

Road space in Hyderabad as an Urban Common: Otto von Gierke's cooperative law applied to the discussion on the use of road space in Hyderabad

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Abstract:

In our paper we apply the theory of commons of the German law historian Otto von Gierke (1841-1921) to the actual discussion on the use of road space in Indian megacities on the example of Hyderabad. In emerging megacities like Hyderabad, urban space and especially road space is a hard-fought Urban Common. As population, real estate prices and the need for mobility is growing, pressure on road space accumulates.

In the late 19th and early 20th Century, Gierke developed the idea of a common and cooperative "German Law", which he contrasted against an individualistic "Roman Law" in his book "Das Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht" (German Cooperative Law). This cooperative law emerged during the middle ages in rural communities, brotherhoods and guilds. Groups with collective consciousness developed a legal understanding of common ownership, which defined joint use of commons. This tradition, which he believed to be particularly strong in German culture, was a backbone for the success of modern cooperatives and the idea of commons since the 19th Century.

The paper presents the discussion on the use of road space for street vendors, pedestrians, cyclists, cars, buses, two- and three wheelers during the last years, using the analytical framework of Gierke's cooperative law. Both authors are members of a long-term applied research project Sustainable Hyderabad (www.sustainable-hyderabad.in), funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research. They are responsible for "Communication and Participation Strategies", and hence develop and test new institutional arrangements to integrate citizens' views and participation into spatial planning. Their studies have shown so far, that road-space is mainly taken by motorized vehicles and pedestrians are marginalized. These results are taken up in the successive research process: governance as well as practical solutions for equitable partake in Urban Commons, like public space and roads.

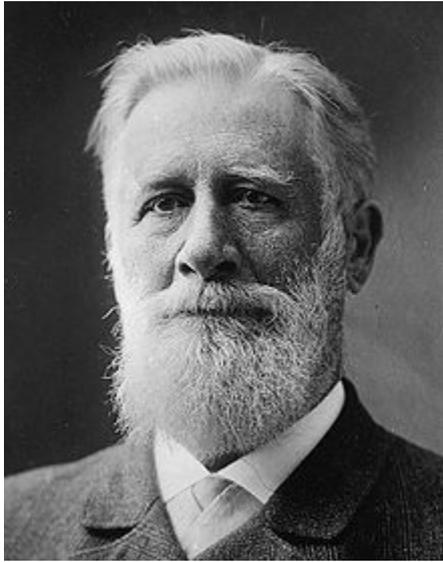
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OTTO VON GIERKE'S COMMUNITY LAW – THE DISCUSSION ABOUT GERMAN CIVIL LAW AROUND 1900



Otto von Gierke, the early 20th Century giant of German cooperative law, developed a theory of commons in his famous three volume book “Das Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht” (The German Law of Fellowship, Gierke 2002).

Educated in the 19th Century with its boom of voluntary cooperatives and associations, he was much more optimistic about the potentials of public goods and collective actions than the economists of the 20th Century.

During the last decade of the 19th Century, there was a tough fight about the character of the new civil law in Germany. Against individual “Roman Law”, Otto von Gierke and others claimed for a cooperative “German Law” which should include

legal definitions of commons, of joint ownership and joint responsibilities. Gierke proved their existence in extensive historical studies. According to Gierke, especially the middle ages were shaped by horizontal structures of voluntary sharing of responsibilities to govern public goods. He saw history as a prove that there were many ways mainly of free social group building to prevent and overcome, what Hardin (1968) later called the “tragedy of the commons”, individual overuse and misuse, or more abstract: coordination breakdowns arising from lacking participants. Gierke described voluntary union as basic principle of any cooperative and identified fraternity as a precondition for building of associations. According to Gierke, the legal framework has to mirror the empirical societal evidence that commons are accepted in many societies, indeed beloved and treated well. Even though he predicted that commons will disappear, if the legal framework cuts down their space of manoeuvre. Then, society will experience what Heller (1998) later called the “tragedy of the anti-commons” when only individual rights holders exist which contradicts and frustrates achieving a socially desirable outcome.

Although Otto von Gierke did not succeed in shaping the New German Civil Law (which was installed in 1900 as “Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch”) in the way he wanted, he nevertheless succeeded in emphasizing the character and importance of commons and horizontal cooperative structures to organize and operate commons.

Gierke defined associations to be more than the sum of individuals, but as institutional entities. According to Wolfgang Hardtwig, modern associations could not have emerged without the medieval cooperative union (Hardtwig 1997, p. 25).

COMMONS IN GERMAN TRANSPORT POLICY

Although the “Germanic law fraction” did not succeed to integrate a full law of commons into civil law around 1900, the legal acceptance of commons still is fairly great in Germany. We would like to give some recent examples for this hypothesis from the field of transport and public space.

In Germany, roads historically have been seen as commons. When cars, with the help of transport experts, divided the road space into sections, took the major part and therefore minimized the pedestrians' and other public space, a growing societal opposition emerged. In many cities, strolling and child play on streets has been largely replaced by car-dependent mobility which also had an effect on local neighbourhoods. It can be said that the catalyst for a big societal shift in the late 1960s was a general feeling that public space is running short and had to be defended. In many western cities, there has been a gradual trend towards the loss of the street as an environment to linger and to meet. The reasons for this are complex, but are related to the effect of mass car usage as a dominant form of urban transport. Still, residential streets have played an important role in cities. In many residential areas, even in car dominated cities, the streets perform this function even today, e.g. as play spaces for children, even though to a lesser degree than in the past (Tranter/ Doyle 1996). In consequence a couple of innovations emerged, for instance:

Play Streets

The idea of 'the street as a place for play' has been replaced by the notion of 'the street as a place for cars only'. But "making streets livable [...] is the topmost action that would advance both children's access to diversity and the child's right to play" (Moore, 1986, 51).

In "Play Streets" all traffic participants have the same right of way and pedestrians, cyclist and car drivers are not allowed to obstruct each other. Cars must drive in walking pace only. While it is allowed to stop, parking is only allowed in specially marked zones. In Switzerland, the „Play Street“ is called “Begegnungszone” (Meeting Zone) where maximum speed is 20 Km/h.



German traffic sign for "Play Street" (left) and traffic sign for "Begegnungszone" in Switzerland (right)

Car Sharing

Car sharing is a membership based service available to all qualified drivers in a community. It is defined by its environmental and social purpose, rather than business and financial objectives. Car sharing is a service designed for local users in support of community transit and environmental goals. The vision includes decreased individual car ownership, reduced vehicle miles travelled, improved urban land use. It provides affordable access to vehicles for all constituencies – including those less able to afford car ownership and is meant to motivate residents to walk, cycle and use public transportation.

Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Sweden, Austria and Denmark are leading the Car sharing market in Europe. The Sworn Union (Confoederatio Helvetica) in Switzerland alone has more car sharing users than Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece

together (Momo 2010). We suppose there are historic reasons for that: a societal understanding of commons.

Light Train in Zurich

The Light Train (Straßenbahn) in Zurich is seen as a commons. While in many cities, the light train was ceased in the 1950s and 1960s against the will of the public, in the direct democracy of Switzerland, the tram survived and grew. Today, a high percentage of the population use light trains for their every day mobility. There is nearly no damage. People are proud of their light train. Even bankers in 5000 \$ suits ride to work on the light train.

This kind of attitude can be found in a more general way in many transport related areas. Public Transport is seen as a public good. Citizens like to have it, even if they don't use it, and are in favour of large subsidies. Should the railways be public or private? German Railways are still public (in fact). This governmental decision is overwhelmingly accepted by citizens.

Not only are the transport companies seen as commons, but the road too. In many societies, roads and public space are misused as garbage dump. Not only laws prevent citizens in Germany from putting their garbage on the road but a mix of societal and legal understanding of commons, which leads to laws, social control and enforcement. Even more general is the perspective on Germans as users of nature as public space. They in majority like to walk in the woods and hike in the mountains. Why? Partly, because it is a way to underline that forests and mountains are commons. By walking and hiking this becomes a fact.

USE OF COMMON SPACE: CHANGING PATTERNS

India's towns and cities have expanded rapidly as increasing numbers of migrants, mostly from the rural areas, search for opportunities. Employment and educational prospects are the main attractions of urban centres. India has at least 41 cities with more than one million people, up from 23 cities two decades ago (Jain 2010). In 2001, 28 per cent of the population lived in urban centres, compared with less than 20 per cent percent in 1971, according to the government's census data of 2001. Although less than one third of India's population lives in cities and towns, these areas generate over two third of the country's GDP and account for 90 per cent of government revenues.

Roads in India: competing types of use

The obstruction of other users of the road (except from cars) has yet taken place only on few roads. How does and will society react? This depends on the understanding of roads as public and collective goods.

The traffic situation in India can hardly be understood with the comprehension of western rules and standards. As the following descriptions show, road traffic, for example, consists of a broad variety of vehicles: There are traditional means like walking, bullock carts and horse carriages, bicycles and hand-pulled rickshaws as well as cycle rickshaws. In local public and intermediate public transport buses and auto-rickshaws (Tuk-Tuk) are predominant while commuter rail services and metro

systems can only be found in metropolitan cities. Among these modes of transport, the motorization of households increasingly shapes the urban landscape.

The Global Status Report On Road Safety illustrates the situation on India's roads as following: "overcrowded road traffic situation with different road users making their way on streets without lanes", "people getting on driving buses", "Tuk-tuk racing through streets", "overloaded rickshaws making their way through traffic, car making its way through rickshaws", "Tuk-tuk racing over highway, crowded with pedestrians", "traffic stopped by cow", "family of 5 on motorcycle making their way through traffic, only driver wears helmet" (WHO 2009). The US-State Department's Office of American Citizens Services and Crisis Management (ACS) pictures the infrastructural and traffic situation outside major cities as: "main roads and other roads are often poorly maintained and congested. [...] Heavy traffic is the norm and includes (but is not limited to) overloaded trucks and buses, scooters, pedestrians, bullock and camel carts, horse or elephant riders en route to weddings, bicycles, and free-roaming livestock" (ACS 2010).



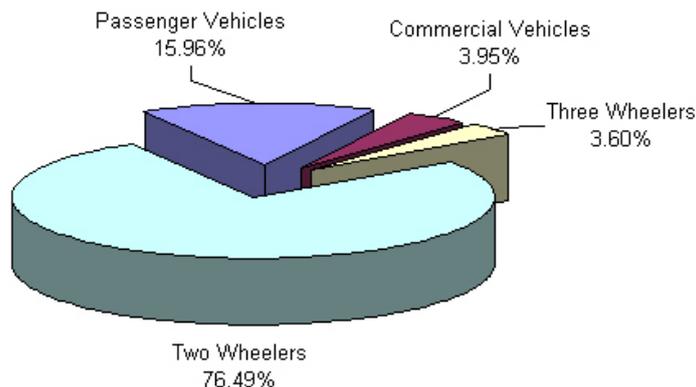
View from the Charminar on a central crossing in Hyderabad

Traditionally, as in most developing countries, a high percentage of travel in Indian cities has been by walking or cycling, mainly because a big proportion of the population is too poor to afford motorized transport. But decentralization has affected urban transport: the expansion of cities has increased the length of trips for most urban residents, leading to more overall travel demand and thus more traffic on the roadways and public transport systems. Moreover, increased trip distances make walking and cycling less feasible than before.

The sharply rising demands for transport have overwhelmed the existing infrastructure and transport systems in India. Dissatisfied public transport passengers are increasingly turning to the private car, and even more to the relatively low-cost motorized two-wheelers, which have experienced a boom in ownership and use in the past two decades. Rising incomes among the Indian middle and upper classes have made car and motorcycle ownership increasingly affordable. Thus, the most dramatic development in the transport market has been the striking growth in private motorized travel, especially by car and motorcycle. Car ownership was once concentrated among the political and economic elite in India, but it has been increasingly spreading to the middle classes as well, since the car is a hugely popular consumer item and prestige symbol (Pucher et al. 2007, p. 389).

Following the forecasts of almost all leading Management consulting firms, the Indian passenger car market is full of uphill projections and every major auto maker of the world has an eye set on this promising market.

Throughout the country, the fastest growth has been in two-wheelers: motorcycles and motor scooters (see figure). These provide an increasing proportion of the middle class with affordable, flexible, and relatively quick transport, but also pose serious problems for traffic safety. The private car offers an even higher level of comfort and greater prestige, although it is more likely than two-wheelers to be slowed down by roadway congestion.



Category-wise market share of vehicles in 2008-09 (SIAM 2010)

There is a predictable pattern in change in the modal split over time which results in greater reliance on private and paratransit modes for urban transport in forthcoming years. Singh estimated that the aggregate share of private- and paratransit modes in urban areas will increase from 24.3 per cent in 2000-01 to 55.3 per cent in 2030-31. The projections show that the share of public transport would be around 44.7 per cent during the year 2030-31 (Singh 2006, p. 255f). The walk share of all trips falls from 37 per cent in cities with 100,000 –250,000 inhabitants and to 28 per cent in cities with over 5 million inhabitants. The bicycle share declines more sharply with increasing population size, from 26 per cent to only 9 per cent (Pucher et al. 2005, p. 190).

Indeed, most Indian cities have no rail transport and buses carry more than 90 per cent of public transport. Complementing regular public transport services, a range of paratransit modes provide essential transport in Indian cities such as minivans, auto rickshaws, cycle rickshaws, and taxis. They provide an important travel option for those who can afford it.

These privately owned and operated services provide most of the public transport in small and medium-sized cities, since regular public transport services are either scarce, of low quality, or too expensive. Even in large Indian cities, rail transport carries less than a third of public transport passengers, while paratransit services can be seen everywhere, often serving routes where regular buses do not run. The only exception is Mumbai, which has India's most extensive suburban rail network (Pucher et al. 2005, 5). While paratransit services provide essential transport, they also cause some important problems. Especially in India, many paratransit vehicles are unsafe, both due to their dilapidated condition and the notoriously unsafe driving behaviour of the operators, who often swerve in and out of traffic, competing with

each other to pick up passengers. They are also a major source of noise, air pollution, and traffic congestion (Pucher et al. 2007, p. 402).

The Government of India has strongly supported increased motorization to stimulate their economies, to modernize their (road) transport systems, and to meet the growing demand for cars and motorcycles among the middle and upper classes. This motorization process is expected to be further accelerated by availability of low-priced motorized vehicles and expansion of urban and industrialized areas. International as well as national automakers invest large sums of money to expand in India, where economic growth may help car sales triple in the next eight years. It is prospected that India will be the fastest-growing auto manufacturer among the world's top 20 car-making countries and the world's third largest automobile market by 2030. Hence, a major obstacle to improved transport policies is the political influence of the automobile and highway lobbies in India, as well as affluent Indians, who benefit the most from increased adaptations of transport policies to their car-oriented lifestyles. Indeed, several Central Government policy documents indicate an overriding priority for further developing the growing Indian automobile industry as the most important measure for promoting overall economic growth and employment in India (Pucher et al. 2005, p. 196). A resulting effect on city development is the deteriorating quality of public transport service which reinforces the impact of the rapid decentralization of Indian cities on social and working structures.

The situation in Hyderabad/ India

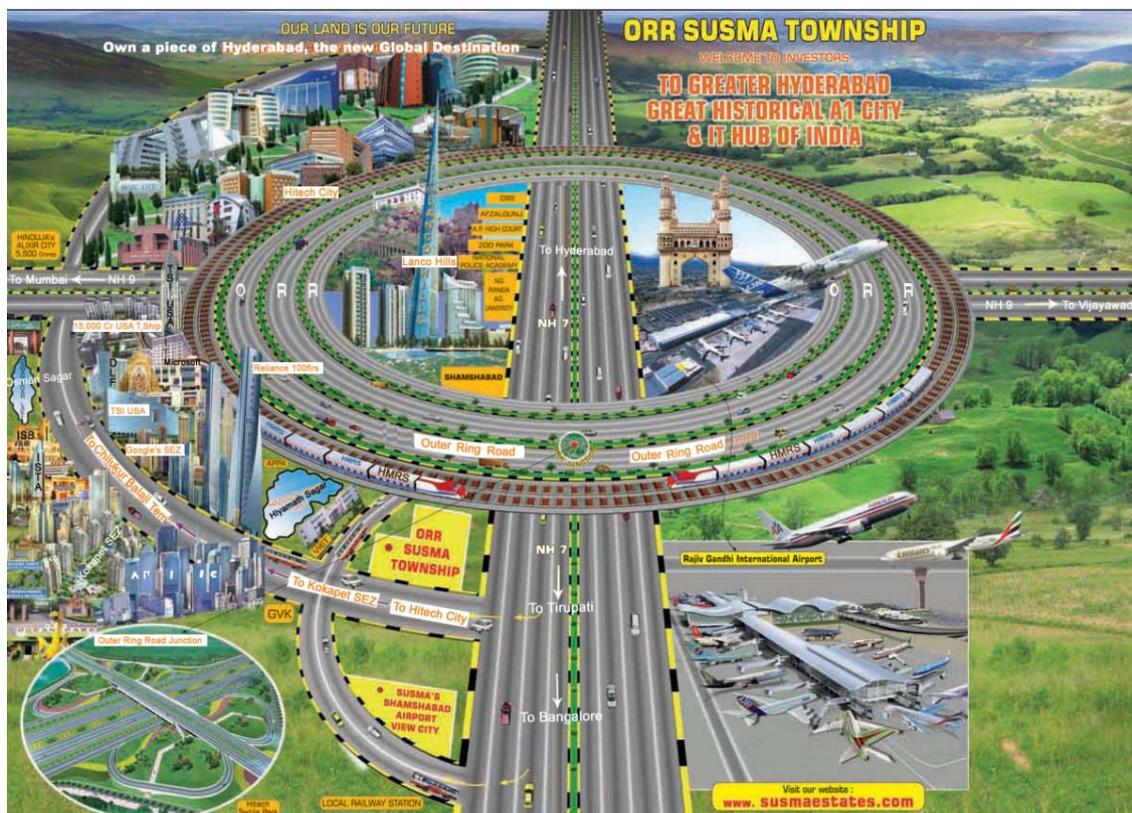
Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh, is centrally located between other Indian metropolises, namely Mumbai, Chennai and Bangalore. Today the city accommodates approximately 6.8 million inhabitants and the population increases daily by around 1000 people. Thus, Hyderabad as one of the fastest growing agglomerations is forecasted to reach 10.3 million inhabitants by 2030 (Demographia 2010, p. 100).

The 'Megacity of tomorrow' can be seen as a model-city of Indian's economic miracle and urbanisation. Not only has Hyderabad been a pioneer city of liberalisation in the 1990ies, it also draws much recognition from its early focus on High-Tech-Industries (Bio-Tech, Pharma, IT) and SEZs (Special Economic Zone). The whole state of Andhra Pradesh made rapid strides in software manufacturing and is among the top three states in software exports from the country (CII 2010). Furthermore, with its liberal labour laws, proactive policies, quality power with competitive tariff, large pool of technical manpower, rich mineral resources and specialized industrial parks with SEZ status Andhra Pradesh is second among the top ten investment destination states in India. Because of the strategically beneficial location and an investor friendly government the state is considered a gateway to East & South East Asia.

Given the fact that Hyderabad is growing so rapidly, a traffic and transport policy and strategy that lead to a sustainable, energy-efficient transport system is urgently needed. Otherwise the negative effects of growing individualised and motorised traffic which are not only increasing consumption of non-renewable energy resources but also increasing congestion, air-pollution, traffic noise and accidents will affect the quality of life for the citizens of Hyderabad as well as the city's booming economy.

In fact, the city experiences a dramatic increase of personal motorized transport and at the same time declining share of public and non-motorised transport. The number of motor cycles has increased by factor 14 between 1980 and 2001, motor cars and SUVs by the factor 12, auto rikshaws by factor 8,5 while the bus-fleet only grew by factor 3,8 (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2006). In 2008, there were a total of 2.4 Million vehicles in the city. Due to a constant rise in the number of vehicles at an estimated rate of 0.2 million per annum, the total vehicle population is projected to reach 7.4 million by 2025 (ESCI 2009). Thus, the vehicular traffic is one major factor which greatly influences the greenhouse gas emissions in Hyderabad.

Failing to adequately address the most urgent challenges that are related to the illustrated situation of the traffic in the city, the main projects of Hyderabad's urban development are schemes such as the development of truck terminals and logistic hubs, construction of road over bridges (e.g. at Sanjeevaiah Park) and the conduction of a comprehensive traffic study for Hyderabad metropolitan region (HMDA 2010).



Animation of the Outer Ring Road currently planned in Hyderabad

Moreover, the Hyderabad City Development Plan (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2006) that refers to the time period from 2006 to 2021, indicates some overall goals. These include measures such as extending the road network (from an area of 9 per cent to 15 per cent), enabling an increase in the average speed from 12 to 35 km/h, increasing the share of the public transport from 42 per cent to 75 per cent and extending the existing 25 per cent of footpath to 95 per cent.

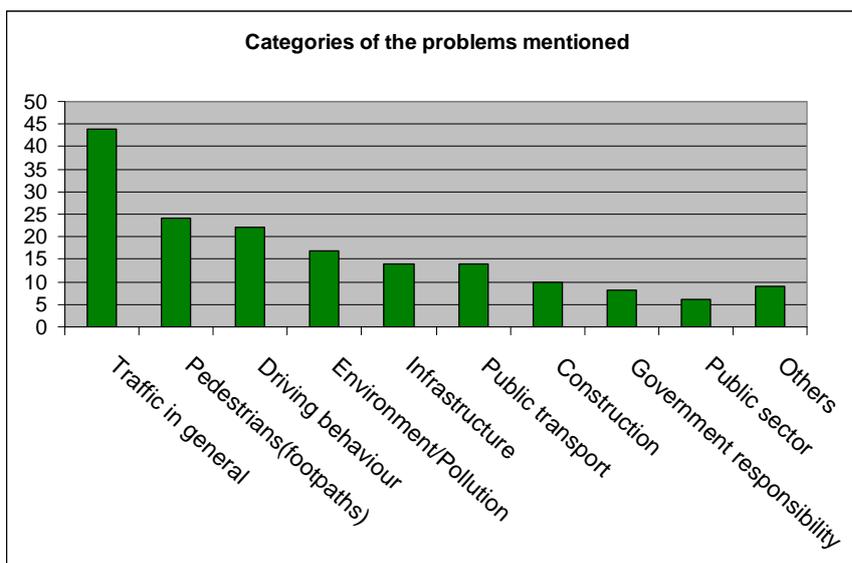
These plans and goals seem quite problematic in a twofold regard. On the one hand, it can be doubted whether such goals can actually be achieved and, on the other hand, for a sustainable development other aspects need to be included. A major

focus should be on the different interests of all parties involved. There are always contrasting and conflicting interests and demands between the users of the road, users of the sidewalks (multifunctional space), residents, shopkeepers, street vendors, etc. Especially car drivers want a smooth flow of traffic and therefore claim widening of the streets. Nevertheless the carrying capacity of the roads reaches its limit which shows the necessity for more public transport. Non-motorized modes demand road space as well, as sidewalks mostly don't exist or are not usable. Therefore, a sustainable transport system has to include an equitable sharing of road space.

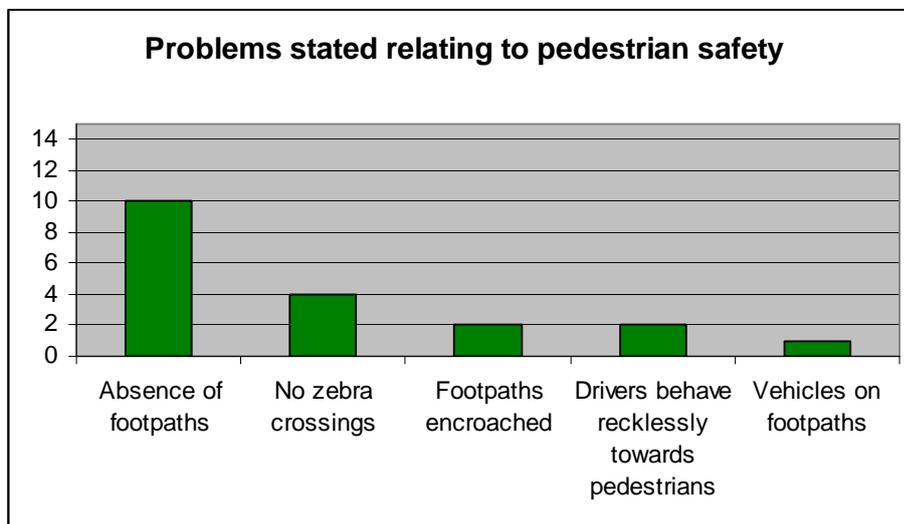
As studies show, there is basically no knowledge about the demand side of the traffic system; citizens haven't been asked which kind of infrastructure and transport they prefer. This leads to some central questions which need to be considered: Does the traffic and transportation system meet the needs of Hyderabad's citizens? How can it be organized in way that it is safer, more secure, and citizen-friendly and energy efficient at the same time?

In order to answer these questions and to bring the topic of traffic and transportation to the fore, a citizens' exhibition "Ready to Move...?!" was organized by the Indo-German Megacity-Project "Sustainable Hyderabad" and shown in Tarnaka Ward and at the occasion of several conferences and summits in Hyderabad. Subsequently, a conference on traffic and transport was organised in collaboration with partners in Hyderabad e.g. Goethe Centre and Right to Walk Foundation. It was aimed at formulating a "Hyderabad Citizens' Charter for Urban Transport". At the same time, an online discussion forum was launched, trying to gather the broad public's opinion on these urgent topics, their vision and solutions.

The evaluation of the online discussion forum summarizes the main problems voiced by the citizens associated with the traffic and transport situation in Hyderabad. The overall problems mentioned can be put in order as follows (see figure): firstly traffic in general, secondly pedestrian safety, thirdly driving behaviour (of private drivers) and fourthly environment/ pollution issues. Following, participants named the infrastructure (traffic system), public transportation issues, enforcement and traffic management problems, public responsibility and others such as problems of the hawkers, parking and cyclists.



As a result the project’s activities focussed on the issues of pedestrian safety and improved footpaths. The problems related to these topics have been mentioned quite frequently. Several participants felt that there is no safety for pedestrians at all, due to the absence of footpaths and the encroachment of the latter. Nonetheless, the encroachment of hawkers has not been mentioned as often as expected. Even more important are problems related to the footpath-road-ratio. Problems such as “no proper pedestrian crossing”, “no safety for pedestrians” or “there are no footpaths and therefore no place for people to walk”, “parking place is inadequate” have been voiced quite often. In general, there is a lack of space for pedestrians to walk freely and safely in particular. An omnipresent shortage of zebra crossings and pedestrian bridges all around the city has also been mentioned. Even though the lack of footpaths is a phenomenon which can be seen all over India, the existence of an Hyderabad-based NGO called Right to Walk Foundation points out this problem of the pedestrians as a particular one in Hyderabad. All of the action research-oriented activities pointed out the lack of safety for pedestrians, caused by missing or obstructed footpaths, leading to a high number of traffic accidents (Jain et al. 2010).



The analysis conducted in the project, however, showed that there is a civil movement which aims at the improvement of the situation on the roads and hence the quality of life. There is also rising awareness on the political and planners level. The deficit becomes apparent – as often – at the implementation level and it can be assumed that the cause is related to ‘large-scale thinking’ on the one hand and unclear responsibilities as well as lacking participation on the other hand.

ROADS AS COMMONS IN INDIA – REGULATION BY COOPERATIVE LAW?

The understanding of public space has changed over time. In the course of increased speed and mobility through railways, the invention of the car and recently virtual reality, the time-space ratio has transformed dramatically. Public space and roads as part of it have been more and more differentiated into “fast spaces”, for example the German Autobahn (highways restricted to motorized vehicles with minimum speed of 80 km/h), and “slow spaces”, for example play streets or pedestrian zones.

Evolutionary the idea of the public is a “particular configuration of commonness that emerged in the capitalist-democratic West in the course of the eighteenth century”. It linked to associations, particularly ones like universal access and “Öffentlichkeit” (openness) [...]” (Kaviraj 1997, p. 86). This concept of universal access and openness has correspondingly resulted in a sense of common responsibility. As the road space belongs to the public sphere where this sense of common responsibility applies to, it has been seen as an “Urban Common”.

In Germany a common responsibility concerning common goods came into existence because accessible free space has enabled horizontally structured self organization. However, this kind of self organization is only possible if there is enough free space in which organization can happen without outer influences. According to Gierke, especially the middle ages were shaped by horizontal structures of voluntary sharing of responsibilities to govern public goods. He saw history as a prove that there were many ways of free social group building around common interests. A central example is the very high popularity of incorporated society, associations and guilds that also indicates a high level of civic and political participation. Indeed, the “tragedy of the commons” (individual overuse and misuse, or more abstract: coordination breakdowns arising from lacking participants) has not happened yet.

Road space, however, being very isolated, individualized, frequented by strangers and in a fast flow, is a threatened Common. There is a serious risk of road space to be overused and misused. The idea of roads as part of public space is endangered by motorized transport and related infrastructure.

How do people perceive the notion of public space in India?

Does the absence of a sense of common responsibility have to do with the fact that there is not much cohesion in the horizontal structures especially in the fragmented society of an Indian city? Do people consider everything that does not belong to their family or social group as “outside” hence not of interest to them (Dickey 2000)? Is it the “tragedy of the anti-commons” when only individual rights holders exist which frustrate achieving a socially desirable outcome? Or is there rather no rights holder regarding public space – considered to the Indian society?

Nevertheless, in India, too, we find functioning cooperatives and associations of property owners. The notion of ‘community cohesion’ is deeply enrooted in the Indian tradition, though in the practical appliance is not exactly comparable to the “Western countries”. It can be said that whereas in Europe the idea of public space is inclusive, accessible to all and part of public life, in India open space does not necessarily belong to the public sphere but is defined as social space used by a distinct social group in a defined way at a defined time. The sense of common

responsibility therefore only relates to social space, a concept of space strongly related to distinct social settings.

But in parallel the “Western” version of the idea of a public sphere still exists in Indian cities since it has been introduced into colonial India by the British administration and internalized by the modernist Indian elites (Kaviraj 1997, p. 85f). Implicit or explicit prohibitions served to communicate the sense of a hierarchical space. According to Kaviraj this idea of the public sphere has been partly pursued by the emerging elites who imposed rules and regulations after the colonial times. This is reflected in a way by the unclear responsibilities of Indian administration regarding spatial planning. Before the liberalization in the 1990’s the development of infrastructure was mainly in the hands of the public sector which lead to inefficiency through bureaucracy, and corruption maintaining the given power structures. In addition, transport planning and management of roads, railways and airports have been mostly uncoordinated. Institutional arrangements for urban transport are the most complicated: many agencies (central, state and city level) have a hand in urban transport, but none assumes overall responsibility (World Bank 2002, p. 18). Although, Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) in India have been empowered by the Constitution Act (74th Amendment) 1992 to assume responsibilities e.g. for development of urban transport, most of them have failed to do so. Therefore, there is an urgent need to strengthen the existing institutions and to establish linkages for an effective communication to also include the citizens’ perspective.

To conclude, it has become clear that the dealing with the public space needs to be re-negotiated by the city inhabitants. This would give the people a chance to reclaim “their” space. However, currently the roads are still commonly used and different functions merge, especially on the roadside. An increasing separation of the functions poses a threat to this mix of users and thus to the common sphere. Accordingly, the use of the road space has to be re-thought and re-distributed on the basis of these structural models. In case the road space was cut out from the common space for the exclusive use of certain social groups, other spaces of compensation had to be created.

Nevertheless, having the highly fragmented and segregated Indian society in mind it is a question if the vision of an “Allmende” of the 21th Century can become realized on roads in Indian cities. Still, the regulation of road space should accept the rights of different user groups and integrate shared use of roads as a vision. Most probably (transport) experts will be against it and on the one hand they have good arguments (separation of each transport mode for safety reasons). On the other hand their argumentation mostly represents a static understanding of ownership and ‘might is right’. Is it hopeless that urban infrastructure, the road space, can function as integrative element in the Indian society of today? The Delhi Metro seems to set a good example...

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