to get creative and suggest improvements to their community. Scholars have shown that creative activities challenge children to think differently about a subject and therefore offer new insight (Derr, Chawla, and Mintzer 2018). As a theme 'improvements' does not directly translate into an influence on adolescent's spatial activity. However, the theme informs the previous analysis and provides a worthwhile conclusion to the intensive focus group and in-depth interview analysis.

I related common improvements across sites to improving safety, increasing access to nature, and beautifying their community. Many adolescents such as Kathleen suggested increased lighting and patrols, "Maybe add more lights so it's not too dark out at night. And maybe guards or the barangay patrols along the alleyways. So, it's safe for people who must go through the dark alleyways. (*Siguro po ano, mag-ano pa po ng mga ilaw para hindi madilim sa gabi. Tsaka mas maganda po sana kung bawat eskinita may magbabantay na o kaya tagabantay na barangay tanod. Para maging safe nalang din po yung mga dadaan sa madidilim*.)" The addition of closed-circuit television cameras was well received but, surprisingly, the adolescents could not agree on the ability of the police to increase safety. Shen explained her concerns:

> Research Assistant Raph: *Paano naman yung mga pulis feeling mo mas ligtas ka pag andyan sila? [*How about the police? Do you feel safer when they're around?]
>
> Shen: Hindi po baka po kasi pag nagka barilan sa iba po tumama yung bala baka matamaan pa ko. [No. If a shooting occurs, they might hit civilians - or even me.]
>
> Raph: *Mga guards?* [How about guards?]

Shen: *Medyo po.* [A little.]

Raph: *Eh kapag ccTV kamusta?* [How about if there were a closed-circuit television?]

Shen: *Opo, kapag may makakita po patunayan na na-kidnap ka para makita po yung mukha nung nagkidnap sayo.* [Yes. If say someone gets kidnapped, there's actual proof where you can see the face of the kidnappers.]

Although the government developed all the resettlement sites on agricultural land in a rural setting, the adolescents did not consider the surrounding nature accessible to the adolescents because of safety concerns. Almost all the adolescents suggested some form of park within their community that would have large trees and grass. Some described small parks on their block while others described large parks that had pitch for playing sports. The adolescents used the qualities of "breezy," "shade trees," and "animals" most frequently to describe their vision of a park.

Finally, many of the adolescents spoke of "picking up the trash" and social programs to clean up the community. In Garden Village, Dos explains his plans if he were to govern and how beautifying the community would help change their identity from a resettlement site:

Research Assistant Denise: *Ano naman yung mga worst things na masasabi mo ditto sa Garden Village? Pwedeng mga lugar na iiwasan mo, o yung mga gusto mong palitan o baguhin, o yung mga nakakalungkot sayo or tingin mong masama?* [What about the worst things that may be said about Garden Village? These may be places you avoid, or things you want to replace or change, or things that make you sad or things that you think are bad?

Dos: *Yung gusto kong baguhin, yung ilog. Dahil yung mga tao dun mismo yung nagtatapon ng mga basura nila dun. Tapos yung covered court, minsan, may mga dumi rin eh. Parang gusto kong baguhin, kung ako lang yun maano ditto. Babaguhin ko. Kasi half court lang po yun. Parang gusto kong gawing whole court ganun.* [I want to change the river. Because the people there are the ones who throw their trash there. Then the covered court, also sometimes has some trash. I kind of want to change those, if I were to (govern) here. I'll change that. Because it's only half a court. I kind of want to make it a whole court.

Denise: *Ano g mga characteristics yung babaguhin mo? Bukod sa nabanggit mon a gusto mong linisin yung ilog madumi.* [What characteristics would you change? Aside from cleaning the river up?]

Dos: *Yung mga bahay ditto. Para di siya magmukhang pabahay lang. Yung parang pwede mo siyang pinturahan sa labas. Kasi bawal po talagng pinturahan sa labas. Kasi pabahay lang to eh. Kailangan pareparrehas kayo. Kaya may dilaw dilaw, puti, ganun. Yun yung gusto kong mangyari, yung kung anong gusto mong kulay ng*

bahay mo ganun. [I would change the houses here so that they don't look like a housing project. Like, you could paint the walls outside, but we're not allowed to paint the outside of the house because this is just a housing project. You have to be the same as everyone. So, there are yellows, whites, like that. That's what I want to happen… Like, to have your house the color that you want it to be.]

Denise: *Parang ipepersonalize?* [Personalize it?]

Dos: *Oo, yun.* [Yeah, that.]

Denise: *So bawal pala pinturahan sa labas* [So you can't paint the outside (walls)?]

Dos: *Bawal. Oo, same color. Kasi pabahay lang.* [It's not allowed. Yes, it has to be the same color because it's just a housing project.]

These improvements suggest that the adolescents are aware of how the community could be and have an idea of what they want the community to look like. However, none of the adolescents were involved in or knew about opportunities to engage in the governance of their community. Although many adolescents participated in extracurricular activities such as dance, poetry, and journalism they seemed to be disconnected with the management and governance of their community and the barangay. In concluding the spatial activities analysis, there seems to be potential for these adolescents to have greater agency in the production of their environment. They proved through the in-depth interviews that they have a keen awareness for the problems and opportunities available in their environment. The adolescents in these four sites are a powerful force that could be leveraged to improve the environment.

The analysis of adolescents' spatial activity established a broad range of voices and personal perspectives from which I found eight influencing themes across the sites and identified the five most frequented "public spaces" in each site. These findings raise important questions about how these public spaces function in practice, whom they serve, and what affordances they offer adolescents. However, these results are specific to the context of the greater metro manila region and the processes of dispossession through resettlement in the Philippines.

The formal processes of DFDR in Manila, Philippines were easy to track and navigate. Under the guidance of international banks and urban development consultants, the Philippine government stimulated the economy through property speculation. With a truly neoliberal perspective, they attempted to solve the challenges of informal settlements with economic solutions. In its most rudimentary form, the question quickly became how many houses can be built for the lowest cost while still meeting the state standards (BP220)? This type of logic often

results in the development of standard designs. Four Philippine sites reflect on the progress of these standard designs over the course of the neoliberal era. However, these results are specific to the context of the Philippines. In order to broaden the scope and draw conclusions that are beyond one political economy and cultural context, I must continue the study in another city in which the processes of rapid urbanization have revealed stark instances of dispossession. I found a rich case in Hyderabad, India where the informality of the DFDR banking mechanisms contrast with the formality of the Philippines resettlement campaign.

V. ERASURE IN HYDERABAD INDIA

> The contribution of dispossession to "development"—that inescapable but ultimately political term—is always a matter of perspective; and from any perspective, it is a variable not a constant… A sociological approach to dispossession, then, can neither assume its contribution to progress nor romanticize the dispossessed.
>
> - Michael Levien (2018) in *Dispossession without Development: Land Grabs in Neoliberal India*

International banks and urban development consultants worked closely with state governments in India at the turn of the century as the country took a neoliberal shift toward inter-state competition and property speculation in order to stimulate the economy (Ibid). One of the most lauded success stories in India, is the rapid emergence of Cyberabad from the Deccan plateau. A vibrant engineer-cum-politician, Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu led the state to magically craft a property boom out of underperforming land on Hyderabad's urban periphery. Only the land that became Cyberabad was not as empty as the government alleged. Like Manila, Hyderabad is a story of neoliberal dispossession. However, the sites in Cyberabad continue the investigation by showing the influence of informal processes of dispossession. In the Philippines, the DFDR response was formal; it was largely the centralized resettlement of mass housing communities, using architecturally standard designs, to the urban periphery. This chapter then asks, what happens when the government takes a decidedly informal approach to DFDR? How does the architecture and urban design of these communities change? Will the communities be resettled, gentrified, erased, or worse? I also investigate the resulting architecture and development strategies from a system that failed to acknowledge the settlements. Taken together, these two case studies expose a spectrum of dispossession.

Cyberabad is a large development composed of a series of Special Economic Zones for Information Technology and Financial Services companies on the periphery of Hyderabad, India. It was planned to leapfrog Hyderabad into the professional services sector following the design precedents of Malaysia's Cyber Corridors and San Francisco's Silicon Valley through the neoliberal redistribution of municipal and state resources. In the process of progress, however, the government dispossessed seventeen informal communities (villages) of their land (Das 2015, p. 15). While it is clear that India's informal urban villages are prone to unsafe and hazardous conditions, I argue that erasure has dangerous social and environmental consequences.

Promoters of Cyberabad argue that dispossession is necessary to bring middle class employment, stimulate domestic and foreign investment, and boost the economy of an antiquated city. The villagers challenge that the lauded benefits never trickle-down to "true Hyderabadis" as companies give white-collar jobs to outsiders and the subsidies required to entice multi-national corporations to invest in this desert location siphon municipal funds from public projects. Some contemporary scholars working in India, such as Jamie Cross (2014), Michael Levien (2018), and Anamica Singh (2020), refuse this dialectic and argue instead for a complex spatiality based on anticipations, reinforced pre-existing inequalities, and spatial co-production. Their work calls for a deeper understanding of the impacts of the neoliberal regime of dispossession.

Just as in the Philippines, I focus on adolescents' use of public space to contribute to the discourse on the spatiality of dispossession. I apply the same methodology used in the Philippines to three dispossessed villages impacted by Special Economic Zones in Cyberabad. To contribute to the ongoing discourse of how dispossession processes under distinctly neoliberal policies reproduce spatial inequality, in this chapter, I explore the questions: what spaces perform as public space in Hyderabad's dispossessed communities? And how do adolescents use them?

I begin this chapter by briefly summarizing the history of land rights in India in order to establish a framework for social relationships, illuminate the influence of caste, and underscore the destructive forces of land-broker states. From this history, I describe the current DFDR policies and programs in India that are responsible for many of today's development campaigns and cause erasure. Next, I introduce the villages.[44] At first, I stay above them and provide descriptions of their spatial form and critique their master plans. Then, I land on the ground and give a tour of each community followed by vignettes with some of the most diverse adolescents. At the end of each site tour, I summarize the collected data and identify adolescents' most frequented public spaces. In the final section, I step back and look for transferability across the sites and reveal eight key themes that influenced their spatial activity in these dispossessed

[44] I use the term 'villages' when referring the historic/original settlement. I use the term 'site' when referring to settlement(s) today. I use the term community to refer to adolescents' perspective of their settlement. This will become important in places like Gachibowli Village where caste influences on land right directly related to the benefits of development and resulted in a fractured spatiality of several communities along socio-economic lines.

communities. At the end of this chapter, I will have identified the public spaces and described how adolescents use them in a convincing way that ties back to the designs and policies that created them.

A Brief History of Land Rights in India

Hyderabad is one of the first medieval planned cities in India and for nearly 500 years has been the seat of governance for the surrounding region, known today as the state of Telangana. Like many cities around the world, its history is filled with narratives of expropriation and accumulation. Organizing the history of Hyderabad into four significant periods of land procurement will aid in contextualizing and distinguishing the neoliberal regime of dispossession from the feudal structure of land appropriation, the colonial influences on land acquisition, and the post-colonial developmentalist regime of dispossession. These three earlier periods appear in varying ways throughout India but have manifested in such a way in Hyderabad that they have rendered an especially stark expression of the neoliberal regime of dispossession, specifically in Cyberabad. This very brief historical grounding will help to illuminate complexities found in the fieldwork with adolescents in Cyberabad.

The Feudal Structure of Land Appropriation

The Qutb Shahi dynasty established Hyderabad nearby the Golconda Fortress. The region achieved great wealth due to rich mineral deposits and its critical position on the spice route between East Asia and Europe. While glorified for their secular rule, the Persian's generational wealth was built on a religious and caste-based division of labor. It was a social system that for functional reasons resembles the European feudal structure, but only to the extent that prevailing classes expropriated economic surplus through their political power in a system of "parcellized sovereignty" (Anderson 1974: 19, Levien 2018: 65). Although power shifted between rulers, most significantly to the Mughal empire that later transformed into the Nizam of Hyderabad, the feudal-like structures of power remained. Landlords (*jagirdari*) continued to extract surplus value from a predominantly agrarian peasantry class in a way that maintained their class status and contributed to the accumulation of wealth by a dominant

class.[45] The Hyderabad state followed a tax collection system in which the liability for revenue collection was vested in one landlord who could expel peasants that didn't pay taxes thus holding property rights in practice. While the ruling class appropriated most land for political reasons there are a few select instances in which they appropriated it for projects that now resemble public use such as the creation of lakes like Hussain Sagar (1562) and for public space, such as the development of the famous market/mosque/plaza, Charminar (1591). The evolution of land rights in Hyderabad is significant because of the historical tradition of designating space for the broader public realm and the central urban planning efforts. Even the name "Hyderabad" relates back to the water in these numerous lakes that brought prosperity to the city. However, it is important to note that public spaces like Charminar were not public in the contemporary sense as social relations governed how the space functioned in daily practice and excluded major sectors of society, namely women and lower-caste classes.

Colonial Influences on Land Acquisition

The transition of Hyderabad to the suzerainty of the British Crown took almost a century starting with a political alignment (1768) that transformed into an agreement for protection (1789) and then evolved into the acquisition of land on the north side of Hussain Sagar for a permanent British Cantonment in 1806 (Secunderabad).[46] Administratively, the princely state was then absorbed into the much larger Madras Presidency (1857) that combined what are present day Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Kerala. The colonial era continued and often restructured the uneven socio-political processes in the various regions in ways that can still be seen today through social dynamics, caste-class clashes, patterns of mobilization, and uneven development (Srinivasulu 2002: 3). Yet, some traditions such as the support of urban public space and infrastructure continued. The Nizam founded the city's first park, *Bagh-e-Aam*

[45] It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to address the nuance between the pre-colonial land administration practices that gave rise to the *Mansabdari* systems (*khalisa* and *jagir*), the *Ryotwari* system, and the various phases of the *Zamindari* system. The common feature of these diverse land tenure systems was that the "landlords" did not technically own the land but in practice were given the ability to expel tenants who didn't pay taxes. The British capitalized upon the system in the Hyderabad State as the *de facto* owners of the land for the continuation of taxation purposes. For more information see Das (1999) and Banarjee and Lakshmi (2005).

[46] See the Treaty of Masulipatnam (1768) and Agreement for British Protection (1789)

(People's Park) (1847) and although initially privatized, developed a state railway for industrial and passenger travel (1879).

For the management of rural areas, it was politically advantageous for the colonial rulers to continue operating through the *Zamindari* system to generate land revenue. Mudhumita Datta Mitra (2017: 3) gives a clear evolution of Indian property rights noting that, "by imposing the English common law to determine property relationships, the British ironically laid the ground for recognition of private property rights in India." While the British instituted the Land Acquisition Act in 1894 as a national policy, the princely state installed its own policy, the Hyderabad Land Acquisition Act of 1317 Fasli (roughly 1899). Both strove to expropriate private land (managed by the *jagirdari*) under the auspices that it served a "public purpose" with some form of compensation. Through these two policies, the British developed projects and enhanced social relations that triggered events in the following period. In Hyderabad State, colonialism exaggerated the socio-economic disparity between the Muslim elite and the Hindu peasantry culminating in the Nizam of Hyderabad on the cover of *Time Magazine 1937* for being the richest man alive. The Nizam was also popular with the people because he used the Hyderabad Land Acquisition Act to develop several civic infrastructure projects such as Osman Sagar and Himayat Sagar (1920) (large lakes/flood retention basins) in response to the great flood of 1908. In the city, he developed major civic buildings such as Osmania General Hospital (1919), Hyderabad High Court (1919), Jubilee Hall (1913), and Osmania University (1918) among others. Again, I would like to note that these buildings were not public in the contemporary sense as social relations still governed their use based on gender, class, and caste.

In contrast to the greatly stratified Telangana region, neighboring coastal Andhra was predominantly composed of Hindu middle-caste classes. There, the British used the Land Acquisition Act to develop a series of irrigation projects. Using Dutch technology, they diverted water from two major rivers that naturally flowed to Telangana and then to the coast, directly to coastal Andhra. The result was an increase in the productivity of coastal land while simultaneously decreasing the productivity of land around Hyderabad. By the end of the colonial period, coastal Andhra became a lucrative agricultural region in part due to British irrigation projects that leveraged the Land Acquisition Act.

The Post-Colonial Developmentalist Regime of Dispossession

The third significant period in Hyderabad's history commences with India's independence in 1947. Although briefly flirting with sovereign rule, the Nizam acquiesced to the annexation to the Indian Union. Tensions were high as an impoverished Hindu peasantry installed Hindu leaders and massive violence proceeded on communal lines resulting in estimated deaths of over 200,000 people. The state of Hyderabad (with the city of Hyderabad as the capital) included what is today Andhra Pradesh (AP), Telangana, Maharashtra, and Karnataka until 1956 when the Union divided out Telangana and AP, as a single state (Old AP),[47] on the linguistics grounds of a shared Telugu language. Although one administrative state, these two areas had contrasting social and political compositions.

This period is referred to as the post-colonial developmentalist regime of dispossession because it is characterized using central policies to forcefully acquire land for the creation of civic and nationalized industrial developments to advance postcolonial capitalism. The central government viewed these developments were viewed as critical to their ability to transition off the extractivism of colonialism and onto a self-sufficient national economy albeit the new government still needed to dispossess rural land for economic growth (Levien 2018: 33). While the Old AP dismantled the *Zamindari* system after independence through a series of acts,[48] the "landlords" had accumulated a great deal of economic and political power that continued to influence villages' property rights resulting in the uneven distribution of land to farmers (Banarjee and Lakshmi 2005: pp.1190-1213). The state briefly used eminent domain to expropriate large landlords and reform land policies but "this use was quickly dwarfed by efforts to dispossess rural land for public-sector industry and irrigation infrastructure, the key spatial forms of Nehruvian planning" (Levien 2018: 35).

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[47] From 1956 to 2014, what is now Telangana and Andhra Pradesh were combined into a single state called Andhra Pradesh (AP). To disambiguate, I will refer to the state up to 2014 as Old AP and the state after 2014 as AP.

48 Madras Estates Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari Act, 1948; Hyderabad (Abolition of Jagirs) Regulation, 1358 Fasli; Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1950; Andhra Pradesh (Telangana Area) Abolition of Inams Act, 1955; Andhra Inams Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari Act, 1956; Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Area) Tenancy Act, 1956; Andhra Pradesh Land Reforms (Ceiling on Agricultural Holdings) Act 1973

The Green Revolution exacerbated the pre-existing inequalities in Old AP between the Telangana region and coastal Andhra as the national government implemented it only in areas with assured supplies of water and the means to control it as well as the ability of farmers to access credit for high-yielding varieties of seeds/fertilizers. The irrigated and lucrative coastal Andhra fared much better than the drought-prone and impoverished Telangana region in leveraging this program (recall, though, coastal AP's success was at the expense of Telangana largely due to colonial irrigation projects). Of course, the Green Revolution also gave further justification for dams to bolster irrigation and increase productivity.

In this period, dams were the single largest source of dispossession and great sources of national pride (Fernandes 2008: 89-102). Of course, dams required the resettlement of large numbers of families as rising waters flooded rural villages. It is here that we first see official records and policies developed for the resettlement of people in Old AP for development projects. According to the National Register of Dams between 1951 and 1990 the central government constructed 98 large dams in Old AP (Central Water Commission 2016). Existing data estimates that over 313,000 people in 712 villages lost their land for just five of these dams that qualify as nationally significant.[49] Further, the data also suggests that the displaced people were disproportionately from Schedule Caste/Schedule Tribe and Other Backward Caste castes. Other major sources of modernist, state-led dispossession in Old AP included infrastructure projects, industrial townships, and mining with the most significant being the steel plant and township in Visakhapatnam (1984). While the townships displaced people, they also housed workers albeit with anticipations of social engineering (Roy 2007: 134).

The end of this period is signaled by the transition of intentions for land acquisition from nation-building to competition (both amongst states and on the global market). In 1984 the

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[49] The four dams of national importance in Old AP are the Srisailam H. E. Project (1984) that displaced nearly 100,000 people in 86 villages, the Somasila Reservoir (1989) that displaced approximately 20,000 people in 108 villages, the Nagarjuna Sagar Dam (1974) that displaced approximately 28,000 people and 52 villages, and the Sri Rama Sagar Project (1977) that displaced approximately 36,000 people in 174 villages. Another notable but often overlooked project is the Polavaram Project (2017), which was planned in the 1940s but was substantially constructed in this period. It had displaced 128,913 people in 292 villages by the 1991 census.

For more information see: Menon, A. (2013); Government of Andhra Pradesh (2020); Terminski, B. (2015); Mohan, R. V. (2006); and Ramana, D. V. et al. (1995).

federal government modified the law for land acquisition so that states could dispossess land for private parties. While the intention was originally to make it easier to construct small public projects like schools, it became a legal framework for the Special Economic Zone policy upon which large-scale land acquisition for public-private partnerships was built (Balagopal 1995). Jamie Cross (2014: 4) describes:

> Between 1960s and the early 1990s the government of India built seven economic zones across the country. By the end of 2000s there were over 500 zones in various stages of planning, construction, or operation, financed under public-private partnership agreements by real estate developers and corporations.

DFDR and Sprawl in the Greater Metro Hyderabad Area

This distinct shift in the intentionality behind dispossession triggered the next phase: the neoliberal regime of dispossession. There are three key elements to understand in this period: the regional disparities, the transition to competition, and the Cyberabad Development Authority.

In many ways coastal AP had benefited from colonial and modernist irrigation projects leading to the emergence of a substantially landed lower-middle class composed primarily of Kamma and Reddy caste families. These groups had historically strong caste-bonds and leadership organizations that facilitated collective investment and resource planning (Srinivasulu 2002). They used their resources to develop post-secondary education specifically in the Information Technology sector albeit jobs were still scarce. However, many powerful families in coastal Andhra resented that governance and political power for their region resided in Hyderabad where there was a clear bias against them (Parthasarathy 2010). In 1971, discrimination and worsening drought conditions led Hyderabadi politicians with direct connections to Indira Gandhi to introduce land reform bills and made it so that only people from Telangana could be appointed in government jobs (Gray 1974). Conversely, Hyderabadis viewed the rising solidarity and lucrative resources of coastal AP were viewed as threatening.

Although they share the Telugu language, the differences in social structure, geography, and economy rendered very different societies. In the late twentieth century this disparity opened an opportunity for the development of a new political party, the *Telegu Dessam Party*

(Telugu Country Party) emerging in coastal AP from the Kamma caste.[50] They ran on a platform of *Teluguization* and regional independence as the competing Congress Party was aligned with the central government. In part by leveraging a notoriously famous Telugu film star as their candidate for Chief Minister, the Telegu Dessam Party won a landslide victory of representative seats in the coastal Andhra and Rayalseema regions but only half of the seats in the Telangana region.[51] The Telegu Dessam Party fell in and out of power for a decade until national economic reforms in the early 1990's repositioned states to compete against each other for resources and encouraged the engagement of foreign investment. Known for political negotiations and sales (and as the son-in-law of the Telegu Dessam Party's film star cum Chief Minister), the Telegu Dessam Party's Chandrababu Naidu became Chief Minister in 1995.

Philosophically, Chief Minister Naidu was a self-described "revolutionary neoliberal" (Naidu 2000). With a background in economics, he founded his office on concepts of fiscal independence through foreign investment, poverty reduction through entrepreneurialism, and state governance through business management.[52] As one of the first Chief Ministers in India to embrace this ideology and in a global climate of emerging outsourcing, Chief Minister Naidu was graciously rewarded with uncharacteristic loan opportunities from the World Bank to "redevelop" the state with specific emphasis on "raising" Hyderabad into a competitive global city. Inspired by trips to Silicon Valley and Malaysia's Multimedia Corridor, Chief Minister Naidu leveraged these loans for projects that many critics argue benefited an imagined elite class and not the native Hyderabadis.[53] The government under Chief Minister Naidu used the Land Acquisition Act to acquire land in Hyderabad for many new projects including a metro-rail system, an international airport, an 8-lane ring road, and a series of Special Economic Zones set-aside for multi-national companies among others listed in the strategic plan, *AP Vision 2020*.

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[50] See Srinivasulu (2002: 1-60) for a more detailed account of the historical conditions.

[51] It was no doubt a politically brilliant move to select NT Rama Rao, arguably the most famous Telugu film star at that time who frequently played the role of deity, protector, and avenger in Hindu epics as their leading party figure.

[52] See Naidu (2000) for Chief Minister Naidu's personal justifications and rationalization for his governance strategies.

[53] See Das (2015: 48-58, thesis) and Das (2011) for a thorough description of the neoliberalization of Hyderabad.

Chief Minister Naidu, a Kamma from coastal AP, prioritized the development of a world-class Information Technology district in Hyderabad that leveraged the surplus of educated Information Technology workers in coastal AP. To put it plainly, Chief Minister Naidu's government dispossessed land from Lower Income Groups that were Hyderabadi farmers on the outskirts of the city to develop Information Technology and financial centers (Special Economic Zones) intended to employ middle income groups that were primarily graduates from coastal AP.[54] As the government executed the plan, families in coastal AP benefited financially while families on the fringe of Hyderabad were harmed by displacement, hyper-gentrification, and resettlement. These consequences were largely the result of the legal ambiguities of a state rolling off the *Zamindari* system, a state in which hereditary occupancy was no longer a legitimate right to land but development of exclusive Special Economic Zones was a legitimate public benefit under the LAA.

The government developed Special Economic Zones in phases starting with HITEC City and eventually united under the Cyberabad Development Authority Master Plan (2001) covering 12,775 acres. Generally, the government designed Special Economic Zones as all-inclusive and bounded enclaves designed for the global upper-middle class. Proponents for the construction of Special Economic Zones argue that they improve infrastructure, bring middle-class jobs, and stimulate the local economy (UNCTAD 2019). Reflecting on the Special Economic Zones in Cyberabad, the reality is that the government unevenly distributed the improved infrastructure; it is improved only for the Special Economic Zone which is inaccessible to the public through tight security, boundary walls, and surveillance technology. The middle-class jobs are at best available for Information Technology educated workers from the coastal Andhra region but more often given to upper-middle class workers from other states and other countries. The local economy was unprepared to meet the globalized expectations of these imported workers and therefore popular chain brands were brought to satiate their desires; Special Economic Zone employees buy coffee from the Starbucks located inside of the Special Economic Zone rather than venture outside of the protected boundary to patron a street side *chaiwalla* (tea vendor) (Deaton 2019).

[54] There was also a distinctly caste-based division here between the Other Backward Caste/Schedule Caste/Schedule Tribe castes and the Kamma and Reddy castes.

Tensions between the Telangana and coastal Andhra regions were only exacerbated by the surmounting issue of land rights, by the uneven allocation of jobs, and by the socio-cultural disparities. They were formalized in 2014, when the regions broke into the distinct states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Political fracturing opened-up opportunities for uncontrolled speculation and uneven development around Cyberabad. Although neoliberal development in the Greater Metro Hyderabad Area has created many jobs and added to the economic growth of Telangana, it has greatly impacted the lives of the most marginalized. But the effects of neoliberal urban policies in practice are understudied, especially from the often-erased perspective of those who lived in dispossessed villages. In the next section, I travel to Hyderabad and analyze three dispossessed villages.

The Sites from Above: Planning Analysis

Erasure, in the case of Hyderabad, is a premeditated consequence of the process of obtaining formality through informality. The tangible impacts of these environments on the everyday lives of residents are often overlooked. In the following sections, I introduce the study sites and allow the adolescents to share their experiences through multiple interviews, photovoice, and participant directed mapping exercises. Their experiences lead to the identification of key places in each site that perform as public spaces in practice. Then, I navigate through the iterative analysis process to reveal eight transferrable themes that influence adolescents' spatial activities across the sites.

I describe the selection of cases and communities in detail in chapter III. ON METHODS. In 2018, when I began the process of identifying and selecting communities to work with, I was confronted with a city-wide theme of erasure in Hyderabad. Unlike the previous work on dispossession in the Philippines, where the use of land acquisition policy was heavily regulated and highly visible (through reports, watchdog groups, and government accounting processes), the neoliberal regime of dispossession in Hyderabad was largely undocumented when it came to the dispossession of land from Low Income Groups.[55]

[55] A survey of the legal policy for resettlement revealed that India is one if not the most highly ranked of the 50 countries surveyed for progressive and human-rights oriented resettlement. However, after two years and numerous contacts, I was never able to find documentation that would indicate these laws were practiced in this context.

Erasure has a prominent place in many urban histories but by nature is difficult to document. My initial process of site selection relied on the formal record of the *Master Plan for Cyberabad Development Authority Area* (2001: 9) that identified seventeen villages to be dispossessed by the plan's implementation and the *Hyderabad Master Plan 2020* (2003: 267) that located the villages within the larger framework.[56] But, unlike dispossession in the historical regimes recently described, the Master Plan did not overtly displace any villages in and of itself. Rather, it laid a blanket of formality over a fringe area that historically functioned in the space between formality and informality. Figure 123 shows the outline of planned roads on the white area designated as the Cyberabad Development Authority with only small, brown, hatched shapes that indicate pre-existing villages (Gachibowli, Nanakramguda, Madhapur, Hussain Shahvaili Dargah, etc.). By bringing these villages squarely under the watch of speculators who had capitalistic anticipations about raising land value, the government created a motive for dispossession based on income classification and the ability of families to prove legal entitlement.

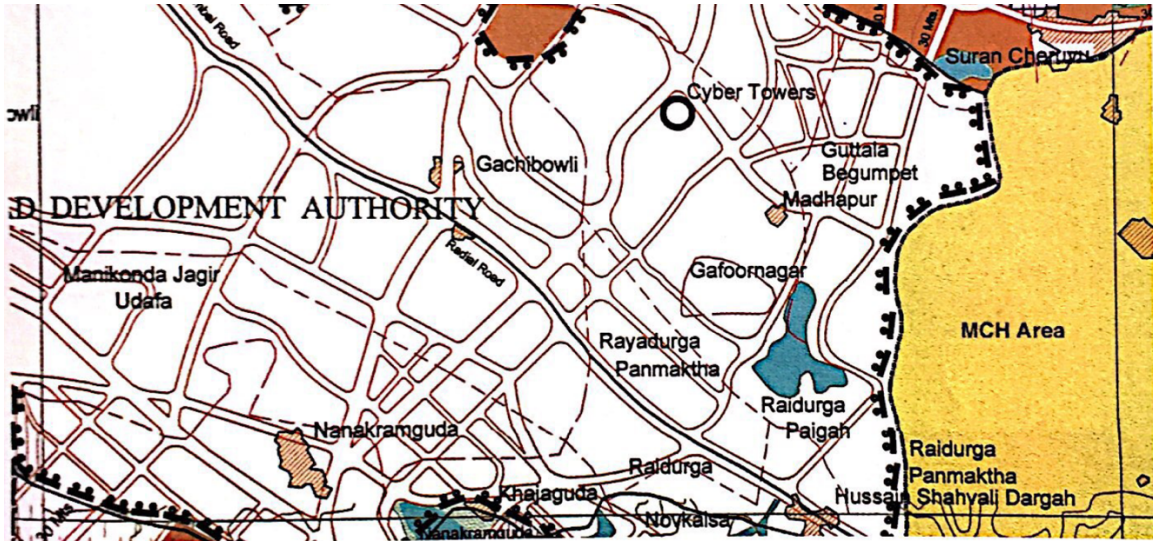


Figure 123: The master plan laid a blanket of formality over a fringe area that historically functioned in the space between formality and informality (Source: *Hyderabad Master Plan 2020* 2003).

[56] Revenue villages are small administrative regions with defined boarders and headed by a village administrative officer. Each revenue village could contain multiple settlements.

Field verification of these villages revealed a spectrum of erasure conditions ranging from gentrification to displacement. However, while the government triggered all conditions through the formality of the master plan, the practice of reorganization to comply with the master plan's land use and building regulations was almost entirely informal. Stories of corruption, bribery, silent occupation, and loud protest circulated amongst the locals still living and working on the village sites. Ultimately, I collaborated with residents of three villages along this spectrum as case studies: Gachibowli Village (Chhota Anjaiah Nagar/Rajeev Nagar), Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar.[57] All of these villages were once agricultural communities that relied heavily on state subsidies and social welfare programs due to cultural traditions of marginalization (caste and religion). They were originally located within area designated for the Cyberabad Development Authority, and Gachibowli Village and Nanakramguda have remained there while Ishaan Nagar was displaced further outside of the city.

Community	Neighborhood	Distance to Cyberabad	Population (families)	Age (yrs.)	Housing Typology (floor area/lot size)
Gachibowli Village	Gachibowli	4 km	5,000+	80	Divided by highway: half incrementally upgraded mid-rise paying guest (PG) accommodations and half 20 sqm/25sqm, rowhouses (RH), 1-4 flr
Nanakramguda	Financial District	6 km	5,000+	400	Heterogeneous: 50 sqm/70sqm, single-family, 1-3 flr or mid-rise apartments/PG
Ishaan Nagar	Outer Ring Road	18 km	843	5	18 sqm/30 sqm, single-family, 1-2 flr

Table 12: Ultimately, I collaborated with residents of three villages along this spectrum as case studies: Gachibowli Village (Chhota Anjaiah Nagar/Rajeev Nagar), Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar (Source: GHMA, Google Maps, Author 2021).

[57] "Ishaan Nagar" is an alias as the families living there were concerned that participation would result in their dispossession (again). Therefore, I've removed identifiable information, particularly depicting individual participant's houses. I ask that the information not be disclosed if known.

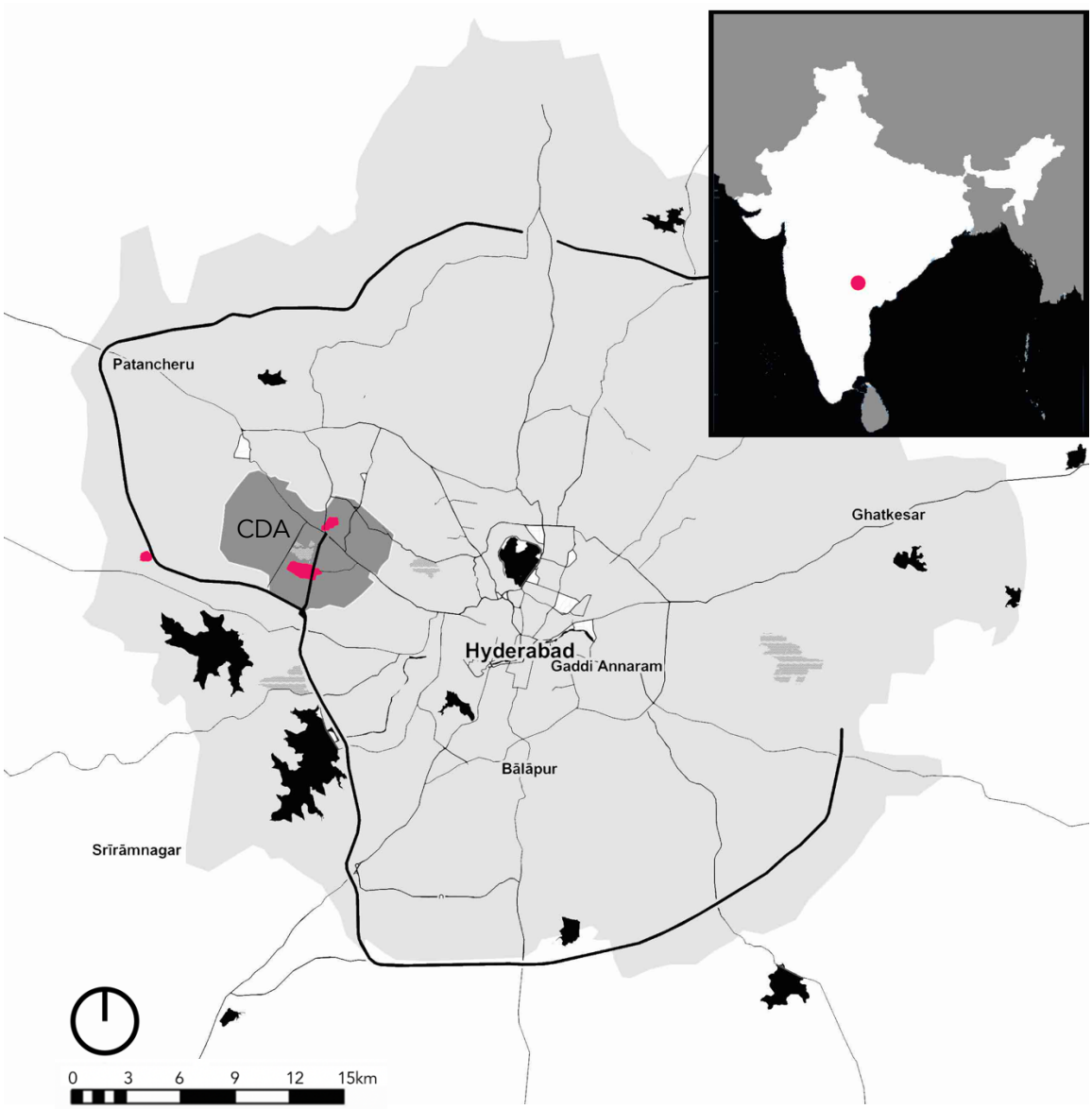


Figure 124: The three villages were originally located within the area designated for the Cyberabad Development Authority (CDA), Gachibowli Village, and Nanakramguda have remained there while Ishaan Nagar was displaced further outside of the city (Source: Deaton 2021).

After six months of field work, government interviews, and collaborations with faculty at Osmania University, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, the University of Hyderabad, and the Hyderabad Urban Lab, I was still unable to secure any official documentation related to the existing village sites. Thus, my research team used a combination of Google Earth and field surveys to draft each house across all sites with a combination of AutoCAD and GIS to provide comparable as-built conditions. For the purposes of this study, the descriptive spatial analysis

helps inform the emerging understanding of the way these spaces are experienced by providing supporting analytical evidence. The results of the spatial analysis are described in Table 13 as well as contextualized in the community descriptions. This spatial data shows that these communities have similar site areas and numbers of building units. However, Ishaan Nagar has less built-up area and more street area than Gachibowli Village and Nanakramguda, which is appropriate because it is the only site in this study that was displaced to a rural context.

Community	Total Site Area (acres)	Total Plot Area (acres)	% Built Up Area (acres)	Total Street Area (acres)	% Street Area	Total # Building Units
Gachibowli Village	80.2	27.3	34.1%	13.8	17.2%	410
Nanakramguda	104.0	38.7	37.2%	13.5	12.9%	504[58]
Ishaan Nagar	78.8	7.7	9.8%	14.5	18.4%	406

Table 13: The results of spatial analysis (Source: Author and Shrestha 2021).

Gachibowli Village[59]

Gachibowli Village is a critical case because of the complexity with which neoliberal development has divided and economically segregated the village. I collected oral histories of the community from multiple community leaders and substantiated their accounts with geospatial archives and government planning data. This summary will set the foundation for interpreting the spatial data.

[58] The high levels of density and larger area of Nanakramguda made a field survey overwhelming. 504 individual building units were identified though Google Earth. I expect the actual number of buildings to be 4-5 times that amount (roughly 2,000-2,500 buildings).

[59] To disambiguate, 'Gachibowli Village' refers to the historical village and its subsequent fracturing. However, today most people speaking of 'Gachibowli' refer to the district, which includes a large area of 25 km^2 including the area formerly known as Gachibowli Village.

Site Analysis

Prior to the development of Cyberabad, Gachibowli village was a small community of schedule caste farmers between two *guttas* (hills) Madhirgale and Yedurgunta. Historically, there were only a few families of general and upper caste people who held the title to all the lands, and they lived in the houses closest to the road while the scheduled caste lived and worked the fields around the outskirts of the village. But in the early 1980's, through former President Indira Gandhi's "*chalaka* land" program, five acres were temporarily leased to scheduled caste families for cultivation, irrigation, and agricultural purposes as a form of reparations. However, the scheduled caste villagers did not hold the title to these lands; they could only earn income off the agricultural production. Lack of ownership disincentivized investments in the land and thus more lucrative production. *Chalaka* land was used to grow cheap crops such as wheat and maize. With the marginal profits, some scheduled caste villagers bought land (they held title), referred to as *chenu* land, and grew lucrative crops such as rice.

During the developmentalist era, the state government dispossessed most of the *chalaka* lands for government housing developments such as the Andhra Pradesh Housing Board and Anjaiah Nagar (under Chief Minister Anjaiah) for non-gazetted officers, which incited pressure for agricultural land and livelihoods. The earliest and clearest satellite image available was captured in 2003—a few years after the start of the Cyberabad development—but it clearly shows the agricultural context, the bounded settlement of Gachibowli village, the adjacent government housing schemes, and the framework for gentrifying gated communities such as Rolling Hills.

The pressures grew when Chief Minister Naidu kicked-off HiTEC City (the seed of Cyberabad) just a few kilometers away and began centralized planning for redevelopment of the area including realigning the main road and draining the tank, which fractured the area into distinct development *nagars* ("cities") and effectively ended farmers ability to irrigate their crops. In response, Gachibowli Village was divided by the road into a developable west side composed of Chhota Anjaiah Nagar (*chhota* means 'little' in this context) and Rajiv Ghandi Nagar and a leftover east side called P Janardhan Reddy Nagar.[60]

[60] The east side of the road is formally and administratively called P. Janardhan Reddy Nagar, after a prominent family from coastal Andhra. However, the informal community composed of

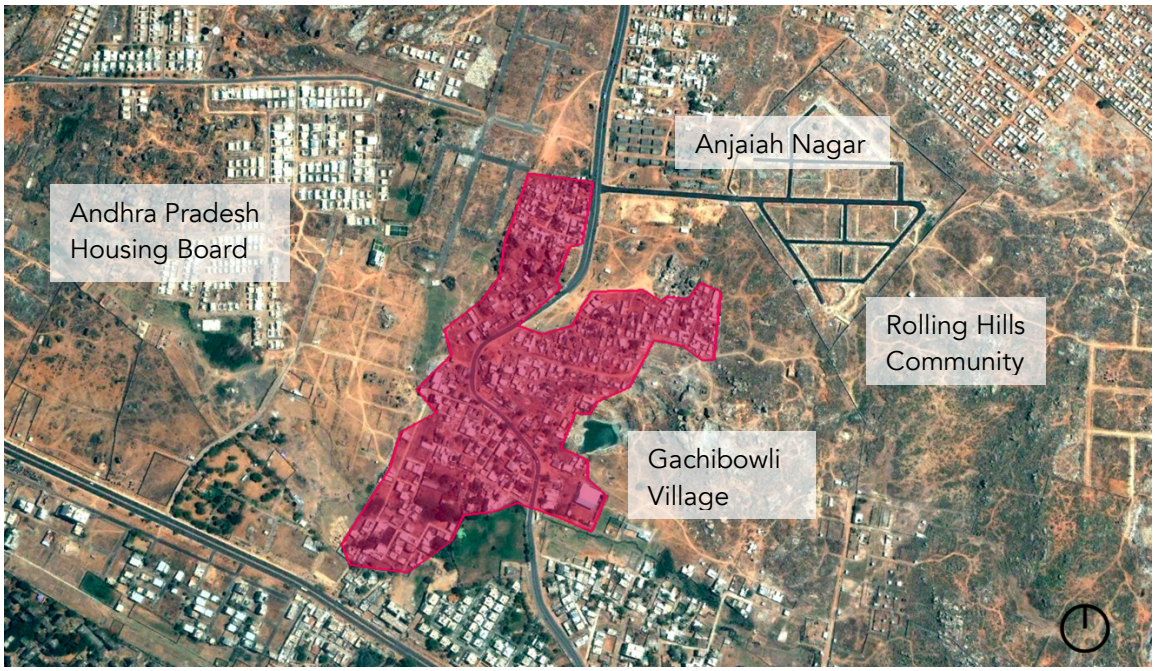


Figure 125: The earliest and clearest satellite image available was captured in 2003. It clearly shows the agricultural context, the bounded settlement of Gachibowli village (pink polygon), the adjacent government housing schemes, and the framework for gentrifying gated communities such as Rolling Hillls (Source: Google Earth 2021).

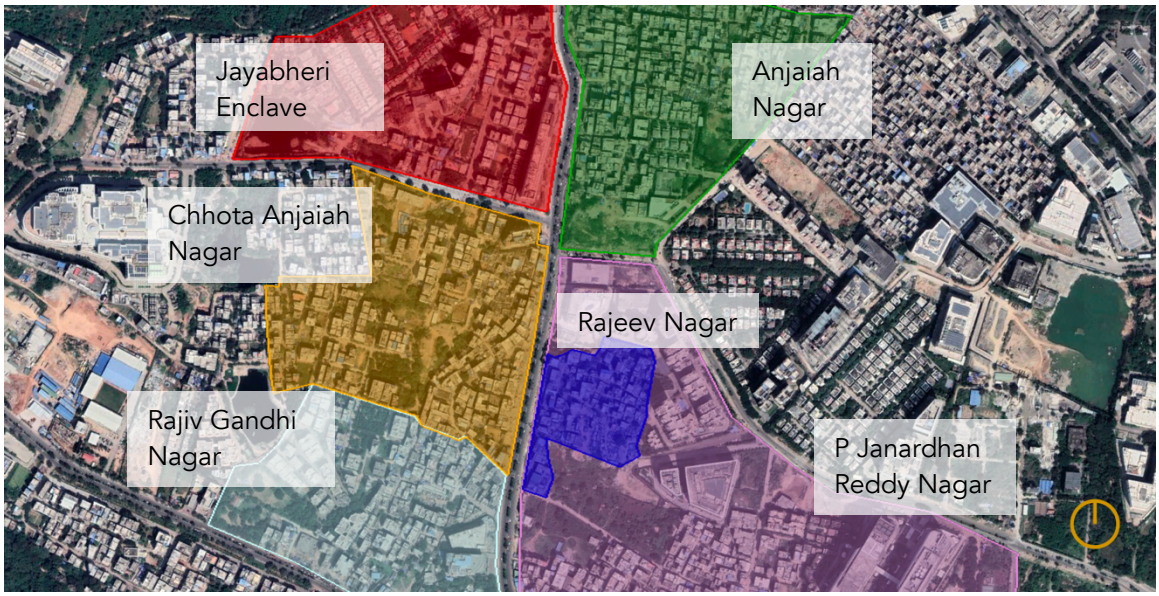


Figure 126: Centralized planning for redevelopment of the area included realigning the road and draining the tank, which fractured the area into distinct development *nagars* ("cities") (Source: Google Earth 2021 with author edits).

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the "leftover" Other Backward Caste/Schedule Caste/Schedule Tribe families have formed a community self-title, Rajeev Nagar.

Gachibowli Village as a bounded, singular settlement no longer exists but rather the main remnants are Chhota Anjaiah Nagar on the west side of the Gachibowli-Miapur Highway and Rajeev Nagar on the east side. My first introduction to the community was based on the Master Plan for Cyberabad Development Area (2003), which only indicated a dispossessed village at Chhota Anjaiah Nagar and gave no mention of Rajeev Nagar. It was only after I spent a couple of months with community leaders in Chhota Anjaiah Nagar that I was enlightened to the connection. On one hand, those who had *patta* (title) to property on the west side of the road had huge returns on developing their site through a developmentalist approach identified by Manas Murthy as the builder floor model (2021) and favorably described the redevelopment. On the other hand, those without *patta* or land on the east side of the road were stripped of livelihoods and were unable to develop their site beyond the one- and two-level construction that already existed. This set the framework for Rajeev Nagar to become a *basti* (informal community).

When I came across Rajeev Nagar, it was tucked behind a mid-rise strip center on the Gachibowli-Miapur highway. The only indication was an arched sign above the entry road, the only entrance/exit to the community, that declared the settlement. The entry road was wide and made of compacted dirt while the branching residential streets were concrete. Development was informal and piecemeal with some units recalling the historic village form of single-room, row houses and others offering modern apartments in mid-rise buildings. There were a few shops and a main temple ground with two smaller temples embedded on the residential streets.

The settlement had residents from the original Gachibowli Village, mostly they identified as Schedule Caste, who for various reasons never realized *patta* for the lands they worked. Rajeev Nagar also had many residents from marginalized communities throughout Hyderabad, Rayalseema, and impoverished northern states such as Bihar and Uttar Pradesh that had migrated due to work. In contrast, Chhota Anjaiah Nagar was mainly composed of young Information Technology professionals from wealthy cities such as Mumbai, Delhi, and Kolkata and areas of coastal Andhra renting from the land-owning residents of Gachibowli Village. The roads were paved, and the buildings were mid-rise apartment towers, many with commercial ground floors.

Today, Chhota Anjaiah Nagar and Rajeev Nagar have over 5,000+ families living in an area of approximately 80.1 acres (or 62.4 families per acre; about 290 people per acre).[61] Three streets that form a "pitch-fork" stabbing the highway organize Chhota Anjaiah Nagar. The wide intersection of the three streets is a popular place for hosting community events. Rajeev Nagar is organized around a main street that forms a right-angle with the main temple ground at the intersection. The Zilla Parshad High School (ZPHS) is located just north of Rajeev Nagar. Encroaching high- and mid-rise development surround both communities.

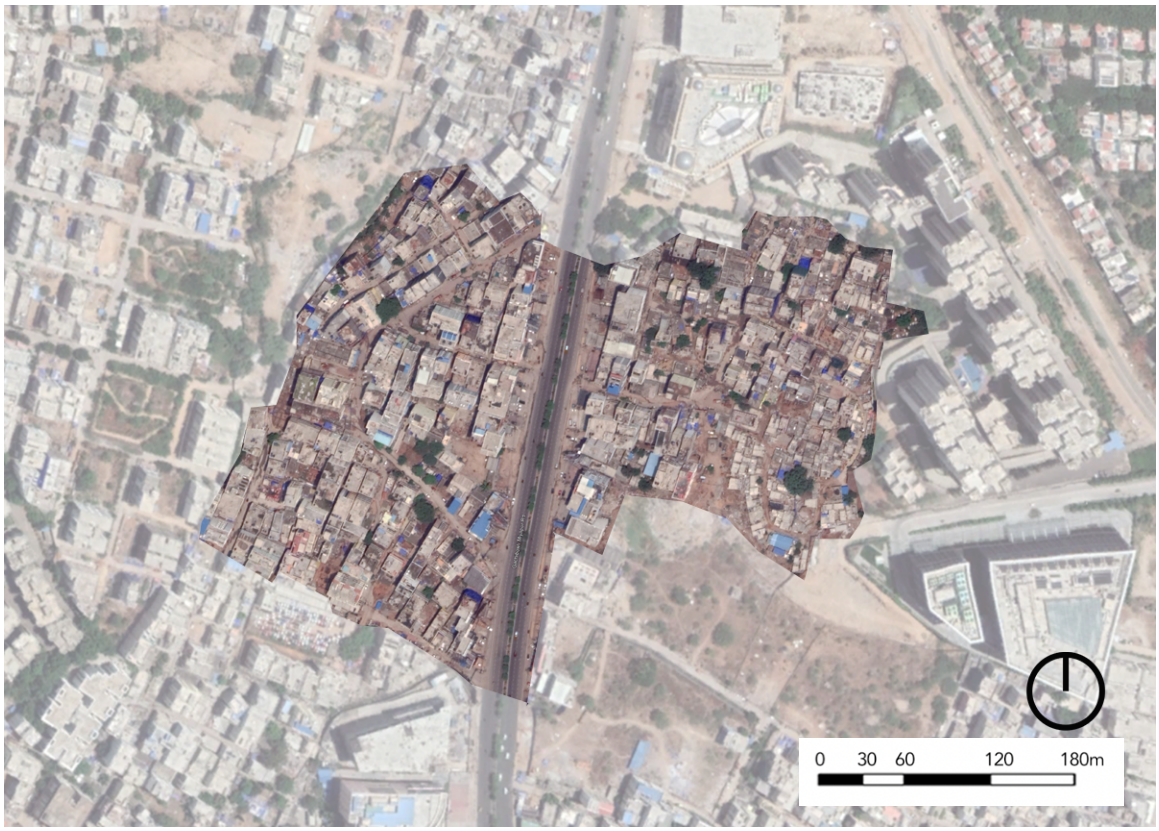


Figure 127: Chhota Anjaiah Nagar and Rajeev Nagar have over 5,000+ families living in an area of approximately 80.1 acres (or 62.4 families per acre; about 290 people per acre) (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits, 2021).

The figure ground diagram clearly shows larger building footprints on the west side of the highway and smaller building footprints on the right. This disparity is linked to the site's socio-economic history, developability, and topography. Rajeev Nagar is located on the side of

[61] I used an average of 4.64 people per household as the average for Hyderabad (IIPS 2007).

a granite hill while Chhota Anjaiah Nagar is flatter. Neither community shows evidence of a block structure.

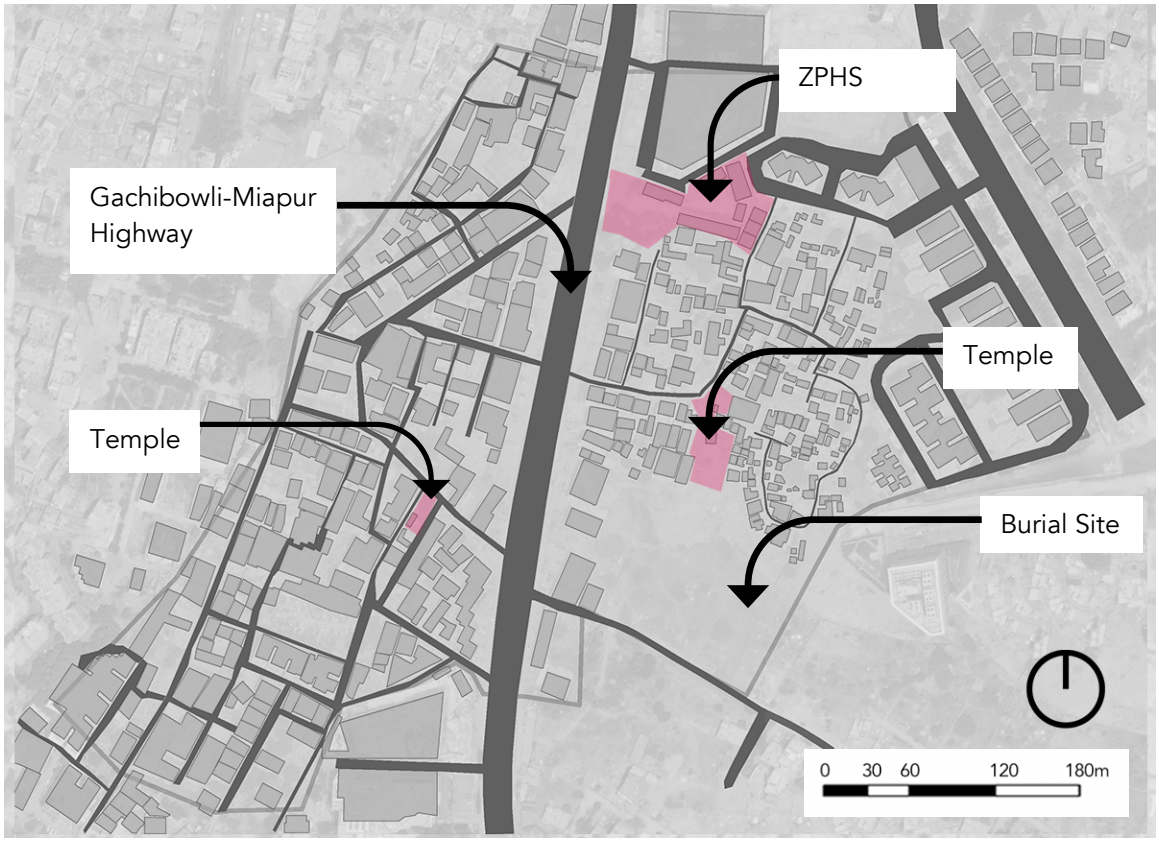


Figure 128: Chhota Anjaiah Nagar is shaped like a "pitch-fork" while Rajeev Nagar is shaped in in a right angle (Source: Shrestha with gradphic edits by author 2021).

The "pitch-fork" shape in Chhota Anjaiah Nagar is the residual framework from the original highway before it was straightened and widened. The realigned Gachibowli-Miapur Highway is 45m wide. The three main streets in Chhota Anjaiah Nagar are 9m wide while the alleyways are between 2.5m and 4m wide. In Rajeev Nagar the main road is 7m wide but opens near the temple into an organic shape and narrows again just after it. The side streets are 4m and I did not find any evidence of alleyways in the community.

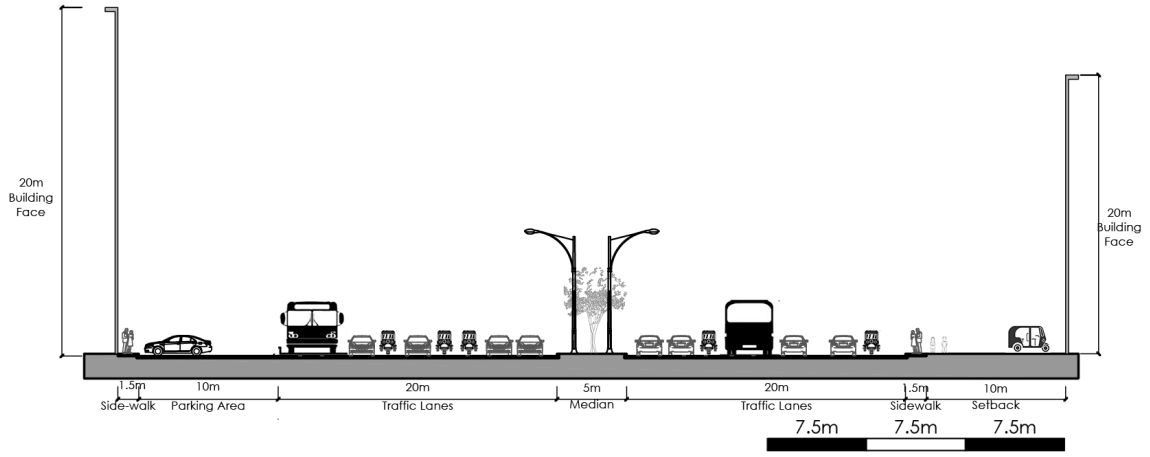


Figure 129: The Gachibowli-Miapur Highway is 45m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

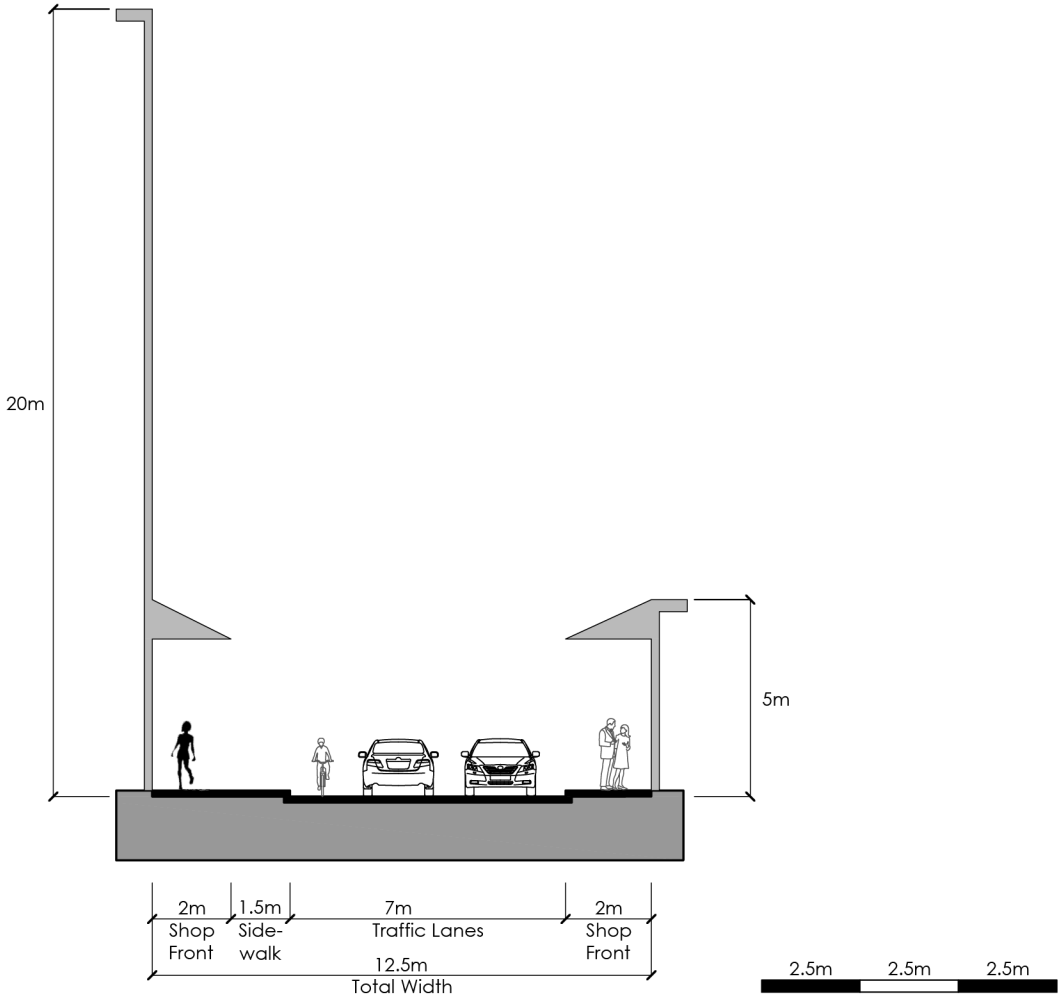


Figure 130: The Rajeev Nagar Main Road is 7m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits).

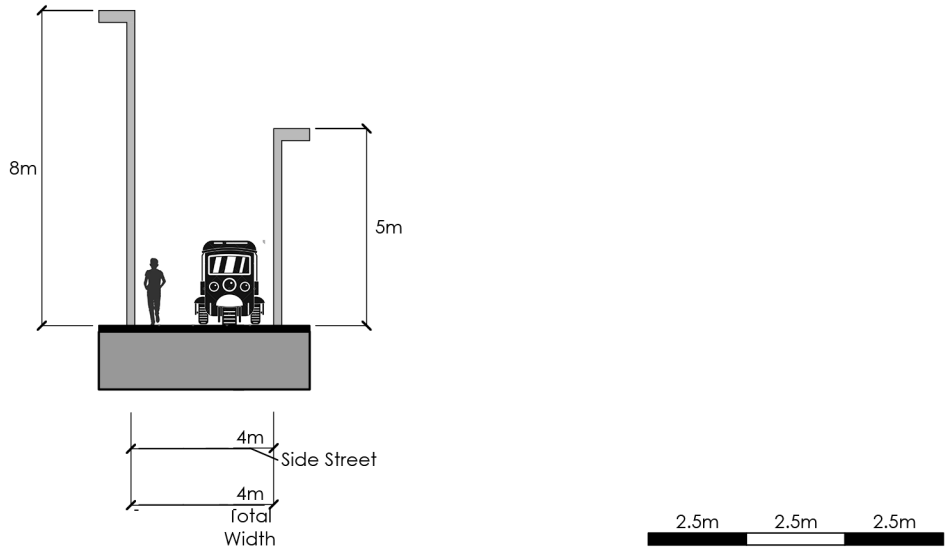


Figure 131: The residential side streets are 4m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

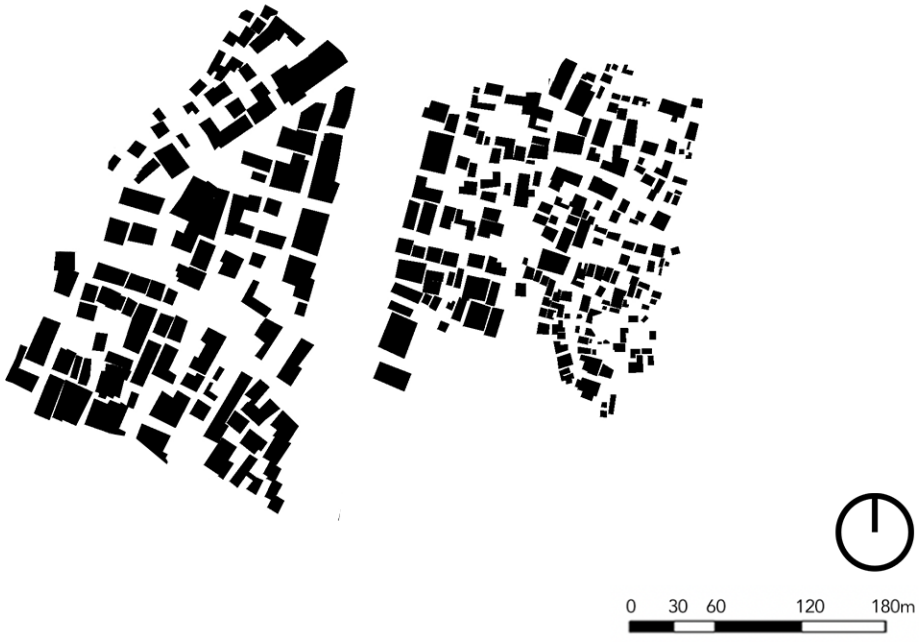


Figure 132: The figure ground diagram clearly shows the the change in building typology divided by the highway (Source: Shrestha 2020).

Community Origins

Gachibowli Village is an example of gentrification. In the early 2000s, the Gachibowli-Miapur Road bifurcated the community; it was a major six-lane connector that often backed up with commuter traffic traveling to/from the information technology Special Economic Zones. On either side of the roadway, five-floor commercial buildings have sprung up over the past 20 years with over 30 furniture dealerships catering to new development and the international tastes of the new residents—the Information Technology workers. But, behind this outer layer of commercial structures, the two halves of the community evolved in contrasting ways that clearly show the winners and losers of the neoliberal regime of dispossession. On the west side, the locals with *patta* largely developed the lots into five-level paying guest accommodations while on the east side the government allocated space for a *basti* (informal community[62]) for those without *patta*. The president of the Rajiv Nagar *basti* stated it clearly:

> Earlier there was no development but since the past 12 years there is a lot of development happening. It was one unit back then, after this main road [referring to the Gachibowli-Miapur Road] has come then the division took place… This development is good for the rich and bad for the poor. For the poor, they ask them to leave but for the rich with a good house they can't say so.

The transformation of the community over the last two decades has been so extreme that official documents formally exclude the *basti* from the Gachibowli Village area and renamed it, Rajiv Nagar. This surreptitious move by planning authorities and political leaders skewed the data on the progress of Gachibowli Village. It also made piecing together the spatial history of this once cohesive community challenging. However, interviews with the Basti President, the representative Member of the Legislative Assembly, the principal of the local school, a local politician, and the general secretary of the old Village Welfare Association gave enough information to form a community profile of key changes over time. All agreed that Gachibowli Village was a village on the urban fringe of Hyderabad until the early 2000s and included the Rajiv Nagar *basti*. This change in social status was reflected in the attitudes of the leadership that

[62] See Bhan (2017) for a definition of a *basti* as an "auto-constructed neighborhood in an Indian city" as a contra-distinction to the 'slum.'

I interviewed as the leaders from Rajiv Nagar considered themselves part of Gachibowli Village while the leaders from Gachibowli Village considered Rajiv Nagar a distinct and separate place.

The General Secretary of the Gachibowli Village Welfare Association provided more insight into how the bifurcation led to such exaggerated socio-economic outcomes. In his perspective, the root of the cause was differences in land ownership. Gachibowli Village was originally settled by Schedule Caste households with a few Other Backward Caste, minority households, and Lodha Caste households. Historically, Schedule Caste people were not able to own land (landless). During the Green Revolution, Indira Gandhi's government leased 5 acres of *chalaka* land per Schedule Caste family on the fringe of Hyderabad.[63] The government did not give *patta* for *chalaka* lands but authorized cultivation of the land in which famers resided on and cultivated for commercial sale of agricultural products. Because the arrangement was temporary, farmers only grew minor crops such as wheat and maize that required less investment and held less risk. Some farmers were able to purchase more lucrative *chenu* land (with *patta*) on which they grew crops like rice. Many farmers held both types of land. Roughly, *chalaka* lands were on the east side of the small main road (that eventually became the major six-lane Gachibowli-Miapur Road) and *chenu* lands, west. However, on two separate occasions, the government took back large portions of the leased lands without compensation. Those farmers who were more reliant on the leased lands for income were disproportionately disadvantaged. Then, as Cyberabad developed, those farmers with *patta* received windfall returns if they developed their plots into paying guest housing, while the farmers with the remaining leased lands had no development rights to invest and lost farming as their traditional livelihood as property values increased and farming profits decreased.

The first significant government take-back occurred in the 1980s when the state government developed an area of 15 acres as a private, planned village called Anjaiah Nagar for government employees (housing for non-gazetted officers). This village infrastructure was discernable northeast of the remaining Gachibowli Village. This planning action displaced a few

[63] While the definitions of *chalaka* and *chenu* lands are difficult to corroborate, a more common definition is *chalaka* lands produced one crop annually (less fertile land) while *chenu* lands produced multiple crops annually (wetlands, fertile lands). In *Agricultural and Irrigation Systems in the Qutb Shahi Period*, Maqubool references *chalaka* lands in a description of how the Qutb Shahi government scheduled taxes by land fertility (Hyderabad: Osmania University, p. 89).

households into temporary shelters near the main road. The second takeback was in the early 2000s as the state government sought to develop the road network and utility infrastructure for Cyberabad. City planners identified the main road in Gachiblowli Village as a major connector between Old Mumbai Highway in Gachibowli and Highway 65 in Miaypur (Cyberabad Development Authority 2003). They expanded it into a six-lane divided road by commandeering land to the east, further dispossessing the leasers, and seeding the formation of the *basti*.

The road and the Special Economic Zones brought demand for property. Those with *patta* benefited by selling or developing. While the value of land for speculation increased, a state-wide drought and shifts in state subsidies to farmers (largely diverted to build infrastructure for Cyberabad's Special Economic Zones) resulted in state-wide "agrarian distress."[64] Through these systematic changes the *basti* grew into a dense residential settlement of farmers-turned-service workers (many auto drivers, kiosk sellers, and watchmen) while on the west side of the road, the community rebranded itself as a hub for paying-guest accommodations catering to the needs of migrant, white-collar, information technology service workers. In a case of "mini neoliberalism," many of the original residents on the west side used their profits to purchase land farther outside of Hyderabad and maintained their paying-guest accommodation only as a revenue business.

The final shift in land rights infilled the only public space in the community – a large ground on the north side of Rajiv Nagar. The winning Member of the Legislative Assembly candidate ran on a platform of bringing a primary school to Gachibowli Village. However, he confronted with implementation issues as land prices increased and his office was unable to find an affordable site for the school. As a common practice in many city governments, he enclosed half of the public grounds and built the school; the government later enclosed the remaining half when the school expanded to include secondary grades. Today, the school serves over 600 students, which means that the remaining open space inside of the school compound is not sufficient for even the school children to play on during breaks (as described in an interview with Principal Arjun 2019). The principal said that, when possible, they bus the students to the nearby University stadium so they could have an open space to play formal games. Due to these space constraints, the principal could only afford to schedule one hour of physical education for the

[64] See Chindarkar 2007, Sridhar 2006, and Patnaik 2004 for more information.

students per week. The government enclosed the school buildings and ground with a wall, gate, and guard - all off-limits for play when classes are out of session.

> We have only one [Physical Education] period weekly and we can't make it daily so students after playing here and going home, there is *no place for them to play* and what else can they do other than sitting and wasting time on the phone?

The informants described a different childhood—one of vast spaces for play and games that helped integrate the diverse community. The principal noted that he believed rural life was better than urban life for children living in these economic conditions for two reasons. First, urban life exposed children to negative temptations (drugs, trafficking, and child labor). Secondly, new development blocked and eroded play spaces accessible to prior generations leaving children today with no space to play.

At the time of this dissertation, the two halves of the community presented very different landscapes for children. On the developed west side of the road, young Information Technology professionals replaced families while on the east side in Rajiv Nagar, the local families mixed with families of migrant workers drawn to the Rajiv Nagar for low rents and easy access to labor. Therefore, after some uneventful pilot observations in the developed west side, I confined the formal observations and behavior mapping to Rajiv Nagar. With the transition from a small rural community in which everyone "knows" everyone, and children roam with agency, these new communities present dangerous landscapes and parents feel the need to restrict their children's' domain to the house and immediate surroundings. One of the participant's mother explained her new role as a "guard:"

> I am afraid because, the roads aren't good, the streets aren't good, and children are small, so I am afraid to send [them to the nearest park 2 km away]. I love them so much and I don't want to lose them. This is why I work and come back by 7a.m. - by the time they wake up. I provide all the facilities they need here itself.
>
> …I also take them to tank bund during seasonal festivals and I am like *a guard* to them. I will never leave them alone and if at all there are people like you who come and ask to send [invite the children for activities], I deny. Previously, I used to drop them at school but now we stand here and watch them, the school is visible from here. I won't allow them to cycle on the streets. Also, during the Sundays, I lock the gate and here itself they play [they live in a lower-level parking deck and she is referring to the gate to the deck].



Figure 133: The comnunity photographs are keyed to the figure ground map (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020).






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L
BHARAT
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M
OYO
VJR
A/C ROOMS
HAFELE
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Lorea
FROZEN BOTTLE


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Many of the adolescents who remembered living in Chhota Anjaiah Nagar talked about the Greater Hyderabad Metro Corporation Park in the adjacent Andhra Pradesh Government Housing community as the primary place where they had access to nature (A). The entrance to Chhota Anjaiah Nagar is marked with road signs reminiscent of Gachibowli Village (B). Interviews with elders in the community said this was because since the development visiting relatives were unable to recognize and thus find their family members. There is one government-allocated public facility in Gachibowli Village, but it is not large enough for events and thus only used by the men on the council for official meetings (C). Much of the development in Chhota Anjaiah Nagar is mid-rise hostels for out-of-town Information Technology workers (D). There is one temple that has a few trees around it and some of the adolescent's visited this space on the weekend (E). From the Gachibowli-Miapur highway, the community is unrecognizable as it is tucked behind mid-rise commercial buildings with many international franchises rather than local businesses (F). These businesses cater to the new middle class cultivated by the Cyberabad development (G). The Zilla Parishad High School (ZPHS) is the local public secondary school adjacent to Rajeev Nagar, surrounding high-rise apartment towers dwarfed it (H). A masonry wall that features political graffiti and a narrow sidewalk that is rarely used by pedestrian protects the school from the highway (I, J). Some of the development along the highway consists of narrow mid-rise buildings with a mixture of local franchises and smaller businesses and most are oriented toward interior furnishings (lighting, furniture, and decorations) (K-L).

The entrance to Rajeev Nagar is nondescript but identifiable with an overhead banner aligned with a pedestrian break in the highway boulevard (M). The main road in the community is dirt and has no pedestrian amenities (N). The development close to the highway consists of some mid-rise guest houses (O) but unlike Chhota Anjaiah Nagar there are more old, low-rise houses interspersed (P, Q). The community is in a continuous state of construction (R). The central road is a popular spot for locals to sit on the steps of businesses and people-watch (S). The residential streets are concrete (T). The endemic granite rock formations that once dotted the Deccan Plateau and hold spiritual value to native peoples have been chopped up and removed to make room for the development (U). The narrow residential lanes are lined with single- or double-room row houses that wind up the hillside (V). The main temple is at the juncture between the base of the hill and the main entrance to the community (W, X).

The architectural tour provides a sense of the community environment and the range of spaces. It also identifies the planned and formal public spaces and described their current conditions. However, an architectural analysis must be paired with the resident's experiences to understand how the spaces function in practice. To expand the environmental understanding of Gachibowli Village, I provided three vignettes from adolescents in the community. I summarized the results of working with eight participants in Gachibowli Village at the end of this section.

The Watchman's Son: Nivant

Nivant attended ZPHS, the local government secondary school. The principal recruited him on our behalf. Research Assistant Santhosh and I met him after school with another student and walked down the Gachibowli-Miapur highway to his house. We met his mother, father, and sister. The project excited the whole family and they seemed honored that I selected Nivant to participate. His mother felt that the project was a really important cause and even asked us to take her interview. She felt that her opinions as a mother were critical to address the lack of child-friendly space in the area since the development started (we did).

Nivant and his family of four lived in a single room in the parking garage of an office building with a Bank of India covering half of the ground level. His father was the parking garage attendant and night watchman. Their apartment was approximately 15 m^2 and the only furniture was a TV on the floor and single bed against the wall. The kitchen was a narrow counter with a sink, hot plate, hot pot, and stack of small dishware. When we came to take their interviews, the family brought chairs out to the parking area, and we sat and talked there. I noticed that Nivant had a bicycle, but his family said he could only ride it in the parking garage because the other areas were too dangerous.

The parking garage was underneath a multistory building with five levels above ground. The parking garage was a half level underground leaving a clearstory opening on the back wall that let in a little light. It was smaller than the footprint of the building (about ½ the area). There was a small doorway (without a door) that opened to the valley behind the building. The valley was inaccessible because of the steep retaining wall but a graveyard was visible at the bottom of the valley amongst trees and lots of foliage. The valley was completely natural. The hill to the left of the valley connected to the Rajeev Nagar temple. The Bank of India Building also had a small parking lot in front of the very busy Gachibowli-Miapur highway. There was an old, single-level

building on the east side and more multi-story buildings on the west side. The Bank of India building faced north.



Figure 134: The parking garage was a half level underground leaving a clearstory opening on the back wall that let in a little light (Source: Nivant 2019).



Figure 135: The valley was inaccessible because of the steep retaining wall but a graveyard was visible at the bottom of the valley amongst trees and lots of foliage (Source: Nivant 2019).

I frequented this area because my office was nearby, so I saw Nivant a few times in passing. Each time, he wore his blue and white school uniform and played in the surface parking

lot next to the main road. He was always excited to see me but also polite. Mostly, he smiled waving wildly and then continued to play.



Figure 136: Nivant's surface parking lot next to the main road (Source: Nivant 2019).

Monday through Saturday Nivant attended school from 9:00 am to 4:00 pm. He walked to and from school along the edge of the highway pavement because the sidewalks were broken and often blocked by cars and vendors. He liked school because of recess and the tech city volunteers who came to organize games like kho-kho and khabaddi. He said that he couldn't play at the school grounds after 5:00 pm.

Most of his friends lived in the area. Two of Nivant's friends lived in Rajeev Nagar, two in Chhota Anjaiah Nagar, and five in Vaddara Basti (a *basti* is an informal settlement typology specific to India).[65] Since the road was so dangerous, his parents did not allow him to cross alone. The Gachibowli-Miapur highway then became a border of his spatial range and limited him to playing with friends who lived on his side of the street.

[65] See Gautam Bhan (2017) for a close reading of the *basti* in the India context.



Figure 137: He walked to and from school every day along the edge of the highway pavement because the sidewalks were broken and often blocked by cars and vendors (Source: Nivant 2019).

He mostly played alone in the parking area in front of the bank. He played cycling, carrom board, and on the phone. Sometimes he played games with his mother and his brother since he didn't have many friends that lived nearby. He mentioned one friend that would occasionally come over and play with him in the parking lot since his friend's parents did not allow him to go into the parking garage. During the weekends and the holidays, he rode his bicycle in the parking garage and on rare occasion visited his village.

Nivant only went to school and the snack shops by himself because of fears. He was very scared of the road. The year prior, his teacher was hit by a lorry (semi-truck) in front of the school and was no longer able to teach. He also never went in the valley behind the garage or explored that area because he feared snakes, bullies, and ghosts. He feared the neighbors too. He said that in Rajeev Nagar people often drank and older youths fought in the street. He walked to the shops alone but never at night.



Figure 138: The Gachibowli-Miapur highway then became a border of his spatial range and limited him to playing with his friends who lived on his side of the street (Source: Nivant 2019).

He liked playing games on his dad's cell phone. His mother interrupted to tell us that she had to make him go out to play because he was always on the phone. Every day he played on his cell phone, mainly Temple Run.

To improve the area, Nivant wanted to fix the drainage. He said that when it rained, the parking garage flooded with gross water mixed with sewage. Even when it was not raining, there was an almost constant flow of drainage along the highway encroaching on the parking lot play area.

Nivant's participant-directed map for Rajeev Nagar is Figure 140. According to the mapping exercise, Nivant had range of 160 m from his house (radius). He revealed that he went with his family to the temple across the street. He said enjoyed it because there was a tree, and it was the only time that he felt close to nature outside of school. When he was there, though, he was sad because he saw other kids playing on the ground near the temple and he wanted to go play as well.



Figure 139: Even when it was not raining, there was an almost constant flow of drainage along the highway encroaching on the parking lot play area (Source: Nivant 2019).

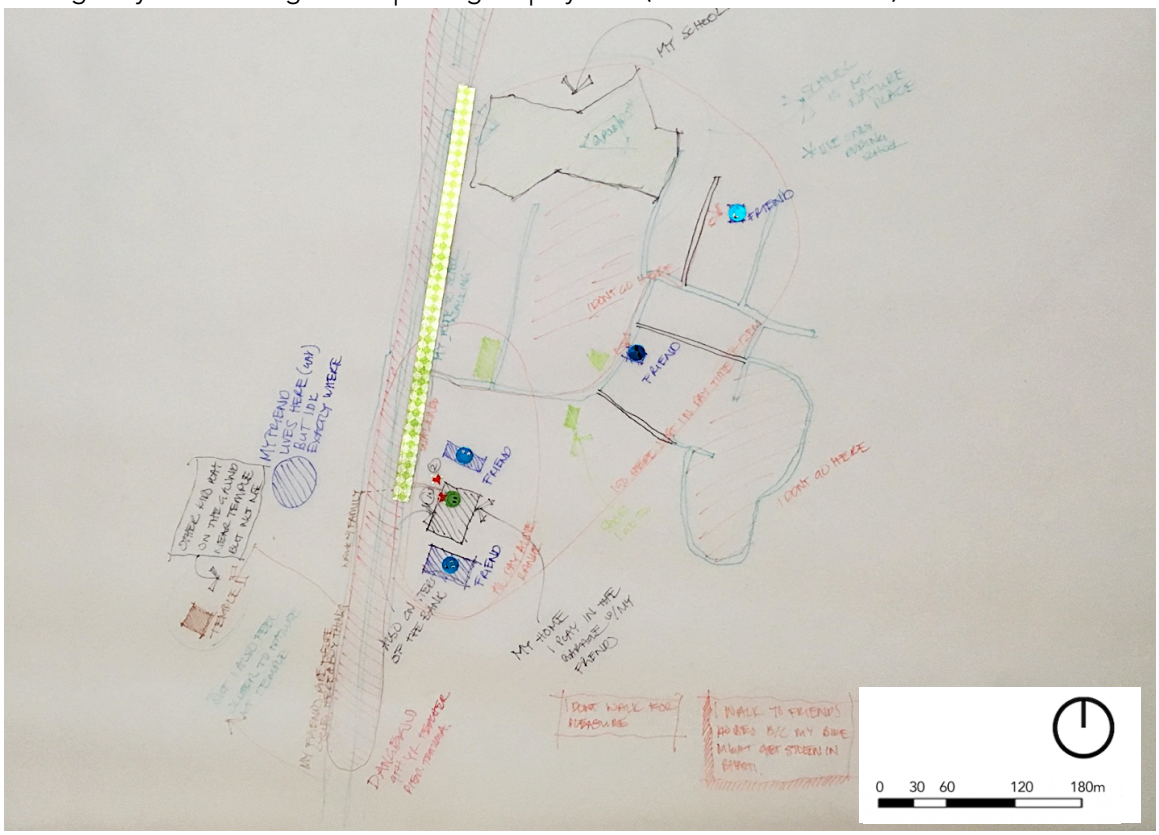


Figure 140: Participant-directed map of Rajeev Nagar (Source: Nivant 2019).

The Politician's Daughter: Aadita

Aadita asked to participant in the study when she saw us interviewing her friend, Rakhi, who lived just a few houses down the lane. Her mother was exceptionally supportive. Over the course of several interviews and visits to their home she treated the research team to a lunch and several cold drinks. Aadita's mother was interested in scholarship opportunities in the USA for herself. As a form of social barter, she emphasized the protection that her husband's position as the village official would provide our team as we conducted the study. She offered to coordinate meetings and focus groups. While generous, I was aware that this social exchange would not be without bias and would possibly cost more than I could deliver. However, I was also aware that turning down her offer posed consequences regarding access to the community. Luckily, Aadita was one of the last participants that we recruited in Rajeev Nagar and many of our interviews were complete. I graciously drew out my interactions with Aadita's mother and scheduled a time after the field work to teach her how to look for university financial aid in the USA. She did not show up to our appointments, however, so perhaps her requests were miscommunications or perhaps they were for social appearances (there is an elitism to telling neighbors that the "white" woman who has been coming around the community was helping her attend a university in the U.S.).

During the lunch that Aadita's mother hosted, she asked our team to sit in the living room and eat while her family waited outside of the house. They invited relatives over who would stop at the doorway and greet us and then leave. It felt a little like a fishbowl. Once over, the nuclear family returned, and we were formally introduced to her father. He never spoke to me directly but rather spoke to Aadita's mother who then spoke to Research Assistant Ayesha who translated for me. The long game of telephone cut the conversation short, but a few important points came through. Their family had lived in the area for decades. They felt that crime had increased since the development over the past decade. In response, Aadita's father raised money in the community to install three closed-circuit television cameras—one at the intersection of the main road, one at the temple, and one up the hill (near their house). They suggested that this was part of his election platform as it lowered crime and local parents felt safer allowing their kids to play on the street. This is a very interesting case of self-inflicted spatial surveillance in which the residents, not the state, are responsible for implementing surveillance strategies.

Aadita's home was the best that we saw in Rajeev Nagar; it had plumbing with a shower and flush toilet. It had multiple rooms including a great living room. There was an entertainment system with speakers and a television. Her house was a single level and located at the top of the hill just across from a small Hindu temple. It was set back from the lane about 5 m and enclosed with a privacy wall that was topped with blue fairy lights.

The picture below is of the participant-directed map for Rajeev Nagar. According to the mapping exercise, Aadita had range of 100 m from her house (radius).

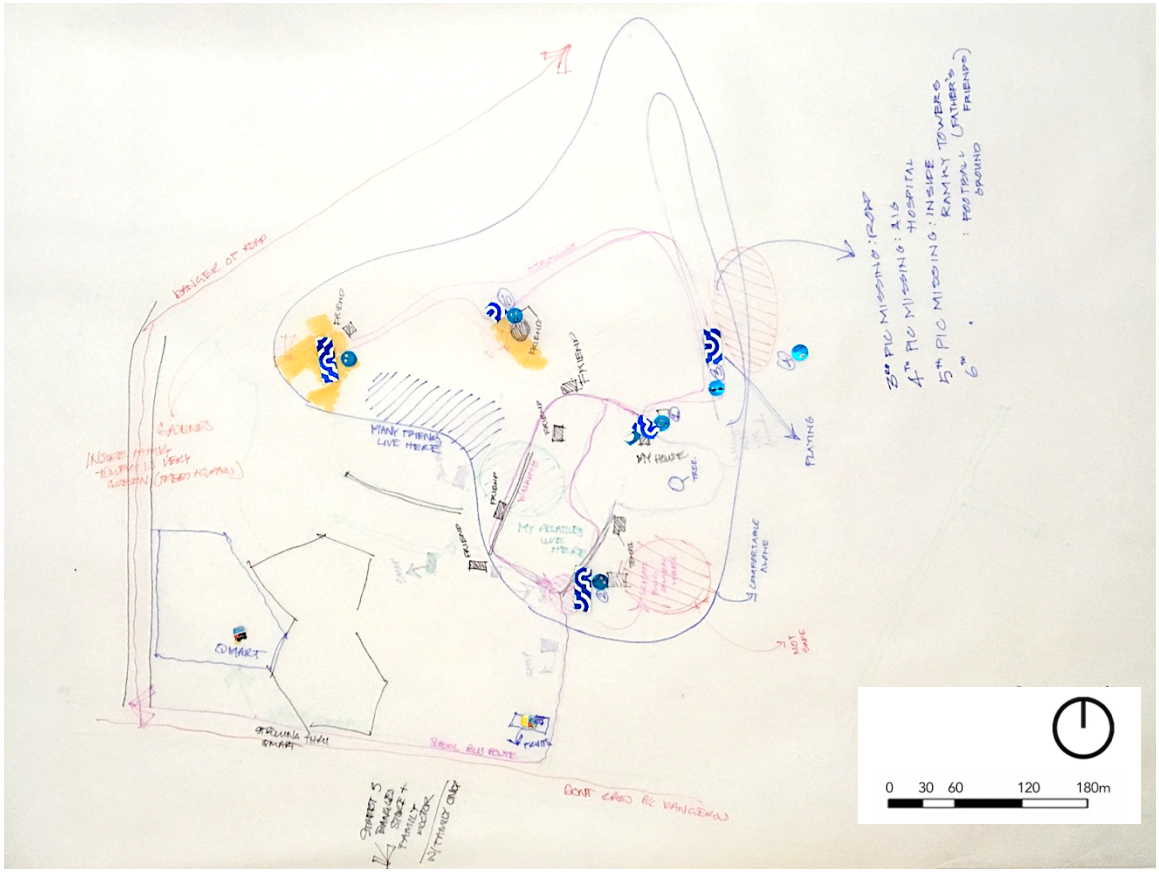


Figure 141: Participant-directed map of Rajeev Nagar (Source: Aadita 2019).

Aadita went to a private high school in an adjacent community called Anjaiah Nagar. She loved her school even though none of her classmates lived in Rajeev Nagar and the school didn't have a ground (because it was in a midrise building). She played with her classmates in the classrooms or on the rooftop. Sometimes the school took the kids to a ground. She had a strict schedule that was guided by exams. On the days leading up to exams, she woke up at 5:00 am and studied for a few hours before going to school at 7:30. She took a bus that picked her

up from the temple, which was 150 m away in their neighborhood. She was finished with school at 4:30 pm and she took a bus back to her house. Then, she stayed home and studied all evening.

Like many schools in India, her school focused on academic development and didn't leave much time for play or physical activity. According to Aadita, she went to a morning karate session on Wednesdays and Saturdays for 1.5 hours and then had free period for socializing after lunch. When asked if she played during her break she said, "We in higher classes don't get a lot of break time. That is for children." The games that she played at school were common for girls in this area, "kho-kho, kabaddi, and skipping" but she also played games like "truth and dare." During her PE period she played kabaddi and football (both boys and girls play). She also went to dance practice and practiced at home in her room. "We don't play if we have exams, if we don't have exams then we will play."

On the days when she did not have an upcoming exam, she woke up at 6:00 am and got ready for school starting at 7:30 am. She "enjoyed" non-exam days at school because she and her friends "usually just talked and did a little bit of comedy." After coming home at the normal time, she checked in with her mom and then played near the house from 5:00 pm onward. She mostly played in the street and temple area just in front of the house. In the evening she came into the house and hung out with her mother by playing on her cell phone. She added that her mom stayed home alone, and she felt that she needs to spend time with her. Her mother generally expected her to be home by between 8:30-9:30 pm. In a later interview she added that she returned home by 7:30 pm because people in the community started fighting.

She had school for a half day on Saturdays too (typical in this area of India). She came home and slept for about three hours and then played games on her cell phone or watched TV. On Sunday she slept a lot. She woke up late, watched the free movies that came on TV, and then went to sleep early in the evening. Of course, she noted that if she had an exam then she spent the weekend studying.

Sometimes she went to parks and malls. She mentioned several malls that were just a few kilometers away. She liked to go to the Botanical Garden with her friends who lived in another neighborhood, Anjyah Nagar. She also went to temples like Birla Mandir and Pedamma Temple. Later in the interview she revealed that she went to these places without supervision,

just with her friends via her father's car or her friend's father's car. (It is typical in India to have a car and driver). They went about once a month.

She had 10 friends that she played with regularly. They liked the area in front of her house "because we didn't have a place anywhere else except in front of our house. And, we had plants only in front of our house, we didn't have plants anywhere else." She added "the police came and planted it when the Haritha Hāram happened in 2016—when Telangana formed on June 2nd 2016." (She is referring to Telangana Ku Haritha Hāram—a large-scale tree-planting program implemented by the government for afforestation). They played without supervision but felt safe because they knew everyone on the street. In a later interview she contradicted herself by saying that her mother and relatives sat out on the steps of their houses and kept a watch on them while they played and had a snack. Some of her friends came over from Anjaiah Nagar. On the street they played badminton, listened to music, and sat outside while they studied. Her friends were her age and a little older too. She preferred playing outside to inside her house. She mostly saw children playing in the street (6-10 years). She liked to play Seven Stones (a game that uses sidewalk chalk).

In the auto photography exercise, Aadita revealed that she walked to a gated apartment complex behind Rajeev Nagar. She would play in that complex's playground because her father, as a local politician, had spoken with the watchman. She liked the playground because there were a lot of plants and trees.



Figure 142: Aadita revealed that she walked to a gated apartment complex behind Rajeev Nagar (Source: Aadita 2019).



Figure 143: She would play in that complex's playground because her father, as a local politician, had spoken with the watchman (Source: Aadita 2019).



Figure 144: She liked the playground because there were a lot of plants and trees (Source: Aadita 2019).

She was born in Rajeev Nagar. She said that before the development there were "nice plants" but that developers removed and replaced them with houses. She recalled that there was a big tree in front of her house that had a swing on it, and she would play there but now there were too many houses around the tree so she couldn't play around it. She remembered when most of the houses in her neighborhood were "huts" (unclear if she means a shanty or a kutcha house) and people cooked outside. She was proud that the houses were now "proper," and they cooked inside. She liked to go for walks in the morning for two hours around 4:30 am and she watered the plants in the neighborhood.

Research Assistant Ayesha: Do you like living here?

Aadita: I like it...But there is nothing to play with here. There is a little place in front of our house where we play but it is not for others to play... if anyone else plays there they get scolded.

Overall, Aadita was concerned about the natural environment and specifically, the plants. She explained the problems and her recommended improvements:

Research Assistant Ayesha: Are all houses fine or is there any problem?

Aadita: There are problems. Everyone is making buildings and the sunlight is not reaching the plants. They are removing all the plants and making buildings. This is a problem because if you need oxygen, you need plants. If there are no plants, you won't get oxygen.

Ayesha: Yes.

Aadita: And water is also a problem here. Some people take water because it won't be enough, and others don't get it. Some people get water, they waste it but don't give it to others. Like this… we get angry. If we say anything, they scold. That's why we don't say anything. So, there is a problem for water.

Ayesha: Ah, Ok. If you get a chance to make this area better again, what would you do?

Aadita: First, I would ask them about water. Then, I would tell boys to treat girls like their sisters or mother. Don't do like this [makes a mean face]. And I would ask them to make a park, a hospital, and a mall.

She said that she liked Anjaiah Nagar "because there we have a lot of green open space, huge space to play." She added that while there was an open space in Rajeev Nagar, she doesn't go there because "there some boys tease us." She didn't like Rajeev Nagar at all. She was mainly upset at the people's behavior. "All people, they don't live nicely here. At night, if

someone looks, people will be drunk and doing all that. It isn't nice in this area." However, she added that she, personally, felt safe because many of her relatives lived there so her family did not experience any problems. She mentioned that she got a little scared at night but felt better after the cameras were installed (referring to closed-circuit television).

She didn't go shopping with her mother because they use a home delivery service. This is interesting because going to the market in the Philippines was the main socially acceptable way that girls were able to leave the home.

She didn't have social media and was not on Facebook or Instagram. She played Candy Crush on her phone and talks with her friends by using WhatsApp.

The Other Side of The Highway: Loknath

Loknath saw our research team talking with the principal at the high school but was not selected by the principal (recall from Chapter III. ON METHODS that after several months of unsuccessful door-to-door recruitment in Gachibowli Village, I relied on snow-ball sampling through the local highschool principle). Loknath approached us a few days later in the community and asked if he could volunteer. We spoke with his mother, and she asked for some time to think about it. When we came back a week later, she gave permission but told a heartbreaking story that explained why she was hesitant. I will retell this story to recount the reasons for social distrust common in these types of low-income communities.

Loknath's mother explained that she was concerned because she was starting to realize she had gotten her family into a scam and requested our help. In short, a man had come by a few weeks back and explained that she had won a million dollars in the British lottery because of a Coke product they had purchased. He provided her with documents (all fake of course) such as a passport, British ID, and letter from Coke. He told her that she had to claim the winnings in person in the UK and she would have to pay for the trip. She borrowed 20,000 INR (about $267 USD) from family and friends and given it to the man to make arrangements. I followed up with the UK embassy who advised to contact the local police as it was obviously a scam. Research Assistant Santhosh explained the situation to Loknath's mother and advised her to go to the local police. She was distraught at having been scammed and worried about how their family would pay back the money to their friends and family. It was difficult to empathize because these types of scams are so common to me, and it was clear at the start that it was a scam. But

Santhosh explained that for many families living day-to-day in survival mode, the narrative of winning the lottery, making it in Bollywood, or being a cricket star are really emphasized as the only ways to "get out" of poverty. The temptation of this being her family's "moment" was probably too much to pass up. It was devastating to get her to understand that it was a scam.

Nevertheless, Loknath's mother was excited for him to participate in the study and always greeted us with a lime soda. The picture below is Loknath's participant-directed map for Rajeev Nagar. According to the mapping exercise, Loknath has range of 330 m from his house (radius).



Figure 145: Participant-directed map of Rajeev Nagar (Source: Loknath 2019).

Loknath was a very precocious and excited kid. He really wanted to hang out with me. He lived in a nice four-level building with just a kitchen room and bedroom on the 3rd floor for his family. The only other tenants on their floor were an east-Asian couple who had a single room with a toilet room inside. I saw them come and go and I remembered the smell of their cooking was distinct. There was no reception space, so we sat on the balcony/exterior corridor

to the next unit. The mother was very sweet always offering drinks. We never met Loknath's father.



Figure 146: There was no reception space, so we sat on the balcony/exterior corridor to the next unit (Source: Loknath 2019).

Although born in Chhota Anjaiah Nagar, Loknath's family had just moved from across the highway to Rajeev Nagar a month prior. They used to live on Street No. 2. In his old community, the houses were bigger and now they are smaller. He also liked the old community better because he knew everyone around him. In his new community he was scolded a lot from the adults because they don't know him. He felt like he had more freedom there. He liked to walk with his friends along the roads and they would talk. In his old neighborhood there was a

sand pit across from his house and he used to play there (it was a construction sand pile). In a later interview he said, "I used to play near my house and climb trees" before the development started.

He doesn't like Rajeev Nagar. He personally has no experience with criminal threats or violence. He thinks that Rajeev Nagar is safe for girls and boys, both day and night. However, he feels the safest near his sister's house and unsafe in parks because of bullies ("big brothers that will scold and hit us.") In a follow up interview, Loknath explained "no it's not about the ground [territory], they just use bad words on my friends and bully them back. So, we hit back." He noted that in his old community, bystanders would come forward and he didn't have to fight to protect himself but in this new community he has learned that he must protect himself because the bystanders do not come to his aid; he doesn't know them.

Generally, he woke up around 6 am, took a bath, went to school, and returned home at 4:30 pm. Afterwards, he took lunch, watched some TV, and read for a while, then he went to sleep. In school, he plays kabbadi and kho-kho with his friends. He likes school because "they provide food, and they educate us."

He had about 10 friends in his group however, in a later interview, he said that he had five friends and in the mapping exercise he was able to identify the houses of only four friends. He played at school, his old house, and at a park. He played on the interior streets of Rajeev Nagar only, not along the highway. In the mapping exercise he circled the area between the highway and the temple along the Rajeev Nagar main road as his "comfort zone" and described that he liked it there because there were so many people. He also identified a neighboring middle-class condominium as a place he liked to play because he was friends with the watchman's son. This was interesting because Aadita also identified this on her map and took pictures of the playground there. He felt like his mom, dad, and grandmother watched over him when he was playing in the street. He went out walking alone. He did not take an autorickshaw. He didn't need to make plans with his friends because they had a habit of going to the same place every time and they just set a time that they discuss at school. He really liked when there were no other kids beside his friends at a particular place.

He went to the mall and to the computer shop. He had social media through Facebook. He played computer games for about 1 hour a day (20 INR/hr. at the computer shop) and then

he came home and used his mom's phone to access Facebook. In the mapping exercise, he revealed that the computer shop was in his old community near his old house.

On Sundays he either stayed home or went to his elder sister's house who lived next to the highway. He played with his friends at the entrance of school. This is interesting because the school said that they lock the grounds so that children cannot play after hours. A lot of boys (boys' space) his age went to the Balagi Ground (he identified it on his map) about a ½ km away.

He liked that Rajeev Nagar had "nice roads, good water facilities, no heavy vehicle movement, nice buildings, and nice house colors." He didn't like that "there are drainage leaks, a lot of clashes, and rash driving." He wanted to build a road, a ground, put up streetlights, better electricity and help the poor people in Rajeev Nagar.

Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Gachibowli Village

Name	Gender	Age	Religion	Caste	School Type	House Type
The Watchman's Son: Nivant	M	12	Hindu	OBC	Government	Rent/ Single-Room
The Politician's Daughter: Aadita	F	14	Hindu	OBC	Private	Own/ Multi-Room
The Other Side of the Highway: Loknath	M	12	Christian	OBC	Government	Own/ Double-Room
The Treehugger: Rakhi	F	15	Hindu	OBC	Government	Rent/ Double-Room
The Chaatwallah: Vo Poolla	M	15	Hindu	SC/ST	Government/ Sporadic	Temporary/ Single-Room
The Dropout: Kamalaj	M	12	Muslim	SC/ST	Dropout	Rent/ Multi-Room
The Roamer: Jaisal	M	15	Christian	OBC	Government	Rent/ Single-Room
The Homebody: Bindya	F	13	Hindu	OBC	Government	N/A/ Multi-Room

Table 14: The roster of adolescents from the Gachibowli site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study (Source: author 2021); SC is Schedule Caste, ST is Schedule Tribe, OBC is Other Backward Caste.

Nivant's, Aadita's, and Loknath's vignettes are helpful to understand the range of topics and influences that each adolescent navigates through their environmental experience. They also reinforce the qualitative nature of this study in documenting a collection of individual

experiences. Yet, their perspectives only represent three voices in a large community with hundreds of adolescents.

I held five additional in-depth interviews that included the full spectrum of mapping and photovoice. In this section, I summarize the data from working with these eight adolescents and identify "public spaces in practice" specific to Gachibowli Village. The table below shows the roster of adolescents from the Gachibowli site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study. At the end of the chapter, I compare the summaries across sites according to eight themes and then develop questions about adolescent's spatial environments that are answered in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

The Additional In-Depth Interviews

These additional interviews give insight into the range of experiences of adolescents who have different home, school, and cultural environments within the narrow context of Gachibowli Village. Rakhi (The Treehugger) lived on the same lane as Aadita but in a much smaller and more common house type. It was a one-level rental with two rooms oriented along the street. The main door opened directly to the street as there was not a courtyard or patio for transition. Rakhi said there was an open lot across the street that she used to play in, but it had been developed into more housing. The women often sat on stools just outside of their houses and talked with each other while preparing vegetables. The homes appeared smashed together in their zero-lot line form—like charms on a colorful craft necklace. Every time I visited, kids and adults were in the street talking and playing. It appeared that the street was an extension of the small housing units. There was no open space for the kids to play – so the street became their public play space.

Rakhi attended the local government school, ZPHS, like many of the interview participants. While she wasn't a local, she had lived in the area for ten years. Her family moved from Shamshadab, which is about 25 km to the south, because her village was dispossessed to make space for an apartment complex near the new Hyderabad International Airport. They leveraged their family connections in Gachibowli Village hoping for a more permanent housing solution. She had fond memories of places to play, relaxed neighbors, and big houses in her old village.



Figure 147: The homes are smashed together in a zero-lot line form like charms on a colorful craft necklace (Source: Rakhi 2019).

In a typical day, she woke up early to complete her domestic chores and then went to school from 8:45 am to 5:30 pm. She liked the school grounds because there are trees. After school, she does homework and then watches TV. Rakhi said she didn't play outside because, "There is no place to play here, and even if we play people in this area people get irritated and they don't allow us to play." Sometimes they sat inside of the house because, "even if we want to sit and talk outside, people here won't like it and scold us." Her sentiments were at odds with my observations but could be explained by an age factor; young children (generally under 12) were socially permitted to play in the street, but girl teenagers were not.

However, sometimes on weekends she went to the small temple up the street because it was so close to her house. In a later interview she added, "Its peaceful over there. That is the only place where we can find to play." She noted in the mapping exercise that a lot of teenage boys played by the big temple, so she didn't feel comfortable playing there.



Figure 148: She likes the school grounds because there are trees (Source: Rakhi 2019).



Figure 149: A lot of teenage boys play by the big temple but because they are mostly boys she doesn't play there (Source: Rakhi 2019).

Rakhi mentioned that the only place she could access trees is a nearby parking area, but her parents would not permit her to go. To make the community better she wanted to plant more trees and make the area safer. She explained her ideas:

> *Andariki manchiga undelaga… first of all mokkalu pettisthaanu… tharvaatha andariki safety ga undelaga kattukomani chepputhanu… Anadriki touch ave la unte baagodhu kadha, andulu illu illuki konchem gap undelaga chusthaanu,buildings kakkunda mamulga illulu undelaga… Buildings ekkuva pettukunte ave kanipisthunaayiga,andukani….*
>
> All the houses here in this area are congested and attached to each other…, I want to change that I want them to build their houses with minimum gaps and I want everyone to have their own individual house rather than huge buildings…. I am just able to see huge buildings here rather I would prefer some trees…

Rakhi liked to play near the private apartment complex, Ramki Towers, where there were many trees and open spaces (See Figure 144 for a picture of the natural play area). She described: "అక్కడ ఒక భూమి మరియు ings పు ఉంది మరియు అది చెట్లతో కప్పబడి ఉంటుంది (there is a ground and swings and [it is] covered with trees.)" She added that she used to be allowed to play there but a new watchman recently stopped her and her friends. She was very frustrated by this change to her spatial range as she explains:

> ఇక్కడ రోడ్లు చక్కగా లేవు మరియు మాకు చెట్లు కూడా లేవు! ఇక్కడి ప్రజలు మమ్మల్ని ఆడటానికి అనుమతించరు, ఇది ప్రధాన విషయం. మేము బయట నిలబడినా, వారు చిరాకుపడి మమ్మల్ని అరుస్తారు. వారు మమ్మల్ని ఇక్కడ ఎక్కడైనా ఆడటానికి అనుమతించరు…
>
> The roads are not neat [here], and we don't even have trees! People here don't allow us to play, which is the main point. Even if [my friends and I] stand outside, [the neighbors] get irritated and scream at us. They don't let us play anywhere here…

Her frustrations with Rajeev Nagar seemed to revolve around the lack of trees, her increasingly limited spatial range, and friction with the neighbors. When discussing improvements, she didn't mention common solutions geared toward safety as did the other participants. Instead, she wanted to add a park where she "would plant many trees. I would put a gathering space so that important matters can be discussed there…" She also added that she would help the area by building houses for people because the people around her rent their houses. Her feelings about safety in Rajeev Nagar were complicated; if she was in trouble, she

thought that some people would help, and others wouldn't. Her neighbors' attitude was one of the main reasons that she didn't put herself at risk by going out late at night. She explained:

> కొన్ని సహాయం, అయితే కొద్దిమంది చేయరు. కొన్ని, 'వారు ఎందుకు సహాయం చేయాలి?' లాంటివి, మరికొందరు సహాయం చేయడానికి ముందుకు వస్తారు. ఇక్కడి ప్రజలు తమ గురించి పట్టించుకుంటారు, ఇతరులకు ఏమి జరుగుతుందో వారు పట్టించుకోరు.
>
> Few help, whereas few won't. Few are like, 'why should they help?' and the other few come forward to help. People here care about themselves, they don't care about what is happening to others.

In the second interview she added that she was also frustrated because she used to be able to go out until 8:00 pm but because "girl parents are strict and conservative" they want her back in the house at 6:00 pm. Since she didn't get home from school until 5:30 pm she believed this wasn't fair and she wanted her freedom back. She thought she would have more freedom as she got older, but she feels like she has less freedom when it comes to her spatial range and her schedule.

Vo Poolla (The Chaatwallah) did not live in Rajeev Nagar but rather in an adjacent *basti*. He used many of Rajeev Nagar's environmental resources including the government school, ZPHS. While *bastis* are part of the daily life of the city, often their temporary and informal qualities make including the voice of adolescents who live there difficult. When I first met Vo Poolla, he said that he lived in an elite gated community called Gachibowli Jayabheri Enclave and it was not until I walked home with him that I saw he actually lived in tarpaulin structure along with several other families in a vacant lot on a dead-end street across from Jayabherie Enclave. Their family lived in Dharga near Toli Chowki three years ago before moving to Gachibowli for work. Vo Poolla's dad was a day laborer working construction on the new development and his mother and sisters made dosa batter to sell to the nearby street vendors. They also had a chaat stand, which Vo Poolla and his younger sister ran on the main road. Of the four times I visited their family, Vo Poolla worked at the chaat stand twice, his father was never home, and his mother and sisters were always hard at work milling grain. We took the first interview at his house and the second interview at the chaat stand as he couldn't step away for long.

Each day he walked about ½ a km to school starting at 8:30 am and ending at 4:45 pm. He came home, read, and then went to his parent's chaat stand for a snack. At school he only

had one or two sports periods a month, so he mostly got his exercise from playing games like out-out, kabaddi, kho-kho, and racing games on the dead-end street next to their house. He had 10 friends. Some went to private schools but most of them didn't study. However, his mother interrupted and said that most of his nearby friends went to a private school in Kondapur.

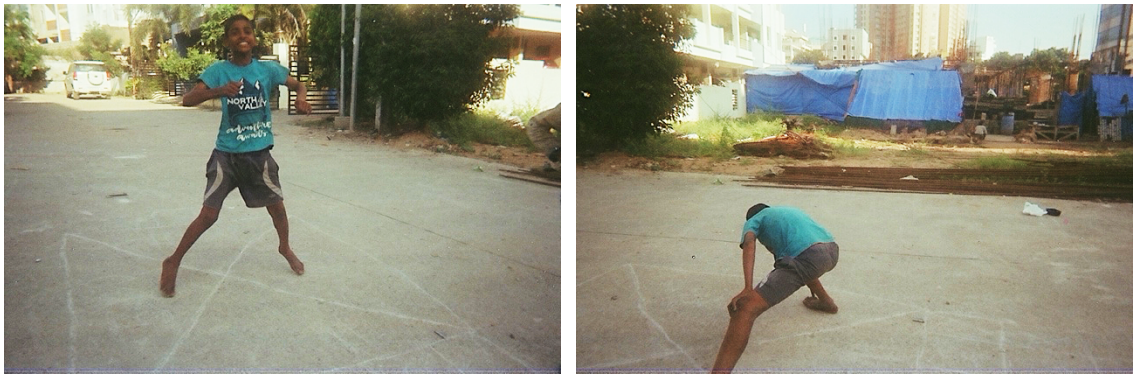


Figure 150: He mostly got his exercise from playing games like out-out, kabaddi, kho-kho, and racing games on the dead-end street next to their house (Source: Vo Poolla 2019).

Vo Poolla said he didn't have any parks nearby but, in addition to the ground at school, there was another ground nearby in another neighborhood about 1 km away. He felt very lucky because in his old village, he didn't have a ground or many friends. I had noticed a lush open field surrounded by some trees tucked behind the apartment community and asked him why he didn't play there. At first, he said that he feared snakes but later revealed that "the entire gully shits there." No one in his settlement had access to latrines including his family so everyone went to the field to defecate. Living in the community near the fields and construction debris made Vo Poolla scared. He said that murders kept happening and added that the area was not safe for girls "because kidnappings take place here." (ANI 2018, Deccan Chronicle 2016, Kumar Pandey 2016, Staff Reporter 2018).

Like Vo Poolla, Kamalaj (The Dropout) did not live in Rajeev Nagar. However, he had moved only a few months prior from Chhota Anjaiah Nagar (the other half of Gachibowli Village, see Figure 126) and his dad still ran a shop there, where he sometimes plays. His mother said that someone forced them to leave Chhota Anjaiah Nagar because of a land dispute.

Kamalaj's perspective is especially helpful as a Muslim boy considering that Muslim adolescents make up the largest religious minority group in Gachibowli Village. I had a difficult time recruiting Muslim participants despite the opportunities that two Muslim Research Assistants afforded. While the family identified themselves to me as Muslim, they have an

unusual history that has possibly contributed to their challenging housing situation and Kamalaj's feelings of social rejection.

His mother said she was in a love marriage long before the time that love marriages were acceptable. Her father was one of the original landowners in the old Gachibowli Village back when it was farming community. Although she was Hindu, she fell in love with a Muslim man, Kamalaj's father. Her family disowned her and refused to give her a dowry, which set her new family back financially and they have been ostracized from both Hindu and Muslim communities. The women in the house wore *saaris* (typical Hindu attire) and not abayas or burkas but Kamalaj always wore his *topi* (Muslim skullcap). Because of the skin exposure, I noticed too that his mother was severely burned across her face, neck, and upper body. She didn't talk about this, nor did we ask but she never stepped out to the street as her daughters did to greet us and see us off. The family lived on a "Muslim Street" as they described it and during a particularly intense time of clashes between Hindus and Muslims in Hyderabad, I observed Muslim (white with the green) flags along this lane.

I was also familiar with the area that Kamalaj moved to because the year prior, I rented an AirBnB just a few blocks away. I left early because it proved to be a rough neighborhood despite its proximity to a new shopping complex and the Marriot Executive Suites off the Gachibowli-Miapur Road. Kamalaj's family rented a medium-sized, multi-room house. It was zero-lot line with an enclosure wall and series of very small courtyards just off the dirt road. At our first meeting, Kamalaj's mother and sister were generous. They sat on some empty buckets leaving the chairs for our research team and gave us water and food. Kamalaj was initially interested but his interest seemed to wane as we chatted with his family about the formalities.

On a typical day, Kamalaj woke up and played in front of his house. Then he went to the Masjid for Namaz (prayers) with his father and on the way home they got supplies. He spent most of his time at home watching TV. There was not a ground or park in Anjaiah Nagar but there were two near his old community. He met three friends that lived on his road and sometimes they would play gully cricket in the street or just hang out and chat in front of the Masjid. On Saturday there was a temporary market that he liked to roam around in. There was a computer shop near his house, but he didn't go to it. He was not on social media and never mentioned playing on the cell phone.



Figure 151: It was zero-lot line with an enclosure wall and a series of very small courtyards just off of the dirt road.

At our third meeting, his mother was worried about Kamalaj because he had fallen in with some "bad kids." He was staying out for days at a time. They had recently caught him stealing Rs. 3,000 (about $40 USD) from his father and stealing from the shop. She said the behavior was not like her son before they moved. Kamalaj had also dropped out of school, and she pleaded with me to help get him into a boarding school (hostel). She said he dropped out because he isn't friends with the school kids anymore and his new friends that live nearby do not go to school. Actually, even Kamalaj said he knew that he was headed in a bad direction, and he really wanted to get out of Anjaiah Nagar and change his environment. He wanted to go to a

hostel. He added that there were dangerous crimes committed in the area and he felt unsafe. He told me how scared he was when he heard about a recent murder in which the body was found just two lanes away. Even other kids from the other neighborhoods also mentioned this murder and referred to this area as incredibly dangerous.



Figure 152: They would play gully cricket in the street or just hang out and chat in front of the Masjid (Source: Kamalaj 2019).

Unlike Kamalaj and Vo Poolla, Jailsal (The Roamer) lived in the heart of Rajeev Nagar. His perspective is helpful because he was one of the few Christians living in the community. He stayed home alone most afternoons and looked after his younger brother while his parents were at work. The four of them lived in a single room that was about 12 m^2. They shared a toilet/washroom with a few other single-room apartments on the ground floor of a midrise building. It looked to me like the leaning tower of Pisa because it was just one unit wide and four precariously stacked levels high. The rectangular room had a counter along one wall with a small window, a sink, and a single burner for cooking. There was a single-wide cot on the other wall. In between there was a small stand with a TV on it and a plastic stool. We took his interview in his home while the whole family stayed outside on the step. About ¾ the way through the first

interview, his mother asked us to 'hurry it up' because she needed to prepare dinner and due to the space limitations, she couldn't fit into the kitchen with two other adults there too.



Figure 153: In between there was a small stand with a TV on it and a plastic stool (Source: Jaisal 2019).

Because of his home's central location, I often saw Jaisal in passing and each time he was seated in the hallway outside of his apartment working on a bicycle. He used his bicycle to go to other communities that had a ground or to the botanical gardens. He has the normal school routine, but his schedule is different after school. He has a large friend group and uses his bike to meet them at various places such as the Ratnadeep grocery story, the mall, and Shilparamam (a nature-amusement park) without adult supervision. He is comfortable at all of these places because they are crowded. He explains, "When there is no one I feel scared and when there are people, I feel safe." But he feels that at night, the botanical garden is the most unsafe. He coordinates with his friends through the cell phone and has social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, and Tiktok. He likes to meet his friends at the computer shop in Indra Nagar about 1 km away. When his bike is broken or he is caring for his brother, he hangs out at the large temple grounds. I found this especially interesting since he was not a Hindu.

Finally, Bindiya (The Homebody) shared her perspective as an adolescent girl that didn't hang out in her community but rather stayed at home or went to another community. Bindiya's house was made of solid materials and located on the main street in Rajeev Nagar—just across from the shops and 100m down the lane from the large temple. It had a small courtyard protected from the street by a solid metal panel gate. When visiting Rajeev Nagar, I often noticed women of all ages siting on the shop steps watching the street activity. It was a wide street, nearly 20m, and it terminated in a five-way intersection. This part of the community was changing rapidly, and there was stark juxtaposition as some of the older buildings were next to the newer ones. The street was made of packed dirt, and when it rained, it flooded due to draining difficulties.



Figure 154: It had a small courtyard that was protected from the street by a solid metal panel gate (Source: Bindiya 2019).

Bindiya also went to the local government high school, which was only about 200 m from her house. Interestingly, she noted girls could make friends in Rajeev Nagar through school or meeting the other girls near the shops but boys "need to make friends near the roadside and with the groups."

She had lived in Rajeev Nagar for three years. She used to live across the highway in Chhota Anjaiah Nagar (like Kamalaj) and liked it better there because it was "comfortable and free." In the mapping exercise she revealed that her family had to move from there because a contractor redeveloped their house into a more expensive multi-rise building. She remembered that there was space to play outside, and she played more when she lived there. She didn't like that there was no ground in Rajeev Nagar, that she didn't have any friends that lived near her, and that "the uncles fight." In the mapping exercise she added that there was no nature, and it was very plain.

Her school routine was similar to the other ZPHS students. After school she returned home and studied. She played games like Current Shock (board game) during the breaks at school. She mostly studied at home (however, her mother corrected her and said she mostly watched TV). Bindiya relented saying, "when I am free, and I have no work, I watch TV and Telugu movies."

Sometimes, on the weekend, she played games, like Out-Out, with a group of five friends. None of whom lived in Rajeev Nagar, but rather in Siddiqinagar, Anjaiah Nagar, and Masjidbanda. Sometimes she went to their houses and other times they came to her house. However, she added later in the interview that her and her friends didn't "play" anymore but rather they sat around and talked. Sometimes they just went strolling around their neighborhood. In Chhota Anjaiah Nagar, there was a nearby park that she strolled with her friends. After moving to Rajeev Nagar, she only walked to the shops when her mother asked her to fetch something. She didn't like Rajeev Nagar and said that she mostly hung out with her friends elsewhere. Sometimes she traveled 10 km by city bus with her friends to Golconda Fort where they roamed around and talked. One time she went to the mall with just her friends via an autorickshaw.

She didn't have a social media account, but she spent a lot of time playing Temple Run and Candy Crush on her cell phone. She spent three to four hours a day on her cell phone.

She thought Rajeev Nagar was safe for boys and girls and that she didn't get scared. However, she also didn't go out often and never at night. According to her mom, she didn't have any rules because "she doesn't go out at all" but in the second interview Bindiya said her mother didn't let her go out at night. She said that she liked spending time at home. "I feel safe when a lot of people are around me."

"Public Space" in Practice

From the eight intensive interviews, I identified four primary hangout locations that were "public spaces" in practice to be the large temple ground, the street of shops, the residential street, and the community entrance at the Gachibowli-Miapur Road. Most of these spaces are categories of types of space rather than a singular location. I used the results of the mapping exercises to identify the most active singular space within each type for spatial analysis. The results of the spatial analysis are reported in Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play.

Nanakramguda

Nanakramguda is a historic community tracing its origins back over 400 years. Most of the families were Lodha farmers awarded land by the Nizam. However, during the developmentalist period, the government leased several plots to Schedule Caste families on a lease-to-own program. But, before they completed their payments, the government called in the land and allocated it to the Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation for development. The Lodha families who held *patta* benefited from the rapid urbanization and increase in their property value by transitioning from agriculture to housing workers. However, the Schedule Caste and other minorities filed a lawsuit against the government for stripping their means of livelihood and not providing a pathway for sustenance. This case is still in the court system. Over the past two decades, the minority community has been further displaced and the heritage village is now over 90% composed of Lodha residents who hold political positions of power for distributing resources.

Site Analysis

Spatially, the new development wrapped and strangled Nanakramguda whereas it bifurcated and hid Gachibowli. The high-speed tollway (Outer Ring Road) terminated the east side of the community, glass high-rises surrounded the west and south sides, and a private nature preserve cum golf course cut off the north side. The construction industry so thoroughly saturated the community that goods and rentals were marketed toward construction workers. On the ground, the presence of construction workers and more specifically young males, dominated and altered pedestrian life. There were, thus, three urban layers concentrically organized in Nanakramguda—the interior was for construction workers, the middle layer was for

the heritage community, and the exterior was for the new middle-class Information Technology professionals.

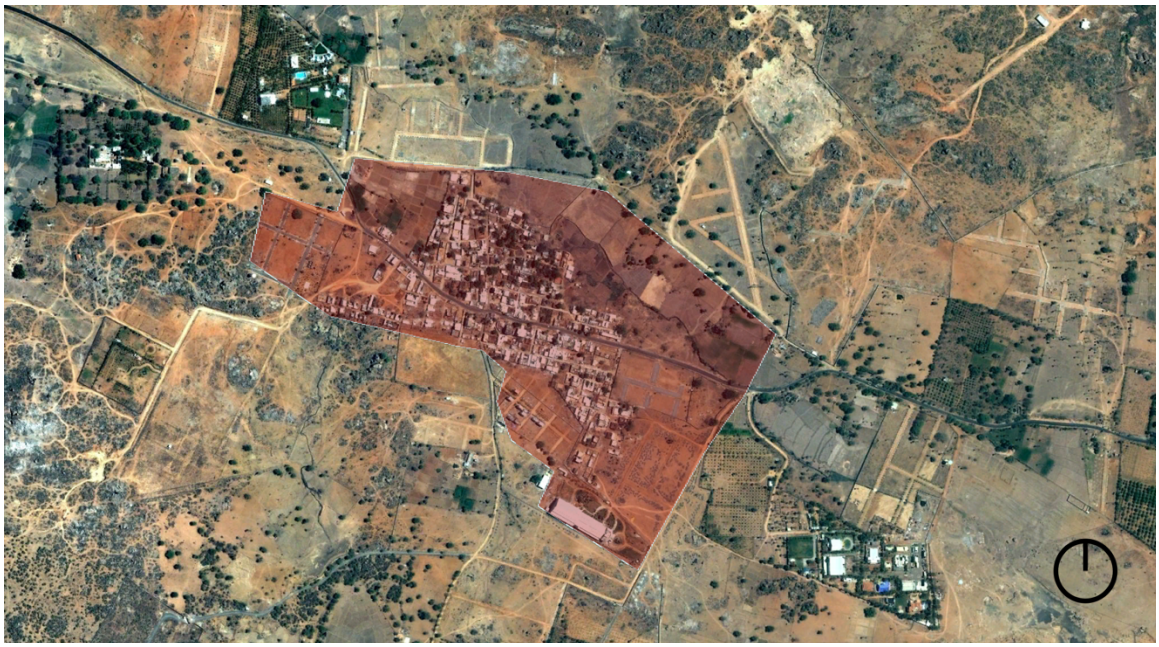


Figure 155: Nanakramguda is a historic community tracing its origins back over 400 years (Source: Google Earth, 2003 with author edits).

Nanakramguda has over 5,000 families living in an area of 104 acres (or 48 families per acre/223 people per acre). While this density at as first appears to be lower than many of the other sites in this study, the settlement of families on the ground is uneven, resulting in clusters of high and low density. The tension is between nestled low-rise buildings with small footprints and gated high-rise buildings with large footprints and larger private grounds.

The three concentric layers and the key destinations are centered around the two-lane, paved Nanakramguda Road that is 9m wide. Branching off are side residential streets, some concrete, and others dirt, ranging in width between 4m and 6m. The community has a third layer of residential pedestrian pathways that are between .5m and 1m wide. These were popular with adolescents and children as the defined sides offered privacy and the narrow width offered protection from vehicles. All roads terminated on the fringe of the community into a highway or the wall of a gated enclave of offices or housing.

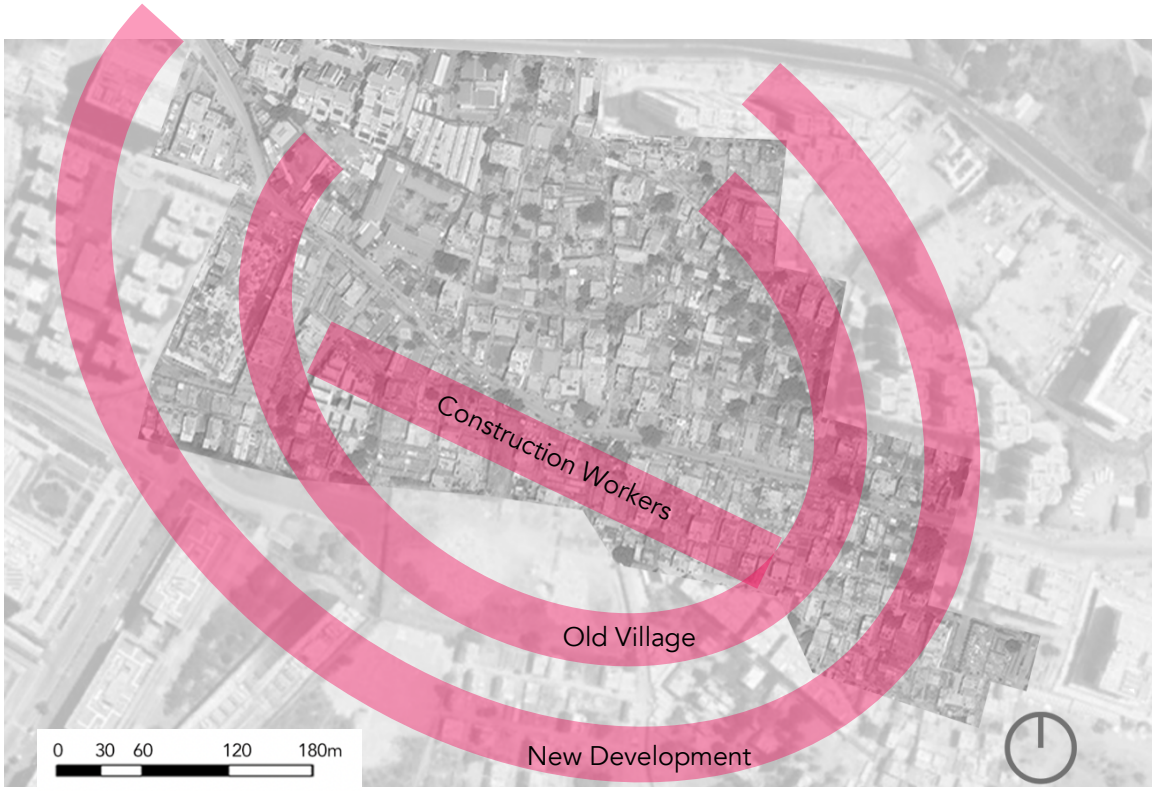


Figure 156: There were three urban layers concentrically organized in Nanakramguda—the interior was for construction workers, the middle was for the heritage community, and the exterior for the new middle-class Information Technology professionals (Source: Author 2021).

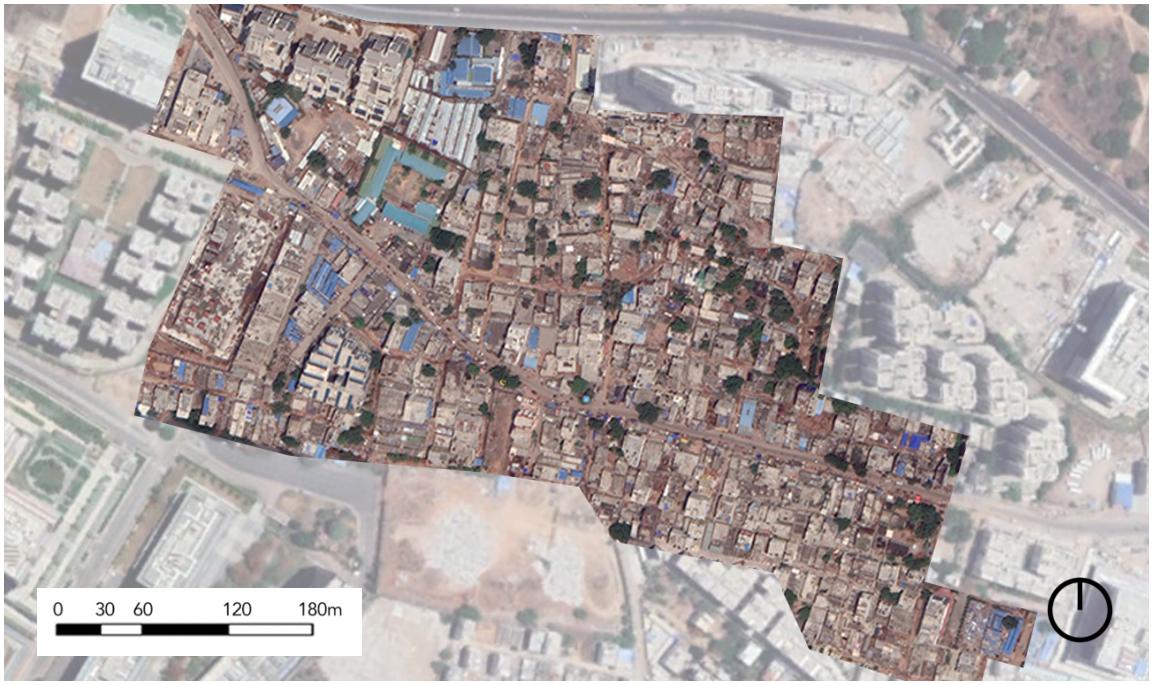


Figure 157: Nanakramguda has over 5,000 families living in an area of 104 acres (or 48 families per acre/223 people per acre) (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits 2021).

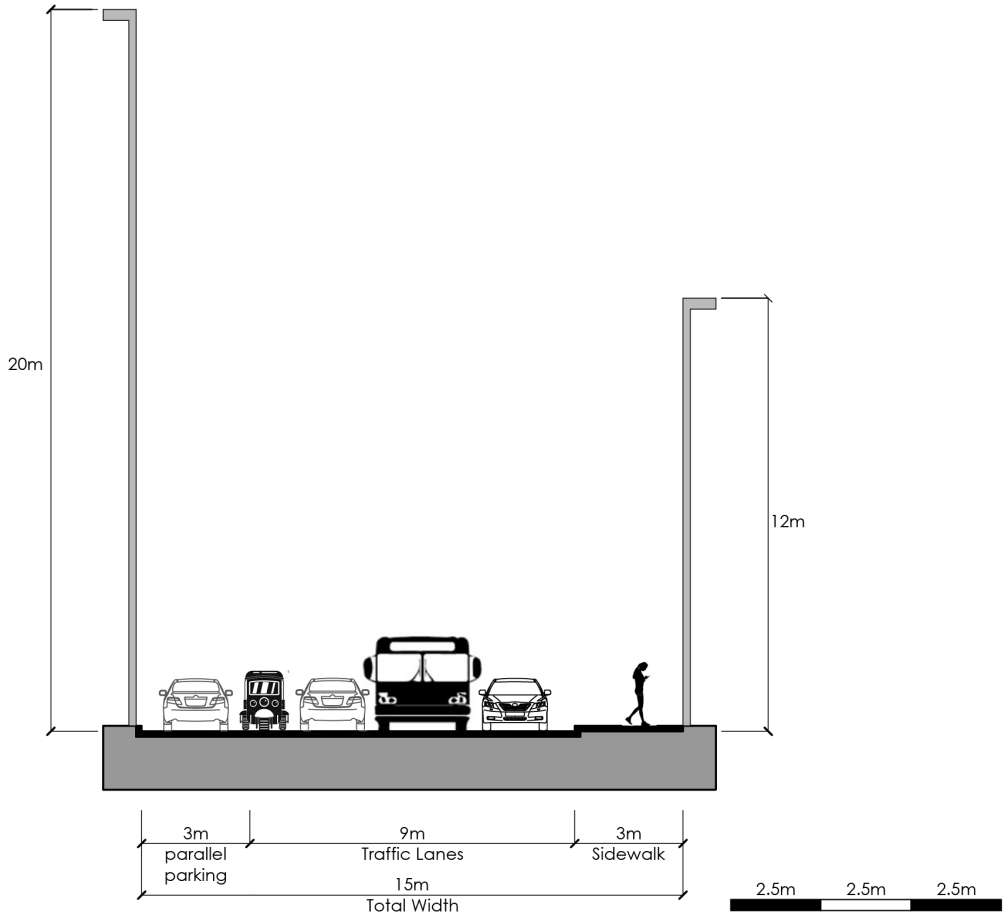


Figure 158: Nanakramguda Road is 9m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

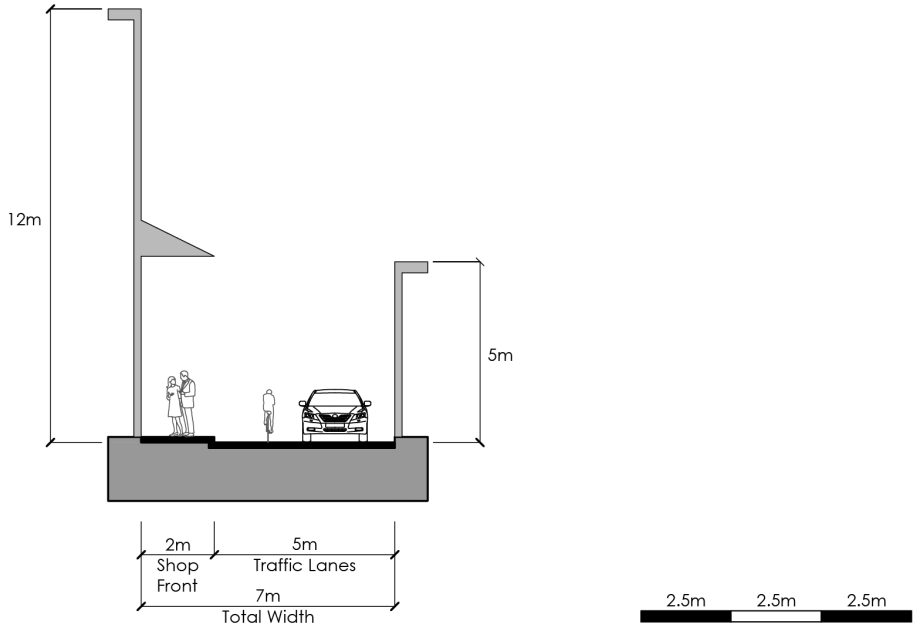


Figure 159: The residential streets range in width from 4-6m (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

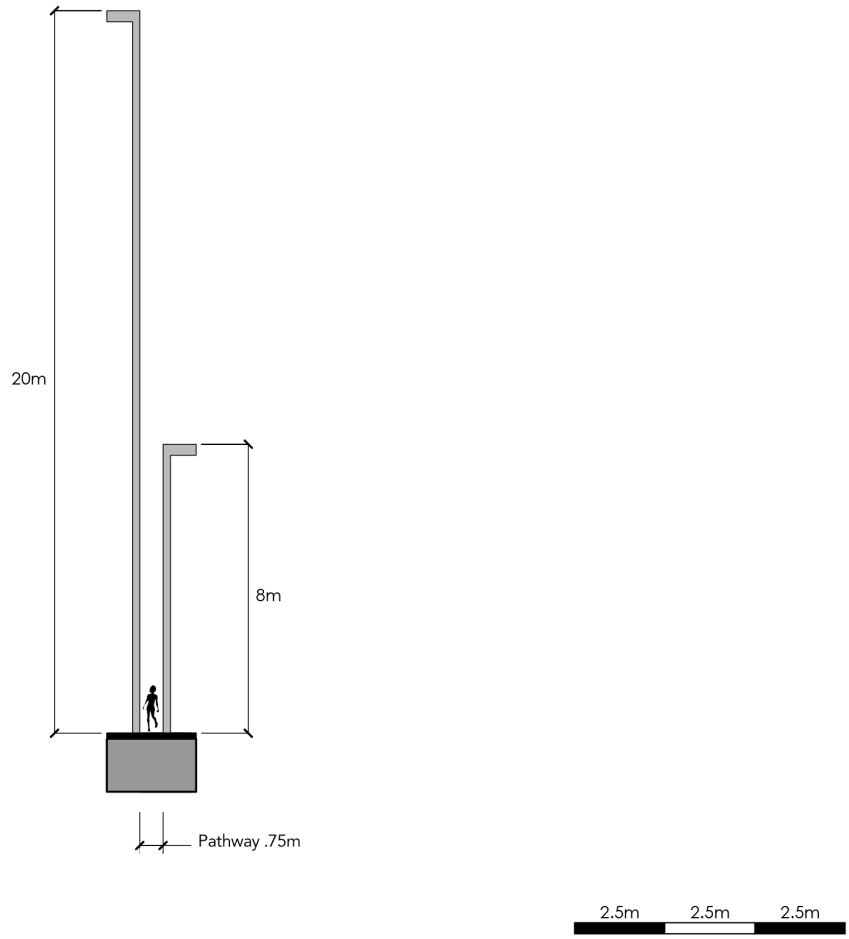


Figure 160: The residential pedestrian pathways are between .5m and 1m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits).

The figure ground diagram clearly shows the encroachment of large Information Technology facilities and new high-rise apartments surrounding the small building footprints of the original village. The community block structure is inconsistent. On the east side of the community rectangular blocks are oriented east-west while on the north side of the community they are oriented north-south. As the heritage village engages with the new development the block sizes dramatically increase and, in a post-modern manner, each block appears to be uniquely oriented to itself.

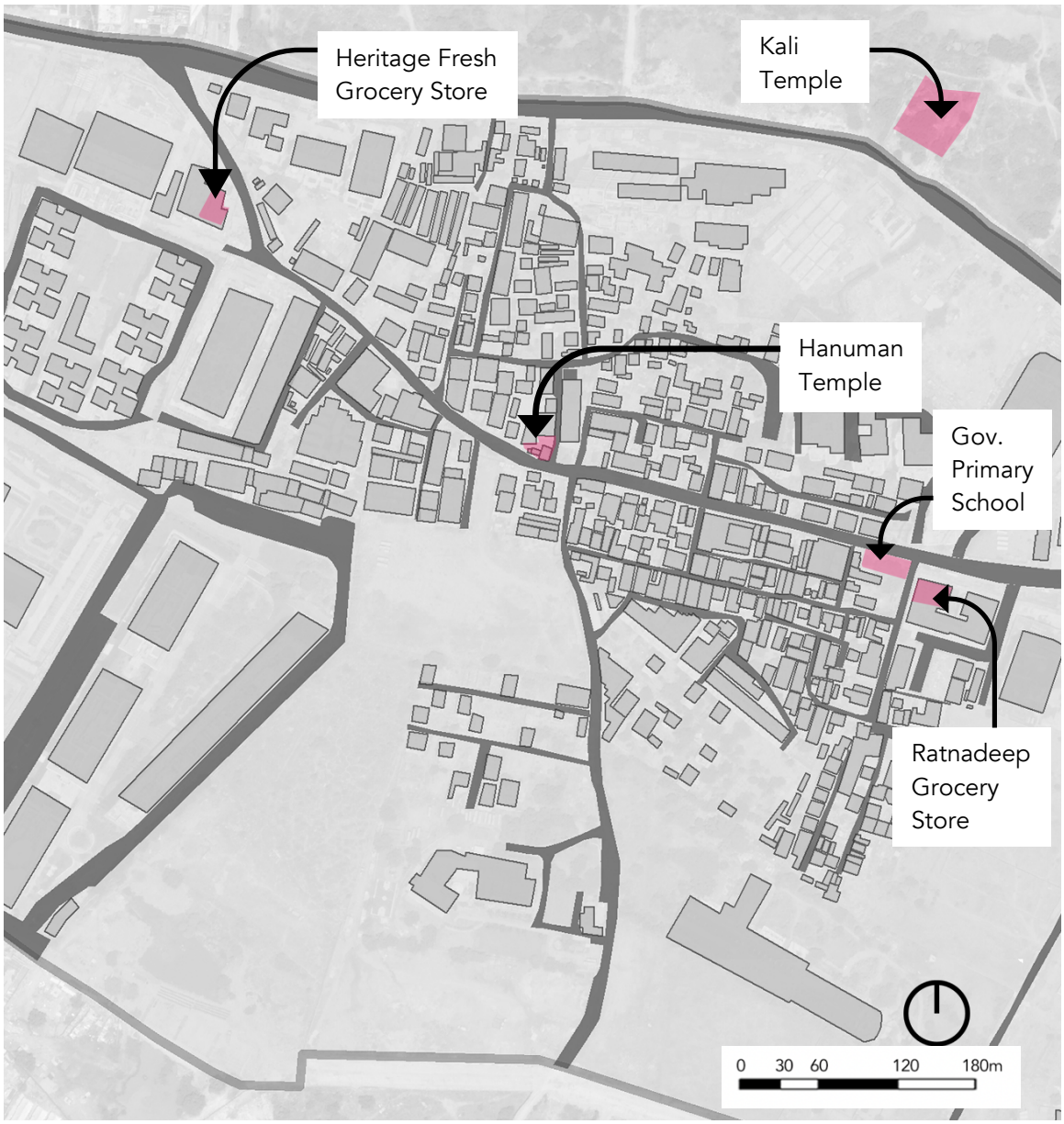


Figure 161: The three concentric layers and the key destinations are centered around the two-lane, paved Nanakramguda Road that is 9m wide (Source: Shrestha with gradphic edits by author 2021).



Figure 162: The figure ground diagram clearly shows the encroachment of large Information Technology facilities surrounding the small building footprints of the original village (Source: Shrestha 2020).

Community Origins

Nanakramguda Village is an example of encroachment along the spectrum of dispossession. While the village remains unmoved, it is only linked by the memory of surviving residents to the old agricultural village dating back some 400 years. Walking down the main street, I could see the effects of market forces and a shifting demographic on the historic village architecture. What were once one-floor, low-slung, clay tile roofed farmhouses were now concrete, mid-rise, paying guest towers with parapet roofs for drying laundry. The residents enclosed the old houses and their out-buildings for cooking, bathing, and storage with concrete wall—effectively creating semi-private courtyards while the new towers have space-efficient exterior stairways pouring directly out to the street and limited public domain. The architectural

juxtaposition was accented with walled-off vacant lots, *tiffin* vendors (afternoon snack), and street-level shops.

As told in separate interviews with Ritvik and Balraj, the former and current heads of the village respectively, the village has been predominantly comprised of Lodha-caste people who migrated from Aurangabad to Hyderabad to be guards for the Nizam generations ago.[66] Under the *jaggir* system, the Nizam gave families land to cultivate.[67] As the state transitioned to Independence, the area was then managed by a *Waqf Board* with little disturbance to day-to-day life.[68] Some farmers had *loni patta* (assigned lands) but most did not have any formal documentation "as was the way" (Singh, R. 2019; Singh, J. 2019).

In the early 1990s, Vijay Nirmala started shooting films in the area and shortly after, Producer Ramanaidu purchased 40 acres and built the Ramanaidus Film Studio on lands near the village. Ritvik and Balraj viewed this favorably because they knew of farmers who were compensated well for the land; Balraj noted specifically, "40% over market value." However, they contrasted the earlier land sales with the land grabs of the early 2000s, in which then Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu (Chief Minister Naidu) gave notice to the occupants that several hundred acres of land in Nanakramguda would be taken by the government without compensation, even for the few farmers with *patta* (title). With bitterness, Ritvik noted that only the film studios were compensated during the land grab, he believes, because "[they] belong to the Telugu Dessam Party and had family connections to congress."[69]

Patta-holding members of the community took their case to the supreme court. At the time of this fieldwork, nearly 20 years later, most of the land has been grabbed by the Telangana

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[66] The Nizam refers to specific monarchal rulers from 18th through 20th century in Hyderabad State.

[67] Landlords (jagirdari) extracted surplus value from a predominantly agrarian peasantry class in a way that maintained their class status and contributed to the accumulation of wealth by a dominant class.

[68] A Waqf Board or Council is an Indian statutory body that manages philanthropic donations for religious purposes as recognized by Islamic Law. In this case, the Waqf Board managed land in the area that residents privately donated to support poor communities for their livelihood.

[69] The Telugu Dessam Party is a Nationalist Party whose platform has largely focused on bolstering the power of the Telugu People. It was the party of Chief Minister Naidu.

State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation as part of the Nanakramguda Information Technology Park (a Special Economic Zone) (TSIIC 2020). Contractors developed Some of the land for multi-national corporations and the rest lies vacant but enclosed (inaccessible to farm). No official court settlement has passed. Despite the intense commercial and infrastructure development in the neighboring Special Economic Zone, the remaining village still lacks basic public infrastructure such as a primary health center, library, community hall, ground, or even drainage infrastructure. When asked about the contrast between the neighboring Special Economic Zones and the village's lack of infrastructure, the local Corporator, Avula Satyanarayana, blamed an extreme lack of municipal funds to the extent that he was not even able to replace the few damaged streetlights that line the main road (Kumar 2013). In interviews, the villagers consistently brought up these disparities as a source of suffering.

Against the memory of a childhood playing cricket in the fields, climbing boulders, and singing in the streets, the elders voiced concerns that today their children do not have the same opportunities. Newly constructed highways and Special Economic Zone compound walls enclosed the village by leaving it to grow only by increasing density and building up. For generations, villagers proudly farmed for a living but now they rely on service jobs such as home guards or running *tiffin* centers and renting out rooms to the masses of migrant construction workers. Although a small community, there have not been any pathway programs, job-trainings, or employment set asides for the villagers to ease the transition from agriculture to service labor. Ritvik and Balraj shared similar figures for the population of residents. Of the local residents they believe about 70% are Lodha Caste with Scheduled Caste and Muslims being the next two largest groups and the remaining are a mix of Reddy Caste and Other Backward Classes.[70] They agree that few have been able to leave and buy farmland farther out of the city so most of the 4,000 original villagers stayed. A steady influx of over 8,000 migrant workers has completely

[70] Since the National census only occurs once a decade with the last being in 2011 and this area has undergone significant change, they village leader's perspectives are given more weight to understand the village demographics. Most groups classified today as "Schedule Castes" come from groups that have been historically considered as outside of the Varna system (Hindu religion) and were formerly called "untouchables." Similarly, "Scheduled Tribes" are groups of indigenous peoples outside of the Varna system and have been institutionally marginalized. "Other Backward Classes" is a broader term used to classify groups which are educationally or socially disadvantaged (including Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes among other groups).

changed the character of the community. The migrant workers are typically young men without their families from the northern and eastern Indian states living in rented dormitory rooms.

The increase in migrant construction workers combined with the decrease in parents working in the home, has raised real concerns about child safety, specifically for teenage girls. The streets are no longer safe places to play as they have been commandeered by migrant workers walking to and from the nearby jobsites. Ritvik and Balraj expressed concern that their village had no place for children to play. During their term as political leaders they have both repeatedly lobbied the local government but were told each time that according to the city plans Nanakramguda had reasonable access to a ground in Kothaguda. However, they disagree in practice as the Kothaguda Ground is located 1.5 miles from Nanakramguda on the far side of the Outer Ring Road (a new 6-lane raised highway) with no pedestrian pathways. It is not just material concerns, though, as Balraj said, "those people [referring to the residents of Kothaguda] do not like outsiders coming in and cause [us] problems." Neither knew of any children or families in Nanakramguda who considered the Kothaguda ground a reasonable place for their children to play.

An Architectural Tour of Nanakramguda



Figure 163: The comnunity photographs are keyed to the figure ground map (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020).


A


A


A


B
SOHINI TECH PARK


C
NEW YORK JUICE
WAFL cafe


D

E



F



G



H



I




J


K


L


M


M

N



O



P



Q



R




S
TIRUPATHI
CANDY STORE & GIFTS
KWALITY WALL'S
SRI BALAJI
GAMERS


T


U


V


W


W







Nanakramguda is the site the Sri Ranganathaswamy Temple dating back over 400 years to the Nizam dynasty. According to the village elders, the temple was surrounded by large trees and was where they remembered playing in their childhood (A). Today, the temple is practically inaccessible due to the heavy equipment operation, parking, and site construction from the construction of mega-projects—entire lifestyle office parks enclosing the temple (A). with Information Technology special economic zones encroach the west side of the community (B).

Local franchises and mid-rise housing support them (C). Male construction workers dominate the community core (D), especially during the daily evening market (E).

Nanakramguda Road has a lot of informal development with a heavy presence of hawkers, kiosks, and temporary stalls (F-H). Some of the villagers leveraged their land holdings to develop middle-class housing for their extended family (I). The Hanuman Temple is the core of the community, which is also the transportation hub (J). Many of the workers occupy the construction site while it is underdevelopment (K). There is one large tree in the community at the corner of a residential street and both children and adults said it was a gathering spot, signifying the importance of nature and shade to social activity (L). The houses show evidence of young couples (M). Some of the residential streets are concrete and some are still dirt (N). There are remnants from the not-so-distant past recalling the agricultural foundation of the community (O).

The kirana shops are a source of income in the residential areas but largely sell to construction workers (P). Many houses still have cows for milk at their house (Q). The interior residential streets are common play areas for children (R). The street stalls with an awning are popular gathering places (S). The entire community suffers from poor drainage which leave effluent on the street and in the houses during seasonal floods (T).

Larger office buildings and high-rise gated communities such as Golf View terminate the east end of the community (U). They are located on the roundabout for the Outer Ring Road (tollway), which is also a transportation hub and drop-off point (V). The southeast side of the community is where the minority communities such as Schedule Caste and Muslim families reside (W). The Nanakramguda Bypass highway bounds the north side of the community, and it is a popular route for construction workers coming to/from the site as well as for lorries (X). Most of the community deposited trash on the far side of the road but it became dangerous because the number of stray dogs (Y). Many of the adolescents talked about the natural area on the other side of the highway referring to the public easement cutting through the golf course to access the Kali Temple (Z).

The architectural tour of Nanakramguda provides a sense of the community environment and the range of spaces. It also identified the planned and formal public spaces and described their current conditions. However, an architectural analysis must be paired with the resident's experiences to understand how the spaces function in practice. To expand the environmental

understanding of Nanakramguda, I provided two vignettes from adolescents in the community. I summarized the results of working with eight participants at the end of this section.

The Vegetable Stand Worker: Preet

Preet was excited to share her thoughts and she was really bored at the vegetable stand. It seemed like she couldn't interact with the customers because she was a girl. I gathered this because her brother who was just a few years older was the one handling the customers and the cash. He would tell her to get this or that and she would go to the back room and measure things and hand them to him. However, she didn't seem to work too much. Her parents were there three of the four times that we stopped by and every time that we saw them in passing on the street.

The vegetable stand was along the main street at an intersection. On one side was some houses and a fish stall and on the far side was a chicken stall. This part of Nanakramguda had lots of food options. There was even a main chat stand across the street. There was some space where the street intersected that was open dirt. People would gather there and sometimes argue.

We were interviewing Preet the first time when a small fight broke out between her mother and a customer. Soniya gathered that it was about the price of the goods and getting a good deal. She seemed to think that it was less of a fight and more of a bargaining tactic but there was a lot of foul language exchanged and people were getting rowdy. It's important to note the demographics of Nanakramguda. This community is mostly migrant construction workers now. Meaning that the street traffic is almost all young men. This could also be why Preet was not allowed interaction with the customers – they were almost exclusively young men. Therefore, the market time was Sunday mornings or in the evenings after 6 pm. Before this time everything was quiet and then at 6 pm all of the sites stopped working and people flooded the streets. It would be like this until 9 pm or later as the sun stayed later – about until an hour after sunset. During this peak time the streets were so crowded that you could not pass in any vehicle. As a woman, I traveled this area many times – alone and with company. When I was alone, I was very uncomfortable to be out during this time. See note about observations.

We never went to Preet's house, but she said it was just a few units down from the shop. This meant that it was single-level and on a dirt road. The picture below is of the participant-

directed map for Nanakramguda. According to the mapping exercise, Preet has range of 280 m from her house (radius).

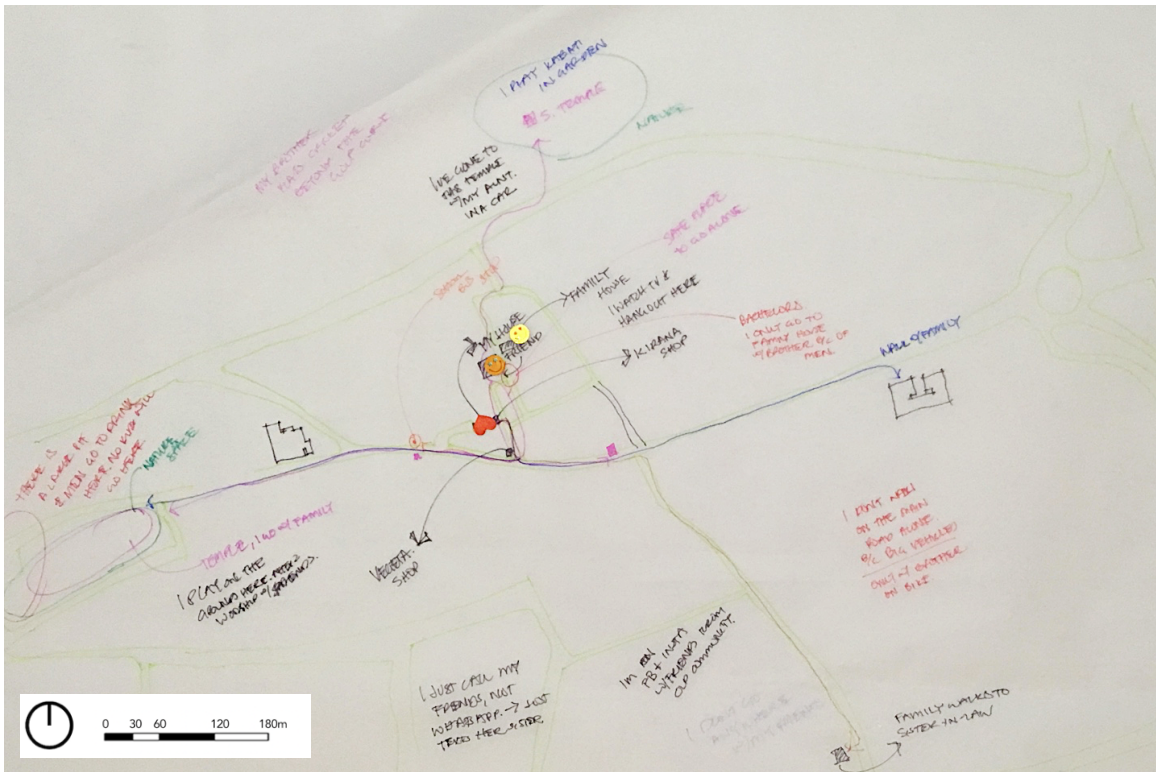


Figure 164: Participant-directed map of Nanakramguda (Source: Preet 2019).

She has been living in Nanakramguda for one year. Before she moved, she lived in Dhoolpet which is about 15 km or a 30-minute drive from Nanakramguda. Dhoolpet is a historic community in the old city of Hyderabad where people migrated from Uttar Pradesh during the Nizam rule. She explained that their family owns a house in Dhoolpet but they opened a shop in Nanakramguda and thus they have rented a house to live at because the daily commute to the old city was too exhausting. She remembers that a large ground in Dhoolpet where she used to play games and there was even a playground with a seesaw. She also has shifted her school.

She attends Cambridge High School. Her normal routine is to walk to the bus at 7:30 am and then she is back at 3:30 pm. It takes about 30 minutes to reach school from home. She has a ground at school where she plays outdoor games such as kabaddi, kho-kho, and lemon spoon. However, they don't have a fixed period for it, and they just have PE when they can. She likes indoor games more than outdoor games. After school she comes home and washes up, has

lunch, and then plays and studies. She only studies until 6:00 pm and then she sits with her mom and plays on her phone.

She has five friends in her group at school. Most of her school friends live far away in Kokapet and Indiranagar. She has never visited their homes and they have never been to her home. She said the main reason that she cannot make friends in Nanakramguda is that "children do not come out of their homes here because bachelors are out here." She is referring to the male migratory construction workers who live in the community near the "tall buildings." This is also why she isn't allowed outside. She was sad that she didn't have any girlfriends that are her age… mostly younger children and her brothers and one brother's spouse. During the mapping exercise, she revealed that she lives near Sunny's house, and she plays there in his courtyard. It's unclear if they are related.

On Sunday she just hangs out with her family. She visits the Hanuman Temple on Saturdays and the Bholenath Temple on Mondays with her mother.

There is no ground in Nanakramguda, so she plays in the terrace of the building. Due to vehicles, she is not allowed to play in the street. She said that there is a ground that is far away, and only adults play there and there is also a garden, but you must cross the street to get there. She has never been to either.

She has an older brother who is taking his exams, so he does not play with her and all the kids in her area are younger than her. They play indoor games such as kings and teacher teacher. Sometimes she plays outdoor games but only on the terrace. She goes out in the evening with her brother and her mother but never alone. She likes to read story and comic books.

She plays games on her dad's cell phone and listens to songs on YouTube. She is on social media through Facebook. Her friends are just her dad and her brother and his friends. Most of her school friends are not on Facebook they are on WhatsApp. She is on Instagram and has a TikTok account too. She makes videos with her brother. She doesn't have a computer and they just got computers in the school recently. She used to play video games by connecting to the TV, but she got bored of it and doesn't play anymore.

In comparison, she likes Dhoolpet better than Nanakramguda. She had more friends in her old community because most of the kids in Nanakramguda speak Telugu. She said that they also come from many different regions, so they have different customs. She said that it is very

"silent and numb" in Nanakramguda at night in comparison to Dhoolpet. She goes to sleep around 8:00 pm. They have a streetlight, but the kids don't play late. However, she thinks that Dhoolpet was safer.

She feels safe in Nanakramguda. Her only concerns are the vehicles.

The Sarpanch's Son: Maruti

Maruti was a happy and carefree kid. His family had a lot of power in the community, and you could tell that he was aware of the power dynamics because he would sort of brag about his "territory." He said he went to unfinished apartments to play hide and seek and was not scared about getting caught because his dad was so powerful. He also said he could go anywhere, and people knew not to mess with him.

However, both he and his father were concerned that there were not places in nature and fields for the kids to play in – there was no "grounds" that they could play games. Ranjith had grown up in the community and said the farm fields provided ample space for them to run and play. This was interesting because their house was next to a very large open lot that was surrounded by a metal, blue, 5-meter-high fence. The lot was a future site of an Information Technology company.

He had a very nice house, and his family owned the whole building. The building was 5 floors and faced the South. It was just across from the Hanuman Temple at the center of Nanakramguda. It had a masonry 2-meter wall around the outside and there were guards (old men) who sat in plastic chairs on the outside. There was an iron gate, but it was always open. Then the ground level was for cars. We saw a few cars and many scooters in the parking area. The floors above were for the family. The whole extended family lived in the house.

When we came for the first interview, Ranjith seemed to have forgotten or wanted us to go away. He was very happy to give his interview but not happy to have his kids interviewed. Many people didn't see the point. The sentiment is that they are kids, and they know nothing. After some explaining he agreed to let us meet with his son while he waited there. This put a time constraint on us because he is a busy man and didn't want to be held up for too long. However, I think he was also drunk. It was around Diwali, and everyone was home, and his eyes were bloodshot, and he was pretty rowdy. He didn't pay much attention except to correct Maruti occasionally but quickly lost interest and just sat in the chair.



Figure 165: There was an iron gate, but it was always open. Then the ground level was for cars (Source: Maruti 2019).

For the second interview, he didn't show up at all. This helped because it allowed us to go back over some of the original questions without the parental influence and confirm Maruti's response. The picture below is of the participant-directed map for Nanakramguda. According to the mapping exercise, Maruti has range of 350 m from his house (radius).

Maruti attends the Oasis School, which is about 6 km or 10 minutes from Nanakramguda. He travels there on the school bus, which picks him up outside of his house. At school, he plays football, basketball, kabaddi, volleyball, and other games. His school has a ground.

He leaves for school at 8:30 am and returns at 3:10 pm. He used to go to tuitions (a type of tutoring) but not anymore. He comes back home from playing at 6:00 pm and studies and plays on his phone. At first, he said that he doesn't play when he comes home because, "there is no place to play." Instead, he studies for a little while and then he plays games on a cell phone (father's, brother's, anyone's) such as Freefire or roams with his cousins. In a later interview he added that sometimes his cousins come over and they play in the small playground of an apartment building (a small one not the massive lifestyle communities). He explained how he accessed the apartments, "my father built that apartment, so they allow me. There is volleyball, tennis, slides, see-saw, and all. He told of an incident a few days back in which his friends got in

a fight with some of the kids who were living in the apartment and their uncle (general term for guardian) told Maruti and his friends to leave since they didn't live there. "Our father spoke to the builder, and they told that when we go to play [the other kids] won't be there." So, now he goes freely and when he sees the other kids on the playground, they leave so he has the whole area for him and his friends. He likes that area because of the trees. Often Maruti said that groups of other kids will start to throw rocks or try to bully him and his friends. But they fight back, and he knows they will win when his father is called.

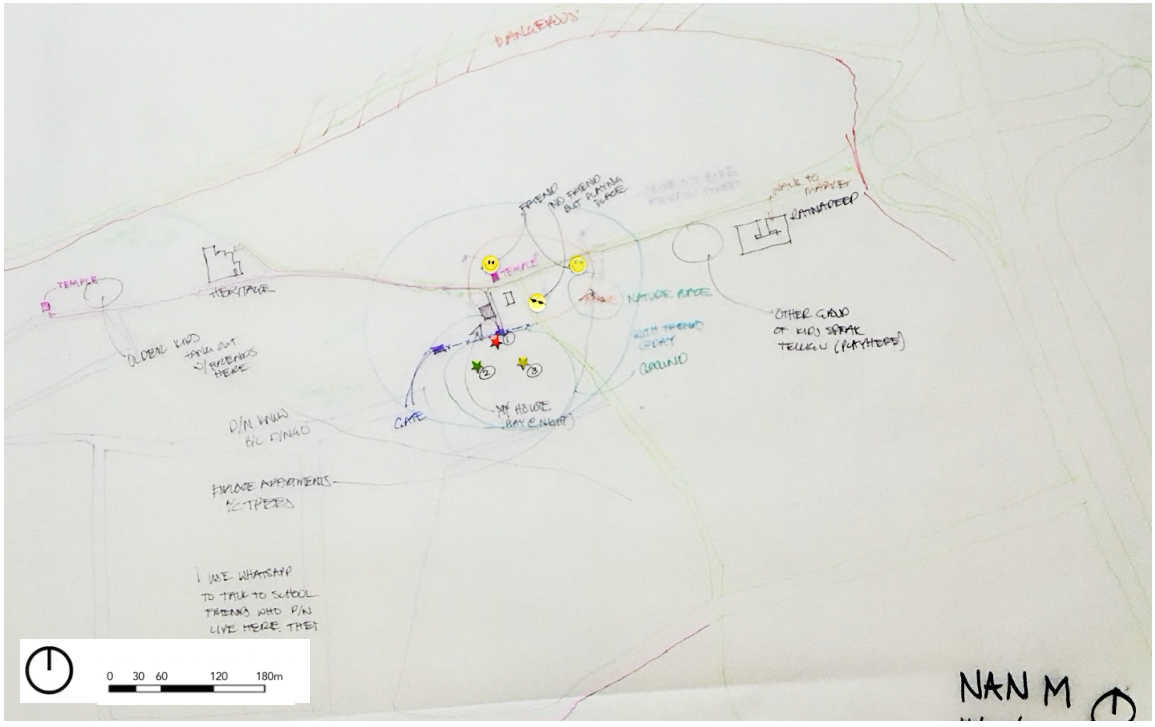


Figure 166: Participant-directed map of Nanakramguda (Source: Maruti 2019).

He likes outdoor games more than indoor games. He plays with his cousins on the road next to his house and sometimes they go to the shops. They only play a few games because the asphalt street hurts when you fall on it, and he said that neighbors will yell. He was upset that he can't play *gilli danda* (street cricket) in the streets anymore because of the neighbors that complain. In the mapping exercise, Maruti revealed that he used to hang out with the older kids near the historic temple but now it's full of construction, so he doesn't go often. Nanakramguda doesn't have a ground, but Maruti remembers when it used to have one where he would play cricket with his friends. He said that the lot has become a building. He explains: "every day after coming from school we used to go there to play."



Figure 167: He plays with his cousins on the road next to his house and sometimes they go to the shops (Source: Maruti 2019).

He cannot play outside on Sunday, though, because the street in front of his house becomes the main market and many people park their cars in any open space available. "It would be crowded." Instead, after he wakes up and eats breakfast, he plays on the cell phone for some time and then roams around or goes to his cousin's house.

Maruti feels like Nanakramguda is safe even at night. He generally likes Nanakramguda, especially that everyone knows him there. He doesn't like that the storm drains overflow. He would improve Nanakramguda by "building a ground with all the facilities and equipment." Interestingly, in the auto photography he took several pictures of what appears at first glance to be a ground with kids playing. But, during the mapping exercise Maruti explained that the area was a construction site, and they were not kids playing but construction workers squatting on the site. He said that he tried to play out there with his friends but was scolded by the workers and got scared.



Figure 168: in the auto photography he took several pictures of what appears at first glance to be a ground with kids playing (Source: Maruti 2019).



Figure 169: Maruti explained that the area was actually a construction site and they were not kids playing but construction workers squatting on the site (Source: Maruti 2019).

He knows how to use a computer and has access to his dad's and brother's laptop. He occasionally plays computer games. Maruti uses WhatsApp to talk with his friends from school because they are not allowed to visit him in Nanakramguda.

When asked about girls' spaces and boys' spaces he thinks that girls are boring and that they don't want to come out and play. He said that they are not allowed to go outside because the family doesn't allow them to play. Sometimes he plays with his older sister inside but that it all.

Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Nanakramguda

Name	Gender	Age	Religion[71]	Caste	School Type	House Type
The Vegetable Stand Worker: Preet	F	13	Hindu	OBC	Private	Rent/ Double-Room
The Sarpanch's Son: Maruti	M	13	Hindu	Lodha	Private	Own/ Mid-Rise
The Hiker: Ujhala	F	14	Hindu	Lodha	Private	N/A/ Double-Rooms
The Kirana Shop Kid: Sunny	M	13	Hindu	Lodga	Private	Own/ Multi-Room
The Bored Teen: Rajalakshmi	F	15	Hindu	SC	Private	Own/ Multi-Room
The Local: Adhira	F	12	Hindu	SC	Private	Own/ Multi-Room
The New Middle Class: Nikhil	M	12	Hindu	Lodha	Private	Own/ Mid-Rise
The Studious: Bhavesh	M	15	Hindu	Lodha	Private	Own/ Mid-Rise

Table 15: The roster of adolescents from the Nanakramguda site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study (Source: author 2021). OBC stands for Other Backward Caste and SC stands for Schedule Caste.

[71] I worked with a key informant from the Muslim community in Nanakramguda to recruit for religious diversity. He told me that about five years prior, there was a big rift between the Lodhas and the Muslims because the Muslims wanted space to build a mosque. Ultimately, the Muslims felts harassed and most dispersed to alternate communities. He said there were only seven families remaining and none of the parents were comfortable with their children participating in the study. I found no evidence of a Christian community in Nanakramguda.

I held six additional in-depth interviews that included the full spectrum of mapping and photovoice. In this section, I summarize the data from working with these eight adolescents and identify "public spaces in practice" specific to Nanakramguda. The table below shows the roster of adolescents from the Nanakramguda site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study. At the end of the chapter, I compare the summaries across sites according to eight themes and then develop questions about adolescent's spatial environments that are answered in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

The Additional In-Depth Interviews

Ujhala (The Hiker) lived in a smaller house a block away but spent most of her time at her cousin, Sunny's, house. She was really excited to participate. She described herself as a hiker and said that she loves to be out in nature. Her favorite place to visit was Tirupathi.

Ujhala went to Kendriya Vidyalaya School in Gachibowli, which is the same school as Bhavan. She described her schedule with militaristic detail:

> I wake up by 6:30 am, and then I get ready by 7:00 am. I get fully ready; my tiffin also gets ready. 7:15 am I am here. I come [to Sunny's house], my van comes here. By 7:30 am I am inside my van, and I reach school by 8:20 am. Then, after leaving my bag in my class I go down for the prayer, for the assembly. 8:30 am the assembly starts. And it ends at 8:50. And after that, the first period starts at 8:50 and then the school ends at 2:40 pm and I reach home by 3:30 pm. And then after that, I fresh up and eat my food and then watch the TV for some time. Some cartoons, or if a cricket match is going on, or if a kabaddi match is going on, or a football match is going on, I watch all those matches. And then after that I study a little, anything that I have to read or write or study for my exams, I do that. Then again at night I watch some reality show or something on TV and then I go to sleep. I go to sleep by 10:00 pm.

She has lived in Nanakramguda most of her life (since 2005). She complained that since the construction has started, she coudn't play as much as she wanted to outside of Sunny's courtyard because the people outside were "not so good."

She had 23 people in her friend group at school and there were boys and girls. They had been closed for eight years. They had a ground at school, and she played football, basketball, kabaddi, cricket, hockey, and many more games. She talked extensively about the large amount of time that she played games in school and the great quality of the facilities. She loved school and especially playing with friends, gossiping, and being with them. Her school friends lived in

different areas such as Lingampally, Kokapet, Chanda Nagar, and Gachibowli. She had never gone to their house to play because their parents didn't allow it.

There were nine kids, all younger than her, that she hung out with in Sunny's courtyard and three family elders. Ujhala explained what she liked about the courtyard:

> Because we roam this entire area, and play hide and seek here, and we can hide in here. We are also able to play kabaddi in this small area. And we go up [to the rooftop] to burst crackers or fly kites.



Figure 170: Because we roam this entire area, and play hide and seek here, and we can hide in here. We are also able to play kabaddi in this small area. (Source: Ujhala 2019).

However, in the second interview she changed her tune a bit and said that the courtyard wasn't big enough for playing. She explained:

> Because there are not many good guys around and there is this shop right in front, so people keep coming there. And we have a little space inside our gates where me and my brother play cricket sometimes… I want a ground here to play. The facilities are not good here, so I want a ground to play.

Ujhala had a computer at home as well as a cell phone. She played games such as Barbie, chess, and carrom on her computer. She usually played against the computer but

sometimes she played against brother. She also played games like Temple Run on her cell phone. She had Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, and TikTok. She didn't upload content, she just scrolled.

Sunny (The Kirana Shop Kid) was shy but very good natured. He seemed to like his family and his many cousins. He wasn't really interested in the project, but he answered our questions and gave us his perspective at the direction of his father.

His house was a very common older building in the neighborhood. It was on a dirt road near Nikhil and Bhavesh's house and a few blocks past Preet's vegetable stand. His father ran a *kirana* shop out of a kiosk on the front wall along the street. There was a metal gate next to the shop and an old man sat in a plastic chair in front of the gate, as a sort of "napping watchman." Their house was a beautiful bright blue. The residents painted everything blue from the floor to the walls, to the roof. It had faded a bit to a very light blue in many areas and reminded me of the Chefchaouen houses in Morocco.

Just inside of the gate was a large courtyard shaded by a couple of large trees. There was a neat "secret" passageway on one side of the courtyard. The house was at ground level with some storage space accessible via exterior stairs. There was a common outhouse off the courtyard with running water for bucket bathing. There were many adults and children that came and went as we conducted the interviews with Ujhala and Sunny, but no one questioned us. I got the impression that the courtyard was so well supervised and guarded, that everyone generally understood we were there with permission. The resident's performance is a form of Jane Jacob's "eyes on the street" concept (Jacobs 1961).

Sunny attended Cambridge High School, which is about two km from Nanakramguda. He woke up around 7:30 am and walked to the bus stop near the Heritage Fresh (about 500m). School ran from 8:30 am to 3:30 pm. Afterwards he played with his friends outside and then later in the evening he played on the cell phone. Like most kids in the community, he had two sets of friends—one set for school and one set for home. At home, he played games like *kabaddi*. All of his home friends came to play in his courtyard. In the mapping exercise he added that on Saturdays he visited the temple across the highway (Kali Temple). There was a graveyard near it, and he found it scary because of the ghosts. He was also scared of the highway road flanking Nanakramguda. He had a "secret hangout." It was just a few houses down near a hostel that his

relative owned. There were older boys that hung out near there but since his relative was the owner they didn't give him any problems.



Figure 171: A large courtyard shaded by a couple of large trees and the secret passageway (Source: Sunny 2019).

He had explored Nanakramguda as far at Ratnadeep and the temple with his friends (about 600m). He was frustrated because his parents did not allow him to go out of the courtyard that often, but at least it was more often than his sister. His parents did not allow him to play outside of the courtyard because they felt it was unsafe.

He did not play computer games, but he did play games on the cell phone such as Candy Crush, Subway Surfer, etc. He borrowed a cell phone from any adult that was nearby.

He would like a ground in Nanakramguda because "we don't have a place to play." He also added that he thinks the roads are dangerous because they are full of stones and trash like glass that hurts the kids when they fall.



Figure 172: There was a common outhouse off the courtyard with running water for bucket bathing (Source: Sunny 2019).

Rajalakshmi (The Bored Teen) attended the Sri Gayatri E-Techno School along with her younger sister, Adhira, in Manikonda. They took a bus every day that picked them up at 7:30 am the corner near the public school. However, they returned on separate buses because Rajalaksmi didn't get out of school until 5:30 pm. When she got home, she usually studied (reading and writing) and then she would walk around and watch the little kids play.

Since she was in 10th class, like Bavesh, she had school on Saturdays and Sundays as well to prepare for the national exams. She played games like kho-kho, kabaddi, and volleyball in school where they had a small ground. But, because of the rigorous exam schedule, she only had one hour a week of play time. She had eight friends at school. She mostly liked to sit under the tree at her school grounds and talk with her friends.

She had four local friends in Nanakramguda that were her age. Sometimes they played on the street in front of her house because they did not have access to a ground. However, she emphasized that she didn't like playing and instead preferred drawing and music. She liked to watch TV shows at home such as Big Boss and Telegu movies. She felt safe at home because there were closed-circuit television cameras outside. She also played games on her mom's cell

phone such as Candy Crush, Bubble Games, and Temple Run. She didn't have social media (no WhatsApp or Facebook account). She said that there was no computer shop in her neighborhood.



Figure 173: The roads are dangerous because they are full of stones and trash like glass that hurts the kids when they fall (Source: Sunny 2019).



Figure 174: Sometimes they played on the street in front of her house because they did not have access to a ground (Source: Rajalakshmi 2019).

She generally didn't like Nanakramguda because there were no playgrounds or places her for her to hang out, but she did like her home. She brought this up at multiple points in the interview unprompted. She was quite despondent and didn't want to answer most questions but kept saying "grounds are not here" almost as if she was trying to convince us that it was true. She didn't like the road near Hanuman temple but didn't want to explain why. This is a very crowded intersection and includes a bus stop for many workers, so it is not unusual that she doesn't like this area as a teenage girl.

Adhira (The Local) was Rajalakshmi's younger sister. She was born in Nanakramguda and her parents owned their house. They lived in a nice multistory building off a paved lane. Their housing area is in the Schedule Caste and Muslim part of Nanakramguda. There were a few kirana stores nearby but mostly the residential back streets were quiet. They lived in the ground floor unit. Typically, this would be for the garage attendant, but this unit was quite nice with multiple rooms and windows looking into the garage. They had living room furniture, a TV and stand, and painted walls. It was clean and had a separate kitchen and bedrooms. Additionally, there were never any cars (only a few scooters) parked in the parking area leaving a large space

for the girls to play in the lower level that was behind the protection of the gate but outside of the house.



Figure 175: A large space for the girls to play in the lower level that was behind the protection of the gate but outside of the house (Source: Adhira 2019).

She went to school with Rajalakshmi but came home earlier on her own. There was a small ground at school, but it didn't have any trees. She had sports classes and knew exercises such as yoga and karate. After school Adhira played games such as kabaddi and out-out until about 7:00 or 8:00 pm and then she came in and finished her homework. She didn't have access to a ground in Nanakramguda, so she played with her friends in the lane. She had three friends in her group. She fought a lot with her sister, so Rajalakshmi rarely took her along when she walked with her friends. Adhira liked to play indoor games more than outdoor games. She played carrom, watched TV, and played cell phone games like Temple Run and Candy Crush. She was on social media through Facebook and WhatsApp, but she didn't think she spent much time on it. In a follow up interview, she said that she spends about 10 minutes a day chatting with her friends from school on WhatsApp.

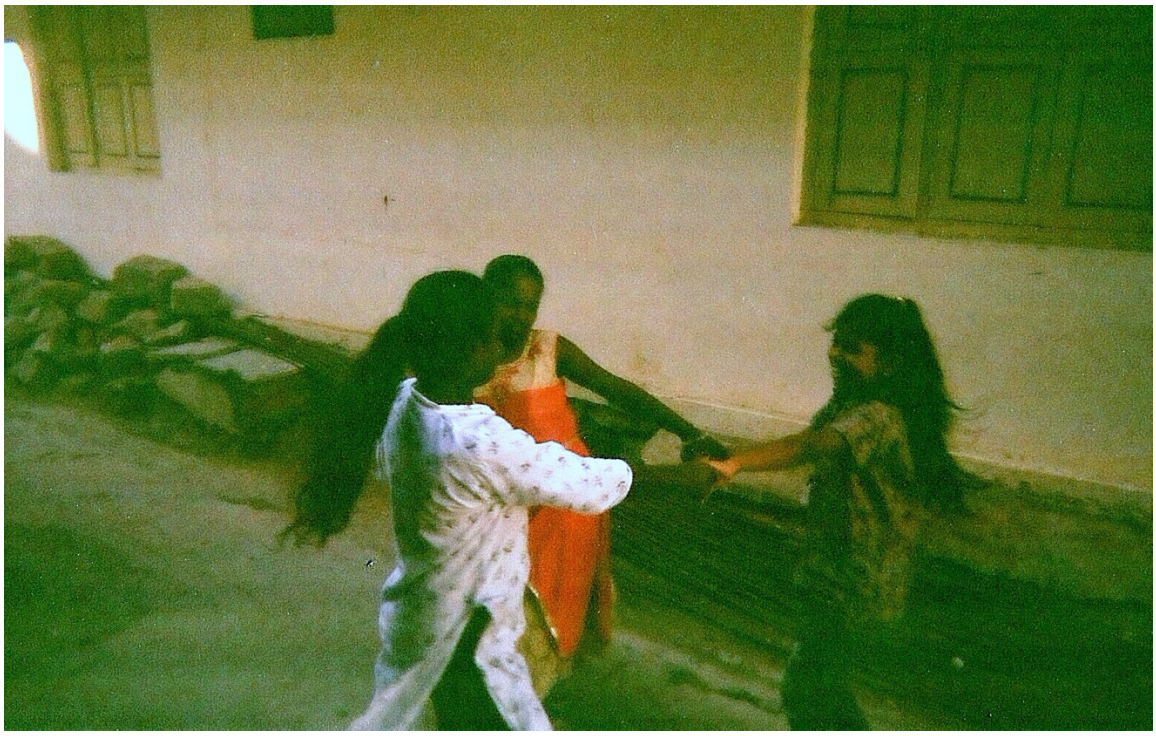


Figure 176: She had three friends in her group (Source: Adhira 2019).



Figure 177: She fought a lot with her sister so Rajalakshmi rarely took her along when she walked with her friends. (Source: Adhira 2019).

Generally, she liked Nanakramguda, but she wanted there to be a ground with swings. She explained:

> This area is good. The street I live in is safe and good. There are no vehicles, so it is safe for playing, I play in here in this courtyard, I go to my friend's house and play there.

Her main spot to hang out in Nanakramguda other than her street was the space in front of the school because she knew the stationary shop owner across the street (he looked out for her, and she felt safe there). In the mapping exercise, she revealed that she mostly hung out on the residential street one block off the main road. She used the back lanes to navigate the community even though there were more direct routes because of safety. She added that boys and girls in her local friend group play with each other (9-13 years).

She had gone to the grounds at Sai Signature Apartments, one of the adjacent gated communities. In the second interview she said that she still went to the apartments and used the swings and the ground to play kabaddi. She said that she went every Sunday around noon. Once a watchman scolded her, but she didn't care. She also went to the local *kirana* shops and the Ratnadeep market on the main road alone and with friends (in fact a few days before our interview, I saw her and her friends there buying some sweets while I was getting an ice cream). She thought that the streets were safe because there were lights. She had a curfew of 8:00 pm.

Nikhil (The New Middle Class) was shy, but he opened up after we completed the interviews. He would hang out with me while I was doing the observations and really liked being my "guide." He spoke enough English that we could have conversations although he was mostly just excited for the other kids in the neighborhood to see us together. Several times during observations they would all come and sit next to me, making jokes, and talking.

Nikhil was Bhavesh's younger brother. They were both born and grew up in Nanakramguda. His family lived on the ground level of a nice multistory house at the edge of the community. I gathered through conversations with his father, Jaspal, that they owned the building and rented the upper floors. There were not any cars parked on the ground floor area, just some scooters and a motorcycle. The house was on the north side of the community (the Lodha side) and had a back entrance to a main road. There was a 17-story building going up just behind their building that would look down onto their neighborhood. Nikhil said he liked to watch the site but that it was gated off so he couldn't get in (he had tried).



Figure 178: There was a 17-story building going up just behind their building that would look down onto their neighborhood (Source: Nikhil 2019).

The family told me a sad story about a concrete building frame across the dirt lane in front of the house, which was now an empty lot. They said a few families had paid for a home to be built there and it was started but then the constructor abandoned the project and stole their money. Since they had nowhere to go, they were living in tents on the structure. But it was not safe and collapsed one day when the men were at work and it killed a woman and a small child. Nikhil said he thought there were ghosts there. Now, the place is a sand pit for other buildings under construction in the area and Nikhil plays there with his friends.



Figure 179: Now, the place is a sand pit for other buildings under construction in the area and Nikhil plays there with his friends (Source: Nikhil 2019).

Like Maruti, Nikhil also went to the Oasis school about 6 km away. He took an auto to get there rather than riding the bus. He woke up around 7:00 am and his driver picked him up at 7:30 am for school. He was done with school at 3:30 pm. After coming from school, he freshened up, had a snack, and then went out to play. He returned home around 6:00 pm and studied until 9:00 pm. Then, he had dinner and went to sleep. He said that he couldn't play later than dusk because there were not many streetlights

His school had a ground and he played games like kabaddi, football, kho-kho, baseball, and cricket. He had a lot of play time in school, but he also liked to just hang out with his friends, crack jokes, talk and draw. He continued the conversation with school friends on WhatsApp. His school friends were all from different states in India (Rajasthan, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh).

He had 10 friends in his neighborhood but no one from school; the school kids don't come to Nanakramguda. In the mapping exercise he revealed that his parents did not allow him to play at other local friend's houses because they used bad words. He played kabaddi with his friends inside the bottom level parking area of the building his family occupied, and he played games such as out-out, gully cricket, and hide-n-seek on the street just in front of their house. They never played in the building although several photos were taken from the higher levels of

the building. He really liked the steps on the side of the adjacent building to sit with his local friends and talk.



Figure 180: He played kabaddi with his friends inside the bottom level parking area of the building his family occupied (Source: Nikhil 2019).

Nikhil played games such as Candy Crush on his dad's cell phone. He also used WhatsApp, YouTube, and searched the web using Google Chrome. His favorite thing on YouTube was craft videos, cartoons, and movies. Sometimes Nikhil roamed around with his older brother. He explained that he walked alone as far as Heritage Fresh but never as far as Ratnadeep. This is interesting because both stores are a similar distance from his house (520m versus 560m respectively) but one is on the east-side and the other the west-side indicating a difference in the perception of the east versus west sides of the community. He walked to Heritage Fresh to run errands but also to buy some candy too and has even gone there during the night.

He didn't have any fears about the community, day or night. In a follow up interview, he added that he only feared the dogs at night because he had been chased before. Then, he opened to Research Assistant Santhosh and said that he was scared of some of the neighbours

in the area because he had hit a ball and it went into someone's house and that person was really upset and scolded him. He was also scared of snakes at the temple across the street Chetla Kal Mata. Sometimes he played there because of the trees and peacocks. He added in the mapping exercise that he wanted to explore more of the forested area across the street. Sometimes in the summer he went walking there.



Figure 181: he played games such as out-out, gully cricket, and hide-n-seek on the street just in front of their house (Source: Nikhil 2019).

Nikhil's older brother, Bhavesh (The Studious), was quiet but clear and competent when we asked questions. He wasn't disinterested or rude but just casual and "cool." He also made a point to run an errand on his dad's motorcycle during the interview, I think to show off that he could both ride as well as that he had access to the bike. He said he was devoted to his studies and would be an engineer one day. He rode the bike with friends on the back only around the neighborhood. Eventually, he would like to take it to the mall.

Bhavesh studied at Kendriya Vidyalaya in Gachibowli, just as Ujhala, which is about 6 km away or a 10-minute car ride from Nanakramguda. He usually took an autorickshaw like his younger brother. His school was from 8:30 am to 4:30 pm. He had school every day of the week

– Monday through Sunday because 10th standard was the year that the national college entrance exams were held. At school he played football, hockey, and cricket games outdoors and chess and ludo games indoors. He was good at hockey and placed in upper-level competitions.

On most days he came home from school, talked with his family, freshened up, watched TV, and had some snacks before studying. He didn't bother to go outside to play because there wasn't anywhere for him to play, and he felt a lot of pressure to study. He found that he would rather talk with his friends than play anyway. His parents didn't allow him to go out with friends.

In leu of a formal ground, he sometimes played gully cricket in front of his house on the street with about 10-12 friends. However, he noted that every time they started playing the site would get developed and they kept having to move around. He remembered the area before the development came. He used to play outdoor games on a ground where the apartment towers were now located. "Yes, it was all open. We used to play with elders there, in the back side of the building."



Figure 182: Where the apartment towers were now located used to be a ground that he played outdoor games in (Source: Bhavesh 2019).

He didn't like that Nanakramguda didn't have a ground anymore. He explained:

> Yes, that techno park was a big ground which is now given by government to the construction authorities so now we can't play there, we don't have any places there.

In the mapping exercise he revealed the location of the old grounds, and it was near a temple with trees. He also fondly recalled that he used to walk across the highway on the north side of the community and walk thru "nature" to a hidden temple.

He used to go to the grounds in an adjacent community. but he explained why that's not possible now:

> I have to study so if I go to play then going till the ground near IIT and coming back there is a lot of traffic there, so it takes a lot of time to come back which wastes my time and reduces my studying time. It's 5 km apart so I consume a lot of time in transportation. I used to go from my home in the evening. Sometimes in the morning mostly in the evening. In the evening my father used to drop me, if he is busy, I used to come alone by myself.

He said there was a ground in Kajaguda (across the highway about 2 km) but he didn't go because it was mostly used by adults that were very competitive. He didn't like that Nanakramguda didn't have any grounds and that it was "becoming more congested day by day with more traffic." He liked that it was peaceful and the people there were "good and humble."

"Public Space" in Practice

From the eight intensive interviews, I identified four primary hangout locations that were "public spaces" in practice to be the Hanuman temple (two observational perspectives), the street of shops, the residential street, and the vacant lot. Most of these spaces are categories of types of space rather than a singular location. I used the results of the mapping exercises to identify the most active singular space within each type for spatial analysis. The results of the spatial analysis are reported in Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play.

Ishaan Nagar

Unlike Nanakramguda and Gachibowli Village, Ishaan Nagar was a semi-formal resettlement community. The community of Schedule Caste/Schedule Tribe families was historically nomadic but in modern times had settled on land designated for poor communities. The land that they had settled on was reallocated to Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation at the turn of the century and developed into a golf course across from the new Microsoft Campus.

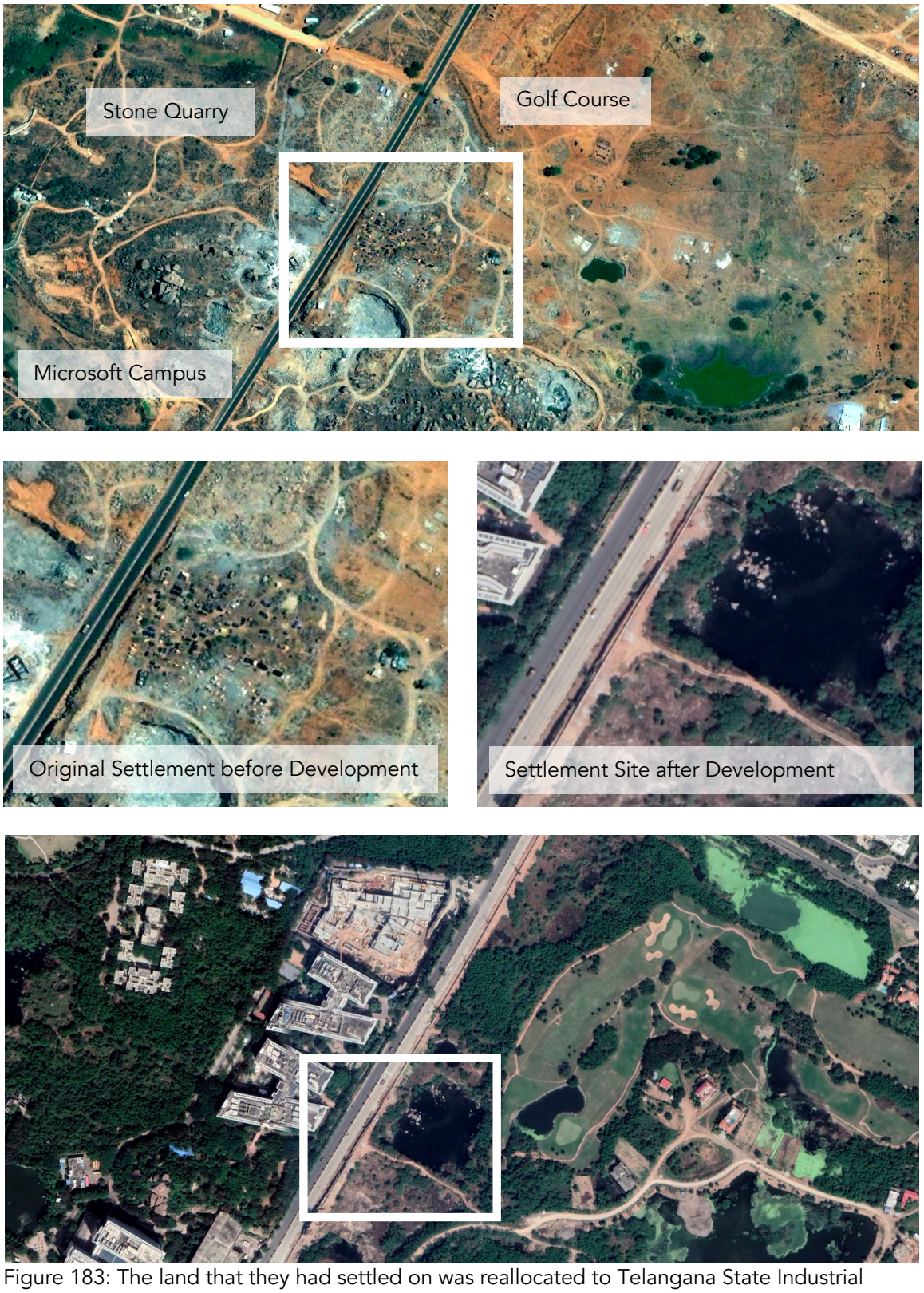


Figure 183: The land that they had settled on was reallocated to Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation at the turn of the century and developed into a golf course across from the new Microsoft Campus (Source: Interviews, Google Earth with author edits 2004/2021).

Without title, the government dispossessed the community of their land and did not provide a place for the villagers to go. They shifted several times along the highway, with each shift moving them a bit further away from the city. A decade ago, a politician gave/leased/sold them a remote property to settle and develop into the current Ishaan Nagar community. The villagers described the community's development as 'grassroots' but there seems to be a centralized planning component because of its orthogonal nature.

Site Analysis

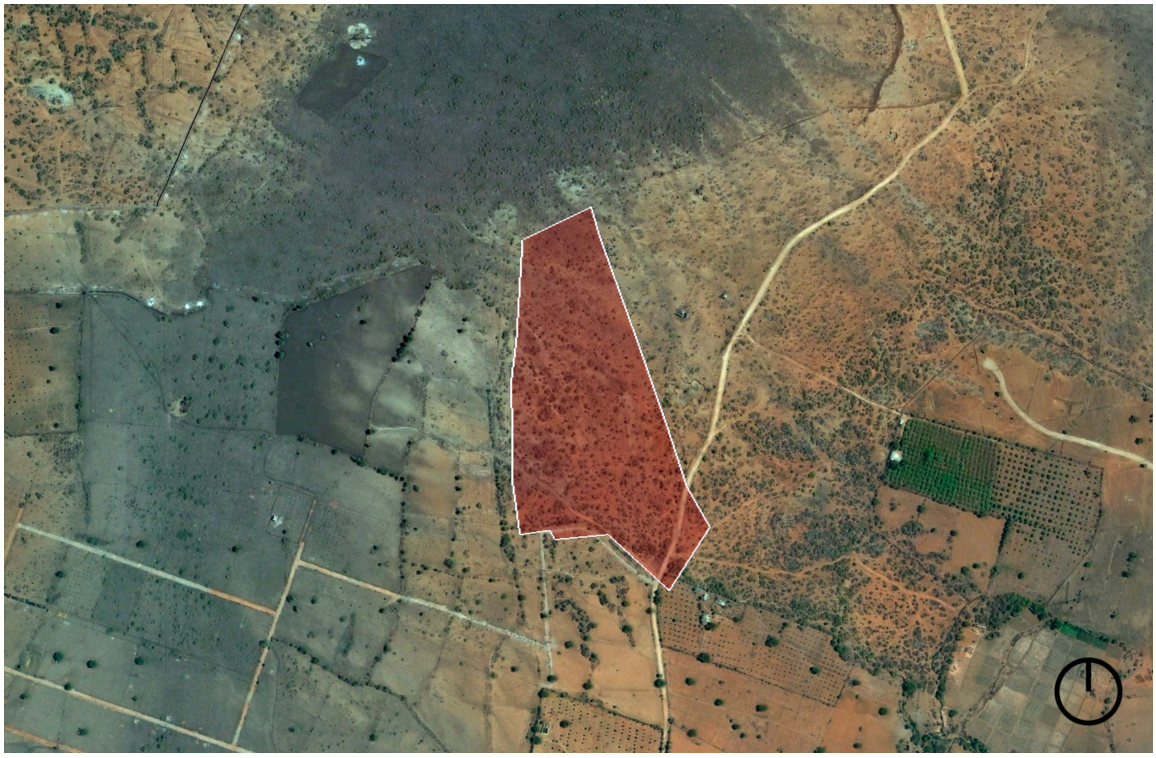


Figure 184: They shifted several times along the highway, with each shift moving them a bit further away from the city. A decade ago, a politician gave/leased/sold them a remote property to settle and develop into the current Ishaan Nagar community (Source: Google Earth 2003 with author edits).

According to the village council, Ishaan Nagar had about 843 families (or 11 families per acre/49.6 people per acre). The community density was significantly smaller than Gachibowli Village and Nanakramguda but this was understandable due to the challenges of living in such a remote location. Another community with a similar development density mirrored Ishaan Nagar on the other side of the Outer Ring Road but it was approximately three times larger. Since I completed the fieldwork, the state government has constructed a massive social housing project

just north of Ishaan Nagar. The co-location of high-density housing offers an opportunity to bring development and services to the area.



Figure 185: The community density is significantly smaller than Gachibowli Village and Nanakramguda but is understandable due to the remote location (Source: Google Earth High Resolution with author edits 2021).

The entrance to Ishaan Nagar was non-descript and many times, although I dropped a pin and used navigation, our driver passed the community. After several kilometers of open fields and dodging potholes, the lone water tower signaled a settlement. On closer inspection, the town seemed to be in a perpetual dust cloud. The colors of sun, trees, dust, and worn paint muddled together in muted tones. The entire community was one- and two-level, single family homes. The only other building types were the temple, a government elementary school on the highway corner, and a small but mostly vacant strip center with four stalls—only one ever

occupied. Many of the homes had incorporated other functions such as kiosks, markets, *kirana* shops, and childcare.



Figure 186: Since I completed the fieldwork, the state government has constructed a massive social housing project just north of Ishaan Nagar (Source: Environs Contriver 2020).

The homes were laid out along dirt roads between three and five meters wide, which meant that the few residents with cars parked them on the street. The community had a strong orthogonal grid composed of blocks that were 20 m by 120 m on average and suggested centralized planning. The Outer Ring Road flanked the east side of the community, and a large open field flanked the west side. The north of the community was in a contentious state of possible construction, which alarmed many of the residents. They feared that they would be dispossessed again from their site. The south side terminated with a rural road.

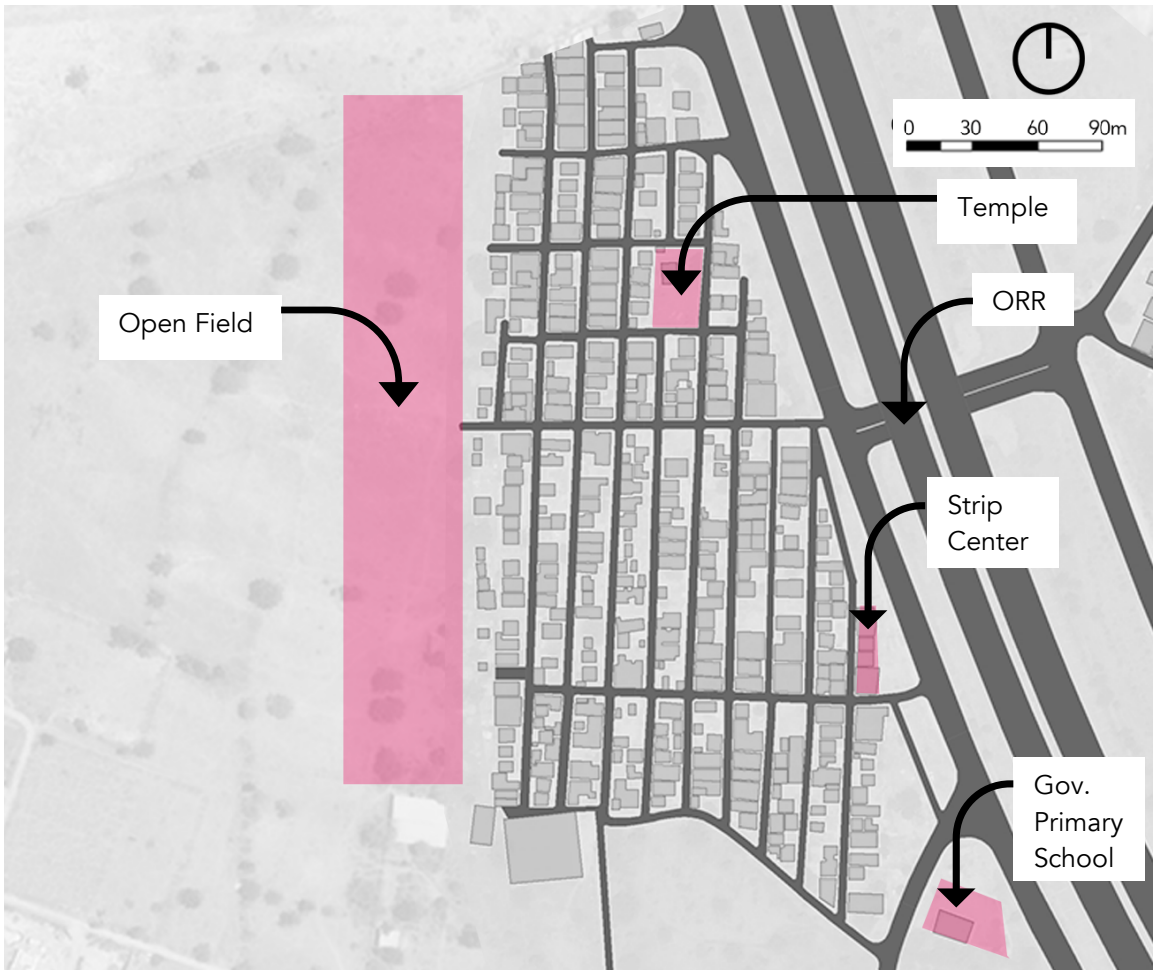


Figure 187: The only other building types were the temple, a government elementary school on the highway corner, and a small but mostly vacant strip center with four stalls and only one occupied by seamstress (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020); ORR is the Outer Ring Road.

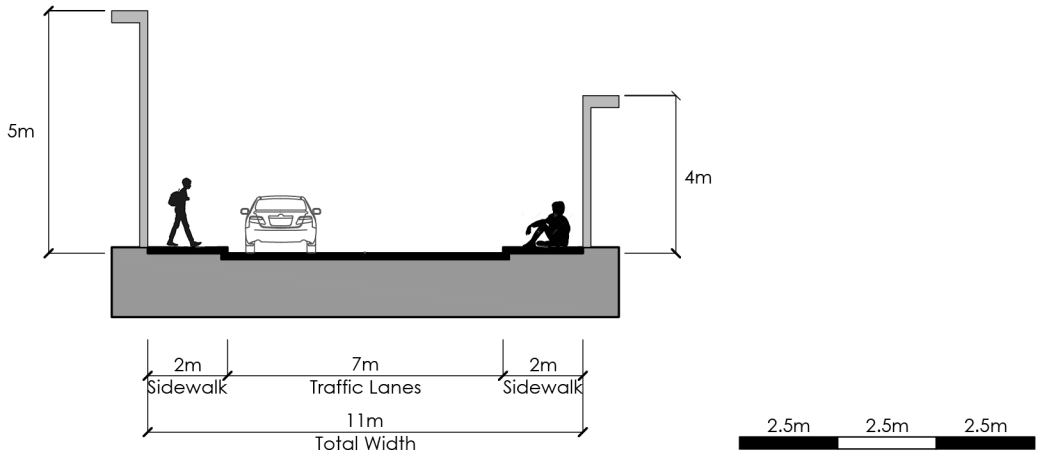


Figure 188: The residential streets were between 3-5m wide (Source: John Gonzales with author edits 2021).

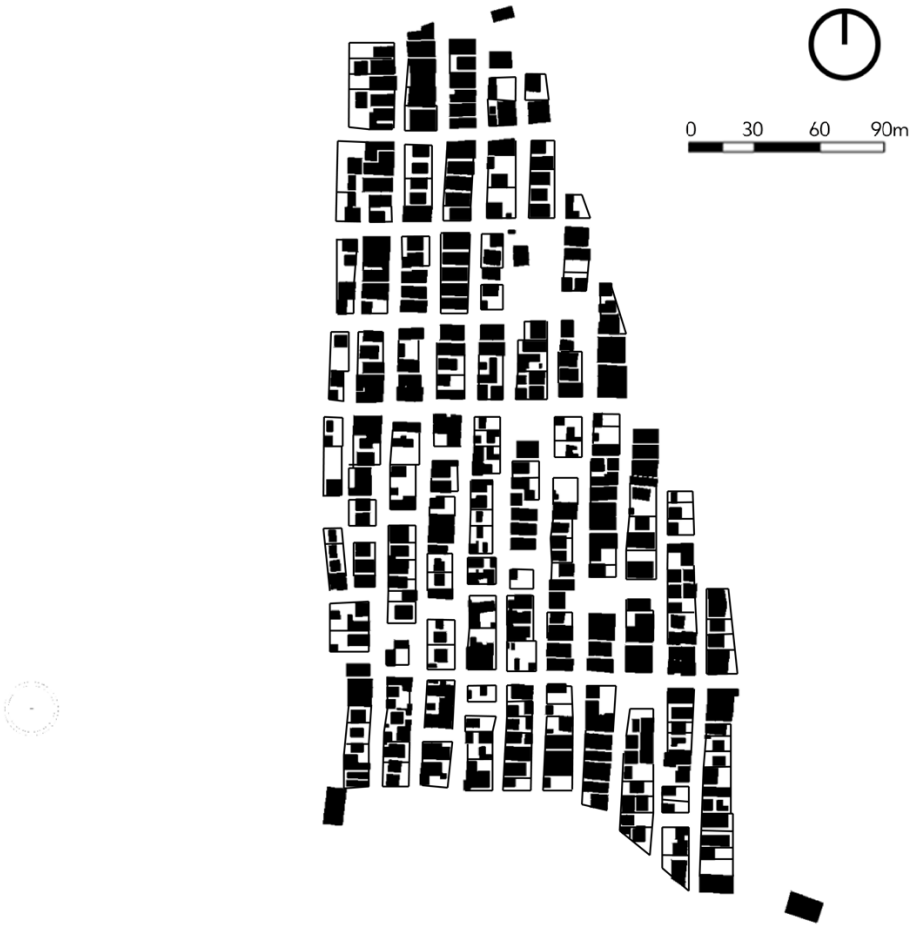


Figure 189: The community had a strong orthogonal grid composed of blocks that were 20 m by 120 m on average (Source: Shrestha 2020).

These three sites present three different experiences of erasure and reconstruction on the urban periphery of Hyderabad that drove responses of displacement and gentrification. Gachibowli Village has economically segregated into the lucrative Chhota Anjaiah Nagar and the *basti*, Rajeev Nagar. The new development of Information Technology campuses and middle-class housing has encroached on the heritage village of Nanakramguda driving changes in livelihood that result in a focus on insular family compounds and a market street oriented to young, male construction workers. Finally, the rural settlement of Ishaan Nagar emerged out of semi-formal political dealings and the displacement and resettlement of a marginalized village. Without access to services or livelihoods, the residents shuffle for extended periods to the city and remit support back to the community in a move that evokes Manila's resettlement communities.

Yet, looking down on these communities from above doesn't provide a full understanding of how residents experience these communities. I organize the next sections by site. First, I provide a cursory architectural tour. Next, I reveal the experience of a select seven of 26 adolescent interviews through vignettes. Finally, I provide a community summary integrating the key themes from all the adolescent interviews.

Community Origins

Ishaan Nagar is an example of displacement and resettlement. In iterative interviews with the members of the *Gram Sabha* (a non-official town sub-group, such as a village), a women's group, and informal conversations with the parents of participating children I was able to trace and substantiate the community's spatial history. The core of the present-day community traces a multi-generational history back to the land that is now a Special Economic Zone for an Information Technology multinational corporation in the Financial District of Hyderabad. When the government grabbed the land for the Special Economic Zone in the late 1990s, politicians and city officials shifted the community further out of the urban periphery but conflicts with existing communities as well as more land grabs meant multiple shifts. Presently, the community has rebuilt itself adjacent to the Outer Ring Road on former agricultural fields seven miles away from their origination site. Due to credible concerns of retaliation, I provided only select and approved photos of this community and I tried to remove identifiable details.

The community is difficult to access unless you know where you are going. It is not noticeable from the raised Outer Ring Road, but the heavy trucks and traffic can be heard from any point in Ishaan Nagar. The low profile of one- and two- floor houses, as well as the remaining trees and significant amount of dust, aid in cloaking the community. Mostly, it is composed of single-family detached, *pucca* and *kuccha* houses laid out in lots on a planned grid with dirt roads in-between. There are four *kirana* stores, a dairy kiosk, two primary schools (one government and one private), a small hotel, a lady's tailor, and a closed clinic (or perhaps never opened). Due to the sensitive nature of the community, no demographic information was available from the municipality. A field survey indicated 843 houses (406 buildings and most were duplexes/triplexes). A group of strategic-minded women in the community have come together to form a *Dwakra Mahilalu* (Women's Self-Help Group) that has tangibly influenced the development of the community by mobilizing capital through monthly collections. Through their

savings program, they have paid for paving two roads and digging a water well. While the community falls under a *Gram Panchayat* (smallest level of local official council, often for a small town), this *Dwakra Mahilalu* was the most locally respected and integrated body. Our research team worked with these women to carry out the research protocol by proposing the project and providing updates at their meetings. The leader of the *Dwakra Mahilalu*, Charvi, was an original resident and held esteem with both the women and the men of the community as the main business proprietor and as, possibly, the only woman who could read and write in the village. Charvi owned the dairy kiosk and the hotel.

Multiple interviews with Charvi and two others, Saanvi and Prakash, who are ward members on the *Gram Sabha*, were the foundation of the oral history of the community (Charvi, Saanvi, and Prakash 2019). The original community consisted of predominantly Vaddera Caste people (considered semi tribal[72]) whose traditional occupation was stone cutting/stone-quarriers but also some Lambada Caste people (classified as a Schedule Tribe) who were construction laborers.

Historically, the Vaddera people were nomadic and traveled for their livelihood by cutting the endemic boulders around Hyderabad for development. But, as the nation modernized, their way of life did too. They settled in the 1980's on land in the area presently called the financial district but still retained their livelihood in the stone-cutting trades. The villagers never held *patta* for this site but felt secure to construct homes and develop livelihoods as the local *Waqf Board* designated the land for charity. Land managed by the *Waqf Board* has been donated and identified under Islamic law to remain for charitable purposes, such as for use by low-income groups, indefinitely.

However, the development scale at which the various projects for Cyberabad were undertaken justified importing new construction technology and tools with which they were not familiar. Heavy machinery and construction crews from the northern and eastern states who were willing to work longer hours for less compensation quickly replaced their craft. The new development took away their livelihood but also grabbed the land the villagers lived on too. The municipality under Chief Minister Naidu transitioned the *Waqf* land to the Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation who then developed it into Special Economic Zones for

[72] The Vadderas have been campaigning the central government for classification as Scheduled Tribes. For the latest information see Vaddera Times (2020)

multinational corporations. The community protested but without *patta* and/or designation as a Schedule Tribe (with restrictions on displacement), they were not able to file a court case.

They were given an eviction notice in early 2000. Their first shift was to another village about 6 km from their original site. However, the people of that village were not receptive and fought against their resettlement.[73] After a year or so they shifted a second time. They settled on an abandoned industrial site now 10 km out from their original site. However, the owner of the private property discovered their occupation and initiated actions against them forcing them to shift a third time - now about seven miles from their original site.

After staying for two to three years the government identified the area as the route for the Outer Ring Road (the same 6-lane raised highway that passes through Nanakramguda). Again, without *patta,* they had no recourse. Through constant campaigning to the local *panchayat* (elected official) and to the municipal government, when they shifted a fourth time, it was to land adjacent to their site on the Outer Ring Road and they were given *patta* for 60 square yards of land per family. Charvi noted that in the original agreement the government would provide materials for constructing houses, but local politicians commandeered these resources and sold the materials or used them to build their own houses.

The area of land provided was located too far from the city to support their traditional way of life and it was not enough area to support agricultural subsistence, so the people became dependent on service jobs. Ishaan Nagar has no access to public transportation and the villagers have limited options to access service-based livelihoods. The *Dwakra Mahilalu* organized a system of ride sharing for villagers who need to access to the city by securing a monthly payment plan. Some of the women have managed to secure employment as housekeepers in the financial district and some men as auto drivers through this system, while others send family members off to live on construction sites for manual labor and remit money.

Their tenure security still feels precarious, and many residents have shown hesitation to invest in their homes and the community. Because they are "outsiders" (lower caste and many considered migrants) they have not been identified as a "revenue village" or "revenue

[73] As explained by VSSS (Ibid), "the stone cutting Vaddars are considered the principal criminals, and by going about under the pretense of mending grindstones they obtain much useful information as to the houses to be looted of parties of travelers to be attached…" "child labor is common among them…" "they are considered a menial caste."

habitation" even though they have been at this site for nearly 15 years. Without one of these designations, they have no way to collect the provisions and entitlements given by the State and Central Government through the Anganwaadi Center system (providing support to young children). After so much struggle and the continued challenges of livelihood, many original residents have sold their *patta* and returned to their ancestral village or to an informal community with closer proximity to livelihoods.

When asked about their childhood experiences, the village elders, and the women of the *Dwakra Mahilalu* were mostly confused by the question and possibly uncomfortable. As in many communities with scarce resources, teenage girls are "married off" at a very young age. Many of the women described marrying around the age of 16. Their pre-teen and teenage years were spent on domestic work inside their paternal family home and after marriage they were spent on domestic work in their husband's home. I generally observed that the social customs limited women's range to the household area and reduced their trips outside of the home to markets

Some women had attended primary school but only Charvi had attended secondary school. Most of the women in the community and many of the men deferred to Charvi in order to review documents and make community decisions. Because of the social norms related to women's defined range, questions that our research team posed about how women in the community "played" when they were teenage girls were difficult to translate. On the other hand, Prakash from the *Gram Sabha* told us that his teenage years were filled with playing outdoors – climbing the foothills, hunting small animals, and playing cricket - but he also took up much needed work for his family around the age of 16.

A theme of labor dominates the memory of childhood in Ishaan Nagar. A theme of play dominates in Nanakramguda but that may be influenced by gender because the informants in Ishaan Nagar are mostly women while the informants in Nanakramguda are mostly men. Both communities have similar socio-economic standing, and it is likely that their experiences in this part of Hyderabad, especially 20-40 years ago, contain strong similarities.

An Architectural Tour of Ishaan Nagar[74]



Figure 190: The comnunity photographs are keyed to the figure ground map (Source: Shrestha with author edits 2020).

[74] I did not conduct a street survey of the interior streets in Ishaan Nagar because the community felt uncomfortable with showing identifying images of their homes. I carefully selected photographs from exterior streets and a few photos that do not show participant's homes.


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Ishaan Nagar is flanked on the south side by a rural road (A). A masonry wall protects the community from the high-volume traffic (B). The road connects to several gravel/sand pits so many lorries pass on the road regularly (C). The entrance to Ishaan Nagar is distinguishable because of the water tower on each end (D). It is adjacent to the Outer Ring Frontage Road (E). As the Outer Ring Road is a tollway restricted to four-wheeled vehicles, two-wheelers and autorickshaws use the frontage road for inter-city travel (F). There is a large open parking area near the entrance to the community for drivers to break (G). The community is near an underpass that connects to a larger community on the other side and many pedestrians use the underpass to commute (H). The only commercial building is a small strip center, but I only ever saw one tenant, a seamstress (I). Students traveling to and from school only use the transportation hub as there is no public transportation access in this remote location (J). The community is set on a gently sloping hillside and rises above the Frontage Road (K). Many villagers work temporary jobs in the construction industry and walk to and from the jobsite (L). The community is organized around a central temple (M). The houses are made of concrete and typically single level and surrounded by a masonry wall (this is an unusually nice house) (N). In addition to the

Hindu Temple, there is also a Christian Church in the community but there is not a Mosque (O). There is no water service so the community purchases water from private dealers and stores it in a community tank, which the kids often swim in (P). The streets are made of dirt and do not have amenities such as lights (Q). Most of the residents do not own a vehicle so the streets are mostly free for strolling and playing (R). Vendors come to the community on bikes and autorickshaws (S). An entrepreneur in the community opened a computer shop on my last day of fieldwork (S). The open field that flanks the west side of the community was popular as a ground for many of the boys that I interviewed (T).

The architectural tour provides a sense of the community environment and the range of spaces. It also identified the planned and formal public spaces and described their current conditions. However, an architectural analysis must be paired with the resident's experiences to understand how the spaces function in practice. To expand the environmental understanding of Ishaan Nagar, I provided two vignettes from adolescents in the community. I summarized the results of working with ten participants in Ishaan Nagar at the end of this section.

The Grown-Up Girl: Anju

Anju was a very energetic teenager. She was eager to participate and very respectful. She always smiled widely and was happy to see us and have us meet her family. We met both of her parents. They even offered us food during the Diwali holidays. Each time we came for interviews they let us use their home courtyard as well as come into the rooms of the house and bought us cold drinks.

The house was very simple but well maintained. It was off a dirt side street one block behind Godavari's and Manish's house. It had an iron gate that you could see through that led into a wide and square-shaped courtyard. Their house faced the south. On the east side of the house was the kitchen room and on the north side were two bedrooms that opened onto the courtyard. I don't know if they had a bathroom. One of the rooms was for the kids and the other for the parents. Anju lived with her mother, father, and her brother, Narayan.

When the village formed a mob intent on harassing our research team for suspected kidnapping as described in Chapter III. ON METHODS, Anju's dad escorted our research team from their house to our hired car because he was concerned about the mob. He gave us his cell phone number and told us to call him if we needed help.

The picture below is of the participant-directed map for Ishaan Nagar. According to the mapping exercise, Anju has range of 200 m from her house (radius).

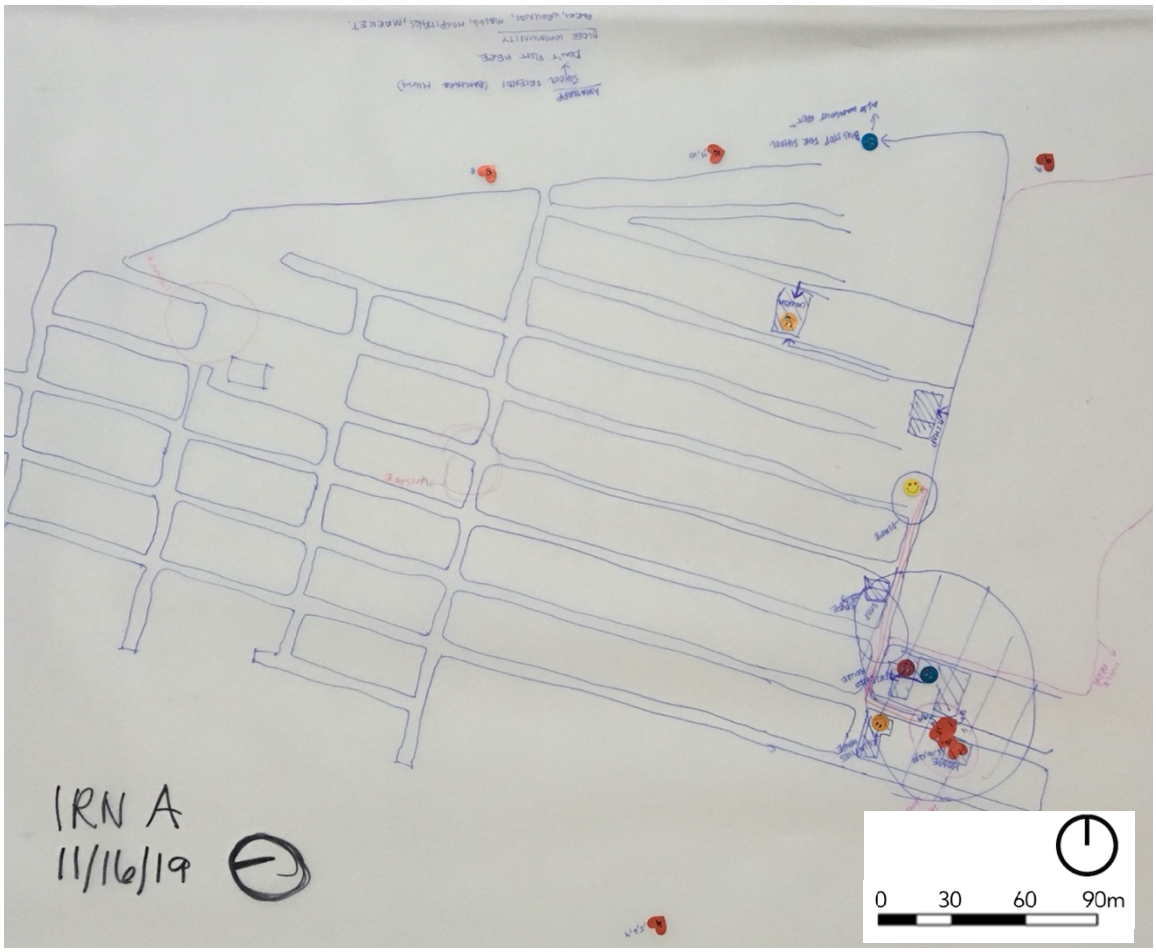


Figure 191: Participant-directed map of Ishaan Nagar (Source: Anju 2019).

Anju attends the Akshaya Foundation School in Lingampally about 11 km away. She wakes up at 5 am and studies for 30-45 minutes and then she gets ready for school. She waits for the bus at 7:30 near the main highway but said they are careful to play there because of the high-speed vehicles. She travels about 45 minutes to and from school by bus. School runs from 8:30 am to 4:00 pm. She goes for full days Monday through Friday and then a half day on Saturday. After school, she returns around 4:00 pm and she goes home to freshen up and eat a snack. Then she plays games on the cell phone, watches TV, or plays games on the street near her house such as kho kho, kabaddi, goti, etc. During school weekdays, she plays indoor and outdoor games like chain cut, kho-kho, and kabaddi.



Figure 192: She waits for the bus at 7:30 near the main highway but said they are careful to play there because of the high-speed vehicles (Source: Anju 2019).

On weekends she has competitions like debates, drawing, and yoga. She goes to church on Sundays. There is a small church in Ishaan Nagar. On Saturdays she plays in Ishaan Nagar. She goes to friend's houses or sometimes plays in the street. Often, on Sundays, she will go outside of the community with her family. Her relatives will take her to the park, and they will play games like kho kho, kabaddi, running race, etc. Her favorites are kho kho and seven stones.

She has about 10 friends who live in Ishaan Nagar, but they are much younger than she is, so she talks about them more like siblings. They don't have a group name, but they do give each other nicknames. She plays with them sometimes in the street in front of her house.



Figure 193: She plays with them sometimes in the street in front of her house (Source: Anju 2019).

She added that some of the boys go to the field behind the village or to other grounds, like Osman Nagar, that are in the adjacent colonies, but the girls don't go because it's dangerous for them. Anju said that there was no place that the girls play. I asked her why she didn't play with her friends in the open fields around the community and Anju said it was unsafe, especially at night. She mentions "psychos" that roamed in the area about a year ago and scared her, so she doesn't like to go far from home. Anju added girls can't go walk around on the streets in Ishaan Nagar because "street boys will be there, no? They will not speak nicely. They will speak bad words with us. That's why I don't go strolling around in the streets." She said that morning times were better for strolling than evening times for safety. Her mother moved her curfew up to 7 pm because there are no streetlights in Ishaan Nagar and "because you are a grown-up girl, you should up before seven only." Anju added that "youngsters in the area drink and behave harshly. During the night if we move on roads or go to shops it's really not safe there." Generally, Anju doesn't think that Ishaan Nagar is very safe. She has overheard the adults talking about thieves and remembers two times when things were stolen.



Figure 194: She added that some of the boys go to the field behind the village or to other grounds, like Osman Nagar, that are in the adjacent colonies, but the girls don't go because it's dangerous for them (Source: Anju 2019).



Figure 195: Field behind Ishaan Nagar (Source: Anju 2019).

Her teacher has taught her some basic computer skills. Anju has access to a computer at school. She uses her mother's or father's phone for social media, specifically WhatsApp to chat with family and friends. Sometimes she watches YouTube videos like "5-minute crafts" or stories or fairytales. She also uses it for research for school.

Anju has lived in Ishaan Nagar for two years and before that she lived in Jubilee Hills. Her family rented an apartment in Jubilee Hills for 10 years while saving money to build their own house that they built in Ishaan Nagar. She said that rent was very expensive in Jubilee Hills (her brother specified that they lived in Sri Krishna Nagar, Yousufguda about 25 km from Ishaan Nagar). She misses her old community and her friends there. She used to play on a ground or at the park there. She also feels that Jubilee Hills was safer than in Ishaan Nagar because there were more people on the street. She was not scared at night there like she is scared in Ishaan Nagar. She said she didn't have many rules living there but in Ishaan Nagar she does because there are no streetlights.

She doesn't go anywhere without supervision. However, she used to stroll around independently in Jubilee Hills. She remembers going to the mall in Banjara hills and to the park with just her friends. (This is extra stark because she would have been just 13 at that time). Sometimes they would take the bus or walk and other times her parents would drop them off/pick them up. She really misses this aspect of living in Jubilee Hills because she loves shopping for clothes.

She noted that there used to be more trees in this area, but the government is building a housing community to the north and cut down all the trees. She doesn't like that the malls and shopping areas are far from Ishaan Nagar.

She would like for Ishaan Nagar to have a ground. She explains why the streets do not suffice:

> We wished we had grounds. The grounds have so much space. We can play all games [there]. In the streets there will be no games, [or rather] we will play less games, [because] the vehicles will be moving here [and] there, we will be disturbed. So, [having a] ground will be better.

Anju also specifically wanted to put up closed-circuit television and one police station nearby. She added a hospital too. I found this interesting because, comparatively the community has access to medical care as the nearest government hospital is about 12 km or a 30-minute ride by car, private hospital about 8 km or a 20-minute car ride, and small clinic 3 km or a 5-

minute car ride. She explained than most of the people living in the area didn't have access to a private vehicle and that it was too far from the city to catch autorickshaw and there was no public transportation. Additionally, there is no place to walk along the highway. So, when an emergency happens, they must flag down someone from the highway to take them to the hospital. She mentioned a small medical kiosk in Ishaan Nagar near the road but in all the trips that I made to the community, I never saw it open or staffed.



Figure 196: Additionally, there is no place to walk along the highway (Source: Anju 2019).

While she liked Jubilee Hills better, she does like that Ishaan Nagar is quieter. She wants to add infrastructure. "First, streetlights should be there. And roads and drainages should be there. And after that parks and gardens should be there." She likes to play indoor games like carrom and chess too. So, she wants a club house where kids can play games and do yoga.

The Cool Kid: Vardan

Research Assistant Sanjana originally came up to Vardan while he was hanging out on the steps in front of his house and talked with him about the project. Research Assistant Sekhar took Vardan's first interview on the same day at his mother's request as the whole family was

present. When we came to collect the camera, the neighbors told us that, Vardan was at the hospital. His brother was home and returned the camera but had little to explain. Because of the emergency, we decided to leave the family in peace and not approach for a second interview. However, when I was doing site observations a few blocks away, Vardan found us and asked when he could have his second turn. I found this to be a great lesson in qualitative research; don't over empathize or assume that the participants find the interviews to be a burden. Despite their demeanor, this is an opportunity for their voice to be recorded and that is important to some participants.

The picture below is of the participant-directed map for Ishaan Nagar. According to the mapping exercise, Vardan has range of 300m from his house (radius).

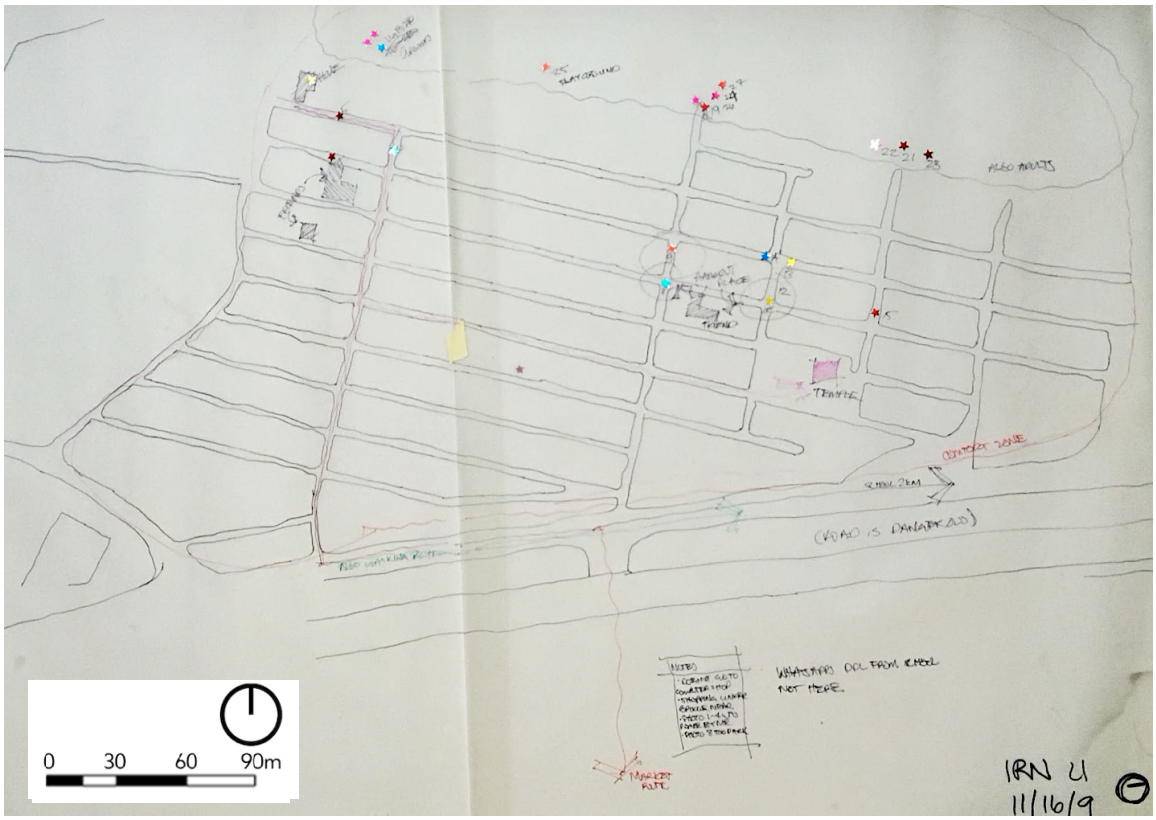


Figure 197: Participant-directed map of Ishaan Nagar (Source: Vardan 2019).

Vardan was very shy. He was at an age where he was trying to be a cool teenager. He didn't really want to talk but we were his seniors so he felt like he should be respectful. He also seemed really bored. Ultimately, I think he wanted to talk with us because Research Assistant Sanjana is a young woman and he liked that she came up and talked to him.

His house is on the last lane in Ishaan Nagar. It is a dirt lane like all the others. His house was the second to last house and faced south. It had a step to get up into the courtyard (like most houses) and a metal gate. The gate was broken, however. When you entered there was a rectangular courtyard half covered by the roof and half by a large tree. There seemed to be two or three rooms just off the courtyard. There were many people living in this area. Several adults and infants and young kids and a few other teenagers.



Figure 198: . It is a dirt lane like all of the others (Source: Vardan 2019).

When we came to pick up the camera the brother told us that his dad was not happy about it but the mom was okay with it so we should never call-in advance and just send someone to the door instead. He hinted that the dad was never home and so the mom made the decisions when we came in person but when we called, it was the dad's phone number, so he answered and that is why it was so hard to reach them. The brother also said that Vardana had gotten sick and had to be in the hospital for several days. It was ambiguous later if he was sick or if he was staying at the hospital with someone else who was ill or if it was his mother who was having a difficult childbirth.

The second time that we took the interview it was the late afternoon. We had some issues with a missing child, see *Chapter 2: On Methods* for details. I remember that his interview was especially difficult because of the mosquitos. They were bad so that I could hardly sit through the interview, but the family members didn't seem to notice and were accustomed to it.

Vardan was born in Ishaan Nagar and has lived there for 15 years. He attends the ZPHS government school in Kollur about 3 km of about a 45-minute walk up the highway. He walks there every morning and evening along the highway. He thinks the highway is dangerous and he doesn't like walking along it. They have a daily play period and a ground where he gets to play games like kabaddi, kho-kho, and soccer. His normal daily routine starts with waking up and then going to school. When he is done with school he comes back and started playing around 5 pm and goes until he must go to sleep.

His school friends live in Kollur or in the *taanda* (a caravan or encampment of men, usually for temporary work like construction). They don't live close enough to come over the Ishaan Nagar, but he will hang out with them in school and sometimes directly after school.

He has five people in his friend group that he has known since childhood. He doesn't leave the community much, but he does walk around, and he fetches milk at the shop on the north side. Sometimes he goes with his friends to Lingampally to watch movies. However, his mom interrupted because she was surprised and said he went without asking her. He argued that he went once with his friends.



Figure 199: He doesn't leave the community much, but he does walk around, and he fetches milk at the shop on the north side (Source: Vardan 2019).

He plays and hangs out in the open areas like the ground in the field. He describes the ground as "big and good to play." He believes that it is a place where everyone comes to play (although interviews with girls revealed that it was off-limits for them). He doesn't like that the roads are not good, and the ground is not "proper." He doesn't think there are places in the street to hang out but in the mapping exercise he revealed that he likes to hang out near his friend's house about three blocks away and sit on the corner. He mostly plays games on Sundays like kabaddi and cricket. However, his mother interrupted and said that most days he just sleeps all day and wakes up around 5:00 pm. He countered that he thinks he wakes up around 11:00 am and goes to the ground to play. His mom added that yes, he does, but then he comes home in the evening and watches movies in bed. He doesn't go to a computer shop. He doesn't sit in the roads he usually walks and talks.



Figure 200: He plays and hangs out in the open areas like the ground in the field (Source: Vardan 2019).



Figure 201: He doesn't like that the roads are not good, and the ground is not "proper" (Source: Vardan 2019).



Figure 202: He doesn't think there are places in the street to hang out but in the mapping exercise he revealed that he likes to hang out near his friend's house about three blocks away and sit on the corner (Source: Vardan 2019).

He doesn't think there are any boys' spaces or girls' spaces. He likes places that have people around. He feels like his relatives, who have houses all around, watch out for him on the street. He feels safe at school and at home. According to the mapping exercise, he is generally comfortable in all of Ishaan Nagar in the daytime. He doesn't feel safe when he goes out on the streets at night. He doesn't think that the community is safe for girls, but boys are okay. His

mother adds, “When someone says something to a boy they can manage, but it's different for the girls.” He doesn’t think that it’s safe at night. He remembers a robbery and a murder that took place in the area, but his mother said it was a long time ago. He has a curfew to be home by 7:30 pm.



Figure 203: He feels like his relatives, who have houses all around, watch out for him on the street (Source: Vardan 2019).

He had been using social media, mainly Whatsapp and Facebook, for two years. He accesses social media through his dad’s phone. He chats with his friends in Kollur on Whatsapp. He doesn’t play computer games. He uses it to message his school friends to hang out in Kollur. His dad will drop him off on the motorcycle.

He doesn’t like the roads and the electricity. To improve Ishaan Nagar he saysl:

> I will lay roads, water connection to every household, proper drainage facility and I will make this place better. I will provide home for the homeless. I will provide good parks and grounds. A small and neat playground with a park in it.

Summary of Adolescent Experiences in Ishaan Nagar

I held eight additional in-depth interviews that included the full spectrum of mapping and photovoice. In this section, I summarize the data from working with these ten adolescents and identify "public spaces in practice" specific to Ishaan Nagar. The table below shows the roster of adolescents from the Ishaan Nagar site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study. At the end of the chapter, I compare the summaries across sites according to eight themes and then develop questions about adolescent's spatial environments that are answered in *Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play*.

Name	Gender	Age	Religion	Caste	School Type	House Type
The Cool Kid: Vardan	M	15	Hindu	SC/ST	Government	Own/ Multi-Room
The Grown-Up Girl: Anju	F	1	Christian	OBC	Private	Rent/ Single-Room
The Stroller: Narayan	M	12	Christian	OBC	Private	Own/ Multi-Room
The College Student: Yashila	F	16	Hindu	SC/ST	Semi-Private	Own/ Double-Rooms
The Boarder: Ketan	M	13	Hindu	SC/ST	Hostel	Own/ Multi-Rooms
The Seamstress: Reethika	F	12	Hindu	SC/ST	Dropout	Rent/ Single-Room
The Maid's Daughter: Pramoda	F	12	Catholic	OBC	Private	Own/ Multi-Room
The Wary Girl: Smija	F	14	Hindu	SC/ST	Hostel	Rent/ Multi-Room
The Serious Boy: Manish	M	14	Christian	OBC	Private	Own/ Multi-Room
The Reader: Godavarai	F	12	Christian	OBC	Private	Own/ Multi-Room

Table 16: The roster of adolescents from the Ishaan Nagar site that participated in the study and their most relevant demographic information specific to the Indian case study (Source: author 2021). OBC refers to Other Backward Caste, SC refers to Schedule Caste, and ST refers to Schedule Tribe.

The Additional In-Depth Interviews

Narayan (The Stroller) was Anju's younger brother. He was really excited to participate. He was a small kid but really outgoing and loved to play. Even when we were in an interview

with someone else, he would ride his bicycle around the neighborhood to look for us and hang out. Certain families on this side of the community had high cohesion. Twice I saw he and his sister as well as Manish and Godavari getting off the school bus and walking together to their houses. They wore their school uniforms and seemed happy and independent as they walked through the neighborhood together.

Narayan attended the Akshay Foundation School in Lingampally. Before moving to Ishaan Nagar, he lived in Sri Krishna Nagar in Yousufguda, which is about 25 km away. He said that he liked living in Sri Krishna Nagar better than Ishaan Nagar because in Ishaan Nagar "there is no place to play, and it is uncomfortable to play." He added that he used to have a lot of friends in his old community and now he only had six friends from school. Of those, one stayed in Ishaan Nagar and two stayed in Kollur which is about 2 km away down the highway.

On weekday mornings he woke at 5:00 am, studied until 6:00 am and then walked with his older sister around the neighborhood. Then he came home and got ready for school. At 7:30 he walked to the bus stop next to the highway. He got home from school by the bus around 4:00 pm. His normal routine after school was to have some snacks, nap, and if he had an upcoming exam, he studied too. He was in afterschool tutorials. His school does not have a ground. On the weekends, he had school for a half day on Saturday and during exams it was a full day.

In Ishaan Nagar, he mostly played with his friends on the street near his house. He had three friends and they liked to "talk secrets and we enjoy talking [on the street] and no one would come there, and we can talk freely." He liked his privacy. In contrast, he got bullied on other streets. Sometimes he played at his or his friend's houses. He rode around Ishaan Nagar on his friend's cycle. He complained that the issue with friends in Ishaan Nagar was that the other kids don't come out of their houses to play (Smija and Reethika also made this comment). On Sundays he liked to walk and sometimes jogs along the highway.

He revealed two walking routes in the mapping exercises. The first was along the dirt lane on the side of the community, which he said he walked in order to be in nature. The second was along the highway and he used an underpass to walk to a friend's community. But mostly, he hung out in the two-block area around his house.



Figure 204: On Sundays he liked to walk and sometimes jogs along the highway (Source: Narayan 2019).

He was on social media through Facebook and WhatsApp. He used it to chat with relatives and for school groups and projects. He used it for about an hour a day. He didn't go to the computer shop because the closest one was too far away.

He said there was a ground in Ishaan Nagar, but it was not well maintained. A lot of older youths drank and smoked there. He feared them, so he didn't go often. He explained gender on the grounds:

> In the ground only boys would play so girls won't come there to play and during nighttime also parents won't allow girls to go outside as it is not safe. There is no space for girls only.

He felt safest at home. But, outside near the roads and near the temple he felt unsafe as youth went there and "make us habituate to bad things." He did not think that Ishaan Nagar was safe for girls because the youth "roam around on their bikes and abuse girls." But it was safe for boys. For children, he suggests that they stay in their homes. He added that it wasn't safe at night because they didn't have streetlights, gates, or guards. He felt safer when playing under the closed-circuit television cameras "because there won't be any kidnappings happening." He

added that he knew of incidents where "they will come during the night, beat the parents, and take away the kid and sell the organs" (Bagheri 2016). He feared the vehicles (highway) as well. He had some rules like a curfew that he had to follow including "during dark I shouldn't go to my friend's place."



Figure 205: The first was along the dirt lane on the side of the community, which he said he walked in order to be in nature (Source: Narayan 2019).

His favorite things in Ishaan Nagar were the greenery and the place that he plays near the temple. He also liked that it was peaceful and when it rained, he could see rainbows. Finally, it had clean houses and there was a lot of development so he thought that he would have access to more facilities soon. He didn't like the exposed sewage drains, the lack of proper roads, the dumping place near the Outer Ring Road, and the elders that tell him not to play on the ground.

Yashila (The College Student) was technically a teenager but acted more like a young woman. She had completed secondary school and was attending a technical college. She carried an air of dignity and responsibility. She was also very proud and seemed to think often of moving out of the community. She looked at me absurdly when I asked what games she played

and informed that she was way too busy with homework and family responsibilities to play like a child.



Figure 206: He said there was a ground in Ishaan Nagar, but it was not well maintained (Source: Narayan 2019).

Her family house was on a dirt lane toward the center of the community. It was southern facing with a step and an iron gate. It did not have a courtyard but just a narrow outdoor "hallway" like Prameda's and Smija's house. The interviews took place in that space between the house and the next dwelling. When we were holding the interview, chickens would come in from that side. They also had a restroom outside toward the end of the outdoor hallway.

Yashila attended BHEL Telangana State Lingampally Junior College everyday by auto, which was about 13 km or a 30-minute ride. She recently started traveling alone to the college by auto but before she went with her mother as an escort. She walks from the community down the highway to the roundabout and then takes an auto from there. Junior College is typical in India where high school runs through age 15/16. Students who continue with their studies go to a preparatory college before enrolling in university. Yashila liked the college better than her house in Ishaan Nagar because she had friends there. Most of her college friends lived in other

parts of Hyderabad such as Mehendipatam and Masjid Banda (10-20 km on the other side of the college from Ishaan Nagar in the city of Hyderabad). She only saw her friends in college.

She has lived in Ishaan Nagar for 11 years. Before moving, she lived in Hi-Tec City. She doesn't remember the exact location because they moved when she was a small child. Her mother clarified that it was a village that had no services but now the area is settled with playgrounds and buildings all over. She added that the family moved out to Ishaan Nagar because the plots were cheap.

Yashila's younger brother played on the open field behind the community but she didn't know of any place where girls could play. Her mother interrupted telling that girls don't play at all and don't go out "because the boys here are also not so good."

Yashila went to a hostel for her middle and high school years, so she never played or had friends in Ishaan Nagar. Her hostel was located in Secunderabad and she really liked that urban area. She had free time to walk the streets and would shop and hang out with her friends at the park. They had a school ground where she played badminton, kho-kho, and kabaddi.

Her daily routine was to go to college and return to Ishaan Nagar around 2:30 pm to do chores like washing clothes and dishes. Then she watched TV and completed any remaining homework. She liked to stay at home and sit in the breezeway and watch TV. Sometimes she played chits with her sisters. On the weekends she went to the market with her parents. She explained that she couldn't play in Ishaan Nagar even if she wanted to because "the roads are very congested with parked bikes and cars, and I have no friends here."

She liked that Ishaan Nagar had a good water supply. She didn't like that the community didn't have any shops and that she had to travel far to get supplies for school and the home. She also said that transportation was a problem because there was no availability of autos or buses. There were no streetlights, and she was scared to run errands at night even if in an emergency like getting medicine. Generally, she felt safe in Ishaan Nagar, but she was scared at night, especially when she was home alone. She heard stories of robberies. She didn't think the community was safe for girls. She was also scared of the highway because of lorry drivers.

To improve Ishaan Nagar, she wanted to install streetlights, a children's park, a place for students to study, and transportation options. She would like a ground to be constructed so she could have a nice place to study. She would prefer to study around more trees and have comfortable benches to sit at.

Ketan (The Boarder) was really excited to participate. He was Smija's friend, and their houses backed up to each other. He brought us over to his house to meet his parents. His house was a single level with a gate on the north side and a half wall around the front and east sides. There was a restroom (like an outhouse) in the corner of the courtyard that I later learned was a source of income. While we were there, people from the neighborhood would come by and pay something small like Rs. 1-2 to use the restroom.



Figure 207: There was a restroom (like an outhouse) in the corner of the courtyard that I later learned was a source of income (Source: Ketan 2019).

He attended a government hostel very far outside the city—It was just across the highway from the Ramoji Film Studio in the old Druvinirir Technical College buildings. While I didn't need his interview, Ketan was clear that it meant a lot to him to have people listen to him and to show off that he knew foreigners. So, we agreed to meet him, with his father's permission, at the college for the second interview.

Research Assistant Sekhar and I hired an Ola out-city car for the day. It took me 3 hours to get from Cyberabad to Ramoji by going through the old city. The hostel was quite nice. It was very clean and there was a lot of open land around it. We had the driver wait in his car.

Unfortunately, there was some miscommunication and while we had permission from the headmaster, the faculty at the hostel were very suspicious. Eventually, they let Ketan come and talk with us on the patio for 30 minutes. We would have taken longer but they said they wanted to let the kids out to play on the patio and would not let them out of the school while we were there because of concerns with human trafficking.

Ketan's family moved to Ishaan Nagar from Kondapur, which is about 20 km away on the North side of Cyberabad over a decade prior. He explained, like Anju's family, that his family had rented a house and then moved to this community to build a house. However, unlike Anju and Narayan, he liked Ishaan Nagar more than Kondapur. In Kondapur he lived in an apartment building and there was no place for him to play but he thought that there were lots of open spaces for him to play in Ishaan Nagar. He spent most of his free time inside watching TV and didn't feel safe there. He felt that he had more freedom in Ishaan Nagar than in Kondapur.

In Ishaan Nagar he played with his friends on the roads and on the ground (the field behind the community). During the mapping exercise, he revealed that he only uses the southern half of the field because he said he feared snakes in the northern half, however, I observed women defecating in the north half so perhaps that was a reason he was too embarrassed to mention. He went in the mornings and evenings to play and avoided the afternoon time. He thought that Ishaan Nagar was safe for both boys and girls, both day and night. Overall, he felt safe playing, but he had a curfew to return home by dinner time.



Figure 208: In Ishaan Nagar he played with his friends on the roads and on the ground (the field behind the community) (Source: Ketan 2019).

He had 12 friends in his group in Ishaan Nagar, but he has a lot of friends in boarding school too, so he doesn't miss his friends from Ishaan Nagar much. In the mapping exercise he showed that he mostly played on the street about a one-block radius from his house or the

ground where he played marbles, cricket, volleyball, and kabaddi. He also swam with his friends in the community water tank.



Figure 209: In the mapping exercise he showed that he mostly played on the street about a one-block radius from his house or the ground where he played marbles, cricket, volleyball, and kabaddi (Source: Ketan 2019).

Since he went to a boarding school, his days at home are limited to holidays. During this time, his schedule was to wake up at 6:00 am, fetch fresh milk from a local shop, bathe, and have tea. Afterwards, he went outside and played. On Sundays he liked to watch cricket on TV.

He didn't play near the highway because he feared the vehicles. His favorite places in Ishaan Nagar were the temple, the ground, his friend's house, and the road. He chatted with his friends near the temple under the tree.



Figure 210: His favorite places in Ishaan Nagar inlcuded the temple grounds (Source: Ketan 2019).

Reethika (The Seamstress) was very soft spoken but not shy. She wanted to be a seamstress and didn't find school useful. She was bold about saying she didn't like school and didn't want to go. She was helping her mom in the courtyard both times that we met her.

On the second visit, we couldn't find her at first, so we asked around and Prameda led us to her new house which was closer to Manish's and Godavari's house. It was a much smaller house with a shared outdoor space in front and only one small, rented room. There was no kitchen and no bathroom at the new rental. The mom complained to us that they had been renting the other house for some time but then one day the landlord came and said that he had enough money to build a proper house, so he evicted them. They had to leave the same day and it seemed like her husband had abandoned them, so she was upset about moving her things so quickly without help. She said they bulldozed the first house a week later. Her tenancy was off record so there was nothing she could do to protest it.

Reethika's mom stopped the first interview because she didn't understand why we were interested in Reethika's perspective… "what will a kid know about it? I suggest you ask me the questions." But after we explained the project (again) she let us continue.

The second time we visited the new house and the mother brought out a large mat for us to sit on in the courtyard. The mother sat near us but was completely uninterested in the conversation and mostly peeled corn while we talked. Reethika was not really interested in the questions but was more interested in the mapping. She didn't quite understand the maps but as we talked with her, we helped her through them. The research assistants thought that Reethika had some things she was hiding about her experience in Ishaan Nagar. However, since she was uncomfortable, we did not push her to answer but this limited our understanding of her experience.

Reethika moved to Ishaan Nagar four years prior from Nizamabad. She liked her old community better. She said there were good roads there and trees that she could sit under and talk. She went to school when she lived in Nizamabad. She dropped out of school in 5th grade around the time she moved to Ishaan Nagar because she had an appendix problem and afterward "she forgot everything."

Her daily routine was to bathe and then work at home for about two hours before going to play for about four hours and then return to work. She played with her five local friends just in front of the house on the street. They liked to walk around and go to the shops and buy snacks like chocolates and biscuits. They walked casually, talking, and strolling on the roads here and there. She played in the street because "there is no other place." She didn't like the dirt roads and she didn't like that there was no ground to play. There were no streetlights, and she didn't like that. She added that there was no running water in the community and that her mother had to buy the water from a tanker. She added that the drainage system was bad too and there wasn't a proper *nahani* trap (floor trap for the bathroom).

She had no fears in the community, day, or night. She said that sometimes people drank in the evenings but that was why the kids just played near or inside of their houses. They played hide and seek and running games. However, in the second interview she gave more explanation and said that, actually, she felt unsafe at night. In the mornings she goes wherever she wants but not at night. She also added that she never goes anywhere alone because she feels unsafe. In the mapping exercise, she said that the field behind the community was a boys' space. She also said that she played near the temple once but was scolded by youths who said that it was only for boys, so she hasn't been back since then. She also pointed out an area to the south of the

community where the dogs scared her… and said that she conformed her routes to go around street dogs. She showed us an area near the highway where she hung out with her friends.

Pramoda (The Maid's Daughter) was Reethika's closest friend. Pramoda was shy at first but quite opinionated once we got to know her. She lived in a one-level house on a dirt road. There was a half-wall around the front and one side. Her house had significant improvements between the first and the second interview which could be in part due to Diwali gifts including a TV and stand as well as a nice table. They had a small kitchen area and separate bedrooms. The house was clean and there was a nice breeze through it. The outside of the house was very stark and unmaintained. The iron gate was broken and the tiles to the front door (around the side) were cracked. The gate to the house entrance was on the North side of the building.

The family was very nice. There were several shrines for Mary in the house and the family made a point to try to connect with me based on religion. Her mom worked as a domestic cook in some of the houses in Jayabheri Orange County (in Financial District) and sometimes Pramoda went with her and played in their playground.

Pradama attended the Triveni Talent School in Manikonda, which was about 20 km away or a 30-minute car ride from Ishaan Nagar. She had a ground at school, and she played a lot of games like kho kho and kabaddi. She practiced karate in school regularly. She was involved in tournaments, and they traveled to places such as Miyapur (about 20 km toward Cyberabad).

Her family had lived in Ishaan Nagar for about five years. They moved there from Kokapet (about 12 km away and adjacent to the Cyberabad Financial District). There was not a ground there either, so she just played with her friends in the street.

Her daily routine was to get up at 6:00 am, bathe, and eat breakfast before going to school. She had to leave at 7:30 am and then returned at 6:30 pm. She played for about one hour and then studied for 30 minutes before eating dinner and going to bed.

On Sunday she woke up at 5:30 am to bathe and then went to church. She returned around 1:00 pm and then ate lunch at 2:30 pm. For the rest of the day, she either studied or played outside. On major holidays she goes to her grandmother's house in Shaikhpet.

She had five friends that are around her age in Ishaan Nagar. She believed that she played inside alone with her dolls inside more than outside with her friends in the street. She went walking around the community in the morning with friends or with her mom. She had never

been to the field that the boys refer to as the "ground." She knew there was a ground in nearby Kolloru (about 2 km up the highway) but she had not been to that either.

In the mapping exercise, she revealed that she frequently had to run to the shops to get things for her mom. The ones that she went to were just a block away. She told of a robbery that happened across the street and how it made her scared. She also showed us the location of a big tree that she really liked to play under/in the shade of. She also took a longer back road route to get to her friend's house than the direct route because of safety. She didn't like the street boys.

Her brother had a computer in their house that he let her use. She watched movies and sometimes she played games. She had access to a cell phone, and she used it to play games. She watched TikTok and posted one video.

Smija (The Wary Girl) was shy. Like Ketan, she was a teenager that spent most of her time boarding at the hostel and was rarely home. Her house was small and on a dirt road. It had a small broken step and broken gate. The house faced south and was similar in plan to Padema's with a narrow hall that fed to two or three rooms. Smija said she felt more comfortable to give the interview at Ketan's house, so we took it right after Ketan's interview. I speculated based on her behavior that the reason she didn't want to do the interview was because of issues at home and she didn't want to get caught saying something that her father would overhear (as she spoke of domestic violence in the community perpetrated by the adult men in a way that hinted at her own experiences).

Smija had been going for three years to the hostel called MJP Telangana Welfare Residential Educational Institutions Society, which was located 27 km or a 90-minute drive from Ishaan Nagar. She left for the hostel after Diwali and we were never able to get access to the hostel for the second interview, but her first interview was insightful.

She was born and raised in Ishaan Nagar. She preferred the hostel because both of her parents work so she was left home alone a lot. She recalled when she was a day-scholar at the local school that she had a friend who lived in Kollur (2 km up the highway) and she walked there to play with her friend and was scolded. Her mother scolded:

> Why are you roaming? Are you big now? Girls should not go. Here boys are not nice. Youth are not nice.



Figure 211: Her house was small and on a dirt road (Source: Smija 2019).

In the hostel, she lived in a dormitory with 40 other girls. All their bunk beds were in one room on the level above the dining hall. When in the hostel, she woke up at 5:00 am and had one hour of exercise and then one hour of free time. At 7:00 am she had milk and *ragi malt* (porridge). School started at 7:30 am. At 9:15 they had breakfast for 30 minutes and then back to school. At 1:30 pm school is done, and they ate lunch. After lunch was study hours until 4:30 pm and then they played until 6:00 pm. She was on the volleyball team, and they won first prize in zonal level. She was not allowed to leave the hostel without written permission. Her parents visited her a few times when she started, but now they only come to fetch her for holidays.

On Sundays, she had study hours twice—three hours in the morning and three in the evening with play hours in between. She liked playing volleyball, running, and cricket. She had a lot of friends in the hostel and there was a ground. (When viewing aerial imagery of her hostel, there was a ground surrounded by trees in the courtyard and a medium sized park across the street).

She played games such as Temple Run, Bubble Shooter, and Candy Crush on her cell phone. They didn't have access to a computer at the hostel for recreation, but she learned how to do office tasks like MS Word, etc.

She said that there was no place to play games and no equipment to play with in Ishaan Nagar. She only stayed at home and watched movies or listened to Telugu songs. She added that there were "only boys here" so she didn't like to be outside. Specifically, the ground on the back side of the community (open field) was only for boys. There were only small children to play with, but she didn't have kids her age that lived in the area. She explained:

> Most of the girls do not come outside. They stay in the home only. So many teenagers stay in hostels and only come back to Ishaan Nagar during holidays. The community is empty.

She wanted to improve Ishaan Nagar by prohibiting alcohol. She said that on Sundays, "They will drink, and they will fight with each other's wives. I don't like that." She also wanted to add shops that were bigger than the *kirana* shops and a ground. She also had concerns about the streets:

> For each road it should be *damar* (asphalt) road, drainages, leakages will come, and that dirty water goes in front of our houses then dengue, typhoid fevers occur. So, I want to tell that drainages and roads should be improved.

Manish (The Serious Boy) was the son of one of the women in the Self-Help Group. Manish was thoughtful, patient, and clever in answering questions. He seemed to have a lot of maturity and appeared happy. He looked out for his younger sister and would hang out with the friends, but he wasn't "silly" or "childish" when he played.

Their house was larger and made of better materials than many of the surrounding houses. It had a 6-foot wall and an opaque, full height gate. Inside was a nice and shaded courtyard. It led to two main rooms. There was a small side yard and I believe the kitchen was just off that. However, we were never invited anywhere except the courtyard. Everything was clean and painted in light blues and greens.

Manish attended a private school, Akshaya Foundation School (the same as Anju). He explained his daily routine in school from 6:30-3:30:

> Morning I wake up at 5:00 am. After, take brush. Drink milk. Bath. Go to washroom. And then come, ready. Walk to bus stop. Catch bus and go to school. Then I wait for class. First one is Telugu, then Hindi, then English, Physics, Math, Science/Social, Bio. Last one is Bio.

He had 10 friends in his local friend group. He hung out at the grounds for one to two hours playing cricket. He mostly hung out in the street. In the streets, he played games like gully

cricket and kabaddi. Sometimes he hung out with his friends near the Outer Ring Road. No one watched over him while he played. He didn't feel that he has any rules. In the mapping and photovoice exercise, he revealed that he played in the temple grounds as well.



Figure 212: In the mapping and photovoice exercise, he revealed that he played in the temple grounds as well (Source: Manish 2019).

He spent time with his friends on Sunday. They hung out around his house. He went to shopping areas and to the computer shop. He liked to go strolling in the evenings and on the holidays with his family. He used social media. Mostly he used Google for school research, WhatsApp for chatting, and YouTube for entertainment. He accessed them through his parent's cell phone.

He has lived in Ishaan Nagar for three years. His family moved from Siddiqnagar in High Tech City about 18 km away. Interestingly, Siddiqnagar is just behind Rajeev Nagar in the heart of Cyberabad. He remembered that there were large grounds there and he used to go to the botanical gardens that were nearby. He explained some of the troubles of relocating so far from the city,

> We were very comfortable there and after coming here many problems arose like there are no stationaries here, xerox shops etc. We had modern facilities over there, here we have nothing.



Figure 213: They hung out around his house (Source: Manish 2019).

In HiTec City, there were big apartment (buildings) and rooftops, but the houses were very small. In comparison, he felt more freedom in Ishaan Nagar but safer in HiTech City. In the follow up interview, however, he said that there were lots of police that patrol because of the highway and that he did feel safe in Ishaan Nagar. Manish explained community safety:

> Surroundings are both safe and unsafe. Problem is, they have some Bihar peoples so they will thieve things. Just one week before there are twelve bikes are theft here. So, they are very feared. One year ago, there, ugh, near our village only they killed one and have taken out their kidneys. One year back only. My teacher say it was the Bihar people.

He went on to say that he thought it was dangerous "out here" (implying the distance from the urban area made them more vulnerable) because there were no police nearby. However, there were a lot of dogs in the village and that made him feel safer. He thought the biggest threat in Ishaan Nagar was violence. He explains:

> There are so many people here in a fight with drugs. So, they all the fight each other. There are so many places they will fight, sir. So many families are there. They fight daily… thefting… fighting…

He explained the best and worst things about Ishaan Nagar:

> There will be more plants for planting. Daily, when I wake up, [the village elders] will keep *panchat* (village council). They will make the village look nicely. They will give money for their people who don't have money. And, the people who don't have money, they will have money. And, the worst thing here is that there are no bathrooms. So, the people who have places for building them they will give Rs. 40,000-50,000. For them to build their bathrooms.

Interestingly, when Research Assistant Prakash asked if everyone should get a whole house, Manish said, "no, not a new house. Those who don't have bathrooms should have minimum facilities only."

Godavari (The Reader) was Manish's younger sister. She was very happy but also shy. It was obviously made worse because her mother insisted on sitting in during the interviews and would constantly correct her. We interviewed her the first and second time in the courtyard of their home. There were lots of kids present that were very interested.

Godavari attended the Akshaya Foundation School in Lingampally along with Manish. She traveled there by bus. She said that there was a ground at her school, but they didn't have a playground with equipment. They had trees but the teachers do not let her climb them.

Her daily routine for school was the same as Manish's. When she returned home, she freshened up, studied, watched TV and then played until it was time for bed at 9:00 pm. She liked to read books in English. On holidays she went with her family to their village in Parvatipuram, Andhra Pradesh.

She liked Ishaan Nagar and she had about 10 local friends. When she played her mom supervised her. She was the happiest in her school and her house. She didn't play at night (only until around 6:00 pm). She preferred playing inside than outside. When outside she said she only liked to play skipping rope. She played with her friends in the courtyard of her house or outside on the street near her house on Sundays. They played games like kho-kho, kabaddi, etc. They didn't go to the ground because they were "small kids," and it was too far for her to travel.

She watched YouTube videos but did not have any social media accounts. She liked watching videos of kids singing and dancing and also instructional videos about making clay models. She also watched videos about dancing (to Bollywood movies) and then her group of friends would practice the dance in her courtyard. She played cell phone games such as Temple Run, Rail Rush, and Puzzles as well as TikTok.


Figure 214: She played with her friends in the courtyard of her house (Source: Godavari 2019).

The 3rd Places in Ishaan Nagar

From the ten intensive interviews, I identified three primary hangout locations that were "public spaces" in practice to be the temple ground, the open field, and the residential street. Most of these spaces are categories of types of space rather than a singular location. I used the results of the mapping exercises to identify the most active singular space within each type for spatial analysis. The results of the spatial analysis are reported in Chapter 5: Dispossession at Play.

Adolescent's Spatial Activity in Hyderabad's Dispossessed Communities

This section is about adolescent's spatial activity through and beyond their community environment. As detailed in "Adolescent's Spatial Activity in Manila's Resettlement Communities," spatial activity is a function of both where adolescents go (mobility) as well as how they interact with their surroundings (environmental competence). The quality of adolescents' environmental transactions is linked to their healthy development (Bronfenbrenner 1968, Moore 1983, Evans 2006). In this section, I focus on adolescent's independent mobility and their unsupervised engagement with the environment. This study worked with 26 interview

participants at the critical age of adolescents in which independent mobility begins (approximately 12-16 years old in this context).

The in-depth interviews allowed me to capture adolescent's range of spaces and environmental experiences in order to draw conclusions about the major themes that effected their spatial activities. Identifying and describing these themes helps to answer the original research questions, what spaces perform as public space in dispossessed communities? And, how do adolescents use these public spaces?

In these three sites of erasure and reconstruction themes similar but not identical to those found in the four resettlement sites in the Philippines, dictated adolescent's spatial activity patterns. The guiding themes in the India case study were territory & range; school; streets, pathways, & typical routes; social groups; gendered spaces; mobility license; fears, risk, & safety; social media & computer games; and mode of transport. These themes emerged from two rounds of coding in-depth interview transcripts and analyzing participant's maps and photographs (photovoice).

Similar studies with adolescents (Chawla 2002, Kreutz 2016) and the previously described case study in the Philippines also incorporated spatial activity patterns based on seasonal and weather changes, fatigue, and chores & work. In Hyderabad the weather is dry and hot for nine months out of the year, which provided little variation in adolescent's spatial patterns. Monsoon season lasts from approximately July to September and deluges the city, which is so ill-equipped to handle the extensive flooding that I was advised not to travel in the area during that period.[75] While adolescents frequently talked of "resting" after school, the interview data did not have a high enough level of granularity to interpret emotional/physical conditions such as 'fatigue.' 'Chores & work' was a prominent theme in the Philippines case study but rarely impacted adolescent's spatial mobility in India. Some adolescents such as Reethika and Vo Poolla worked part time jobs, but their experiences were based on circumstance rather than a cultural norm as indoctrinated in the Philippines through "values education." A few of the girls in the India case study talked of "helping mom" or "sometimes I bring my younger sibling" but rarely did that line of questioning lead to independent mobility

[75] I returned once in July 2018 to test out the concerns with flooding and ended up stranded in a hostel for nearly a week. While I didn't observe these communities during the monsoon season, I expect that the adolescents had limited mobility as well.

decisions. Although not an influence on their spatial activity, the theme of "improvements" illuminates adolescent's creativity and provides deeper insight into how and if they imagine an environmental alternative.

Range & Territory

Community site plans, in which participants drew their daily routes and identified frequent locations/destinations, measured the range of adolescents living in the three sites. Using Google Earth, I calculated the adolescent's independent range and found that there were significant variations based on gender and community site. The participants from Gachibowli Village had an average range of 8,999 m^2 with an average maximum path distance of 494 m. The participants from Nanakramguda had an average range of 7,089 m^2 with an average maximum path distance of 646 m. The participants from Ishaan Nagar had an average range of 5,221 m^2 with an average maximum path distance of 348 m.

The girls' average range was between 24%-36% of the boys' average range across the communities but their maximum path distance was between 38%-62%. This suggests that girls always have a smaller independent mobility area but their reach (the maximum distance they traveled in each direction) was dependent upon the environment. The girls' reasons for their smaller range were largely a factor of safety and social expectations.

Gachibowli Village	Area (m^2)	Max Path (m)	Nana-kramguda	Area (m2)	Max Path (m)	Ishaan Nagar	Area (m^2)	Max Path (m)
Loknath	8,873	803	Adhira	5,321	316	Anju	2,542	286
Aadita	4,881	178	Bhavesh	9,434	1,134	Ketan	5,980	298
Bindiya	1,148	95	Maruti	13,611	670	Manish	7,034	524
Jaisal	9,110	620	Nikhil	13,042	1,174	Narayan	10,372	516
Kamalaj	8,761	1,293	Rajalakshmi	1,628	1,350	Godavari	2,290	235
Nivant	2,853	215	Sunny	8,937	210	Pramoda	2,199	153
Rakhi	6,615	494	Ujhala	1,638	214	Reethika	2,282	302
Vo Poolla	8,079	562	Preet	3,097	97	Smija	N/A	N/A
						Vardan	12,665	543
						Yashila	1,621	277
Girls Av.	4,215	256	Girls Av.	2,921	494	Girls Av.	2,187	251
Boys Av.	7,535	673	Boys Av.	11,256	797	Boys Av.	9,013	470
Average	6,290	494	Average	7,089	646	Average	5,221	348

Table 17: Using Google Earth, I calculated the adolescent's independent range and found that there were significant variations based on gender and community site (Source: Author 2021).



Figure 215: The participants from Gachibowli Village had an average range of 8,999 m^2 with an average maximum path distance of 494 m (Source: Author 2021).

Unlike the Philippines data, I did not find a relationship to age. Gachibowli Village had the largest range at 8,999 m^2 however, there were two participants who lived outside of the study site but walked to the site for school and play. This skewed the data as the participants in other sites lived in their community.

The adolescents spoke of territoriality as a key reason for their mobility decisions. Across sites, some territories were commonly attributed to "youths," "dogs," "construction workers," "women," and "drivers." In contrast, only a few of the participants exhibited territoriality. Maruti demonstrated the strongest territoriality most likely because his father was the Sarpanch (village leader) of the community and owned several properties. Specifically, he spoke of a playground in an adjacent complex where it is understood by both adults and children to vacate the area when he and his friends show up to play. Navigating territories of adults and animals was a primary reason for selecting routes and hangout spaces.

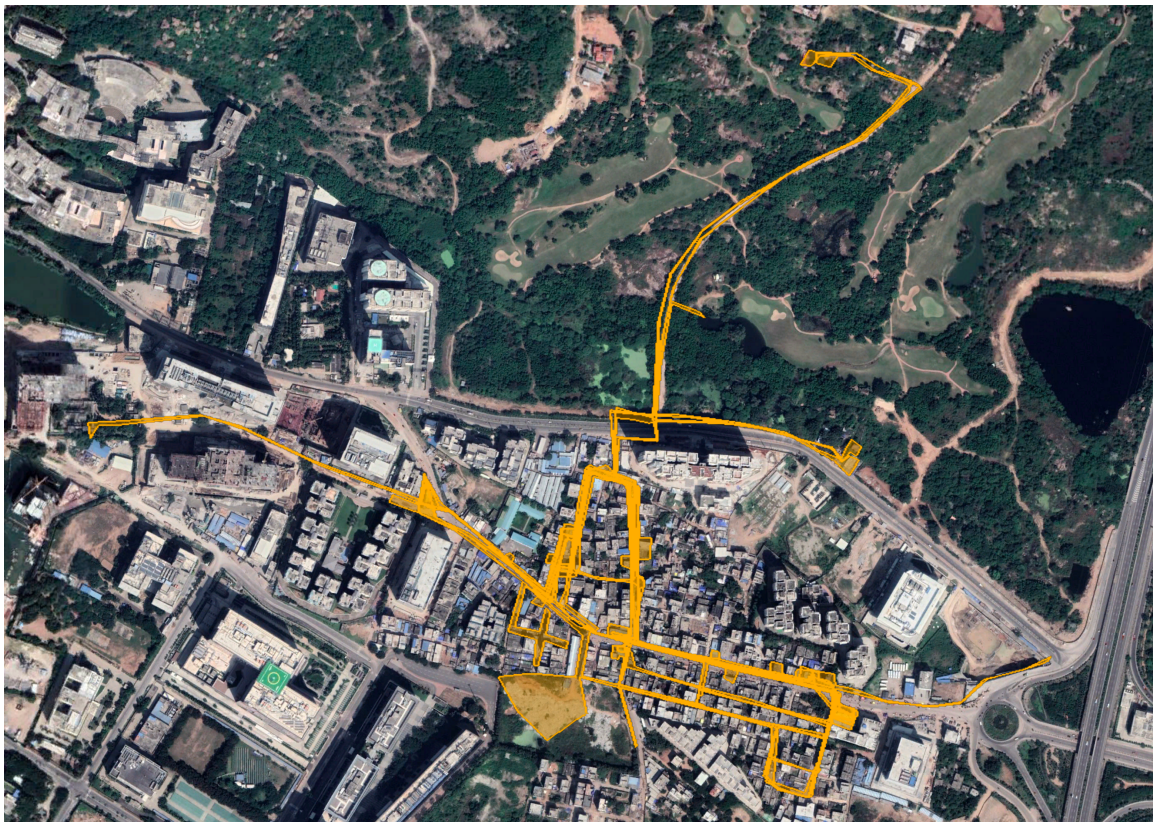


Figure 216: The participants from Nanakramguda had an average range of 7,089 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 646 m (Source: Author 2021).



Figure 217: The participants from Ishaan Nagar had an average range of 5,221 m2 with an average maximum path distance of 348 m (Source: Author 2021).

Typical Routes



Figure 218: The figure ground diagrams show how open space is used for circulation (Source: Author and Shrestha 2021).

The next theme that influenced adolescent's spatial activities was their choice of route. In Chapter VI. ADOLESCENTS' 3rd PLACES, I recorded and analyzed systematic observations

with critical incident frequencies to investigate routes through public space. However, in this section, I captured adolescents' movements along streets and pathways to determine their typical routes at the community scale. I rely exclusively on adolescent's aerial mapping and interview responses, with my own fieldnotes.

I overlaid the routes for each site onto a single map as shown in Figure 215, Figure 216, and Figure 217 to identify the most frequently used streets and pathways. The figure ground diagrams show how open space is used for circulation.[76] The width of the route is proportional to the frequency of use, as wider pathways indicate more use.

The entry street to Ishaan Nagar was heavily used but not the entry streets to Nanakramguda and Gachibowli Village. This could be explained because the school bus pickup point is located outside of Ishaan Nagar whereas the school bus pickup points are inside of Nanakramguda and Gachibowli Village. All adolescents were cautious of the entryway because of fears related to traffic as well as people. The most heavily used routes in all communities were back streets. Interestingly, many of the participants described their routes in terms of either traveling to a destination or walking for pleasure. The boys tended to take more risks in their choice of routes because they walked along and crossed the high-traffic streets whereas the girls stayed closer to their homes.

School

As expected for many adolescents, school is a huge component of their daily schedule. In the Philippines, students were expected to attend school for about six hours a day and afterwards complete homework and/or attend extracurricular practices. However, in the three sites in India, school and studying were so pervasive that they structured social and environmental access. The students there attended school for about nine hours a day, and many attended afterschool "tuitions" (tutoring). Additionally, all the schools in India held a Saturday session ranging from a six-hour ("half-day") to a full day, and students in the 10th grade were

[76] The figure ground diagram is also known as a variation of a Nolli Map after architect Giovanni Battista Nolli who drew the first one in 1736. It is an urban design tool used to understand and document the accessibility and flow of space within an urban area. The key is the distinction between mass and space to inform the relationship of public and private space, to uncover the urban pattern language, to see what is missing, and to understand that buildings are never isolated but part of an urban fabric.

expected to attend a second full day on Sunday in preparation for their state exams. Two students were full-time residents at boarding schools (hostels) through a popular government program oriented toward Other Backward Caste. I gathered these insights from the in-depth interviews with adolescents, interviews with adult members of these communities, archives such as school websites and census data, and my fieldnotes.

School was not only a large time commitment; it also supported an independent social structure. Most of the participants spoke of two sets of friends—a primary set at school and a secondary set at home—that never interacted. This was largely because many adolescents attended an off-site school, and/or their school friends lived too far away to walk to hang out after school hours. In effect, this manifested as detachment from their local social structures and subsequently the local environment. Students spoke of not wanting to put out the effort to get to know others in their neighborhood because they had a group of friends at school that they spent more time with. Simultaneously, they complained that all of the local adolescents stayed in their homes and there was not an opportunity to get to know them. Smija explains:

> Research Assistant Ayesha: *Tum baahar bilkul mat jao?* [You don't go out at all?]
>
> Smija: Main sirph sadak aur galiyon mein jaata hoon. Saath khelane ke lie chhote bachche hain. [I go to the road and the streets. There are small kids to play with.]
>
> Ayesha: *To, tum yahaan par apane umr ke dost nahin hai?* [So, you don't have friends your age over here?]
>
> Smija: *Haan. Ve mujhase bahut door hain… Jab main ek bachcha tha, main ek din ka vidvaan tha. Mera ek dost tha. Vah door rahatee hai. Agar main usase milane jaata hoon to meree maan mujhe daantegee. Kyon ghoom rahe ho? Aap bade sahee ho gae hain? Aapako nahin jaana chaahie. Yahaan ladake achchhe nahin hain. Yuva achchhe nahin hain.* [Yes. They are far from me... When I was a child, I was a day scholar. Then, I had one friend. She lived far. If I went, my mother would scold. Why you're roaming? You have become big right? You should not go. Here boys are not nice. Youth is not nice.]
>
> Ayesha: *Hostal mein aapake dost sahee hain?* [In the hostel you have friends, right?]
>
> Smija: *Haan. Main apane doston ko hostal mein rakhata hoon.* [Yes. I maintain my friends in the hostel.]
>
> AA: *Yahaan aisee kaun see jagahen hain jo keval ladakiyaan hee khel sakatee hain?* [Here what are the places that girls can play?]

S: *Jyaadaatar ladakiyaan baahar nahin aaengee. Ve ghar mein hee rahenge. itane sadasy ek chhaatraavaas mein rahenge. Keval avasar par, ham yahaan aaenge.* [Most of girls do not come outside. They will stay in the home only. So many members will stay in the hostel and only on occasion we will come here.]

In addition to structuring adolescents' social lives, school facilities were often the only opportunity to interact with trees and safe open space. Many adolescents liked their school because of environmental features such as "trees," "grounds," "benches," "grass," and "places to sit." For many students, the school environment was safe, comfortable, and convenient as open space. However, because school officials restricted access it was not public space in practice. Public schools restricted access during certain hours and they only admitted enrolled students. All students appreciated the restrictions based on age, but many complained that they would like to access the grounds afterhours because it was the only place "for them." Yet, most students attended private schools which have a variety of environmental amenities. A popular typology for schools in India is the mid-rise classroom building that has no accompanying grounds or outdoor access. These schools promoted a classroom experience that mimicked an office environment but the students who attended these schools were environmentally deprived or outdoor spaces. Conversely, some private schools had extensive grounds and gardens. The privatization of education in India is a symptom of neoliberalism that plays out in the daily lives of adolescents through uneven access to nature and open spaces.[77]

Social Groups

As described in the previous section, *School*, adolescents who attended school typically had two social groups while adolescents who did not attend school only had the social group in their community. The local social group was the focus of my line of questioning because it most likely influenced their independent spatial mobility within the community. The size of adolescents' local social groups ranged from 3-28 members with a mean of eight, and mostly consisted of other adolescents around their age. In contrast to the social groups (*barkadas*) in the Philippines that were larger, formal, and named, adolescents in India described the social

[77] See Boucher (2020) for further information about the neoliberal economic reforms in India's educational system, specifically the effects of privatization.

groups in these three communities as informal and casual but had a specific inter-group hierarchy. I gathered these insights from in-depth interviews and fieldnotes.

Many adolescents had two or three close friends and then several local acquaintances. Close friends were those that they socialized with daily—confidants with whom they spent a large amount of time talking privately. Local acquaintances were friends with whom they socialized on occasion, such as when playing a game that required a large number of people or a holiday with long hours of free time.

Adolescents' spatial activity greatly differed between these two types of social groups. They looked for environments that afforded them a gradient of auditory privacy but also provided them with opportunities for exposure and 'people watching.' When with their close friends, they often strolled along the street or sat in front of shops and talked. Their routes were longer with intermittent moments of stationary activity. Reethika describes "roaming" with her closest friends:

> Research Assistant Sanjana: సరే, రోమింగ్ చేస్తున్నప్పుడు మీరు ఏమి చేస్తారు? [Okay, while roaming what will you do?]
>
> Reethika: మేము ఏమీ చేయము. [We won't do anything.]
>
> Sanjana: అంటే మీరు సాధారణంగా నడుస్తూ ఒకరితో ఒకరు మాట్లాడుకుంటున్నారా? [That means you walk casually and talk to each other?]
>
> Reethika: అవును, మేము నడవడానికి మరియు మాట్లాడటానికి ఇష్టపడతాము. [Yes, we like to just walk and talk.]
>
> Sanjana: సరే, ఎక్కడ? మీరు ఎక్కడికి వెళ్తారు? [Okay, where? Where do you go like that?]
>
> Reethika: రోడ్లపై మరియు తరువాత మేము ఇక్కడ మరియు అక్కడ వేర్వేరు దుకాణాల గుండా వెళతాము [On the roads and then we pass by different shops, here and there.]
>
> Sanjana: ఓహ్, మీరు షాపులో ఏమి కొంటారు? మీకు ఏమి ఇష్టం? [Oh, what do you buy at the shop? What do you like?]
>
> Reethika: కొన్నిసార్లు చాక్లెట్లు కానీ ఎక్కువగా మనం కూర్చుని మాట్లాడటానికి అక్కడే నడుస్తాము. [Sometimes chocolates but mostly we just walk there and sometimes sit and talk.]

Adolescents also frequently mentioned going over to their friend's houses to talk and hang out. In contrast to roaming with close friends, when with local acquaintances, the

adolescents were likely to play formal games such as kho-kho, kabaddi, out-out, gully cricket, or lingoch. They looked for environments that afforded them open space to play, the ability to shout without reprimand, and the safety of surveillance from trusted adults. Without access to grounds, they often played on a residential street area near their homes. Pramoda explains:

> Research Assistant Ayesha: *Kya aapake paas apane doston ke saath khelane ke lie koee vishesh sthaan hai?* [Do you have any special place to play with your friends?]
>
> Pramoda: *Nahin, mera yahaan koee aadhaar nahin hai. main kabhee maidaan mein nahin gaya. Phir, main keval yahaan kheloonga* [No, I don't have a ground here. I never went to a ground. Then, I will play only here (she points to the street in front of her house).]
>
> Ayesha: *Jaise, kya aapake paas ek ped hai jisake neeche aap khelate hain ya kuchh bhee?* [Like, do you have a tree under which you play or anything?]
>
> Pramoda: (shakes head)
>
> Ayesha: *Kya aap kisee ke ghar jaate hain?* [Do you go to someone's house?]
>
> Pramoda: (shakes head)
>
> Ayesha: *Yah sadak par hai?* [It's just on the street?]
>
> Pramoda: *Bas sadak par. Main apane ghar ke baahar unake saath khelata hoon.* [Just on the street. I play with them outside of my house.]

Generally, the adolescents described feelings of safety when with their social groups because they were less likely to be bullied by other adolescents. They also described feelings of increased confidence when they were with their social groups because they were with others "like them."

Gendered Space[78]

Like the Philippines, the perception of a space as a 'boys' space' or a 'girls' space' was a huge influence on the selection of routes and hangouts. Most spaces outside of the home were

[78] For an investigation on the influence of gender on children's plays spaces and environments in India, see Raskind (2020); Dhar, Jain and Jayachandran (2019); Sharmistha et al (2017); Aruldoss and Sevasti-Melissa (2019); Abraham (2010); Bhattacharya (2015); Datta (2016); Doran and Raja (2015); Sevasti-Melissa (2015); Rosen and Twamley (2018); and Sreenivas (2010).

gendered and the adolescents considered most accessible hangout spaces to be 'boys' space.' I gathered these insights from the in-depth interviews and my fieldnotes. Specifically, in each in-depth interview, the participants were asked if they noticed a space where only boys/girls go and then to describe why it is only for boys/girls. All participants identified the temple grounds as a 'boys' space.' None of the female participants spoke of hanging out or playing at the temple grounds in their community. A few of the participants from Ishaan Nagar shed light on the various perspectives albeit in individual interviews. Reethika starts the explanation:

> Research Assistant Ayesha (Santhosh translates to Telugu): మీరు ఇక్కడ ఆలయానికి వెళతారా? [Do you go to the temple here?]
>
> Reethika: ఆలయం దగ్గర ఆడటానికి ఎవరూ మమ్మల్ని అనుమతించరు [No one allows us to play near the temple.]
>
> Ayesha: వారు మిమ్మల్ని అక్కడ ఆడటానికి ఎందుకు అనుమతించరు? [Why don't they let you play there?]
>
> Reethika: మేము అక్కడ ఆడుతున్నప్పుడు అక్కడ ఉన్న పెద్ద వ్యక్తులు మమ్మల్ని తిడతారు. [Big people there scold us when we play there.]
>
> Ayesha: కాబట్టి, అబ్బాయిలు అక్కడ ఆడతారా? [So, do boys play there?]
>
> Reethika: అవును, వారు అక్కడ ఆడతారు. [Yes, they play there.]
>
> Ayesha: అప్పుడు, అమ్మాయిలను అక్కడ ఆడటానికి అనుమతించలేదా? [Then, girls are not allowed to play there?]
>
> Reethika: అవును, మాకు అక్కడ అనుమతి లేదు. వారు అమ్మాయిలను మాత్రమే తిడతారు. [Yes, we are not allowed there. They only scold the girls.]

In an interview with Vardan, his mother interjected with a possible explanation based on commonly perceived gender qualities, "When someone says something to a boy they can manage, but it's different for the girls (ఎవరైనా అబ్బాయితో ఏదైనా చెప్పినప్పుడు వారు నిర్వహించగలుగుతారు, కాని ఇది అమ్మాయిలకు భిన్నంగా ఉంటుంది)." However, the boys typically did not perceive this gender divide and frequently said that all spaces were accessible to both genders. Sticking with Ishaan Nagar, Manish described his perception:

Research Assistant Prakash: Do both boys and girls play here? Or, is there a special place for girls to play, for boys?

Manish: No, nothing like that.

Prakash: Describe for me.

Manish: Boys and girls can go anywhere and play in these nearby surroundings.

But Pramoda disagreed:

Research Assistant Ayesha: *Kya ladakon ke lie koee vishesh sthaan hai?* [Is there any special place for boys?]

Pramoda: *Haan, keval ek maidaan hoga, lekin ham nahin jaenge, vahaan ve kriket jaise maich khelenge.* [Yes, there will be one ground, but we will not go. There, they will play matches such as cricket.]

Ayesha: *Yah keval yahaan hai?* [It is here only (in this community)?]

Pramoda: *Haan, ve vaheen chalate hain.* [Yes, they walk just there.]

Ayesha: *Ladakiyon, ve vahaan nahin khelenge?* [Girls, they don't play there?]

Pramoda: *Ladakiyaan hee yahaan khelatee hain.* [Girls play only here (points to the street).]

Ayesha: Kaheen aisa to nahin ki sirph ladakiyaan hee khelatee hain? [Is there anywhere that only girls play?]

Pramoda: No.

Narayan offered a different explanation based on fears:

Research Assistant Santosh: ఇక్కడ అమ్మాయిలకు ఇది సురక్షితమని మీరు భావిస్తున్నారా? [Do you feel it is safe for girls here?]

Narayan: లేదు [No.]

Santhosh: ఎందుకు? [Why?]

Narayan: ఎందుకంటే ఆ పెద్దలు తమ బైక్‌లపై తిరుగుతూ అమ్మాయిలను వేధిస్తారు. [Because those elder people roam around on their bikes and abuse the girls.]

Yashila and her mother clarified:

Research Assistant Sanjana: కాబట్టి, అమ్మాయిలు ఎక్కడ ఆడతారు? [So, where do girls play?]

Yashila: ఆడటానికి అలాంటి స్థలం లేదు. [There is no such place to play.]

Mother: బాలికలు అస్సలు ఆడరు మరియు బయటకు వెళ్లరు. [Girls don't play at all and don't go out.]

Sanjana: కాబట్టి, బాలికలు ఇంటి ముందు వీధిలో కూడా ఆడటం లేదా? [So, girls don't even play in the street in front of the house?]

Yashila: No.

Sanjana: ఎందుకు అలా? [Why so?]

Yashila: నాకు తెలియదు. స్థలం లేనందున మేము ఆడము. [I don't know. We don't play since there is no place.]

Mother: ఇక్కడి కుర్రాళ్ళు కూడా అంత మంచివారు కాదు. [The boys here are also not so good.]

Overlaying the range maps and separating out genders resolved the conflict between perceived 'girls' spaces' and 'boys' spaces.' As described in Table 17, girls' range and boys' range greatly differed in area. Upon closer inspection of the adolescents' mobility patterns, there were specific spaces that boys consistently went to while girls did not. At the same time, boys went to all spaces that girls went to—there was complete overlap on the girls' ranges. Based on the results of the mapping analysis, 'boys' spaces' were open fields, temple grounds, and heavily trafficked streets.

Mobility License

I asked adolescents if they had any rules they had to follow, any restrictions on where they went, a curfew, and if they felt that anyone was "watching" over them. I carefully constructed this line of questioning to start broadly and then narrow the focus to the issue of safety and surveillance. I instructed the research assistants to leave the "rule giver" open so as to broadly capture mobility rules from various sources; common sources for rules in these sites were school, parents, and community elders but also cultural norms and expectations. Unlike the Philippines, none of the adolescents mentioned government rules or community rules. I gathered these insights from the in-depth interviews with adolescents, interviews with community members, my fieldnotes, and literature review.

Most school rules focused on regulating behavior and access to spaces in school and thus had little effect on students' spatial activities in the community. Many parental rules were about time limitations and instilled curfews that largely corresponded to daylight hours. Most girls were only able to leave the house during daylight hours, and most boys under 14 were given a curfew around dusk while boys 14 and over did not have parental rules or a curfew. Community elders regulated spaces by relying on social customs and reinforcing expectations. For example, Reethika told me that she had tried to play at the temple ground but was "scolded by the elders" because she was a "grown girl" and she should know better than to play outside.

Regardless of who instituted the rules, in the Indian sites, adolescents' limitations were largely related to gender. Boys had few limitations in terms of how far or when they could travel independently whereas girls were strictly regulated. The girls gave a wide variety of reasons for parental restriction on their mobility: "Mom doesn't allow me to go as we'll have to cross the main road and it's not safe," "they say I have to come home early because it gets dark," "it will be too long distance and I'm small," "you're a grown up girl and you should come before 7 o'clock," "mom's rules are based on the people who live here." These gender-based rules closely follow cultural expectations of Indian women in public space.

This area has been studied intensively by a number of scholars. Vinnarasan and Sevasti-Melissa (2019)'s multi-case, ethnographic study with three adolescent girls in India showed how the notion of gender and patriarchal norms intersect with age, sex, and class in fluid and complex ways in everyday life:

> The spatial analysis we carried out suggests that the modernist spatial distinction of private/public is often problematic in the Indian context and, there is always an interaction between the private body and public life and, the violence orchestrated on female bodies in everyday mundane activities has significant effects on their access and participation in public life. In particular, we argue that cultural practices such as the 'gaze' can be experienced as violent and can constrain the movement of female bodies in the production of everydayness…
>
> Everyday girlhood in India draws inspiration from dominant narratives and images of Indian womanhood in which marriage and motherhood are perceived as the highest accomplishment of women's life. As such, girl children are expected to socialise in a way to reach ideal womanhood that values the 'sanctity of the 'Indian culture' and 'family values'' (Lau 2014, 283)… Thus, the socialising space available for girl children, at times, gives social approval for this kind of neat separation and that eventually becomes the root cause for gender inequality, subordination, and domination in everyday life.

Extending their findings to the sites in India reveals the critical influence that invisible social structures have on adolescents' spatial activities. Many of the social structures in India were tied to fears, risks, and perceptions of safety.

Fears, Risk, & Safety

Adolescents' sense of safety and perceptions of fear and risk strongly determined their spatial mobility. I identified nine distinct fears/sources of fear: bullying, drugs/drug addicts, fighting, human trafficking, murder, uncontrolled nature, unwanted sexual advances, superstitions, thieves, and vehicles. These categories of fears evolved from two rounds of coding the in-depth interviews. In addition to 'fear' as a line of questioning, I asked participants to identify 'unsafe' and 'scary' places on the map in their community.

These categories largely correspond to the ten fears developed in the Philippines with the exception of 'rape.' Interestingly, while the adolescents (both males and females) in the Philippines were openly concerned about and had heard of rape in their community, the participants in India avoid the subject entirely. I found this exceptionally shocking because during the time of my fieldwork, the city of Hyderabad was featured on international news for the gruesome gang-rape and murder of young veterinarian Dr. Priyanka Reddy by lorry drivers on the Outer Ring Road near Ishaan Nagar. The fear of rape and murder was so prevalent that all my female research assistants took a temporary leave of absence and even I felt insecure to travel alone on my scooter via the Outer Ring Road (Urmilashadm 2021). Yet, asking questions about fear of rape to the participants only evoked silence and horrified looks. While the data appears to show that there are no fears of rape in these communities, my fieldnotes, observations, and personal experiences working in this area for two years suggests that the fear is possibly the most prevalent among adolescent females, but the social stigma of rape is so strong that it is unthinkable to discuss.

In addition to the difference in how each society viewed 'rape', the frequency with which adolescents in India talked about these fears greatly differed. Although adolescents in India mentioned their fears far less than adolescents in the Philippines, I do not believe that they had less fears. Rather, I believe that adolescents felt inhibited to speak with us about their fears because the interviews in India were largely conducted in the presence of an adult family member and adolescents were concerns with upholding a wholesome family image. In fact, the

reason most parents requested to sit in on the interviews was because of prevalent and real concerns of human trafficking. Therefore, I give more weight to the few instances in which adolescents reported fears and rely heavily on the mapping exercise rather than focusing on the overall frequency with which adolescents reported fears.[79] For example, Nivant mentioned fear of drugs/drug addicts (drunk men) twice and fear of vehicles three times in his interview, but his map illuminates the huge influence that these two fears have on his spatial range. Nivant shaded the green area to represent where he feels safe to go alone; the blue area where he feels safe to go alone in the daytime; the pink area he avoids because of his fears; and, the white area he never thinks of going.



Figure 219: Nivant shaded the green area to represent where he feels safe to go alone; the blue area where he feels safe to go alone in the daytime; the pink area he avoids because of his fears;

[79] Some parents listened intently to the interviews and even interjected comments or, as in Godavari's interview, corrected their child. However, when it came to the mapping interview none of the parents participated or even observed. I believe this was related to two factors. The first is trust that we established through two prior visits—by our third visit (for the second interview and mapping) we were not as sensational and had possibly become boring. Secondly, the mapping involved colored markers, stickers, and shiny tapes. The parents seemed to view it as a child's activity. Regardless of the reason, the mapping activity greatly helped inform adolescents' experiences because they felt freer to communicate without supervision.

and, the white area he never thinks of going (Source: Niavant, Author, and Shrestha 2021).

The frequency with which adolescents mentioned these concerns in their interviews provides some insight into how they are perceived across gender. Table 18 shows the proportion of words allocated to each code broken out by gender. Girls talked about unwanted sexual advanced significantly more than boys. The fears that boys talked about significantly more than girls were murder, superstitions, uncontrolled nature, bullying, and human trafficking/organs.

Fear/Source of Fear	Female Adolescents	Male Adolescents
Bullying	22.3%	87.7%
Drugs/Alcohol	51.0%	49.0%
Fighting	51.0%	49.0%
Human Trafficking/Organs	12.4%	87.6%
Murder	00.0%	100%
Uncontrolled Nature	00.0%	100%
Rape	00.0%	00.0%
Unwanted Sexual Advances	100%	00.0%
Superstitions	00.0%	100%
Theives/Theft	61.0%	39.0%
Vehicles	43.9%	56.1%

Table 18: The proportion of words allocated to each code broken out by gender (Source: Author 2021).

The most talked about code category was 'vehicles.' This seems appropriate as all three communities were next to or on either side of a major roadway. The fear of getting hit by a vehicle caused many adolescents to take detours or bounded their spatial range.

The code category for 'drugs/alcohol' was only used to talk about "drunks" and "youths drinking." There was no mention of other types of drugs such as marijuana or methamphetamines as widely discussed in the Philippines. This code was not used often but applied to all three sites.

I found the code category for 'fighting' only in transcripts from adolescents in Ishaan Nagar and Gachibowli Village. They only used it in conjunction with 'drugs/alcohol.' Therefore, the fighting that adolescents in these sites were most concerned with was not fighting between other adolescents but rather adults fighting.

The adolescents rarely used and only needed the code 'uncontrolled nature' to address fears of snakes and the discomfort/social rules regulating open fields used for defecating. This code was only used in Ishaan Nagar and Gachibowli Village.

Finally, they used the code 'human trafficking/organs' only in Ishaan Nagar and Gachibowli Village to describe the specific fear of being snatched and harvested for organs.

The prevalence of fears was unevenly distributed across the three sites with participants in Ishaan Nagar talking the most about their fears followed by Gachibowli Village and finally Nanakramguda. A couple of things could explain the distribution. Firstly, Ishaan Nagar's remote location combined with highway access places the entire community at increased risk. It does not have a local police station, access to transportation services, regular power and water, and the low socio-economic status of the residents implies social neglect. Secondly, the Sarpanch (village leader) tightly restricted our movements in Nanakramguda and inhibited our ability to recruit a wide diversity of adolescents (that were present). I suspect that four of the eight participants were related to the Sarpanch. Therefore, at least half of the adolescents benefited from a slightly higher socio-economic status—they attended private schools and lived in multi-room houses. Perhaps their higher quality of life resulted in more protections and/or less risk than in the Rajeev Nagar *basti* and the remote Ishaan Nagar settlement?

Social Media & Computer Games

Unlike the Philippine sites, social media and computer games barely influenced the spatial mobility patterns of adolescents in the Indian sites. However, that finding in and of itself is important. I based these findings on the in-depth interviews, field notes, and a street survey conducted in all communities. Most participants had access to a cell phone but only about half had access to a smart phone. WhatsApp (an instant messaging platform) and YouTube (a video sharing platform) were the only pervasive applications. Few adolescents used Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, or TikTok and only two of 26 uploaded content to these platforms. Mostly, adolescents used WhatsApp to communicate with adolescents' friend group at school and check on assignments while YouTube was used to watch movies, listen to songs, and sometimes for instructional videos on crafts or dance. Adolescents limited cell phone use to the home environment, especially because none of the participants owned their own cell phone, rather they borrowed a phone from a family member.

Ishaan Nagar did not have a computer shop throughout the fieldwork period. On the final day of observations, a print center opened in a former house. It had few functions and only one computer that it marketed to adults needing to print official documents and forms. Adolescents in Gachibowli Village spoke of a computer shop, but I was never able to find it during my field survey. I found two computer shops in Nanakramguda but, like Ishaan Nagar, both were oriented towards adults. The absence of a computer shop culture is a significant variation between the public spaces in the Philippine versus Indian sites.

Finally, adolescents generally agreed that they felt the safest when they had a lot of people around them but some, like Rakhi, felt it was only safe when they knew the people around them while others, like Bindiya said that it didn't matter. Rakhi explains:

> కొన్ని సహాయం, అయితే కొద్దిమంది చేయరు. కొన్ని, 'వారు ఎందుకు సహాయం చేయాలి?' లాంటివి, మరికొందరు సహాయం చేయడానికి ముందుకు వస్తారు. ఇక్కడి ప్రజలు తమ గురించి పట్టించుకుంటారు, ఇతరులకు ఏమి జరుగుతుందో వారు పట్టించుకోరు. [Few help, whereas few won't. Few are like, 'why should they help?' and the other few come forward to help. People here care about themselves, they don't care about what is happening to others.]

In contrast, Bindiya who also lives in Gachibowli Village said, "I feel safe when a lot of people are around me" and in a later interview added that when there are people out on the street, she felt safe because she believed that even if she didn't know them, they would help her if she needed it.

Mode of Transport

Adolescents' different modes and access to transportation influenced their spatial activities. In the remote community of Ishaan Nagar, autorickshaws only came if arrangements were made in advance and were cost-prohibitive such that families pooled together to travel into the city. Therefore, autorickshaws were not an option for adolescents to take independently. The adolescents in Ishaan Nagar limited where they could walk with the exception that some students took a private school bus to and from school.

In Nanakramguda, autorickshaws and public transportation were easily accessible. However, participants still mostly walked to their destinations. Socio-economic standing appeared to have more influence on adolescents' mode of transport. Families with more wealth

offered adolescents' access to bicycles, motorcycles, and private transportation. Adolescents in these families spoke of "walking around the mall with friends," riding to the grounds in an adjacent community, and "driving my dad's motorcycle down the street."

In Gachibowli Village, autorickshaws and public transportation were also easily accessible, and participants had similar experiences as in Nanakramguda. Bindiya said that during the summertime she went with only her friends to Golconda Fort, about 10 km away, on the city bus. They would walk around the fort and talk under the trees. She also said that she occasionally took an autorickshaw one kilometer down the road to the shopping mall. Overall, walking was the most used form of transportation but there were differences in spatial activities based on socio-economic status and ability to access public/private transportation.

Improvements

As a final exercise, during the in-depth interviews, I asked the adolescents to get creative and suggest improvements to their community. This theme does not directly influence their spatial activity, but rather informs the analysis and provides a conclusion to the interview process. Unequivocally, all adolescents wanted to add a ground in their community. This was the single-most frequent response. The second most frequent response was access to nature and specifically, trees. Rakhi explains:

> Research Assistant Sanjana: *Sare... Okavella nuvu area ni manchiga cheyagalavu ante em chesthaavu? Neeku nenu motham power echesaanu anuko em chesthaavu?* [So… What are the elements you want to add in your area? If you had the power do to anything?]
>
> Rakhi: *Andariki manchiga undelaga… first of all mokkalu pettisthaan, tharvaatha andariki safety ga undelaga kattukomani chepputhanu.* [I'll see that everyone benefits… First of all, I'll try to plant more trees and I'll keep the place safe.]
>
> Sanjana: *Ante elaga anukuntunaavu safety ante?* [How will you bring safety to your area?]
>
> Rakhi: Anadriki touch ave la unte baagodhu kadha, andulu illu illuki konchem gap undelaga chusthaanu,buildings kakkunda mamulga illulu undelaga… [All the houses here in this area are congested and attached to each other… I want to change that. I want them to build their houses with minimum gaps. I want everyone to have their own individual house rather than huge buildings…]
>
> Sanjana: *Neeku buildings nacchavva?* [You don't like huge buildings?]

> Rakhi: *Buildings ekkuva pettukunte ave kanipisthunaayiga,andukani….* [I am just able to see buildings here rather I would prefer some trees…]

Manish was excited and responded like a true politician:

> There will be more plants for planting. Daily, when I wake up, the elders will keep *Panchat* (village council). Everyone will look nice. They will give money for their people who don't have money. And the worst thing here is that there are no bathrooms. So, the people who have places for building them, they will give Rs. 40-50,000 for them to build their own bathrooms. But we will not build people houses, just bathrooms.

Other popular improvements included infrastructure projects such as repairing the roads, laying water pipes, installing streetlights and closed-circuit television cameras, and improving drainage. Some adolescents also spoke of philanthropic projects such as creating more jobs and providing homes and bathrooms. Some spoke of wanting more services such as medical facilities, police stations, shops, and private schools. Overall, the improvement suggested that adolescents were aware of their community's problems and how they could be addressed. However, as in the Philippine's sites, none of the adolescents in this study were involved in or knew about opportunities to engage in the governance of their community.

In concluding the analysis of adolescents' spatial activities, there seems to be potential for them to have greater agency in the production of their environment. They proved through the in-depth interviews that they have a keen awareness for the problems and opportunities available in their environment. The adolescents in these four sites are a powerful force that could be leveraged to improve their environment.

The analysis of adolescents' spatial activity established a broad range of voices and personal perspectives from which I developed eight influencing themes across the sites and identified the most frequented "public spaces" in each site. These findings raise important questions about how these public spaces function in practice, whom they serve, and what affordances they offer adolescents. In the next chapter, I pivot from a subjective approach focused on adolescents' voices to an objective approach focused on public space environments. I adopt an architectural lens to zoom into the most frequented public spaces in practice in each community to reveal their functional aspects.

PART 3: ADOLESCENTS' ENVIRONMENTS

One of the most important functions that a city can afford is free movement through a rich array of places and behavior settings. Whitzman, Worthington, and Mazarchi (2010) argued that children's right to the city, in the form of freedom to move through public spaces, is essential for their realization of other rights…. Free movement is necessary for children's informal participation in their society, as it enables them to learn about a variety of people and activities, encounter difference environments, access services, make choices, manage challenges, build self-confidence, and find places for privacy, sociability, and creative play.

-Louise Chawla and Willem van Vliet (2017: 539), "Children's Rights to Child-Friendly Cities"

VI. ADOLESCENTS' 3rd PLACES

This dissertation set out to investigate how a lack of safe and accessible formal public space effected the everyday lives of adolescents. In part two of this dissertation, nearly 100 adolescents across two global cities raised their voices to describe their environmental perceptions and affordances of their local communities — communities the government dispossessed and spatially compromised. They revealed that in the absence of formal public space, they hung out in informal public space, or what Ray Oldenburg would refer to as the "3rd place."

In writing about issues of urbanism in America, Oldenburg (1969: 16) coined the term the "3rd place" in order to pay tribute to "the core settings of informal public life"— an important environmental setting outside of home (the 1st place) and work (the 2nd place). He emphasized that the order corresponded to the amount of time an American spent in each place and thus the general importance. He added that while he developed the concept in response to the absence of 3rd places as a key problem with American urban design, the idea of the 3rd place was universal although varied with cultural setting and historical era.

The adolescents who participated in this study told rich accounts of the 3rd places that they relied on to meet their developmental needs. These 3rd places were not formal public spaces as could be identified on a map by an architect or urban planner. Rather, they were informal spaces hosting a variety of activities and users, most with specific architectures that supported social gathering and play. Chapters IV. RESETTLEMENT IN QUEZON CITY and V. ERASURE IN HYDERABAD INDIA provided detailed analysis of adolescents' perceptions of these 3rd places in relation to their own body dimensions, abilities, motivations, and emotions. These personalized accounts gave important insights into how adolescents used these spaces.

Nevertheless, the finding that adolescents have 3rd places in these communities raises additional questions about the character of these 3rd spaces in relation to the broader community. This chapter then asks who uses adolescents' 3rd places? And what architectural qualities make these spaces rich environments for informal gathering? This line of questioning is aimed to get at the nature of 3rd spaces in dispossessed communities to understand if they are "public spaces in practice" (function as public spaces for the broader community) or if they are unique to the adolescent experience. I speculate that adolescents' 3rd places underpin a much larger phenomenon in which these places serve as anchors of social gathering in dispossessed

communities due to the lack of safe and accessible public space rendering them "public space in practice."

The Nature of the 3rd Place

Carroll et al (2015) applied Oldenburg's (1989) framework of the 3rd place to investigate children's urban experiences. While they maintained the home as the 1st place — the preferred principal site of formal and informal support, they slightly tailored the framework to children's worlds by suggesting that the 2nd place would logically be school. School, in this dissertation is analogous to Oldenburg's workplace and is considered to provide both formal and informal support. Ideally, school should be a site of learning, organized physical activity, informal play, and social interaction with friends. Adolescents validated these suggestions in both cases who described school as their primary source for physical activity, access to nature, social interactions, and formal play. Tranter and Malone (2004) found similar results in which school grounds were the only space where children could freely explore and engage with their outdoor environment.

In his earlier work with Brissett (1982), Oldenburg speculated that 3rd places were anchors of social gathering, community well-being, and cohesion, and contributed to the community's identity, belonging, and sense of place. They "provide opportunities for important experiences and relationships […] and are uniquely qualified to sustain a sense of well-being" (Ibid: 269). It is in the 3rd place that adolescents could learn social skills and competencies (Lennard and Crowhurst Lennard 1992). Oldenberg's concept has also bolstered studies with other marginalized age groups such as Meshram's and O'Cass' (2013) and Gardner's (2011) exploration of the importance of the 3rd place with seniors' increasing sense of anomie. Gardner's (2011) key contribution was to further refine Oldenburg's 3rd places by subdividing them into *destinations* (e.g., parks, shops, cafes), *thresholds* (e.g., driveways, front porches) and *transitory spaces* (e.g., streets), and to include the people using them. Although a study with seniors and not adolescents, Gardner makes clear that her findings on place categorization are about the social use of 3rd places and seniors were a vehicle to develop these insights. Thus, I have applied Gardner's subcategories to assist in site selection and guide analysis.

While Destinations are, by definition, highly accessible, welcoming and provide a space to hang out. For adolescents they also provide spaces to play and explore. They include

neighborhood places such as parks, community centers, libraries, and shops, and are seen to engender homelike feelings of belonging (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982). Thresholds are semipublic 3rd places that straddle the first place of home and the wider neighborhood (Gardner 2011). Thresholds include backyards, courtyards, driveways, apartment foyers, and car parks—all potential sites for adolescents' play and social interaction. Transitory zones are the "places between places—on the way to someplace" (Ibid: 269). For adolescents, these micro-spaces of their community such as footpaths, walls, and curbs can also be opportunities for play and socializing (Ward 1978).

	Philippines		India		
Type of 3rd Space	Garden Village	Pabahay 2000	Gachibowli Village	Nakanramguda	Ishaan Nagar[80]
Destination	Computer Shop	Computer Shop	Temple Ground	Temple Ground[81]	Temple Ground
	Main B. B. Court			Vacant Lot	
	River				Field
	SM Mall				
Threshold	Pocket B. B. Court	Pocket B. B. Court	Residential Street	Residential Street[82]	
		Vacant Lot			
Transitory	Residential Street	Residential Street	Shop Street	Shop Street	Shop Street
			Highway		Highway

Table 19: While I completed the fieldwork and analysis on all of the 3rd places identified, I selected 14 to highlight in this study for their comparability within a case study (Source: Author 2021).

[80] I did not conduct observations of a residential street in Ishaan Nagar because the community was concerned that individual families might be identified with negative consequences.

[81] This place was studied as two parts because it was at a main intersection. The first part covered the main road, and the second part covered the side road. In this chapter, I combined the parts in this chapter for comparability purposes.

[82] This place was studied as two parts because it was a very long street. To ease comparability, I chose one of the two sections of street as analysis revealed that they functioned similarly.

Most of the studies that leverage Oldenburg's (1989) framework for 3rd places are rooted in western design theory (e.g., Australia, New Zealand, and the USA). However, I extended these concepts and the structure of destinations, thresholds, and transitory spaces to the dispossessed communities in the global south and found important fit between the categories and the public life they supported. In this chapter, I don an architectural lens and investigate 3rd spaces as identified by the adolescents in part two. While I completed the fieldwork and analysis on all of the places identified, I selected 14 to highlight in this study for their comparability within a case study. At the end of this chapter, I will draw generalizations about these spaces at the case study scale.

Urban Analysis Tools

I used a combination of tools for systematizing and registering direct observations of the interactions between the 3rd spaces and public life. A multifaceted approach to urban research is typical (Gehl and Svarre 2013) for a neighborhood scale investigation. While many automated registration tools exist, I choose manual registration because of the vulnerability of these communities even though the analysis process was significantly more time consuming.[83] In highly vulnerable, low-income communities using and showing high-value equipment places the research, the participants, and the community at risk.

While I describe the tools and their application in detail in chapter III. ON METHODS, I find it helpful to briefly review these tools here as to offer insight into the rigor of the data and the subsequent results. The tools that I chose support improving conditions for people in urban areas by making people visible and providing systematized information in order to compare results within a case. I conducted 248 hours of on-site direct observations by counting, behavior mapping (mapping + tracing), tracking, looking for traces, test walks, and street elevations.

Counting is simply the registration of people in a given environment for a pre-determined period of time. I chose to identify a few demographic factors such as age, gender, and movement. I combined *mapping* and *tracing* into a single activity known as *behavior mapping*. This tool starts with drawing on a pre-developed scaled map of the space the movements or flow of people over a given time. I included annotations on my behavior maps to

[83] I coded and processed over 1,300 unique behavior maps and another 300 pages of fieldnotes and hand sketches.

indicate interesting occurrences that effect the flow of people. I also recorded the direction of travel, means of travel (bike, car, pedestrian, etc.) and stationary moments. This method provides a picture of the pathways and spatial patterns of a moment in a given place. Gehl (2013: 28) notes that mapping is "like an aerial photo that fast-freezes a situation" and when combined with tracing it provides a photo that looks like a time-lapse waterfall registering flows of people.

I completed the behavior maps and counts in 15-minute intervals for a 1-hour period of time in a given place. I then returned to the exact same place six more times over the course of a two-week period and repeated the exercise. Only through repeated use of these tools could I hope to achieve an accurate record of each place. Due to safety concerns in India around dusk, I only completed the exercise during daylight hours, which limited me to four times over the course of a two-week period.

TOTAL	Philippines: 12 hrs/place		India: 8 hrs/place	
	Weekday	Weekend	Weekday	Weekend
Week 1: Morning	1-hour	1-hour	1-hour	1-hour
Week 1: Afternoon	1-hour	1-hour	1-hour	1-hour
Week 1: Evening	1-hour	1-hour		
Week 2: Morning	1-hour	1-hour	1-hour	1-hour
Week 2: Afternoon	1-hour	1-hour	1-hour	1-hour
Week 2: Evening	1-hour	1-hour		

Table 20: I completed the behavior maps and counts in 15-minute intervals for a 1-hour period of time in a given place (Source: author 2021).

I also used supporting tools documented through field notes such as tracking and looking for traces. *Tracking* is when a researcher follows a person to register their specific movements; it's also called shadowing. This is helpful to understand the reasons for people's movement. *Looking for traces* is an indirect observation method to look for and document evidence of movement when people are not present in the site. Patterns of wear and tear can reveal a hidden life of the place under study. *Test walks* are essentially documenting the experience of moving through a given space. I completed test walks prior to starting each observation period and documented them through field notes. I found it helpful to start with a test walk because it allowed me to understand daily influences on the site such as local events or characters.

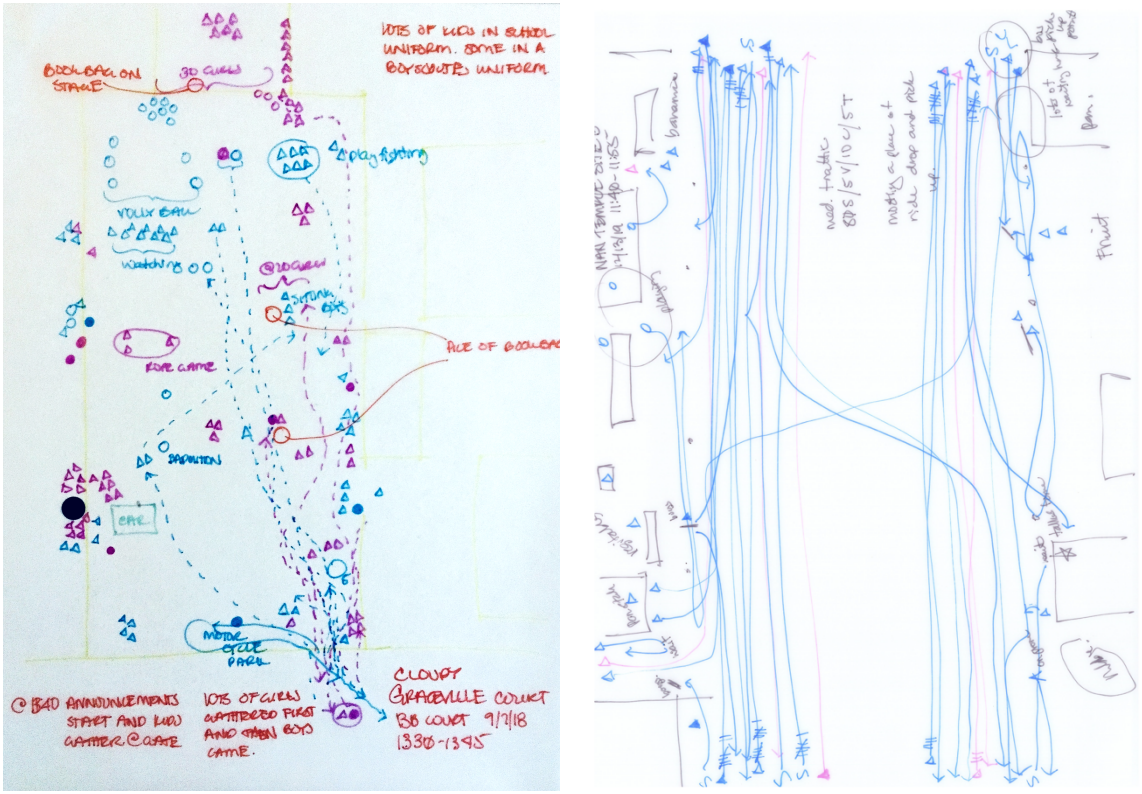


Figure 220: Behavior maps from Gargden Village (left) and Nanakramguda (right) (Source: Author 2018, 2019).

I developed *street elevations* by taking photos of a street façade perpendicular to the face at measured, regular intervals. I was then able to stich these photos together to provide as needed reconstructions of a given street. This tool is helpful to substantiate conclusions about people's movement and to carefully assess architectural features and qualities.

To analyze the data, I developed a single file for each place. I coded the behavior maps and reviewed the fieldnotes and photographs to triangulate the findings. I used a standard analysis template to summarize the environments. This template highlighted the users, activities, amenities, and qualities of the space based on known precedents.

I identified important 'user qualities' (adult/adolescent/child and male/female) based on the context of the site and the themes reported in Part I. 'Circulation and kinetics' describes the movement in a space with a focus on mobility and transit. 'Activities and behaviors' are important to illuminate environmental affordance (Kreutz 2016). 'Place amenities' specifically focus on the architectural features and qualities of the space. 'Sociotedal and sociofugal' are helpful concepts to document features that support gathering versus inhibit gathering. 'Territory

marking' shows claims over space and can be an indicator of power structures. 'Universal accessibility' is a measure of equity and accessibility based on physical abilities. 'Edges and nodes' are important factors for gathering (Lynch 1960). 'Positive/negative space' observes the "anti-space" and positive attributes at the urban space (Littenburg 2020). 'Presence of nature' is important for adolescents' health and well-being (Chawla 2015). The 'spirit of a place' refers to those "invisible factors such as warmth, smell and sound, and intangible ones, such as homeliness," (Day and Midbjer 2007: 138). The following section provides a summary for each of the 15 place files selected for this dissertation according to this template.

Adolescents' 3rd Places in the Philippines

I overlayed the participant-directed maps from the in-depth interviews with adolescents to identify common hangouts and found between six and eight places in common per site. However, Julia was the only participant living in Towerville VI who made a map and thus I removed the site from the place-analysis process. Instead of collecting place data from the three other sites, I chose to focus the place investigation on Garden Village and Pabahay 2000 because they represented two ends of a spectrum of resettlement community design and age. Further, both sites had the highest numbers of participants enrolled in the study and thus the richest archive of data.

Once I identified the common 3rd places in each site, I compared the two sites to see which ones were common "place types." I found commonalities in five types of places: the computer shop, the pocket court, the residential street, the main basketball court, and the vacant lot/river fort (as similar behavior settings). Then, I applied Gardner's (2011) subcategorization and looked for fit. Relying on the interview transcripts, observations, and fieldnotes, I speculated that the computer shop, main basketball court, and vacant lot/river fort performed as destination spaces, the pocket court performed as a threshold space, and the residential street performed as a transitory space. I selected the computer shop as the destination space because it was architecturally the most similar across the two sites as compared with the main basketball court and the vacant lot/river fort.

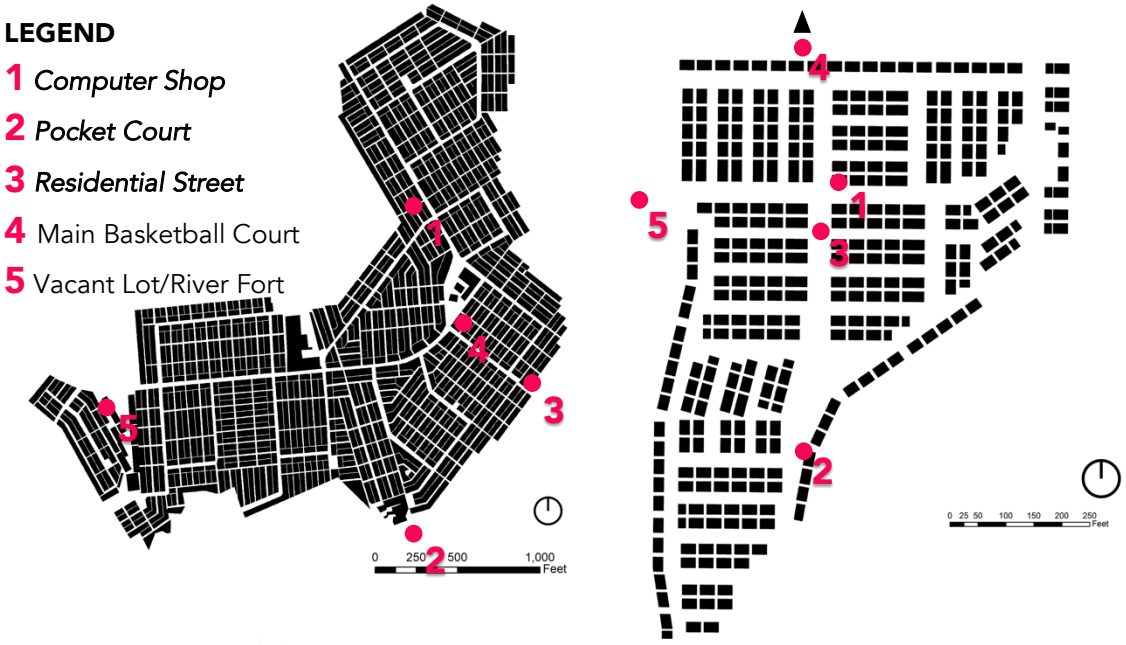


Figure 221: I found commonalities in five types of places: the computer shop, the pocket court, the residential street, the main basketball court, and the vacant lot/river fort (as similar behavior settings). Locator maps for Pabahay 2000 (left) and Gachibowli Village (right) (Source: Shrestha with Author edits 2021).

Destination Space: The Computer Shop

Technically a privately owned space, the computer shops in both sites similarly performed as public space in practice because they were openly accessible. Quite literally, both computer shops propped open their doors having no environmental control systems and invited pedestrians to the space. Both places were open 24-hours. Further, I observed that at least half of the users at each site were not customers but rather came to watch other people play computer games (gaming). However, the site could only be considered semi-public at best. Under the guise of open accessibility was the very real authority of the shop manager regulating and controlling place use and users. The placement of the manager's desk and the area under surveillance accentuated the manager's power.

The manager's surveillance was not necessarily a negative attribute. In these vulnerable communities, safety was a primary concern for the adolescents. I observed that they frequently hung out in places that were under some form of surveillance from a trusted source. Perhaps that is one reason why both computer shops were successful at drawing a youthful crowd.

The Computer Shop in Pabahay 2000

There were several computer shops in Pabahay 2000. I visited many, but selected the computer shop those four of five participants frequented for site analysis because all of the computer shops in Pabahay 2000 had similar forms (based on the standard design of the resettlement housing). The computer shop combined the footprints of four resettlement housing units. One unit along the main road and four along the alley. The computer shop was further subdivided with a residential domain in the two rear-most units and the business domain in the two front-most units. This layout was reminiscent of the Malay shophouse typology as described by Davis (2012) with a gradual transition from business to domestic functions.



Figure 222: Street view of the computer shop in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Google 2018).



Figure 223: Interior organization for the computer shop in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2018).

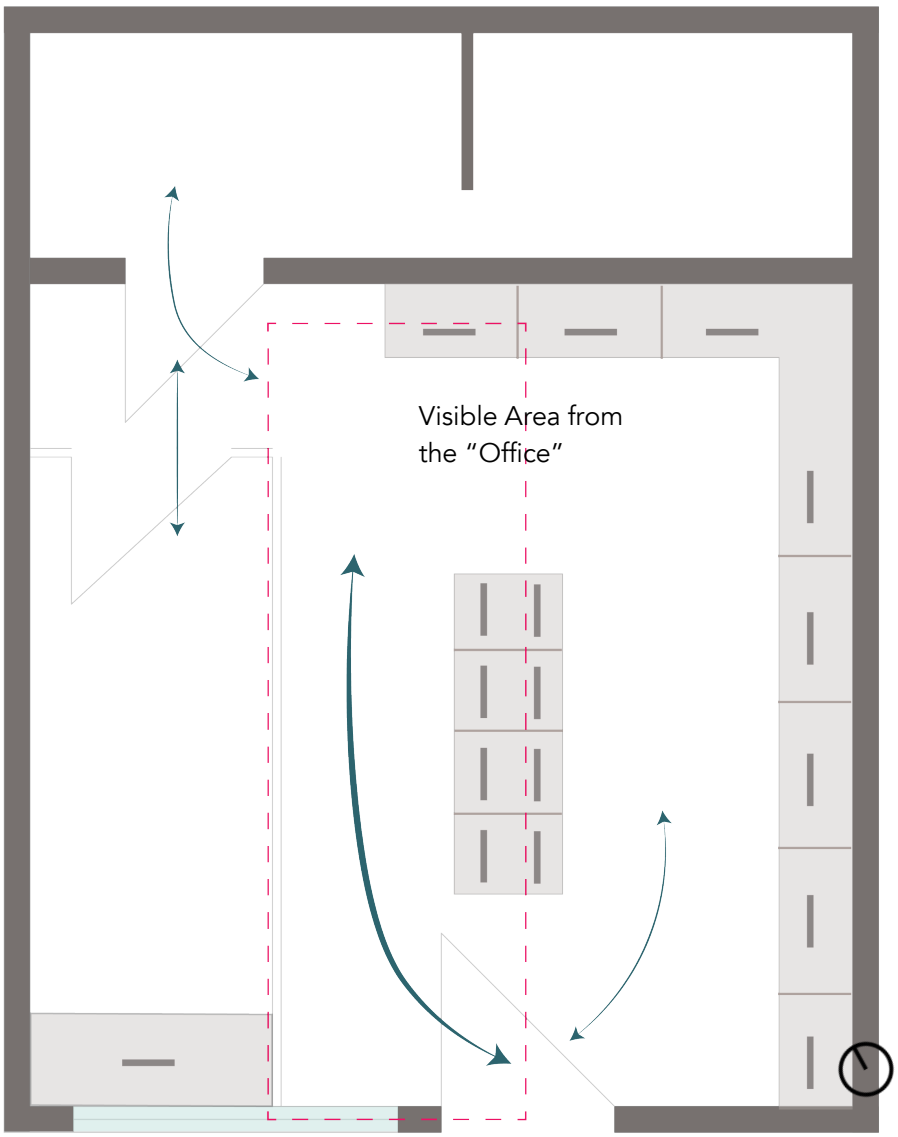


Figure 224: Annotated plan of the computer shop in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was high-traffic considering the small enclosed area (about 16.5 m^2). I observed between ***10-24 people*** in a given hour. The place was male-dominated with between ***70%-83% male*** users. This place was child-dominated with between ***80%-92% children*** and adolescents. About 60% of the users were alone and the remaining users were in pairs or small groups of 3-5 people.
Circulation & Kinetics	The place featured ***one entry door from the street*** that was propped open. There was a second door in the rear that connected to the house and bathroom. An island of computer stations in the center of the room cleaved circulation from the main door. Most people entered, paused for a moment while their eyes adjusted, and walked directly to an open computer to start playing.
Activities & Behaviors	Most people were ***gaming*** (playing video games) on the computer with about 10% of users on Facebook or YouTube. The video games were mostly "shooter games" that required the use of headphones and appeared to be a team activity. I deduced that many of the users were virtually playing with/against other users. They were grossly absorbed in the game and occationally would shout or giggle or otherwise exclaim loudly. When ***in pairs or small groups***, one person would play the game while the others stood behind and watched. They would comment and suggest strategies. I also observed singing, eating, and talking at the computer shop.
Place Amenities	The computer stations had ***privacy walls*** built into the kiosk furniture. The place also had ***a caged area*** where the shop manager sat at a small desk and worked or played on a laptop. For most of the observations, the shop manager was a teenager who appeared to reside in the attached house. The place did not have air conditioning but the ***large awning*** outside seems to block the southern sun from overly heating the room.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The central island was a preferred location for pairs and groups because the ***transparent divider*** allowed users to sit across from one another and communicate while still affording screen privacy.
Territory Marking	Often times I observed users adjusting their mouse pad or chair in order to mark their territory. The room was always crowded so this action was less aggressive and more practical in nature. It was understood that the kiosk divider had ***an invisible line*** that extended to the floor seperating spaces.
Univseral Accessibility	The place ***did not*** inlcude architecture that would support universal access. Although a ground floor room, their was ***a step*** from the street level outside to enter that conflicts with universal design. Additionally, the ***space was very dark*** (even around noon) and the lights were typically off to allow users to see the screen better (and combat light from the doorway.
Edges & Nodes	The caged "office" was an edge that ***suggested high crime***.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (continued)*
Positive/Negative Space	The entire room could be considered ***positive space*** because of the flexible movement of the plastic chairs. The chairs were traded, shared, and frequently moved around in the narrow aisles. The entire space was at once navigable but also intimate.
Presence of Nature	This place had no signs of nature.
"Spirit of Place"	The place felt ***casual and friendly***. Yet, it was not overwhleming but rather a place that supported ***introverted personalities***. During one of the observation periods the teenage girl managing the shop played country western and rap music loudly on speakers throughout the space. Most of the users started singing along naturally without even looking up to see what happened. This suggests ***commraderie.***

Table 21: The summary of human-environmental observations on the computer shop in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021).

The Computer Shop in Garden Village

In contrast, there was only one computer shop to select from in Garden Village. Similarly, it was also in a commandeered resettlement house and featured domestic and business uses. The computer shop was on the ground floor and took up about 75% of the floor area. The remaining 25% of the ground floor was the kitchen, some storage, and an infant's crib. The bathroom was shared by both functions. There was a staircase at the rear of the unit that led up to a domestically used loft level. The loft was an amendment and not part of the original standard house. This separation of spaces recalled the Chinese shophouses that Davis (2012) described.



Figure 225: Users play games on the computer in pairs and in small groups (Source: Author 2018).



Figure 226: The computer shop in Garden Village in the daytime (Source: Author 2018).



Figure 227: The computer shop in Garden Village in the nightime (Source: Author 2018).

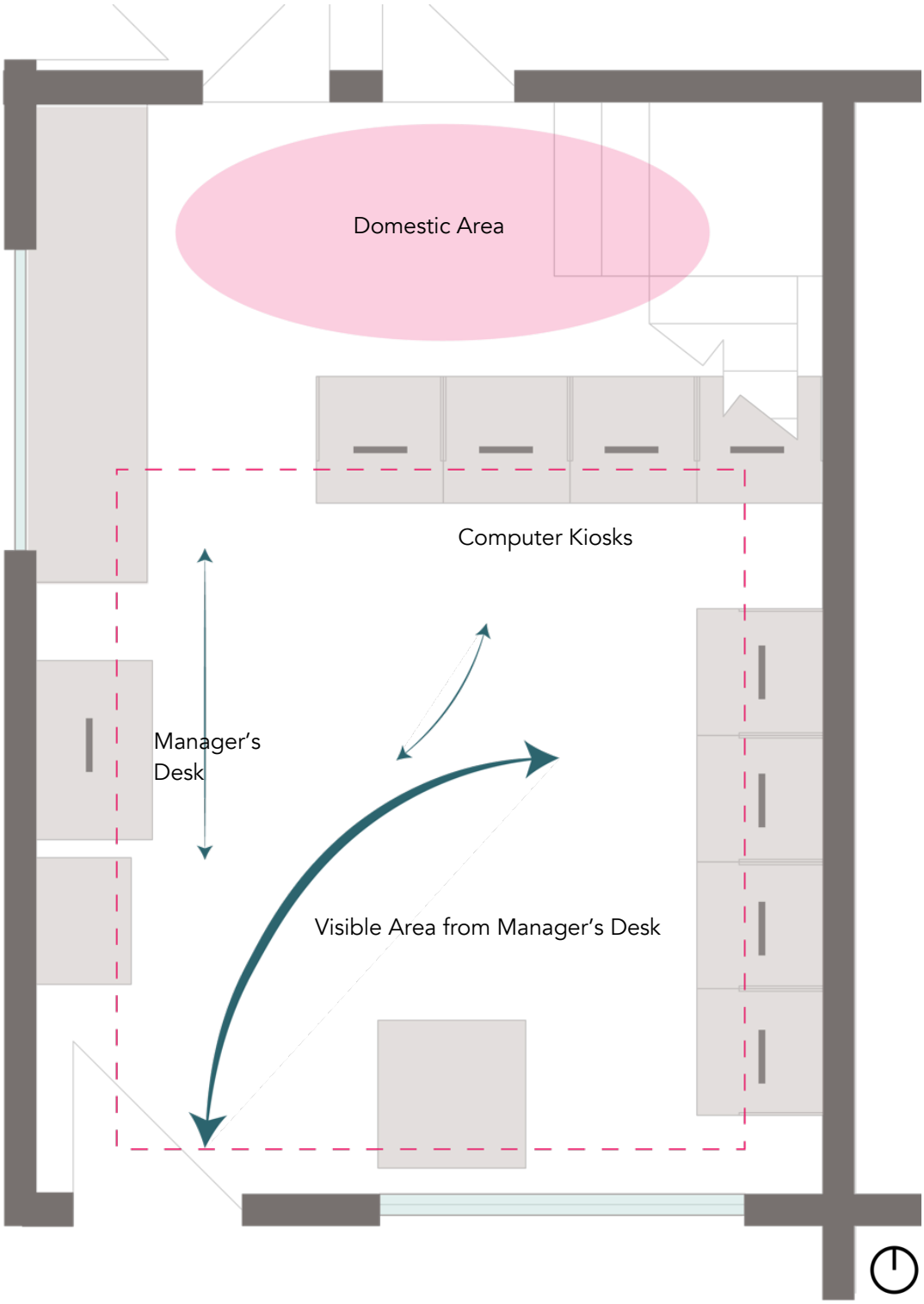


Figure 228: Annotated plan of the computer shop in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a high-traffice area considering the small enclosed area (about 18 m^2). I observed between ***3-120 people*** in a given hour (most coming and going) with a maximum of ***28 people*** in the place at one time. The place was male-cominated with between ***50%-83% male*** users. This place was child-dominated with between ***86%-100% children*** and adolescents. Very few of the users were alone; most were in pairs or small groups.
Circulation & Kinetics	The place featured ***one entry door*** from the street that was propped open. Most users entered through the door and went directly to the computers on the east wall. The shop manager sat on the west wall and would occationally walk between outside, the desk, and the domestic area at the rear of the shop. There were stairs in the rear corner leading to a lofted level but I never saw anyone using them.
Activities & Behaviors	Most people ***stayed seated or stood while gaming***. I observed them talking, cheering, jumping around with excitement, watching other people (when the ran out of money at their kiosk), and talking on the phone. Often, the users would play a video game (Rules of Survival, League of Legends, Crossfire, etc.) and ***simultaneously*** check/chat on Facebook. Once, a user accessed YouTube and the shop manager chastized the user ***bawal mag YouTube*** (youTube is not allowed).
Place Amenities	The computer stations had ***privacy walls*** built into the kiosks. They were spaced farther apart than those in Pabahay 2000's computer shop. The front entrance had an ***exterior screen*** door that provided some shade/pest control. Near the manager's desk was a "***print station***" consisting of a small table with a printer. The single window was south-facing and emited a lot of heat. The curtains were often closed but still let in some light which ***cast glare*** on the northside computers. These computers were the least preferred.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The computer kiosks were the sociopetal elements that drew users. However, the dividers protected privacy and were sociofugal.
Territory Marking	I ***did not*** observe any markings of territory in the place.
Univseral Accessibility	The place ***did not*** inlcude architecture that would support universal access. The shop entrance had four concerete steps. Once inside, the place was dark.
Edges & Nodes	Between weeks of observation, the shop manager added a ***curtain*** seperating the computer shop area and the domestic space in the rear.
Positive/Negative Space	The ***center of the room was akwardly devoid of furniture*** (negative space). All of the furniture was shoved against the walls and some positive space was found in the ***flexibility of the plastic chairs*** to be re-positioned as new groups came and want.
Presence of Nature	This place had ***no signs of nature***. However, the exterior of the building was new and had several ***potted plants***.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
"Spirit of Place"	The place was ***fun and energetic but also akward***. The negative space in the center of the room divided the place into two distinct sides of owner versus user. This created some animosity between sides.

Table 22: The summary of human-environmental observations on the computer shop in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021).

Threshold Space: The Pocket Basketball Court

The pocket basketball court (pocket court) was a very interesting find because both communities independently manifested this space although they were not part of the original designs. The courts were male-dominated spaces with high levels of engagement from adolescents. A key difference was in the "spirit of the place" in which the court in Pabahay 2000 felt safe while the pocket court in Garden Village felt unsafe. I attribute the contrasting feelings to Garden Village's lack of residential surveillance.

On the court, the places functioned very similarly. Both only supported half games of basketball to allow circulation pathways to cross the court. Many activities not related to basketball took place on the court while games were on-going. In both places, I only observed males on the court and few females, if any, on the sidelines. Groups of spectators would gather, and many would bet and cheer on the game.

The Pocket Basketball Court in Pabahay 2000

The architects originally designed the pocket court as consolidated parking areas per the master plan. Interviews with the National Housing Authority exposed the motivation behind the parking consolidation as to decrease the community site area. They went on to state that Pabahay 2000 was one of the first resettlement communities to apply the logic that the required open space per BP 220 included parking areas and could be broken up as the design professionals saw fit. However, few residents had a need for consistent parking, so the space was largely left empty. According to representatives from the Homeowners Association, basketball equipment was installed in the parking areas, transforming them into pocket courts, within a few years of the community settlement.

Row houses surrounded the space was surrounded ranging from one to two levels. Most of the houses were residential but some had small businesses and one was a sari-sari store. Essentially the space was a voided block with two connecting streets or pathways at each corner.



Figure 229: The pocket court was a popular space for a diversity of user groups (Source: Author).



Figure 230: Pabahay 2000 haflf court elevation (Source: Author 2019).

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a medium-traffic area with between 100-300 people observed in a given hour. This place greatly varied in gender balance ranging from ***45%-96% male*** users. This suggests that the place fluctuates between male-dominated and gender balanced depending on time of day/day of week. The place was consistently dominated by children and adolescents with ***63%-88% children*** users. I also noticed that about ***60% of people at the site were in pairs or groups***, which is significantly higher than any other place in this study.
Circulation & Kinetics	Most of the transiting users ***crossed the court diagonally at the center***. This was acceptable because the court was used to play ***two half-games of basket ball rather than a single game***. This allowed more people to use the court at a given time.
Activities & Behaviors	The place supported ***multiple activities***. I observed basketball, walking, strolling, talkking, games such as chase and hakisak, welding, hawking, eating, laughing, screaming, gambling, and people-watching. The court was ***divided by behaviors and subsequently gender***. The court space was active space and used by male teens and adults to play basket ball while children played active games simultaneously on the court. The sides of the court were used for groups of bystanders doing passive activities and largely consisted of female teens and adults.
Place Amenities	The place had few amenities and most were secondary or informal such as traveling food vendors. The curb was higher than a standard curb (likely because of flood suceptability) and this was frequently used as seating. About half of the homes lining the court had awnings that were used for shade.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The sari-sari store had a ***large awning and two benches*** for people to sit on. This area was always occupied.
Territory Marking	All of the houses had ***cage over the windows and doors***. All of the home doors were closed, which gave an uninviting and defensive feel to the half court. One of the residences had constructed a metal stand that projected from the house front into the half-court about one meter and claimed the area for growing plants.
Univseral Accessibility	Some of the houses had ***steep ramps*** and the ***pavement*** supports mobility.
Edges & Nodes	The half court edge was clearly demarcated by the ***strong edge of row houses***. Many houses had no threshold and akwardly "crashed" into the court space.
Positive/Negative Space	The center of the court was negative space when there were few people around but it was appropriate on busy evenings when it felt crowded. There was not any positive space.
Presence of Nature	The place felt connected to nature although halphhazardly. The treetops of a nearby forested area gave the impression that the site was amongst the jungle. Some homes had potted plants.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
"Spirit of Place"	The place evoked different feelings based on weather and occupancy. When it was sunny and empty the halfcourt felt barren and austere but when it was raining and/or crowded the halfcourt felt suffocating, chaotic, and loud. These contrasting feelings are likely the result of a lack of architecture that would provide consistency. ***The austerity of the place magnifies the emotions evoked by the context.***

Table 23: The summary of human-environmental observations on the pocket basketball court in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021).

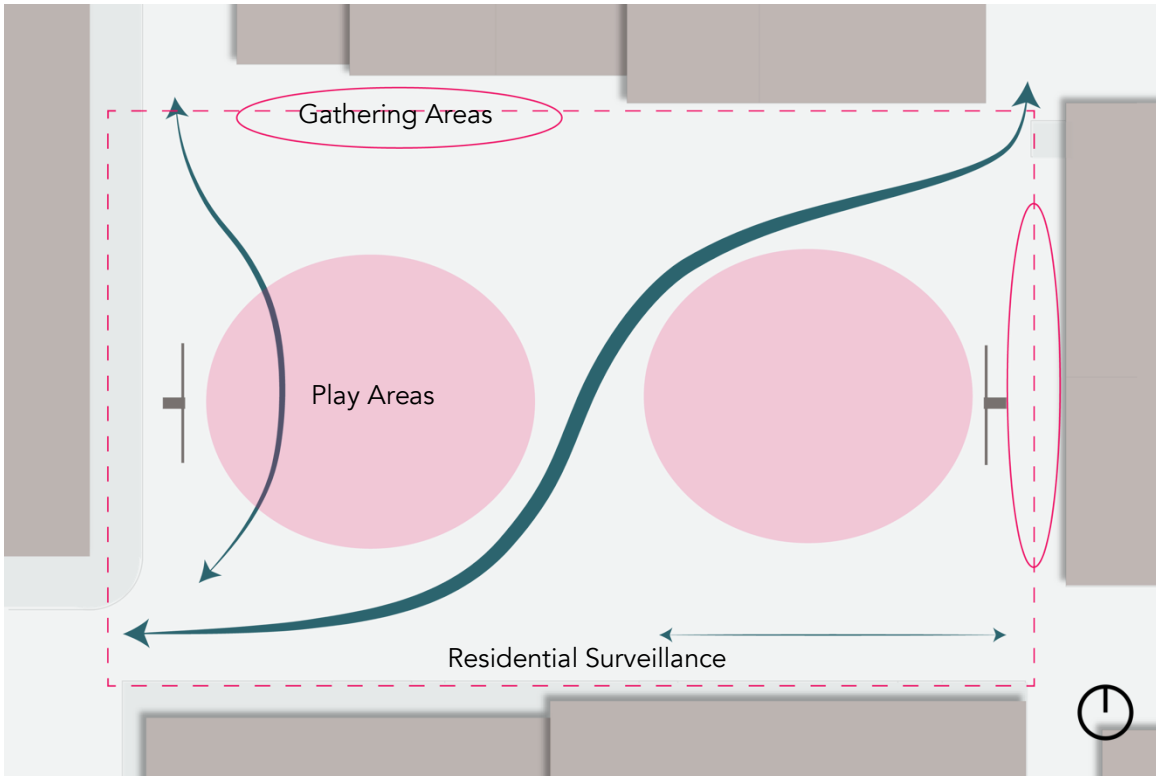


Figure 231: Annotated plan of the half court in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

The Pocket Basketball Court in Garden Village

The pocket court was in an area of ambiguous and undesigned pavement resulting from an awkwardly shaped property boundary and river edge. Once roads were planned, the area was not large enough for a house, so it was left open as an extension of the street. The pavement in this area was broken suggesting that patches were poured at different times, possibly some by the community Homeowners Association. The site was surrounded with vacant

houses. An empty lot on the north edge was informally becoming a *talipapa* (market) and was consistently under construction from various entrepreneurs.



Figure 232: The Garden Village half court is used by adult men in the evenings (Source: Author 2018).



Figure 233: During the day, the space is used by mostly adolescent boys (Source: Author 2018).

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a low-traffice area with between ***100-275 people*** observed in a given hour. This place was male-dominated with between ***81-84% male*** users. The data suggest the place is child-dominated with between 60-78% children, however I noticed that ***mostly adolescents and adults played on the court*** while children played on the sides or accompanyied adults transiting.
Circulation & Kinetics	The west side of the place was a ***major pedestrian pathway***. Other routes included river acces and the *talipapa* (market). A school bus came once and dropped off students at the halfcourt.
Activities & Behaviors	The place supported ***multiple activities dominated by basketball***. I observed strolling, talking, walking, bicycling, people watching, eating, sitting, smoking, peeing, gambling, and playing on phones. Althogh the demographic count suggests females use this place, I ***never observed any females on the court***. Most females transited through the place and a few stopped and watched or played on the sides of the court.
Place Amenities	There were ***many vacant houses*** surrounding the half court. One vacant house on the west side of the court was used as a "club house" for a group of male adolescents and some youths. They frequently hung out inside the house, which had no door or windows. There was also a sari-sari store nearby the place.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The intersection of streets and the *talipapa* were sociofugal elements.
Territory Marking	The youths had put up ***tarpolin across the windows*** to conceal their vacant house but it also was an act of marking territory.
Univseral Accessibility	I ***did not*** observe any architectural elements that would support universal design.
Edges & Nodes	Unlike the residential streets, the street pavement was pulled back from the face of the house. Because most of the houses were vacant this space was unclaimed, overgrown, and chaotic giving the ***street edge ambiguity***. Sometimes this space was used for hanging out but mostly it was left bare.
Positive/Negative Space	The halfcourt was ***largely negative space*** because the shape of the court did not match the pathway of transit or the basket ball activities; no one used a large open and leftover space to the south of the court. However, I did observe an important function for this space. I was in the are during and following a large typhoon that knocked out water and power in the community for several days. The community relied on tankers delivering water. ***Tanker drivers parked in this open area to allow families in the community to queue for filling water containers.***
Presence of Nature	The only presence of nature were the ***overgrown weeds*** around the vacant houses.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
"Spirit of Place"	The place felt ***dangerous and threatening***. I completed all of my observations from a parked van some distance away. The lack of neighboring surveillance, use of drugs, and group-think mentality made the space feel that it was outside of the law.

Table 24: The summary of human-environmental observations on the pocket basketball court in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021).

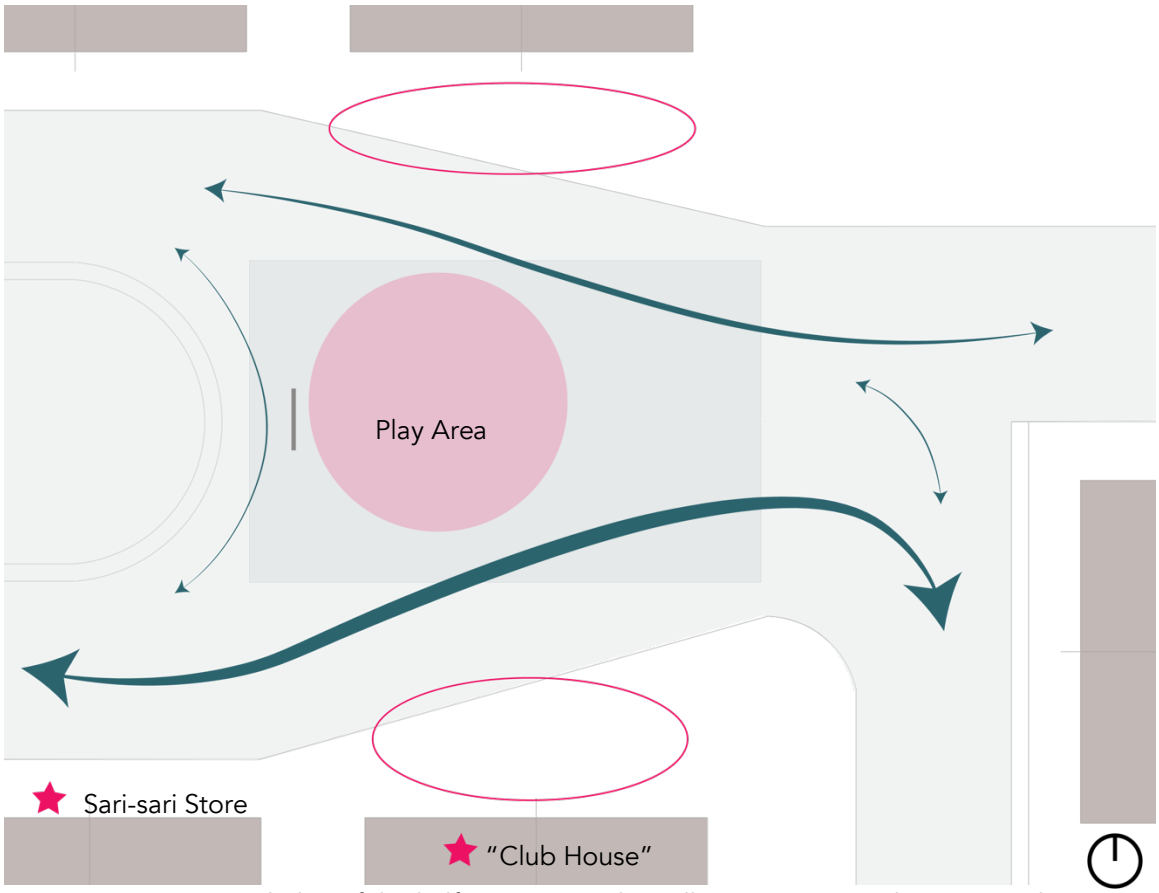


Figure 234: Annotated plan of the half court in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Transitory Space: Residential Street

Both residential streets had central cores for transit with the flanking edged were used as gathering spaces. However, in Pabahay 2000, objects such as cars and junk, successfully blocked traffic and created positive space so that the entire street edge was a gathering space. In Garden Village no such objects were in the street rendering it negative space. The corners,

then acted as gathering spaces because the users said they could see the most activity and be seen.

The Residential Street in Pabahay 2000

Most of Pabahay 2000 consists of residential streets that have similar architectural qualities and features. I selected a portion of a residential street that seemed to be "average" in the context of this community. Architects and contractors developed the residential streets in Pabahay 2000 with sidewalks as evidenced by the community construction documents and the visible edges that line the street. However, they were consistently commandeered and enclosed by the adjacent house. Dr. Grace Ramos, Dean of the College of Architecture at University of the Philippines Diliman, suggested two related reasons: 1) the homes are too small to support health and 2) the street is the preferred pedestrian pathway (2018). The residential street was preferable because most people did not follow a direct pathway aligned with the street (they didn't travel the same direction as the cars). Rather, pedestrian pathways crossed and meandered around the street; children played chased by running circles in the street. The narrow sidewalk width as designed (1m) would not support such activities.



Figure 235: The diversity of activities on the residential street inlcuding couples holding hands, children playing chase, and a lone man walking (Source: Author).



Figure 236: Vehicles are often parked in the street, which calms traffic and increases the pedestrian friendlines of the place (Source: Author 2018).


Figure 237: Kids play on the residential street in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2018).

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
Circulation & Kinetics	Most of the ***transiting circulation*** was done on two-wheeled vehicles while many ***pedestrians*** stayed local to the area, visiting the sari-sari store or a neighboring house. Children were likely to run while adults and adolescents walked leisurely to their destination.
Activities & Behaviors	The place supported ***multiple activities***. I observed running, strolling, talking, biking, holding hands, playing games such as chase, eating, yelling, and laughing. I noticed that the ***children didn't play formal games*** or with toys but rather engaged in mischief and created their own play. For example, I observed a young boy filling up a disgarded wrapper with water and then dripping it on a cat.
Place Amenities	The place had several architectural amenities such as ***awnings*** on most units although they didn't extend far into the street they helped to define the threshold space. About 25% of units along the residential street had a second level with a ***balcony*** looking down to the street. Many drivers parked vehicles and disgarded kiosks along the street which became ***traffic calming*** mechanisms.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The ***sari-sari store*** was a sociopetal element drawing people together.
Territory Marking	The place originally had sidewalks as evident by the defined curb. However, about 80% of the houses had been extended to enclose the sidewalk space.
Univseral Accessibility	The place did not include formal architecture that would support universal access. However, some of the units had added ***ramps*** over the curb into the units and the ***paved street*** supported mobility. This was done to assist carts.
Edges & Nodes	The action of claiming the sidewalk as a domestic space encroached into the public realm and gave the street an ***undefined edge***. However, the ***curb*** countered the undulating form of housing volumes by providing a clear edge at the street.
Positive/Negative Space	The parked vehicles and kiosks were positive space because of the ***street "furniture"*** that allowed pedestrians "protected" areas to congregate.
Presence of Nature	There were no trees directly lining the residential street. However, ***treetops*** were visible from courtyards and at the end of the street. Many residental units also featured ***potted plants***, vines, and bushes.
"Spirit of Place"	The place felt ***comfortable, messy, and alive***. The number of people going about their daily business seemed very natural and the space was quite active. The clutter and discarded items along the street combined with the "piecemeal" style of home additions made the space feel messy and patchy but also comfortable and familiar.

Table 25: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021).

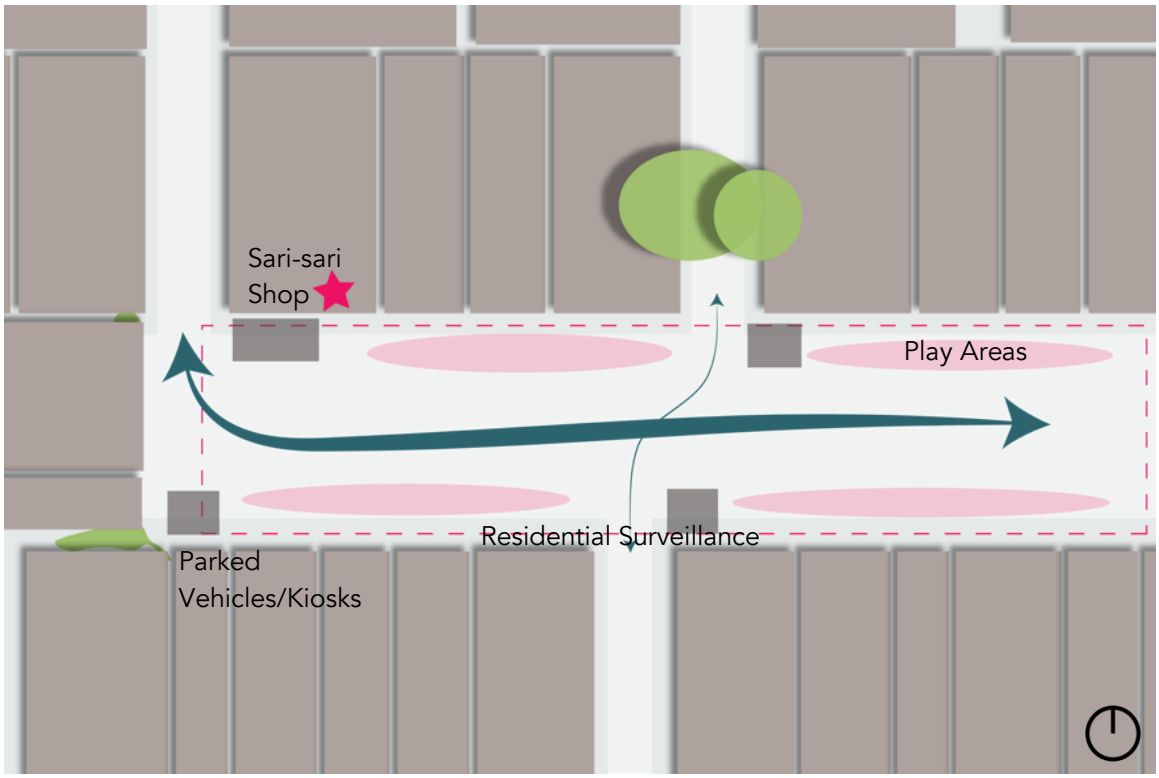


Figure 238: Annotated plan of the residential street in Pabahay 2000 (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

The Residential Street in Garden Village

According to the site plans, architects also designed Garden Village with sidewalks, but these were unusually small at ½ m wide. Similarly, they did not support actual pedestrian traffic and were thus commandeered by many residents for potted plants. I deduce this because I observed pedestrians walking in the street when there were no obstructions on the sidewalk area.



Figure 239: The main street was an open space used by adults as well as chidlren (Source: Author 2018).



Figure 240: Most residents adorned the street face of the house with potted plants after their namesake, Garden Village (Source: Author 2018).



Figure 241: The houses were narrowly spaced and connected on the backside with attached restrooms (Source: Author 2018).

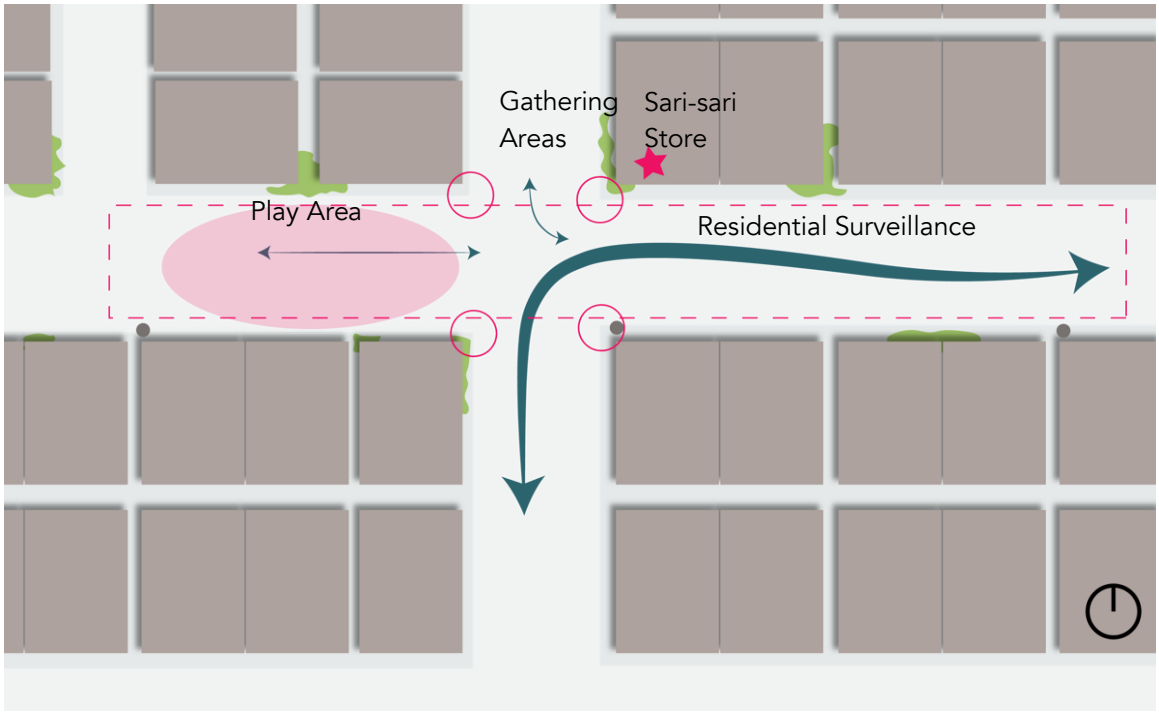


Figure 242: Annotated plan of the residential street in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
Circulation & Kinetics	The primary route was the east side of the main road and the intersecting secondary road. This left the west side of the main road with less traffic, which made it an ideal play and gathering space. I observed many children on ***bicycles***.
Activities & Behaviors	The place supported ***multiple activities***. I observed gardening, strolling, biking, dancing, smoking, yelling, laughing, fetching water, kareoke, sitting and watching people, as well as games such as chase and hide and seek. Over the course of working with this community, I noticed that ***performing kareoke*** in the street with a group of people was a common means of celebration. Typically, a resident would rent a large kareoke kiosk (about the size of an arcade game) that would be plugged in a set up on the street in front of their house. They would add plastic chairs and sometimes a tent. Adults and children would gather and sing together until late into the evening.
Place Amenities	The residential units had few modifications compared with Pabahay 2000; they were all the same color and materials. However, some had added awnings, caging over the windows and doors, and potted plants outside. These small adornments added to the quality of the street because they gave it a ***"lived in" quality*** rather than the institutional nature of standard designs. There was a ***single street light*** at the end of the street that was more decroative than practical due to its low output. The street was originally designed and constructed with ***narrow sidewalks but they were commandeered for potted plants***. Everyone walked in the street.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The sari-sari store was a sociopetal element.
Territory Marking	I observed little markings for territory on the residential street other than the ***sari-sari store signage***. However, the community as a whole was highly marked. The community had a 24-hour, volunteer operated gate and a ***2x4m tarpaulin sign*** marking the entrance. Additionally, along many of the residential streets, there were signs that at first appeared to be typical to indicate the name of the road but upon closer inspection were actually ***biblical scripts***.
Univseral Accessibility	The place ***did not*** include formal architecture that would support universal access. However the ***paved and flat street*** was clearly defined supporting mobility.
Edges & Nodes	The ***edge of the sidewalk*** was popular for sitting, especially on corners. The buildings were set back a few meters from the street but aligned cleanly creating a clear ***definition of frontage space***.
Positive/Negative Space	The street had few amenities to create positive space such as parallel parked cars. The potted plants on the sidewalk created an extended threshold for the residences but obstructed circulation. However, the ***lack of traffic and highspeed vehicles meant that pedestrians felt safe*** in the street and did not look for buffering objects.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
Presence of Nature	This site had extesive opportunities to engage with nature. Most residences had potted plants, some of the units were growing crops in the alley, and the west end of the street opened to a forested area along the river.
"Spirit of Place"	This place felt ***clean, positive, and isolated***. The wide streets were exposed to the hot sun and in response most pedestrians donned ***parasols*** or waited until the evenings to come outside, which added to a sense of vacancy. Some of the ***houses were vacant***. The form of the houses, the new construction, and the high community enagement gave a sense of synergy and comraderie.

Table 26: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Garden Village (Source: Author 2021).

Adolescents' 3rd Places in India

I applied the place selection process used in the Philippines to the India case study starting with overlays of the maps from in-depth interviews to identify common hangouts. I identified three common "place types" across all three sites (the temple ground, the residential street, and the shop street) and two additional "place types" across two sites (the highway and the vacant lot/field). Then, I applied Gardner's (2011) subcategorization and looked for fit. Relying on the interview transcripts, observations, and fieldnotes, I speculated that the temple ground and the vacant lot/field performed as destination spaces, the residential street performed as a threshold space, and the shop street performed as a transitory space.

I worked under the assumption that the application of Gardner's subcategorization to "place types" was contextually specific. Therefore, I did not try to transfer the fit across case studies. This proved helpful because the residential street in the Philippines case study performed as a transitory space while the residential street in the India case study performed as a threshold space. As previously noted, Ishaan Nagar had active residential streets, but I did not collect data on a residential street in that community to respect community-voiced concerns with privacy.



Figure 243: Clockwise from top are the locator maps for the 3rd places in the communities of Gachibowli Village, Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar (Source: Shrestha with Author edits 2021).

Destination Space: The Temple Ground

The temple grounds in each site have external similarities but internally they performed differently. All three temple grounds were what Lynch (1960) would call *landmarks* as they guided pedestrians and acted as a community point-of-reference. The temple ground in

Nanakramguda was small and urban; a high wall tightly enclosed it and adults strictly regulated activities. The temple ground in Gachibowli village was partially enclosed—some by a wall and some by surrounding mid-rise buildings. The enclosure was very different from the Hanuman Temple in Nanakramguda because there was no gate and users did not strictly regulate use. The place felt private and exclusive but supported non-religious activities. In contrast, the temple ground in Ishaan Nagar had no enclosing wall or adjacent buildings and felt exposed. Yet, due to the orientation of the nearby houses there were no "eyes on the street" (Jacobs 1961) and the place felt dangerous.

The Temple Ground in Gachibowli Village

The temple ground in Gachibowli Village was a pivot-point in the community from the procession of the Gachibowli-Miapur Road up the hillside into the pile of houses, boulders, and alleyways of Rajiv Nagar. It was located at the base of the hill and signified the transition between the "deep" residential areas of the community to the more commercial areas. The entry was on the outside edge of a 90° turn on the main street in Rajiv Nagar. This corner of the main street was a place of community gathering and even protest.

One evening, after hours of observation, our team was unusually late to leave the community. Some national political news trickled down, enraging a subset of villagers who took to the street raising nationalist banners, banging pots, and causing commotion. The small group grew to a mass of over 300 young men in mere minutes; they came running down from the hills to join the protest at this critical corner. Cyberabad Metropolitan Police dismantled the stationary protest over the next few hours. Interestingly, despite the religious tone, the protesters did not enter the temple grounds but rather remained at this corner with the open temple archway as a backdrop.

Inside the temple grounds, stood a few trees, some food vendors, the temple pavilion, and some temporary shading structures that the *pundit*s or *swamis* (Hindu teachers/knowledgeable people) could rest under.[84] While the adults were eating, praying,

[84] Out of consideration for the religious sanctity of the temple ground as well as for privacy, I chose not to take photographs within the temple grounds. I have included my photographs of the exterior of the temple grounds and supplemented them with photographs that I found online when available.

and sleeping, children gathered on the far side (opposite the street) in a small strip of land before the cliff that they used for dumping garbage. This small strip was flat, open, and the children said that it "felt safe because of the adults who rest nearby." Adolescents transformed this space on most mornings into the cricket field. It was a space obscured by the temple and trees from the main road - secretive enough to feel private and personal, yet, still safe enough to venture without their family's watchful gaze.



Figure 244: Gachibowli Village temple ground entrance elevation (Source: Author 2019).

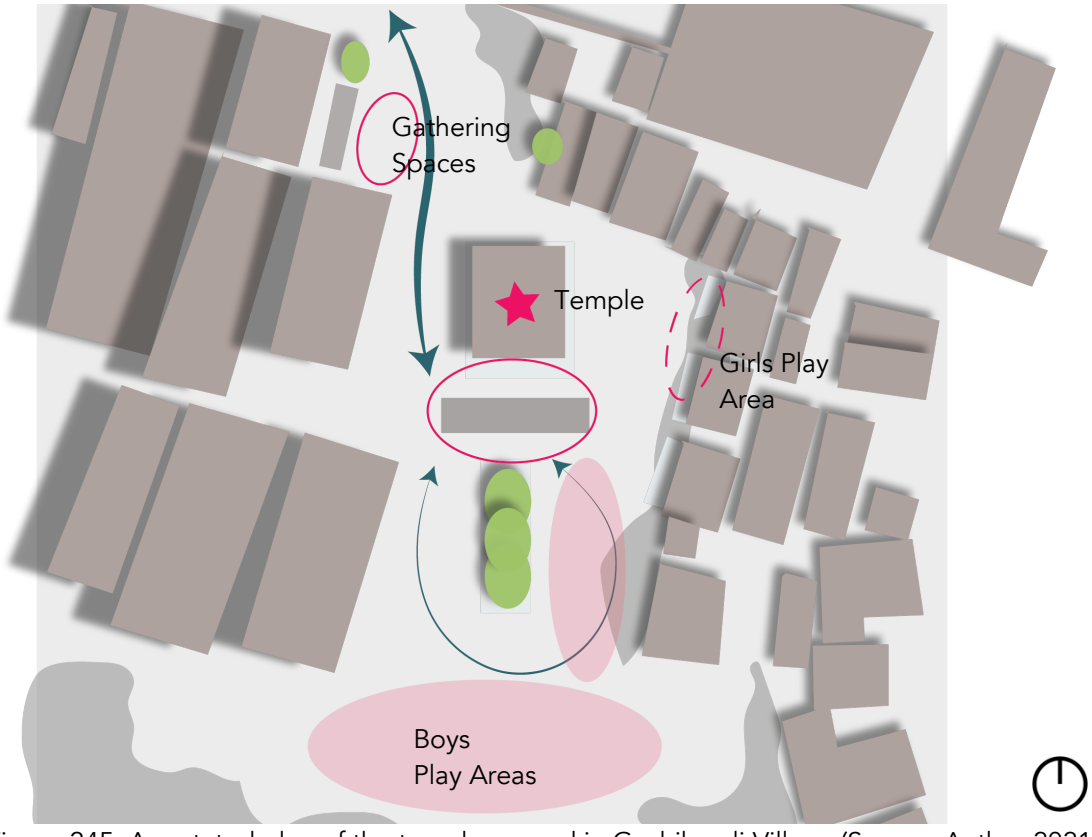


Figure 245: Annotated plan of the temple ground in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a low-traffic area with between ***35-135 people*** observed in a given hour. The place was highly male-dominated with about ***98% male users and 2% female***. There were two primary user groups that fluctuated by day and time. ***Adult males came during weekend afternoons*** where as ***male adolescents and children came during the weekend mornings and the weekday afternoons***. Most people traversed in pairs of groups.
Circulation & Kinetics	***All of the adolescents and children*** were pedestrians where as only about ***60% of the adults were pedestrians***. Many of the adults arrived by two-wheeler and a few by four-wheeler. Drivers parked these vehicles in back of the temple on the open ground.
Activities & Behaviors	The site supported ***a broad range of activities*** with some overlap between user groups. I observed sleeping, praying, watching, playing (namely cricket), running, climbing, talking, walking, and eating.
Place Amenities	During the weekend afternoons, a temporary ***tent structure*** was put up. Hindu teachers (swamis) arrived at the temple. The men would rest in the tent for the afternoon. This tent was taken down after sunset. Around the tent, the men constructed a ***fire***. There was also a large ***planter box*** (approximately 10mx3m) that children used to sit and chat around. Near the entrance was a ***tiffin vendor*** that sold meals.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	Most of the place amenities were sociofugal.
Territory Marking	Reviewing the traces, I noticed a clear deliniation in the site. Adults almost entirely used the north side of the site (north of the tent site) while adolescents and children almost entirely used the south side of the site. Further, the few women and girls that came to the site strictly stayed on the east side stairs. I was not able to identify any visible territory markings but their ***behavior reveals a stark pattern***.
Univseral Accessibility	The place ***did not*** inlcude architecture that would support universal access.
Edges & Nodes	Several sets of ***stairs defined the east edge*** of the temple grounds from the residential area. Additionally, a masonry ***wall enclosed*** the temple along the main road. The south side of the temple was undefined and ***transitioned into a cliff-side trash dump***.
Positive/Negative Space	The architectural features of the planter, the temple, and the temporary tent aligned from north to south in a compact area of the site. This ***"core" is the positive space*** around which the negative circulation space flows. Most of the circulation pathways are from the gate to the "core" and back. Few people explored the site or walked around the "core."
Presence of Nature	This place engages with nature in two ways. The first ***is views of the valley*** on the south side, which is overgorwn with trees and grasses but inaccessible. The second is through the ***medium-sized trees in the planter*** and a few smaller trees scattered around.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
"Spirit of Place"	This place ***feels breezy, open, and private*** (in an inclusive way for boys and an exclusive way for girls).

Table 27: The summary of human-environmental observations on the temple ground in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021).

The Temple Ground in Nanakramguda

Nanakramguda had several temples. I selected the Hanuman Temple because it was the most frequently mentioned by adolescents and the most centrally located. The Hanuman Temple was on the corner of the main street and a residential street.



Figure 246: People waiting for transit at the Hanuman Temple as viewed from the busy road during afternoon traffic (Source: Prayas 2018).

I conducted site observations from both streets as this was a high-traffic area and it was impossible to accurately capture the activity of each street with one perspective. The temple ground was consistently busy, and patrons parking cars frequently blocked the residential street.

The corner in front of temple was also the stop for the public bus as well as many private school buses. The children who got off the bus either walked home with their friends or were met by a family member and escorted home. Shops lined either side of the Temple on the main road and wrapped around the corner of the lane slowly transitioning into residential towers at the end of the block. Research Assistant Shekar Ankani described the place clearly in his fieldnotes:

> There were a lot of shops, but I saw very few [people] getting to the shops. People were going to the temple or going to the bus stop. I saw a lot of [construction] workers standing at one point. There were many vegetable shops but very few people actually came there. I saw heavy trucks. Kids were moving only on the cross street [referring to the residential street] (December 2019).

The main road transformed in the evenings and became another space altogether from dusk to late evening — a bazaar. As the sun went down and the jobsites let out, the migrant construction workers would fill the street crowding out vehicular traffic; the main road became a pedestrian-only space with numerous vendors setting up the market. Out of the thousands of men that came to the street, I only ever saw perhaps 10-20 women (all vendors working their cart with their family). This gendered space pushed local villagers and especially children into their homes.



Figure 247: (L) the main road near the Hanuman Temple at dusk (Source: Author, 2019)



Figure 248: Nanakramguda temple ground street elevation (Source: Author 2019).

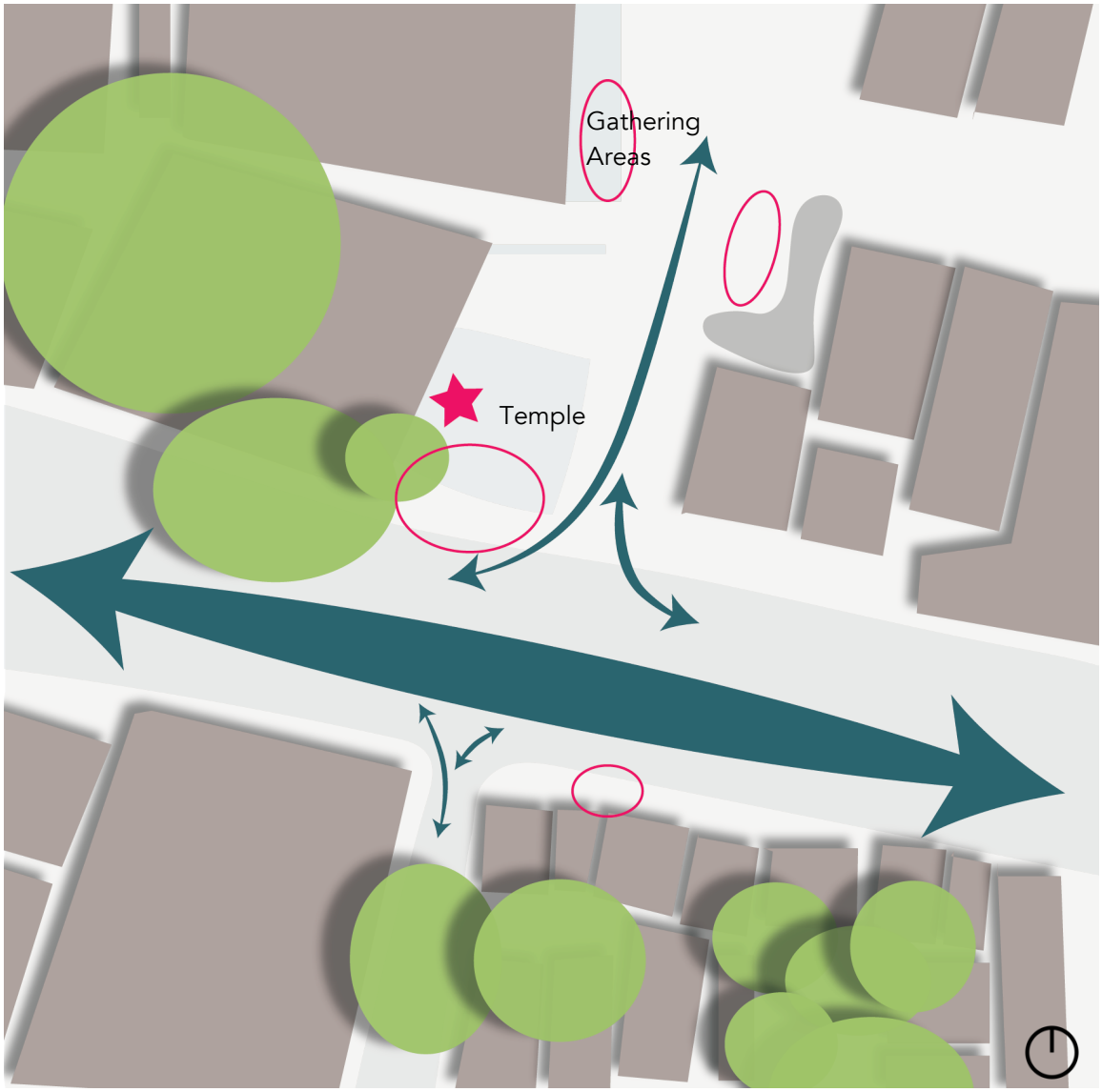


Figure 249: Annotated plan of the temple ground in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was the highest-traffic area of all places in India with between ***92-800 people*** observed in a given hour on the main road and ***124-448 people*** observed in a given hour on the side road. The place was male-dominated with between ***65%-95% male*** users on the main road and between ***87%-98% male*** users on the side road. I only observed a few children playing in a sand lot on the main road but no children walking through the place. On the side road about ***33% of pedestrians were children*** (including adolescents). People traversed the space alone, in pairs, and in groups.
Circulation & Kinetics	With the high volume of traffic it was difficult to determine the breakdown of means of transportation. I observed ***a range of transportation alternatives*** from private automobiles, autorickshaws, lorries, buses (commuter, travel, school), two-wheelers, and bicycles. The open space in front of the Hanuman temple was an informal pick-up/drop point.
Activities & Behaviors	The site ***did not*** support a variety of activities. Most people traversed the site and some also talked on their cellphone. I noticed a series of vendors opposite the main road that encouraged eating, drinking, talking, and resting. Many people waited for their ride.
Place Amenities	The Hanuman temple was marked with a large and undeniable statue of Hanuman, the monkey god, on his steed. The ***statue was a landmark*** and probably the reason the site was popular as a trasportation hub. The site featured very little supportive architecture except for ***two small benches*** and a few large pieces of ***broken aggregate*** that were used as seating. People used the adjacent shop steps as overflow when the shops closed. Despite the high volume of people that flooded the site regularly, many of the adjacent sites were ***vacant and filled with construction rubble*** or trash.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The ***chaiwalla*** across the main road was a sociopetal element. The culture of chai is to drink it slowly on the spot. Other patrons of food and drink vendors drove up and, without getting out or off of their vehicle, were handed goods to-go. In contrast, chai patrons exited their vehcile and stood around the chai vendor conversing with him as well as other patrons for an average of 30 minutes.However, sociopetal is not always a positive design element. ***The highly gendered environment of this place was at odds with sociopetal nature of the benches at the transportation pick-up/drop-off point.*** The benches in front of the temple were angled toward each other, which drove who sat on them. If the area was vacant or if a female was already there, then another female would join and vice versa for men.
Territory Marking	There were several ***signs*** around the site featuring local politicians.
Univseral Accessibility	The place ***did not*** inlcude architecture that would support universal access.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
Edges & Nodes	The main road was paved with asphalt and the side road was compacted dirt. A ***dirt threshold*** between the street and the building aprond provided a roungh pedestrian pathway. The ***buildings did not have a consistent edge*** against either street, rather they were staggered, piecemeal, and at a variety of angles. The patchwork of buildings opened opportunities for ***informal gatherings***.
Positive/Negative Space	The parked ***vehicles, kiosks, and vendor carts*** established a positive space on either side of the main road. However, on the side street, there were ***no architectural features that provided positive space***.
Presence of Nature	Suprisingly, there were ***a few large shade trees*** inside of the Hanuman temple grounds that were visible from outside of the temple too. From the site, the ***treetops*** of some large shade trees in an enclosed courtyard were visible.
"Spirit of Place"	Within 20 minutes of any observation period I was covered in a grey "dust." The place was ***loud, intimidating, crowded, and dirty***. The smell of exhaust and dust lingered in the air even when the traffic slowed. The ***sound of vehicles honking*** made conversations difficult.

Table 28: The summary of human-environmental observations on the temple ground in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021).

The Temple Ground in Ishaan Nagar

Adolescents did not regularly mention the temple ground in Ishaan Nagar but was traditionally a space of gathering. I questioned why it was not used as so many adolescents complained of the lack of open space in Ishaan Nagar. Through the observations and behavior mapping, I found that the openness of the space was dangerous in a similar way to the fields – there were limited "eyes on the street."

The temple was small and located on a vacant block surrounded by dirt streets to the north, east, and south and a dirt ally on the west. The block had a natural slope, but some earthwork left the southern side infilled about two meters above the dirt road and inhibited visual access to the homes on the south side. A continuous wall with little fenestration composed of the back of the east-side houses framing the alley. The houses on the north-end of the quad oriented toward the side streets, leaving solid walls to face the temple ground. The home orientations and earthwork meant that only the houses on the east side faced the temple ground but two of those were wrapped with exterior courtyard walls.

During the observation period, a differently abled teenage boy came alone and flew his kite near the temple. Moments later, an older teenage boy came by, bullied him, and took his

kite. No adults or other children were present to intervene, and this was known by both children.[85] The victim returned home while the bully continued to play with the kite for some time until he discarded it and walked to another destination. The ground was empty for the remaining afternoon. While the ground is a great community asset for gathering families and staging tents and food on holidays like *Diwali*, it is too private for children to feel safe and indeed, to be safe.



Figure 250: The Hanuman temple in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Mahesh Babu 2021, Maruti 2019).

[85] I wrote "no adults" were present because I excluded myself, the translator, and the community escort from the landscape as we would not normally be present. While we did not make attempts to conceal ourselves neither did, we draw attention to ourselves. We observed the space from a street corner. However, that this scene played out as we observed, speaks to the assumed lack of bystanders regularly present on the site. Ethically, I practice child safeguarding and engage as these principles dictate.

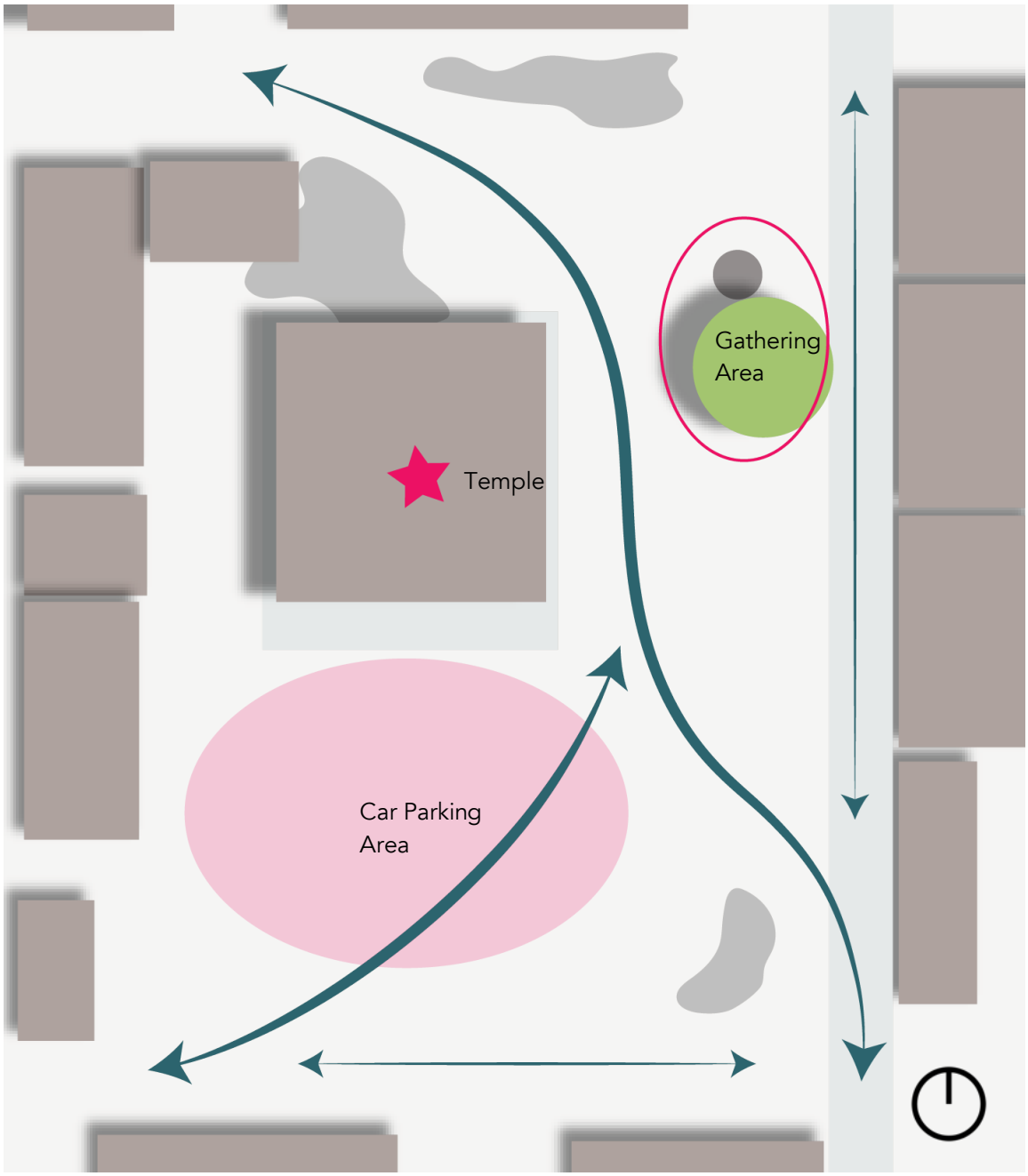


Figure 251: Annotated plan of the temple ground in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a low-traffic area with between ***12-80 people*** observed in a given hour. The place was male-dominated with between ***75%-85% male*** users. Technically, the place had about ***75% adult*** users, however when looking only at peedestrians about ***50% were children*** and adolescents. People traversed the site alone or in pairs.
Circulation & Kinetics	About half of the users rode ***two-wheelers*** and the other half were pedestrians. The circulation path was not direct. People used this place as a cut-through to connect a high-use residential street on the northwest corner of the site to another high-use residential street on the southeast corner. Therefore, pedestrians wore ***a diagonal path*** was into the site.
Activities & Behaviors	The place ***supported some activities while prohibiting others***. I observed kite flying, climbing, walking, talking, resting, soltary games (stick in a tire, playing in sand), "hot rodding," and bullying. What I did observe in the site was equally important. In this type of site, I expected to see groups of people, especially children, playing games such as kho-kho or chase. Instead, I observed a child get ***bullied*** and his kite stolen without intervention becase there were no other people around the area. I also ***didn't observe anyone strolling*** or walking for pleasure.
Place Amenities	The place had a pile of ***construction sand***, which at one point a mother brought her children to play in. On one weekend there was a structure erected near the temple. At first I thought it was a tent for the swamis to rest in as was done at the temple in Gachibowli Village. However, I learned over the course of the observations that it was a protective structure for someone's car. The temple ground area ***doubled as a parking lot***.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The site had a ***water well*** in the northeast corner. On a few occations, children would come and fetch water there. I also observed adults bringing plastic chairs near the well, which was under the canopy of a tree, and hanging out there for about 30 minutes.
Territory Marking	I did not observe any formal territory markings however, the act of parking cars on the temple ground is, in effect, marking ***adult territory***. Additionally, while residences surrounded the temple ground, none of the homes fronted the temple and few had windows opening to the temple. In effect, ***the surrounding homes had their "back" to the temple ground***, which limited the natural surveillance expected in a residential neighborhood.
Univseral Accessibility	The place ***did not*** inlcude architecture that would support universal access.
Edges & Nodes	The temple ground was compacted dirt and it was on a sloped site that had been made level by raising the southeastern corner. The ***steep slope across the south and lower east side was an edge*** to the site. The road on the east side was concrete and acted as an edge.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
Positive/Negative Space	The place was ***devoid of architectural features*** that would support positive space.
Presence of Nature	The place had ***a single tree*** that provided shade over the well.
"Spirit of Place"	This place felt ***exposed, desolate, and boring***. While I didn't observe many children playing on this site, I often heard children play on nearby residential streets.

Table 29: The summary of human-environmental observations on the temple ground in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021).

Threshold Space: Residential Street

The residential streets in Gachibowli Village and Nanakramguda performed similarly despite their contrasting architectural forms. Both had high levels of residential surveillance, high levels of female and child activity, and evoked feelings of safety and comfort. They were places where children played freely, and small groups or pairs gathered to socialize. They both featured positive space along the street where pedestrians sat and watched others.

The Residential Street in Gachibowli Village

The residential street in Rajiv Nagar (the subset community of Gachibowli Village) was a popular hang-out for children of all ages. The narrow lane was difficult to traverse in a 4-wheeler (car) and didn't connect with another main street but rather it looped back on itself like the eye of a needle wrapping around the endemic Hyderabadi boulders. Most homes opened directly onto the street, but a few had a small entryway that was enclosed with a gate. The plots were small at between 100-200 sf – just enough for a two-room rowhouse. The homes had a kitchen area and a sleeping area. However, a politician lived in the house at the top of the hill that was over 600 sf with two bathrooms – one that he rented to the community and the other for his family.

The children who lived on the residential street knew each other. I observed teenagers sitting casually in the doorways, talking, and watching the small children in the street. The children played in a variety of ways from formal games, to climbing the walls, to tricking friends, to chasing others, to riding bicycles. The cacophony of children's shouts, neighboring laughter, and the pattering of feet added to the other domestic street sounds such as dishes clinking, water pouring, a Bollywood ringtone, and the call to prayer from a neighboring mosque. These

sounds felt far removed from the typical sounds anticipated in the city such as car honking and tiffin vendors yelling.



Figure 252: Local children playing back streets of Rajiv Nagar (Source: Author, 2019).



Figure 253: The children played in a variety of ways from formal games, to climbing the walls, to tricking friends, to chasing others, to riding bicycles (Source: Author 2019).

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a low-traffic area with between ***60-100 people*** observed in a given hour. The place shifted in user demographics over the course of the observation hour on several occations. The most extreme variations were the dominante users on weekend afternoons with ***67% female*** users and weekday afternoons with ***56% male*** users. Additionally, this place had a high proportion of ***children ranging from 33% to 56%*** of the users.
Circulation & Kinetics	Most users were ***pedestrians*** with an occational two-wheeler or bicycle. There were ***no four-wheeled vehicles*** observed in this site. The children used ***the center of the street to play games***, which pushed transiting traffic to either side. As vehicles came through, all of the kids would scatter and then quickly resume.
Activities & Behaviors	This place ***afforded children many activities***. I observed them climbing and jumping off of the walls, playing games, resting, talking, eating, strolling, running, and sitting. In the afternoons and early evenings, ***adult women*** came from the houses to ***sit on small stools*** near their doorway and prepare food while talking across the street to their neighbors. Other than the children and women living in the adjacent residences, pedestrians used the space for transit.
Place Amenities	A residential ***half-wall*** was a favorite climbing feature. Some of the houses had ***small overhangs*** that provided shade and protection from rain while sitting in the doorway.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The proximity of the homes across the street or rather the narrowness of the street made it easy for people to communicate from within the home to people outside. In many ways, the street functioned as a hallway in a house where the adjacent homes were adjacent rooms. Often residents "yelled down the hallway" to communicate with their neighborhors. The ***proximity of homes is a sociofugal design element*** in practice because it removed the need for residents to physcially co-locate in order to communicate.
Territory Marking	The homes were painted a variety of colors such as yellow, blue, brown, white, and green. Many also had laundry on a line hanging against the exterior wall, similar to a tapestry. The bright ***colors and laundry lines demarcated the homes***, which was helpful since the rowhouse formation blended the them into a continuous building.
Univseral Accessibility	The place had no formal architecture that would support universal access but the ***gadual slope*** of the street and hard edge of the homes, including their ***contrasting color*** are both principles of universal design.
Edges & Nodes	Many of the residences had blue water barrels outside of their homes. Without a formal threshold or other way to demarcate private space in front of the house, these barrels acted as a buffer to the flow of people and ***afforded a transition zone*** for the home. The homes themselves were directly set onto the street so as to give it ***a hard edge***.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
Positive/Negative Space	The homes provided such a hard edge that the space was effectively a street enclosed by homes. Thus, ***the street was a positive space***.
Presence of Nature	There were no trees on the street or accessible from the street, however ***a numer of treetops*** could be seen reaching over the lowrise homes. Their canopies provided a pleasant quality to the street and some shade.
"Spirit of Place"	This place ***feels safe, comfortable, and quiet***. Although near the busy highway, the sounds were muffled and the larger city was virtually invisible.

Table 30: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021).

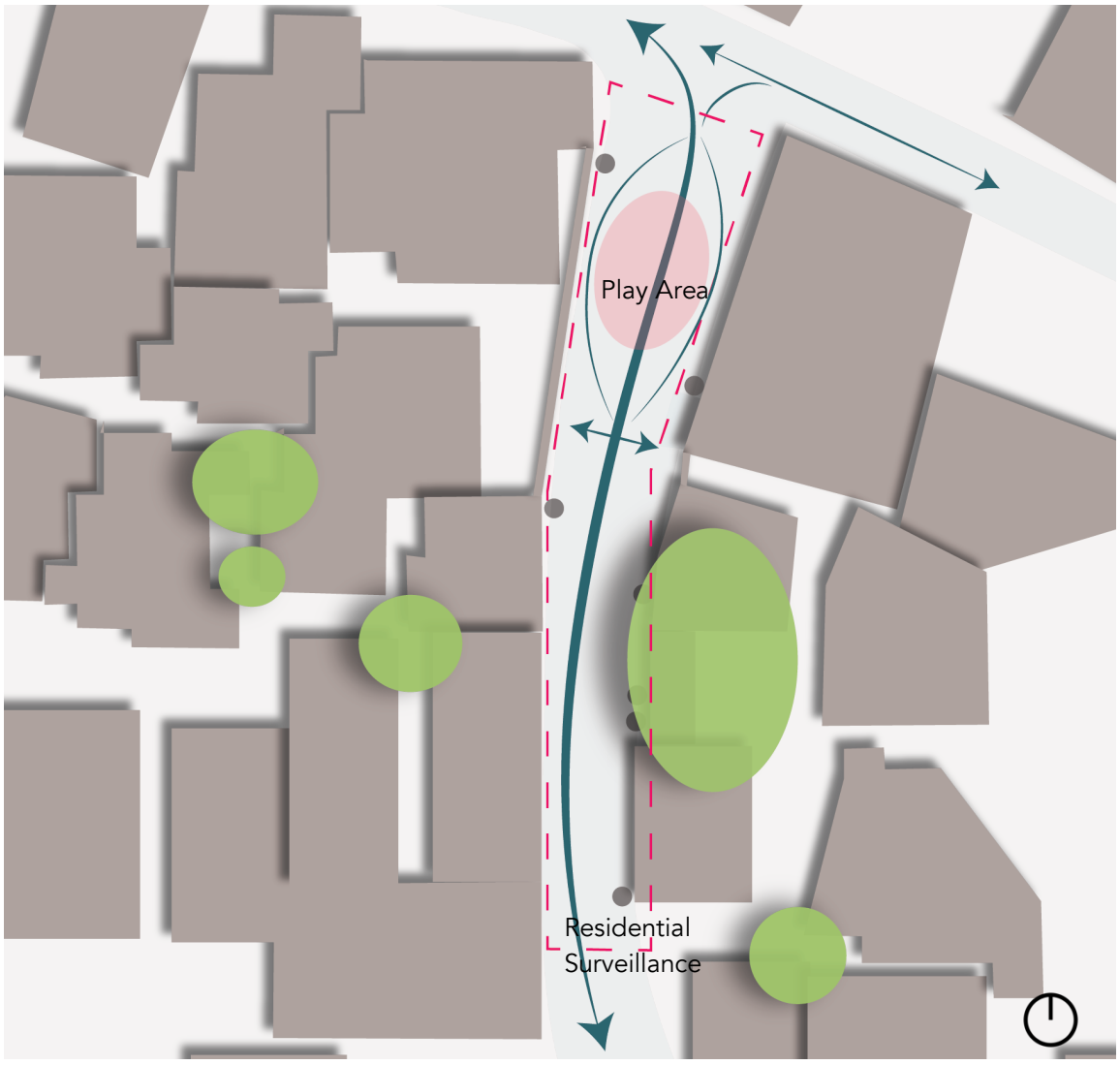


Figure 254: Annotated plan of the residential street in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

The Residential Street in Nanakramguda

In Nanakramguda, the paved residential street was reminiscent of a medieval town because of the proportions of the narrow street to the high, balcony-filled walls of mid-rise towers on either side. The narrowness, perhaps, was a main reason that the residential street was not used for through-traffic by four-wheelers (cars and trucks) and was mainly for pedestrians, bicyclists, and two-wheelers. The solar orientation meant that the residential street was in shade for most of the day and the expanse of concrete held onto the cooler temperatures, so it was a respite from the hot summer sun.

The residential street had a few unique architectural features that I did not observe outside of this site. First, there were large concrete plinths outside a few of the homes that adults and children regularly used to rest and engage with people on the street. This contributed to the street life as surveillance as well as set a tone of relaxation. Women often lived in the towers above. There were also two very narrow passages (less than two feet) between towers that connected the residential street to another lane. These passages were the favorite hiding and chase route for young children, who delighted in jumping out at passing friends. The towers also had occupiable balconies. Residents used them throughout the day – in the mornings for airing out the bedding, drying hair, laundry, and yelling down to children or traveling salesmen below.

In contrast to the Hanuman Temple, I did not witness any migrant construction workers on this lane; it seemed to be a space where women had more agency and spent most of their time thus regulating the use of the space. I described this clearly in my fieldnotes:

> There is just this really nice air… it feels protected… there is a woman who was at the sewing shop at street level with the wall opening to the street and was there all day... sort of keeping eyes on the street… a lot of balconies with a lot of mothers doing laundry… they were pretty suspicious about us [the research team] and came up and questioned us. (December 2019)



Figure 255: Children run through the residential street and the small pedestrian pathways in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2019).



Figure 256: Driveways are popular places to sit and play (Source: Author 2019).

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a low-traffic area with between ***25-150 people*** observed in a given hour. The place was ***male-dominated on the weekend*** with an average of 76% male users but during the ***weekday it was nearly balanced*** between male and female users (60% male/40% female). I observed very few adolescents hanging out and many young children playing. Most people traversed through the place alone.
Circulation & Kinetics	Approximately ***90% of the users were pedestrians***. There were several ***traveling salesmen*** observed on the weekday who had a bicycle laden with good such as fabrics, candies, and school supplies but the salesman typically walked his bicycle. The street was primarily used as a pathway with the ***center of the street having the highest volume and speed of traffic***. I observered some two-wheelers but no four-wheelers. However, some ***four-wheelers were parked in front*** of or in the ground level of the residential units indicating that they did use the street but not often.
Activities & Behaviors	The place supported ***multiple activities***. Observed activities included walking, running, playing games (hide and seek, etc.), washing cars, talking on the phone, strolling, laundry, bicycling, kite-flying, sitting, and watching others. I observed women on the balconies drying their hair, talking on the phone, and doing laundry.
Place Amenities	The residences were between three and five levels above the ground floor. Nearly all had balconies that cantalevered out of the face of the building and over the street. Combined with their height and the street orientation, ***the street was often in shadow***. Additionally, the drying laundry that was slung over the balcony rails may have ***dampended echoing sounds*** of the hard surface concrete buildings as the noise level was never overwhelming as in other parts of the community.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The paved plynths for parking two-wheelers and driveway entrance ramps possibly drew people to gather because ***the concrete acted as a boundary against the street***. Pedestrians flowed around the concrete edge.
Territory Marking	I observed women in the residences and businesses watching the street. I was questioned almost immidiately when I started about my activities by a seamstress who was working in a small shop across from my point of observation. Their ***collective surveillance*** adds to the perception of safety in this place.
Univseral Accessibility	The place did not inlcude formal architecture that would support universal access. However, some of the ***sloped vehicle ramps*** could be used for wheelchairs and the ***paved street*** supported mobility.
Edges & Nodes	The edges of the street were ***undefined and ambiguous***, perhaps supporting children with the freedom to ***expland their range of play***.
Positive/Negative Space	The concept of positive/negative space ***does not apply*** in the traditional sense to this place as the hard edge of the buildings and absence of urban furniture create a clear contrast of inside/outside.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
Presence of Nature	There was ***no significant presence of nature*** in this place. One shop had a potted plant on the pation and there was one tree growing inside of a walled-off courtyard.
"Spirit of Place"	This place is very pleasant. It feels ***cool, calm, and safe***. The street was suprisingly quiet although the main road was just a block away. I noticed that regardless of the time or day I observed the space, I could always hear ***Bollywood or Telugu*** cinema songs playing from inside a home. The music was not blaring but rather added a backdrop rhythm to the place.

Table 31: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021).

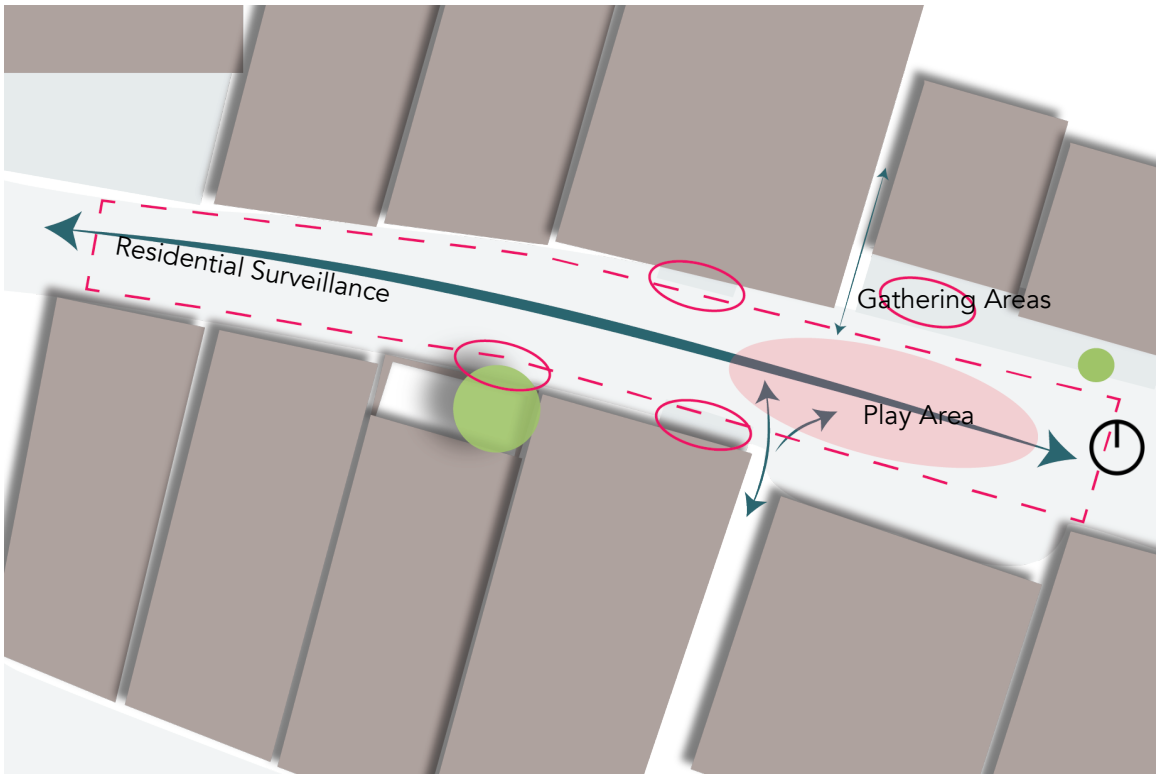


Figure 257: Annotated plan of the residential street in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Transitory Space: The Shop Street

The volume of traffic dictated the performance of the shop street and pedestrian movements across these sites. High-volume traffic in Nanakramguda "pushed" pedestrians to gather behind the protection of parked cars. Low-volume traffic in Ishaan Nagar opened the street to pedestrians for a variety of activities but provided little engagement or interest.

The Shop Street in Gachibowli Village

The shop street in Gachibowli Village had several *kirana* stores (Pooja Kirana & General Store) located on the main street between the temple the Gachibowli-Miapur Road. Because of the slope, it, like other shops, had slanting stairs leading to the raised entrance. These stairs made for a great hang-out location for children who came to collect an after-school snack or supplies for school. I observed that during the weekdays, for many children, stopping at the shop was a ritual. This 3rd place offered them more environmental agency than school and home where their activities and company were regulated. The store was also popular for adults, both male and female.

The stacked-up inventory outside of the shop blocked high-volume traffic and offered a protected space for the patrons to gather. Similarly, a permanently parked tanker offered protection on the opposite side of the street creating an interaction between the two sides of the street. Residential units were located above the shops and surrounding businesses. During our observations, more than one of these residents came down from their balcony to inquire about our work. This speaks to the watchfulness and curiosity of the community. One inquirer was a retired engineer who expressed interest in helping us and pride in his profession, telling the onlookers that we were discussing important "engineering business."



Figure 258: Gachibowli Village shop street elevation (Source: Author 2019).



Figure 259: The stacked-up inventory blocked the frequent traffic and offered a protected space. Similarly, a permanently parked tanker offered protection. (Source: Author 2019).

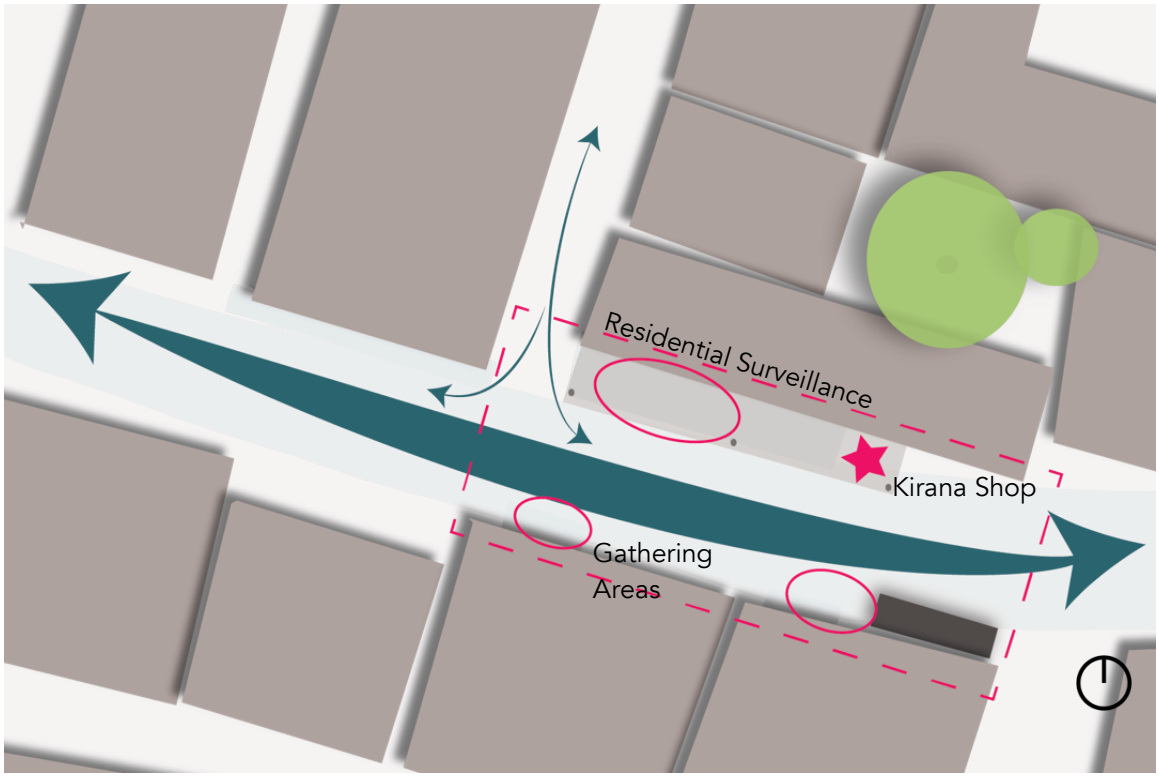


Figure 260: Annotated plan of the shop street in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a high-traffic area with between ***100-300 people*** observed per hour. The place was male-dominated with about ***75% male*** users and ***25% female***. Most people traversed alone or in pairs.
Circulation & Kinetics	Approximately ***80% of users were pedestrians*** while ***18% rode two-wheelers*** and the rest took an autorickshaw or private vehicle. The pedestrian traffic increased on the weekend while the two-wheeler traffic increased on the weekday morning observation period. The intersecting side lane had little traffic.
Activities & Behaviors	At 3:30 on the weekday, a spike rose in children traversing the space due to the nearby government school letting out for the day. Many children would stop at the candy store on their way home. About 30% hung around the candy shop with friends and ate their candy on the adjacent shops steps. Few people lingered in this space. ***It functioned primarily as a pathway.***
Place Amenities	A parked water tanker (lorry) blocked the entrance to one of the residential units for all of the observation periods. With no formal parking areas, ***large vehicles angle off the edge of the street and commandeer the fronge space that is often used for pedestrian travel***. The large steps were ideal seating and often used by both children as well as adults. It was covered tucked back a bit from the street so that you couldn't see it from the main road.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	The ***paved steps*** in front of the general store and the driveway in front of the residence were sociopetal elements that drew people together.
Territory Marking	I observed this place from the concrete of the residential tower. Within the first hour of observation a man came down from a housing unit across the street to inquire about my activities. He said that he was retired and liked to sit at his window and ***"watch"the street***. The lighting shop (with the steps) lacked territory marking and seemed to support non-customers to use the steps and entry area.
Univseral Access.	The place ***did not*** include architecture to support universal access.
Edges & Nodes	The paved steps and driveway possibly drew people to gather because ***the concrete acted as a boundary against the street***. Pedestrians flowed around the concrete edge.
Positive/Negative Space	The close spacing of the buildings contrasts with the wide street. The ***street is the negative space*** for traversing. The ***street edge is a threshold and effectively positive space*** because of the objects that buffer the flow of traffic such as vehicles, entry steps, and vendors.
Presence of Nature	The only trees visible to the space are behind the general store in a private courtyard. There are no other plants or animals.
"Spirit of Place"	The place feels ***dusty and exposed***. The main street is compacted dirt and on hot days the traffic stirs up the dust. Yet, on rainy days the lack of drainage quickly transitions the place into a mud-pit.

Table 32: The summary of human-environmental observations on the shop street in Gachibowli Village (Source: Author 2021).

The Shop Street in Nanakramguda

The shop street contrasted with the Hanuman Temple and the residential street. The *kirana* shop was opposite of the government primary school on the main road and many children mentioned that they visited the store. A large, covered awning (shading an area of about 150 sf) architecturally removed the shop from the street. The *kirana* shop was in a "strip-center" with five other shops – all were set back from the road but not all of them had an awning. This transition space was an important place for gathering. Street vendors lined up to sell samosas, dosas, and sugar cane juice. This semi-private transition space was mostly occupied by adult men – either migrant workers relaxing with a cigarette and snack or by local elders sitting around and discussing political matters. Only occasionally would children come to the store and even then, it was with the purpose of purchasing some supplies and immediately leaving. Streetlights existed but never turned on and an on-going sewage infrastructure project pushed traffic further into the sandy pedestrian path and, in turn, the pedestrians pushed into the transition space creating crowds of people jostling about and shifting as traffic increased and decreased. The road was usually crowded with four-wheelers and even lorries and buses. When the school opened in the morning and then let out in the afternoon the children coming and going immediately dispersed. A few stood around waiting for a family member to come on a two-wheeler to collect them, but most walked home via the rear alley avoiding the main road altogether.



Figure 261: Nanakramguda shop street elevation (Source: Author 2019).



Figure 262: The gated enclave of Golf View contrasts with the local community entrance acros the street (Source: Author 2019).

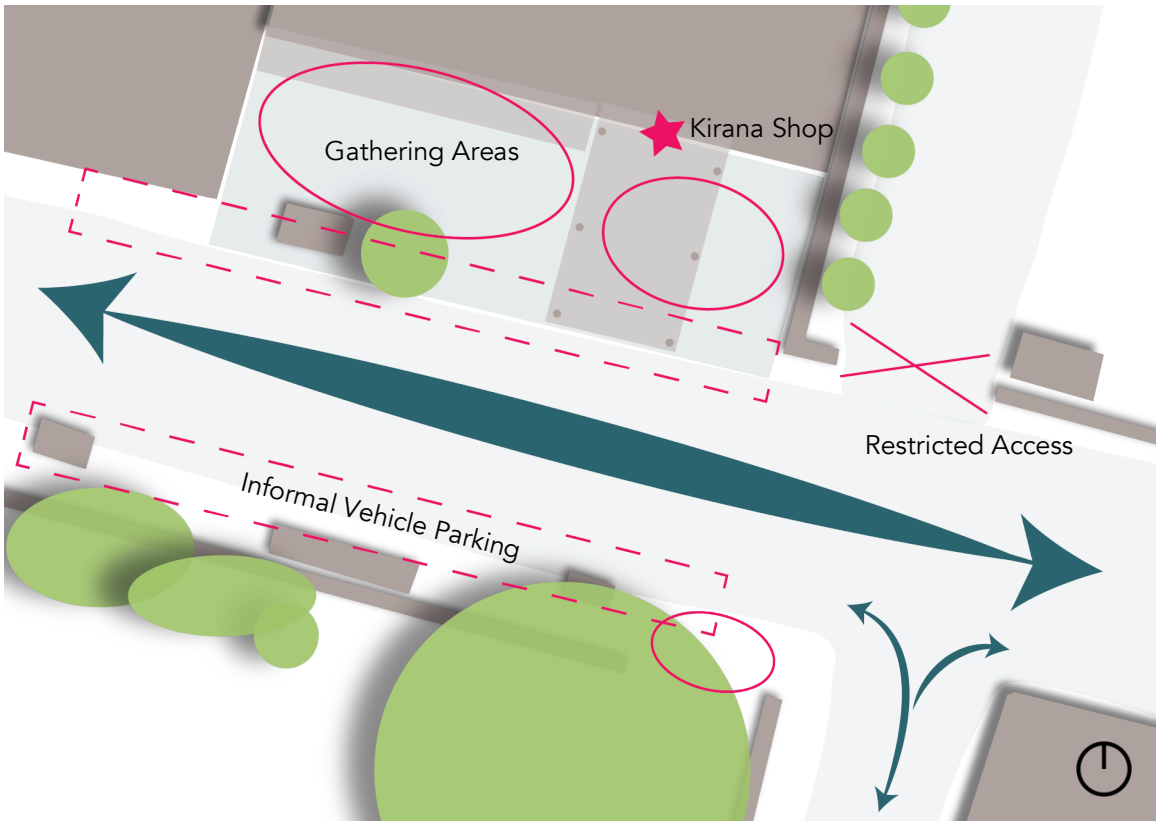


Figure 263: Annotated plan of the shop street in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a high-traffice area with between ***175-550 people*** observed in a given hour. The place was male-domiated with about ***90% male*** users and ***10% female***. People traversed alone, in pairs, and males often traversed in groups of 4-10 people.
Circulation & Kinetics	Due to the high volume of traffic and ***diverse means of travel***, I was not able to assess the breakdown. Travel types appeared to be fairly even including buses, lorries, privately owned vehicles, two-wheelers, autorickshaws, bicycles, and pedestrians. The site included ***pick-up and drop-off points for high volume transport***. The intersecting lane had medium traffic.
Activities & Behaviors	The children let out of school around 4:00 on the weekday. They flooded to the entrance where about 2/3 of the students walked in various directions and adults picked up the remaining students front of the school. The space activities could be broken down into ***concentric layers*** with the center layer aligned with the center line of the road for vehicular travel. Flanking both sides of the center layer are low-speed vehicle travel activities. Outside of those layers, is a layer of pedestrian travel and parking areas. The final layer is the bulding threshold where people enter/exit but also hang out and watch the public realm.
Place Amenities	The place has at least six ***food cart vendors*** at any given time. These vendors are not static but are habituated to certains spots as they seem to return at specific times of the day.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	Some of the shops also had ***a large awning*** that extended over the building threshold offering sun protection for their south-facing façade. This defined area was sociopetal. There was an on-going construction project througout the research period in which drainage pipes were installed near the school. The ***construction debris*** and subsequent flooding were sociofugal and discouraged people from hanging out in these places.
Territory Marking	In four of the six hours that I conducted the behavior maps I was harassed by different groups of young males who mostly stood over me blocking my view while they ate snacks and watched me. Although they didn't speak English nor I their language (and thus my attempts at asking them to leave were ineffective), during the first encounter the wife of a shop owner came over and yelled at the boys until they left. She then told me it wasn't good for ladies to be sitting outside alone. She suggested if I needed to be outside, that I come and sit next to her shop where her husband could "look after me." The consistency with which different groups of males carried out the same behavior as well as their boldness speaks to the cultural context in which this place is considered ***male territory***.
Univseral Accessibility	The place ***did not*** inlcude architecture that would support universal access.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
Edges & Nodes	The pavement between the street and the building threshold is not defined. Therefore, people park their cars and two-wheelers up on the building threshold. At first, I thought this driver convenience was a disadvantage to pedestrians. But, extended observations revealed that people who didn't own the vehciles tended to ***gather near them for protection and because it was clearly a boundary from the high-moving traffic***.
Positive/Negative Space	Similarly to the Gachibowli Village shop street, the Nanakramguda Shop Street has ***negative space in the middle of the street*** for transit while the thresholds of the street shoulders have ***objects that protect pedestrians and delineate positive space***.
Presence of Nature	There are a few large shade trees within the walled compound of the primary school. There are also some smaller decorateive trees inside of the gated community, Gold View. There is one small tree in front of the stationary shop but it does not provide much shade.
"Spirit of Place"	This place is hectic and busy. It feels overwhelming, crowded, and a little dangerous. The energy is intense as people move quickly with the occational suspicious glance. Yet, after sunset, the energy changes a bit. The street market opens and food vendors congregate. Construction workers are relaxed and laughing as they walk around the shops. There is ***a distinct difference in this place in day versus night***.

Table 33: The summary of human-environmental observations on the shop street in Nanakramguda (Source: Author 2021).

The Shop Street in Ishaan Nagar

With few businesses, the shop street in Ishaan Nagar also performed as a semi-residential street. The *kirana* shop was in a converted house on the corner of one paved and one dirt street. A bit farther down the main road, a newly opened computer shop attracted pedestrians. The buildings were set back different distances from the street. There were vacant lots and intermittent open space around the buildings that conjured the image of a "toothless smile." The buildings were mostly one to two levels and bleached out by the direct sun. The austerity of the street was overwhelming. The street also lacked energy; people moved lethargically and appeared bored. I observed that they were drawn to the street because it offered a justification for sitting and watching people come and go. Massey's concept of "spatiality" was clear at this site where temporality dictated drastically different environments on the same streetscape (Massey 2005).

Children filled the streets in the early morning and again from after school until just before dusk. Monday through Saturday, the children were dropped off at the bus stop next to the Outer Ring Road and walked in groups down the lane to their house. After checking in with parents and having a snack, many returned to play in the street. Young children ran excitedly up and down the street with secret agendas while teenagers walked or sat and talked with friends. Some lucky children had bikes and would take turns riding while their friends ran behind. At sunset, as the children returned home, adults assumed their place on the street. Women would gather and talk and prepare food on their stoop while men would walk the streets leading to less sounds of youthful laughter but a continued ambiance of safety. As the evening shifted into night and service workers returned from the financial district, some on the street retreated to their homes while others remained on the street drinking homemade alcohol and smoking, shifting the ambiance to a distinctly hostile tone.



Figure 264: The shop street in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2018).



Figure 265: A connecting side street that shows the exposure of the commuity (Source: Author 2018).

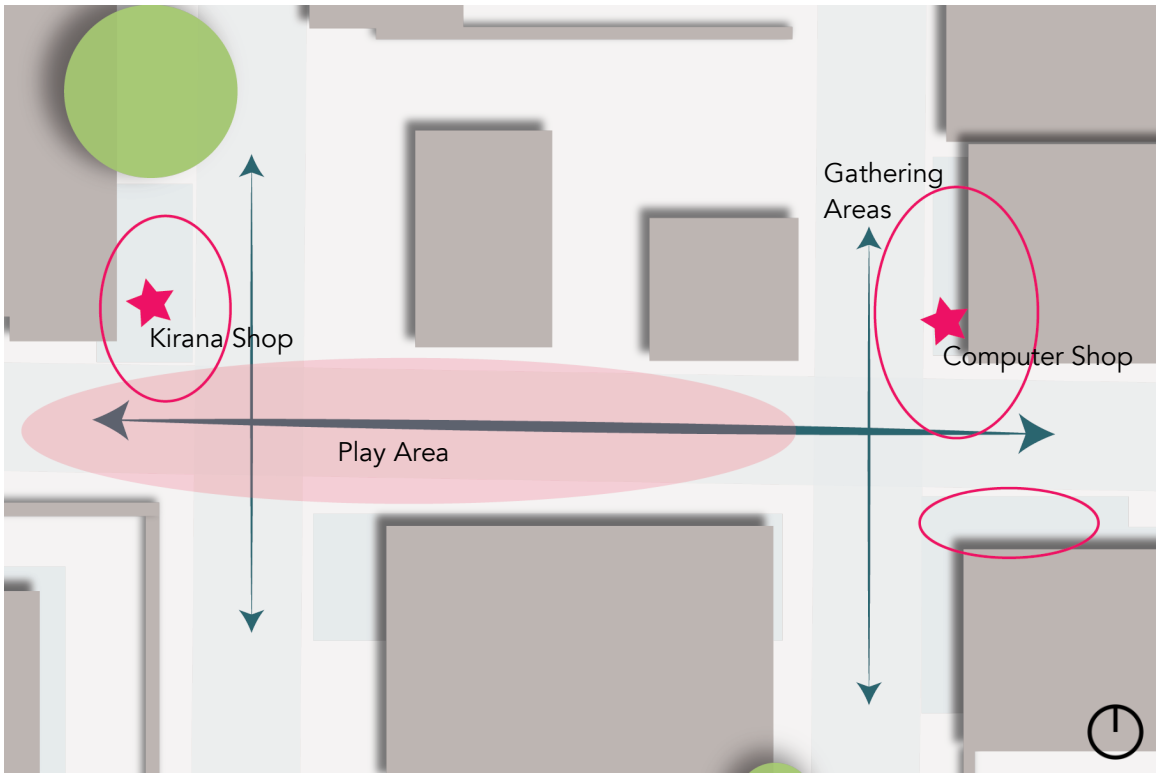


Figure 266: Annotated plan of the shop street in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021). Plan not to scale.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings*
User Qualities	This place was a low-traffic area with between ***55-120 people*** observed in a given hour. The place was male dominated with ***approximately 70% male*** users. I observed very few children in the street during the week days, especially in the mornings because many were likely at school. However, on the weekends, especially afternoons, I observed up to ***50% of users were children***.
Circulation & Kinetics	Approximately ***80% of the users were pedestrians*** and about ***15% of users were riding a two-wheeler***. I observed a few traveling salesmen on scooters – a popular one was the ice cream man.
Activities & Behaviors	The place supported ***multiple activies***. Observed activities include walking, running, playing games (kho kho, kabadi, chase, 7 stones, etc.), talking on the phone, fighting, strolling, bicycling, kite-flying, sitting and watching others, "hot rodding" on a two-wheeler, eating/snacking, cleaning, and shopping. Most the activities took place while people were walking or at a stopping point in the walk – often in the street itself.
Place Amenities	I observed farm equipment such as a tractor parked on the side of the road multiple times in several locations in the community and discoered that it was purchased by the village council to maintain their roads. Some of the shops had ***concrete plynths or raised steps*** surrounding the front of the shop that were popular for sitting and hanging out. A computer shop had recently opened on a prominent corner and had two roll-up doors-one on each street. The doors remained open during the shop hours and improved the permeability of the street corner.
Sociopetal/ Sociofugal Elements	I speculate that ***the roll-up doors combined with the concrete stairs*** wrapping the corner were sociopetal because adults and children hung out on the corner even when they were not using the shop.
Territory Marking	I ***did not*** observe significant architectural qualities or behaviors of marking territory.
Univseral Accessibility	The place ***did not*** include architecture that would support universal access.
Edges & Nodes	For the duration of the field research the streets in this community were dirt. As such there was ***no threshold space*** between the building and the street. However, during the final observation period, the community raised private funds the pave the shop street. I noticed that the pavement did not extend to the builing but rather left a 1m gap that became a threshold and ***clearly dileneated street edge from building edge***.
Positive/Negative Space	Unlike the other two shop streets, there were few objects slowing the flow of traffic and creating positive space. Rather, like the residential streets, this space was ***purely divided into interior and exterior space***.

Observation Aspect	*Observation Findings (Continued)*
Presence of Nature	There were ***no trees or signs of nature*** on the shop street but one of the side streets had a tree in a residential courtyard. The tree top was visible over the enclosing wall. However, this community is situated in a ***rural area*** and surrounded by large agricultural fields with many trees.
"Spirit of Place"	The place feels ***dusty, remote, and exposed***. The low-rise buildings, widely spaced street, and lack of trees opens the street up to maximum sunlight. Additionally, the rural context adds to the ***desolate*** feeling. I heard contradictory sounds-sometimes I could catch ***cartoons playing*** inside a house and other times I heard ***adults screaming and fighting*** with each other. The social acceptability of openly arguing in public was unique to Ishaan Nagar.

Table 34: The summary of human-environmental observations on the residential street in Ishaan Nagar (Source: Author 2021).

Adolescents' 3rd Places are "Public Spaces in Practice"

The intention of this chapter was to investigate the character and performance of adolescents' 3rd places in relation to the broader community, which effectively tested the transferability of adolescents' 3rd places as important points of social gathering outside of the realm of children's environments. The transition from an inductive and participatory approach to an objective and architectural approach was delicate. I relied on the concepts of "place" and "space" to disambiguate the transition over the course of this chapter following Massey's (2015) view that "space" is contingent on who inhabits it; "it is an open interactional system where connections offer the possibility of social and political relationships among a multiplicity of people" (Low, 2017). I used inductive research with adolescents to identify their 3rd places across the seven sites. I based the results on personal accounts of adolescents' everyday experiences specific to each case study context and participant group. In this dissertation, "place" indicates the personal value of these environments as behavior settings (Barker 1976, Heft 1998). Over the course of this chapter, I have described how these behavior settings performed as public space in the community. Based on this analysis, I conclude that adolescents' 3rd places are "public spaces in practice." In this section, I touch on the ambiguity and importance of the place/space terminology, summarize the key findings, and contextualize them in the place/space discourse.

The Ambiguity of Space/Place in Architecture

The concepts of "place" and "space" have rich and varied meanings across the multiple disciplines of architecture, psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography, and environmental studies among others. In public space discourse, "place" can be directed at the social (e.g., Tonnelat 2010, Massey 1994, Loftland 1998, Goffman 1971, Dewey 1954), political (e.g., Lefbvre 1968, Katz 2004, Low and Smith 2006, Low 2019) and physical environmental properties (e.g., Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck 2000, Green & Hogan 2005, Heft 2003, Proshansky, Kaminoff, & Fabian 1983). Low (2017) navigated the complexities and highlighted the importance of "space" and "place" to the broad field of ethnographic research, in which this study is squarely situated. She ultimately concluded that the varied "genealogies" of both terms are necessary to specific fields but often misappropriated and misunderstood. Kruetz (2016) added that "these terms, notions, and underlying constructs remain valuable… because they capture different aspects of people's relationship to the environment."

Traditionally, architectural theorists and historians have not focused on space/place in so much as the physical and process of form. Forty (2000) traced the use of form to Kant (1781) while attributing the concepts of space in the field of architecture to the German school. Some discourse rose out of modernism with Giedion's (1941) *Space, Time, and Architecture* focusing on space as an abstraction. Other prominent architects such as Buckminister Fuller (Filler 2013) and Rem Koolhaas (2001) suggested that space had a role in architectural theory, but it remained secondary to form, materials, and design. Moore (1966, et al 1974) tried to move discourse toward the ordinary and vernacular but little traction took hold until Hayden (1995), Upton (2008), and Sen and Silverman (2014) entered the conversation. They focused on the personal value of "place" as a "powerful source of memory, as a weave where one strand ties in another" (Hayden 1995: 18). More recently, Dovey (2010) applied assemblage theory from the work of Deleuze and Guattai (1987) and DeLanda (2006) to the study of place arguing that it was the connection between physical elements such as houses, signs, goods, and people that make "a place assemblage" (Dovey 2010: 16). Despite the increased attention of space/place in architectural theory over the last two decades, space/place are still not a primary focal point in architecture as they are in other disciplines. And yet, the role of architects and architecture are fundamental to the production of space as Low (2017: 25) reminds that it is "through architectural interventions that space and place are created, erased, or reconstituted."

Summarizing the Results of the Architectural Analysis

I used a mixture of data collection and analysis methods to assess the environmental and social qualities of adolescents' 3rd places. The data highlighted the type of people who used the places, their activities and behaviors, and the architectural and environmental qualities that contributed to a "sense of place." I used this information to position the places in the context of the broader community. This chapter revealed a much larger phenomenon in which these places served as anchors of social gathering in dispossessed communities thus rendering them "public space in practice."

Some of the findings are best understood in the context of the case study. Regarding gender, in the Philippine sites, two places were male-dominated, two places were balanced between genders, and two places fluctuated between male-dominated and balanced depending on the time of day/day of the week. However, in the Indian sites, six places were male-dominated, one was balanced between genders, and one fluctuated between male-dominated and balanced depending on the time of day/day of the week. These results indicate that gender in public space is more extreme in the Indian sites. Specific to the architecture, the Philippine sites revealed that despite the incorporation of best design practices such as sidewalks and parking lots, most sites modified the architecture in ways that greatly impacted the use of the public realm. These finding questions the appropriateness of architectural practices that follow western-design templates in improving the quality of public space.

The primary contribution of this chapter to the dissertation is that adolescents' 3rd places are successful indicators of "public space in practice" in vulnerable communities where formal public spaces are not safe or accessible. This finding recalls the work of Suzanne Hall (2012) on Walworth Road in London where she used an ethnographic process to investigate the everyday setting of the street and found that the store fronts and shops were the "new public spaces" responsible for a creating a sense of multiculturalism. Hall calls for scholars to focus on these new spaces, which resemble 3rd places, on the "urban margins" to understand meaningful diversity in the city. Like Hall, this chapter suggests a few transferrable themes about these 3rd places. The first theme is that streets are important spaces for adolescents' socialization, observation, and play. This finding corresponds to Lynch's (1977) findings that streets are extremely valuable unprogrammed spaces for adolescents because they provide a legitimate place for them to be.

The second theme is threshold spaces and transitory spaces were the most active and rich environments when both children and adults were considered. The third theme is that there was a relationship between the definition of the place (the edge condition) and the performance of places with stronger edge conditions resulting in safer and more active spaces. The fourth theme is that there were no places that were female-dominated; most places were male-dominated, and a few places were balanced or fluctuated. The fifth theme is that most places were accessed by walking and used by pedestrians (strolling, walking, etc.). Finally, none of the places had architectural features or qualities intended to support universal mobility; a few places had incidentally supported universal mobility through features such as hard surface paving, ramps for vehicle access, and curbs that were clearly defined edges.

A key strength of this chapter was the deployment of Gardner's (2011) subcategorizations of 3rd places (destination space, threshold space, and transitory space) as a framework for place selection and analysis. These subcategorizations are helpful because they are not equally valued in the practice of architecture and urban planning. Carroll et al (2015: 432) explained that "destinations are the main 3rd place focus in urban planning, with the de facto confinement of children to age-specific destinations like playgrounds and parks" (or in the case of the Philippines, the basketball court). Yet, in this chapter, I found that threshold and transitory spaces were the more active and rich environments.

Architects and planners focus on providing amenities that are available, accessible, and appropriately sited to allow people to gather but they have traditionally failed to realize that in vulnerable communities such as dispossessed communities, adolescents' mobility is unquestionably reduced. Reflecting on the intergenerational decline in children's independent mobility, Witten et al (2013) identified a climate of fear as an underlying motivation that increased restrictions and reduced children's range. As dispossessed communities, all sites in this dissertation operated in a climate of fear. However, Kytta (2018) shows that the decline in independent mobility is not inevitable with evidence from cities in developed countries such as Japan and Finland. When viewed together, these studies and the results of this chapter further delineate the challenges of safe and accessible public space along economic lines.

In the next chapter, I zoom out and return to the neoliberal framework to position the findings of this dissertation in the production of sustainable cities. I suggest that the undervalued concept of space/place within the professions of architecture and urban planning may support

designing context-specific solutions for dispossessed communities in the Global South. To develop equitable communities, designers must be open to new possibilities of public space outside of formal structures rooted in western design templates. I conclude this chapter with a return to Oldenburg (1989), who successfully stayed broad while grounding the concept of public space in the environmental affordances of a behavior setting. Gardner (2011:266) described his approach:

> Third places are located outside of the home (first place) and work (second place) and share several essential features: they are on neutral ground, they act as 'levelers', conversation is the main activity, they are accessible, 'regulars' spend time in them, they are physically plain and unassuming, the mood is playful, and people feel like they are a 'home away from home.'

VII. CONCLUSION

I sat down with Lucia Velarde eight years after her informal community, Sitio San Roque, desperately clashed with police making international headlines as described in Chapter II. THE NEOLIBERAL REGIME OF DISPOSSESSSION. At the time of the interview in 2018, Lucia had risen to some political power as the president of the Homeowners Association for their resettlement site, Garden Village. The government of Quezon City dispossessed the informal community of Sitio San Roque of their land in order to execute a public-private partnership with Ayala Land Corporation. Today, the site is a live-work-play community for the middle and upper classes.



Figure 267: Former site of Sitio San Roque was developed by Ayala Land Corporation into a live-work-play community for the middle and upper classes (Source: Ayala Land Corporation 2012).

During the interview, Lucia told me about the hardships her family had experienced over the past decade in completing the resettlement process only to be faced with more challenges in their new community; the site had no water or power when the families started relocating, it was very difficult to find a job in the area, and the remote site had no access to services like public transportation or infrastructure like streetlights. I asked Lucia, who was involved in negotiating the land deal, why didn't she pursue on-site upgrading to minimize the challenges her family now faced? I was surprised when she said she did.

Lucia described the outrage the government officials and politicians showed when her team suggested the social housing should be located on the site of the existing informal community:

> *Paano naman natin iyan aariin na atin, building iyan? Tsaka ano, ganito ganun ganito ganun. Mga diskriminasyon. Bakit kayo diyan? Di naman kayo bagay tumira sa mga ganyan, ganyan ganyan.* [How could we own a building like that? It was discrimination. They said that we didn't belong to the social class that deserved to live in such a development.]

As shocking as her recollection might sound, Lucia's narrative aligns with news articles that I uncovered quoting public officials suggesting that on-site upgrading was not fiscally possible. Francisco Alican, the National Housing Authority's deputy area management officer for Manila's National Capital Region, stated, "Of course, there's resistance, [the residents] want to stay here, but the government can't give in. This is a prime lot. It is intended for commercial ventures" (Suarez and Abella 2010).

I went to the government of Quezon City to understand their motivations. In interviews with the chief architect, two city planners, and a development officer, I learned that the city was under financial pressure to compete against other Manila suburbs for resources. They acknowledged that on-site upgrading was better for informal communities. They showed me some successful examples such as Bistekville II, which featured a combination of housing finance categories (mixed-income) along with a variety of housing typologies (lofted one-level duplexes, townhouses, and three-level midrises). Upon closer inspection, though, the density, ratio of open space, and street structure of Bistekville II was the similar to Garden Village.

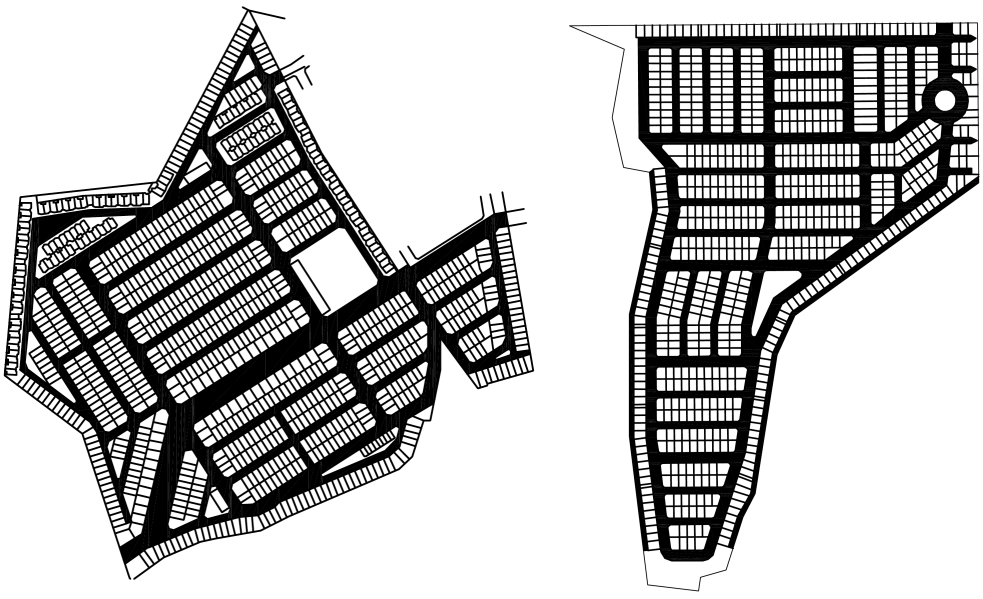


Figure 268: The density, ratio of open space, and street structure of Bisketville II (left) was similar to Garden Village (right) as shown in the street space diagram (Source: Bombach and Deaton 2019).

When focusing on architectural and environmental conditions, Bistekville II was an improvement from the four remote resettlements sites in this dissertation. However, the public servants acknowledged that Bistekville II was only possible with charitable contributions; it was a collaboration with the Phinma Properties Foundation.

As design professionals, the public servants acknowledged the problems of DFDR, and they possessed the knowledge to develop better options. Thus, the crux of the issue was financial. On-site upgrading was more expensive for the city. They argued that their office was caught in a financial equation that often prevented them from providing the assistance that these communities needed. The uncomfortable truth was that the public servants were not villains. Rather a larger phenomenon, neoliberalism, overshadowed the professionals' agency to design effective solutions. Social programs such as housing were driven by economic decisions above all other factors.

The Context of Neoliberalism

This dissertation has argued that a specifically neoliberal regime of dispossession, DFDR, produces environments that are spatially compromised by drawing on evidence from two case studies, Manila, Philippines and Hyderabad, India, where the influence of neoliberal urban policies is especially stark. Neoliberalism drives segregation along economic lines, fracturing communities and environments. These environment changes are controversial.

The gentrification of Gachibowli Village led to its fracturing into the middle-income enclave, Chhota Anjaiah Nagar and the semi-formal, low-income *basti* Rajiv Nagar. The elected politician for Gachibowli Village, who requested to remain anonymous, explained to Research Assistant Ayesha Praveen, how the neoliberal development of Cyberabad effected the village in which he grew up:

> Ayesha: Is this development good or bad?
>
> Politician: This development is good for the rich and bad for the poor.
>
> Ayesha: Why are you saying so?
>
> Politician: For the poor they ask them to leave but for the rich with a good house they can't say so.

The politician essentially distilled a larger sentiment. The value of gentrification caused by DFDR in his community was a matter of perspective. On the one hand, the government often

displaced or downsized renters and marginalized groups as property values went up raising the cost of goods and rent. In the India case study, their settlements were "crunched" by middle-class development that eliminated open space, decreased walkability, and increased traffic and congestion. Further, the influx of urban life strained community bonds and increased crime. On the other hand, property owners received numerous benefits. Nandu Singh the Sarpanch (head of the village council) of Nanakramguda explained to Ayesha:

> Earlier [before the development of Cyberabad] it wasn't like this. If we gave even one room away for rent it was difficult to get Rs. 1,000 (about $13). Today, after this development, we are getting Rs. 2-2.5 lakhs (about $300,000) per month from rent. We are able to educate our children, give them good clothes, raise them well. It was not like this before. We had to eat once [a day] and [go to] sleep earlier [to prevent pains of hunger].

The stakes inherent to neoliberal policies are extensive — especially as reflected in the experience of the built environment. The environmental changes resulting from DFDR reveal the importance of architecture and urban planning in the everyday lives of residents. This is particularly the case when it comes to the lives of women and children. It is known, for example, that women and children are more seriously affected by a decline in the quality of their built environment than other groups, and that low-income adolescents in particular are susceptible to developmental risks if their access to public space is inhibited.

Mr. Arjun, the public high school principal in Gachibowli Village (ZPHS) explained his challenge of meeting adolescents' developmental needs in a school that shared open space (grounds) with two other schools (an elementary and middle school) for over 1,500 students. ZPHS had inadequate facilities because of the high cost of land and therefore had to schedule time for the students to play outside:

> We have only one PET [physical education training] period weekly, and we cannot make it daily. So, students after studying here and going home—there is no place for them to play. What else can they do other than sitting and wasting time on the phone?

This was an environmental issue because ZPHS didn't have the space to allow students to play. The school is a critical place for adolescents and Tranter and Malone (2004) found that school grounds in low-income communities are frequently the only space where children can freely explore and engage with their outdoor environment. But Mr. Arjun told Research Assistant

Santosh Tekumal that the problem of space extended beyond the school and specifically spoke about the challenges he faced with students who lived in Rajiv Nagar.

> Santosh: Do you think the kids in Rajiv Nagar play at their house?
>
> Mr. Arjun: No, there is no chance for them to play at their house as there is no space for them to play. They always stick to TV and games on the cellphone.

However, the negative environmental effects were not necessarily better in the Philippines case study where architects and planners based the houses on standard designs and centrally planned the community through a resettlement scheme. Ramon Guevara, Councilor at Towerville VI's Marangal National High School explained to me that the trauma of dispossession combined with the remote environment of resettlement communities effected the psychology of the students:

> Ramon: Resettlement cultivates an attitude of dependence. But what we're asking from [the students] is for them to be serious with their lives… to have a plan. Because it seems like they just allow things to happen in their lives. They're just waiting for opportunities; they like dole outs.
>
> Lyndsey: Is this something learned?
>
> Ramon: Maybe because they are relocatees? They are put here without anything and forced to depend [on the government]... It is the culture of this place.

In the context of neoliberalism, DFDR produces environmental changes that have reverberating effects on residents' lives, but especially impact adolescents who have little say in their environmental conditions. In both case studies, I observed that speculation drove low-income communities to "tighten their belt" a little more resulting in more compact environments. This dissertation then asked, in the compacted environments of dispossessed communities where space is at a premium, how and where do adolescents play or hang out?

How Adolescents Play in Dispossessed Communities

In *Growing Up Global*, Cindi Katz (2004) examined the processes of development and global change through the perspective of children's lives in two seemingly disparate places: New York City and a village in northern Sudan. Using an ethnographic approach, she worked with a small number of adolescents concentrating on their work and play. Katz was able to draw unsuspected connections between these geographies along the lines of the capitalist system.

Katz's approach was not exclusive to her field of anthropology. Prominent architects such as Lynch (1977) and Chawla (2002) have also used multi-sited trans-national case studies with adolescents to tease out the impacts of urbanization. Following their lead, I used a case study model to investigate how adolescents use public space in dispossessed communities as detailed in Chapter III. ON METHODS.

I structured this dissertation in three parts with distinct methodologies. In PART 1: DISPOSSESSION'S REACH, I used archival research and interviews with community leaders, politicians, and professionals to capture the broad influence of neoliberalism and substantiate its environmental impact on low-income communities through DFDR processes. I also selected the case studies to represent formal (Manila) and informal (Hyderabad) DFDR processes. In PART 2: ADOLESCENT'S VOICES, I zoomed into the case study sites. I took an inductive approach, leveraging methods and concepts from environmental psychology such as environmental affordances and congruence, to look at adolescents' behavior settings outside of home and school. Like Gardner (2011), I found that Oldenburg's (1989) concept of 3rd spaces was especially helpful to identify the places that adolescents played in dispossessed communities without restricting the investigation to formal public spaces such as parks. These narratives were especially critical to get at the reason that adolescents selected their hangout spaces. Two broad themes arose from this analysis. Most of the participants consistently voiced safety concerns indicating that they operate under a climate of fear. I also found that gender played a critical role in adolescents' spatial range, site selection, activities, and behaviors. Some of the findings were not transferrable and are most appropriately understood by case study.

The formal processes of DFDR in Manila, Philippines were easy to track and navigate. Under the guidance of international banks and urban development consultants, the Philippine government stimulated the economy through property speculation. With a truly neoliberal perspective, they attempted to solve the challenges of informal settlements with economic solutions. In its most rudimentary form, the question quickly became: how many houses could be built for the lowest cost while still meeting the state standards (BP220)? This type of logic often used standard designs. The four Philippine sites—Pabahay 2000, Towerville VI, SJM, and Garden Village—reflect the progress of these standard designs over the course of the neoliberal era from 2000-2018. I used architectural and GIS methods to further describe their spatial environments.

I worked with over fifty adolescents (48 focus group participants and 16 in-depth interview participants) using methods such as photovoice, participant-directed mapping, and iterative interviews. I found that themes of territory and range; typical routes; social groups; gendered spaces; mobility license; chores and work; fears, risk, & safety; and social media & computer games dictated adolescent's spatial activity patterns. Boys in these communities were highly independent and most spent their free time outside, on the streets, at the basketball court, or at the computer shop. Girls' independent mobility showed more variation with most girls staying close to home and occasionally strolling on the streets nearby. The presence of drugs and violence in these communities was a daily occurrence that numbed the adolescents from expectations of nature or safe open space. Further, many families were broken up by the lack of livelihood opportunities in the remote region and adolescents stayed home alone for extended periods of time. Their increased vulnerability restricted their movements as well as increased their domestic responsibilities.

To broaden the scope and draw conclusions beyond one political economy and cultural context, I continued the study in Hyderabad where the processes of rapid urbanization also revealed stark instances of dispossession. In Hyderabad, the informality of the DFDR banking mechanisms contrasted with the formality of the Philippines resettlement campaign offering insights into the formality. I described the history of land appropriation and explained how aggressive regional competition with Bengaluru launched planning for Cyberabad—a new technology hub on the suburban outskirts of the city. It used the state sanctioned DFDR to create special economic zones and forcibly develop the lands of some eighteen traditional villages. I partnered with three sites Gachibowli Village, Nanakramguda, and Ishaan Nagar that fall on the informality spectrum and used architectural and GIS methods to further describe their spatial environments.

Then, I worked with nearly thirty adolescents using the same methodology in the Philippine's case study (photovoice, participant-directed mapping, and iterative interviews). The guiding themes in the India case study were territory & range; school; streets, pathways, & typical routes; social groups; gendered spaces; mobility license; fears, risk, & safety; social media & computer games; and mode of transport. School was a powerful force in these communities structuring social groups, limiting free time, and asserting stressful family anticipations of livelihood. Cultural norms that deprioritized the perspective of children, inhibited their spatial

agency, and increasingly restricted girls as they transitioned into women to protect their virtue restricted adolescents' independent mobility. Both boys and girls played on the streets nearby their homes and the few boys who dared to venture beyond this invisible boundary did so with a sense of entitlement afforded by their parent's political power.

Discovering how and where adolescents played in dispossessed communities—their 3rd spaces—raised new questions about the character of these spaces in relation to the broader community. In PART 3: ADOLESCENTS' ENVIRONMENTS, I change out my lens from a subjective and personal approach to an objective and architectural approach. Chapter VI. ADOLESCENTS' 3rd PLACES then asks who uses adolescents' 3rd places? And what architectural qualities make these spaces rich environments for informal gathering? I focused on the nature of 3rd spaces in dispossessed communities to understand if they were "public spaces in practice" (function as public spaces for the broader community) or if they were unique to the adolescent experience. I found that adolescents' 3rd places served as anchors of social gathering in dispossessed communities due to the lack of safe and accessible public space rendering them "public space in practice" or informal public space.

After providing a summary of the interdisciplinary controversy around the terminology of "space" and "place," I provided a brief review of the terms specific to the field of architecture. This revealed a gap in the architecture literature between "space" and "place" where flexibility in the terminology held promise for developing context-specific solutions for vulnerable communities. Western design templates largely dominate public "space" in architecture that define it as a bounded area. However, architectural theorists that have focused on "place" and place-making, as well as other disciplines, consistently demonstrated that the performance of public space is unbounded, especially in vulnerable communities in the Global South. To investigate how the broader public used adolescents' 3rd places, I started by narrowing down and organizing the places.

I identified select 3rd places by overlaying adolescents' maps made in Part II revealing common "hot spots." I relied on Gardner's (2011) subcategorization of Oldenburg's (1989) 3rd places as destinations, thresholds, and transitory spaces to filter these hotspots. Then, I used a variety of urban data collection methods such as tracing, mapping, counting, and observations in combination with GIS. With over 1,300 observational trace maps and more than 250 pages of field notes, I summarized the spatial analysis for each place through a predetermined inventory

that included the categories: user qualities (adult/adolescent/child and male/female); circulation and kinetics; activities and behaviors; place amenities; sociopetal and sociofugal; territory marking; universal accessibility; edges and nodes; positive/negative space; presence of nature; and spirit of a place.

I found that adolescents' 3rd places were successful indicators of "public space in practice" in vulnerable communities where formal public spaces were not safe or accessible. Part III also suggested a few transferrable themes. The first theme is that threshold spaces and transitory spaces were the most active and rich environments when both children and adults were considered. The second theme is that there was a relationship between the definition of the place (the edge condition) and the performance of places with stronger edge conditions resulting in safer and more active spaces. The third theme is that there were no places that were female-dominated; most places were male-dominated, and a few places were balanced or fluctuated. The fourth theme is that most people accessed places by walking (strolling, walking, etc.). Finally, none of the places had architectural features or qualities intended to support universal mobility; a few places had incidentally supported universal mobility through features such as hard surface paving, ramps for vehicle access, and curbs that were clearly defined edges. Further, this investigation highlighted the usefulness of Gardner's (2011) subcategorizations in identifying and assessing the quality, accessibility, and safety of 3rd places.

Dissertation Limitations

Many factors limited the research design, the collection of data, the analysis process, and the development of conclusions. I will briefly describe the most influential limitations. My original research design based the data collection of Part II on adolescents wearing kid-friendly GPS trackers, which provide a higher level of spatial granularity than mapping, observations, and interviews. However, this approach was disproved by my in-country sponsor, Save the Children Philippines on grounds of child safeguarding. They sagely reasoned that the trackers would draw attention. In a climate of national police surveillance (Duterte's war against drugs), the trackers may be perceived by community residents as an attempt to surveille the community increasing adolescents' risk of harm. They could also be perceived having market value in which adolescents would be at increased risk from thieves. I amended my approach and added more data collection methods to increase triangulation and offset the loss of granularity. Another

limitation in my research approach was the shift in case study sites. I completed extensive pilot studies in three cities in Chile in 2016 intending to focus on the Philippines and Chile as national contexts of two countries with Spanish colonial histories, traditions of socialism, and similar developmental progress. However, I was unable to find consolidated settlements of informality or dispossession. Dispossession was ripe in Chile, but it often resulted in dispersal, which was antithetical to a neighborhood-scale investigation.

I had many limitations with collecting data related to my positionality that I describe in Chapter III. ON METHODS. In addition to those, I learned during enrollment in India that most of the participants and their families were illiterate and due to their vulnerability at having been informally displaced by the government, they were understandably distrusting. My Institutional Review Board-approved protocol that had worked well in the Philippines was inappropriate for fieldwork in India. In a month, only two of 44 participants who verbally agreed to the study were willing to sign the Institutional Review Board's required four-pages of documentation. I worked with the Institutional Review Board to process a waiver allowing two witnesses (mostly myself and a research assistant) to consent and assent on behalf of the guardian and the child. While I appreciated the IRB's understanding of the inappropriateness of the consent/assent policies in this context, their focus on child safeguarding, and their wiliness to develop an alternative, this delayed the data collection process by three months. While waiting for the independent review board to convene and approve the new protocol, I left India and returned to the United States to teach a summer studio class. In another data collecting limitation, I was also unable to get consistent city-level data from both case study governments. The public servants in the Philippines were ultimately cooperative. With repeated, official requests they eventually consented to interviews and provided data sets. The public servants in India were less obliging. After over a year of office visits and leveraging personal contacts, I finally secured a few key interviews with the Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation (Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation managed the implementation of Special Economic Zones in Cyberabad), the Directorate of Town & Country Planning, and The Telangana Real Estate Authority. However, none consented to recordings or provided real opinions. Rather, the interviews mostly consisted of "canned sound bites" approved for public release. Only Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation provided hard data and it was superficial at best. Nonetheless, I empathize with their position and understand their personal stakes.

The analysis process was mainly limited by my capacity. While I hired a team of research assistants to support data collection through translations, transcriptions, and cultural appropriateness, my dissertation committee prohibited the research assistants from working on analysis requesting that I complete the analysis phase without assistance.[86] The restriction is appropriate as a test of my ability to earn my doctoral degree, but it does not follow known best practices for coding qualitative research. Lindstrom (2016), Huberman and Miles (2002), and Trainor and Graue (2013) advise that qualitative data be coded by multiple researchers so that coding choices can be discussed and revised. I mitigated this limitation with a sequential approach using "rounds of coding" on 248 hours of transcribed interviews alternating between cases studies for consistency. I coded all the adolescent interviews from the Philippines case study and developed code categories. Then, I coded all the adolescent interviews from the India case study. I cross-walked and refined the code categories between cases into one master list and then re-coded the Philippines case study and then re-coded the India case study. I also wrote descriptive definitions for each code that helped maintain consistency. It took me a year to completely code all the data.

The critical limitations in the development of conclusions are standard for qualitative studies of this nature. The small sample size may not be representative of the population and there is subjectivity in determining the relationships between behaviors and people. I mitigated these limitations by triangulating the data through multiple sources and recruiting for diverse perspectives. I also "checked" the interview findings with the participants by repeating the findings of the first round in the second-round interview to ensure that my take-aways aligned with their intentions. I continued to enroll participants in the study until I reached saturation. I focused on establishing descriptive validity through extensive site analysis and interpretive validity by grounding the findings in the language of the participants (Maxwell 2002).

Despite these limitations, I believe this dissertation brings important contributions to discourse on public space, on adolescents' environments, and on the design of sustainable communities. In the next section, I discuss the importance of these findings to designing appropriate spaces for adolescents. Then, I question if architecture and planning are "good" or "evil" in the quest to design sustainable spaces. From there I highlight the importance of equity

[86] While research assistants translated and offered insights, I was present at every single interview completed for this dissertation.

in public space and critique the performance of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. Finally, I offer suggestions rooted in the dissertation that may support the development of equitable public spaces for dispossessed communities.

The Importance of 3rd Places

Vincent, the head teacher for the Pabahay 2000 Alternative Education School (ALS), asked an important question in our conversation about the environmental limitations of resettlement communities in the Philippines. "Where can you sit on a bench and witness the grandeur of the sunset? There is none of that [in resettlement communities]." His point cuts through to the crux of what is at stake in dispossessed communities—quality places. Rakhi of Gachibowli Village echoed a similar sentiment from a different angle. "There are no trees to just sit and have a chat. Well, there is a place with trees, but they keep cars there and they don't even allow us there."

From above these communities appear to meet the mark. Architects designed Pabahay 2000 to comply with BP 220 which strictly outlines a specific area for public space and Gachibowli Village has trees. But, according to the residents on the ground, these places are environmentally deficient. I rely on the findings in this dissertation to claim that most residents in dispossessed communities rely on 3rd places for their public space needs as often large open spaces do not exist or are commandeered by local power structures. These everyday 3rd places, especially the street, are critically undervalued behavior settings that perform as public space.

The idea of 3rd places, of "public space in practice," of "informal public space" is not new. Practitioners and scholars have nodded in that direction over the past two decades. But I argue that 3rd places possess unrealized potential that is missing from discourse on equity in public space, especially in the context of dispossessed communities. Javier Otero Peña (2016) of the Healthbridge Foundation of Canada hinted at the importance of informal public space in the UN Habitat II's online forum for public space:

> For me there are several ways that public spaces can promote equity in the city. Obviously spatial distribution of things like parks and playgrounds is important. We recently conducted a formal park mapping exercise in Kampala, Uganda and, unsurprisingly, most of the formal open spaces (i.e., those spaces recognized and protected by the government) were located in the central part of the city—not in areas where there are informal settlements and where lower income people might reside. We conducted follow up research where we mapped a sample of the

> informal spaces that people were using. Although there are still areas underserved by parks and open spaces, *these informal spaces were very important.* The challenge now is to protect them—so a key principle, or maybe even action is to ensure that everyone has walkable access to an open space from home. But it is also important to protect the diversity of uses in those spaces. Because they are not just places for playing football but places for drying clothes, for selling goods, and earning and income, etc… So, a second important way of having public spaces promote equity is ensuring the diversity of uses needed by a community is protected and encouraged. (Emphasis added by author).

Otero Peña's analysis is consistent with the findings in this dissertation where successful 3rd places were ripe with activities such as doing laundry, buying, and selling goods, as well as children playing.

He also brought up a "key principle" of informal public spaces is that they need to be walkable to be accessible. I support and extend this claim and suggest that 3rd places are most evident at the neighborhood scale where walkability is measured through experiences and not a direct line on a map. The principle of walkability highlights a difference that I found in this dissertation between the reality on the ground and how designers inappropriately interject into that reality.

Standard planning guidance from the UN (2020) instructs that a child's "walkable" range is 300 m. However, according to the results of this dissertation walkability is dependent on cultural context, community design, gender, and age. I found that the average radius of area covered by adolescents in the Philippine sites was 58 m and in the Indian sites only 44 m. When broken down by gender, the number is even smaller with girls in the Philippine sites walking an average of 46 m and girls in Indian sites walking an average of 31 m. These numbers are not perfect and should be contextualized against their max path distance as described in chapters III and IV. Yet, the disparity between an Indian girl's range of 31 m and the United Nations standard instructing a best practice of 300 m is cause for alarm. I found that adolescents in these vulnerable communities live in a climate of fear which greatly reduces their range and increases the importance of 3rd places in their everyday lives.

Do Architects Protect or Exploit?

The conflict between the UN's standard measure of children's walkability and the reality on the ground exposes the failure of applying Western design templates across incongruent contexts. Alessandro Scarnato (2016), an architect and researcher from Spain, weighed in on the

Habitat II public space discussion asserting that the current trajectory of public space was rooted in Western concepts and not appropriate to standardize. He gave examples of the Middle East where "public space is considered as space for poor people: if you can afford it, you will have social interaction in some other structure like a mall" and Sub-Saharan Africa where "every space is potentially public." He challenged the definition and conceptualization of formal public space as promoted by the United Nations through the Sustainable Development Goals because "the concept [of public space] is more linked to the meaning you give to certain areas."

Nowhere is this more visible at the neighborhood scale than in the Philippines sites where standard designs included sidewalks to promote walkability but in practice, the sidewalks were commandeered by the residential units in all four resettlement sites. In Pabahay 2000 and Towerville VI, the sidewalks were enclosed as domestic space while in in SJM and Garden Village these spaces were marked as private territory with plants and "stuff" restricting and blocking flow. This was in part a reaction to the inhumane size of the houses but also a commentary on the impracticality of sidewalks in a culture where low vehicle traffic supported full use of the street for pedestrians.



Figure 269: In Pabahay 2000 and Towerville VI the sidewalks were enclosed as domestic space (Source: Author).

These conflicts raise concerns about architects and planners as actors in the production of urban space. In this section, I reflect on designers' role in dispossession and question if their good intentions at providing "safe, accessible public space" according to western design templates are set up to do more harm than good. And I ask if they are culpable in the rampant corruption and political maneuvering that structures DFDR. Lucia Velarde who opened this chapter exposed the surreptitious dealings surrounding the architect who designed Garden Village to Research Assistant Mia Perez:

> Mia: When did Ayala develop [Garden Village]?
>
> Lucia: Oh, it wasn't Ayala who developed it, ma'am.
>
> Mia: Who developed it then?
>
> Lucia: Our developer, Architect Domingo Tapay. He used to be the Building Official in Quezon City.
>
> Mia: He represented the government then?
>
> Lucia: He used to be a Building Official but then he became a private developer as well. He opened Dual Realty Corporation.

The proximity of the architect to financial gain for cutting corners on the project is unsettling at least and criminally negligent at most. Sadly, these narratives are not unusual. In a focus group discussion that I led with the Philippine Alliance (PA)—a Non-Government Organization that helps Informal Settler Families adjust to resettlement—the members, who wished to remain anonymous, explained why local politicians often rejected their Informal Settler Families census program.

> PA 1: We told [the mayor] that the mapping was needed because the government census only considered the structure owner and we told him that we included the sharer and the renter too. Now the mayor told us, "don't put food on the table that I cannot chew." He doesn't want to be involved in the mapping because he said that his government will be…
>
> PA 2: Overburdened!
>
> PA 1: Yeah, it will add more problems.
>
> PA 3: The issue is votes! The mayor doesn't want our group or any NGO to help because he earns votes by promising this and that every election. If an NGO provides support for housing, the NGO will be the hero because they provided

the support that the people expect from the government. It's not a feeling, that's really what happened with us.

I heard similar findings from my work in India where I spent three election cycles and observed first-hand the architectural community improvements that were leveraged for votes. Under the neoliberal regime of dispossession, design professionals have been an extension of the already corrupt political structures in place. A deeper focus on Cyberabad is a clear example of architects' and planners' culpability.

A Closer Look at Cyberabad

A good place to start is the planning and implementation of Cyberabad. Strategic design documents such as the Cyberabad Development Authority Master Plan laid out the strategy and justification for dispossession. Through this document, consultants, architects, planners, and policymakers grabbed land from all three sites in this dissertation (17 revenue villages in total plus many unrecognized communities). Their justification was to transform the area for the needs of multinational corporations, specifically those in the information technology and finance sectors such as Amazon.



Figure 270: The Amazon India Headquarters, a LEED BD+C Gold building, inside the walled Special Economic Zone compound and newly constructed middle-class housing across the street with the Nanakramguda Women's Center still standing amidst the construction rubble in the foreground cut off from the community (Author, 2019).

Reviewing the planning documents provided insight into how this design process violently drove material changes that resulted in the loss of critical space for adolescents to play

in these communities.[87] However, the Master Plan was limited to developmental control regulations (land use zoning regulations and building regulations) and it did not include the four comprehensive planning best practices promoted by Western planning schools according to the American Planning Association: "1) explores diverse community opinions and fosters consensus-based decision-making that incorporates shared values, 2) takes every opportunity to gain public input, 3) teaches citizens about their shared resource base and how each component of the community is interconnected within a social web, and 4) relies upon technical analysis of data, trends, maps, and public input to strike a balance between different opinions" (Koles 2001).[88] It did not list the existing families or villages as key stakeholders although the Cyberabad Development Authority (200) covers an area of 20 square miles (52 square kilometers). Instead, the goals of the Master Plan were to address,

> …The need for special planning control, high level of infrastructure and managerial inputs and special investment zone and other relevant consideration, (for)… surrounding areas of Hitech City and surrounding areas including IIIT, Indian School of Business, proposed Golf course, proposed Sports Complex and Durgam Cheruvu as Special Development Areas.

At the time the government produced the plan, the executive in power was Chief Minister Naidu. His autobiography reveals his intentions for the Cyberabad Development Authority to be the vehicle that "leapfrogs" Hyderabad into a modern global city by selling special development rights to multinational corporations and fast-tracking fantastic projects, such as an F-1 racetrack (that required a state investment of over $80M) to boost the tourism and hotel industry (Naidu 2000). These actors (officials, multinational corporations, and large land-title holders) were considered the primary stakeholders resulting in a Master Plan that failed to meaningfully account for underprivileged communities, like the original residents of the 17

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[87] 'Underprivileged' because these communities are disproportionately composed of marginalized groups such as Schedule Caste, Schedule Tribe, and BC all within Lower Income Groups.

[88] These documents were requested in interviews with the Chief Planner of the Town and Country Planning Office, Hyderabad, the Chief of Telangana State Industrial Infrastructure Corporation, and the Director of the Telangana Real Estate Authority but not provided. The only guiding documents ever discussed for Cyberabad were the Cyberabad Development Authority Master Plan and the Greater Hyderabad Metro Corporation Master Plan and thus I based this analysis on those documents.

revenue villages and the many other marginalized communities that were never legally recognized. There are two perspectives by which to critique the failures of the Cyberabad Development Authority Master Plan.

On the one hand, planning practitioners in the USA and Western Europe would argue that the missing four comprehensive planning strategies are considered best practices. Their logic might expose a gap in the Cyberabad Development Authority's planning strategies resulting from a lack of planning processes (such as identification and analysis of alternatives, socialization through public engagement with the full spectrum of stakeholders, implementation, monitoring & evaluation) and products (such as a vision plan, development plan, planning standards, and regulating plan). A vision plan documents the process by which a community defines the future that it wants through public involvement (Haines 2001). A development plan sets out planning policies to guide development, such as housing or employment, but also restrain development in special areas such as for cultural or environmental reasons (City of Bradford 2021). Planning standards are the rules and regulations intended to provide a framework to facilitate and encourage coordinated, comprehensive planning and development at all levels of government (Rule 110-3-2 2021). A regulating plan designates appropriate form and scale of development (Spikowski 2021).[89]

On the other hand, southern theorists would argue that the very purpose of centralized planning in many contexts is to provide a legal framework for dispossession. In their logic, planning is not always a vehicle for universal good but rather a vehicle that transfers wealth to those already with power (Roy 2007). Therefore, the concept of "best practices" is rendered irrelevant because planning as a technology has historically reinforced pre-existing power structures (Njoh 2008).

Yves Pedrazzini et al (2014) introduced the concept of 'the violence of urbanization' as an alternative to the 'usual suspects' for attributing crime in the city, which are young people

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[89] The Cyberabad Development Authority Master Plan did publish the plan in the newspaper in compliance with sub-section (2) of section 8 of the AP Urban Areas (Development) Act, 2971, giving seven weeks' time for receiving objections and suggestions thereof (from the public). However, the town planning consultant retained, Vastu Silpa Consultants (Ahmedabad) and the funding agency, the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority, did not define the stakeholders in the Cyberabad Development Authority Master Plan nor describe any process that engaged the villagers as stakeholders. In interviews, village leaders often commented that the "didn't know" what was happening until they were forcefully evicted or barred entry to their plot.

that live in poor neighborhoods. This concept is appropriate for the discussion on the neoliberal regime of dispossession because it assigns responsibility to the process of urbanization itself (planning, design, construction, revaluation, and as a catalyst for subsequent processes) beyond the sole agency often attributed to residents and it raises the stakes for the loss of public space. The development processes in these communities are contemporary examples along the spectrum of the neoliberal regime of dispossession performing encroachment, displacement and resettlement, and gentrification. Especially in the Indian case study, the elders and leadership in each community remembered a time when public space, especially with supportive architectural patterns such as safe gradients of privacy, were the stage where they, as children, socialized, played, and hung out.

While nostalgia is problematic as a direct comparison these descriptions tell of the anticipations and cultural expectations that parents have of their community spaces. Further, Clare Rishbeth and Mark Powell (2013) found that "personal meanings contribute to affective bonds between people and place" based on memory studies with migrant communities and public space. Their work underscores the important role that memories of childhood play in the attachment elders and leadership have to the public spaces in their community. As development impacts the community spaces and transforms the architecture, these nostalgic connections are ruptured and anticipations, unfulfilled.

In interviews, parents consistently anticipated that urbanization would result in their children having a similar, if not a better, quality of space for play. Anthropologist Jaime Cross (2014) explored the dreamed of and desired futures that comprise, maintain and interrupt capitalism in present-day India by studying dispossessed families in nearby Visakhapatnam. He found that it is both the anticipation and continuous delay of hopes, dreams and expectations of urbanization that have come to define capitalism. In these communities, the value of urbanization is largely vested in uneven opportunities for livelihood and progress. Stories of fulfilled dreams rest with families who have legitimate property rights as their area urbanized while dispossession further marginalized those without property rights.

Yet not all forms of urbanization affect residents in the same way. Under the regime of neoliberal capitalism, property rights exaggerate class inequalities by situating space as a speculative commodity in which the most economically profitable use of space is rendered superior. Property rights are used to dispossess families occupying land without legitimate

claims. "Dispossession," as Levien (2018) states, "is a political apparatus for coercively redistributing land." In all three sites, Ishaan Nagar, Nanakramguda, and Gachibowli Village, historically privileged castes, classes, and genders who have had legitimate access and claim to space have been able to benefit from urbanization while underprivileged families who have been legitimately prohibited from claiming space have been dispossessed and spatially redistributed.

Compared to urbanization during the colonial regime or the post-colonial developmentalist regime, urbanization under the regime of neoliberal capitalism presents a more violent form (Kern and Mullings 2013). Urbanization under the colonial regime attempted erasure and cultural assimilation while supporting imperial resource extraction. Aspirations and expectations remained constrained in a system of feudal-like social relations. Urbanization under the post-colonial developmentalist regime fueled nationalist anticipations. Nehruvian planning, as a key spatial form, contributed to an image of India built on and by underprivileged families. But by investigating adolescents' 3rd places in dispossessed communities, I found that families had built dreams and desires of personal progress while in reality they were drowning in an increasingly uneven class geography. In these three sites, the government dispossessed Other Backward Caste families of property in ways that appeared to restart the cycle of poverty. The government dispossessed both communities of accessible and child-friendly public spaces to commoditize property from which most families will not benefit. This suggests that the neoliberal regime of dispossession is more pernicious than other forms of urbanization because it socially reproduces conditions of marginalization – further segregating and dividing communities.

This violent urbanization disrupted traditional architectural patterns like narrow lanes and introduced new actors, such as migrant construction workers and heavy automobile traffic, that heightened risks to adolescents in previously innocuous spaces. As I previously established, in communities where small homes offer limited privacy and territory, 3rd places are necessary as a spatial component for adolescents to fulfill their developmental needs. Yet, the material impacts brought by neoliberal urbanization have impacted how and where families live, and adolescents play.

Adolescents in dispossessed communities live in a climate of fear. During and after the urbanization of realizing Cyberabad, the public spaces in each community changed in ways that increase risks for adolescents. The *actors* changed; foreign people have regular access to previously intimate spaces, vendors compete for public space to sell goods, and dangerous

vehicles are prioritized over pedestrian walkways. The *architecture* changed; narrow alleys are widened, empty lots are developed, street vendor's carts encroach on sidewalk spaces. Largely in response to safety concerns, families with the financial means have either moved away or constructed solid concrete walls around their homes to establish a protective interior courtyard. However, even these solid walls have a compounding effect on the danger of the street.[90] The domestic work, which used to function as "eyes on the street" no longer looks out onto the street but stays protected in each courtyard. Many families without the financial means keep their children at home for as long as possible. And a few families have become numb to the risks and expose their children.



Figure 271: (L) Migrant construction workers come to purchase goods on the main street where vendors have set up stalls on the pedestrian pathway. (R) Adolescents, without any safe open space use the top deck of the recently collapsed residential tower to fly a kite. (Source: Author, 2019).

In all three communities, the observations and behavior mapping showed that the traditional public spaces such as the temple grounds were no longer the primary play spaces. Instead, interior courtyards and the smallest residential side streets were the most used 3rd spaces. The architectural shift, from the open spaces of the past to the new narrow and small pockets demanded changes in play. While the elders remembered long games of cricket lasting days on empty fields, the architectural analysis in Chapter VI. ADOLESCENTS' 3rd PLACES

[90] *Solid compound walls* are not completely a reaction to the safety concerns as there are historical, class-based, and typological precedents that should be considered. However, observations revealed that the functionality of the walls changed in response to urbanization in a way that offers a new interpretation of the architecture.

showed that the adolescents today play gully cricket in the narrow alleys and modified versions of *kho kho* and *kabaddi* that can be played without running far distances.

The evidence against architects within this dissertation is concerning because it suggests that in the neoliberal era their responsibility to protect the public has been overshadowed by anticipations of profit resulting from large developments such as the malls in Manila and the information technology campuses in Hyderabad. But hope is not all lost. Perhaps my own bias as a professional architect has come into play but I also see opportunities in the evidence. The key is awareness that architecture is a tool that can be used to protect or exploit the public.

I challenge architects to reflect on their ethical standards to protect the health, safety, and welfare of the public when designing projects and developing policies that contribute to schemes of dispossession. I encourage architects to widen their view of responsibility beyond "buildings falling down" to consider the very real violence of urbanization. If architects are going to protect the public, then they need to understand how design can be a solution.

Design as a Solution

Mr. Arjun, the principle of ZPHS in Gachibowli Village, told Santhosh that he gave up on architects and planners but embedded in his lament is also the power of agency.

> Santhosh: Since there are no spaces for people here, what do you think can be done to make it better?
>
> Mr. Arjun: Nothing can be done. Once upon a time this was village and then itself proper planning needed to be done. Proper spaces and parks needed to be designed and developed but the government gave everything for the Information Technology corridor. There needed to be future planning, which is not here.

Mr. Arjun essentially blames the lack of design interventions on the current state of the environment in Rajiv Nagar, which gives me pause to think about what *could* have been done.

Architects and planners have unique skills for community engagement and capacity building. More than any other actors, architects and planners are positioned to develop context-specific solutions through fieldwork and site analysis. Kamana Manandhar (2017), of the Resource Center for Primary Healthcare in Nepal (focusing on health in public space) agrees:

> A bigger gap we see is the lack of interaction between the planner and the community which results in the design that looks best in theory. Sometimes it also seems to aim at people with high economic status. Whereas the ratio of people

> with high income is very less compared with people with low income. Equal and appropriate design should be there to address such a group.

But, in my professional experience, architects and planners do not usually get to use their collaborative planning skills on low budget or austere projects such as social housing schemes because of the increased cost to the project budget.

I argue that contextual, upfront engagement is critical to community success now and in the future because planning is never temporary. The cost of advanced research to provide contextually appropriate solutions in collaboration with the people who live there is nowhere near the cost to amend the urban framework—especially for greenfield sites such as the resettlement communities in the Philippines. For example, in Pabahay 2000, although less than 45% of the residents qualify for social housing all the development is dictated by street widths, unit size, and scale. The community will never free itself from the compressed density without considerable cost for restructuring. Traditionally, once the urban fabrics is set, it holds. Therefore, architects and planners have an ethical obligation to pay special attention to setting these patterns and forms.

A collaborative approach is an alternative to the standard and western-template designs that are currently in play as best practices. Nelson Saule-Júnior (2017), Coordinator of Right to the City Area for the Polis Institute in Brazil emphasized the challenges of the current approach in the Habitat II blog:

> The traditional way of conceiving urban planning intends to provide goods and public spaces (such as parks and public gardens) for all social segments. However, often these spaces are exclusive and inaccessible to the poor and informal area residents.

This dissertation has shown that 3rd places are critical sites of public space in practice. Rather than an additive approach that follows western-templates in which public space is conceived as a bounded park or a ground, architects and planners have the capacity to develop collaborative and context-specific solutions that leverage 3rd place potential to promote equity. David Bravo, Editor of publicspace.org emphasized the relationship between public space and equity in his blog post for Habitat II (emphasis by author):

> I am deeply concerned about the importance of urban public spaces, not only because they are the setting in which the progressive erosion of equity becomes more evident, but also because *they are the place from which this erosion can be*

fought with greater firmness and efficacy. In an increasingly urbanized world, the right to the city takes on a growing importance as a foundation for the other human rights.

Leveraging Lefebvre (1968) "right to the city" framework, the United Nations Habitat II forum concluded with a people-centered approach to public space that promotes equity in cities following some common patterns of which I identified three most relevant to this discussion (Gény 2016). First, policies should guarantee non-discrimination and enhance participation of and consultation with inhabitants with particular attention to certain groups such as women and children. Secondly, the model of public space should include measures that ensure accessibility and mobility of all inhabitants. Third, the safety and security of public spaces are indispensable.

As the results of this dissertation fully support the United Nations Habitat II forum conclusion, I was thrilled to learn that in fall of 2020, the Public Space Program and the United Nations Habitat released a *Public Space Site-Specific Assessment: Guidelines to achieve quality public space at neighborhood level*. With giddiness, I downloaded the free forms and set out to assess the 15 3rd places analyzed in Part III. I hoped to conclude this dissertation by examining the qualities of the 3rd places as public space. Instead, I quickly came to the realization that the Assessment was modeled on western-template designs of bounded parks. It was based on a 300 m walking radius, which is inappropriate for dispossessed communities. It asked to rate amenities such as trash cans and signage in places where there are no streetlights let alone trash service. The Assessment was a worthwhile endeavor and a beautifully composed guide, but it is mislabeled; it should be called *Public Space Site-Specific Assessment for Developed Countries*. In lieu of providing quality ratings, I conclude this dissertation by offering some refinements and extensions of the best practices described in the Habitat II forum.

The Value of Adolescent Girls

Children [in the city] are the canaries in the mines.

-Karen Malone (2006) Creating Child Friendly Cities

At the heart of Malone's statement is the relationship between children's wellbeing in urban environments and the sustainability of our cities. She continues by reinforcing the importance of the local environment (neighborhood) as the fundamental unit of children's everyday experience. Carroll et al (2015: 417) assert that "if children safely and satisfactorily engage with urban neighborhoods, their independence, resilience, and social competence are

enhanced and society at large benefits." Children, especially in the ages of adolescents, need varying opportunities for independent mobility (unsupervised outdoor play and travel), physical activity, and social interaction for their well-being and their physical, cognitive, and social development (Ibid).

Although the research is clear and rigorous, urban design and planning practices have been slow to consider the specific needs of adolescents while simultaneously neoliberal policies and processes increasingly erode neighborhood environments in dispossessed communities. Dispossessed communities, therefore, are hot spots of environmental risk for adolescents who already have increased social and economic burdens. Further, the rollback of required social and environmental protections from international lenders disincentivizes local governments and private companies from seeking solutions beyond economic considerations. This "perfect storm" is making its way across cities around the globe with the most devastating fall out in the Global South where international lenders have the most power. Architects and planners have the potential to fight this storm by working with communities to develop safe and accessible public spaces that build environmental equity.

Through this cross-cultural, multi-sited case study, I have produced evidence that suggests that the current design thinking on equitable public space as led by the United Nations Habitat is headed down the wrong path and risks reproducing structures of inequality by encouraging western-template designs of public space despite warnings from experts at the United Nations Habitat II Forum in 2016. To leverage the potential of public space to fight the erosion of equity in the city, I suggest that architects and planners allow more flexibility in the definition of public space. I found that Oglethorpe's (1989) 3rd place framework was a better model for accounting for the climate of fear, increased vulnerability, and systems of power at work on the environment in dispossessed communities. Finally, I found that adolescent girls are a critical pressure point to identify these 3rd places because of their unique position in the community.

Many adults are not even aware of the systems of power or the social structures that influence their everyday experience because they have been normalized. Adults have typically accepted their circumstances or are too busy trying to survive to imagine the possibility of change. Adolescents' proximity to the freedoms of childhood and their new exposure to social

expectations mean that they have some sense of independence and rebellion and have not yet been normalized. Mia's interview with Ley in Pabahay 2000 teases out some of this sentiment.

> Ley: Papa said I should know my limitations. He says, "you are a girl."
>
> Mia: Yes…
>
> Ley: According to what he says, like of course… it's good that I realized that it is good but of course it's on my mind, why only me? Because why is my older brother not restricted to go to out?
>
> Mia: He isn't restricted?
>
> Ley: No ma'am. I get jealous because he swims [in the river]. "Why is that you have an outing with your friends when I am not allowed?" Like that I say… "Because you are a girl" They say that to me. "You are a girl, and you want to visit places and stroll around? It is not allowed."

Drawing on subaltern studies, feminism, and standpoint theory (Chibber 2016, Smith 1977), I assert that adolescent girls' voices are the most important to listen to in order to build environmental equity. Of any subgroup in this dissertation, cultural and environmental factors most oppressed girls' affordances and spatial mobilities. Based on the results of this study, I do not believe it is possible to divorce cultural factors such as patriarchy from environmental factors such as architecture when working through the causes of oppression. They are both critical albeit not always evenly responsible. Therefore, architects and planners should work with adolescent girls to understand the power structures within each community and design upgrading strategies so that their 3rd places are safer and more accessible. The design solutions should be context and site specific. Architecture, whether grassroots or professional, traditionally supports established institutions of power such as patriarchy. While architecture alone may not overturn patriarchy, creating space for new voices within the production of the built environment supports shifts in power (Lefbvre 1967).

I started this dissertation to learn how to make better spaces for adolescents, but I found that adolescents voices as stakeholder in the public space design process may hold the key for making communities more equitable.

APPENDIX A: PHOTOVOICE

Participants from Pabahay 2000

Ash




























Burger























Kathleen














CUSTOMER PARKING

Jobsey


DON.C






BABALA!
Ang Lugar na ito ay mapanganib sa
"FLASHFLOOD"


FYI
MELODY PLAINS SUBD.
TEMPORARY EXIT
GOING TO
HARMONY HILLS / BAGONG SILANG
NOW OPEN
FROM: 5:00 AM TO







NO SMOKING
DepEd




















Kyrie




TRAINING CENTER
DEPARTMENT of EDUCATION
ALTERNATIVE LEARNING SYSTEM
SCHEDULE of CLASSES
SATURDAY to WEDNESDAY
8:00am to 12:00nn
JOEL V. TAVILLONES
ALS, MOBILE TEACHER








BOGS
































Participants from Towerville VI

Julia















SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING SCHOOL I.D.
GRACEVILLE




SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING SCHOOL I.D.


SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING SCHOOL I.D.








Alfamart
CUSTOMER PARKING


FROZEN FOOD


PEACE









JR


























DIFFERENT SHAPES
COUNT


















Participants from SJM

Ariadna

















IGHTS














Pandesal with cheese everyday at 4am...
ICE CANDY
₱ 200
XEROX
AVAILABLE
HERE
LUCKY FOOD
HOUSE


Pandesal with cheese everyday at 4am...
ICE CANDY
₱ 200
XEROX
AVAILABLE
HERE
LUCKY FOOD
HOUSE









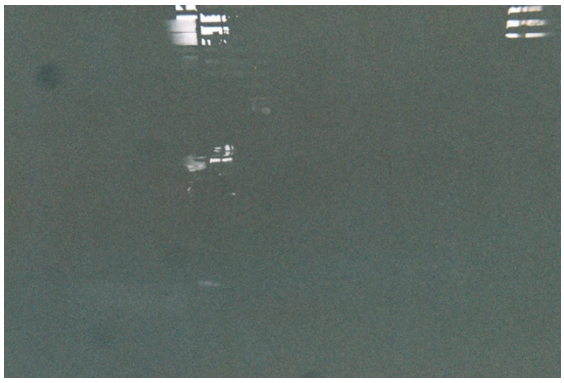


Cardo



























MAGTAPON
BASURA

Shen






























Participants from Garden Village

John Paul









































Joven


































Ley










029
29

































OTTO
STREET


OTTO
STREET



Caril











029
29
PRIVATE








FOR SALE






















Dos























ICE POP















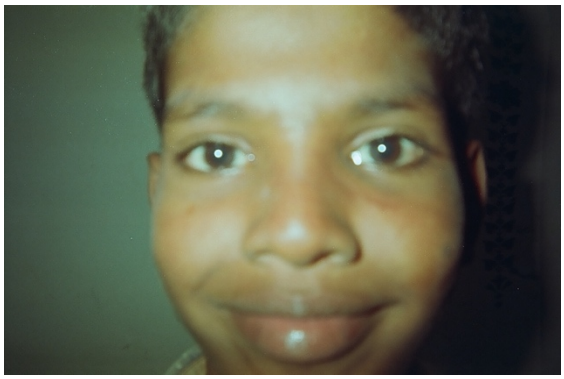


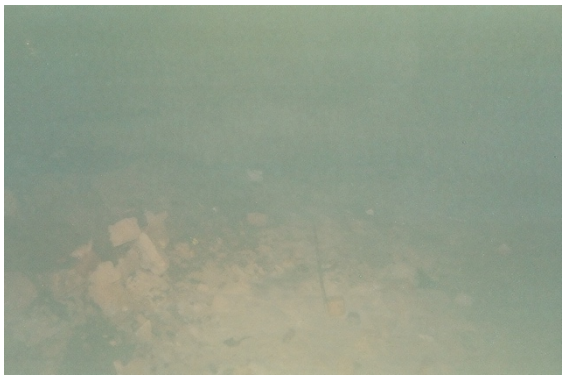

Participants from Gachibowli Village

Loknath





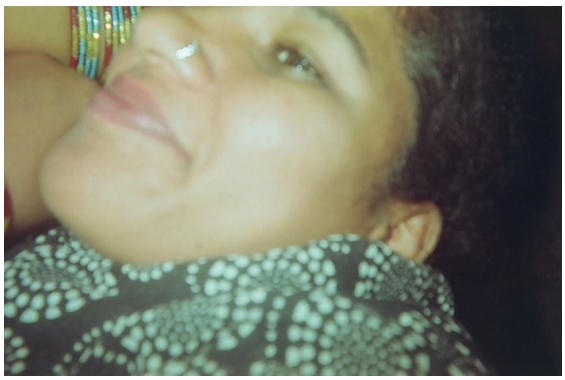


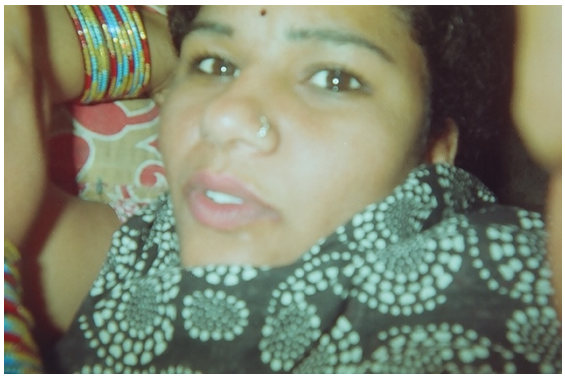
















Aadita








Bindiya







Jaisal

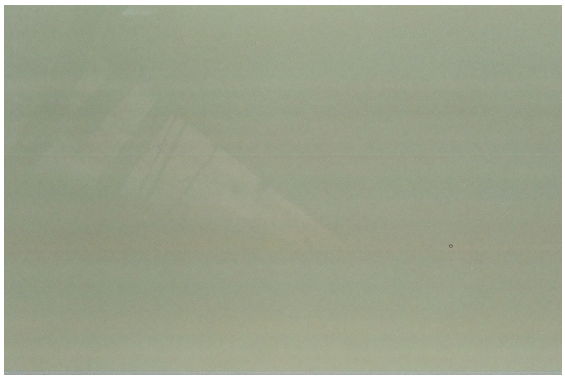








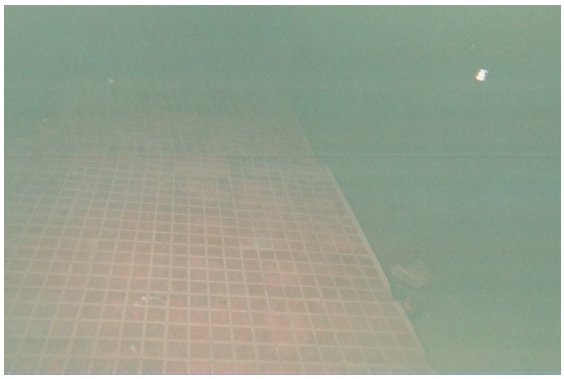
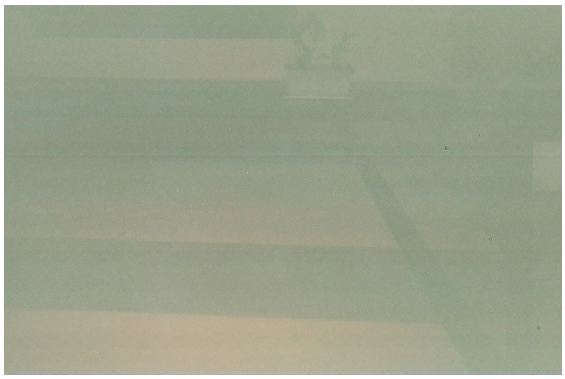


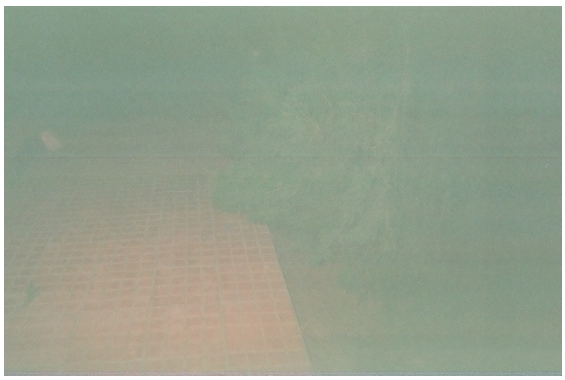













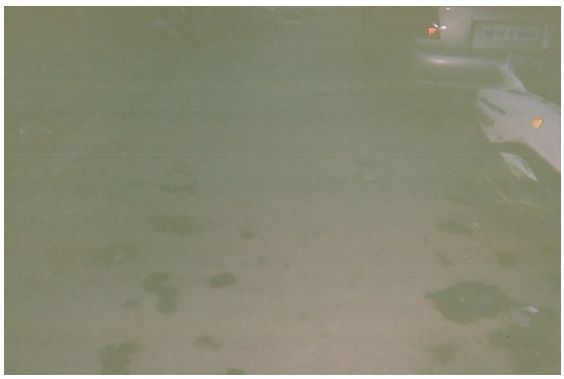
Kamalaj











Nivant








ODA PEARLS & JEWELS
Bank of India
BOI


EWELS








MERINO LAMINATES
godha
BUILT TO DELIVER


YASHODA PEARLS





Rakhi

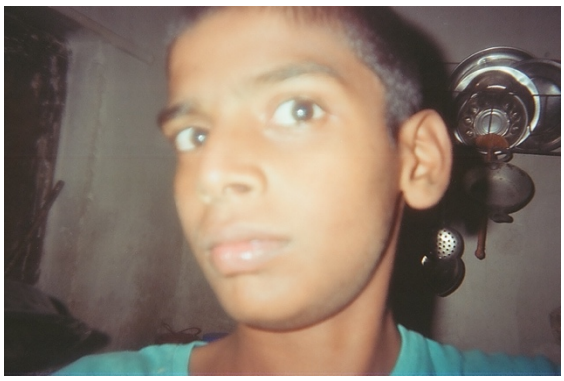








Vo Poolla










Participants from Nanakramguda

Adhira




















Bhavesh



















Nikhil















Maruti















Rajalakshmi









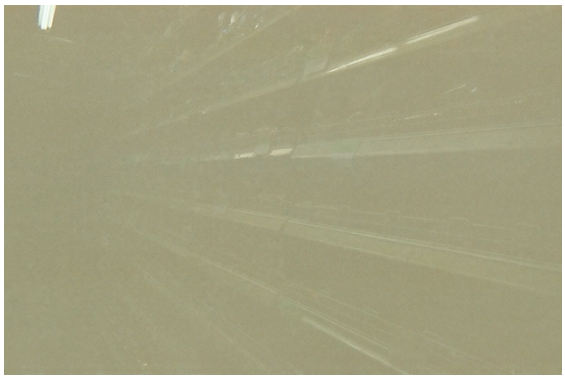







Sunny

















Ujhala













Participants from Ishaan Nagar

Anju

























Ketan































Manish






















Narayan



















Godavari
















Pramoda













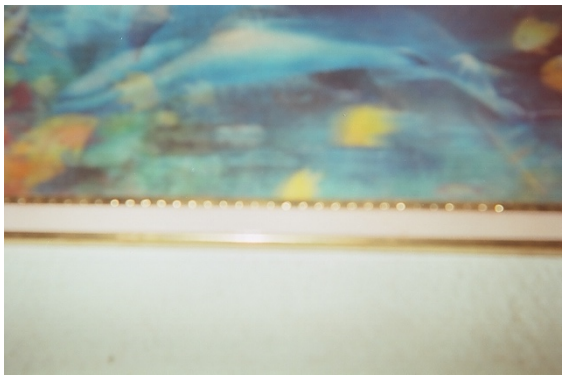


Smija



















Vardan
































APPENDIX B: RESEARCH TEAM RECRUITMENT POSTER

Philippines Recruitment Poster



India Recruitment Poster



APPENDIX C: INDEX OF GAMES ADOELCENTS REFERENCED

Philippine Sites

Tumbang Preso (knock down the prisoner) is a traditional Filipino children's game. It is usually played in backyards, parks, or in streets when there is little traffic in an area. The equipment needed is an empty soda can or any kind of can or bottle, and a slipper for each player. To make the game enjoyable and exciting, there should be no more than nine players. One player or the "*tayà*" (the "It") guards the milk. The objective is for the players to hit and knock down the milk can with the slipper, and for the *tayà* to put back the can inside a small circle a few meters away from the toe-line. When a player is tagged while recovering their slippers, they become the *tayà*.[91]

Sipang Bola (kickball) is any game that uses the feet to hit the ball. In the Philippines, kickball also refers to a children's game that bears a resemblance to baseball but, instead of having a stick in the hand, the foot kicks the ball before players can run to the stations on a diamond -shaped playground.

Sipang Lata (trip the can) is a game in which a can is set up in the street and players stand back a distance and throw a shoe at the can to knock it over. Similar to *Tumbang Preso* but less complicated.

Patintero (Ink) is played on a rectangular grid drawn into the ground. The rectangle is usually 5 to 6 m (16 to 20 ft) in length, and 4 m (13 ft) wide. It is subdivided into four to six equal parts by drawing a central lengthwise line and then one or two crosswise lines. The size of the rectangle and the number of subdivisions can be adjusted based on the number of players. The individual squares in the grid must be large enough that someone can stay in the middle out of reach of someone standing on the lines.

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[91] See Ramon Aboitiz Foundation Inc. "Having fun the Pinoy way: Bato-lata/Tumbang-preso". 3 October 2012. AJ Martin (15 October 2011). "Ethnic Games Palooza Part 3: "Tumba Lata"". Live in the Philippines Web Magazine.

Two teams are needed, each with around two to six players. One team acts as the taggers, the other acts as the runners. This is usually decided by a game of rock–paper–scissors (jak-en-poy) or a coin toss.

The object of the game is to cross the rectangle back and forth without getting tagged. One tagger is usually assigned per crosswise line. Taggers can only move along their respective lines, except for the tagger on the first line who is regarded as the team leader (patotot). Unlike the other taggers, the patotot can also move along the central lengthwise line.[3] Taggers can tag runners at any time, including those already past them, but both of their feet must always be on the lines. Tagging a runner when none or only one foot is contacting the line is not counted.

Runners can cross at any time and to any adjacent square, however, they can only exit the playing rectangle at both ends of the rectangle. Once a runner is tagged, they are out and will sit out the match until the next game. Teams score points when they complete isang gabi ("one night"), a full circuit of the playing rectangle, from one end to the other and back again. Once all the runners have been tagged, the teams reverse roles, with the taggers now becoming the runners and vice versa.[92]

Agawan Base (capturing base) is played by two teams with a minimum of three players for each team. The more players the merrier. This game is usually played on the beach since this game involves running, chasing, or tagging, and accidental falling is inevitable. It will be less traumatic if the player falls on the sand. Grassy area is also an ideal place to play this game in. *Agawan Base* can be played together by children and adults. It is sort of a war-like game. Each team has a base to protect from capturing or seizing. Once the base is captured, the team losses. The bases are usually marked by digging a shallow hole, about 10" in diameter and place something like beach sandals, or shirt, or towel, or anything to it to make the base visible to all players. You can use a pair of multi-surface bases used for standard games. The two bases should be at least ten to 15 meters apart. To capture the opponent's base, one just need to step on it, or touch it, without being tagged. Each base must have, at least, one guard.[93]

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[92] See "How to Play Patintero" Accessed at https://www.tagaloglang.com/how-to-play-patintero/

[93] See Estobo, A. and Laylon, A. (N.D.) "Agwan Base," on https://www.scribd.com/doc/115441366/Agawan-Base.

Chinese Garter is a popular game for Filipino children that requires flexibility, balance, and coordination, most specifically among girls during their elementary years. The game revolves around an ordinary garter, around two to three yards long, which be brought from sewing store at around twenty pesos or less.

This is how the game played. First, there should be two people holding both ends of the garter which is stretched horizontally while others are trying to transfer across the other side of the garter. The main goal of this game is to across over the garter without being tripped. In each round, the height of the garter increases. The garter generally starts from the ankle – level and then knee – level, and so on until the garter is positioned overhead. Higher rounds demand agility since players leap with their feet first in the air and they cross over the garter and end up landing on the side. This means that players should be agile, mentally skilled and must have grace to finish the game. Moreover, doing cartwheels (to cross the garter) in higher levels is allowed.[94]

Indian Sites

Carom is a tabletop game with resemblances to snooker or billiards, and also the more modern games of *subbuteo* and air hockey. Carrom is played by propelling discs with the fingers with the aim of potting them into one of four corner pockets on a wooden playing board.[95]

Kho Kho is a popular tag team game invented in Maharashtra, India in"1914". It is played by two teams of 12 nominated players out of 15, of which nine enter the field who sit on their knees (Chasing Team), and three extra (Defending Team) who try to avoid being touched by members of the other opposing team. It is one of the two most popular traditional tag games in the Indian subcontinent. The sport is widely played across South Asia and has a strong presence in South Africa and England.[96]

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[94] See Taba, C.M. (2012) "Chinese Garter: The Line to Flexibility," in https://devcomcreatives.wordpress.com/2012/08/15/chinese-garter-the-line-to-flexibility/

[95] See Carrom History - Uber Gameshttp://www.ubergames.co.uk

[96] See https://www.yogems.com/yopedia/the-pulsating-game-of-kabaddi/

A match consists of two innings with each inning consisting of chasing and running turns of 9 minutes each. One team sits on their knees in the middle of the court, 8 in a row, with adjacent members facing opposite directions. The runners play in the field, three at a time and the team that takes the shortest time to touch all the opponents in the field, wins. There is a pole at each end of the field and the runner is allowed to go between two sitting players, but the chaser is not allowed to turn back while running or go between the players i.e. the chaser must run in the same direction unless he chooses to touch either end pole and run in the opposite direction. He may cross over to the other side when he is reversing directions by going around the pole.[97]

Kabaddi is a contact team sport. Played between two teams of seven players, the objective of the game is for a single player on offence, referred to as a "raider", to run into the opposing team's half of a court, tag out as many of their defenders as possible, and return to their own half of the court, all without being tackled by the defenders, and in a single breath.[2] Points are scored for each player tagged by the raider, while the opposing team earns a point for stopping the raider. Players are taken out of the game if they are tagged or tackled but are brought back in for each point scored by their team from a tag or tackle.

Kings/Chaturanga is an ancient strategy game invented in India. It is believed to be the ancestor of strategy games, such as Chess, Xiangqi, Shogi, and Makruk. Chaturanga is mentioned in many ancient scripts. It is played on the Ashtapada board. There are two players. Just like modern chess, Chaturanga has various pieces — the King (Raja), General (Mantri or Senapati), Rook (Ratha), Elephant/Bishop (Gaja), Horse/Knight (Ashva), and Pawn (Padaati or Bhata). Each piece moves in a certain direction. The goal is to get the opponent's king into trouble so that he cannot move without being taken by the enemy. Kings and generals played this game to gain new ideas about the form of war offensive.[98]

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[97] See Ahmed, U. (14 August 2011). "Trip down memory lane: The games we play…". The Express Tribune.

[98] Bharatan, N. (2021). "Top 25 Popular and Traditional Indian Games for Kids," on https://www.momjunction.com/articles/top-traditional-indian-games-list_00687698/

Ludo is a strategy board game for two to four players, in which the players race their four tokens from start to finish according to the rolls of a single die. Like other cross and circle games, Ludo is derived from the Indian game Pachisi, but simpler. The game and its variations are popular in many countries and under various names.

Teacher Teacher is a game in which one child pretends to be a teacher and the other children pretend to be students in the classroom. The "teacher" gets to manage the class and set the activities while the "students" play in kind.[99]

Lemon Spoon (variant of "egg in a spoon") is a relay race in which participants hold a lemon on a spoon in their mouth. Competitors race either individually or in teams in the manner of a relay race. If the lemon falls from the spoon, then competitors may be required to stop, retrieve, and reposition their lemon; or to start again; or may even be disqualified. Due to the lesser penalty imposed for dropping the lemon, and consequent encouragement of greater risk-taking, the first penalty scenario may result in a race that is faster overall. Common methods of cheating include sticking the lemon to the spoon or holding onto the lemon with one finger. For an extra challenge, contestants might carry the spoon with both hands, with their teeth, or have their hands tied behind their backs.[100]

Hide-and-Seek is commonly played. In this game a player starts by closing his or her eyes and counts to 50 or 100 whilst facing towards a wall, tree, or pillar. The other players, who usually number about 5 to 10, hide. The first player should find all the hidden players who would hide somewhere nearby. If any of the other players hit the first player on his or her back by saying "deef" with palm of a hand without being spotted, then the first player should restart the game. If the first player spots any other player without the other playing saying deef as above, then the other player is out. The objective of the game is for the first player to find all hidden

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[99] See TESS-India at https://www.open.edu/openlearncreate/pluginfile.php/160103/mod_resource/content/2/EE_01_OD_Final.pdf

[100] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egg-and-spoon_race

players without him/her restarting the game. The game is repeated with every player playing as the first player.[101]

Out Out is a variant of Tag in which each person to be caught joins hands with "it", and the chain is formed by chasing the others as a pair. As more people are caught, they too join hands with the "it" players, forming a lengthening chain. The person who is last and still not in the chain is the winner. This variation is also called "Blob". Only those at the ends of the chain can catch someone, as they are the only ones with a free hand. A variant has chains of four splitting in two.

Galli Cricket is an informal ad hoc variant of the game of cricket, played by people of all genders and all ages in gardens, back yards, on the street, in parks, carparks, beaches and any area not specifically intended for the purpose.

Gati was once famous as a Gully sport, Kancha was a favorite of many young boys in nearby town and villages of Andhra Pradesh. It has its own modus operandi; it is played using marbles called a "kancha". The players are to hit the selected target "kancha" using their own marble ball. The winner takes all the "kanchas" from rest of the players.

Seven Stones is an entertaining, simple, and inexpensive game. It needs seven small flat stones; every stone size should be less than the other stone. Players put these stones over another in decreasing order until it looks like a small tower. It is then hit it by a handball covered in cloth from a fixed distance. Any number of people can play this game. This game is also known as "Pithoo" in some regions of India.

Common International Games

Chess
Turth or Dare
Barbie

[101] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Traditional_games_of_Andhra_Pradesh

Tag

Capture the Flag

Skipping

Basketball

Vollyball

Basketball

Football

Soccer

Hockey

Online Games/Social Media

League of Legends (LOL)

Crossfire

Current Shock

Rules of Survival

Tiktok

Facebook

Candy Crush

Bubble Shooter

Farmville

Subway Surfer

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